Normativism of Islamic Law in the *Akkattere* Hajj Ritual of South Sulawesi's Ammatoa Community

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Abstract: The profound impact of cultural and religious modernity on various aspects of life has brought about significant changes in regional *akkattere* traditions in *Ammatoa* society. According to this hadith, the pilgrimage which is in harmony, the conditions and obligations are in accordance with Islamic law, and which must be performed at a certain time and place, can be completed easily through the *akkattere* ritual. This research is an empirical law using an anthropological approach to Islamic law. The purpose of this study is to examine the incorporation of customary values and Islamic law in the *Akkattere* tradition of the *Ammatoa* community in the region, and to evaluate its impact. Data was collected using interviews and literature studies. The research was conducted in Tanah Towa Village in Kajang District, Bulukumba Regency, South Sulawesi Province. The research concluded that the akkatere ritual obviated the need to wait in long lines or have the financial resources to perform the pilgrimage to the holy land of Mecca. Based on the findings of this study, anthropologically the *akkattere* traditional law is the result of a dialectic between Islam and local traditions and has resulted in new local pilgrimage practices, which is now a religious characteristic of the *Ammatoa* people. Nonetheless, the understanding of Hajj by the *Ammatoa* community has deviated substantially from the normatism of Islamic law, so that it fundamentally influences aspects of religious belief and ideology.
Keywords: Normativism of Islamic law, *akkattere* ritual, hajj, *Ammatoa* community, South Sulawesi

Abstrak: Dampak mendalam dari modernitas budaya dan agama pada berbagai aspek kehidupan telah membawa perubahan signifikan dalam tradisi daerah *akkattere* dalam masyarakat *Ammatoa*. Menurut hadis ini, haji yang rukun, syarat, dan kewajibannya sesuai dengan syariat Islam, dan yang harus dilakukan pada waktu dan tempat tertentu, dapat diselesaikan dengan mudah melalui ritual *akkattere*. Penelitian ini merupakan hukum empiris dengan menggunakan pendekatan antropologi hukum Islam. Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk mengkaji penggabungan nilai-nilai adat dan syariat Islam dalam tradisi *akkattere* masyarakat *Ammatoa* di kawasan tersebut, serta mengevaluasi dampaknya. Data dikumpulkan dengan memakai wawancara dan studi literatur. Penelitian dilakukan di Desa Tanah Towa di Kecamatan Kajang, Kabupaten Bulukumba, Provinsi Sulawesi Selatan. Penelitian tersebut menyimpulkan bahwa ritual *akkatere* meniadakan kebutuhan untuk menunggu dalam antrean panjang atau memiliki sumber keuangan untuk menunaikan ibadah haji ke tanah suci Mekkah. Berdasarkan temuan penelitian ini, secara antropologi hukum tradisi *akkattere* merupakan hasil dialektika antara Islam dan tradisi lokal dan telah menghasilkan praktik haji lokal yang baru, yang kini menjadi ciri khas keagamaan masyarakat *Ammatoa*. Meskipun demikian pemahaman tentang haji oleh masyarakat *Ammatoa* telah menyimpang secara substansial dari normativisme hukum Islam, sehingga secara fundamental mempengaruhi aspek keyakinan dan ideologi keagamaan.
Kata Kunci: Normativisme Hukum Islam, ritual *akkatere*, haji, masyarakat *Ammatoa*, Sulawesi Selatan

Introduction

The presence of a culture inside a community is evidence of that community's cultural capacity to uphold ideal values despite constant change. In the midst of changes brought on by global pressures, a number of local cultures thrive, such as the Javanese in Kauman Yogyakarta, the Katab Kebahan in Melawi, and the Dani tribe in Papua.[1] In Sulawesi, the *akkattere* culture in the Ammatoa community has persisted and been practiced for generations. The Ammatoa people have long maintained a traditional and modest way of life (Kajang language: *kamase-masea*) through *pasang* (messages from the ancestors).[2] The persistence of the local *akkattere* tradition demonstrates the

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[1] M. Arifin, et.al., "Contestation between Puritan Islam and Kejawen in the Urban Yogyakarta of Indonesia," *Al-Albab* 8, no. 2 (2019), p. 193-210.

[2] P Hijang, "Pasang Dan Kepemimpinan Ammatoa: Memahami Kembali Sistem Kepemimpinan Tradisional Masyarakat Adat Dalam Pengelolaan Sumberdaya Hutan Di Kajang Sulawesi Selatan," *Antropologi Indonesia* 29, no. 03 (2005), p. 255–268.

community's dedication to ancestral history. Additionally, the culture serves a cosmological purpose in social context.[3]

The analysis of religious ritual traditions such as *akkattere* has been approached through three distinct viewpoints. The first perspective involves examining rituals as a method of knowledge transfer through a communication lens.[4] Another perspective involves situating religious ceremonies within the broader social context and examining the societal function they serve.[5] A third perspective frames ritual within the realm of politics, where it is understood to be intimately tied to power dynamics.[6] Lucero asserts that a ritual holds a great significance: "Ritual events enable them not only to promote surplus production but, more significantly, to appropriate it, and surplus funds an expanding political economy as well as events and other public events".[7] However, Pamungkas argues that these three perspectives overlook the community's point of view in interpreting rituals, and instead tend to approach them from a non-participant's viewpoint.[8] Consequently, they may fail to fully comprehend the symbolic meaning of rituals such as the *akkattere* ritual.

This paper aims to address the gaps in existing study on Islamic law normativism with regard to the *akkattere* pilgrimage ritual in the Ammatoa community. In particular, this research seeks to explore the community's subjective perspective on the normativism of Islamic law by examining the emic side of the *akkattere* ritual practice. To achieve this, three questions have been formulated: (a) how is the normatism of Islamic law observed in the *akkattere* pilgrimage ritual as practiced by the Ammatoa community; (b) what factors contribute to the continued existence of the *akkattere* pilgrimage ritual in the face of modernization and globalization; and (c) how might normative Islamic law be utilized to reinforce the significance of the *akkattere* pilgrimage ritual within the socio-religious life of the *Ammatoa* community. The ensuing sections of this paper delve into these three questions. By gaining a deeper understanding of the enduring relevance of *akkattere* ritual practices, we not only gain insight into the

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[3] Irwan Abdullah, "Communalism Shattered: Thirty Years of Conflict Experiences in the Province of Aceh, Indonesia," *Anthropological Notebooks* 24, no. 1 (2018), p. 41-52.

[4] A. P Cohen and A. P. Wolf, "Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 98, no. 4 (1978), p. 524–27.

[5] J Jumiati, "Transformasi Upacara Belian Ke Dalam Tari Gitang Paser," *Joged: Jurnal Seni Tari* 10, no. 2 (2017), p. 547–562.

[6] Lisa J. Lucero, "The Politics of Ritual: The Emergence of Classic Maya Rulers," *Current Anthropology* 44, no. 4 (2003).

[7] Lucero, "The Politics of Ritual: The Emergence of Classic Maya Rulers."

[8] Senopati Pamungkas, "Tradisi Ritual Tingkepan Dalam Perspektif Aqidah Islam," Kompasiana,   2019, https://www.kompasiana.com/senopatipamungkas99/5d19bff30d823040286b0422/tradisi-ritual-tingkepan-dalam-perspektif-aqidah-islam.

community's cultural strategies, but also gain insight into how the *Ammatoa* community positions itself within supra local (global) networks.

This paper presents three key arguments. Firstly, it posits that rituals serve not only symbolic purposes but also fulfill practical needs within a community. This argument is supported by Wallace's observation that a cultural institution's survival is contingent upon its ability to meet the needs of the community it serves. Secondly, the continued existence of the *akkattere* ritual in the *Ammatoa* community is tied to the process of social reproduction and the interests of various groups within the community. Finally, the survival of a ritual is linked to the prevailing beliefs of the community, particularly with regard to religious beliefs, as Ortner notes that religious belief provides the foundation for social action. These three arguments offer insight into how cultural practices persist in the face of ongoing social changes and dynamics.

This study centers on the intersection between local customs and Islamic law on the *akkattere* traditional practices carried out by the *Ammatoa* community. The said tradition pertains to a pilgrimage procession serving as an alternative ritual to the Hajj pilgrimage to the holy land. The pilgrimage procession has undergone a new interpretation by the *Ammatoa* community, incorporating elements of economics and politics. Data collection was conducted meticulously through observation, interviews, and documentation, tailored to the research requirements. The researcher resided in Tanah Towa Village, Kajang Subdistrict, Bulukumba Regency, South Sulawesi Province, for a month, immersing themselves in the community to perform observations and interviews with informants. Furthermore, the researcher visited the village multiple times to ensure sufficient data. The study also draws upon library data to enhance the completeness of the research.

The informants in the study encompassed diverse groups and individuals who possess a profound understanding of the *akkattere* tradition and the factors associated with it. The sample consisted of *Ammatoa* community members, *Ammatoa* customary leaders, government officials, community leaders, and other individuals residing in the area. To ensure objectivity, direct observation was conducted in the field to ascertain the nature of the *akkattere* ritual in Tanah Toa Village, Kajang Subdistrict, Bulukumba Regency. Additionally, data documentation in the form of documents, literature, and photographs collected in the field was also utilized.

This research is an empirical law using an anthropological approach to Islamic law. [9] The purpose of this study is to examine the incorporation of customary values and Islamic law in the *Akkattere* tradition of the *Ammatoa*

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[9] Muhaimin, *Metodologi Penelitian Hukum,* Mataram: Mataram Universiti Press, 2020. Ali Sodiqin, "Antrolopogi Hukum sebagai Pendekatan dalam Penelitian Hukum Islam," *Manahij: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Islam* 7, No. 1 (2013).

community in the region, and to evaluate its impact. Data was collected using interviews and literature studies. The research was conducted in Tanah Towa Village in Kajang District, Bulukumba Regency, South Sulawesi Province. The analysis process started with sorting, categorizing, compiling, and elaborating the data on the *akkattere* ritual, including both material and non-material aspects required for the implementation of the tradition. The collected data was interpreted to reveal tendencies that could answer the research questions and achieve the research objectives. To generate reliable findings and conclusions, triangulation techniques were employed to analyze the data from various sources, such as interviews, field notes, and other materials. In short, the data analysis involved organizing the data, breaking it down into units, synthesizing and compiling it into patterns, and drawing accountable conclusions.

Religion Between Islamic Law Norms and Practices

Murphy asserts that religious practice is a critical component of religion, which extends beyond symbols and belief systems.[10] Religious practice refers to activities that are commonly accepted within a given community, and which involve language processes, beliefs, and meanings.[11] These activities rely on linguistic meaning and interpretation, which are used to formulate statements of intention or identity.[12] Oostveen argues that religious practice is not a singular, coherent form of tradition, but rather a diverse set of practices.[13] Similarly, Gazniuk, Soina, Goncharov, & Chervony present examples of religious practices among orthodox people, which they view as a means of transforming communication and technology processes within society. They argue that this form of practice represents a social relationship system that involves interpersonal, group, and social interactions, which can provide individuals with a sense of personal spiritual mastery.[14]

Ritter & Kmec argue that religious practices serve as a "platform" that contributes to the maintenance of social structure. These practices have the ability to unite a community by developing social life through a place of worship, which is based on three elements: "material," "competence," and symbolic.[15] These

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[10] James Murphy, "Beyond 'Religion' and 'Spirituality': Extending a 'Meaning Systems,'" *Archive for the Psychology of Religion* 39, no. 1 (2017), p. 1-26.

[11] Peter Kivisto, "Religion: What It Is, How It Works, and Why It Matters," *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 33, no. 3 (2018), p. 581-83.

[12] Lidiia Gazniuk et al., "Everyday Communications in Religious Practices," in *SHS Web of Conferences, 72(02002)*, (2019).

[13] Daan F. Oostveen, "Religious Belonging in the East Asian Context: An Exploration of Rhizomatic Belonging," *Religions* 10, no. 3 (2019), p. 1-10.

[14] Gazniuk et al., "Everyday Communications in Religious Practices."

[15] Christian S Ritter and Vladimir Kmec, "Religious Practices and Networks of Belonging in an Immigrant Congregation: The German-Speaking Lutheran Congregation in Dublin," *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 32, no. 2 (2017), p. 269–281.

elements refer to places of worship, worship services, and the meaning attached to objects and actions. This fosters a sense of mutual belonging that contributes to collective social identity. Dalziel, Saunders and Savage demonstrate this collectivity through their study of religious practices among migrants, which involve transnational circulation of people, objects, and ideas.[16] Therefore, religious practices are not just a singular practice, as Oostveen suggests, but rather they involve broader social life and are an important aspect of maintaining social structure.[17]

The Social Reproduction theory by Marx, rooted in Marxist political economy, posits that the production dialectic between workers and capitalists defines their relationship. This theory has historically focused on the role of institutions, norms, practices, and issues of gender, class, and race in forming social relations, as well as on spatial and scalar questions.[18] Lane & Seelman assert that the theory encompasses material, political, emotional, and spiritual aspects that evolve through organizing social movements.[19] Community reproduction is a vital part of social reproduction, which according to Arroza provides a productive potential for capital and social reproduction. Foucault provides an overview of social reproduction forms, such as "lifelong work," which entails everything that "makes a life," including marriage, relationship, clothing, and shelter.[20]

In the context of social life, Farid argues that reproduction is a form of symbolic hierarchy.[21] By examining a case on the structure of Punjab, he demonstrates the symbolic hierarchy in social reproduction allows for ethnic polarization within the same ethnic group. Social reproduction is able to become capital for one's social position. This accumulation facilitates reproduction in several ways, such as social capital from the upper and lower circles for social capital and political interests, which are more specifically used for group membership, supporting power, and accumulation of political capital. This then

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[16] Paul Dalziel et al., "Culture, Wellbeing, and the Living Standards Framework: A Perspective," 2019.

[17] Oostveen, "Religious Belonging in the East Asian Context: An Exploration of Rhizomatic Belonging."

[18] Ellie Gore and Genevieve LeBaron, "Using Social Reproduction Theory to Understand Unfree Labour," *Capital and Class* 43, no. 4 (2019), p. 561–80.

[19] William A. Lane and Kristie L. Seelman, "The Apparatus of Social Reproduction: Uncovering the Work Functions of Transgender Women," *Affilia - Journal of Women and Social Work* 33, no. 2 (2018), p. 154–63.

[20] Jessie Hanna Clark, "The 'Life' of the State: Social Reproduction and Geopolitics in Turkey's Kurdish Question," *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 106, no. 5 (2016), p. 1176–93.

[21] Shahzad Farid and Saif-Ur-Rehman Saif Abbasi, "Structure of Punjab and Social Reproduction: Role of Capital," *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences* 39, no. 4 (2019), p. 1811–22.

shows that social reproduction is useful in structuring individuals within their groups and society. In opposition to Farid's perspective, Tremlett perceives the concept of religion as an ideology that encompasses social reproduction as one that lacks clarity due to its terms, boundaries, and ambiguity.[22] Nevertheless, Tremlett suggests that by examining three specific areas - ritual, cognition, and change - the connection between religion and social issues, including social reproduction, can be discerned.[23] Tremlett argues that classical anthropological analysis provides insight into how social reproduction is shaped within the religious context.[24]

Oostveen posits that religion and religiosity constitute a distinct domain of human culture. Religion is the generic concept that comprises Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism, and is associated with hermeneutics in the form of a generalization of the religious paradigm. Hedges suggests that religion is perceived as an internal and coherent entity, comparable to the concept of spirituality.[25] Religiosity, on the other hand, refers to a transformation comprising beliefs and practices that reflect not only the structure of religion but also the system. This implies that religiosity is subject to change and is defined through personal experiences and religious practices.[26] In contrast, Al-Menayes offers a distinct perspective on religiosity, defining it as a foundational construct for replacement measurement.[27] Al-Menayes proposes two measurable dimensions for religiosity: behavior and spirituality. Behavioral dimensions are reflected in religious rituals such as prayer and fasting, whereas spirituality is depicted through one's beliefs concerning the role of religion in their life.[28]

Martí undertakes a sociological analysis of religious movements to examine forms of religiosity among Christians and their congregations. Based on his observations, Martí identifies several theoretical concepts of religiosity. One of these concepts is strategic religiosity, which occurs in urban communities where religious identity is influenced by suitability, relationships, and self-image. As such, strategic religiosity rejects essentialist forms that emphasize static

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[22]Paul-François Tremlett, "Religion, Marxism, and Ideology," *The International Encyclopedia of Anthropology*, September 5, 2018, p. 1–7.

[23] Tremlett, Paul-François Tremlett, "Religion, Marxism, and Ideology," *The International Encyclopedia of Anthropology*, September 5, 2018.

[24] Tremlett, Paul-François Tremlett, "Religion, Marxism, and Ideology," *The International Encyclopedia of Anthropology*, September 5, 2018.

[25] Oostveen, "Religious Belonging in the East Asian Context: An Exploration of Rhizomatic Belonging."

[26] Caroline Berghammer and Katrin Fliegenschnee, "Developing a Concept of Muslim Religiosity: An Analysis of Everyday Lived Religion among Female Migrants in Austria," *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 29, no. 1 (2014), p. 89–104.

[27] Jamal Al-Menayes, "Measuring the Spiritual and Behavioral Dimensions of Religiosity in a Muslim Sample," *Asian Social Science* 12, no. 2 (2016), p. 158–64.

[28] Jamal Al-Menayes, *Measuring the Spiritual and Behavioral Dimensions…,* p. 158–64.

identity. Another form of religiosity identified by Martí is individualistic religiosity, which is characterized by the negotiation between individuals and the institution to which they belong. Religious cosmopolitanism is also identified by Martí, which emphasizes separation in a relational manner, and the renewal of religious practices can give rise to a constant and distinctive reflection of religious practices in society. Furthermore, Martí identifies religious orientation that manifests through transnational groups of religious communities, built on sustainable practices. Lastly, Martí highlights the concept of "pluralist assembly", which is a religious gathering that provides social space for interaction among people with diverse religious perspectives and value systems.[29]

Akkattere Cultural Practices in the *Ammatoa* Community

The *akkattere* ritual, as practiced by the *Ammatoa* Community, is a tradition related to the Hajj procession in Islamic law. However, it serves a broader purpose of achieving social and religious perfection within the community. In order to achieve this objective, this customary practice is contingent upon both non-material and material prerequisites. The non-material requirements comprise three essential elements, namely the *Ammatoa* version of prayer or mantra, poetry or *kelong jaga*, and advice. The mantra prayer is intended to beseech the Almighty for the safety, longevity, and blessings of the event organizer in both the present and the afterlife, as well as for ease of sustenance. *Kelong jaga* is a poem or song that is performed by *Toba* and accompanied by the *pabasing* (flute) and the Palingoro drum.[30] The *Angngaru*, which refers to advice, is delivered by Puto Jumalang or Ammatoa customary leaders during the *A'limbuasa* procession, specifically directed towards *akkattere* implementers.[31] Additionally, the necessary materials for the ritual comprise of flora and fauna, as well as other relevant objects found within and around the vicinity of the dwelling. Furthermore, there are prerequisites in the form of fundamental necessities and household equipment, such as 3 tons of black glutinous rice, 5 tons of ordinary rice, and various items like an adult buffalo, coals of fire, *ballo* (arrack) and spending money. The monetary requirement ranges from a minimum of roughly Rp. 50,000,000 to a maximum of about IDR 150,000,000. Both sets of requirements hold symbolic significance and serve different purposes.[32]

The *akkattere* ritual is a socio-religious process that is initiated by one or several members of a family. The ceremony consists of several stages that must be followed in a specific order. Initially, the family must seek permission from

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[29] Gerardo Martí, "New Concepts for New Dynamics: Generating Theory for the Study of Religious Innovation and Social Change," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 56, no. 1 (2017), p. 6-18.

[30] "Interview with Toba, Leader in the Ammatoa Customary Tradition," 2022.

[31] "Interview with Puto Jumalang, Leader in the Ammatoa Customary Tradition," 2022.

[32] "Interview with Abdul Salam, the Village Head of Tanah Toa," 2022.

the Ammatoa customary leaders and convey their intention to perform the ritual. During this stage, the Ammatoa customary leaders evaluate the financial capabilities and spiritual understanding of the family, as well as trace their genealogy to determine their eligibility to perform the *akkattere* ritual. This assessment also involves examining whether any of the family members have previously conducted the *akkattere* ritual and whether they have committed any offenses that are prohibited by *pasang tu riolonta* (*bohe*).[33] The *akkattere* procession itself lasts for six days, while the preparation for the ritual typically takes two months. On the first day, the closest family members convene for *Abborong* (deliberation) to select the person in charge of the tasks and activities to be carried out the following day. The second day is devoted to *abbajudumpi*, which involves the preparation of traditional cakes for the ritual. On the third day, the family performs *appakatasa*, which involves cooking *songkolo* and *kampalo* for the upcoming ritual events. The fourth day is devoted to preparing the children for the *akkattere* ceremony. The fifth day is the highlight of the ceremony and involves a night procession, in the presence of 26 Ammatoa customary leaders. This procession begins with an announcement to Ammatoa, *adat lima ritana kekkese, adat lima ritana lohea, karaeng Tallu pattola riada* that the *akkattere* ritual ceremony will be carried out soon. The procession is then continued with the *kelong jaga* procession, which pays tribute to Ammatoa and his staff, government and community leaders, and involves giving advice on leading a morally upright life. This is followed by the *katto salahi* and *akkattere*, the main event, where the 26 customary leaders are invited to carry out the *akkattere*, followed by *songkolo*. On the sixth and final day, a self-purification/bathing procession called *a'limbuasa* is carried out in a specific location, after which the customary leaders give advice, or *angngaru*, to those who participated in the *akkattere*. The advice given pertains to obedience, morals, safety, and the maintenance of the good values of *akkattere*.[34]

In addition to external involvement as a support, the involvement of the customary leaders' level structure in the implementation of the *akkattere* ceremony can be explained in a 3-level structure: *Ammatoa*, *adat lima ritana kekkese, adat lima ritana lohea,* and *karaeng Tallu pattola riada.* The first structure is the Ammatoa, namely the elder or the highest customary leader of the Ammatoa community. He is heard and influential, becoming the central figure that determines whether the *akkattere* ritual procession takes place or not.[35]

The *karaeng Tallu pattola riada* (government) represents the second structure of Ammatoa community's leadership and plays a crucial role in preserving their customs and traditions. The support provided by the government

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[33] "Interview with Abdul Salam, the Village Head of Tanah Toa."2022.
[34] "Interview with Amir Bolong, Ammatoa Customary Leader," 2022.
[35] "Interview with Amir Bolong, Ammatoa Customary Leader.", 2022.

greatly influences the future of the Ammatoa community, and their political involvement plays a vital role in maintaining the social stability and security of the community. The third structure comprises of the *adat lima ritana kekkesea* and *adat lima ritana lohea*, which are ten customary leaders responsible for safeguarding the Ammatoa customs, including the *akkattere* ritual, as an extension of the community.[36] The involvement of external actors, such as higher education institutions conducting research and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) focused on nature conservation and advocating for indigenous peoples, is integral to the continuation of the *akkattere* tradition.

From an Islamic law perspective, it can be argued that the procedures, phases, and customs of the *akkattere* Hajj ritual, as practiced by the *Ammatoa* community, significantly depart from Islamic teachings and do not adhere to the normative principles of Islamic law.

The Existence of the *Akkattere* Tradition in a Modern and Interconnected World

The perpetuation of the *akkattere* tradition hinges not only on its ownership by the Ammatoa community but also on the community's underlying ideology and mythic belief concerning the relationship between the Ammatoa and Tu Ri A'ranna, as affirmed in the *shahada*. Over the generations, the *akkattere* tradition has become a deeply held conviction among the Ammatoa, evident in the increasing frequency of *akkattere* ceremonies within the community. The community holds that performing the *akkattere*, witnessed by 26 customary stakeholders, the government, community, and family, is equivalent to performing the Hajj pilgrimage required of Muslims who are financially able to do so. Consequently, there exists a radical belief that those who perform the *akkattere* and subsequently embark on the Hajj to Mecca will fall ill or even die.[37]

This belief diverges from the normative principles of Islamic law, which affirm that only Allah SWT has the power to determine the life and death of an individual.

The number of *Ammatoa* families carrying out the *akkattere* tradition has increased over the years. In 2018, five heads of families out of a total of 700 families (comprising 3,000 individuals) performed the *akkattere*, while in 2019, the number rose to seven. On average, each household consists of six members, resulting in a total of 42 individuals having performed the *akkattere* as of 2019. The tradition grants higher social status to families who participate in it, emphasizing the importance of building strong relationships and social

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[36] "Interview with Amir Bolong, Ammatoa Customary Leader."2022.
[37] "Interview with Puto Hading, Ammatoa Customary Leader," 2022.

connections among the *Ammatoa* people. Indeed, this is one of the critical lessons derived from the Hajj pilgrimage.[38]

The functional aspect, in addition to the belief factor, holds a significant role in the perpetuation of the *akkattere* tradition within the *Ammatoa* community. The tradition is perceived to offer benefits to individuals and the collective community. Individuals from *Ammatoa* community who have performed the *akkattere*, as witnessed by Karaeng Tallu, the *adat limaya tana kekkese*, and the *adat limaya tana lohea*, or 26 customary leaders, and their unwavering trust in the Almighty, serve to legitimize the Ammatoa's existence. Collectively, the Ammatoa people recognize that those who have performed the *akkattere* will exhibit improved attitudes, speech, and behavior, avoiding violations of tradition and promoting *pasang tu riolonta*, thereby unifying the community. From a social standpoint, the implementation of *akkattere* has the potential to elevate the Ammatoa community's spiritual and economic status. In terms of spirituality, the individuals who have undergone *akkattere* demonstrate enhanced care, courtesy, and ethical and moral considerations in their interactions. In economic terms, the individuals who have performed *akkattere* are considered capable and privileged since not all *Ammatoa* communities possess the ability bestowed by Tu Ri A'ranna to carry out this tradition.[39]

From the standpoint of Islamic law, the collective consciousness upheld by the Ammatoa community is regarded as being consistent with the principles of Islam, which prioritize the promotion of well-being and benevolence towards all human beings.

The *akkattere* ritual tradition, as observed by the *Ammatoa* community, holds significant implications for various parties. The community, on the one hand, seeks to establish itself as a traditional custodian with a considerable influence over its members, while also garnering recognition from the government and external groups. Concurrently, the *Ammatoa* community is motivated to dispel any misconceptions held by outsiders that they are resistant to change or modernization, particularly with regards to rejecting technology, electricity, asphalt, television, social media, and vehicles. In terms of social interaction, the *Ammatoa* community welcomes visitors who are interested in meeting them, including international guests, higher education institutions focusing on ecotourism, and researchers interested in preserving local flora and fauna and biodiversity.[40]

Furthermore, the *Ammatoa* community also makes significant contributions to the government by promoting stability and cultural tourism, as evidenced by the growing number of visits by both local and foreign tourists who

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[38] "Interview with Abdul Salam, the Village Head of Tanah Toa."

[39] "Interview with Lallo, Head of Sobbu Hamlet, March 17, 2022.

[40] "Interview with Bahar, Head of Bongkina Hamlet and Ammatoa Traditional Leader," 2022.

come to observe and document the *akkattere* tradition. Additionally, there are several non-governmental organizations that engage in movements aimed at protecting the environment and safeguarding the rights of indigenous communities. The *akkattere* ceremony serves as a valuable opportunity for researchers to conduct studies that could potentially help the Indonesian government and people to better understand and adhere to the norms of Islamic law. Essentially, the *akkattere* tradition is a custom that has evolved into a cherished practice among the Ammatoa community.

The Influence of the *Akkattere* Tradition on Religious Social Life

The *akkattere* ritual holds significant implications for transforming various aspects of social and religious life. The social changes brought about by this ritual encompass several key elements. Firstly, it fosters the establishment of a harmonious relationship between the *Ammatoa* and other customary leaders, enabling the *Ammatoa* community to actively participate in communal activities. Secondly, it strengthens and consolidates the ranks of the Ammatoa community in the face of internal and external challenges by convening customary leaders for *abborong*, or deliberation. Lastly, the ritual facilitates the maintenance of followers and the figure of the Ammatoa through continued consolidation efforts, wherein all customary leaders are involved in the *a'nganro* procession. Notably, *Ammatoa* may recommend only select individuals for participation in this procession, according to Galla Puto Bolong, a spokesperson for the *Ammatoa* community.

Ammatoa's relationship with its community is firmly established due to the diligent efforts of customary leaders who vigorously uphold Ammatoa's vision for their society, thereby ensuring obedience and social order. The government's relationship with *Ammatoa* is likewise firmly established, owing to a mutually beneficial interdependent relationship that enhances the leadership influence of both parties. Consequently, the rapport between the outside community and Ammatoa can be well-maintained, as evidenced by the increasing number of visitors to *Ammatoa*. Moreover, *Ammatoa* is welcoming to all guests who visit. The religious aspect of Ammatoa is undergoing changes, as spiritual awareness is being realized through alterations in attitudes and behaviors pertaining to religious life. This indicates that the *Ammatoa* community is becoming increasingly obedient to Tu Ri A'ranna and adhering to the traditions and beliefs held by the *Ammatoa* community.[41]

The practice of the *akkattere* tradition within the *Ammatoa* community can generate distinct social groups and corresponding social and spiritual fields. As a result, a categorization of social positions emerged. Externally, this practice can foster attitudes and intellectual growth that lead to greater knowledge regarding

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[41] "Interview with Puto Palasa, a Bohe Amma or Ammatoa," 2022.

the conservation of the natural environment and Ammatoa's customary traditions. This openness to the outside world affords opportunities for outsiders to engage with the *Ammatoa* community. On one hand, it promotes the emergence of novel social structures, while on the other, it also reinforces existing social structures within the community. The community leader, Puto Ganing, reflected this sentiment in his statement that "many outsiders come to ask *Ammatoa* about the Ammatoa's traditional traditions and the preservation of the Ammatoa's natural environment.[42]

According to an interview with Kahar Muslim, a former head of Tanah Toa Village and leader of the Ammatoa indigenous community, the practice of the *akkattere* tradition has been able to create a new sense of religious awareness.[43] This tradition not only affects the formation of social order and structure, but also has consequences for spirituality by promoting a new consciousness of avoiding negative behaviors. For the *Ammatoa* indigenous community, carrying out the *akkattere* tradition is considered equivalent to performing a pilgrimage according to Islamic law. In regards to the tradition, Ammatoa community follow the recommended behavious and avoid prohibited ones, including post-pilgrimage conduct according to Islamic sharia, as part of their social and religious obligations based on *Ammatoa* customs and traditions. Furthermore, as revealed from an interview with Galla Lombo, customary leader who manages internal Ammatoa, the expression of spirituality after practicing the *akkattere* tradition is demonstrated through various religious attitudes, such as generosity (*kalumanyang*), living simply (*kamase-masea*), and feeling obligated to help others. The community is also more stringent in avoiding negative behaviors, such as stealing, engaging in immorality, and violating the customs of *pasang tu riolonta* and the laws applicable to the Ammatoa community.[44]

Akkatere Tradition: Normativism and Anthropologi Islamic Law

The presence of religious rituals in a community serves not only symbolic purposes, but also practical functions necessary for the community. Wallace notes that a cultural institution's survival depends on the level of needs it can meet. In the case of the *Ammatoa* community, the practice of pilgrimage rituals differs significantly from that understood in Islamic legal norms. Islamic law requires the fulfillment of the pillars, obligations, and conditions of the Hajj pilgrimage, which entails traveling to Mecca within a designated time frame. However, for the *Ammatoa* community, the *akkattere* ritual ceremony, which involves presenting 26 customary leaders, families, government officials, and members of the

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[42] "Interview with Puto Ganing, Kajang's Traditional Community Leader, April 5, 2022.

[43] "Interview with Kahar Muslim, a Former Head of Tanah Toa Village and Leader of the Ammatoa Indigenous Community," 2022.

[44] "Interview with Galla Lombo, Customary Leader Who Manages Internal Ammatoa," 2022.

community and fulfilling all the requirements set by the *Ammatoa*, is sufficient to fulfill the requirements of pilgrimage. Those who fulfill these requirements are considered to have carried out the Hajj. The key distinction between the two practices is that the Islamic Hajj pilgrimage is carried out with utmost seriousness and with the sole intention of pleasing Allah The Almighty, resulting in individuals who are pious and faithful, and whose level of submission to Allah is very high in the perspective of Islamic law. On the other hand, the implementation of the *akkattere* ritual by the *Ammatoa* community is influenced primarily by cultural, social, economic, and political factors.

The *Ammatoa* community purports to follow the Islamic faith, but they do not adhere to Islamic legal norms entirely. Rather, they adapt and compromise on the implementation of shari'a by only partially practicing tasawuf and not fully following Islamic legal norms. This is evident in their worship practices where there is a conflict between adat and Islamic law. For example, the phrase "*jenne ta'lluka, sambayang ta'tappu*" means that ablution that is never canceled and prayers that are never interrupted. The community carries out their own interpretation of Islamic teachings, which differs from mainstream Islamic practices. The issue becomes particularly evident in the context of the Hajj pilgrimage. The *akkattere* according to pasang is Hajj or pilgrimage to Mecca, which is now divided into two categories: the white Hajj for individuals outside the *Ammatoa* community who conducted Hajj to Mecca, and the black Hajj for the *Ammatoa* community who completed *akkattere*.[45] Pabbajah concludes that similar attitudes were displayed by the local community towards mainstream Islamic groups during the *bawakaraeng* Hajj pilgrimage, where adaptation, negotiation, and resistance were evident.

The Hajj ritual performed by the *Ammatoa* community is considered by mainstream Islamic groups as deviant. Nevertheless, Murphy suggests an alternative perspective to view the *akkattere* tradition as a religious practice, symbol, and belief system.[46] Religious practices involve routine activities that are generally accepted and include processes of language, belief, and meaning.[47]. These practices can form statements of intention or identity through linguistic and interpretive meanings.[48] Oostveen argues that religious practice is not a single, coherent form of tradition. The practice of the *akkattere* tradition involves various aspects and is not singular. [49] Similarly, Gazniuk et al. present orthodox religious practices as a form of communication transformation of technology and

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[45] Ardiyanto, "Tradisi Akkattere Di Desa Tanah Towa, Kecamatan Kajang, Kabupaten Bulukumba (Tinjauan Aqidah Islam)" (UIN Alauddin Makassar, 2017).

[46] Murphy, "Beyond 'Religion' and 'Spirituality': Extending a 'Meaning Systems.'"

[47] Kivisto, "Religion: What It Is, How It Works, and Why It Matters."

[48] Gazniuk et al., "Everyday Communications in Religious Practices."

[49] Oostveen, "Religious Belonging in the East Asian Context: An Exploration of Rhizomatic Belonging."

communication processes in society. [50] This form of social relationship system involves interpersonal, group, and social interactions that can provide mastery of personal spiritual experience.

The existence of customary practices such as the *akkattere* ritual within the Ammatoa community is contingent upon the process of social reproduction involving various interest groups. Despite the rapid progress of science and technology, which is increasingly advanced and modern, the *Ammatoa* culture is not necessarily eroded by the passage of time. The survival of the *akkattere* tradition can be attributed to three key factors. Firstly, a strong ideological foundation and belief in the *tu riolonta* (Bohe's message); secondly, the functional aspect, wherein the *akkattere* ritual tradition imparts beneficial values for the social life of the *Ammatoa* community, particularly in the spiritual domain, fostering obedience and upholding ethics and morals; thirdly, the social reproduction factor, wherein they promote greater harmony and foster stronger social and religious ties. These three factors have facilitated the continuity of the *akkattere* tradition despite the unstoppable cultural dynamics and rapid globalization.

Despite the onslaught of technological advancements and modernity, the Ammatoa community persists in practicing their traditions, even the local ones, which have become a source of resilience for negotiating, adapting, and resisting changes.[51] Moreover, research has established that *pasang tu riolonta*, which represents local wisdom, encompasses beliefs and values that are inviolable, and violators are subjected to sanctions or punishments by the customary leaders of the *Ammatoa* community[52] The continued existence and sustainability of the *akkattere* ritual can be attributed to the strong ideological and belief systems that enjoy the support of both the *Ammatoa* community and the government.

Regarding social life, the practice of the *akkattere* tradition can be elucidated by Farid's proposition that reproduction is a form of symbolic hierarchy.[53] He infers, from an examination of the Punjab structure, that symbolic hierarchies in social reproduction allow for ethnic polarization within the same ethnic group. Social reproduction can function as capital for one's social position. This accumulation facilitates reproduction in various ways, such as the acquisition of social capital from the upper and lower echelons, which can be utilized for group membership, supporting power, and the accumulation of political capital. Similarly, the *Ammatoa* community engages in social reproduction to engender

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[50] Gazniuk et al., "Everyday Communications in Religious Practices."

[51] Syamsurijal, "Islam Patuntung: Temu-Tengkar Islam Dan Tradisi Lokal Di Tanah Toa Kajang," *Al-Qalam* 20, no. 2 (2016), p. 171–78.

[52] Sri Batara et al., "Pola Ruang Permukiman Berdasarkan Kearifan Lokal Kawasan Adat Ammatoa Kecamatan Kajang Kabupaten Bulukumba (Settlement Space Pattern Based on Local Wisdom Ammatoa Traditional Areakajang District Bulukumba Regency)," *Teknik PWK* 2 (2018).

[53] Farid and Abbasi, "Structure of Punjab and Social Reproduction: Role of Capital."

communal acceptance of their local traditions. This underscores the usefulness of social reproduction in structuring individuals within their groups and society. Tremlett considers the term "religion" with the inclusion of ideology, including social reproduction, as something that is not always straightforward, given the ambiguity of the terms and boundaries.[54] However, through the three aspects he discusses, namely ritual, cognition, and change, it can be observed how religion and societal concerns, including social reproduction, can intersect. This can be discerned through classical anthropological analysis, which links how social reproduction is shaped within the context of religious life.

The survival of a ritual is contingent upon the prevailing beliefs in a community. As Ortner suggests, religious belief serves as the foundation for social action. In the case of the *akkattere* tradition, the social order being discussed pertains to the establishment of a harmonious relationship between the *Ammatoa* and other customary leaders and the *Ammatoa* community. This is manifested through intensive activities, such as inviting customary leaders to *abborong* (deliberation), to strengthen, tighten, and unify their community in the face of various challenges, both internal and external. Consolidation activities are continually undertaken to maintain the followers and the existence of the Ammatoa's figure. Social structuring that results in changes to the implementation of meaningful *akkattere* rituals is stipulated and agreed upon, and it is believed that those who conduct *akkattere* gain legitimacy from the *Ammatoa* community and occupy a higher stratum in the community than those who have not. Spiritual awareness resulting in positive changes in life is characterized by attitudes of generosity (*kalumanyang*), simple living (*kamase-masea*), and helping others. Members of the *Ammatoa* community must abstain from disgraceful behavior, such as stealing, committing immorality, and violating the customs of *pasang tu riolonta* and the laws that apply to the *Ammatoa* community.

The positive changes observed within the Ammatoa community are attributed to their adherence to a well-established social order, strong social structure, and religious awareness framed within a rich tradition centered on *pasang tu riolonta* or Bohe's message. As noted by Oostveen, religion and religiosity constitute a distinct realm of human culture, with religion encompassing the general concept of "religion" and its divisions into Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism.[55] He further contends that is related to hermeneutics, representing a broad generalization of the religious paradigm that is viewed as an internally consistent entity, akin to the notion of spirituality. On the other hand, religiosity is perceived as a dynamic construct that incorporates beliefs and practices, which not only reflects the structure of religion but also the system. This

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[54] Tremlett, "Religion, Marxism, and Ideology."

[55] Oostveen, "Religious Belonging in the East Asian Context: An Exploration of Rhizomatic Belonging."

further supports the notion that religiosity can evolve and be defined by an individual's experiences and practices within religion.[56] However, Al-Menayes presents a different perspective on religiosity, considering it as the foundation for an alternative measure. He divides religiosity into two measurable dimensions, namely behavior and spirituality. Behavior is reflected in religious rituals such as prayer and fasting, while spirituality encompasses an individual's beliefs and the role that religion plays in their life.[57]

The *akkatere* tradition in the Kajang community, Bulukumba in the context of Islamic legal anthropology is the result of integration and dialectics between Islam and local traditions that develop in society. even so, normatively according to Islamic law, the tradition of *akkatere* has been much contradictory because it does not follow the terms and pillars as according to the Qur'an and sunnah and the opinions of the majority of scholars.

Conclusion

The current understanding of the *akkattere* ritual has been found to be inadequate in describing the actual cultural practice. This research reveals that the survival of the *akkattere* ritual is not merely attributable to religious beliefs, but rather to pragmatic factors, whereby the *akkattere* ceremony serves economic and political functions. Similarly, the meaning of pilgrimage in the *Ammatoa* community differs from its understanding in Islamic law. While in the *Ammatoa* community, the completion of the *akkattere* ceremony is considered equivalent to performing the Hajj pilgrimage, in Islamic law, the legitimacy of the pilgrimage is contingent upon fulfilling its pillars, obligations, and conditions. Although both communities recognize the importance of physical and economic abilities in carrying out worship, there are also some contrasting beliefs. For instance, there is a local statement which means "this is the center of Mecca and the center of prayers." It is called *lalang embayya* or the center of Mecca because it is believed that this is where *sallangnga* (the seed of Islam) originated, also called *bohe sallang*. Thus, while the need for economic and physical abilities is recognized in both communities, they differ in their acceptance of the completion of Hajj pilgrimage through the *akkattere* ceremony in the land of Toa. The utilization of the social reproduction concept in this study has facilitated an understanding of the significance of the *akkattere* ceremony. Conventionally, the comprehension of this ritual tends to be generic and normative, failing to acknowledge differential aspects that give rise to dynamic and contentious interpretations. The presence of ceremonies such as *akkattere* within the *Ammatoa* community is shaped by a social reproduction process that involves group interests. Despite the

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[56] Berghammer and Fliegenschnee, "Developing a Concept of Muslim Religiosity: An Analysis of Everyday Lived Religion among Female Migrants in Austria."

[57] Al-Menayes, "Measuring the Spiritual and Behavioral Dimensions of Religiosity in a Muslim Sample."

advancement and modernization of science and technology, the Ammatoa community is not necessarily eroded by the passage of time. The endurance of the *akkattere* tradition within this community is attributed to three factors, namely a strong ideological foundation and belief in the *tu riolonta* message, functional considerations, and the tradition of the *akkattere* ritual that provides benefits for the social and spiritual aspects of the *Ammatoa* community. These factors enable the community to be increasingly harmonious, uphold ethical and moral values, and maintain social and religious relationships.

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