



***Fiqh Kankilo and the Purification System of the Butonese People: A Socio-Legal Historical Perspective of Islamic Law and Legal Pluralism***

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**Abstract:** *This study is the dialectic between Islam and local culture in the purification system of the Butonese people. Data were obtained by means of interview, literature review, and observation. The study used the approaches of the social history of Islamic law and legal pluralism. The data were then analyzed using the Miles and Huberman analysis model. The findings of the study reveal that kankilo is a scientific concept that contains knowledge about the ways and purposes of purification as a result of the dialectic process between Islam and local traditions. For the Butonese, kankilo is taharah (purification), and taharah is kankilo. Hence, the concept and knowledge of taharah in the context of Buton culture can be referred to as Fiqh Kankilo. Fiqh Kankilo is a product of fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence) thought designed on the local characteristics of Buton society. The locality that is clearly visible in the content of Fiqh Kankilo is inevitable, considering that the quality of individuals and cultures where a religious law develops is not a blank slate or a cultural vacuum. Thus, religion (i.e., fiqh) and culture are ultimately two aspects that are certain to be in partnership, to build synergy, and to greet each other. This inevitability occurs because the understanding of religion cannot avoid the locality of culture that is relative and particular. The legitimacy of the existence of Fiqh Kankilo can at least be referred to the history of the development of Islamic legal thoughts, which provides room for accommodation of traditions on the paradigmatic basis of “adat al-muhakkamat” (customary law).*

**Keywords:** *Fiqh, Local Culture, Legal Pluralism*

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**Abstrak:** Kajian ini merupakan dialektika antara Islam dan budaya lokal dalam sistem penyucian diri masyarakat Buton. Data diperoleh melalui wawancara, telaah pustaka, dan observasi. Kajian ini menggunakan pendekatan sejarah sosial hukum Islam dan pluralisme hukum. Data kemudian dianalisis menggunakan model analisis Miles dan Huberman. Hasil kajian mengungkapkan bahwa kankilo merupakan konsep ilmiah yang memuat pengetahuan tentang cara dan tujuan penyucian diri sebagai hasil dari proses dialektika antara Islam dan adat istiadat lokal. Bagi masyarakat Buton, kankilo adalah taharah (penyucian), dan taharah adalah kankilo. Dengan demikian, konsep dan pengetahuan taharah dalam konteks budaya Buton dapat disebut sebagai Fiqih Kankilo. Fiqih Kankilo merupakan produk pemikiran fiqh yang dirancang berdasarkan karakteristik lokal masyarakat Buton. Lokalitas yang tampak jelas dalam isi Fiqih Kankilo ini tidak dapat dielakkan, mengingat kualitas individu dan budaya tempat suatu hukum agama berkembang bukanlah sebuah lembaran kosong atau kekosongan budaya. Dengan demikian, agama (yakni fiqh) dan budaya pada hakikatnya merupakan dua aspek yang niscaya akan saling bermitra, bersinergi, dan saling menyapa. Keniscayaan ini terjadi karena pemahaman agama tidak dapat menghindari dari lokalitas budaya yang bersifat relatif dan partikular. Legitimasi keberadaan Fiqih Kankilo setidaknya dapat dirujuk pada sejarah perkembangan pemikiran hukum Islam, yang memberi ruang bagi akomodasi adat-istiadat atas dasar paradigmatis “adat al-muhakkamat”.

**Katakunci:** Fiqih, Budaya Lokal, Pluralisme Hukum

## Introduction

One of the living traditions that continues to be upheld in the cultural space of the Butonese people is the tradition of *kankilo*. *Kankilo* literally means purity”.<sup>1</sup> By description, *kankilo* is a tradition related to purification rituals or for the purpose of purifying oneself. The scope of purification in *kankilo* is not merely related to bodily purity (i.e., *hadath* and *najas*), but it also represents a ritual act to purify oneself from possible evil deeds towards oneself, others, and the surrounding environment. In the latter sense, *kankilo* for the Butonese transforms the performer into a figure who adorns oneself with praiseworthy character traits.<sup>2</sup> Thus, the essence of the *kankilo* ritual practice that has grown in the historical cultural space of the Butonese is to transform the ritual performer into a figure who adorns oneself with praiseworthy character traits, which is achieved through

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<sup>1</sup> JC. Anceaux, *Wolio Dictionary (Wolio-English-Indonesia)* (USA: Holland Providence, 1987), p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> Hamiruddin Udu, “Tradisi Kankilo: Salah Satu Modal Sosial Budaya Bagi Pembentukan Karakter Positif Masyarakat Buton,” in *Proceeding the 4th International Conference on Indonesian Studies: Unity, Diversity and Future* (Kendari: UHO, n.d.), p. 306.

the stages of purifying the body from *hadath* (a state of impurity) and *najas* (external impurity).

In this study's preliminary analysis of written documents containing the concept of the *kankilo* tradition, specifically the *patanguana kankilo* texts, the descriptions of bodily purification from *hadath* and *najas*, as outlined in *fiqh taharah*, have been evident. The scope of the *kankilo* bodily purification includes *istinja* (cleansing oneself after defecation or urination), *wudhu* (ablution), *janabah* (ritual) bath, and *shahada* (profession of faith). However, in practice, beyond referring to sharia norms (i.e., the Qur'an and Hadith), *kankilo* contains local elements in its technicalities and substantive orientation. The reality of local content in *kankilo* ritual practices has piqued our interest in conducting an in-depth study of *kankilo* as a concept of purification and its practices in Buton society. Furthermore, this study would also elaborate on the form of the dialectic between religion and *adat* (custom) in the *kankilo* concept and the reason *kankilo* could continue to be embodied in the worldview of the Butonese people until present.

One of the most popular studies describing the relationship between Islam and local cultures in the Nusantara is Clifford Geertz's research in Mojokuto, *The Religion of Java*. Geertz's research produced a famous concept known as the tripartite theory (i.e., *abangan*, *santri*, and *priyayi*). Geertz depicts that Javanese people have their own religions or local religions heavily influenced by beliefs in the supernatural, as well as various ritual traditions identified with the beliefs of the *abangan*, centered in rural areas.<sup>3</sup> Following Geertz's pattern, Niels Mulder also concludes the same idea. He states that the religion found in Southeast Asia is a religion that has undergone a process of indigenization (i.e., localization). Mulder further describes that in the dialectical process that occurs between religion and local traditions, the foreign religion absorbs local traditions, and not vice versa. Similarly, in the existence of Islam in relation to local cultures, Islam absorbs the local cultures.<sup>4</sup>

Geertz's Trichotomy, using the terms *abangan*, *santri*, and *priyayi*, however, is considered inaccurate by Hasyra Bachtiar. Bachtiar argues that these three groups, as classified by Geertz, do not originate from the same classification system. *Abangan* and *santri*, according to Geertz, are categorized based on their level of adherence to Islam, while *priyayi* is a social classification. Moreover, Geertz views these categories as absolute, which Bachtiar contends it is not the

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<sup>3</sup> Clifford Geertz, *Abangan, Santri Dan Priyayi Dalam Masyarakat Jawa* (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 1981), p. vii.

<sup>4</sup> Clifford Geertz, *Abangan, Santri Dan Priyayi Dalam Masyarakat Jawa* (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 1981), p. vii. Niels Mulder, *Agama Hidup Sehari-Hari dan Perubahan Budaya*, (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1999), p. 4-17.

case.<sup>5</sup> Mark R. Woodward also rejects Geertz's view. Woodward argues that Geertz's assertion that Islam in Javanese courts has been heavily influenced by mystical traditions that blend Hindu and Islamic elements (syncretism) is incorrect. Instead, Woodward suggests that it is a compatible relationship between Islam and local culture. Furthermore, Woodward contends that Javanese Islam is not animistic, but rather a contextual Islam that undergoes continuous acculturation. He rejects Geertz's view of *slametan* offerings as animistic, arguing that these ritual practices are based on traditions linked to the hadiths of the Prophet Muhammad.<sup>6</sup>

In addition to several Western academic writings explaining the relationship between Islam and local cultures, there are also a number of writings by Indonesian intellectuals related to Islam and Javanese culture, as well as writings about Islam and other local cultures, such as Erni Budiwanti's "*Islam Sasak: Wetu Telu Versus Wetu Lima*" (2000). Budiwanti's study concludes that the process of interaction between Islam and the local culture of the Sasak people is characterized by acculturation.<sup>7</sup> In addition, a number of researchers has also carried out studies on the relationship between Islam and culture with the locus of Buton society. One of the works widely referenced by Buton-based researchers is Abdul Mulku Zahari's work "*Adat Fi Darul Butuni*".<sup>8</sup>

J. W. Scoorl, a Dutch anthropologist, has also conducted research titled "*Masyarakat, Sejarah dan Budaya Buton [Buton Society, History, and Culture]*".<sup>9</sup> Abdul Rahim Yunus wrote about "*Posisi Tasawuf dalam Sistem Kekuasaan di Kesultanan Buton Abad XIX [The Position of Sufism in the Power System of the Buton Sultanate in the 19th Century]*",<sup>10</sup> and Muhammad Alifuddin (2007) conducted research on "*Islam Buton: Interaksi Islam dengan Budaya Lokal [Islam Buton: The Interaction of Islam with Local Culture]*".<sup>11</sup> Schoorl's writing

<sup>5</sup> Geertz, *The Religion...* p. ix / Harsya W. Bachtiar. *The Religion of Java: Sebuah Komentar dalam Islam di Asia Tenggara Perkembangan Kontemporer*, (Jakarta : LP3ES, 1990), p. 312

<sup>6</sup> Mark R. Woodward, "The Slametan Textual Knowledge and Ritual Performance in Central Javanese Islam", in *History of Religion*, 1998, pp. 55-89/ Mark R. Woodward, *The Shari'ah and The Sacred Doctrine; Muslim Law and Mistical Doctrine in Central Java*, transl. Hairus Salim HS, *Islam Jawa*, (Yogyakarta : LKis, 1999), p. 71

<sup>7</sup> Erni Budiwanti, *Islam Sasak : Wetu Telu Versus Waktu Lima*, (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2000)

<sup>8</sup> A.M. Zahari, *Sejarah dan Adat Fi Darul Butuni jl. I II dan III*, (Jakarta: Proyek Pengembangan Media Kebudayaan, 1977)

<sup>9</sup> J.W. Schoorl, *Masyarakat, Sejarah dan Budaya Buton*, transl. G.Widya, (Jakarta: Jambatan, 2003)

<sup>10</sup> Abdul Rahim Yunus, *Posisi Tasawuf dalam Sistem Kekuasaan di Kesultanan Buton Abad XIX*, (Jakarta: INIS, 1995)

<sup>11</sup> Muhammad Alifuddin, *Islam Buton (Interaksi Islam dengan Budaya Lokal)*, (Jakarta: Balitbang Depag RI, 2007)

focused more on the culture of society, while Yunus's focused on the aspect of Sufism in relation to the power system. Yunus explains that the elements of Sufi teachings and elements of power are interconnected, forming and strengthening the components of the sultanate's power in particular and the power of the sultanate in general.<sup>12</sup> However, Alifuddin's study found that in the long historical process experienced by Buton society until eventually choosing Islam as the official "ideology", it did not automatically eliminate all the previous local elements. Thus, Islam and local elements shall coexist to formulate a relationship that is adequate for the needs of the Butonese people. This necessity also continues when elements of modernity penetrate this region.<sup>13</sup>

Among the many writings about Buton, none specifically discusses *kankilo*, as examined in this present study. A study on *kankilo* can be found in Hamirudin Udu's research, "*Kangkilo Oral Tradition: Reflection of Sufism and Political Powers in Buton Community*".<sup>14</sup> Udu mentions that in the oral tradition of *kankilo*, there is knowledge and understanding of Sufism embodied in the cultural space of the Butonese. The values of order contained in the oral tradition of *kankilo*, both theocentric and anthropocentric, are used to create social harmony in the life of the Buton community. In addition, they intend to realize the relationship between God and humans, as servants in the form of worship, the relationship between humans and other humans, as well as between humans and the universe.<sup>15</sup> Although Udu's study concerned with *kankilo*, the focus of his study was more on the aspects of Sufism. Therefore, it differs from this study, which examined *kankilo* from the aspect of purification rituals (i.e., *taharah*).

The dialectic of religion and custom is a dynamic relationship between two cultural elements, naturally resulting in a tug-of-war or a mutual influence between the two and existing between two extremes: conflict and integration. Between conflict and integration, there is the assumption of compromise as a middle ground to avoid cultural clashes. Compromise can take the form of adaptation, accommodation, assimilation, or even syncretism.<sup>16</sup> Integration, a result of adaptation, accommodation and assimilation stages, according to Ralph Linton, will never be fully realized. Linton states that not all elements within a culture can perfectly adapt to each other, and therefore, every culture undergoes

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<sup>12</sup> Yunus *Posisi*.....p. 120 and p. 146

<sup>13</sup> Muhammad Alifuddin, *Islam Buton (Interaksi Islam dengan Budaya Lokal)*..... p. vi

<sup>14</sup> Hamirudin Udu, "*Kangkilo Oral Tradition: Reflection of Sufism and Political Powers in Buton Community*" *e-Journal of Linguistics*, 11 (1), 2017,

<sup>15</sup> Hamirudin Udu, "*Kangkilo Oral Tradition: Reflection of Sufism and Political Powers in Buton Community*", p. 49-50

<sup>16</sup> Koetjaraningrat, *Pengantar Ilmu Antropologi*, (Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, 1993), p. 269/ Joseph Roucek and Waren Ronald (ed.). *Sociology: An Introduction*, (Iowa Little field: Adams Co Ames, 1957), pp. 41-44/ Soekanto, *Pengantar ...* p. 82

constant change, either through invention or through diffusion. This implies that no culture has ever been perfectly integrated at a particular point in history.<sup>17</sup>

The dialectic phenomenon between religion and custom is essentially a universal occurrence and is not limited to a specific region. This phenomenon has existed since the very beginning of Islam's development, and it is in this context that the term "*al-adat al-muhakkamah*" (customary law) emerged. In further developments, Islamic law placed the issue of custom within a specific framework of rules to be applied, known as '*urf*' (local custom). Applying Islamic law in accordance with custom means preserving the public interest, which is one of the principles of Islamic law (i.e., '*urf*'). However, it is important to note that in its implementation, '*urf*' is not intended to alter the principles of Islamic law.<sup>18</sup>

This present study employed descriptive analytics with qualitative data. Data were obtained by means of interview, literature review, and observation. As this study relates to the study of Islamic legal anthropology and sociology, the data obtained in the research site were analyzed using historical<sup>19</sup> and legal pluralism approaches.<sup>20</sup>

### **The Practice of *Kankilo* as a Concept of Purification in Buton Society**

For the Butonese people, the purification ritual, or *kankilo*, has become an integral part of their tradition that continues to be practiced and preserved. The significance of *kankilo* for the Butonese is not merely about cleansing the body from "dirt" (i.e., *najas* and *hadath*), but it also involves a spiritual dimension aimed at purifying the soul from negative attributes that may attach to humans. In their local language (i.e., Wolio), purity or purification ritual is expressed by the word *kankilo*,<sup>21</sup> which is literally equivalent to the Arabic word "*taharah*". This

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<sup>17</sup>Ralp Linton, *The Study of Man*, transl. Firmansyah, *Antropologi: Suatu Penyelidikan Tentang Manusia*, (Bandung: Jemmars, 1984), p. 270/ read also J.W.M Bakker SJ, *Filsafat Kebudayaan Suatu Pengantar* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1984), p. 87

<sup>18</sup>Mursyid Djawas, et al., "Harmonization of State, Custom, and Islamic Law in Aceh: Perspective of Legal Pluralism," *Hasanuddin law review* 10, No. 1 (2024); Dahlan Idhami, *Karakteristik Hukum Islam* (1<sup>st</sup> Ed.), (Surabaya: Al-Ikhlash, 1994), p. 43

<sup>19</sup> Sheikh Abdul Wahid, Nuraeni M, and Haslinda, "Strategy and Contribution to the Establishment of the Sultanate of Buton in the 16th Century," *Pappaseng International Journal of Islamic Literacy and Society* 1, no. 1 (2022); Asni, "Peran Peradilan Islam Dalam Penegakan Hukum Islam Di Kesultanan Buton," *AL- ADALAH* 14, no. 1 (2018).

<sup>20</sup>Arskal Salim, "Dynamic Legal Pluralism in Indonesia: Contested Plural Legal Orders of Contemporary Aceh," *Journal of Legal Pluralism* 61 (2010); D. Sumardi, R. Lukito, and M.N. Ichwan, "Legal Pluralism within the Space of Sharia: Interlegality of Criminal Law Traditions in Aceh, Indonesia," *Samarah* 5, no. 1 (2021): 426–449. Akh. Minhaji, *Sejarah Sosial Dalam Studi Islam Teori, Metodologi, Dan Implementasi* (Yogyakarta: Suka Press, 2013).

<sup>21</sup> *Kankilo* literally means pure, purity, or self-purification; Anceaux, *Wolio Dictionary...* p. 66.

view is based on the description of Sultan Muhammad Idrus Qaimuddin (1824-1851) in the *Fakihi* (i.e., *fiqh*) book as follows:

<i>Kupebaangi Kutula-tula <b>Kangkilo</b></i>	<i>I begin to explain about <b>cleanliness</b></i>
<i>Osiytumo Puuna Pai amala</i>	<i>That is the root of all deeds</i>
<i>Kapupuana Bicarana Sambaheya</i>	<i>The end of the matter of the law of prayer</i>
<i>Osyitumo Ariyna Islamu<sup>22</sup></i>	<i>That is the pillar of Islam</i>

In the first stanza, he explicitly mentions the word “*kankilo*” in one of his writings about the purification process contained in the book *Fakihi*.<sup>23</sup> Another fact indicating that *kankilo* in the sense of purification from *hadath* and *najas* is equal to “*taharah*” in Islamic *fiqh* is evident in its practices, as they are explicitly a derivation of the concept of purification as taught in Islamic *fiqh* books. Nevertheless, in the concept of *kankilo*, local variants are found, which are “foreign” to mention that they are not included or found in the books and lessons of *taharah* commonly studied in *pesantren/madrasah* or other formal religious education. For clarity, the following section describes several parts of the discussion of purification and its process in *kankilo patangauna*, which shows that *kankilo* is a derivation of the concept of *taharah*, including the local content contained therein. However, the case examples are limited to several important issues, such as *istinja*, *wudhu*, and *janabat* bath.

### ***Istinja in Kangkilo Patangauna***

In the classic texts of Buton, the lesson of *istinja* is a crucial aspect. The procedure of *istinja* has been passed down from parents to children and generations of the Butonese people through oral traditions. In Islamic jurisprudence, *istinja* is defined as an act performed by a person to cleanse one’s private parts from *najas* (e.g., urine and feces) using water. *Istinja* is one of the religious commands mentioned in the Sunnah or Hadith of the Prophet, as narrated by Anas bin Malik:

*“The Messenger of Allah once entered the restroom to defecate; then I brought him a bucket of water and he performed istinja with it”*

In addition to cleansing oneself with water after defecating or urinating, Islamic law also provides guidance for situations where water is unavailable. In such cases, one may use clean solid objects like stones to cleanse the area (i.e., *qubul* or *dubur*), a practice known in Islamic jurisprudence as *istijmar*.

*From Abu Hurairah, may Allah be pleased with him, it is narrated that*

<sup>22</sup> Muhammad Idrus Qaimuddin, *Fakihi*, (Bau-Bau: n.p., n.d.), p. 3

<sup>23</sup> Muhammad Idrus Qaimuddin, *Fakihi*, ... p. 3

*the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) said, "Whoever performs istijmar (cleansing with stones) should do so in an odd number. Whoever does this has done well, and whoever does not, there is no harm."* (Narrated by Abu Dawud, Ibn Majah, Ahmad, Baihaqi, and Ibn Hibban)<sup>24</sup>  
*From Aisha, may Allah be pleased with her, it is narrated that the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) said, "When any one of you goes to the toilet, let him take three stones, for that is sufficient for him."* (Narrated by Abu Dawud, Baihaqi, and Shafi'i)<sup>25</sup>  
*The Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) also said, "Let none of you perform istinja, except with three stones."* (Narrated by Muslim)<sup>26</sup>

The procedures for *istinja* and *istijmar*, as outlined in the *fiqh* books, are as follows: starting by taking water with the left hand and washing the genitals, specifically the opening where urine exits. Alternatively, if *mazi* (pre-seminal fluid) has been discharged, the entire genital area should be washed. Then, the anus is washed and rinsed with water while rubbing it with the left hand.

However, *istijmar*, as mentioned earlier, means performing *istinja* without using water, but instead using stones or other objects. There are three different stones used to clean the remaining residue after defecation. *Istinja* and *istijmar*, as part of the Islamic concept of purification, have been detailed in *fiqh* books and are taught as basic lessons in Islamic schools and *madrassa*.

In Buton society, the same lessons are also taught to children and the next generation, referred to as *kankilo*. As mentioned previously, *kankilo* is the concept of purification within the cultural context of Buton Muslim society. The following statement describes *kankilo* as observed and passed down in Buton society.

*"After the najas comes out, we take water or stones or dry, useless wood. Then, we wipe the area until it is dry and carefully ensure that the najas does not touch other parts of the skin. If it does touch another part of the skin, the istinja is not valid because the wiping is considered the initial istinja. Then, we wash or rinse ourselves, starting with our thumb to wash our navel. Our index finger washes our right groin, our little finger washes our left thigh, our middle finger washes 'heaven', and our ring finger washes 'hell', three times on the right and three times on the left. Then, we continue to rotate to the right until all traces of najas are removed, into the*

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<sup>24</sup> Abu Dawud Sulaiman bin Al-Asy-as al-Sijistani, *Sunan Abi Dawud (Thaharah Chapter, Hadith 36)*, (Beirut: Dar al-Fikri, n.d.)

<sup>25</sup> Abu Dawud Sulaiman bin Al-Asy-as al-Sijistani, *Sunan Abi Dawud*

<sup>26</sup> Abu Husain Muslim bin al-Haj al-Qusyairi, *Sahih Muslim (Thaharah Book/Hadith 331)* (Beirut: Dar al-Fikri, n.d.)



*letter 'dal', the origin of earth. Once we feel it is dry or clean, we intend to remove the remaining najas, transforming them into the letter 'mim', the origin of water. If we feel uneasy, we look at the water as if to transform the najas into the letter 'ha', the origin of air. After feeling clean, we contemplate removing any doubts about najas within ourselves, transforming it into the letter 'alif', the origin of fire. Finally, we wash our zurriyyat adal (private parts) three times while reciting, "Allahumma thahri qalbi minal nifaqi wahasinu farji minalfawahisyi" (O Allah, my Lord, purify my heart from hypocrisy and purify my private parts from all impurity)."*<sup>27</sup>

The description above is essentially an expansion of the meaning or interpretation of several hadiths related to the teachings of *istinja* and *istijmar*. The basic meaning of *istinja* is to remove dirt, whereas in fiqh, *istinja* has several meanings. Technically and methodologically, *istinja*, as mentioned in several hadiths, is the act of cleaning oneself from *najas* (external impurity) after urinating or defecating. In the *kankilo* text, it is stated:

*"After the najas comes out, we take water or stones or dry, useless wood. Then, we wipe the area until it is dry and carefully ensure that the najas does not touch other parts of the skin. If it does touch another part of the skin, the istinja is not valid because the wiping is considered the initial istinja."*

The text explicitly describes the initial stage or process involved in performing *istinja*, which entails using water or, in the absence of water, employing dry stones or wood for *istijmar*. A deeper analysis of the text, particularly considering the specific details mentioned, clearly indicates that *istinja* and *istijmar* are derived from the concepts in various teachings of the Prophet as previously explained. However, in subsequent developments, the tradition of *istinja* as outlined in the text has been infused with the local wisdom. The next part of the *Kankilo* text is as follows:

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<sup>27</sup>*Amapupuaka inaisi molimba itu taalamo batu atawa okau-kau, inda mokoampadea momatau. Kasimpo tapenkuri pokawaaka omatau onajisi itu. Maka janganiya booli ajampe ikuli mosaganana najisi itu. Barangkala ajampe ikuli mosaganana indamo osaha itu tapekaobusa karana tapenkuri itu osytumo istingga awwali. Kasimpo tapekaobusa, baabaana onganga ogeta abanui puseta syahadata abanui puuna kalata ikana. Kancilita abanui kancilta puuna kalata ikai lakina limata ibanui syoroga. Sosota ibanui narakaa talu wulinga palikana talu wulinga palikaai. Kasimpo tapalipali kaanamo pokawaaka aila ipupuna najisi itu, tantomakamo paila pupuna najisi itu hurufuna dale asala tana. Amararoaka onamisita tantomakamo paila lumuna najisi itu horofu mimu asala uwe. Amahuhiaka onamisita tantomakamo paila bouna najisi itu horofu ha asala ngalu. Amangkiloaka onamisita tantomakamo paila mokonamu-namu inajisi inuncana karota siy horofu alefu asala waa. Kasimpo tabanui zurriyati aadamu taluwulinga temomubaca inciasi. Allahumma thahri qalbi minal nifaqi wahasinu farji minalfawahisyi. Unknown, Kankilo Pantangauna Manuscript (Bau-Bau: n.p., n.d.)*

*“...Then, we wash or rinse ourselves, starting with our thumb to wash our navel. Our index finger washes our right groin, our little finger washes our left thigh, our middle finger washes ‘heaven’, and our ring finger washes ‘hell’, three times on the right and three times on the left. Then, we continue to rotate to the right until all traces of najas are removed...”*

Based on the description above, there appears to be a methodological and technical difference between the ways of *istinja* and *istijmar* as presented in several hadiths and the *kankilo* tradition in Buton. This difference is clearly seen in the procedure or at the level of implementation. In the hadiths that explain *istinja*, the procedure is very simple: *washing the anus and rinsing it with water by rubbing it with the left hand*. In contrast, the Buton version of *istinja* is added with several methods (*kaifiyat*), for example: *“Our index finger washes our groin on the right, our little finger washes the base of our thigh on the left...”* This difference is inseparable from the influence of the local culture of the community and is also an expansion of the interpretation of several hadith texts that explain *istinja* and *istijmar*. Although there are some differences, the essence of the implementation of *istinja* does not change, i.e., to purify the performer from impurities, which is an absolute prerequisite for every Muslim to perform worship.

The content and procedure of *istinja* contained in the Butonese people’s *kankilo* suggest that the interpretation or elaboration of the meaning of *istinja* cannot be separated from the local characteristics of Buton Islam, which is rich in various shades of Sufism. This can be seen in the description of the method of *istinja* in the Buton people’s *kankilo* as follows:

*“...Then, we continue to rotate to the right until all traces of najas are removed, into the letter ‘dal’, the origin of earth. Once we feel it is dry or clean, we intend to remove the remaining najas, transforming them into the letter ‘mim’, the origin of water. If we feel uneasy, we look at the water as if to transform the najas into the letter ‘ha’, the origin of air. After feeling clean, we contemplate removing any doubts about najas within ourselves, transforming it into the letter ‘alif’, the origin of fire. Finally, we wash our *zurriyyat* (private parts) three times while reciting, “*Allahumma thahri qalbi minal nifaqi wahasinu farji minalfawahisyi*” (O Allah, my Lord, purify my heart from hypocrisy and purify my private parts from all impurity).*

### **Wudhu**

The command to perform *wudhu* as part of religious law is explained in the Qur’an, Surah Al-Maidah verse 6. In this verse, Allah explains several body parts for *wudhu* that must be cleansed through washing and wiping, namely: the face,

both hands up to the elbows, the head, and both feet up to the ankles.<sup>28</sup> This verse is then further elaborated or detailed in several hadiths of the Prophet, including a hadith narrated by Usman bin Affan, as follows:

*Humran reported that Usman taught him the procedure of wudhu. So, he washed his palms three times, then rinsed his mouth and nose, then washed his face three times, then washed his right hand up to the elbow three times, then washed his left hand like he washed his right hand, then he wiped his head, then washed his right foot up to the ankle three times, then washed his left foot like he washed his right foot. Then, he said, “I have seen the Messenger of Allah perform wudhu like the wudhu I have performed”. (Hadith Muttafaq ‘Alaih/Agreed upon by Bukhari and Muslim)<sup>29</sup>*

Based on the hadith above and other hadiths explaining the Prophet’s procedure of *wudhu*, when the Prophet performed *wudhu*, the body parts that he washed and wiped are described in the following table:

No.	Body Part of Wudhu	Ruling	Purpose
1	Palms of the hands	Sunnah	Not specified
2	Rinsing the mouth	Sunnah	Not specified
3	Sniffing water into the nose	Sunnah	Not specified
4	Washing the face	Sunnah	Not specified
5	Washing the hands up to the elbows	Obligatory	Not specified
6	Wiping the head	Obligatory	Not specified
7	Wiping the ears	Sunnah	Not specified
8	Wiping the feet up to the ankles	Obligatory	Not specified

For comparison, the following is the classic Butonese text that elaborates the procedure of *wudhu* in the *kankilo patangauna*:

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<sup>28</sup> “O believers! When you rise up for prayer, wash your faces and your hands up to the elbows, wipe your heads, and wash your feet to the ankles. And if you are in a state of (full) impurity, then take a full bath. But if you are ill, on a journey, or have relieved yourselves, or have been intimate with your wives and cannot find water, then purify yourselves with clean earth by wiping your faces and hands. It is not Allah’s Will to burden you, but to purify you and complete His favour upon you, so perhaps you will be grateful.” Department of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, *Al-Qur’an dan Terjemahannya*, (Jakarta: Proyek Penerjemahan al-Quran, 1986), p. 86

<sup>29</sup> Abu Muhammad ‘Abd Allah Muhammad bin Ismail Al-Bukhari, *Al-Jami’ al-Shahih (Shahih al-Bukhari)*, Beirut: Dar al-Fikri, (*Hadith 159 Bab al-Wudhu’ qabl al-gus*)/ Muslim, *Sahih Muslim*, (*Thaharah Book/ Hadith 331*), (Beirut: Dar al-Fikri, n.d.)

*“Then, wash the hands to cleanse our flesh, then the mouth to cleanse our heart, and then wash the nose to cleanse our desires. Then, wash our face with the intention, “nawaitu raf’al hadasi asghorul istibahati shalati fardhan lillahi ta’ala” (I intend to perform ablution to remove minor impurity for the obligatory prayer for the sake of Allah), coinciding with the water reaching our forehead, then wash the eyes to cleanse our hearts. Then, wash the hands up to the elbows to cleanse our blood. Then, wash the crown of the head to cleanse our brain. Then, wash the ears to cleanse our gall, and then wash the neck to cleanse our lungs, then wash the feet up to the ankles to cleanse the angels: Jibril, Mikail, Israfil, and Izrail.”*<sup>30</sup>

The table below summarizes the parts of body that are included in the Buton’s procedure of *wudhu*:

No.	Body Part of Wudhu	Ruling	Purpose
1	Palms of the hands	Sunnah	To cleanse the flesh
2	Rinsing the mouth	Sunnah	To cleanse the heart
3	Sniffing water into the nose	Sunnah	To cleanse the desires
4	Washing the face	Sunnah	To cleanse the heart
5	Washing the hands up to the elbows	Obligatory	To cleanse the blood
6	Wiping the head	Obligatory	To cleanse the brain
7	Wiping the ears	Sunnah	To cleanse the gall bladder
8	Wiping the feet up to the ankles	Obligatory	To cleanse the Angels: Jibril, Mikail, Israfil, and Izrail

It is evident that regarding the body parts that are washed and wiped during *wudhu*, there is no fundamental difference between the information obtained from the Qur’anic verses and the hadith of the Prophet and the content of the *kankilo* text about *wudhu*. The difference arises when we pay attention to

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<sup>30</sup> *Kasimpo tabaho limata tapekankilo antota. Kasimpo tabaho ngangata apekankilo baketa, kasimpo tabaho angota tapekankilo nafsuuta. Kasimpo tabaho routa niatimo, nawaitu raf’al hadasi asghorul istibahati shalati fardhan lillahi ta’ala”, asaubawa tee tumpuna uwe ibawona routa. Kasimpo tabaho matata tapekankilo yaeta, kasimpo tabaho limata kawana sikuta tapekankilo raata, kasimpo tabaho uwu-uwuta tapekankilo otata. Kasimpo tabaho talongata tapekankilo piuta, kasimpo tabaho barokota tapekankilo kumbata. Kasimpo tabaho yaeta kawana biku-bikuta tapekankilo Jabaraili, Mikaili, Israfil, Izraili. Unknown, Kankilo Pantangauna Manuscript (Bau-Bau: n.p., n.d.)*

the purpose of washing and wiping these body parts. The study has not found any authentic hadith that explains the purpose of washing each body part in *wudhu*, unlike in the *kankilo patangauna*. In this regard, the study considers that what is contained in the *kankilo patangauna* text describing *wudhu* is the result of an interpretation or local construction by the local community in understanding the verses and hadiths related to the issue of *wudhu*.

### ***Janabat (Mandatory Ritual) Bath***

To bathe, in its linguistic sense, means to pour water evenly over something. However, according to Islamic terminology, “bathing” specifically refers to pouring water over the entire body in a certain way, with the intention of worshipping Allah. Several situations necessitate a mandatory ritual bath (*janabat*): (1) the emission of semen, (2) *jima*’ (sexual intercourse for married couples), (3) conversion to Islam, and (4) the end of menstruation or postpartum bleeding for women. Based on the hadith of the Prophet, the procedure for a *janabat* bath is as follows:

*Aisha R.A reported that, “Whenever the Messenger of Allah began his janabat bath, he would begin by washing his right hand with his left, then he would clean his private parts, and then perform wudhu. Then, he would take some water and insert his fingers into his hair, then pour water over his head three times, then he would pour water over his entire body, and then he would wash his feet.” (Hadith Muttafaq ‘Alaih/Agreed upon by Bukhari and Muslim with Muslim’s wording)*

In line with the above hadith, Maimunah R.A reported that the Prophet would begin his *janabat* bath by performing *wudhu*, then he would wash his right hand with his left hand two or three times. Then, he would wash his private parts, and place his hands on the floor or the wall, and then rinse his mouth and nose, and wash his face and hands. Next, he would pour water over his body, and then rub his body, and bend down to wash his feet. Maimunah R.A said, “*I brought him a cloth, but he refused it and dried himself with his hands.*”<sup>31</sup>

Based on these hadiths, the procedure for performing *janabah* bath is as follows: (1) Washing the hands two or three times, (2) Washing or cleaning the private parts, (3) Placing the hands on the ground, meaning cleaning the hands after cleansing the private parts, (4) Performing *wudhu* as usual without washing the feet, (5) Pouring water over the head, (6) Bathing thoroughly/wetting the entire body, and (7) Washing both feet. The procedure for performing *janabah* bath, as described, is the most common and can be found in various *fiqh* books

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<sup>31</sup> Abu Muhammad ‘Abd Allah Muhammad bin Ismail Al-Bukhari, *Al-Jami’ al-Shahih (Shahih al-Bukhari)*, Beirut: Dar al-Fikri, (*Hadith 240 241- Bab al-Wudhu’ qabl al-gus*)

written by the *ulema* (Islamic scholars). This procedure is the result of the interpretation of hadith texts that elaborate the ways the Prophet performed *janabah* bath.

The guidelines for *janabah* bathing, as the guidelines for *wudhu* and *istinja*, are also fundamental teachings delivered by religious teachers in both Islamic schools (*madrasah*) and general schools. These guidelines are also taught or transferred from parents to their children. The goal is for adolescents to understand the basic teachings of purity based on sharia/religious law.<sup>32</sup>

The Buton community, like other Muslim communities, transmits knowledge about these matters both formally and through tradition. Within the Buton cultural system, there are guidelines for purification whose roots can be traced back to Islamic teachings, known as *kankilo* in the local language. Within the *kankilo* texts inherited by the Butonese, there are also teachings and guidelines for purifying oneself from major impurity (*hadath*). The following is a description of a *kankilo* text that contains the procedure for purifying oneself from major *hadath*.

*“Then, when taking a janabah bath, first contemplate the entrance of wadi into the madi, the madi into the mani, and the mani into the manikam. Believe that all these merge with the water that will be used for bathing. Then, begin to wash the right side with the intention: “Nawaitu raf’al haditsil akbaru istihatishshalati fardhan lillahi ta’ala” (I intend to remove the major impurity to purify myself for prayer, an obligation for the sake of Allah Almighty), coinciding with the water touching the skin. Then, wash the right and left sides, followed by the back, and spread out all the hair, the skin of the nose, ears, eyes, navel, and the entire body. Smooth out all the folds, and ensure that nothing hinders the water from reaching our body. Once clean, contemplate the nurul iman (light of faith) as a light that is at the door of the heart and dissolve into it. Then, our self will be purified like our purity in the realm of the unseen. That is what is meant by being janabah (purified from major impurity).”*<sup>33</sup>

Examining the content of the text above, it is clear that there is a definite guideline on how one should perform a *janabat* bath and how to begin it. The text

<sup>32</sup> M. Quraish Shihab, *Membumikan Al-Quran*, (Bandung: Mizan, 1992), p. 176

<sup>33</sup> *Kasimpo tabaho weta ikanata, kasimpo tabaho weta ikaita, kasimpo tabaho weta iaroata. Kasimpo tabaho italingata tapalipua bari-baria bulata. Kasimpo tabaho ngangata, oangata, matata, opuseata, karota, isulubita, patipua, bari-baria lapita tee moduka booli temoempe siy tumpana uwe ikarota. Amankiloaka tapebaho tontomakamo iweitu tamangkilomo itu simbou kankilota iaalamu misali, Isyitumo isorongiaka jinubu.* Unknown, *Kankilo Pantangauna Manuscript*, (n.p., n.d.)

implicitly suggests that a *janabat* bath begins with performing *wudhu* and then washing or pouring water over the body, starting from the right side. The basic procedure of a *janabat* bath in *kankilo* is clearly a derivation of the procedure as outlined in the hadiths of the Prophet. The difference lies in the placement of the meaning of the purpose, which in the *fiqh* context it is essentially to purify oneself from major *hadath* (e.g., the emission of semen, after intercourse, and post menstruation and postnatal bleeding for women), whereas in the context of *kankilo*, this basic purpose is then developed into more metaphysical aspects. This can be seen in the following content of the *kankilo* text:

*“Then, when taking a janabah bath, first contemplate the entrance of wadi into the madi, the madi into the mani, and the mani into the manikam. Believe that all these merge with the water that will be used for bathing.”*

The explanation above suggests that the *janabah* bath in the context of *kankilo* is not merely about cleaning bodily impurities per se, but also includes the aspects of inner purification. Subsequently, it confirms the existence of local content in the practice of the *janabah* bath, which creates a difference from the procedure of the *janabah* bath as described in the books of *fiqh* on *taharah*.

### **The Dialectical Pattern of Islam and Local Tradition in the Butonese Purification System**

The reality of the cultural dialogue occurring between Islamic tradition (*taharah*) and local tradition (*kankilo*) among the Butonese, as illustrated in previous examples, serves as evidence that the presence of Islam in the Butonese socio-cultural space has undergone a persuasive process and mechanism. Islam, which the Butonese subsequently chose as their “ideology”, arrived without imposing its value system or even its system of worship to be practiced “totally”, especially if the application of the value system disregarded those preserved in the local traditions. Therefore, the reality of Islam in Buton, since its inception, has appeared to be “accommodative” and, therefore, in its history of propagation, Islam did not encounter many obstacles, let alone rejection.

In relation to *kankilo* as a concept of purification developing within the cultural space of Islamic Buton, it is safe to assume that before Islam exerted its influence in this region, the tradition or ritual of purification and self-purification had already been an important part of the Butonese people’s way of life. When Islam began to exert its influence and brought along the concept of purification as contained in the *fiqh* books on *taharah*, then the concepts of *istinja*, *wudhu*, and *janabat* were subsequently conveyed to the community. However, in order for this concept of purification not to replace the purification concept of *kankilo*, several aspects of the *kankilo* tradition were incorporated into *taharah* within the framework of Islam.

The success of early Islamic advocates in Buton in avoiding conflict and rejection from the local community was inseparable from their ability to translate local traditions into Islam and vice versa, resulting in a compatible relationship as described by Woodward in his depiction of Javanese Islam.<sup>34</sup> On the other hand, the skill of Buton Islamic advocates in transmitting Islamic ideas within the Buton culture did not result in Islam being distorted or following local culture at the expense of its substantive aspects, as seen in Geertz's and Mulder's views on Javanese Islam.<sup>35</sup> The dialectic between Islam and local culture, as exemplified in the ritual purification practices previously explained, is a form of elegant accommodation. It is an accommodation of local culture into Islam in terms of orientation, without altering the substantive technicalities.

As a tradition living within the Butonese community, *kankilo* is deeply intertwined with the Butonese view as Muslims.<sup>36</sup> In this context, *kankilo* essentially communicates the Butonese people's ideas and concepts about purification, which are fundamentally derived from Islamic teachings, but have been expanded to meet local Butonese needs. This expansion means that the purpose of purification is not merely to cleanse the body of *hadath* and *najas*. The symbolization of *hadath* and *najas* as something "dirty" that must be purified inevitably manifests in actions that are "clean" in the sense of virtuous behavior. Therefore, the practice of purification as a manifestation of the idea contained in the concept of *kankilo* has significant meaning for the Butonese people in their efforts to achieve purity of body and soul.<sup>37</sup> Technically and methodologically, some parts of the procedures for *istinja*, *janabat* bath, and *wudhu* are not found in early Islamic traditions or described in hadith texts on related issues. It can be ascertained that some of the purification provisions in Buton society are local constructs. This illustrates the occurrence of interactions between cultures that meet one another.

### **The Roots of Paradigms and the Legitimacy of *Fiqh Kankilo***

Religion (including *masail al-fiqhiyah*/fiqh issues) and culture can mutually influence each other, as both are systems of values and symbols. Religion is a symbol representing the value of obedience to a supernatural power, while culture

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<sup>34</sup> Woodward, "The Slametan....", pp. 55-89

<sup>35</sup> Geertz, *The Religion.....*, p. vii/ Mulder, *Agama.....*, pp. 4-17

<sup>36</sup> One of the *kankilo* contents that has been passed down from generation to generation is the four guidelines for purification, namely: *istinja* which is likened to purity in the realm of spirits, *janabah* bathing which is likened to purity in the realm of *mitsal*, *wudhu* which is likened to purity in the realm of *ajsam*, and faith that is placed in the heart which is likened to purity in the human world. If these four are carried out, then it will produce a pure person. Interview: La Ode Abu/16-4-2020

<sup>37</sup> Anceaux, *Wolio....*p. 66



serves as values and symbols that guide human beings in their interactions with their environment. Unlike culture, which is subject to change, religion is believed by most of its adherents to be “final” and unchanging. However, because the scope and operationalization of religious values and symbols occur within the flow of history, sometimes the position of religion is shifted by culture. This two-way interaction occurs because both religion and culture are historical realities.<sup>38</sup>

The phenomenon of *kankilo* in the religious practice (e.g., *taharah*) of the Butonese people is an empirical fact that illustrates how the dialectic of religion and culture has evolved in the dynamics of historical currents to influence each other mutually. Based on this historical reality, it is difficult to avoid the nuances of local values in religious concepts that are built within a community, as they are derived from the cultural processes of the society concerned. Thus, the phenomenon of locality in a religion (i.e., *fiqh*) as depicted in the understanding and practice of the Butonese people is a common and natural phenomenon that can be found in any society, ethnic group, and religion.

The *fiqh* reality of *kankilo*, which combines Islamic sharia norms with cultural practices in the purity rituals of Buton, presents evidence of a blend between local culture and “ideal” Islam that is deeply rooted in the religious culture of the Butonese. This phenomenon, which presents a configuration of Islam and local culture in the religious traditions of the Butonese, remains a reality and fact observable to this day. The system of purification from the *kankilo* perspective, which has developed, been taught, and practiced in Buton, depicts an interaction between cultures that greet each other.

This study highly believes that the event of interaction between Islamic values and local traditions, in the case of *kankilo*, which has produced a combination of values deeply rooted in Buton Islamic practices to this day, was a process that was carried out very selectively and with great care. Thus, the fact about the concept of purification in *kankilo* does not show any indication of a “deviation” from the substantial matters in the *tawqifi* realm of worship, such as the ways of *istinja*, *wudhu*, and *janabat* bath. All of these, from the *kankilo* perspective, are still carried out based on techniques and mechanisms that remain within the framework of standard sharia norms. Even if local variants are included, the context does not violate the substantive aspects, but is merely an additional accessory.

*Kankilo*, a religious practice within a framework of Islam and local culture, is a local phenomenon, and this locality is simultaneously global. This implies that the dimension of locality in the *fiqh* tradition of *kankilo* can be found everywhere and has been ongoing across time. This view is very reasonable,

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<sup>38</sup> Kuntowijoyo, *Muslim Tanpa Masjid*, (Bandung: Mizan, 2005). p. 201

considering that *fiqh*, in essence, is a product of understanding generated through a process of interpretation. As an outcome of the interpretive process, *fiqh* provisions are not entirely “sterile” from the influence of social, cultural, and even political factors that develop when a *mujtahid* (Muslim jurist) issues a *fatwa* (ruling).

A classic example to strengthen this view is the concept of *qawl jadid* and *qawl qadim* in the religious views of Imam Shafi’i, which clearly indicates the existence of a cultural “determinism” in the interpretation of religious legal texts. Therefore, the dialectic between the understanding of an individual or a group of people regarding the norms contained in the text and the surrounding environment is a variable that remains in a process of influencing and being influenced. The state of mutual influence is believed to encourage the accommodation of competing values in the cultural space.

The presence of local values in the concept of purification practiced by the Butonese people is not immediate evidence that can be used as a basis to conclude that the *kankilo* purification concept in the Muslim community of Buton is contaminated by “*bid’ah*” (innovation). Nurcholis Majid states that the influence of an individual’s or society’s objective conditions and their environment, including the choice of religious models, does not equate to the cancellation of the universal aspect of a religion (Islam). Further, Majid argues that such conditions only result in the diversity of the application of general and universal principles of a religion, i.e., diversity related to procedures or technicalities.<sup>39</sup> Thus, those who practice religious acts that seem to “deviate” need not be accused of or have left Islam, as long as the teachings formulated in the articles of faith (*arkān al-īmān*) and the pillars of Islam (*arkān al-Islām*) are clearly evident in their religious expressions.<sup>40</sup>

The dialectic between Islam and local traditions, as exemplified by the concept of *kankilo* in the historical perspective of Islam, is not a bizarre occurrence. Historically, the interconnection between custom on one hand and Islam on the other, as a paradigm, was not foreign in the context of early Islamic history. In the Islamic legal system, the existence and contribution of local cultural ideas or customs have been quite possible. This is evident in the term *al-adat al-muhakkamah*, which is very popular in the science of *usul fiqh* (principles of Islamic jurisprudence). Thus, in certain contexts, local customs or cultures are recognized as a source of law under the condition that the local cultures worthy of being a source of law are those that do not diametrically contradict Islamic principles.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Nurcholis Majid, *Islam Doktrin dan Peradaban*, (Jakarta: Para Madinah, 2000), p. 545

<sup>40</sup> Alfani Daud, *Islam Masyarakat Banjar*, (Jakarta: Rajawali, 1997), p. 581

<sup>41</sup> Azyumardi Azra,

Inevitably, the dialectical and reciprocal relationship between religion and local culture is a universal phenomenon. Therefore, what happens in Buton can be considered a normal occurrence. In this regard, M. Amin Abdullah argues that in many cases, local deviations or anomalies in the practice of Islam in a region function similarly to religions without written traditions.<sup>42</sup> According to Geertz, religion is a cultural system that requires interpretation of meaning through its symbols. Islam does not recognize territorial boundaries, and religion indeed originates from the Word of God, but human interpretation of religious teachings is closely related to the socio-cultural conditions of the society where Islam is practiced.<sup>43</sup> The renowned Islamic sociologist, Ibn Khaldun, mentions that the earth, as a human habitat, is divided into eight regions, each with its own climatic characteristics that directly influence the character of its inhabitants.<sup>44</sup> In other words, the influence of locality on a religion is unavoidable for any religion, considering that the quality of individuals and the culture in which a religion grows are not a blank slate or a cultural vacuum. Thus, religion and culture are ultimately two domains that are always intertwined, shaping and inspiring life together.

Therefore, regardless of any attempts to purify Islam through the actions of its adherents, history has revealed that societies possess their own rationality. The various manifestations of Islam in Indonesia, including the *fiqh kankilo* phenomenon in Buton, demonstrate that societies have their own interpretations of the teachings of the one true God. The differences in these Islamic variations are due to the ideological and cultural frameworks of the societies involved, the historical context of Islam's introduction into the region, the level of acceptance of subsequent religious teachings by the society, and the external factors that influence the society's acceptance or rejection of the religion.

### ***Kankilo*: Local Cultural-Based Islamic Jurisprudence of Purification**

Literally, *kankilo* means to purify oneself. Udu provides a more in-depth definition of *kankilo* as, "A set of oral rules that have been passed down through generations in Buton society for the purification of the body and soul, manifested in rituals. These rules guide individuals (Butonese people) to maintain and purify their thoughts, feelings, hearts, and souls from actions that contradict the commands and prohibitions of Allah. The purification practices involved begin with acknowledging the Oneness of Allah SWT (reciting the *shahada*), ensuring that clothing is free from *hadath* and *najas*, performing *janabah* baths when in a

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<sup>42</sup>M. Amin Abdullah, *Agama dan Pluralitas Budaya Lokal*, Ed. Zakiyuddin Badhawiy, (Surakarta : UMS Press, 2003), pp. xviii-xix

<sup>43</sup> Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, (New York: Basic Books, 1973)

<sup>44</sup> Ibnu Khaldun, *Muqaddimah Ibnu Khaldun*, (Beirut: Dar el-Fikri, 1981), p. 57

state of ritual impurity, performing *wudhu*, and praying (*salat*). These five elements are the indicators of purity within the *kankilo* practice in Buton society.”<sup>45</sup>

In this sense, *kankilo* is a body of knowledge about purification that exists within the socio-cultural system of the Butonese. Its scope is not limited to the physical act of cleansing oneself from any impurity, but also includes the purification of the soul or spirit. As a ritual, *kankilo* is inherently considered a symbolic behavior, meaning that its significance lies beyond the action itself. A symbol is any behavior or object given meaning<sup>46</sup> encompassing four aspects: physical, behavioral, linguistic, and conceptual. Within these symbols, there is a meaning attached by the bearers of the culture. As a medium where meaning is condensed, everything symbolic is inherently a guide for its users.<sup>47</sup> Similarly, *kankilo* serves as a guide to purification for the Butonese people.

As a tradition that lives within the Buton community, *kankilo* is deeply intertwined with the Butonese worldview.<sup>48</sup> In this context, *kankilo* essentially communicates the Butonese people’s ideas and concepts about purification, encompassing both the physical body and the soul. The practice of purification, as embodied in the concept of *kankilo*, holds significant meaning for the Butonese in their pursuit of spiritual and bodily purity.<sup>49</sup> The concept of purification in *kankilo*, which has been a part of the Butonese religious culture, has been passed down through generations or inherited through oral tradition. Although there are books that specifically discuss the tradition of *kankilo*, they are now very difficult to find.

Substantially, *kankilo* is a purification ritual<sup>50</sup> that, in Islamic tradition, can be equated with *taharah*. In spite of some technical and methodological differences between the two, for the Butonese, *kankilo* is *taharah*, and *taharah* is *kankilo*. *Kankilo*, as a concept of *taharah* that lives within Buton culture, is an *ijtihad* (independent legal reasoning) of local *ulema* who have successfully integrated Islam with local traditions. Thus, in principle, *kankilo* is *taharah*

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<sup>45</sup> Hamiruddin Udu, “Tradisi Lisan Kangkilo dalam Masyarakat Buton”, *makalah*, p. 17

<sup>46</sup> Gordon Marshal, *Oxford Dictionary of Sociology*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 657

<sup>47</sup> Irwan Abdullah, *Simbol, Makna dan Pandangan Hidup Jawa: Analisis Gunung Pada Upacara Garebeg*. (Yogyakarta: Balai Kajian Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional, 2002), p. 14

<sup>48</sup> One of the contents of *kankilo* that is passed down from generation to generation is the four guidelines for purification, namely: *istinja* which is likened to purity in the spirit world, *janabah* bathing is likened to purity in the *mitsal* world, *wudhu* (ablution) is likened to purity in the *ajسام* world, and belief placed in the heart is likened to purity in the human world. If these four are carried out, it will produce a pure individual. Interview: La Ode Abu/13-2-2020

<sup>49</sup> Anceaux, *Wolio*....p. 66

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid*.

conceived from the construction of a local Muslim community, which is also based on the principles of norms contained in the Qur'an and Hadith. In other words, *kankilo* is a cultural-based *fiqh taharah* (i.e., Islamic jurisprudence of purification).

## Conclusion

*Kankilo* is a body of knowledge on purification deeply embedded in the socio-cultural system of the Butonese people. Its scope extends beyond the mere physical cleansing from *hadath* and *najas*, encompassing spiritual purification as well. Although *kankilo* contains local elements, these are merely "accessories" and do not alter the fundamental aspects of the *taharah* (purification) system known in Islamic *fiqh* tradition. Research has shown that *kankilo* is a product of the dialectic between Islam and local traditions, a process that has been elegant, selective, and cautious. Therefore, *kankilo* can be seen as a product of *fiqh* "thought" that occurs within a space of dialogue or interaction between cultures. Islamic norms remain in their portion and position, while customary norms are accommodated as variant accessories. Thus, in the context of Islamic law, *kankilo* can, to a certain extent, be categorized as '*urf*'.

As a tradition, *kankilo* is essentially *taharah*, and for the Butonese, *kankilo* is *taharah*, and vice versa. In its practice, the substantial aspects of the purification system in *kankilo* refer to the primary normative roots of the Qur'an and Hadith. This leads to our conclusion that *kankilo* is equivalent to *fiqh taharah*. Therefore, the practice of purification known as *taharah* in the cultural narrative of the Butonese people can be called *Fiqh Kankilo*. Ultimately, we argue that "*Fiqh Kankilo*" is a product of *fiqh* thought that is devised in accordance with the local character of its society. The locality that is evident in the content of *Fiqh Kankilo* is inevitable, considering that the quality of individuals and the culture in which a religious law grows is not a cultural vacuum. Hence, religion (i.e., *fiqh*) and culture are ultimately two domains that are always allied in forming and initiating a life together, and thus, religion (i.e., *fiqh*) cannot avoid the locality of culture, which is relative and particular. The legitimacy of the existence of *Fiqh Kankilo* can, at least, be referred to the history of the development of Islamic legal thought, which provides room for accommodation of traditions, based on the paradigmatic foundation of "*adat al-muhakkamat*".

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