



## *AKKATTERE: SYNCRETISM OF PATUNTUNG BELIEFS AND SHARIA ON PILGRIMAGE OF THE AMMATOA KAJANG COMMUNITY*

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**Abstrak:** Artikel ini bertujuan mengkaji secara kritis mengenai interaksi antara kepercayaan *Patuntung* dengan syariat Islam pada pelaksanaan ibadah haji yang menimbulkan sinkretisme. Jenis penelitian ini adalah penelitian kualitatif, dengan data bersumber dari wawancara dan studi dokumen. Kajian ini mengungkapkan bahwa salah satu ajaran *Patuntung* yang dipraktikkan masyarakat hukum adat *Ammatoa Kajang* adalah tradisi *Akkattere* berupa pemotongan rambut kepada anak kecil. *Akkattere* ini disimbolkan dengan pelaksanaan ibadah haji dalam syariat Islam, karena sama-sama dilakukan oleh orang mampu dan sama-sama mengharapkan pahala dari *Tu Rie' Arana* (Tuhan) pada hari kemudian (akhirat). Orang yang melaksanakan *Akkattere* tidak diwajibkan melaksanakan ibadah haji di Mekah. Esensi ajaran *Akkattere* terletak pada ritual pengorbanan (pada unsur materilnya) dan keselamatan *Riallobokona Tu rie' Ar'ana*. Masyarakat adat *Ammatowa* menganggap bahwa *Akkattere* merupakan pelaksanaan *tahallul* di tanah suci dan mereka memperoleh gelar haji seperti orang yang telah menunaikan ibadah haji di tanah suci. Masyarakat *Ammatoa Kajang* memiliki keyakinan jika orang telah melakukan ritual *Akkattere* kemudian berhaji akan mendapatkan musibah.

**Kata kunci:** *Akkattere, Ammatoa Kajang; Patuntung; haji; syariat Islam*

**Abstract:** This article critically examines the interaction between Patuntung beliefs and sharia in implementing the pilgrimage, which has led to syncretism. This is qualitative research, with data sourced from interviews and library research. This study reveals that one of the *Patuntung* teachings practised by the *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC (Customary Law Community) is the *Akkattere* tradition of cutting young children's hair. *Akkattere* is symbolized by the pilgrimage in Islamic law because capable people perform both, and both expect rewards from *Tu Rie' A'ra'na* (God) on the next day (hereafter). People who perform *Akkatrere* are not required to perform the pilgrimage in Makkah. The essence of *Akkattere* is a ritual of sacrifice (in its material element), and the salvation of *Riallobokona Tu ride A'ra'na*. The *Ammatowa* indigenous people consider *Akkattere* as the performance of *tahallul* in the holy land, and they obtain the title of hajj, like people who have performed the pilgrimage in the holy land. The *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC believes that if people perform the *Akkattere* ritual and go on pilgrimage, they will get disaster.

**Keywords:** *Akkattere*, *Ammatoa Kajang*, *Patuntung*; pilgrimage; sharia

## **Introduction**

Indonesia is a multi-ethnic country with a diverse set of beliefs and cultures. The interaction between people of various cultures for hundreds of years has given birth to cultural syncretism. Within the Islamic community itself, sometimes cultural syncretism gives rise to polemics if the values brought are not in harmony with Islamic religious law.

Local culture and Islamic dialectics produce synthetic culture, which indicates that local culture is responsible for the instrumental value of ritual expressions. At the same time, a form of acculturation that preserves the fundamental principles of religious teachings is the material content infused with Islamic religious nuances (Dewi, 2018). From a cultural standpoint, religion is a ubiquitous culture that is present in all societies and locales (Nawawi et al., 2022). Culture and religion are two significant aspects that are interconnected. They cannot be separated. With culture, it is easier for religion to find a position in society. Conversely, the coexistence of religion and culture is indispensable for the transmission of positive energy, which is vital to the survival of the human race (Hasan et al., 2023).

The formation of cultural Islam in South Sulawesi is part of the process of Islam as a new element interacting with the existing culture. This interaction produced a new panorama in the form of cultural Islam. As a result, the face of Islam is not only distinct from Islam in other places but also has a unique cultural appearance (Ahmad, 2019). The regulations observed by those who observe customs are referred to as customary law. They remain loyal and compliant with the traditions that their ancestors have taught them. The regulations that adherents of a particular faith abide by are referred to as religious laws. The phenomenon wherein a given society adheres to multiple legal systems is frequently denoted as legal pluralism (Anggraeni, 2023).

The local culture continues to endure and is not inherently inferior to the incoming Islamic culture despite the presence of diverse belief systems, traditions, and forms. A new cultural paradigm emerges as a consequence of a preexisting fusion of Islam and local culture while preserving the sustainability of the local culture amidst cultural transformation. "local Islam" refers to this (Sabara, 2018).

One of the few customary law community groups in Indonesia that still consistently believe in and still carries out their customs today

is the *Ammatoa Kajang* Customary Law Community (from now on referred to as the *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC) in Tana Toa Village, Kajang District, Bulukumba Regency, South Sulawesi. This tribe is known as "To Kajang", which means the Kajang people (Risfaisal et al., 2022). *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC, which is still living according to the customs of its ancestors, is led by a tribal chief called *Amma* (Muhdar & Jasmaniar, 2020). *Ammatoa Kajang* received legal recognition as a group of CLC through the Bulukumba District Regulation Number 9 of 2015 on the Inauguration, Recognition of Rights, and Protection of the Rights of the *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC.

The vast majority of the *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC township is Muslim. While Islam is officially acknowledged as the sole religion in the *adat* area by the *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC, they continue to incorporate elements of the teachings of their ancestors (*Patuntung*) into their daily lives (Surtikanti et al., 2017). The compromise between *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC and Islam does not consist of wholeheartedly embracing all of its teachings. On the other hand, individuals still desire to preserve certain religions and ritual practices, including *Pasang ri Kajang* and *Ammatoa* as an incarnation of the Almighty or *Tu Rie' Ara'na*. After its establishment, *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC has assumed a dual identity, embodying both the local culture and Islamic law (Syamsurijal, 2016).

The *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC has a belief called *Patuntung*. This belief comes from *Pasang ri Kajang*, which contains messages, advice, guidelines, and instructions that are obeyed, followed, and practised for happiness in the afterlife. The principles enshrined in the *Pasang ri Kajang* are considered sacrosanct by the local populace. Failure to incorporate these values into daily life will have detrimental consequences for the ecological community and disorder within the social system (Megawati & Mahdiannur, 2021).

In this *Patuntung* belief, based on *Pasang ri Kajang*, it becomes the frame of reference in the relationship pattern for the *Kajang Ilalang Embayya* community, both the vertical relationship pattern to *Tu Rie A'rakna* (Allah SWT) and horizontal fellow creatures (Hasan & Nur, 2019).

One of *Patuntung's* teachings is *Akkattere*, symbolized by the pilgrimage. *Akkattere* is one of the *Patuntung* teachings whose source is local belief. This belief has long been a guideline for the *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC in life before they embraced Islam.

Research related to the *Akkattere ini the Patuntung* belief is interesting because the *Akkattere* belief is a belief in the worship of the world and ancestral spirits (animism and dynamism) adopted by *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC, which contains Islamic law so that they practice both at the same time even though there are contradictions in it (Syamsurijal, 2016). Therefore, the issues raised in this study are: (1) How is the interaction between local culture and sharia in the *Patuntung* belief? Moreover, (2) How is the syncretism between *Patuntung* and sharia in implementing the pilgrimage in the *Akkattere*?

Several studies have discussed *akkattere*, among others: Research conducted by Ardiyanto and Marhaeni Saleh (2019). This study concluded that *the Akkattere* tradition is a traditional feast in the form of a hair-cutting ritual carried out by the *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC, who are financially capable and still of traditional descent and obedient to *Pasang Ri Kajang*. The implementation process begins with *apparungrungi* (dressing) and ends with *dallekang* (gifts) distribution. In its implementation, there is a ritual asking for prayers; they believe that if it is not done, the family carrying out the celebration will get a disaster, and the person who has carried out it is considered to have a good personality and is considered to have understood what is prohibited by God because *akkattere* becomes worthless if the person who performs it has a lousy personality.

Furthermore, research conducted by Nurilmi (2022) shows that *Akkattere* is an activity in the form of a traditional party, which includes hair cutting carried out by the customary leaders of the Tana Towa area. This ritual is a message from their ancestors that is still practised today to get happiness in the world and the hereafter. The implementation process also requires a considerable amount of money. *Akkattere* is only useful if the performer behaves well.

However, none of these studies explains the syncretism between *Patuntung* beliefs and Islamic Law in implementing the pilgrimage in the *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC called *Akkattere*. These studies mainly focus on *Patuntung* beliefs in general. Even if there is a specific discussion about *Akkattere*, the study is limited to *Akkattere* as a traditional hair-cutting party carried out by the *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC for financially capable people. This tradition is one of the *Pasang ri Kajang*.

## Method

This research is empirical legal research that uses empirical facts taken from human behaviour, both verbal behaviour obtained from interviews and real behaviour carried out through direct observation (Benuf & Azhar, 2019). This category of empirical legal research is qualitative research that examines socially constructed facts, such as people's perceptions and behaviour about the law (Tan, 2021). The data collection in this study was a literature study and in-depth interviews with members of *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC in Bulukumba Regency, South Sulawesi Province.

## The *Ammatoa Kajang* Customary Law Community as the Study Locus

Etymologically, *Ammatoa* consists of two words, namely *Amma* (father) and *Toa* (old). *Ammatoa* is understood as an older person not only in the literal sense but also in the sense that he has extensive knowledge and behaves well and wisely. The term *Ammatoa* began with the arrival of '*Tomanurung*' (according to local belief, *Tomanurung* was the forerunner of the people of South Sulawesi). The first *Ammatoa* was Datuk Moyang, and until now, it has become *Ammatoa* XXII since the first *Ammatoa*, and *Ammatoa* is the highest-ranking leader in *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC. *Ammatoa Kajang* is for a lifetime, meaning people are appointed *Ammatoa* until they die (Tajibu, 2020). *Ammatoa* is a symbol of the order of the *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC as the highest customary holder of the *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC and resides in *Ilalang Embaya*, *Tana Toa* Village, *Kajang* District.

The *Ammatoa Kajang* Institution is based on Article 9 Paragraph (1) of Regional Regulation No. 9 of 2015 on the Inauguration, Recognition of Rights, and Protection of the Rights of the *Ammatoa Kajang* Indigenous Peoples, consisting of (1) *Ammatoa*; (2) *Anrongta Baku' Toaya* and *Anrongta Baku' Loloa*; (3) *Ada' lima ri Tanakekea*, consisting of *Galla Pantama*, *Galla Lombo*, *Galla Malleleng*, *Galla Kajang*, and *Galla Puto*; (4) *Ada' lima ri Tanalohea*, consisting of *Galla Ganta'*, *Galla Sangkala*, *Galla Sapa'*, *Galla Bantalang* and *Galla Anjuru'*; (5) *Karaeng Tallua*, consisting of *Labbiria*, *Sulehatang* dan *Ana' Karaeng Tambangan/ Moncongbuloa*; (6) *Tutoa Sangkala*; (7) *Tutoa Ganta*; (8) *Galla' Jojjolo (Ada' balibutta)*; (9) *Galla' Pattongko (Ada' balibutta)*; (10) *Kali Kajang*; (11) *Kadaha'*; (12) *Lompo Karaeng*; (13) *Lompo Ada'*; (14) *Sanro Kajang*; and (15) *Anrong Guru*.

In total, the traditional stakeholders consist of 26 people who have the duties and roles that have been regulated in the *Pasang* who are then responsible to *Ammatoa*. In addition, *Ammatoa* also appointed Anrong (traditional mother), who helped *Ammatoa* in traditional ceremonies (Irmawati et al., 2022).

Geographically, *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC is divided into an inner area (*Kekea land*) and an outer area (*Lohea land*). Indigenous peoples of the Inner Region are scattered in several villages, including *Tanah Toa*, *Bonto Baji*, *Malleleng*, *Pattiroang*, *Batu Nilamung* Villages, and parts of the *Tambangan* Village area. The outer areas are scattered in almost all *Kajang* Districts and several villages in the *Bulukumba* District, including *Jo'jolo* Village, *Tibona* Village, *Bonto Minasa* Village, and *Batu Lobe* Village.

Based on the Regional Regulation of *Bulukumba* Regency Number 9 of 2015 on the Inauguration, Recognition of Rights, and Protection of Rights of the *Ammatoa Kajang* Indigenous Peoples, the *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC is a group of people who have traditionally lived in *Ilalang Embayya* (within the *Ammatoa Kajang* customary law area) and some have lived in *Ipantarang Embayya* (outside the *Ammatoa Kajang* customary law area).

*Ammatoa Kajang* CLC is a community that is bound by a *Pasang* value system (messages, advice). The value system is an integral part of the cosmological understanding of *Turie' A'ra'na* (God), which includes two main dimensions, namely *Patuntung* (religious) and the *kamase-masea* lifestyle (poor or sober.) *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC's attitudes and behaviours do not imply isolation from the outside world but rather a willingness to be more cautious and selective in maintaining the order of people's lives through the *kamase-masea* principle (Alqadri et al., 2021).

In everyday life, *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC adheres to *Pasang ri Kajang*, or his ancestors' teachings, as evidenced by the following provisions: a) *ta'ngu'rangi mange ri Turie' A'ra'na* (always remember God who wills); b) *a'lemo sibatu*, *a'bulo sipappa'*, *tallang sipahua*, *manyu'siparampe*, *sipakatau tang sipakasiri*, *bunting sipabasa*, *mate siroko' bulaeng* (Foster unity with entire kinship and glorify each other, celebrate helping each other and die shrouded in gold.); c) *lambusu kigattang sa'bara ki peso'na* (act decisively but also be patient and trusting); d) *sallu riajuka*, *ammulu riaddakang ammaca' ere anrepp'e batu*, *alla'biururung*, *alla'batucideng* (must obey the rules that have been made together even though they have to withstand

waves and break mountain rocks); e) *nan digaukang sikontu passuroang to ma'buttayya* (carry out all affairs purely and consistently).

Furthermore, in the daily life of *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC, perform some rituals such as: a) *pa'nganro* is the highest customary ritual event in general for the *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC, and it is a demand for salvation for the existence of the world (*lino*) and the hereafter (*ahera*), may it always be under God's protection (*Turie' A'ra'na*), as well as the process of the formation of *Ammatoa* and *Anrongta*, both *Baku' Atoa* and *Baku'Alo*. As for the place of implementation, it is only in *Pa'rasangan Ilau'* (*Tombolo*) and *Pa'rasangan Iraja* (*Karanjang Ilau*) (Kaharudin et al., 2020); b) *andingingi* is a ritual that is carried out in the sacred forest at the beginning of every year that aims to ask for grace, soil fertility, ease of sustenance, avoidance of drought, and others. (Risfaisal et al., 2022). In particular, this ritual is used as a time to gather, greet each other, and ask for prayer for something that exists on this earth. They pray that nature and its contents are protected and blessed by the (Creator; c) *appasono'* is a ritual event that is carried out from time to time when plants, both in agriculture and community plantations, are disturbed by rat pests (Rahmayani et al., 2017); and d) *annyamburu* is a form of ritual activity of the *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC which is carried out after serious violations have been committed by anyone in the Amma Toa area (*lalang rambang*) including murder, adultery, and abortion (*ammela' jari tau*) (Kaharudin et al., 2020).

## Interaction Between Local Culture and Sharia in the *Patuntung* Belief

The term "*patuntung*" is composed of two components: "*pa*" and "*tuntung*." The prefix "*pa*" denotes an individual substitute, whereas "*tuntung*" signifies the final result. An individual named *patuntung* seeks resolution. Additionally, the *patuntung* can be deduced from the verb *tuntung*, signifying to pursue. Seeking what is intended constitutes seeking the path of truth, which includes the aspect of faith. Engaging in *patuntung* signifies a sincere endeavor to elevate one's standing both temporally and globally (Nirwana & Arman, 2020).

*Patuntung*, also known as *mannuntungi*, can be described as a more tangible manifestation of religious notions, intentions or ambitions to acquire knowledge, endeavours to enhance the "quality" of one's faith, and a more profound and faultless understanding and appreciation



of "*kasallangngang*" (Islam). The *patuntung* teachings encompass the subsequent belief systems. The tenets are as follows: (1) *Turie' A'ra'na*; (2) the preternatural; (3) *Ammatoa*; (4) *Pasang's* veracity; (5) the afterlife; and (6) predestination.

Scholars investigating *Patuntung* have asserted that it is distinct from Islam as a religion. In addition to being a religious belief system, *Patuntung* is a ritual and worship system that employs offerings (Takbir et al., 2021). In contrast, the *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC espouses the view that *Patuntung* is not a religious doctrine but a conviction that demands adherence and implementation from each member of the *Kajang* indigenous community. It functions as a "prosecutor" or "guide" who directs members to practice the truthful teachings transmitted orally through the generations. This document is called *Pasang ri Kajang* (Alam & Nirwana, 2021).

Formally, the believers in the *Patuntung* tradition identify with Islam, although the formal Islamic law tends not to be practised by the *patuntung* adherents. In practice, *Patuntung* practitioners have syncretized with Islam. Remnants of pre-Islamic traditions still exist but are then given legitimacy or adapted with Islamic symbols, for example, the pilgrimage tradition on the Bawakaraeng Mountain (Sabara, 2018).

The *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC espouses dualistic beliefs, affirming its affiliation with both *Pattuntung* and Islam. While Islam is recognized as the official state religion, *Pattuntung* teachings are considered ancestral customs that adhere to. The *Patuntung*, a spiritual artefact passed down from their progenitors, is a veritable authority for the *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC (Amin, 2019).

*Pasang ri Kajang* is considered to be an ancestral sacrosanct message that has been transmitted verbally (orally) throughout the generations. These directives are referred to as *Pasang ri Kajang*, and they require compliance and execution. Negative consequences may ensue if this proposal is not put into practice, including the disruption of the equilibrium between ecological and social systems (Rusanti et al., 2021). Additionally, it alludes to his life and the adherents of the *Patuntung* religion in *Pasang ri Kajang*. "*Patuntung Manuntungi*" (seeking, demanding, living, and practising) is used in *Pasang ri Kajang* to refer to *Patuntung*. The messages mentioned above exemplify the *Patuntung* belief system's essence, which consists of striving for, requiring, embodying, and applying the principles documented in the *Pasang ri*

Kajang. *Patuntung* adherents regard *Pasang ri Kajang* as a sacred text (Katu, 2014).

A message from *Ammatoa Mariolo* (*First Ammatoa*) is contained in *Pasang ri Kajang*, the foundational doctrine of the *Patuntung* faith. Significant events concerning society and government, the proper treatment and application of a particular matter, and the doctrine itself are mirrored and expounded upon in every facet of human existence. Rules, norms, laws, and forecasts for a specified period are compiled in this instruction (Husain et al., 2021).

This is underscored in *Pasang ri Kajang* (the revelation that was delivered in Kajang) through the phrase: "*Guru Sara' tala tappa ri patuntung tala assai kaguruanna, sanro tala tappa ri sara' tanga assai patuntunganna*". This means that a sharia expert whose belief does not extend to *Patuntung* is without merit, whereas *Sanro's* lack of belief in *Patuntung* renders him devoid of expertise as well (Syamsurijal, 2016).

Constraints regarding daily life among the inhabitants of *Kajang* are as follows: interacting with Allah SWT or *Turie A'ra'na*, interacting with other human beings, and interacting with the environment—all of which, according to the teachings of *Patuntung*, are essential for attaining salvation in this world and the next (Asyrafunnisa & Abeng, 2019).

As a result of *Patuntung's* doctrines, the pursuit of truth necessitates adherence to the three fundamental pillars of existence: veneration of *Turie A'ra'na* (God), reverence for the ancestral heritage, and respect for the land that God has given us. Regard and confidence in God constitute the foundational tenets of the *Patuntung* doctrine. The *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC demonstrates reverence for the land through the prohibition of footwear usage. Additionally, the *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC organizes an *Andingingi* ritual every ten years to safeguard the environment, nature, and the equilibrium between humanity and the natural world. Additionally, *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC is obligated to pay homage to the ancestors or their spirits through the *Pattasi Jera* ceremony (Awalia et al., 2017).

The *Patuntung* belief system regarding the knowledge of God is categorized into three distinct types, each of which has an impact on human existence: *Karaeng Ampatana*, the Creator of the universe and all its components, whose residence is purified and sacred *Kuncio Tikka*; *Karaeng Patanna Lino* or *Patanna Pa'rasangang*, entrusted with the

responsibility of ensuring human life in the sky; and *Karaeng Kaminang Kammaya* or *Kaminang Jaria A'ra'na*, denoting power or might, residing in the sanctified *Patanna Pa'rasangang* (Alam & Nirwana, 2021). *Pattakok*, named *Karaeng Patanna Lino*, was another name. *Patuntung* additionally holds the belief in *Puang Loheta* (many Gods), which are present within each household, family, and realm (Diab, 2016).

According to the *Patuntung* belief system, in order to attain the ultimate truth, individuals must place their trust in three fundamental pillars: *Turie' A'ra'na* (God), the land bestowed by *Turie' A'ra'na*, and the ancestors (Nuh et al., 2020). Faith and submission are embodied in the "*Kajang Dalam*" community through the *Patuntung* belief system (*Ilalang Embayya*). They hold the belief in the existence of an invisible realm and the supernatural. This is the source of the emergence of fanaticism. *Patuntung's* adherents engage in many religious practices, rituals, and symbolic expressions due to their perceived abstract nature that transcends the mundane aspects of existence (Hasan & Nur, 2019).

Mattulada posits that *Patuntung*, which venerated "*Turie' A'ra'na*" at its core, constituted the pre-Islamic monotheistic tradition that originated in Sulawesi. Since prehistory, the inhabitants of *Kajang* have believed in a single deity as the world's Creator (Akifah & Mukrimin, 2012). It is an age-old spiritual principle that has been assimilated into everyday life across multiple generations. It entails the pursuit of knowledge, striving, and attaining the pinnacle of excellence; all three of these elements provide its adherents with a compelling incentive to master the art of seeking mysticism to reach that pinnacle (Amsal & Putri, 2022).

The *Pasang ri Kajang* goes into more detail about these four parts of the *Patuntung* belief system: (1) the idea of a god or supernatural being that includes supernatural forces; (2) the idea of an afterlife with heaven and hell; (3) the idea of a religiously motivated work ethic and ethics (called "*kallo anjorengang*" or the "heavenly tendency"); and (4) the idea of how the universe came to be (Hasan & Nur, 2019). *Pasang ri Kajang* encompasses principles that govern every facet of human existence, including social, religious, economic, cultural, environmental, and leadership systems. Mythologically speaking, the tides also delineate how the earth manifests itself within the Ammatoa Kajang CLC. Fundamentally, *Pasang* and *Lontarak* are comparable within the Bugis-Makassar cultural system (Kambo, 2021).

## The Syncretism Between *Patuntung* and Sharia in the Implementation of the Pilgrimage

The religious heritage of a community is inextricably linked to its cultural construction. In South Sulawesi, culture is one of the major avenues through which Islam has spread. A discernible trend of continuity has developed between the approaches to Islamization implemented by previous advocates of Islam and the indigenous culture, which introduces Islam in a tactful manner while preserving the preexisting cultural framework. Over time, Islam progressively merged into the fabric of the community's traditions, which were inextricably linked (Sylviah & Muslim, 2020).

Societal culture and Islam are mutually reinforcing and supportive due to the fact that Islam coexists with a diversity of local cultures (Basori, 2017). According to Smith, there are three main ideas in religion: first, the ceremonial system, which is an expression of religion; second, the social purpose of religious gatherings to keep faith-based unity; and third, the practical role of offerings (*saji*) in religious ceremonies (Sohrah et al., 2023).

Although *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC has adopted Islamic law, it does not fully embrace Islamic teachings; the *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC continues to observe certain Islamic rituals and beliefs, including *Pasang ri Kajang*, *Ammatoa* as an emanation of the Almighty, and *Tu Rie' Ara'na* (Sylviah & Muslim, 2020).

The indigenous Kajang people observe the pilgrimage uniquely. The local community's pilgrimage is symbolically encapsulated within an event known as "*Akkattere*" in the Konjo language. The *Konjo* language gives rise to the word *Akkattere*, which translates to "shaving or cutting." When the affix "a" is appended to the word *Kattere*, it transforms into an active verb denoting the action of shaving or cutting. Since shaving is associated with hair, *Akkattere* translates to "shave" or "cut hair."

*Akkattere* is one of *Patuntung's* teachings. *Patuntung* is a teaching whose source is local belief. This belief was a guideline for the *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC before they embraced Islam. Meanwhile, the *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC embraced the sallang religion (Islam) taught by Datuk Tiro in the early 17th century (Mahmud, 2012).

The history of the *Akkattere* tradition begins with the vow of *Tau Riolonta* (ancestor) of the *Kajang* people. In ancient times, a couple lived

in Tanah Towa. Both were blessed with a child (the wife was pregnant) by *Tu Rie' A'ra'na* (God Almighty). However, when the wife gave birth, the wife and child died. After that incident, *Tau Riolonta* remarried his second wife, but the same thing happened to the family. It is not known precisely how many times the incident was repeated in *Tau Riolonta's* life (Rosmaniar et al., 2020).

*"I kau punna riek labbinna usahanu, pajjari sitalia"* (Those of you who reside in the *Tanatoa* customary area, if you can conduct business, then *Akkattereko*) is an expression from the *Patuntung* culture, which is associated with the *Pasang Kajang*, similar to the Islamic community's approach to the pilgrimage (Interview with Puto Sulo', *Kajang*, July 19, 2022)

The inhabitants of *Tana Toa* frequently recount the history of *Akkattere*, but it needs to be more thoroughly described as its origin story. However, it is worth noting that the inhabitants of *Tana Toa* believe in *Pasang ri Kajang*. Regarding the *Pasang* that were directed at *Bohe Amma ri Kajang*, they stated: *ammatoa punna akrakko lampa hajji maka akkattereko, punna nakku ko ri tanah lompoa tanah makka ri Kajang. Tallu ada' limayya na akkattereko nampa nasabbiko. Masigia allampako tala nukelleangpi Akkattere tapi punna*. This *pasang* signifies the omission of the Holy Land of Mecca near *Ammatoa*. Engage in *Akkattere* if you desire to embark on a pilgrimage. Witnesses of the five customs and the *tallu* custom will be present if you perform *Akkattere*. If one cannot perform the *Akkattere*, one should visit the mosque (Nurilmi, 2022).

*Akkatterea salama, angusaha pare, angusaha tedong gaukanggi, punna nukulleanggi a'boja doi* (Those who are economically secure, have an ample supply of food [paddy], and have achieved success in their bison husbandry endeavours may contemplate undertaking a pilgrimage as a precautionary measure. *Akkattere*, or the Islamic pilgrimage, is unique to *Sallang* (Islam). The three internal destinations of the pilgrimage are *Juddah kacucu bola* (Jeddah in the corner of the house), *Madina borong ilau* (Medina, the horizon of the rising sun), and *Makkah borong iraja* (Mecca, the western horizon where the sun shines). (Interview with Puto Hatong, *Kajang*, July 19, 2022).

The fact that the history of *Akakattere* differs from that of history as a whole describes its origins. *Akkattere* is a local custom involving haircuts that the populace considers a pilgrimage. All individuals

who have completed the *Akkattere* procession are regarded as having completed the pilgrimage; however, they do not receive an additional designation for their participation. In contrast, the majority of the Muslim population in Indonesia appends the designation of "Haji" to one's name to indicate the observance of the fifth principle of Islam.

Akakattere's history differs from the general history, which explains its origins. *Akkattere* is a haircut tradition that local people interpret as their pilgrimage. Everyone who has performed *Akkattere* is considered to have performed the pilgrimage, but that person does not get an additional title for the *Akkattere* procession he has performed, unlike the Muslim community in general in Indonesia, which adds the title of pilgrimage in front of their name as a sign that the person has fulfilled the fifth pillar of Islam.

For an individual to participate in *Akkattere*, arranging financial resources and handling other logistical aspects is necessary. For instance, procuring apparatus for the event will require approximately 40 million rupiah. Preparing a banquet for visitors and families consisting of at least 3,147 liters of black glutinous rice, which is utilized as a special *songkolo* at the event; conventional stakeholders are served a substantial portion of buffalo served as side dishes (Ardiyanto & Saleh, 2019).

The author's observations during the practice of the *akkattere* tradition indicate that, among other things, there are some preparations and apparatus that must be in place prior to its execution, as established by field information: 1) The location where *Akkattere* individuals congregate is *Tabere*. Four bamboos comprise the square *tabere*. 2) *Songkolo*, a steamed black glutinous rice dish; 3) *Baju bodo*, the attire of children who have undergone the practice of *nikattere* (hair cutting); 4) Buffalo meat, a side dish reserved for traditional leaders and local government officials; 6) *Baku'*, a receptacle utilized to store *songkolo* after its dehydration process temporarily; 5) *Tolong*, a red cake and cucur cake emblematic of Kajang encased in banana leaves; 7) Children who desire to *nikattere* wear black sarongs; 8) *Berang Buru'ne* (machete for men) is defined as a *badik*; and 8) *Berang Babine* (machete for women) is defined as a knife commonly used by Tanah Towa women to cut hair; if a man, the machete is a *badik*; if a woman, it is a knife. 9) A large plate containing *Pandingingi* consists of water and specific foliage! The implement utilized by the traditional leader

to administer water to the child who is under *nikattere* hood; 10) A *nikattere*, which is a hair that has been halved, is contained within a tender coconut; 11) A *kamboti* serves as a receptacle for *dallekang*, which signifies the customary leader's attendance at the event or a gift; Twelve) A white cloth is employed to shield the *nikatto salabi'* (broken necklace); thirteen) *Kanjoli*, a lamp fashioned from candlenut meat finely ground with kapok and affixed to a bamboo sharpener; fourteen) Powder and oil were historically applied to the forehead and base of the neck; and fifteen) A *Papi'* is a fan traditional leaders utilize and a cover for the songkolo.

The implementation of the *Akkattere* ceremony begins with the intention of the family who will hold the *Akkattere*. The *Akkattere* ceremony is a traditional ceremony that involves all customary stakeholders and requires a lot of money. Therefore, families intending to carry out *Akkattere* for their children start hoarding their agricultural products for several harvests or until they feel they have enough. The *uragi* (a house specialist) conducts a ritual to choose the best day to start making preparations for *Akkattere* before the stage of *Akkattere* even begins. The family starts sowing the rice, gathering firewood (*angngalle kayu tunu*), and making the tapping as the *uragi* instructs. At the party house, the *uragi* leads the *a'nini bola* (warding off the house's bad luck) ritual on the night before the *Akkattere*. At the event's peak (*mata jaga*), the *Akkattere* procession begins after *Ammatoa* and traditional leaders (Adat Limaya, Karaeng Tallua, and Sanro/traditional specialist) arrive at the party house. Beginning with the *akkatto salabi*, the sanro leads the *Akkattere* procession. After the pre-*Akkattere* procession is completed, the core event is the *Akkattere* (hair-cutting) ritual, which the *Ammatoa* and customary leaders carry out in turn according to the order of their position in the customary institution. The final stage and procession of *Akkattere* is *allimbuasa*, or an *'Iampa rio-rio*. The event is held the next day after the *Akkattere* procession at a spring around the customary area.

To observe the *Akkattere* procession, a large-scale traditional celebration is organized in which traditional leaders, acquaintances, and local community members are cordially invited to partake. Nevertheless, the expenses associated with *Akkattere* are prohibitively high, preventing its practice in some traditional regions. Similar to the Muslim community as a whole, financial constraints, ill health, and the absence of a divine

signal from Allah SWT prevent some individuals from undertaking the pilgrimage to the holy land of Mecca. Representatives of the region assert that this *Akkattere* custom is identical to the Islamic pilgrimage.

The *Akkattere*, a procession observed throughout one's lifetime, is considered a traditional practice regarded as a pilgrimage by the *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC. Regarding the execution of the pilgrimage, this demonstrates that the teachings of *Patuntung* and Islam conflict.

The meaning of this *Akkattere* tradition is actually an ancestral tradition of the Ammatowa Kajang as a form of gratitude for the abundance of crop sustenance, as evidenced by inviting various customary leaders to witness their gratitude. It is marked by symbolic hair cutting, with each custom taking part or role in it. Moreover, people who have carried out this *Akkattere* benefit from being rewarded in the afterlife and hope to get blessings from *Turie' A'ra'na* (God) (Rosmaniar et al., 2020).

The *aqidah* of *Ammatoa Kajang CLC* encompasses *Akkattere* rituals as well. Regarding a sacrosanct matter, it is widely held within the community that undertaking a pilgrimage after performing *Akkattere* is impermissible due to the anticipation of a catastrophe. They hold the opinion that the passage of time since the *Akkattere* ritual was complete is what led to the unfortunate events that occurred both during and after the pilgrimage. Pilgrimage is restricted to capable Muslims, following the *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC, and *Akkattere* is reserved for members of the local community who are financially capable.

*Ammatoa Kajang* is of the opinion that the Ka'bah situated in Mecca is designated as the *Cappa* (the end of the second), whereas the primary Ka'bah, known as the *Poko'* (main), is situated in *Emba*, which is situated in *Tana Toa* within the *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC region. It was decided that *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC would not be required to make a pilgrimage to Mecca since the principal *Ka'ba* is located in the *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC area known as *Poko'* (primary), and thus the *Ka'ba* in Mecca originates from the land of *Kajang*. A forest protected by *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC is the setting for the *Akkattere* ritual ceremony procession at *Poko'*. Visitors are only permitted to enter the location if they have a genuine interest in witnessing religious ceremonies, including *Akkattere* and similar events.

The *Akkattere* tradition is carried out in a large traditional feast by inviting traditional leaders, government, neighbours, family and the



local community to witness the *Akkattere* procession. However, not all people can carry out *Akkattere* in the *Ammatoa* region because the costs incurred are very high. Similarly, in performing the pilgrimage to the holy land of Mecca, not all can perform it due to limited funds, good health and no guidance from Allah swt, to perform it.

The amount of money spent is almost the same and even exceeds that of people who perform the pilgrimage. Both are only done by people who can afford it and intend to get the same reward. The *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC considers that *Akkattere* is the same as a person who performs the pilgrimage. However, after performing, *Akkattere* does not get a title like a person who has performed the pilgrimage.

The community believes that those who have performed *Akkattere* cannot perform the pilgrimage or *umrah* in Mecca. If they have performed *Akkattere*, then they go to Mecca to perform the pilgrimage; two possibilities will be experienced by the person, namely sickness and death (Nurilmi, 2022).

According to the data, the number of *Ammatoa* families continuing the *Akkattere* tradition has increased annually. *Akkattere* was observed in five out of a possible 700 households (representing 3,000 individuals) 2018. This number increased to seven in 2019. With an average household size of six individuals, the number of individuals who have performed *akkattere* in 2019 amounts to 42 (Misbahuddin et al., 2023).

The *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC's belief in *Akkattere* is that those who have performed the ritual and then performed the pilgrimage in Mecca will suffer a disaster because understanding *Akkattere* itself is the same as performing the pilgrimage. If someone performs the pilgrimage, they consider the *Akkattere* performed previously to have no meaning and erase the ritual, while *the Akkattere* is a sacred ceremony as a vow of ancestors (*tau riolonta*). The tradition was originally a vow, then passed on from generation to generation by his generation. The *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC highly values the traditions of its ancestors. The behaviours and habits that have been passed down from generation to generation by their predecessors are something that should be preserved in the form of pairs.

The *Akkattere* tradition for the *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC is inseparable from *aqidah* because *akkattere* for the *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC is sacred. There is a community belief that when they have carried out the tradition, they are lucky and will get their rewards in this world and the hereafter.

*Akkattere* is considered the same as the pilgrimage because both can only be done by people who are able to do so, and both expect rewards. However, the *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC only sees it regarding ability and reward. The pilgrimage can only be done by Muslims who are able to do it, and *Akkattere* can only be done by *Ammatoa* people who have funds.

The *Akkattere* tradition is a form of obedience to *Tu Rie' A'ra'na*. *Akkattere* is carried out to expect salvation in this world and the hereafter. Therefore, the greater the sacrifice made, the greater the reward from *Turie' A'ra'na*.

The *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC considers *Akkattere* to be the core of the pilgrimage, confirming that the tradition, according to the *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC, is more rewarding than the pilgrimage. According to Islamic law, the pilgrimage is a religious obligation for all Muslims. This means that the pilgrimage is central compared to the tradition. Thus, it is impossible to equate the reward of tradition and the reward of pilgrimage based on the understanding of the *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC.

Other requirements to carry out *Akkattere* besides being economically capable are being a descendant of custom and still respecting custom (*Pasang ri Kajang*). The *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC must fulfil these three conditions to be able to carry it out.

Even though the *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC is financially well-off but not a customary descendant, the traditional feast cannot occur because there is no customary leader to attend the event. If a person is economically well-off and a descendant of customary law, if the person violates customary law, then the *Akkattere* can only be held once the person admits and has been tried by customary law.

*Akkattere* has a sacred value because it is carried out *Kato Silahi* (purifying oneself from bad things with customary agreements) carried out with a belief in *Tu Rie Akrana*, which is the concept of divinity in the teachings of *Pasang ri Kajang*. "*Tu Rie Akrana*" is the only absolute authority and the source of all sources (Nurilmi, 2022).

The *Akkattere* is a traditional practice that the *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC considers to be a form of pilgrimage. This demonstrates a contradiction between the principles espoused by *Patuntung* and Islam with respect to the execution of the pilgrimage. Additionally, it suggests how Islam has infiltrated the traditional cultural and ceremonial aspects of the *Ammatoa*

*Kajang* CLC. In this instance, Islam emerges as the prevailing faith, with the *Patuntung* belief system adapting its doctrine to align with their specific indigenous beliefs and "properties" (Zainuddin et al., 2023).

*Akkattere*, in the authors' observation, is one of the traditional parties carried out by the *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC for the economically capable. *Akkattere* is only a tradition of the *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC, which is carried out based on the instructions of *uragi* (people who know certain rituals) and carried out at the home of the celebration maker.

As an obligatory act of worship in Islam, the pilgrimage, whose requirements and procedures have been written in Islamic religious texts, has experienced fluidity. One manifestation of this fluidity is seen in the reality of pilgrimage in the form of symbolic aspects that are full of meaning and tend to be mystical and contemplative (Subair, 2019). A pilgrimage is a symbol of the highest collaboration, a meeting of all Muslims worldwide who have the same fundamental values. Unity of steps, movements and goals based on the same principles is a condition for synergy and social resilience (Firda et al., 2019).

The *Akkattere* tradition illustrates an attitude of negotiation and resistance to Islam. This attitude is expressed by localizing symbols in carrying out the pilgrimage, such as *tabere*, which is interpreted as the shadow of the *Ka'ba*, and *ihram* cloth, which is equated with *kai* 'clothes and *sigara*. Looking at cultural phenomena in Indonesia, especially in South Sulawesi, pilgrimage is usually marked by wearing a "*Songkok Haji*" (Nirwana & Arman, 2020).

Meanwhile, the *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC wears "*passapu*" (headgear) as the symbol of salvation, and its position is the same as that of someone who has performed the pilgrimage in Mecca. The form of culture that accommodates religion is clearly visible in the meaning of the *Akkattere* ritual, but of course it can be captured in the meaning of the resistance of the *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC to activities that according to the view of sharia are not recommended at all. This includes the requirement to drink *tuak* during events such as *Akkattere* (Nirwana & Arman, 2020).

As indicated by the preceding account of the *Patuntung* belief's encounter with sharia, this *Patuntung* belief is recognized as an acronym for "local Islam." An exemplar of the integration of local customs, negotiation, and dialogue into the framework of universalism. Local opposition to a religion regarded as universal may also be construed as *Patuntung* Islam.

This further demonstrates that the local does not remain mute in the face of forces regarded as universal and central (Syamsurijal, 2016).

Despite identifying with Islam as its religion, *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC's observance of Islamic law differs marginally from that of the Indonesian Islamic community. They prefer not to be referred to as "*Patuntung* adherents" even though they daily practice the *Patuntung* belief system. As stated by him, *Patuntung* is not a religious doctrine but rather a set of principles that each member of *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC is obligated to adhere to and put into practice. It functions as a "prosecutor" or "guide" who directs individuals to practice the truthful teachings that have been transmitted orally by their forebears across generations, from the initial to the final. *Pasang ri Kajang* shall the name be given to this (Hafid, 2013).

According to *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC, *Patuntung's* teachings are an integral element of Islam as well. They, therefore, acknowledge their religious affiliation as Muslims. *Patuntung* represents a distinctive method by which members of their community attain absolution in the afterlife (*pagantannga karakkkkan allo bokona Turie' A'ra'na*) (Nirwana & Arman, 2020). Initially, nothing between the *Patuntung* belief and the teachings of the Islamic Shari'a triumphed over the other. Since both are the same truth, a dialogue ought to occur in which they mutually reinforce one another.

*Patuntung* is not synonymous with religion in the strict definition of the term. *Patuntung* is a system of ritual and veneration that employs offerings in addition to being a religious or belief system. *Patuntung*, on the other hand, is regarded by the *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC not as a religion but as a conviction that demands adherence and implementation from each member of the Kajang indigenous community. It functions as a "prosecutor" or "guide" who directs members to practice the truthful teachings that have been transmitted orally through the generations by their descendants. The title of this testament is *Pasang ri Kajang*.

When examining the relationship between the teachings of sacred texts and the values found in local culture, it is essential to consider the approaches that gave rise to the development of Islamic law: *'urf* and *maslahah*. A culture that has persisted over an extended period and is perceived to offer advantages consistent with Islam may be taken into account when devising Islamic law (Sadat et al., 2023).

## Conclusion

Ammatoa Kajang is a customary law community residing in seven hamlets within the Bulukumba Regency, *Tanah Toa Village*, Kajang District, South Sulawesi Province. *Pasang ri Kajang*, a way of life for the local community and a compilation of ancestral mandates in the form of messages, statements, wills, and mandates from the Creator known as *Turie' A'ra'na*, is present at *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC. One of the *Patuntung* teachings practised by the *Ammatoa Kajang* CLC is the *Akkattere* tradition of cutting young children's hair. The implementation of the pilgrimage in Islamic Syariah symbolizes this *Akkattere*. People who perform *Akkattere* are not required to perform the pilgrimage in Makkah. The essence of the *Akkattere* teaching as a ritual sacrifice (on the material element) and salvation *riallobokona Tu rie' A'ra'na*.

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