

# Local Cultural Acculturation in the Practice of Nazar in Bulukumba Regency: A Study of the Angnganro Tradition from an Islamic Law Perspective

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## Abstract

The phenomenon of cultural and religious acculturation in Indonesian society is often reflected in local rituals that are rich in religious meaning, one of which is the Angnganro tradition among the Kajang people in Bulukumba Regency, South Sulawesi. This study aims to analyze the form of the Angnganro tradition and examine the ritual practice from the perspective of Islamic law, particularly in relation to its status as a form of vow or expression of gratitude for the fulfillment of prayers. This study uses a qualitative method with a sociological approach to law in the context of field research. Data was collected through participatory observation, in-depth interviews with traditional and religious leaders, and documentation of rituals, then analyzed in three stages, namely data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing. The results of the study show that Angnganro is a collective ritual performed by the community as an expression of gratitude for recovery from illness, safety from disaster, or success in achieving a specific goal. This ritual is centered in a sacred forest area and led by a traditional leader (Amma Toa), with a series of preparations that can last for months, culminating in seven consecutive days involving extended families and traditional communities. From an Islamic legal perspective, this practice can be categorized as a form of *ghairu mahdhah* worship which is *mubah*, as long as it does not contain elements of *shirk*, *bid'ah dhalalah*, or violations of the principles of *tawhid*. Research confirms that the Angnganro tradition is a form of local cultural acculturation and an expression of religiousness that is acceptable in Islamic jurisprudence, provided that the practice remains based on the principle of *tawhid* and does not conflict with *sharia* law.

**Keyword:** Cultural Acculturation; Angnganro Tradition; Nazar; Islamic Law; Kajang Indigenous Community.

## Abstrak

Fenomena akulturasi budaya dan agama dalam masyarakat Indonesia sering tercermin melalui praktik ritual lokal yang sarat makna religius, salah satunya tradisi Angnganro pada masyarakat Kajang di Kabupaten Bulukumba, Sulawesi Selatan. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis bentuk tradisi Angnganro serta menelaah praktik ritual tersebut dalam perspektif hukum

Islam, khususnya terkait kedudukannya sebagai bentuk nazar atau ungkapan syukur atas terkabulnya doa. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan sosiologi hukum dalam kerangka penelitian lapangan (field research). Data dikumpulkan melalui observasi partisipatif, wawancara mendalam dengan tokoh adat dan tokoh agama, serta dokumentasi ritual, kemudian dianalisis melalui tiga tahap, yaitu reduksi data, penyajian data, dan penarikan kesimpulan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Angnganro merupakan ritual kolektif yang dilakukan masyarakat sebagai wujud rasa syukur atas kesembuhan dari penyakit, keselamatan dari musibah, atau keberhasilan dalam mencapai tujuan tertentu. Ritual ini dipusatkan di kawasan hutan keramat dan dipimpin oleh ketua adat (Amma Toa), dengan rangkaian persiapan yang dapat berlangsung berbulan-bulan hingga puncaknya selama tujuh hari berturut-turut, melibatkan keluarga besar dan komunitas adat. Dari perspektif hukum Islam, praktik ini dapat dikategorikan sebagai bentuk ibadah ghairu mahdhah yang bersifat mubah, sepanjang tidak mengandung unsur syirik, bid'ah dhalalah, atau pelanggaran terhadap prinsip tauhid. Penelitian menegaskan bahwa tradisi Angnganro merupakan bentuk akulturasi budaya lokal dan ekspresi religiusitas masyarakat yang dapat diterima dalam fikih Islam, dengan syarat praktiknya tetap berlandaskan pada prinsip tauhid dan tidak bertentangan dengan syariat.

**Kata Kunci:** Akulturasi Budaya; Tradisi Angnganro; Nazar; Hukum Islam; Masyarakat Adat Kajang.

## Introduction

Indonesia is known as a country with extraordinary cultural richness, reflecting the diversity of local traditions and values passed down from generation to generation.<sup>1</sup> Each region has distinctive traditions that distinguish one community from another and form an integral part of national identity.<sup>2</sup> This local cultural heritage not only serves as a symbol of national identity but also serves as a source of inspiration and a foundation for the development of national culture.<sup>3</sup> Historically, traditions and cultures across Indonesia are inseparable from the belief systems of pre-religious societies, where spiritual values have been a crucial part of social life. Many traditions grew out of animism and dynamism, the belief that nature and everything in it possesses spirits or supernatural powers that influence human life.<sup>4</sup> In animism, humans must maintain a harmonious relationship with ancestral spirits and nature through ritual offerings at sacred sites. In dynamism, certain objects are believed to possess spiritual power or good fortune that must be respected for a balanced life.<sup>5</sup> These two belief systems are the roots of local cultures that can still be found today, including among the indigenous communities of South Sulawesi.

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<sup>1</sup> Endang Fatmawati, "Strategies to Grow a Proud Attitude towards Indonesian Cultural Diversity," *Linguistics and Culture Review* 5, no. S1 (2021): 810–20, <https://doi.org/10.21744/lingcure.v5nS1.1465>.

<sup>2</sup> Khalfani Tsabit Abror et al., "Peran Makanan Tradisional Dalam Memperkuat Identitas Nasional," *Jurnal Budaya Nusantara* 7, no. 1 (2024): 24–35, <https://doi.org/10.36456/JBN.vol7.no1.8834>.

<sup>3</sup> Mamik Indrawati and Yuli Ifana Sari, "Memahami Warisan Budaya Dan Identitas Lokal Di Indonesia," *Jurnal Penelitian Dan Pendidikan IPS* 18, no. 1 SE-Articles (2024): 77–85, <https://doi.org/10.21067/jppi.v18i1.9902>.

<sup>4</sup> Andre Meizandi, "Animisme Dan Dinamisme Dalam Masyarakat Serta Kondisi Keislaman Indonesia Hari Ini Gerakan Studi Islam," *SETYAKI: Jurnal Studi Keagamaan Islam* 3, no. 2 (2025): 1–10, <https://doi.org/10.59966/setyaki.v3i2.1730>.

<sup>5</sup> Nanda Diah Safitri, "Animisme Dalam Tradisi Ziarah Keramat 'Kubua Gutua/Raden Agung' Di Desa Talang Ginting Bengkulu Utara" (IAIN Bengkulu, 2021), <http://repository.iainbengkulu.ac.id/5358/>.

Animism and dynamism were early forms of religious expression in societies before the arrival of monotheistic religions.<sup>6</sup> Edward B. Tylor, in *Primitive Culture* (1871), defined animism as the belief in spirits inhabiting every element of the universe, both living and inanimate.<sup>7</sup> Meanwhile, dynamism comes from the Greek word *dynamis*, meaning strength, referring to the belief in the presence of spiritual energy within certain objects. In practice, people who adhere to this belief often perform various rituals and offerings to maintain the balance between humans and nature. This belief shapes the social behavior, ethics, and artistic expression of traditional communities.<sup>8</sup> They believe that spirits and supernatural powers play a role in determining safety, fertility, and well-being. Therefore, respecting ancestral spirits is a moral and spiritual obligation passed down through generations.<sup>9</sup> This kind of belief is not merely a form of mystical belief, but also embodies an ecological philosophy about the reciprocal relationship between humans and their environment.<sup>10</sup> In this context, traditional beliefs serve as a social foundation that regulates people's interactions with nature, fellow humans, and spiritual forces.

Studying tradition cannot be separated from the context of local culture. According to Muhammad Syukri Albani Nasution, tradition is a form of culture and customs passed down from one generation to the next and implemented in daily life.<sup>11</sup> In South Sulawesi, various local traditions are ancestral legacies that are still preserved as a form of respect for their predecessors.<sup>12</sup> This province has four main ethnic groups—Bugis, Makassar, Toraja, and Mandar—with a rich diversity of languages and subdialects.<sup>13</sup> This cultural diversity is evident not only in language and art but also in the values and belief systems that shape the social

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<sup>6</sup> Ilham Maulana and Muhammad Kautsar Thariq Syah, "Sistem Kepercayaan Monotheisme Dalam Praktik Spiritual Dan Sosial Masyarakat Sunda Pra Islam," *Jurnal Artefak* 12, no. 1 (2025): 121–28, <https://doi.org/10.25157/ja.v12i1.17636>.

<sup>7</sup> Khairulnazrin Nasir, Ishak Suliaman, and Abur Hamdi Usman, "The Notion of Animism: Some Views from Prophetic Tradition and Western Anthropologist Perspectives," *Humanities & Social Sciences Reviews* 7, no. 4 (2019): 348–58, <https://doi.org/10.18510/hssr.2019.7445>.

<sup>8</sup> Lilik Ummi Kaltsum, "Animism And Dynamism Belief In Muslim Society Of East Nusa Tenggara," *Jurnal Masyarakat Dan Budaya* 24, no. 1 (2022): 15–34, <https://doi.org/10.55981/jmb.2022.1281>.

<sup>9</sup> Syamsul Rijal, "Etnografi Komunikasi Bissu Pada Budaya Ritual Maggiri Di Segeri Kab. Pangkep" (IAIN Parepare, 2024), <https://repository.iainpare.ac.id/id/eprint/8848/>.

<sup>10</sup> Sudarto Sudarto et al., "Cultural-Religious Ecology Masyarakat Pesisir Cilacap," *Danadyaksa Historica* 4, no. 2 (2024): 9–21, <https://doi.org/10.32502/jdh.v4i2.8993>.

<sup>11</sup> Nurcahya Nurcahya, "Makna Simbolik Posi' Bola Dalam Tradisi Membangun Rumah Bugis Didesa Amassangan Kecamatan Lanrisang" (IAIN Parepare, 2025), <https://repository.iainpare.ac.id/id/eprint/10790/>.

<sup>12</sup> Fachrian Anugrah Alam, Kurniawan Saefullah, and Yustikasari -, "Upaya Pelestarian Tradisi Upacara Accera Kalompoang Di Kabupaten Gowa, Sulawesi Selatan," *Panggung* 34, no. 4 (2024): 614–26, <https://doi.org/10.26742/panggung.v34i4.3461>.

<sup>13</sup> Fifi Fatmawati and Heri Kurnia, "Mengenal Kebudayaan Suku Bugis," *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Budaya Indonesia* 1, no. 2 (2023): 72–78, <https://doi.org/10.61476/whhz5g81>.

identity of its people.<sup>14</sup> One of the social phenomena that has attracted the attention of researchers is the life of the *Ammatoa* Kajang people in Bulukumba Regency. This community lives exclusively in the Ilalang Embayya region, maintaining a traditional way of life known as the principle of *kamase-masea* (simplicity). Their belief system is called *Patuntung*, which emphasizes a harmonious relationship between humans, nature, and spiritual forces. This tradition is still carried out consistently and passed down through oral messages from ancestors called *Pasang Ri Kajang*.

The *Ammatoa* Kajang people are administratively registered as Muslims, but in practice, they combine Islamic teachings with the *Patuntung* belief system.<sup>15</sup> Islam is accepted as the official religion, but ancestral spiritual values are maintained as moral and social guidelines. This syncretism demonstrates a process of cultural negotiation between religion and local traditions.<sup>16</sup> Rituals such as *angnganro*, a communal prayer for safety, demonstrate the strong connection between Islamic beliefs and local beliefs. *Pasang ri Kajang* itself serves as a moral code containing messages, mandates, and guidelines for the indigenous community. Violation of *pasang ri* is believed to bring disaster, so these rules are upheld in every aspect of life. In this context, *Ammatoa* traditions not only have religious value but also function as a customary legal system that regulates social order. Although they claim to be Muslim, their understanding of Islam is more spiritual and philosophical than normative Sharia. For example, the concepts of *jenne talluka* (uninterrupted ablution) and *tamattappuka* (uninterrupted prayer) are interpreted as symbols of good deeds for fellow human beings.

From an Islamic perspective, local traditions such as those developed by the *Ammatoa* Kajang people need to be addressed wisely, correctly, and selectively.<sup>17</sup> Islam does not reject traditions as long as they do not conflict with the principles of monotheism and sharia.<sup>18</sup> Traditions that align with Islamic values can be preserved, while those containing elements of polytheism must be adjusted or eliminated,<sup>19</sup> as emphasized in QS. An-Nisa: 48 that Allah

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<sup>14</sup> Zahra Al-Zadjali, "The Significance of Art in Revealing a Culture's Identity and Multiculturalism," *Open Journal of Social Sciences* 12, no. 1 (2024): 232–50, <https://doi.org/10.4236/jss.2024.121015>.

<sup>15</sup> Hasan Hasan and Hasruddin Nur, "Patuntung Sebagai Kepercayaan Masyarakat Kajang Dalam (Ilalang Embayya) Di Kabupaten Bulukumba," *Phinisi Integration Review* 2, no. 2 (2019): 185–200, <https://doi.org/10.26858/pir.v2i2.9981>.

<sup>16</sup> Hasan and Nur.

<sup>17</sup> Syukri and Suriani, *Kearifan Lokal Dalam Kampanye Politik* (Penerbit Adab, 2024).

<sup>18</sup> Muhammad Rahman Subhan Sujudinur, "Tradisi Badudus Dan Bamandi-Mandi Pada Masyarakat Banjar Hulu Sungai," *Indonesian Journal of Islamic Jurisprudence, Economic and Legal Theory* 3, no. 1 (2025): 202–9, <https://doi.org/10.62976/ijjel.v3i1.910>.

<sup>19</sup> Tanuri Tanuri, "Epistemologi Hukum Islam Perspektif Kebudayaan Dominan Di Indonesia," *Al-Mashlahah Jurnal Hukum Islam Dan Pranata Sosial* 13, no. 1 (2025): 23–42, <https://doi.org/10.30868/am.v13i01.8249>.

does not forgive the sin of polytheism. The Islamic approach to local culture is integrative and contextual, not eliminating traditional wisdom, but aligning it with the principles of faith. This shows that Islam exists not to eliminate culture, but rather to organize and purify it from elements of polytheism. Thus, studying the traditions and belief systems of the *Ammatoa* Kajang people is important for understanding the dynamics of the interaction between religion, customs, and local values in shaping social harmony.

Previous studies have revealed various forms of traditional rituals that have undergone a process of Islamization, but none have specifically examined local traditions based on the concept of *nazar* as a form of spiritual agreement between humans and God. For example, Nurwahida, et. al. (2021) study of the *Appakaramula* tradition in Takalar highlighted the ritual process of prayer before important activities as a form of requesting divine blessing, demonstrating the syncretism between custom and Islamic teachings.<sup>20</sup> Meanwhile, Bungawati (2017) in her study of *Akkattere* in Tanah Towa Kajang emphasized the internalization of Islamic values in traditional rituals, which are interpreted as a form of symbolic worship for the Kajang indigenous community.<sup>21</sup> A similar study conducted by Nurul Tayyibah (2017) on *Mappadekko* in Bone, which focused on expressions of gratitude through harvest ceremonies, demonstrated the existence of theological values that align with Islamic teachings.<sup>22</sup> Nur Aisyah (2020) revealed the Islamization process of animistic traditions directed towards the purity of monotheism,<sup>23</sup> while Hamzah Hasan (2020) assessed that the *Kaboro Coi* tradition in Bima is included in the category of permissible acts because it does not conflict with the principles of benefit and convenience in Islamic law.<sup>24</sup> However, all of these studies tend to stop at the descriptive level, namely explaining the procession and legal assessment of traditional rituals without delving deeply into the theological, legal, and sociocultural dimensions of local vow practices. The *Angnganro* tradition in Bulukumba represents a unique form of acculturation between the concept of vows in Islam and the local culture of the Kajang people.

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<sup>20</sup> Nur Wahidah and Musyifikah Ilyas Patimah, "Tinjauan Hukum Islam Terhadap Tradisi Appakaramula (Studi Kasus Di Lingkungan Tana-Tana Kelurahan Canrego Kecamatan Pol-Sel Kabupaten Takalar)," *Qadauna: Jurnal Ilmiah Mahasiswa Hukum Keluarga Islam* 3, no. 1 (2021): 91–103, <https://doi.org/10.24252/qadauna.v3i1.19164>.

<sup>21</sup> Bungawati, "Budaya Akkattere Dan Implikasinya Terhadap Pengamalan Hukum Islam Di Tanah Towa Kajang" (Universitas Islam Negeri Alauddin Makassar, 2017), <https://repositori.uin-alauddin.ac.id/3120/>.

<sup>22</sup> Nurul Thayyibah, "Tradisi Mappadekko Di Desa Walenreng Kecamatan Cina Kabupaten Bone (Studi Antropogi Budaya)," *Universitas Islam Negeri Alauddin Makassar* (2017).

<sup>23</sup> Nur Aisyah and Darsul S Puyu, "Ritual Merau Assalamakang Di Desa Panece Kecamatan Limboro Kabupaten Polewali Mandar (Studi Perbandingan Hukum Islam Dan Hukum Adat)," *Shautuna: Jurnal Ilmiah Mahasiswa Perbandingan Mazhab* 1, no. 2 (January 2020): 302–20, <https://doi.org/10.24252/shautuna.v1i3.14909>.

<sup>24</sup> Hamzah Hasan, "Tradisi Kaboro Coi Di Desa Sakuru Monta, Bima; Analisis Hukum Islam," *Mazahibuna; Jurnal Perbandingan Mazhab* 2, no. 2 (2020): 179–193, <https://doi.org/10.24252/mh.v2i2.17973>.

The purpose of this study is to deeply understand the form and meaning of the *Angnganro* tradition in relation to the religious activities of the people in Kajang District, Bulukumba Regency. The *Angnganro* tradition, as part of the local belief system and cultural practices, represents a form of *nazar* or religious promise made by individuals or community groups with the intention of obtaining blessings, safety, or healing for certain needs. Therefore, this study seeks to explore how the tradition is carried out, who is involved in it, and the religious and social values contained in the ritual practice. This study also analyzes the *Angnganro* tradition from the perspective of Islamic law, specifically to see the extent to which this practice is in line with the principles of sharia, such as monotheism, the intention of worship, and the prohibition of elements of shirk.

## Research Methods

This study employed field research with a qualitative descriptive approach. Field research was conducted with the aim of obtaining empirical data through direct observation of social phenomena occurring in the community. This approach emphasized direct researcher involvement at the research site to understand the social context, values, and cultural practices that were the focus of the study. This study was conducted in Tanah Towa Village, Kajang District, Bulukumba Regency, which was known for its strong religious and customary traditions, including the local cultural practices studied.

This study used a sociological approach to law, one that sought to understand the relationship between Islamic law and social practices, particularly within the context of local traditions. This approach allowed researchers to observe how Islamic legal norms are internalized, interpreted, and applied in the social life of the Kajang indigenous community.

The data was collected through two main methods: library research and fieldwork. Library research was used to obtain theoretical and conceptual foundations from various scientific literature, such as books, journals, and relevant documents. Meanwhile, fieldwork was conducted through observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation. Interviews were conducted with seven key informants selected based on their knowledge and direct involvement in the traditional practices under study.

Data analysis was conducted in three stages: data reduction, which was the process of filtering and selecting relevant data; data presentation, which was the arrangement of information in narrative and visual forms to identify patterns; and drawing conclusions, which was carried out continuously throughout the research. To maintain data validity, researchers



used triangulation techniques of sources, techniques, and time to ensure the accuracy and consistency of information obtained from various perspectives and field conditions.

## Results and Discussion

### 1. Forms of the Angnganro Tradition of the People of Kajang District in Bulukumba Regency

*Angnganro ri Sapo*, a large-scale celebration held at home (*sapo*), is held in the event of a disaster in agriculture or a successful harvest. It is typically held at Possi Tana, Mattuang Village. *Pangnganroang* is a celebration to offer prayers and ask God for safety and protection from disease. It is also often held to pray for rain. *Paruntu'Panganro Sibatu Lino*, is a ritual celebration for the safety of the universe and all its contents. This celebration consists of 3 stages, namely: *Paruntu'Panganro Cucu Bola*: This celebration is held every year and is attended by the entire *Ilalang Embayya* community. *Paruntu' Panganro Pa'rasangang*: This celebration is held every ten years and is attended by the *Ilalang Embayya* and *Ipantarang Embayya* communities. *Paruntu' Panganro Sibatu Lino*: This celebration is held every hundred years and is attended by the entire *Ilalang Embayya* and *Ipantarang Embayya* communities. *Allisa' Ere Tallasa*: This is a celebration when a child first sets foot on the ground. This feast is held to ask for blessings so that their children's future steps will be useful steps for the family and society. *Appanganro Akkatto*: namely the ritual feast held by *Ammatoa* to welcome the almighty who gives blessings to *Sangiasserri* rice from his bed to his palace, namely the storage barn (*Para Bola*).<sup>25</sup>

*Angnganro* generally takes many forms, and the most frequently performed types are as follows:

- a. *Angnganro* for the election of *Ammatoa* (*angnganro anyuru' borong*).
- b. *Angnganro* to release vows due to illness (*angnganro ri fudalle*).
- c. *Angnganro* for the death of someone (*angnganro a'linrung*).
- d. *Angnganro* due to longing for God or ancestors (*angnganro anukukang Tu Riek Akrakna*).

However, what will be discussed in more depth are the *angnganro* in selecting *Ammatoa* (*angnganro anyuru' borong*) and the *angnganro* releasing a vow due to illness (*angnganro ri fudalle*). The details are as follows:

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<sup>25</sup> Hasmiati Hasmiati, "Analisis Persepsi Masyarakat Kawasan Adat Amma Toa Kajang Terhadap Muhammadiyah," *Equilibrium: Jurnal Pendidikan* 5, no. 2 (2017): 140–49, <https://doi.org/10.26618/equilibrium.v5i2.1045>.

a. *Angnganro* in the selection of *Ammatoa* (*angnganro anyuru' borong*)

*Panganro* or *angnganro anyuru' borong*, which involves asking *Tu Rie' A'ra'na* for guidance in selecting a new *Ammatoa*. These prospective *Ammatoa* typically must be thoroughly familiar with the customs of Tanah Towa. Furthermore, they must be able to explain in detail the origins of humanity in Tanah Towa from the very beginning. This is certainly not an easy feat, and the community believes that only certain individuals can do it. This is because in Tanah Towa, discussing human origins and even one's ancestry is a matter of discussion.

The replacement of *Ammatoa* as the new customary leader is carried out through a process that is then included in the new customary government head election system, similar to the system for electing heads of government, including the President, Prime Minister, Governor, Regent, and Village Head. However, unlike the election system for the replacement of *Ammatoa* customary leaders, there is no term of office. *Ammatoa* is a position obtained by will and is a lifelong position, so the election is carried out after death. There is no time limit, and it is not based on direct descent, as is the case with the succession of leaders in a royal system.

Ismail continued, explaining that there are 26 traditional leaders with the title *Galla*, so one of them serves as the coordinator, while the *Ammatoa* serves as the coordinator for the other traditional leaders. Various sources I've read indicate that an acting *Ammatoa* was appointed to coordinate the 26 traditional leaders.<sup>26</sup>

However, according to Ansar's statement, the coordination functions were returned to the *Anrongta*. The *Anrongta* also inaugurated the *Ammatoa* during the election (*Attanang*) of the new *Ammatoa*.

*Anrongta* is a position in the *Ammatoa* institutional structure held by a woman. In the concept of village organizational structure, for example, *Anrongta* is likened to the Village Consultative Agency. *Anrongta* consists of two words, each of which has a meaning. *Anrong* means mother, while *ta* is a possessive pronoun meaning us. So *Anrongta* means our mother. However, mother here is not interpreted as a biological mother but as a position. It should be explained that the *Anrongta* is not the wife of the *Ammatoa* but as *Ammatoa*'s companion in implementing the regulations according to the contents of *Pasang*. The position is also valid for life. Meanwhile, to re-elect the *Anrongta* after death is done by asking for guidance from the supernatural realm based on the will of the Almighty.

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<sup>26</sup> Ismail (29 years old), Tanah Towa Kajang Community, *Interview*, May 11, 2025.



According to Ansar, there are two *Anrongta*, namely *Anrongta Baku Attoaya*, commonly called *Anrongta Ri Pangi*, and *Anrongta Baku A'lolog*, commonly called *Anrongta Ribongkina*. *Anrongta Ri Pangi* is in charge of inaugurating *Ammatoa*. In addition, *Anrongta* will automatically serve or carry out all important duties of *Ammatoa* if he dies (*A'linrung*). Then *Anrongta* also carries out the ritual process of *angnganro anyuru borong* for the formation of the next *Ammatoa*. Meanwhile, the *Anrongta's* task can at any time lead to the *panganro* event if the event is a corner of the house. During the three years, *Anrongta* plays an important role in the process before the election, during the election (*Attanang*), until the inauguration.<sup>27</sup> The following author will explain in detail the process of selecting (*Attanang*) the new *Ammatoa*:

#### 1) Pre-Election

The three years are intended to prepare for the re-election (*Attanang*) of the *Ammatoa*. This period then becomes the period for searching for *Ammatoa* candidates. This period is considered a sufficient timeframe to select *Ammatoa* candidates. All members of the *Ammatoa* indigenous community have an equal opportunity to become *Ammatoa*. This is also in accordance with the principles of democracy in a modern state, which guarantees equal rights to be elected and led. However, it is important to remember that the position of *Ammatoa* is not for just anyone, but for those chosen by the Almighty (*Tu Riek' A'ra'na*) and who have met all the requirements to become *Ammatoa*. The following are the criteria for *Ammatoa* candidates:

- a) Willed by (the Almighty)
- b) Able to master and practice the contents of *Pasang*
- c) Possess prominent qualities
- d) Able to tell stories about past history
- e) Descendants of *Ammatoa*
- f) Live a simple life (*kamase-mase*) throughout life

#### 2) Election (*Attanang*)

The election (*Attanang*) of *Ammatoa* is a secret process. Not all members of the Kajang Dalam Customary Law Community are willing to recount it due to taboos. Therefore, only the essential parts are recounted. From the various literature reviewed by the author, there are many versions of the *Ammatoa* election (*Attanang*) process. Using these available references, the author then synchronized this with *Puto Hading's* account during an interview at his residence. According to him, the many versions are merely symbolic language, but the

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<sup>27</sup> Ansar (30 years old), Member of the Tanah Towa Kajang Community, *Interview*, May 8, 2025.

essence is the same. The author then described the election process based on the results of the interview with *Puto Hading*.

The *Ammatoa* election (*Attanang*) procession is held in the Sacred Forest (*Borong Karamaka*) in the form of a Traditional Ceremony, commonly referred to as the highest ritual event in the Kajang Dalam (*Ammatoa*) Traditional Law Community. It is a ritual to seek guidance, especially for selecting a new *Ammatoa*. The ritual is coordinated directly by the *Anrongta*, who is responsible for the ritual, and assisted by other traditional leaders.

The *Ammatoa* Election (*Attanang*) procession is attended by those who have the right to participate in the *Angnganro* ceremony. According to *Puto Hading*, only *Anrongta*, Customary Leaders, and *Ammatoa* Descendants (*Tuannang Tulimallayya*) can participate in the procession. According to him, this has been outlined by *Pasang*.<sup>28</sup>

According to *Ismail*, in the *Ammatoa* Election Procession (*Attanang*), all the necessities for the *angnganro* ceremony are prepared by the Customary Leaders and residents, whose duties have been divided. For example, the *Galla Sapa*, who is already responsible for maintaining the fern vegetables, is responsible for procuring the vegetables. The *Galla Ganta* is also responsible for procuring the reed bamboo, while other residents prepare equipment and materials, such as glutinous rice harvested by local residents in large quantities and other natural products typically used in grand ceremonies. The *angnganro* ceremony, he continued, is like a large-scale party in modern society, boisterous but still solemn. The difference is that it is held in a sacred forest (*Borong Karamaka*) and is very traditional in nature, but only certain residents are allowed to enter the forest. This procession is carried out for months in the forest. Usually, 3 months before the peak of the event, to support all the processions, residents usually build small houses made of bamboo (*bale-bale*) as a place to prepare offerings and store other food and clothing used in the *angnganro* ceremony.

In the forest (*Borong Karamaka*), the selection process (*Attanang*) is carried out precisely in a place where ceremonies are often held, namely under a large tree that is hundreds of years old and still growing to this day. According to *Puto Hading*, this tree is also considered sacred; its shady leaves and large trunk can provide shelter and peace during the ceremony. In the forest, there is also a single grave (*Kuburan Tunggalaka*) in front of this grave, where the prospective *Ammatoa* will undergo selection and then be confirmed as the chosen *Ammatoa*.

The peak ceremony is held a week (7 days) at the end of the 3 months of preparation for the ceremony and coincides with midnight on the full moon (*Kentarang*). The *Ammatoa*

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<sup>28</sup> *Puto Hading* (45 years old), Indigenous Community of Tanah Towa Kajang, *Interview*, May 16, 2025.

candidates who are desired by and have gone through all kinds of training and trials are already in the sacred forest. If, for example, there are only 3 candidates, then these three candidates will then take turns reciting *Pasang* and getting *Anrongta*, this challenge, which, according to Puto Ganing, is a tarekat and taboo to tell. However, the author still describes the challenge based on the conclusions of the interview and the results of previous research. Candidates who are unable to pronounce *Pasang* perfectly and are unable to pass the challenge and are considered unable to become an *Ammatoa* can be certain that only one candidate is able to pronounce *Pasang* perfectly, passing the challenge given by *Anrongta*, and the candidate who is indeed desired by, for example, being illuminated by the moon and the person's face seems to glow. The challenges in question include the candidates being given corn kernels by the *Anrongta* on the palms of each candidate, then being pecked by a white chicken that has been prepared and perched on the shoulders of the candidate, being able to hold a very hot incense burner (*Passauan*) whose smoke is more inclined to one person even though it is against the wind and being able to stand perfectly from his seat to immediately perform ablution. This candidate is then confirmed as the new *Ammatoa* and is chosen in the *Ammatoa* election process (*Attanang*) during the ceremony.

According to Puto Ganing, after the peak procession was completed, *Anrongta* then officially announced the new *Ammatoa*, and every resident who participated in the election process (*Attanang*) was given the opportunity to shake hands with the new traditional leader. After the new *Ammatoa* was elected, several residents were then assigned to leave the sacred forest to ask the traditional leader, who holds the title *Galla*, to participate in the next procession, namely the inauguration.<sup>29</sup>

b. *Angnganro* to release vows due to illness (*angnganro ri fudalle*).

According to Amir Bolong, spokesperson for the *Ammatoa* (*Galla Puto*) community in Kajang District, especially in their traditional area, they believe that if a family member is ill and doesn't recover, they will perform this tradition to ask for health and safety from *Tu Riek Akrakna*. However, the process isn't as long as the *angnganro* for the *Ammatoa* (*angnganro anyuru' borong*) election. The preparation only takes a minimum of seven days to prepare the *pangalle sangka* (the equipment needed for the *angnganro* tradition), starting with the offerings and everything else needed for the *angnganro* tradition.

The implementation stages are not much different from the *angnganro* in the selection of *Ammatoa*, but the difference is that there are two locations for implementation, namely at the house of the family who made the vow, all preparations are provided at the house, and

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<sup>29</sup> Puto Hading (45 years old), Indigenous Community of Tanah Towa Kajang, Interview, May 16, 2025.

assisted by certain people who have been appointed directly by the family who will carry out the *angnganro*. After the *pangalle sangka* (the preparation equipment for the *angnganro* tradition) is collected, starting from the offerings and everything needed is complete, then *Ammatoa* comes to the house to carry out the *angnganro* ritual. *Ammatoa* leads the *angnganro* tradition, the first process is to treat the sick person by reading while blowing with prayers asking for healing and health, then continued by all the families of the sick person. After that, the next process in the forest is bringing the chicken that has been prepared beforehand, then continuing with the release of the chicken by *Ammatoa*. After the release of the chicken, the *angnganro* tradition ends, and all residents return to their respective homes.<sup>30</sup>

## 2. Islamic Legal Perspective on the *Angnganro* Ritual in the People of Kajang District in Bulukumba Regency

The law, literally, *nazar* means "obliging oneself to do or not do an act with the intention of glorifying and drawing closer to Allah SWT. *Nazar* was prescribed to previous people before the time of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, as explained in the al-Qur'an Surah Ali Imran verse 35.

"(Remember) when the wife of 'Imrân said, "My Lord! I dedicate what is in my womb entirely to Your service,<sup>1</sup> so accept it from me. You 'alone' are truly the All-Hearing, All-Knowing."

In a hadith narrated by Bukhari-Muslim from Aisyah:

"The Prophet said, "Whoever vows to obey Allah, let him carry it out, and whoever vows to disobey him, let him not carry it out."

Sharia allows every Muslim to make vows. This shows that the law of vows is permissible.<sup>31</sup> The scholars agree that the law of carrying out vows or carrying out something in accordance with what has been vowed is mandatory.<sup>32</sup> This is provided that the vow is to do good to Allah SWT, not to disobey Him. People who make vows but do not carry them out their vows, whether intentionally or because they are unable to carry them out, must pay *kafarat* (fine). The amount of the fine is the same as the *kafarat* of breaking an oath. The "*angnganro*" ceremony is a ceremony to release vultures or a ceremony to give thanks because one's prayers and requests were answered. For example, someone is affected by a

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<sup>30</sup> Amir Bolong (50 years old), Galla Puto (Spokesperson for *Ammatoa*), Interview, May 12, 2025.

<sup>31</sup> Yunus Putra Cinta, "Larangan Menikah Sebagai Akibat Sumpah Pengakatan Saudara Pada Masyarakat Adat Saibatin Di Kecamatan Marga Sekampung Kabupaten Lampung Timur" (IAIN Metro, 2023), <http://repository.metrouniv.ac.id/id/eprint/8676/>.

<sup>32</sup> Wan Abdul Fattah Wan Ismail et al., "The Position Of The Oath Of Nafyi Al-`Ilmi In The Islamic Law Of Evidence And Its Practice In The Shariah Court," *Al-Qanatir: International Journal of Islamic Studies* 33, no. 4 (2024): 11–19, <https://www.al-qanatir.com/aq/article/view/934>.

disaster or a dangerous disease, and then he prays that if he is saved from the danger or recovered from his illness, he will carry out the "*angnganro*" ritual.

The Kajang indigenous people celebrate the *angnganro* tradition through a large-scale celebration, inviting traditional leaders and the community to witness the *angnganro* procession. However, not all communities participate in this *angnganro* ceremony because the costs are very high and only certain individuals can attend. The *angnganro* procession lasts for months in the forest, lasting at least seven days. Usually, three months before the peak of the event, residents build small bamboo houses (*bale-bale*) to prepare offerings and store other food and clothing used in the *angnganro* ceremony. In general, Islamic teachings state that offerings, whether in the form of slaughtered meat or non-meat foods such as fruit, are forbidden for Muslims to consume. The evidence for this is QS. al-Baqarah verse 173:

“Indeed, he has only forbidden you ‘to eat’ carrion, blood, swine, and what is slaughtered in the name of any other than Allah. But if someone is compelled by necessity—neither driven by desire nor exceeding immediate need—they will not be sinful. Surely Allah is All-Forgiving, Most Merciful.”

If the food (offering/*sesajen*) is meat slaughtered as an offering to the dead, then it is forbidden to eat it. Indeed, He has only forbidden you a few things. First, carrion, animals that die without being slaughtered properly according to religious requirements. Second, blood that is naturally flowing, not the spleen and liver, which are naturally congealed. Third, pork and other pig parts such as bones, fat, and other products, as well as their derivatives. Fourth, the meat of animals slaughtered in the name of anything other than Allah, namely, animals sacrificed to idols and spirits that are believed by polytheists to provide protection and safety.

The *angnganro* procession, which is carried out in a festive manner, is a form of tradition that is interpreted by the Kajang indigenous people as an expression of gratitude because their prayers and requests have been answered. This shows that there is a slight discrepancy between Islamic teachings and the customary law teachings that apply in Tanah Towa Village, especially the community's views regarding the implementation of *angnganro*.

Essentially, Islamic law supports tradition as local wisdom that must be preserved as long as it does not conflict with sharia. ‘*Urf*, as a method of establishing law recognized by sharia, supports the existence of customs and traditions as a vital part of regulating social life. Furthermore, traditions also serve as guidelines for action and can provide a sense of identity for a community.

## Conclusion

The Angnganro tradition practiced by the people of Kajang District, Bulukumba Regency, is a form of local cultural heritage with high social, spiritual, and religious value. This tradition has been passed down from generation to generation by the Ammatoa Kajang indigenous community and remains preserved to this day as part of the community's collective identity. Angnganro is generally carried out in the form of pilgrimages to ancestral graves, communal prayers, and the presentation of offerings or symbolic offerings, interpreted as expressions of gratitude and requests for safety. In a social context, this tradition strengthens solidarity and togetherness among community members and emphasizes adherence to customary norms inherited from ancestors. From an Islamic legal perspective, the Angnganro tradition can be categorized as a form of cultural religious expression containing moral and spiritual values, as long as its practice does not contain elements of shirk (polytheism), namely the belief in the existence of powers other than Allah SWT. Values such as gratitude, prayer, and respect for ancestors can be accommodated within the framework of sharia if they are oriented towards monotheism and the intention of worshipping Allah alone. However, some ritual elements that still potentially contain non-monotheistic beliefs require reinterpretation and symbolic Islamization, for example, by replacing offerings with alms or communal prayers with Islamic nuances..

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