



An Islamic Legal Analysis of the *Assuro Ammaca* Ritual at the Sawerigading Tomb in Pamatata Village, Selayar Islands Indonesia

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Abstract

This study examines the Assuro Ammaca ritual practiced at the Sawerigading tomb in Pamatata Village, Selayar Islands, from the perspective of Islamic law and local community beliefs. In various religious and cultural traditions, rituals inherited from ancestors function as moral and spiritual guidelines that shape community life. However, such practices often raise theological questions when they intersect with Islamic doctrines. This research aims to explore the meaning, process, and legal implications of Assuro Ammaca within the framework of Islamic law, and to understand how the local community perceives and maintains the ritual. This study employs a field-based qualitative research method, using observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation to collect data from community members, religious figures, and traditional leaders. The findings reveal that Assuro Ammaca at the Sawerigading tomb is understood by the community as an expression of gratitude and respect toward a spiritual entity believed to provide protection, blessings, and assistance in daily life. The ritual involves specific offerings and prayers that reflect a syncretic blend of ancestral beliefs and religious expressions. From the perspective of Islamic law, this practice raises significant theological concerns. Appealing to entities other than Allah for protection or blessings contradicts the principle of tawhid (monotheism, the oneness of Allah), the core of Islamic belief. While Islam recognizes local traditions ('urf) as long as they do not conflict with Sharia principles, the Assuro Ammaca ritual demonstrates a deviation in matters of belief. Therefore, this practice cannot be justified within Islamic law, particularly in its theological dimension.

Keywords: *Islamic Law; Local Tradition; Assuro Ammaca; Tawhid.*

Abstrak

Penelitian ini mengkaji ritual Assuro Ammaca yang dipraktikkan di makam Sawerigading di Desa Pamatata, Kepulauan Selayar, dari perspektif hukum Islam dan kepercayaan masyarakat setempat. Dalam berbagai tradisi keagamaan dan budaya, ritual yang diwarisi dari leluhur berfungsi sebagai pedoman moral dan

spiritual yang membentuk kehidupan masyarakat. Namun, praktik semacam itu sering menimbulkan pertanyaan teologis ketika mereka bersinggungan dengan doktrin Islam. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengeksplorasi makna, proses, dan implikasi hukum Assuro Ammaca dalam kerangka hukum Islam, dan untuk memahami bagaimana masyarakat setempat memandang dan memelihara ritual tersebut. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif berbasis lapangan, menggunakan observasi, wawancara mendalam, dan dokumentasi untuk mengumpulkan data dari anggota masyarakat, tokoh agama, dan tokoh adat. Temuan tersebut mengungkapkan bahwa Assuro Ammaca di makam Sawerigading dipahami oleh masyarakat sebagai ungkapan rasa syukur dan rasa hormat terhadap entitas spiritual yang diyakini dapat memberikan perlindungan, berkah, dan bantuan dalam kehidupan sehari-hari. Ritual ini melibatkan persembahan dan doa khusus yang mencerminkan perpaduan sinkretik antara kepercayaan leluhur dan ekspresi agama. Dari perspektif hukum Islam, praktik ini menimbulkan masalah teologis yang signifikan. Meminta perlindungan atau berkah kepada entitas selain Allah bertentangan dengan prinsip tauhid (monoteisme, keesaan Allah), inti dari keyakinan Islam. Sementara Islam mengakui tradisi lokal ('urf) selama tidak bertentangan dengan prinsip-prinsip Syariah, ritual Assuro Ammaca menunjukkan penyimpangan dalam masalah kepercayaan. Oleh karena itu, praktik ini tidak dapat dibenarkan dalam hukum Islam, khususnya dalam dimensi teologisnya.

Kata kunci: Hukum Islam; Tradisi Lokal; *Assuro Ammaca*; Tauhid.

Introduction

In many societies, rites and traditions that are passed down from generation to generation serve as moral, spiritual, and social guidelines in daily life. Traditions such as pilgrimages to ancestral graves or thanksgiving ceremonies are often considered manifestation of respect for ancestors and a form of deep spiritual expression (Arjana, 2017). This phenomenon is not only plural in Indonesia, but also in various Muslim communities around the world, where local elements meet religious teachings in community ritual practices. However, when such traditions mix with formal religious values, especially in the context of Islam, complex theological and legal questions arise about the conformity of these practices with the principles of Islamic teachings. Empirical studies examining the interaction between Islamic law and local practice show the dynamics of value negotiation in pluralistic societies, including how Muslims understand and interpret local traditions within the framework of Islamic law (Muliadi, Nirwan Wahyudi, 2024).

In particular, the *Assuro Ammaca* ritual at the Sawerigading tomb, Pamata Village, Selayar Islands Regency, is a clear example of the interaction between local traditions and Islamic teachings (Hasyim, 2020). The local community understands this practice as a form of gratitude and

respect for spiritual entities that are believed to provide protection and blessings. In practice, certain processions with offerings, prayers, and rituals reflect the community's combination of traditional values and spiritual beliefs (Syamsunardi, Erman Syarif, Maddatuang, Sulaiman Zhiddiq, 2024). This kind of practice prompts a more in-depth study because it involves not only cultural aspects but also normative Islamic legal dimensions, particularly the principle of *tawhid* (monotheism, the oneness of Allah) and the prohibition on worshipping or seeking help from anyone other than Allah. This kind of study is important to understand the boundary between acceptable *'urf* (tradition) and practices that cause deviations in Muslim beliefs (Lestari et al., 2023).

Several previous studies have examined similar phenomena in the context of Islamic law and local traditions. For example, Muliadi et al. examined the syncretism between Islam and local culture in the *Makkuliwa Lopi* ritual in Polewali Mandar, showing how local practices continue to transform under the influence of Islamic values and the local wisdom of coastal communities (Muliadi, Nirwan Wahyudi, 2024). Another study by Irawan et al. examined the negotiation of legal pluralism between Islamic law and Hindu customs in Pegayaman, showing how internalizing Islamic values alongside other cultures can occur without negating the principle of faith (Irawan, Zayadi, Made Saihu, Darwis Hude, 2025). In addition, Solihan et al.'s research discusses the acculturation of Islamic norms and customs in the *Tunggu Tubang* wedding tradition in South Sumatra (Solihan, Izomiddin, Mohammad Syawaludin, Kiki Mikail, 2025). The study by Subakir et al. examined the interpretation of Islamic law regarding local religion in the Samin community, showing differences in understanding and responses to traditional practices of the community (Ahmad Subakir, Nur Wakhidah, Muhammad Nazir, 2025). Annisa Wahid and Rahimin Affandi's research underscores the integration of Islam and culture in the tradition of Qur'an recitation at death events in West Sumatra, reflecting the harmony between Islamic teachings and local practices (Wahid & Rahim, R., A., 2024). The findings in these studies enrich understanding of how local traditions are situated within Islamic law and reveal variation in Muslim communities' responses to complex spiritual traditions.

However, studies that specifically analyze the *Assuro Ammaca* ritual at Sawerigading's tomb from perspectives of Islamic law and the wider community's perception are still very limited. This research presents a novelty for its focus on the unique ritual practices in Selayar that have not been systematically studied in contemporary Islamic law literature, for its approach that combines normative studies of Islamic law with field observations of social and cultural practices. The urgency of this research lies in the need to evaluate whether the practice of *Assuro Ammaca* is in line with the principles of sharia and how the community interprets the ritual

in their religious life, so as to contribute to the discourse of Islamic law that is contextual and responsive to social reality (Eid al-Akbar Syarif, Hasaruddin, 2025).

Research Method

This study employs a field-based qualitative research design with a descriptive-analytical approach. It falls within the category of empirical legal research, which emphasizes the use of primary data collected directly from social realities in the field. Empirical legal research is particularly relevant for examining how legal norms, especially Islamic law, are understood, interpreted, and practiced within specific socio-cultural contexts. Field data were collected through direct observation and in-depth interviews, allowing the researcher to capture both normative perspectives and lived experiences related to the *Assuro Ammaca* ritual.

The research was conducted in Pamatata Village, Bontomatene District, Selayar Islands Regency, Indonesia, a community in which the *Assuro Ammaca* ritual at the Sawerigading tomb is actively practiced and socially maintained. This location was purposively selected due to its strong attachment to ancestral traditions and the continued performance of ritual practices intertwined with religious beliefs. The primary data consist of information obtained directly from key informants in the field, including religious figures, traditional leaders, and community members. The informants interviewed in this study include *Te'ngo* (religious leader), *Ramang* (traditional authority), *Demma Tantu* (ritual equipments), *Timalang* (incense), *Juma'* (Friday), Hasna, Diana, and *Koe'*, all of whom are recognized as community figures with knowledge of the *Assuro Ammaca* ritual and its social significance. These interviews provided insights into the ritual's meaning, process, and perceived legitimacy from the community's perspective.

This research adopts a social-scientific approach, seeking to understand legal and religious phenomena in real social settings. By observing ritual practices and engaging directly with community members, this approach enables an in-depth analysis of how Islamic legal norms interact with local traditions, beliefs, and social structures in everyday life.

Result and Discussion

Community Perceptions and Meanings of the *Assuro Ammaca* Ritual at the Sawerigading Tomb

Community perceptions of local religious rituals, such as the *Assuro Ammaca* practice at the Sawerigading tomb in Pamatata Village, are diverse, dynamic, and deeply embedded in multidimensional frameworks of culture, belief, and social identity. Rituals performed at sacred sites often embody local values, communal interpretations of the sacred, and the lived

reality of tradition expressed through ancestral memory and collective practices. This observation aligns with sociological research on sacred practices among indigenous communities, wherein religious rituals evolve as symbolic manifestations of cultural continuity and adaptation in the face of changing social contexts. For example, the research from Ismail demonstrated that indigenous religious rituals carry shifting meanings and syncretic elements that integrate local cultural identities with broader religious frameworks, without entirely eliminating the ritual's sacred value (Ismail, 2025). In the case of the *Assuro Ammaca* ritual, community interpretations reveal an equally complex interplay between religious symbolism, cultural heritage, and individual religiosity.

In the study's field data, many community members articulate that *Assuro Ammaca* expresses gratitude and respect toward perceived spiritual forces associated with the Sawerigading tomb. These ritual acts may include presenting offerings or symbolic gifts believed to express thanksgiving for blessings or protection. As some informants explained, the practice functions as an embodied cultural expression rather than a strict religious duty. For instance, one community leader, Ms. Diana, clarified that:

"They sometimes bring offerings to the Sawerigading tomb not to seek blessings but because they believe they have offended the spirit residing there. Bringing offerings is considered an act of apology for words or actions deemed disrespectful, and thus they hope to restore balance (Mrs. Diana, 2023) (Mrs. Diana, 2023)."

This narrative signifies that, for some residents, *Assuro Ammaca* serves more as a social corrective mechanism rooted within local cosmologies than as a purely devotional act directed toward the divine. The ritual thereby operates within a symbolic field in which respect for unseen forces serves as a cultural norm, shaping how individuals negotiate meaning and responsibility within community life.

In contrast, other community members frame *Assuro Ammaca* within a narrative of fulfilled wishes and experiential validation. Mr. Tengok, an influential religious figure in Pamatata Village, articulated this perspective by noting that:

"When people bring offerings or sacrifice buffalo or cattle at the tomb, it is often because their requests have been answered. Yet, this is not consistent with Islamic teaching. In Islam, we should ask only from Allah. Our ancestors were not fully aware and thus followed these traditional practices, but today's believers must understand that sincere supplication is directed to Allah alone (Mr. Tengok, 2023)."

This account reveals how local perceptions are internally contested along ethical and theological lines. On the one hand, ritual practice is perceived as a lived tradition offering solace and hope; on the other, it is critiqued for failing to meet normative religious standards that privilege

direct communication with the divine. What unfolds is a social terrain in which local belief systems and doctrinal Islam coexist, creating sites of negotiation within communal consciousness. Studies in similar contexts indicate that this kind of ritual negotiation is not unique to Selayar; scholars have shown that Islamic communities regularly engage in hybrid religious expressions that combine indigenous symbols with broader religious narratives (Makatita et al., 2022).

Yet, a significant segment of the population holds a more critical stance. Some community members do not ascribe sacred efficacy to the Sawerigading site at all. A village resident, Ms. Hasna, stated:

"It is illogical to think that fragments of the Sawerigading ship can grant wishes. Any strange events that occur are Allah's will, not the power of the tomb. The wood cannot act independently to answer prayers (Mrs. Hasna, 2023)."

This position reflects a rationalist critique grounded in an Islamic theological worldview that rejects intermediary spiritual entities as causal agents in human affairs. Such perspectives illustrate the diversity of local interpretations, ranging from belief in spiritual intercession to symbolic ritualism to strict doctrinal adherence.

Interestingly, there is also a group that attributes experiential validity to the ritual, illustrating how ritual belief is reinforced through perceived outcomes. Mr. Koe', another local informant, asserted:

"I believe in the blessing of the Sawerigading tomb because I once asked for help for my son's future. Now he is successful and strong. The tomb only shows its wonder to those who genuinely believe in it (Mr. Koe', 2023)."

This testimony demonstrates how personal experience plays a crucial role in sustaining the ritual's meaning within specific social circles. It expresses the phenomenological dimension of belief that people construct meaning through lived encounters and interpretive frames that integrate cultural capital, social expectations, and personal narratives.

Social science research concurs that rituals like *Assuro Ammaca* can function as powerful sites of identity formation, social cohesion, and moral pedagogy. Scholars have documented how local traditions involving sacred sites can foster community harmony and continuity by embodying collective values and shared historical memory (Jayadi & Adabiyah, 2024). Though not directly equivalent, studies on burial rituals in Aceh and other Indonesian contexts demonstrate that cemetery practices often play a role in articulating meanings of community, cultural identity, and spiritual connectivity across generations. In Aceh, burial rites reflect both local custom and religious commitment, balancing the metaphysical and social aspects of death rituals (Abdul Manan, Kamarullah Kamarullah, Husaini Husda, Rasyad Rasyad, 2024).

However, the *Assuro Ammaca* ritual at Sawerigading stands out for its contested meanings. Unlike *ziarah* (strictly Islamic prayers at gravesites) which is oriented toward remembering the deceased people and praying for mercy upon them, *Assuro Ammaca* follows a hybrid logic that combines local cosmological beliefs with acts of supplication, apology, and thanksgiving toward non-divine entities. This hybridity positions the ritual in a distinct interpretive field where cultural symbolism and individual belief systems intersect and sometimes conflict.

The plurality of community perceptions from reverence to critique highlights the sociological complexity of religious ritual. Rituals become not only practices but also languages of meaning through which social actors articulate their understanding of divine agency, moral accountability, and spiritual efficacy. Collective rituals often function as spaces for negotiating identity, especially in locales where Islam and indigenous traditions coexist (Bakibinga-Gaswaga, 2021). Research on syncretism demonstrates that communities do not simply abandon tradition when faced with doctrinal strictures; rather, they engage in adaptive strategies of reinterpretation, accommodation, and, at times, resistance (Muliadi, Nirwan Wahyudi, 2024).

By documenting community voices and situating them within broader theoretical perspectives, this sub-section underscores that *Assuro Ammaca* is not a monolithic practice but a contested ritual domain reflecting multiple layers of meaning. Policymakers, religious educators, and community leaders can benefit from recognizing this diversity, for it reveals that local religious life is not reducible to doctrinal formulas but is deeply interwoven with lived experiences, social memory, and evolving epistemic frameworks.

***Assuro Ammaca* as a Form of Religious-Cultural Syncretism in Local Muslim Society**

Religious-cultural syncretism refers to the blending of two or more religious belief systems into a singular practice that reflects elements of each origin. In Muslim societies, syncretism often emerges where Islam encounters long-established indigenous traditions, resulting in hybrid rituals that incorporate both Islamic symbols and local cosmological beliefs. This phenomenon is well documented in anthropological and sociological studies of religion, especially in contexts where Muslim communities engage in practices that merge Islamic doctrine with ancestral beliefs, even when doctrinal tensions exist. Research on syncretic practices in Southeast Asia, such as the blending of animistic and Islamic elements in rituals and festivals, shows that syncretism becomes a culturally embedded strategy for preserving identity while negotiating religious boundaries (Islam & Uin, 2024).

The *Assuro Ammaca* ritual observed at the Sawerigading tomb reflects such syncretic dynamics. From a purely Islamic doctrinal standpoint, the invocation of spiritual entities other than Allah and the act of bringing symbolic offerings to a sacred site associated with ancestors contradict the core tenet of *tawhid* (monotheism, the oneness of Allah). However, within the lived reality of Pamatata Village, the ritual demonstrates a negotiated religious expression that combines Islamic phrases, rituals of remembrance, and deeply rooted cosmological notions of spiritual agency associated with the tomb. This coexistence of Islamic and pre-Islamic belief systems is characteristic of what anthropologists term “syncretic Islam,” where local traditions are not entirely replaced by Islamic orthodoxy but are instead reinterpreted within an Islamic framework that local communities understand and embody. Studies have shown similar patterns in other Muslim communities, where rituals involving sacred places and ancestors are integrated into Islamic practice with varying degrees of theological accommodation (Muslimah et al., 2023).

Field data from this research indicate that many participants view *Assuro Ammaca* as a meaningful cultural practice rooted in communal identity and ancestral heritage. For example, some community members believe that engaging with the site of the Sawerigading tomb and offering symbolic gifts is an important way of acknowledging the spiritual legacy of their ancestors. This framing underscores that, for these individuals, the ritual is less about doctrinal correctness and more about continuity, belonging, and local cosmology as lived experience. Ms. Diana’s account that offering items stems from a need to rectify perceived social or spiritual imbalances illustrates how religious-cultural syncretism functions as a mechanism for social regulation and moral cohesion within the community. In this light, *Assuro Ammaca* becomes a social act that reinforces local ethics and collective memory rather than a strictly theological act of worship.

Scholars studying syncretism in Muslim contexts emphasize that such practices are not homogenous but vary in interpretation depending on historical memory, religious education, and cultural transmission mechanisms. For example, research on mosques and traditional rituals in Java reveals how local communities interpret Islamic teachings through the lens of existing cultural frameworks, resulting in forms of religious expression that are simultaneously Islamic and indigenous (Wijaya, W., Tanaka, K., Nishida, D., & Fujita, 2025). Similarly, syncretic practices surrounding saint veneration and tomb visitation in South Asia illustrate how devotional activities are shaped by local religious landscapes, producing unique ritual configurations that deviate from canonical norms while retaining social legitimacy (Singh, 2023).

In the context of the Sawerigading community, *Assuro Ammaca* operates at the intersection of inherited familial belief systems and

collective religious identity. Community members who believe in the ritual's efficacy often engage in it with the expectation of tangible benefits, such as protection, prosperity, or the resolution of hardship. This mirrors ethnographic observations in other syncretic Muslim environments, where rituals involving sacred sites are imbued with hopes for both spiritual and material outcomes. Nevertheless, even within syncretic frameworks, individuals often continue to contextualize these practices using Islamic vocabulary, such as referencing Allah's will or framing ritual success in terms of divine benevolence. This linguistic and conceptual assimilation suggests that syncretism in such Muslim communities is not simply a passive inheritance of pre-Islamic rites but an active rearticulation of tradition in a manner that resonates with religious consciousness.

Academic discourse on syncretism also highlights the role of education, religious authority, and communal discourse in shaping how hybrid practices evolve over time. Communities that maintain traditional rituals alongside Islamic practices often do so through negotiated processes of meaning-making that balance cultural preservation with religious commitments. Evidence from field studies in Indonesia shows that communal leaders, including religious scholars and traditional elders, play a pivotal role in framing syncretic rituals within accepted cultural paradigms that do not overtly challenge the community's core religious identity (Tasrifin Tahara, Andi Batara Al Isra, 2023). In the case of *Assuro Ammaca*, local leaders may emphasize the ritual's moral and social functions, such as fostering social harmony, resolving conflict, or promoting communal respect, while downplaying its theological dissonances.

It is critical, however, to differentiate between syncretic practices that function as social customs and those that carry theological implications that may contravene foundational Islamic principles. While the former may be accommodated within a broader Islamic cultural framework as long as they do not violate core beliefs, the latter requires careful theological critique. In scholarly debates, the classification of syncretic practices varies: some religious authorities view them as benign cultural heritage, while others regard them as religious innovations (*bid'ah*) with potentially problematic implications. Research in Indonesian Muslim societies underscores that syncretism's cognitive and social effects are mediated by the community's overall religious literacy, the level of engagement with formal Islamic education, and the interpretive authority of local religious institutions.

The *Assuro Ammaca* ritual's persistence in the Sawerigading context suggests that syncretic forms of religious practice endure when they satisfy communal needs for identity affirmation, existential security, and social continuity. Yet, the continued relevance of such practices within a Muslim society also raises complex questions about the boundaries of religious orthodoxy, cultural autonomy, and the adaptive capacity of Islamic belief

systems. Scholarly examination of syncretism, therefore, provides a valuable lens for understanding how religious communities negotiate the tensions between inherited traditions and doctrinal commitments. By situating *Assuro Ammaca* within a broader analysis of religious-cultural syncretism, this sub-section illustrates that religious practices at the Sawerigading tomb are not isolated phenomena but part of wider patterns of cultural adaptation and religious meaning-making among Muslim societies.

Islamic Legal Assessment of *Assuro Ammaca* Between 'Urf, Tawhid, and Deviant Belief Practices

Academic analysis of religious practices such as *Assuro Ammaca* at the *Sawerigading* tomb requires careful differentiation between 'urf (custom), *tawhid* (monotheism, the oneness of Allah), and practices that may deviate into prohibited forms of belief. Islamic law (*shari'ah*) is rooted in clear foundational texts, the Qur'an and Sunnah that define *ibādāt* (acts of worship) and the limits of acceptable cultural accommodations. While Islam historically engages with local customs ('urf) and permits their integration when they do not contradict essential tenets of faith, it unambiguously rejects anything that infringes upon the monotheistic principle (*tawhid*) and elevates intermediaries or spiritual entities to a participatory role in the believer's supplication and spiritual agency. Contemporary scholarship on Islam and local wisdom underscores that Islamic law can be contextualized through 'urf and *maṣlahah* (public interest), provided these adaptations remain within the boundaries of primary sources and do not constitute deviant belief practices (Hidayatullah, 2025).

The practice of *Assuro Ammaca*, based on field data from Pamatata Village, involves ritualized offerings, prayers, and symbolic acts directed toward spiritual forces believed to reside at the Sawerigading tomb. Community narratives reveal that participants see these actions as expressions of gratitude, spiritual intercession, or reconciliation. However, from an Islamic legal perspective, invoking spiritual entities other than Allah for protection, blessing, or assistance raises critical doctrinal concerns. Classical and contemporary Islamic legal theory emphasizes that humans must direct *du'ā'* (supplication) exclusively to Allah, without intermediaries, as this reflects the absolute oneness and sole agency of God in answering prayers. The Qur'an states that Allah alone is worthy of worship and calls for direct devotion to Him: "*Allah is the One, the Self-Sufficient Master... He begets not, nor is He begotten...*" (Qur'an 112:1-4). This normative principle establishes the theological foundation against seeking supernatural aid outside the divine will. Although the Qur'an and Sunnah do not explicitly legislate every local tradition, they clearly prohibit

associating partners with Allah (*shirk*) or attributing sacred efficacy to anything that competes with Allah's exclusive prerogatives.

In the Islamic legal tradition, *'urf*, understood as a widely recognized and consistent social practice, may be considered as a supplementary consideration in issues of *mu'āmalāt* (social transactions) and cultural norms, provided it does not contradict definitive Scriptural injunctions. For example, in the context of death rituals or local customs, scholars have argued that *'urf* may inform how Muslims engage with community practices of remembrance or mourning when such practices do not infringe upon core doctrinal prohibitions (Setiyawan, 2012). Studies show that certain traditional death rituals, evaluated through an *'urf* lens, can be integrated into Islamic practice when they comply with Sharia principles and preserve unity (*maslahah*) and communal harmony (Zuhdi & Nasir, 2024). However, the tolerance of *'urf* functions only up to the point where a practice does not entail attributing to created entities roles that rightly belong to Allah, such as the granting of benefit or protection.

Theological critique from Islamic jurisprudence distinguishes between legitimate cultural expressions and practices that veer into innovation (*bid'ah*) or outright deviation. A significant body of scholarship warns that rituals involving offerings to spiritual beings or tombs, when understood as efficacious in themselves or recipients of direct supplication, can embody subtle forms of polytheistic belief (*shirk*). Within classical fiqh, praiseworthy customs that are compatible with Scripture may be classified as *'urf ṣaḥīḥ* (authentic custom), whereas those that contradict the Qur'an and Sunnah become *'urf fāsid* (disapproved custom) and should be abandoned. Research on Islamic law and local customs highlights that the *shari'ah* tradition accommodates beneficial customs (*'urf*) but also mandates their modification or rejection when they conflict with the core principles of Islamic creed and divine unity (Putra et al., 2025).

In the specific case of *Assuro Ammaca*, the ritual's invocation of spiritual entities and the use of symbolic offerings as if they were means of securing divine favor place it outside the realm of *'urf* that can be legally integrated. Although some participants frame their actions in Islamic terms, invoking Allah's will or expressing gratitude, the underlying practice, as narrated in field interviews, reflects a syncretic belief system where agency is conferred upon non-divine forces. This distinction matters because Islamic legal epistemology draws a clear boundary between permissible cultural expressions and practices that undermine *tawhid* and introduce religious innovations. Contemporary legal thought in Indonesia and broader Muslim societies emphasizes that preserving *tawhid* is foundational; any assimilation of local customs must be critically evaluated to protect the doctrinal integrity of Islamic belief (Zulfa et al., 2025).

Moreover, authoritative religious institutions and legal advisors often use *ijtihad* (independent reasoning) when assessing rituals that emerge at the intersection of culture and religion. Islamic legal epistemology, such as illustrated in jurisprudential approaches to *fatwa* formulation, integrates *bayānī* (textual interpretation), *burhānī* (rational evidence), and contextual *'urf* considerations to arrive at positions that uphold Sharia objectives (*Maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah*) and social welfare. In this view, cultural practices like *Assuro Ammaca* might be permitted as cultural heritage or community remembrance activities if they are reframed to keep the focus on ethical gratitude to Allah and communal solidarity rather than on supernatural efficacy attributed to sacred sites or spiritual entities.

Conclusion

This study concludes that the *Assuro Ammaca* ritual practiced at the Sawerigading tomb represents a form of religious-cultural syncretism that is deeply embedded in local social meanings but raises serious theological concerns when assessed through the framework of Islamic law. While the community interprets the ritual as an expression of gratitude and spiritual reverence, its underlying belief in the efficacy of non-divine entities conflicts with the principle of *tawhid* and therefore cannot be justified as valid *'urf* within Islamic jurisprudence. This research is limited by its reliance on qualitative field data from a single locality and does not compare similar rituals across different regions or explore generational variations in belief and practice. Future studies are recommended to adopt a comparative, interdisciplinary approach by integrating anthropology, theology, and legal studies, and to examine the role of religious education and local religious authorities in transforming cultural rituals into practices that preserve cultural identity while remaining consistent with Islamic doctrinal principles.

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