



Female Circumcision in Bugis-Makassar Society of South Sulawesi: Between Cultural Symbolism and the Islamic Law

Rusdaya Basri

Institut Agama Islam Negeri Parepare

Rahmawati

Institut Agama Islam Negeri Parepare

Zainab

Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Al-Azhar, Gowa

Farouq Ahmad Ali

Institut Agama Islam Negeri Parepare

Rizka Ameliah

Institut Agama Islam Negeri Parepare

Email: rusdayabasri@iainpare.ac.id

Abstract: There are differences of opinion between Islamic law and local traditions regarding female circumcision. The Bugis-Makassar people still practice circumcision as a ritual that must be carried out. This article aims to examine female circumcision in the Bugis-Makassar community from the perspective of cultural symbolism and Islamic law. This study uses the empiricist legal method using the symbolic interactionism and benefits theory approach as an analytical tool. Data collection was carried out using interview and documentation methods. Interviews were conducted with traditional leaders, *sanro*, and communities in Pinrang, Pare-pare, Barru, Gowa and Jeneponto. The data obtained was then processed and explained through three stages, namely: data reduction, data presentation, and conclusions. The research results found that the Bugis female circumcision rite consists of three stages, namely the preparation, implementation and post-implementation stages. The practice of female circumcision is a tradition related to Islamic teachings that has been carried out by the Bugis and Makassar communities in South Sulawesi. Bugis female circumcision has cultural symbolic meanings such as nobility and high rank, prosperity, harmonious family life, purity and safety in this world and the hereafter (*mappaselleng*). Then, in terms of Islamic law, especially benefit, the practice of Bugis female circumcision contains the values of intermediary (*dzarai*) in obtaining benefits.

Keywords: Female Circumcision, Bugis-Makassar custom, *maslahah*, Islamic law

|| Submitted: January 29, 2024 || Accepted: August, 2024 || Published: August 24, 2024

Abstrak: Terjadi perbedaan pendapat antara hukum Islam dan tradisi lokal tentang khitan perempuan. Masyarakat Bugis-Makassar masih mempraktikkan khitan sebagai ritus yang mesti dilakukan. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menelaah khitan anak perempuan pada masyarakat Bugis Makassar dalam perspektif simbolisme budaya dan hukum Islam. Kajian ini menggunakan metode hukum empirisme dengan pendekatan teori interaksionisme simbolik dan masalah sebagai alat analisis. Pengumpulan data dilakukan dengan menggunakan metode wawancara dan dokumentasi. Wawancara dilakukan terhadap tokoh adat, sanro, dan masyarakat di Pinrang, Pare-pare, Barru, Gowa dan Jeneponto. Data yang diperoleh kemudian diolah dan dianalisis melalui tiga tahapan yaitu: reduksi data, penyajian data, dan kesimpulan. Hasil penelitian menemukan bahwa ritus khitan perempuan Bugis terdiri atas tiga tahap, yaitu tahap persiapan, pelaksanaan, dan pasca pelaksanaan. Praktik khitan perempuan adalah tradisi yang berkaitan dengan ajaran Islam yang telah dilakukan oleh masyarakat Bugis dan Makassar di Sulawesi Selatan. Khitan perempuan Bugis memiliki makna simbolik budaya seperti kemuliaan dan derajat yang tinggi, kesejahteraan, kehidupan keluarga yang harmonis, kesucian dan keselamatan dunia dan akhirat (*mappaselleng*). Kemudian sisi hukum Islam khususnya kemaslahatan, praktik khitan perempuan Bugis mengandung nilai-nilai mengantar (*dzarai*) dalam mendapatkan kemaslahatan.

Kata Kunci: Khitan perempuan, adat Bugis-Makassar, masalah, hukum Islam

Introduction

The legality of circumcision for women in Muslim communities is again being questioned. Some accept this custom as part of Islamic teachings, as can be seen from the hadith, which tells of the virtues and practice of female circumcision during the time of the Prophet PBUH. Others refused because Islamic teachings can't have a painful effect on women. On the other hand, hadiths related to female circumcision fall into the category of weak hadith (*dhaif*).¹ Sayyid Sabiq commented that the hadiths discussing female circumcision are not authentic.² Likewise, Sayyid Tantawi, Grand Sheikh of al-Azhar Egypt, stated that female circumcision is not part of Islamic teachings. Therefore, in 1996, the Egyptian

¹ Lanny Octavia, "Circumcision and Muslim Women's Identity in Indonesia," *Studia Islamika* 21, no. 3 (2014). Siti Khodijah and M Syamsudini, "The Tradition of Woman's Circumcision (A Case Study in Osing Society Banyuwangi East Java Indonesia)," *Islamika Inside: Jurnal Keislaman Dan Humaniora* 9, no. 1 (2023), p. 33–53.

² Norazam Khair Mohd Ithnin, et.al., "Re-evaluating the Authenticity of Hadith on the Shariah Ruling of Female Circumcision in Malaysia," *Al-Bayan Journal of Qur'an and Hadith Studies* 21, No. 2 (2023), p. 217-242. Sayyid Sābiq, *Fiqh Al-Sunnah*, 1st ed. (Cairo: Al-Fath, 2010).

Minister of Health banned the practice of female circumcision.³ Even Muhammad Abduh, at the beginning of the 20th century, criticized the practice of circumcision and considered it a Jewish tradition that was not related to Islamic teachings.⁴ The same thing expressed by Sheikh Mahmud Syaltut in the early 90s the circumcision tradition is a Jewish tradition that does not originate from Islamic teachings.

The circumcision for men and women has become part of the culture of most Muslims in Indonesia. In general, the majority of Muslims in Indonesia are of the Shafi'i Mazhab who believe that circumcision is obligatory in the Sharia.⁵ In 2015, UNICEF reported that Indonesia was ranked third in female circumcision after Egypt and Ethiopia. Basic Health Research in 2013 presented data on the practice of female circumcision throughout Indonesia, the highest percentage was in Gorontalo Province at 83.7%, and East Nusa Tenggara was the lowest at 2.7%. Furthermore, according to Basic Health Research data, circumcision is for girls aged 0-11 years with a percentage of 51.2%, while the highest age at circumcision is 72.4% when they are 1-5 months old, the percentage is 13.9% when they are 1-4 years old and a percentage of 3.3% were aged 5-11 years.

The National Commission on Violence Against Women stated that circumcision, which is practiced for women, even in a symbolic way, namely applying turmeric, is still an act of violence. In terms of regulations, the legal prohibition on female circumcision in Indonesia is found in the 2006 regulation of the Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia issuing a Circular Letter from the Directorate General of Public Health Development regarding the Prohibition of the Medicalization of Female Circumcision for Health Workers. In 2008, there was a reaction from the Indonesian Ulema Council (IUC) opposing the Minister of Health Regulation. IUC questioned this regulation and asked the Minister of Health to determine standards for female circumcision services. In 2010, the Minister of Health issued Regulation Number 1636/MENKES/PER/XI providing SOPs for the practice of circumcision for women to ensure the implementation of medically safe circumcision. In 2014, the Minister of Health issued Minister of Health Regulation Number 6 of 2014 concerning the revocation of Minister of Health Regulation Number 1636 concerning female circumcision. Criticism emerged from the International Federation of Gynecology and Obstetrics, NGOs, and progressive Muslim activists/religious figures against the

³ Hamada Ashry Ali, et. al., "Prevalence of Female Circumcision among Young Women in Beni-Suef, Egypt: A Cross-Sectional Study," *Journal of Pediatric and Adolescent Gynecology* 31, No. 6 (2018). Nurlaelah Abbas and St. Rahmatiah, "The Tradition of Female Circumcision (The Integration of Religion and Culture)," *Jurnal Adabiyah* 22, no. 22 (2021).

⁴ Fitri Ariana Putri, "Preservation of Ketuwinan Tradition to Establish Relationships between Communities in Kendal, Indonesia," *Prosperity: Journal of Society and Empowerment* 1, no. 1 (2021).

⁵ Radatilla and Siti Aisyah, "Islamic Law and Positive Law in Indonesia's Transgender Behavior," *Mazhabuna: Jurnal Perbandingan Mazhab* 3, no. 2 (2021).

Ministry of Health's regulations to revoke regulations on female circumcision (considered a backward step).

Several studies related to this research, including on female circumcision hadiths related to the numbers of hadith sanads, showed that the degree of this hadith was included in the ahad hadith, a hadith only narrated by a few people and does not reach the level of mutawatir.⁶ Subsequent research confirmed that the law on male circumcision does not differ among ulama. Male circumcision is a teaching of the Islamic religion even though it is a tradition of the people before Islam and brings many benefits. However, the practice of female circumcision, according to some scholars' opinions, if a woman is due to her biological desire or high sexual libido (hypersex) and it brings maslahah, then it is an honor.⁷ However, if it does not bring benefits to women, it even damages women's organs by cutting, injuring and removing some of the most important vital organs and those related to women's reproductive organs. Subsequent research showed that based on the hadiths that require circumcision, especially for women, it is generally based on the demand to follow the Sharia of Prophet Ibrahim (AS). This assumption tends to be due to the circumstances in which circumcision was carried out at that time, which was more focused on behavioral factors, namely habits that emerged and then developed as values in society.⁸

Based on some of the research that has been stated above, the research studied in this paper is different in terms of the research object, which focuses more on the implementation of female circumcision and its uniqueness in the Bugis and Makassar traditions in South Sulawesi. In addition, it is important to research the community's understanding of the female circumcision rite in the Bugis and Makassar traditions in South Sulawesi and its analysis regarding its beneficial aspects in an effort to contextualize the practice of female child circumcision in South Sulawesi.

This article aims to examine female circumcision in the Bugis Makassar community from the perspective of cultural symbolism and Islamic law. This study uses the empiricist legal method using the symbolic interactionism and *mashlahah* theory approach as an analytical tool.⁹ This research was empirical

⁶Husnul Khotimah, et. al. "Makna Hadis Tentang Khitan Perempuan Dan Mitos-Mitos Yang Menyertainya," *Jurnal Studi Hadis Nusantara* 3, no. 1 (2021), p. 35–47.

⁷ Agus Hermanto, "Khitan Perempuan Antara Tradisi Dan Syari'ah," *Kalam* 10, no. 1 (2016), p. 257–294.

⁸ Angelo Totaro, et.al., "Circumcision: History, Religion and Law," *Urologia Journal* 78, No. 1 (2011), p. 1-9. Ashabul Fadhl, "Meramu Ketentuan Hukum Islam Terkait Khitan Perempuan," *JURIS (Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah)* 14, no. 1 (2016), p. 47–61.

⁹ Zainuddin Ali, *Metode Penelitian Hukum*, Jakarta: Sinar Grafika, 2015. Surya Bhakta Sigdel, "Culture and Symbolism Nexus in Anthropology," *Janapriya Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies* 7, No. 1 (2018), p. 116-124. Hudzaifah Achmad, et.al., "Analysis on Fatwa of Majelis Permusyawaratan Ulama Aceh (MPU) on Against Prohibition of PUBG: A Legal View Based on Maslahah and Mafsadah," *Jurnal Islam Futura* 22, No. 2 (2020).

and was located in several areas of South Sulawesi, such as Barru, Parepare, Pinrang, Gowa, and Jeneponto. The data sources were obtained from participant observation and interviews with several religious and community leaders and several women. The data collection was carried out using observation, interviews, and documentation methods with field studies. The data obtained was then processed and analyzed through three stages, namely data reduction (data selection), data presentation, and conclusions.

The Practice of Female Child Circumcision in Bugis and Makasar Traditions in South Sulawesi

In general, the practice of female child circumcision in the Bugis and Makassar communities has a relatively similar procession, although in certain parts there are differences due to differences in customs that have been carried out from generation to generation. The female circumcision procession takes place in 3 stages, namely the preparation stage, implementation stage and post-implementation stage of female circumcision.

1. Preparation Stage

The practice of female circumcision in the traditions of the Bugis and Makassar communities is called *mapaselleng*, although some also call it *makkatte*. As for boys, it is called *massunna*. In understanding the Bugis and Makassar people, *makkatte* or *mappaselleng* tradition is closely related to religious rituals. For the Bugis and Makassar people, *makkatte* is also known as an Islamic ritual for girls. Therefore, a girl who can speak between the ages of 4 and 7 years is obliged to be circumcised.

The process of implementing the *makkatte* or *mappaselleng* tradition is generally carried out by an expert woman called a *Sanro* (the person who performs the circumcision), although in some areas it is carried out by a doctor or midwife. In Makassar culture, girls who are to be circumcised carry out the *ripabbajui* ceremony (*mappasang Bodo* clothing). This traditional Bodo clothing is paired with five or seven pieces. The *ripabbajui* ceremony is the first time a child wears Bodo clothing. For the Bugis community, which adheres to custom, girls who have never worn clothes are not allowed to wear Bodo clothing.

In the Bugis tradition, before wearing traditional Makassar Bugis clothes, girls who are to be circumcised are first bathed in water mixed with henna leaves (*pacci* leaves). Then, the girl is guided to take ablution water and then dressed in traditional clothes and decorations like a child bride. Another thing that needs to be prepared is 7 kinds of food or cake. The following are facts in the field regarding the practice of female circumcision in the traditions of the Bugis and Makassar communities, as in an interview with an informant named Mrs. Tari *Sanro* in Mattirosompe District, Pinrang Regency. She said that: "Before the *makkatte*' (female circumcision) process is carried out, the girl who wants to be

circumcised is bathed in pacci leaves (henna leaves). Then proceed with ablution and shahada, wearing plain clothes similar to wedding ceremonies." ¹⁰ The same statement said by Rasna and Hj. Akira, a resident of Massulowalie Village that: "The process of nakkatte (female circumcision) begins with bathing using pacci leaves (henna leaves), then the girl who wants to be circumcised performs ablution, wears Bodo clothes and lipa sabbe (a traditional Bugis sarong), and is decorated like a bride." ¹¹

Based on the interview above, it can be seen that the *mappaselleng* procession (girl circumcision) in Massulowalie Village, Mattirosompe District, Pinrang Regency, is that first the girl who will be circumcised is bathed first with water mixed with henna leaves to make her whole soul and body clean. After that, perform ablution. Then, they wear traditional Bugis clothes and decorate them like bridal decorations.

The same statement said by Mr. H. Tajuddin, M. Ag., secretary of the IUC of Gowa Regency that: "Not all girls from Gowa Regency are circumcised. When there are girls who are not circumcised, I have seen that so far there have been no problems in society. Also, they will receive no social sanctions if they are not circumcised. Girls' circumcision is different from boys' circumcision. The age of the circumcised child is 5-6 years (after the child can be guided to recite two sentences of the shahada). Some communities carry out the practice of female circumcision in Gowa according to custom, while others do not carry it out according to custom here." ¹²

Based on the results of the interviews above, not all members of the Makassar tribe community in Gowa Regency carry out the tradition of the female child circumcision procession. This is different from the Makassar tribe community in Takalar Regency and Jene'ponto Regency, where the tradition of the circumcision process for girls is a custom that has been passed down from generation to generation which must be carried out with a party, even more cheerful with a celebration of the child's birth/aqiqah.

2. Implementation Stage

The following are facts in the field regarding the practice of female child circumcision in the traditions of the Bugis and Makassar communities as in an interview with an informant named Mrs. Tari *Sanro* in Massulowalie Village, Mattirosompe District, Pinrang Regency. She said that: "When we want to convert to Islam, let us intend "I convert to Islam Fulan because of Allah SWT." Then,

¹⁰ Interview with PuangTari, Sanro Katte in Massulowalie Village, Mattirosompe District, Pinrang Regency, March 23, 2023.

¹¹ Interview with Rasna and Hj. Akira, Massulowalie Village, Mattirosompe District, Pinrang Regency, March 23, 2023.

¹² Interview with H. Tajuddin, M. Ag., Secretary of the IUC of Gowa Regency, Interview in Gowa, May 10 2023.

read "*Bismillahirrahmanirrahim*, there is no God but Allah." Then, all this is conveyed to all good things, then rubs the ring on his/her tongue, accompanied by the reading "My tongue directs it to goodness as a ward so that in the future everything that comes out of his/her mouth will be good things." After that, it is read again "as high as Latimojing Mount, higher is the will to unite with Allah SWT and surrender to Allah for everything, as beautiful as a diamond, it is better to have all desires placed and submitted to Allah SWT. As a precaution, circumcised children will have high jobs and positions. Then, the palm leaf that is given the ring means that there is no one who doesn't like gold."¹³

As for the circumcision process, first of all, *Sandro* reads the *basamalah* and guides the girl to say shahada. In the process of reading *Bismillahi Rahmani Rahiim*, the ring is placed on the girl's tongue with the intention that all the words or utterances of the circumcised girl will later become good and wise words. *Sandro* prays and hopes that this girl will have good luck and a decent job in the future. Then, the girl is circumcised using *dotta* (enau leaves) and covered with a ring. The *dotta* is used to poke the child's clitoris gently.

Likewise, an interview with one of the residents who had held a circumcision or *makkatte* event, Mrs. Fatimah, a resident of Jampue Village, Lanrisang District, Pinrang Regency, said that: "The *makkatte* process uses a knife and is carried out by a *Sanro* who is trusted in the community, wearing traditional clothes."¹⁴ Based on the interview above, the circumcision process is carried out using a knife by a "*sandro*" who is trusted in the community.

Next, an interview with one of the shamans/circumcision healers in Arateng Village, TelluLimpoë District, Sidenreng Rappang Regency named Nurmin as follows: "In the process of converting someone to Islam, the shahada is necessary when a small amount of flesh has been removed using a tool such as a razor. If nothing is removed, people use to say that Islam is invalid. Regarding the meaning, I don't understand it, but that's what my predecessor used. After that, the crown of the head is blown with the accompanying shahada. Regarding the time for someone's conversion to Islam, it is not permissible to convert someone to Islam after the dzuhur prayer time has passed. It must start from the beginning of the sun's appearance until the time of noon. All followers of the Islamic religion who live here have all been converted to Islam."¹⁵

The process begins by guiding the child to be in peace, then during the circumcision process, a small part is removed from the girl's clitoris, and it must bleed. The conversion process is invalid if it is not cut/open. The tool used to

¹³ Interview with PuangTari, Sanro Katta in Massulowalie Village, Mattirosompe District, Pinrang Regency, March 23, 2023.

¹⁴ Interview with Ibu Fatimah, a resident of Jampue Village, Lanrisang District, Pinrang Regency, March 23, 2023.

¹⁵ Interview with Nurmin, Sanro/shaman in Arateng Village, TelluLimpoë District, Sidenreng Rappang Regency, March 22 2023.

cut/injure the clitoris is a sharp razor blade. The process for starting the circumcision event must be when the sun rises until it is time for the dzuhur prayer.

In the next process, the girl is circumcised using a knife to remove a small part of the clitoris. In the final process, the circumcision shaman will pray for safety and good fortune and repel evil for the circumcised child. According to Mrs. Kambe, this tradition is a tradition passed down from generation to generation that has been taught by the ancestors. If there is a girl who is not circumcised, it is not considered valid for Islamic law.

3. Post-Implementation Stage

The following are facts in the field regarding the traditional practice of post-circumcision of girls in the traditions of the Bugis and Makassar communities as in an interview with an informant named Mrs. Tari *Sanro* in Massulowalie Village, Mattirosompe District, Pinrang Regency. She said that: "After this process, the circumcised person is directed to eat brown sugar and say, "the sweetness of brown sugar is sweeter and more spacious to my chest." Then, it continues with the reading, "O Allah, accept i Becce who I have converted to Islam, grant safety to her and to me who has converted i Becce." After that, it continues with the reading "O Allah, give me a straight path and make your sustenance easy, eternal sustenance, O Allah, bless your sustenance i Becce". "After this process, the Islamicized child is carried to hold the pillar of the house as a ward so that the Islamicized child becomes a person who is rich in knowledge, has a high rank, is not declared a Muslim before being Islamized and is not accepted by Allah SWT."¹⁶

After the circumcision is completed, the girl is given brown sugar to eat while Sandro reads a prayer, which means: "I thought brown sugar is sweet, but it turns out the hearts of people with this girl are even sweeter. Lastly, Sandro prays with the hope that Allah Almighty would accept this child's Islamic faith. Followed by a prayer, O Allah...open up a bright path for this girl to get her sustenance and bless the good fortune that You have given. After that, this girl is lifted on her father's shoulders to hold the tall pillar of the house, with the hope that this girl would later have high knowledge and rank.

A similar statement is expressed by Mrs. Munira, a resident who once held a *makkate* event for her child in Jampue Village, Lanrisang District, Pinrang Regency. She said that: "After being converted to Islam, it is carried on the father's shoulder, then takes the gold provided so that the child would become an intelligent and prosperous person. We follow the customs of the parents because

¹⁶Interveiw with PuangTari, Sanro Katte in Massulowalie Village, Mattirosompe District, Pinrang Regency, March 23, 2023.

if the woman is not "Katte," it would be considered that her Islam is not perfect.
»¹⁷

After the circumcision procession, the girl will be carried on her father's shoulders and then take the gold, which is hung above the door in the hope that the girl will be smart and achieve success in the future. If a girl is not circumcised, then her conversion to Islam is incomplete. Then, *Sanro* then gives the prepared rooster to the father of the circumcised child; the chicken is then released. They believe that if the chicken flies far away, the circumcised child's soul mate would be far away and vice versa.

Furthermore, an interview with the circumcision shaman, Mrs. Kambe, said that: "After the procession has been carried out, the closing of the series of makkatte customs is a prayer because the person who converted to Islam and the person who has been converted to Islam have survived. The makkatte tradition originates from our ancestors who became the understanding of the Bugis community that when there is a woman who is not katte' (circumcision) then the child is not considered a Muslim."¹⁸

In the final process, the circumcision shaman will pray for safety and good fortune and repel evil for the circumcised child. According to Mrs. Kambe, this tradition is a tradition passed down from generation to generation that has been taught by the ancestors; if there is a girl who is not circumcised, it is not considered valid for Islamic law.

The Symbolic Meaning of the Girls' Circumcision Rite in the Bugis and Makassar Traditions in South Sulawesi

The cultural procession of *makkatte* (female circumcision) in the Bugis and Makassar tribes is full of the meaning of certain symbols. This meaning is the hopes and prayers for the circumcised girl to grow up to be a clean, pure, successful girl in life and will soon find a soul mate who will bring her happiness in this world until the afterlife.

The following describes the symbolic meaning of the *makkatte* ceremony carried out by the Makassar Bugis community in South Sulawesi. In the preparation stage, the girl to be circumcised is bathed in water mixed with henna leaves after performing ablution. This means that the whole soul and body are clean. "...bathe it first using henna leaves, which means to make it clean."¹⁹

The *Makatte* culture in Soreang District, Parepare City, is different, as shown in the following interview: "The tradition must be rice. The aim is when the girl grows up, people don't give a dowry of money, just dilariang, so

¹⁷ Interview with Munira, a resident in Jampue Village, Lanrisang, Pinrang Regency, March 23 2023.

¹⁸ Interview with Kambe, Child Shaman, Soreang District, Parepare City, May 23 2023.

¹⁹ Interview with PuangTari, Sanrokatte in Massulowalie Village, Mattirosompe District, Pinrang Regency, March 23 2023.

pammalinyami is converted to Islam. This means that one pair of chickens to present their couple open, a candle to present materrangilalenna, pitunrupa cake, gollacella to present macenninginamalundranitatowwe. The candle means to light the way. There must also be coconut so that when they give birth, it won't be difficult. It's considered a tradition because parents used to have an incomplete story if it isn't katte. In my opinion, if someone doesn't do it, it means they're not Muslim."²⁰

In the process of the circumcision ceremony, several equipments must be present, such as rice to present the girl will be proposed to in a good way, a pair of chickens to present their couple open, a candle to present the life of the circumcised child will shine, then the meaning of brown sugar to present the girl pleasing to the eyes of others and sweet like brown sugar, finally coconut present the birth of the child will be easier in the future. The tradition of circumcision in the Sorang community of Parepare City is a necessity that must be carried out because if there is a child who is not circumcised, according to their belief, their Islam is not valid.

Furthermore, an interview with the circumcision shaman, Mrs. Kambe. According to her, the meaning of the ingredients prepared for a girl's circumcision are: "The process of converting to Islam began with ii Becce sitting on 4 liters of rice with a candle means that people who are converted to Islam will have a bright future. Coconut and brown sugar mean the views of people who see ii Becce as good and sweet like coconut and sugar."²¹

Based on the interview above, in the circumcision ritual process, there are several tools and materials often used, such as 4 liters of rice, candles to present the child's future as bright and radiant, coconut and brown sugar means that other people's view of the child will always be as sweet as brown sugar.

The equipments that must be prepared for the circumcision process in Barru Regency, as stated by Sanro Hj Syamsiah, Sanro in Palanro Village, are: "A hen, not a rooster, a sprouted coconut, 4 liters of rice, brown sugar, an ungrown coconut, cinnamon, nutmeg, black and yellow cooked sticky rice, cempa, kapok, white cloth with banana leaves. Traditional clothes, long white sarong that flows down, the edges colored gold and black, and pillows."²² Then, the symbolic meaning contained in the circumcision implementation stage, as said by Sanro, Mrs. Sanaria in Jeneponto Regency that "first, clean her entire vagina with cotton dipped in the glass that *Sanro* has prayed for. While cleaning her vagina with

²⁰ Interview with I Nani, Child Shaman, Soreang District, Parepare City, May 23 2023.

²¹ Interview with Kambe, Child Shaman, Soreang District, Parepare City, May 23, 2023.

²² Interview with Hj. Syamsia, Sanro in Palanro Village, Malusetasi District, Barru Regency, March 25, 2023.

cotton wool, read a prayer, which means that this child's vagina will smell good and not rot."²³

A similar thing happened during the circumcision process in Palanro, Barru Regency. A hen has its combs cut to make it bleed (*mappaddara*). After scratching or removing part of the female genitalia, namely the clitoris area, some of the comb blood is smeared on the forehead, and some of it is combined with the clitoral area that has been scratched/removed. With the intention that the girl child signifies Islamic perfection and is the goal of salvation. "To make children who are converted to Islam perfect in Islam and safe."²⁴

Furthermore, the symbolic meaning of the post-circumcision tradition of girls in Makassar Bugis culture is: "After this process, the circumcised person is directed to eat brown sugar and say, "the sweetness of brown sugar is sweeter and more spacious to my chest." Then, it continues with the reading, "O Allah, accept *i Becce* (names for girl) who I have converted to Islam, grant safety to her and to me who has converted *i Becce*." After that, it continues with the reading "O Allah, give me a straight path and make your sustenance easy, eternal sustenance, O Allah, bless your sustenance *i Becce*". "After this process, the Islamicized child is carried to hold the pillar of the house as a ward so that the Islamicized child becomes a person who is rich in knowledge, has a high rank, is not declared a Muslim before being Islamized and is not accepted by Allah SWT."²⁵

After the circumcision is completed, the girl is given brown sugar to eat while Sandro reads a prayer, which means: "I thought brown sugar is sweet, but it turns out the hearts of people with this girl are even sweeter. Lastly, *Sandro* prays with the hope that Allah Almighty would accept this child's Islamic faith. Followed by a prayer, O Allah...open up a bright path for this girl to get her sustenance and bless the good fortune that You have given. After that, this girl is lifted on her father's shoulders to hold the tall pillar of the house, with the hope that this girl would later have high knowledge and rank.

²³ Interview with Ibu Sanaria, Sanro in Balang Baru Village, Taroang District, Jeneponto Regency, March 12, 2023.

²⁴ Interview with Hj. Syamsia, Sanro in Palanro Village, Malusetasi District, March 25, 2023.

²⁵ Interview with PuangTari, Sanrokatte in Massulowalie Village, Mattirosompe District, Pinrang Regency, March 23, 2023.

The Contextualization of the Maslahah Values of Girls' Circumcision in Bugis and Makassar Traditions in South Sulawesi

At the beginning of Islam, Islamic law was basically not built without culture.²⁶ Previously, many cultures later colored the building of Islamic law.²⁷ It can be seen, for example, that polygamy, inheritance, and even the culture of circumcision existed before Islam came. However, Islam came and then modified local culture to suit Islamic teachings. Therefore, any tradition or culture is not prohibited by religion as long as it does not conflict with the values of Islamic law. Thus, it is important to construct laws based on local culture so that cultural and Islamic acculturation occurs, which, of course, will make it easier to apply Islamic teachings because it does not abandon the culture or traditions that develop in society.

Likewise with the *makkatte* tradition in South Sulawesi. This tradition contains many moral values, hopes, and prayers to Allah SWT. Suppose there are many studies of female circumcision in several regions or regions in Indonesia and find practices that have a negative impact on girls. In that case, this needs to be corrected or abolished because it contradicts Islamic teachings' values. This is also what the Prophet did when responding to the practice of female circumcision at that time, which had a negative impact on women. As narrated by Abu Dawud in the hadith of the Prophet SAW sourced from Umm Athiyyah as follows:

أنا امرأة كانتتختبالمدينةفقاللهالتببصلللهعليهوسلم: فإنذلكأحظلمرأة

Meaning: “A woman used to perform circumcision in Medina [Madina]. The Prophet (peace be upon him) said to her: 'Do not cut severely as that is better for a woman’”

The meaning of hadith shows that the practice of circumcision existed before Islam, but the Prophet did not forbid it. In addition, this hadith also emphasizes that in the practice of circumcision, there are no female genitals that need to be removed for the sake of *thaharah*; in fact, in another hadith, it is stated that circumcision for women is *makrumah* (glory). There is no prohibition, as if

²⁶ Mustaqim Pabbajah, et.al., “Songkabala in Al-’Urf Perspective on Pinisi Vesselbuilding in Coastal Sulawesi Pinisi Vessel Is a Local Wisdom Considered the Identity of the Bugis-Makassar Tribe In,” *Mazahibuna: Jurnal Perbandingan Mazhab* 5, no. 2 (2023), p. 99–116. Nur Avita, et. al., “Integration of Tradition and Sharia: Dowry and Dui Menre in the Marriage of the Bugis Community in Bone Regency,” *El-Mashlahah* 12, No. 2 (2022). Mustafid Mustafid, et.al., “Alternative Legal Strategies and Ninik Mamak Authority: Dual Administration of Malay Marriage in Koto Kampar Hulu, Riau,” *Journal of Islamic law* 5, No. 1 (2024).

²⁷ Arifah Millati Agustina, “Between Culture and The Sacredness of Fiqh: The Role of Lebe in Child Marriage Practices in Brebes, Indonesia,” *Journal of Islamic law* 3, No. 2 (2022). Muhammad Aulia Rahman, et.al., “Dayak Ngaju Customary Fines in Pre-Marriage Agreement to Minimize Divorce in The Perspective of Maslahah Mursalah Ramadhan Al-Buthi,” *El-Mashlahah* 13, No. 1 (2023).

the prophet taught us how to respond to a tradition where this tradition can be used as a legal basis as long as it does not violate legal criteria.

In a fiqh rule, it is stated that العادة محكمة (custom can be the basis for establishing a law), which is taken from good habits that grow and develop in society so that it can be used as a basis for establishing a law in accordance with the values that develop in society. If a society considers something good and polite, it can be used as a legal basis as long as it does not conflict with the Sharia. If society views certain behaviors as inappropriate for someone to do, then this can be used as a standard to indicate that the action is not good. If a society interprets a word as having a bad meaning, then that can be used as a standard that those words are bad words according to Islam and so on. Based on these rules show that Islam is a religion that accommodates people's habits.

In order to analyze the practice of female circumcision in South Sulawesi, this article refers to the results of research by the Population Council in Indonesia, which states that there are two forms of circumcision. First, carried out symbolically. This form of circumcision is done without actual cutting/wounding. Just carrying out a ritual that has become a tradition passed down from generation to generation. Second, carried out by incision and excision. It means that the practice of female circumcision is carried out by cutting part of the vagina, even to a small degree, which is important for bleeding. Even though the National Commission on Violence Against Women considers that circumcision, which is practiced for women, even in a symbolic way such as applying turmeric, is still considered an act of violence, in Islamic law, this form of circumcision is permissible based on the Islamic legal principle that the original law on something is permissible.

The basis for this ability can be strengthened by the results of research by the Population Council, which states that symbolic circumcision of girls does not cause the slightest impact or harm. This is in line with statements from several informants in Pinrang, Jeneponto, and Takalar Regencies that they did not experience pain because no cutting was done at all on the clitoris. In addition, in Ashhabul Fadli's research, various hadiths indicate that female circumcision is understood only as a recommendation, so it is not something prohibited, nor is it something required. This is because it is difficult to find a fundamental reason regarding the purpose of implementing circumcision according to the demands of the Shari'a, namely in the aspect of benefit (maslahat) considering the risk of damage (*mafsadat*) in the future.

Based on several rules of Islamic law, research results and facts in the field can be understood that the practice of symbolic circumcision in South Sulawesi is permissible and can even become a "custom" that can be used as a source of legal determination if the tradition contains the value of maslahah or goodness. In

a study, it was stated that several symbolic meanings contained in the female circumcision tradition in South Sulawesi are;²⁸

- a. A symbol of Islam. A woman is considered valid to embrace Islam to practice her religion perfectly. If the woman has not been *dikatted*, then her religion is considered incomplete. That is why in the *makkatte* process the girl is required to recite two sentences of the shahada.
- b. Tradition and culture. This means that the *makkatte* tradition is a custom that must be preserved because it is a teaching passed down from generation to generation. If he does not carry it out, he will have violated the values of his forefathers.
- c. A symbol of maturity. Someone who has implemented these customs/traditions means that a woman must be able to remember that when she grows up, she must be able to protect herself and her honor. If someone has not implemented it, they are considered immature and do not have perfection in their life.
- d. Cleansing and health. Circumcision is intended to symbolize cleanliness and maintaining health in one's worship or religion. If he/she has not done so, he/she is considered not physically clean.
- e. Religious teachings and guidance. Circumcision is a religious teaching and guidance that must be implemented. If it is not carried out, then it is considered that Islam is not perfect, and the worship is considered not accepted.

Many symbolic meanings contain virtues or *maslahah* values in the processions and rituals carried out. Among the beneficial values in question are:

1. Maintaining Religion (*Hifdz ad-Din*)

There is a requirement for girls who are circumcised at the age they are able to speak to be able to recite the two sentences of the shahada. This means that every child born, whether male or female, must strengthen their faith as a Muslim by realizing one of the pillars of Islam, namely reciting the 2 sentences of the creed. This is in line with the benefit value contained in one of the most important elements of *maqashid sharia*, namely *hifdzu al-din* or maintaining religion.²⁹

In the expression *maqāshid*, guarding more describes an action, namely maintaining something that has been chosen or taken. Thus, the term safeguard describes a further action or a consequence that must be accepted because of one's choice. At the same time, the word guarding is not appropriate to use to represent actions that show the cause or origin of why something must be guarded.

²⁸ Nadyatul Hikmah Shuhufi, "Khitan Perempuan Dalam Adat Makkatte'di Sulawesi Selatan" (Tesis, UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2023).

²⁹ Melissa Towadi, "The Application of Sharia Maqashid on the Protection of the Rights of Minority of Muslim Rohingya in Regional ASEAN (Indonesia-Malaysia)," *Journal of Indonesian Legal Studies* 2, no. 01 (2017): 43–54.

Therefore, the expansion of the meaning of safeguarding, which is a translation of the word *hifdz*, would be more appropriate if it were understood to include the action of guaranteeing or protecting. Thus, *hif al-dīn* will talk about guarantees of human rights and freedom in matters of religion. In expressing a person's religious attitude, it is greatly influenced by local culture. If efforts are made to uphold religious teachings through local traditions, then that is what is important, just as is done in the practice of female circumcision. Saying the 2 sentences of *shahadah* is one of the pillars of Islam as in HR. Bukhari and Muslim as follows: “*Islam is built on five aspects. (1) The profession that there is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah (shahada), (2) establishing daily prayers (salat), (3) paying alms-giving (zakat), (4) fasting during Ramadan (saum), and (5) doing Hajj or pilgrimage to Mecca.*”³⁰

In order to uphold religious teachings, especially the first pillar of Islam, as in the hadith above, it is in the practice of female circumcision in the Bugis and Makassar communities that this first pillar of Islam can be realized. That is why the *makkatte* custom is often mentioned as a symbol of Islam in several works of literature.

2. Containing Noble Ethical Values (morals)

The girls' circumcision procession is full of moral messages. This can be seen in the implementation of female child circumcision in the Bugis community in Pinrang Regency and Jeneponto. In practice, starting with purification or self-cleaning by bathing and ablution is a symbol that the goal of life towards Allah's pleasure must be faced with clean intentions and a clean heart. In addition, friendship between family members is very important because the event is lively by inviting the family.

During the circumcision procession, Sandro does a ritual by reading a prayer, which means that the circumcised girl is expected to become a person with noble character, such as good words and good behavior. The ring placed on the child's tongue is a symbol of hope that the girl will only say good words. Ethics and morals are one of the main teachings in religion apart from *aqidah* and *sharia*.³¹ In a hadith, it is stated that the main mission of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, who was sent to this earth, was to build a civilization with good morals, as narrated by Abu Hurairah as follows:³²

³⁰ Abu Abdillah Muhammad bin Ismail al-Bukhari, “Sahih Al-Bukhari,” *Studi Kitab Hadis*, 1986, p. 47. Shahih Muslim, “Shahih Muslim,” *Studi Kitab Hadis: Dari Muwaththa' Imam Malik Hingga Mustadrak Al Hakim* 54 (2020).

³¹R Abuy Sodikin, “Konsep Agama Dan Islam,” *Al Qalam* 20, no. 97 (2003), p. 1–20.

³²Hanbal bin Ahmad bin Muhammad, “Musnad Imam Ahmad,” *Muassasah Al-Risalah, Versi Maktabah Syamilah*, 1993.

إِنَّمَا بُعِثْتُ لِأَتَمِّمَ صَالِحَ الْأَخْلَاقِ

“Indeed, I was sent only to perfect the noble morals (akhlakul-karimah).”

Because of the importance of ethics (morals), the Prophet emphasizes in another hadith that "*Nothing is heavier upon the scale of a believer on the Day of Resurrection than his good character. Verily, Allah hates the vulgar and obscene.*" This ethical value is also contained in the ritual practice of female circumcision in the Bugis and Makassar communities in South Sulawesi.

3. *Makrumah* or Glory Value

The girls' circumcision procession contains the values of *makrumah* and high respect for women. This can be seen in the presence of several pieces of equipments prepared, such as brown sugar, candles, and a pair of chickens, which have symbolic meanings related to the values of nobility and dignity of women. The value of *makrumah*, which is manifested through the circumcision procession, is actually not in conflict with religion because this is also expressed in the hadith of the Prophet that the aim and purpose of female child circumcision is limited to *makrumah*. In the hadith stated that:³³

اختان سنة للرجال ، مكرمة للنساء

This hadith shows that circumcision for women is a glory. This proposition is also one of the references for the Indonesian Ulema Council (IUC) to determine the fatwa on the permissibility of female circumcision. In the Fatwa of the Indonesian Ulema Council Number 9A of 2008, the law is *makrumah*, as merely an ability. Thus, the law on female circumcision, according to the IUC fatwa, is permissible.³⁴

4. Containing Hopes and Prayers

The female child circumcision procession in the Bugis and Makassar communities contains many hopes and prayers offered by Sandro/shaman. These hopes and prayers have a positive value for the lives of circumcised girls. Theologically, praying to God through prayer is an inseparable part of the series of beliefs of Muslims that Allah SWT has regulated life in this world. In *Ash'ariyah* theology, to get a good life in the future, effort and prayer are needed simultaneously to realize the hopes or aspirations for the future. Prayer is so

³³Ahmad Bin Hanbal bin Muhammad, “Musnad Ahmad Bin Hanbal,” *Beirut: Muassasah Al-Risaalah* 3 (2001), p. 387.

³⁴Asriyani Nurjanah, “Fatwa MUI Nomor 9A Tahun 2008 Tentang Hukum Pelarangan Khitan Terhadap Perempuan Dalam Perspektif Mazhab Syafi’i Dan Mazhab Hanafi” (UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, 2018). Erik Sabti Rahmawati and Lukluil Maknun, “Khitan Perempuan Dalam Fatwa MUI No. 9A Tahun 2008 Dan Permenkes No. 6 Tahun 2014 Perspektif Maqashid Al-Syari’ah,” *Egalita* 12, no. 2 (2017).

important in all our practices in the world that the Prophet SAW emphasized that prayer is a weapon for Muslims and is also the essence of worship.

In the hadith states "الدُّعَاءُ مُخْلِجٌ لِعِبَادَةِ".³⁵ In carrying out the ritual of the female circumcision procession, Sandro has practiced several prayers and hopes for success in the world, such as being blessed with intelligence and cleverness in order to obtain a high degree and obtain abundant fortune and safety in this world and the afterlife. Thus, the beneficial values contained in the practice of female circumcision symbolically contain good values. Therefore, this tradition is not a problem if it is maintained and can even be recommended.

The second form of female circumcision practice in South Sulawesi is excision and incision. In practice, this second form can be found in female circumcision in Sidrap Regency and partly in Parepare City. The process of female circumcision is a bit painful because the clitoris is cut. If the blood has flowed, then it is considered valid. As long as there is no bleeding, the practice of *makkatte* is not considered valid. This *makkatte* activity is often held en masse and is even carried out directly by medical personnel. Even though this tradition sometimes causes trauma for girls because of injuries to the clitoris area, the tradition remains rooted in society because it is considered a religious commandment. If this practice is proven to have a negative impact on women, this practice could become prohibited because it is considered to have no benefits in terms of benefits. Therefore, the practice in the second form needs to be stopped as a preventive measure to avoid harm from this practice. In the rules of fiqh state that.³⁶

This rule is based on the *saddzara'i* method, According to Ibnu Qayyim al-Jauziyyah, *saddudzarai* is closing an intermediary if it results in damage.³⁷ If the practice of female circumcision in a society has a negative impact, then the road must be closed. Mahmud Syaltut in *al-Fatâwa* emphasized that injuring the body parts of living creatures is only permissible if the benefit returns to the creature.³⁸

Several fatwas and research results confirm that female circumcision resulting in injury to the female genitalia is prohibited because this action can endanger a woman's life, especially the clitoris, damaging a lot of nerve tissue and blood vessels which can cause short-term and long-term complications. Short-

³⁵Muhammad bin Isa At-Tirmidzi, "Sunan At-Tirmidzi," *Juz III, Libanon: Dar Al-Fikri*, 1994.

³⁶H A Djazuli, *Kaidah-Kaidah Fikih*, Jakarta: Prenada Media, 2019.

³⁷Muhammad Suud, "Saddu Zarai' sebagai Sumber Hukum Islam Dan Penerapannya Terhadap Problematika Kontemporer," *An-Nawazil: Jurnal Hukum Dan Syariah Kontemporer* 2, no. 02 (2020), p. 32–43. Muhammad Iqbal Ibrahim and Trisno Wardy Putra, "Konsep Sadd Al-Zarai' dan Aktualisasinya Dalam Transaksi Jual Beli," *Jurnal Ar-Ribh* 4, no. 1 (2021).

³⁸Mahmud Syaltut, "Al-Fatawa: Dirasah Li Musykilat Al-Muslim Al-Mu'ashirah Fi Hayatih Al-Yaumiyah Wa Al-'Ammah," *Mesir: Dar Al-Kalam*, n.d.

term complications appear in the form of severe pain, heavy bleeding, swelling of the genital tissue, fever, infection, urinary problems, wound healing problems, tissue injury around the genitalia, shock and even death. Long-term complications can arise in the form of genital tissue damage (chronic pain in the clitoris and vulva), chronic infections of the genital organs, reproductive system problems (chronic pelvic pain infections), urinary problems (painful urination, recurrent urinary tract infections), vaginal problems (itching, vaginal discharge, bacterial vaginosis, and other infections), scar tissue and keloids, sexual problems (pain, reduced sexual satisfaction), increased risk of the baby being born with complications (difficult birth, excessive bleeding), to death of the baby, the need for repeated operations (especially the practice of infibulation), psychological problems (depression, anxiety, post-traumatic stress disorder, etc.)

On this basis, several regulations are issued to eradicate this practice, including the Indonesian Women's Ulema Congress (IWUC) Fatwa, stating that the law of carrying out dangerous acts of Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting (FGM/C) without medical reasons is haram.³⁹ The reason for this prohibition is based on a number of verses from the Al-Qur'an, hadith, fiqh and the constitution. Several government policies have also been issued to avoid medical dangers arising from the practice of circumcision, for example in 2006 the Director General of Public Health, Ministry of Health issued Circular Number HK 00.07.1.31047 concerning Prohibition of the Medicalization of Female Circumcision for Health Workers. In 2010, the Indonesian Minister of Health issued Minister of Health Regulation Number 1636/MENKES/PER/XI/2010 concerning Female Circumcision, which regulated how to carry out female circumcision. In 2014, the Indonesian Minister of Health issued Minister of Health Regulation Number 6 of 2014 concerning the Revocation of Minister of Health Regulation Number 1636/MENKES/ER.

Circumcision does not bring benefits, it even damages women's organs, so this act must be abandoned. According to the rules of fiqh, if an action brings more harm than good, then the law is makruh and must be abandoned. The reason for the ban by the Indonesian Women's Ulema Congress (IWUC) is actually based on the facts and negative impacts resulting from the practice of female circumcision using various methods that occur in Indonesia, such as scratching and scraping, piercing, pinching, and piercing incisions and excisions. Even in several countries in Africa, the form of implementation is more extreme, namely by cutting off most or all of the clitoris. A more sadistic is in the form of excision or clitorydectomy by cutting the clitoris and removing the labia minora. Meanwhile, the method of infibulation or pharaonic circumcision is to cut the clitoris and lift the labia majora and attach the two sides of the vagina by sewing

³⁹ https://kupipedia.id/images/4/47/HasilMKkupi2_%285%29.pdf

or naturally joining the injured tissue using thread or something else.⁴⁰ These forms of circumcision cause various negative impacts both in the short and long term.

The existence of negative impacts shows that there are harms from the form of carrying out female circumcision through incision and excision, as well as other forms of wounding female genitalia. Thus, this form of practice is not recommended, although in the implementation of incisional and excisional female circumcision in several areas in South Sulawesi such as Sidrap Regency and parts of Parepare City, no harmful negative impacts have been found. If analyzed from the perspective of the problem, the practice of female circumcision incision and excision is not permitted considering the *saddu adz-dzarai* method. According to Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyyah, the meaning of *sadduzarai* is to close something that is permissible but has an impact on damage. Therefore, the practice of female circumcision, which has an impact on damage, must be closed.

Therefore, the practice of female child circumcision in South Sulawesi society has seen changes or legal differences between symbolic practice and excision or incision. In the context of legal reform, this is something commonplace because, based on Ibnul Qayyim al-Jauziyyah's theory, legal changes can occur due to differences or changes in conditions, time, customs, and intentions. In this case, the change in law regarding the practice of female child circumcision is more due to differences in conditions, customs or culture and intentions.

In general, the analysis of the benefits of these two forms of female circumcision practice refers to the *adz-dzara'i* theory. According to Wahbah Zuhaili, *al-zarai'* is divided based on two benchmarks: first, based on the impact it causes. Second, based on the level of damage caused. If analyzed based on the impact caused, according to Ibnu Qayyim Al-Jauziyyah, there are actions originally determined to be something permissible, but sometimes bring damage, while the damage is smaller than the benefit. According to Ibnu Qayyim al-Jauziyyah, this type of *adz-dzariah* can be permissible, *mustahab*, and even mandatory, depending on the level of the problem caused. In this context, the practice of symbolic female circumcision is permitted and even recommended if it has *maslahah* value. Meanwhile, based on the level of damage caused, according to *Ash-Syatibi*, some actions are basically permissible because they contain benefits but allow damage to occur. In this context, the practice of symbolic female circumcision in the Bugis and Makasar communities in South Sulawesi is permitted because the symbolic values contained in this practice can be a *dzarai* (intermediary) in obtaining benefits.

Analysis of the benefits of excisional and incisional circumcision practices is also studied based on these two benchmarks. Based on the impact it causes,

⁴⁰Hermanto, "Khitan Perempuan Antara Tradisi Dan Syari'ah."

practice in this form can be categorized as an act that was originally determined to be something permissible, not intended for damage, but usually also leads to damage, where the damage is greater than the benefit. Even though scholars debate its permissibility, according to Ibn Qayyum, it is prohibited based on the rule of *sadduzarai*, which means covering something that is permissible but has an impact on damage. Based on the level of damage caused, this form of practice falls into the category of actions carried out that are likely to cause damage. According to ash-Syatibi, this kind of *zari'ah* is certainly prohibited because it is strongly suspected (*galabah al-dzan*) to lead to damage. When examined from an existential perspective, the practice of circumcision is classified as a *masalahmu'tabarah* because it is a benefit found in sharia arguments that indicate whether it is permissible or not. *Maslahah al-mu'tabarah* is a Sharia testimony in acknowledging its existence. Most scholars agree that this *masalah* is a legal basis.

Conclusion

The female circumcision procession in the Bugis and Makassar traditions in South Sulawesi consists of three stages, namely the preparation, implementation and post-implementation stages. The entire female circumcision procession in the Bugis and Makassar communities in South Sulawesi is full of symbolic meanings such as Islamic symbols, nobility and high rank, prosperity, harmonious family life, purity and safety in the world and the hereafter. Analysis of the *masalah* of the practice of female circumcision in the Bugis Community and Makassar in South Sulawesi are studied from two benchmarks, namely based on the impact caused and based on the level of damage caused. The practice of symbolic circumcision is permitted and even recommended because it has *masalah* value and the symbolic values contained in this practice can be a *dzarai* (intermediary) in obtaining benefits. In terms of excision and incision, based on the impact caused, practice in this form can be categorized as an act that is originally determined to be something permissible, but leads to damage, where the damage is greater than the benefit. The level of damage caused by this form of practice falls into the category of actions that are likely to cause damage. Government policy is needed through the Ministry of Health by issuing Standard Operating Procedures (SOP) for implementing female circumcision which does not have a negative impact on health. There is cooperation between health and non-health workers (*Sandro*) to stop the practice of circumcision, which is harmful.

References

Journals and Books

- Abbas, Nurlaelah, and St. Rahmatiah, "The Tradition of Female Circumcision (The Integration of Religion and Culture)," *Jurnal Adabiyah* 22, no. 22 (2021). <https://doi.org/10.23969/litigasi.v22i2>.
- Achmad, Hudzaifah., et.al., "Analysis on Fatwa of Majelis Permusyawaratan Ulama Aceh (MPU) on Against Prohibition of PUBG: A Legal View Based on Maslahah and Mafsadah," *Jurnal Islam Futura* 22, No. 2 (2020). DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.22373/jiif.v0i0.5788>.
- Al-Bukhari, Abu Abdillah Muhammad bin Ismail, "Sahih Al-Bukhari." *Studi Kitab Hadis*, 1986.
- Aghustina, Arifah Millati, "Between Culture and The Sacredness of Fiqh: The Role of Lebe in Child Marriage Practices in Brebes, Indonesia," *Journal of Islamic law* 3, No. 2 (2022). <https://doi.org/10.24260/jil.v3i2.858>.
- Ali, Hamada Ashry, et. al., "Prevalence of Female Circumcision among Young Women in Beni-Suef, Egypt: A Cross-Sectional Study," *Journal of Pediatric and Adolescent Gynecology* 31, No. 6 (2018). DOI:10.1016/j.jpag.2018.07.010.
- Avita,Nur, et. al., "Integration of Tradition and Sharia: Dowry and Dui Menre in the Marriage of the Bugis Community in Bone Regency, *El-Mashlahah* 12, No. 2 (2022). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.23971/elma.v12i2.4712>.
- At-Tirmidzi, Muhammad bin Isa. *Sunan At-Tirmidzi, Juz III, Libanon: Dar Al-Fikri*, 1994.
- Djazuli, H A. *Kaidah-Kaidah Fikih*, Jakarta: Prenada Media, 2019.
- Fadhli, Ashabul. "Meramu Ketentuan Hukum Islam Terkait Khitan Perempuan." *JURIS (Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah)* 14, no. 1 (2016).
- Hanbal, Ahmad Bin Muhammad bin. "Musnad Ahmad Bin Hanbal." *Beirut: Muassasah Al-Risaalah* 3 (2001).
- Hanbal, Ahmad bin Muhammad bin. "Musnad Imam Ahmad." *Muassasah Al-Risalah, Versi Maktabah Syamilah*, 1993.
- Hermanto, Agus, "Khitan Perempuan Antara Tradisi Dan Syari'ah." *Kalam* 10, no. 1 (2016).
- Ibrahim, Muhammad Iqbal, and Trisno Wardy Putra. "Konsep Sadd Al-Zarai'Dan Aktualisasinya Dalam Transaksi Jual Beli." *Jurnal Ar-Ribh* 4, no. 1 (2021).
- Khodijah, Siti, and M Syamsudini. "The Tradition of Woman's Circumcision (A Case Study in Osing Society Banyuwangi East Java Indonesia)." *Islamika Inside: Jurnal Keislaman Dan Humaniora* 9, no. 1 (2023). <https://doi.org/10.35719/islamikainside.v9i1.222>.
- Khotimah, Husnul, Anisatun Muthi'ah, and Lukman Zain Muhamad Sakur. "Makna Hadis Tentang Khitan Perempuan Dan Mitos-Mitos Yang

- Menyertainya.” *Jurnal Studi Hadis Nusantara* 3, no. 1 (2021).
- Mohd Ithnin, Norazam Khair, et.al., “Re-evaluating the Authenticity of Hadith on the Shariah Ruling of Female Circumcision in Malaysia,” *Al-Bayan Journal of Qur’an and Hadith Studies* 21, No. 2 (2023). DOI: 10.1163/22321969-20230133.
- Muslim, Imam. “Shahih Muslim.” *Studi Kitab Hadis: Dari Muwaththa’ Imam Malik Hingga Mustadrak Al Hakim* 54 (2020).
- Mustafid Mustafid, et.al., “Alternative Legal Strategies and Ninik Mamak Authority: Dual Administration of Malay Marriage in Koto Kampar Hulu, Riau,” *Journal of Islamic law* 5, No. 1 (2024) <https://doi.org/10.24260/jil.v5i1.1972>.
- Nurjanah, Asriyani. “Fatwa MUI Nomor 9A Tahun 2008 Tentang Hukum Pelarangan Khitan Terhadap Perempuan Dalam Perspektif Mazhab Syafi’i Dan Mazhab Hanafi.” UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, 2018.
- Octavia, Lanny. “Circumcision and Muslim Women’s Identity in Indonesia.” *Studia Islamika* 21, no. 3 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v21i3.1217>.
- Pabbajah, Mustaqim, et.al., “Songkabala in Al-’Urf Perspective on Pinisi Vesselbuilding in Coastal Sulawesi Pinisi Vessel Is a Local Wisdom Considered the Identity of the Bugis-Makassar Tribe,” *Mazahibuna: Jurnal Perbandingan Mazhab* 5, no. 2 (2023): 99–116. <https://doi.org/10.24252/mazahibuna.vi.35653>.
- Putri, Fitri Ariana. “Preservation of Ketuwinan Tradition to Establish Relationships between Communities in Kendal, Indonesia.” *Prosperity: Journal of Society and Empowerment* 1, no. 1 (2021). <https://doi.org/10.21580/prosperity.2021.1.1.7921>.
- Radatilla, and Siti Aisyah. “Islamic Law and Positive Law in Indonesia’s Transgender Behavior.” *Mazahibuna: Jurnal Perbandingan Mazhab* 3, no. 2 (2021). <https://doi.org/10.24252/mh.v>.
- Rahman, Muhammad Aulia, et.al., “Dayak Ngaju Customary Fines in Pre-Marriage Agreement to Minimize Divorce in The Perspective of Masalah Mursalah Ramadhan Al-Buthi,” *El-Mashlahah* 13, No. 1 (2023). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.23971/el-mashlahah.v13i1.5623>.
- Rahmawati, Erik Sabti, and Lukluil Maknun. “Khitan Perempuan Dalam Fatwa MUI No. 9a Tahun 2008 Dan Permenkes No. 6 Tahun 2014 Perspektif Maqashid Al-Syari’ah,” *Egalita* 12, no. 2 (2017).
- Sābiq, Sayyid. *Fiqh Al-Sunnah*. 1st ed, Cairo: Al-Fath, 2010.
- Shuhufi, Nadyatul Hikmah, “Khitan Perempuan Dalam Adat Makkatte’ di Sulawesi Selatan.” Tesis, UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2023.
- Sigdel, Surya Bhakta, “Culture and Symbolism Nexus in Anthropology,” *Janapriya Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies* 7, No. 1 (2018). DOI:10.3126/jjis.v7i1.23061.

- Sodikin, R Abuy. "Konsep Agama Dan Islam." *Al Qalam* 20, no. 97 (2003).
- Suud, Muhammad. "Saddu Zarai' sebagai Sumber Hukum Islam Dan Penerapannya Terhadap Problematika Kontemporer." *An-Nawazil: Jurnal Hukum Dan Syariah Kontemporer* 2, no. 02 (2020).
- Syaltut, Mahmud, "Al-Fatawa: Dirasah Li Musykilat Al-Muslim Al-Mu'ashirah Fi Hayatih Al-Yaumiyah Wa Al-'Ammah." *Mesir: Dar Al-Kalam*, n.d.
- Totaro, Angelo, et.al., "Circumcision: History, Religion and Law," *Urologia Journal* 78, No. 1 (2011). DOI:10.5301/RU.2011.6433
- Towadi, Melissa. "The Application of Sharia Maqashid on the Protection of the Rights of Minority of Muslim Rohingya in Regional ASEAN (Indonesia-Malaysia)," *Journal of Indonesian Legal Studies* 2, no. 01 (2017).

Interviews

- Interview with Rasna and Hj. Akira, Massulowalie Village, Mattirosompe District, Pinrang Regency, March 23, 2023.
- Interview with H. Tajuddin, M. Ag., secretary of the IUC of Gowa Regency, Interview in Gowa, May 10 2023.
- Interview with PuangTari, Sanro Katte in Massulowalie Village, Mattirosompe District, Pinrang Regency, March 23 2023.
- Interview with Ibu Fatimah, a resident of Jampue Village, Lanrisang District, Pinrang Regency, March 23, 2023.
- Interview Nurmin, Sanro/shaman in Arateng Village, TelluLimpo District, Sidenreng Rappang Regency, March 22, 2023.
- Interview Munira, a resident in Jampue Village, Lanrisang, Pinrang Regency, March 23, 2023.
- Interview Kambe, Child Shaman, Soreang District, Parepare City, May 23 2023.
- Interview I Nani, Child Shaman, Soreang District, Parepare City, May 23 2023.
- Interview Sanaria, Sanro in Balang Baru Village, Taroang District, Jeneponto Regency, March 12, 2023.
- Interview Hj. Syamsia, Sanro in Palanro Village, Malusetasi District, Barru Regency, March 25, 2023.