



The *Kaago-Ago* Tradition of the Muna Tribe in Southeast Sulawesi from the Perspective of Islamic Legal Anthropology

Kamaruddin,¹ Cecep Soleh Kurniawan,² Asni,³ Syamsul Darlis,¹
Ermianti Ato¹

¹Institut Agama Islam Negeri Kendari, Indonesia

²Universiti Islam Sultan Sharif, Brunei Darussalam

³Universitas Islam Negeri Alauddin Makassar, Indonesia

Email: kamaruddin123@iainkendari.ac.id

Abstract

The dialectic between Islamic law and customary law continues in Indonesian communities. Islam brought with it the value of harmonizing theoretical and practical concepts, so that religion does not exist in a cultural vacuum. This study aims to explain the practice of the *kaago-ago* ritual for the Muna community in Southeast Sulawesi. This research is an empirical study analyzed using the theory of Islamic legal anthropology. Data were collected through in-depth interviews, observation, and document studies. The results show that the *kaago-ago* ritual is carried out as a medium for conducting cross-dimensional negotiations with supernatural beings to request permission to open plantation land for the Muna community in Southeast Sulawesi. The *'urf* study argues that the *kaago-ago* ritual does not qualify as customary law according to sharia, because the ritual contains no benefits, is contrary to common sense, and contradicts the qath'i text. This ritual phenomenon certainly requires Muslim scholars worldwide to continue striving to carry out *ijtihad* regarding the integration of tradition and Islamic legal provisions. This article's study of the anthropological conception of Islamic law finds novelty that in the *kaago-ago* tradition there is a dialectic between Islamic teachings and tradition as well as between humans and nature which aims to find harmony and order as the function of law in society.

Keywords: *Kaago-ago*, Muna tribe, tradition, *al-'urf*, anthropology of Islamic law.

Abstrak

Dialektika antara hukum Islam dan hukum adat terus berlanjut di masyarakat Indonesia. Islam membawa serta nilai harmonisasi konsep teoritis dan praktis, sehingga agama tidak berada dalam ruang hampa budaya. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan praktik ritual kaago-ago bagi masyarakat Muna di Sulawesi Tenggara. Penelitian tersebut merupakan studi empiris yang dianalisis menggunakan teori antropologi hukum Islam. Data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara mendalam, observasi, dan studi dokumen. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa ritual kaago-ago dilakukan sebagai media untuk melakukan negosiasi lintas dimensi dengan makhluk gaib untuk meminta izin membuka lahan perkebunan bagi masyarakat Muna di Sulawesi Tenggara. Studi al-'urf berpendapat bahwa ritual kaago-ago tidak memenuhi syarat sebagai hukum adat menurut syariat, karena ritual tersebut tidak mengandung manfaat, bertentangan dengan akal sehat, dan bertentangan dengan teks qath'i. Fenomena ritual ini tentu membutuhkan para cendekiawan Muslim di seluruh dunia untuk terus berupaya melakukan ijtihad mengenai integrasi tradisi dan ketentuan hukum Islam. Studi artikel ini tentang konsepsi antropologis hukum Islam menemukan hal baru bahwa dalam tradisi kaago-ago terdapat dialektika antara ajaran Islam dan tradisi serta antara manusia dan alam yang bertujuan untuk menemukan harmoni dan ketertiban sebagai fungsi hukum dalam masyarakat.

Kata Kunci: *Kaago-ago, suku Muna, tradisi, al-'urf, antropologi hukum Islam*

Introduction

The dialectic between Islamic law and customary law continues in Indonesian society. Islam brings with it the value of harmonizing theoretical and practical concepts, so that religion does not exist in a cultural vacuum. Every community in Indonesia has experienced a transformation from Islamic law, defined as *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) as understood by scholars of various schools of thought, to its application by scholars of the archipelago in Islamic legal practices with local characteristics. The practice of harmonizing Islamic law and local customs can be seen from the era of the archipelago kingdoms through independence and into the contemporary era.¹

One such community is the Muna tribe, whose majority population is Muslim, in Indonesia, specifically in Southeast Sulawesi Province.² The people of the Muna tribe generally believe in the existence of spirits (unseen creatures), both

¹ Muh. Fathoni Hasyim, et.al., "The Walagara Marriage Ritual: The Negotiation between Islamic Law and Custom in Tenger," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 14, No. 1 (2020). Abidin Nurdin, et.al., "Mappatammaq Mangaji in Mandar, West Sulawesi: Childrearing Patterns Based on the Qur'an in the Anthropological Perspective of Islamic Law," *El-USrah* 7, No. 2 (2024).

² Henny Kasmawati, Sunandar Ihsan, and Rani Suprianti, "Kajian Etnomedisin Tumbuhan Obat Tradisional Suku Muna Desa Oe Nsuli Kecamatan Kabangka Kabupaten Muna Sulawesi Tenggara," *Pharmauho: Jurnal Farmasi, Sains, Dan Kesehatan* 5, no. 1 (2019), p. 21–24.

evil and good. Therefore, they often hold rituals related to various aspects of life to provide goodness to themselves, nature, and the supernatural beings around them.³ The Muna tribe community has their main livelihood as farmers to meet their daily living needs. In agriculture, the Muna community is known as *deghalu*.⁴ Muna farmers have the characteristics of a traditional farming system, starting from clearing the forest using slash-and-burn techniques, planting seeds using sticks (wood with one end sharpened to make a hole in the ground), using human power, relying on rainwater, and farming move frequently. The shifting farming system is not carried out haphazardly, that is, it is not just looking for new land, but some rules have been mutually agreed upon. When the land that has been cultivated for two or five years no longer produces a large harvest, they will ask the traditional authorities to find new land for them to farm. The traditional holders in question are "the owners of the ancestors" or are called "*Kamokulano Liwu*".⁵

Traditional leaders will look for land that is not on someone's land that has already been occupied. This is because, when cultivators have moved to look for new fields, one day they will return to the land they once worked on to carry out farming activities again. Because the land they had left was believed to be fertile again after not being cultivated for a long time. Therefore, the role of the garden shaman (*Parika*) is very important in determining good land for farming. After getting new land, they performed the *kaago-ago* ritual. For the community, this ritual is considered to play a very important role. They carry out this ritual with the belief that the land they will plant will produce a large harvest and that there will be no problems during the farming process.

The *kaago-ago* ritual in the Muna tribe tradition is one of the traditions that has been the cultural identity and local wisdom of the Muna tribe for a long time.⁶ The *kaago-ago* ritual is a form of agricultural and/or medicinal ritual, as well as being a means of cultivating relationships between humans, nature, and the supernatural beings around them. This ritual has become a tradition and is part of the life of the Muna tribe because it has been passed down from generation to generation by their ancestors. The *kaago-ago* ritual is interesting to study because based on the researcher's initial observations, several field facts were obtained, including *First*, this ritual is a ritual that has existed since ancient times, and is still carried out today. *Second*, the belief of the Muna farming community that every land on Muna Island

³ Julaman, et.al., "Eksistensi Budaya Kaseise (Tolong Menolong) Dalam Penyelenggaraan Pernikahan Suku Muna; Studi Di Desa Kombikuno Kecamatan Napano Kusambi," *Journal of Chemical Information and Modeling* 4, no. 3 (2013), p. 812–26.

⁴ Harnita, et.al., "Ritual Dalam Tradisi Pertanian (Galu) Pada Masyarakat Desa Bone Tondo Kecamatan Bone Kabupaten Muna (1979-2017)," *Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan Sejarah UHO* 3, no. 2 (2020), p. 11–22.

⁵ La Ode Aris, "Fungsi Ritual Kaago-Ago Pada Masyarakat Muna Sulawesi Tenggara," *Komunitas* 4, no. 1 (2012), p. 9–19.

⁶ Sitti Nur Isnian, et.al., "Kaago-Ago Local Wisdom in Corn Plant Cultivation in Maligano Sub District of Muna Regency," *Etnoreflika: Jurnal Sosial Dan Budaya* 8, no. 3 (2019), p. 176–85.

has been previously inhabited by supernatural beings so that to use or inhabit the land, the community must carry out cross-dimensional negotiations through the *kaago-ago* ritual to move supernatural beings from the land that will be used so that do not experience disturbances that could cause crop failure and other disturbances to farmers. *Third*, some of the ritual practitioners or those carrying out the rituals are religious figures. They claim that this ritual is a ritual that not only has traditional elements but also has religious elements.

Scholars have researched the rituals of the Muna tribe, these studies are classified into two discussion themes. The first theme discusses rituals in Muna tribal agriculture, such as the work of Harnita et.al⁷ and Abdin⁸. Second, explaining the position and perception of the Muna people towards the *kaago-ago* ritual, such as the work of Aris⁹ and Halida et.al.¹⁰ Based on the themes of the discussion, it was found that the study of the *kaago-ago* ritual of the Muna tribe of Southeast Sulawesi has not received maximum attention from scholars. In general, previous studies only focused on the conception of agricultural rituals of the Muna tribe and the position of the *kaago-ago* ritual in various studies. Therefore, this research is proposed to complement previous research by revealing the *kaago-ago* ritual from the 'Urf perspective, in the sense of revealing the study of Islamic law regarding the *kaago-ago* ritual.

This research is an empirical study analyzed using Islamic legal anthropology theory, specifically the theory of al-*'urf*.¹¹ Data were collected through in-depth interviews, observations, and document studies. Interviews were conducted with community leaders, traditional leaders, and religious leaders in the Muna community in Southeast Sulawesi.

***Kaago-Ago* Ritual Practices of the Muna Tribe of Southeast Sulawesi**

The *kaago-ago* ritual is an attempt to carry out cross-dimensional negotiations between humans and supernatural beings. This ritual also has a very important meaning for the Muna people. The purpose of holding the ritual is to inform the supernatural beings who inhabit the place about the arrival of humans to carry out farming activities.¹² This news is intended so that later during planting there will be no disturbances and also that farmers who garden in that place will always be

⁷ Harnita, et.al., "Ritual Dalam Tradisi Pertanian (Galu) Pada Masyarakat Desa Bone Tondo Kecamatan Bone Kabupaten Muna (1979-2017)."

⁸ Non Abdin, "Maksim Kesantunan Falia Pada Sistem Pertanian Masyarakat Muna: Kajian Pragmatik," *Gurindam: Jurnal Bahasa Dan Sastra* 1, no. 1 (2021), p. 18–23.

⁹ Aris, "Fungsi Ritual Kaago-Ago Pada Masyarakat Muna Sulawesi Tenggara."

¹⁰ Halida Halida, et.al., "Persepsi Masyarakat Terhadap Ritual Kaago-Ago Di Desa Oelongko Kecamatan Bone Kabupaten Muna," *Tadayyun* I, no. 2 (2023), p. 16–31.

¹¹ Juhaya S. Praja, *Teori Hukum dan Aplikasinya*, Bandung: Pustaka Setia, 2011. Ali Sodikin, "Antropologi Hukum sebagai Pendekatan dalam Penelitian Hukum Islam," *al-Manahij* 7, No. 1 (2013).

¹² Ismayanti Moita, et.al., "Makna Simbolik Kaago-Ago Dalam Tradisi Perladangan Masyarakat Muna Page 1," *Ilmu Komunikasi UHO* 1, no. 3 (2013), p. 1–15.

given safety. Please note that the process of carrying out the Kaago-ago ritual has several tools materials and offerings. Based on the results of field observations and in-depth interviews, the following is a detailed description of various materials and the process of carrying out the *kaago-ago* ritual.

The process of carrying out the *kaago-ago* ritual is carried out when the planting season is about to enter. Farmers who will cultivate their land first make various preparations before carrying out the *kaago-ago* ritual. The implementation of this ritual is divided into two stages, namely the preparation stage and the implementation stage. The preparation stage is the stage before the ritual is carried out by preparing every ritual equipment and the people involved in it. Meanwhile, the next stage is the implementation stage, the stage of carrying out the *kaago-ago* ritual.

1. Preparation Stage for the *Kaago-ago* Ritual

At this stage, so that the *kaago-ago* ritual can run well, several things must be considered and need to be prepared. These things are determining a good day, calling the *parika* (farmer shaman) to plan the ritual, and preparing equipment and ritual offerings. Determining the time for the ritual is the initial preparation that must be done. The timing of the *kaago-ago* ritual is based on the results of deliberation. The *kaago-ago* ritual is carried out differently depending on the *Parika* who leads the ritual ceremony. There is a ritual that is carried out once every five years, once a year, and twice a year, namely at *kalangkari* planting time (east wind season) and *baraa* planting time (west wind season).¹³

Kalangkari is the east season or before the dry season, namely between March and April. Meanwhile, *baraa* is the western season leading up to the rainy season, namely between November and December. Generally, the ritual is carried out once a year, namely at the beginning of November because at the beginning of this month, the rainy season begins.

Traditional leaders, village heads, and farming communities on whose land the ritual will be held carry out auspicious days. Calculation of good days is done traditionally, namely by using palm counting. When a good day is determined, the ritual is carried out one day before the good day falls. Once the auspicious day has been decided, the next step is to notify the *parika* when the ritual will be carried out. *Parika* is a garden shaman whose job is to lead the *kaago-ago* ritual activities. *Parika* will ask the farmers who will be holding the ritual to prepare all the equipment for the ritual event. Ritual equipment contains materials and offerings that will be used during the ritual.¹⁴

¹³Interview with La Ode Mbongaju, Muna Community Leaders, November 23, 2023

¹⁴ La Djaadi, Interview excerpt, December 02, 2023.

a. *Kaago-ago* Ritual Materials

The materials in the *kaago-ago* ritual are materials or tools used to place offerings, as well as complement the offerings themselves. The materials used in the *kaago-ago* ritual are;

1. *Kalambu-lambu* (Small Hut)

Kalambu-lambu is a small hut made as a place for offerings. The local community also calls the hut *kaago-ago*. So when the people of Muna saw a hut in the middle of the garden they called it *kaago-ago*. This is because it has become a symbol for the community that the existence of a hut means that the *kaago-ago* ritual was held at that place. Huts will be made when the planting season enters. The huts were made before the start of the Western season. People believe that the West season is the best compared to the East season.

2. *Tombi* (Flag)

Tombi is the Muna language for the flag. The flag in question is the flag installed at *kaago-ago's* cottage. At the four corners of the ritual hut, sticks are attached to which *tombi* are tied. *Tombi* is made from small white cloth. *Tombi* is white as a symbol of peace intended for supernatural beings who, when they see the white cloth, will not disturb farmers and their families who farm in the area.

The people of Muna believe that the place where they farm was first inhabited by supernatural creatures. Therefore, humans hold rituals to inform the inhabitants of the supernatural world in that place, and humans do not intend to disturb them. *Tombi* was installed as a sign that humans have no evil intentions towards supernatural creatures in the area.

3. *Bansano Bhea* (Areca Flower)

Bhansano bhea is also called the areca flower which is used as a fragrance or fragrance in the *kaago-ago* ritual.

4. *Tombula* (Bamboo)

In the Muna language, the bamboo used is young *tombula*, which is cut 30 centimeters long. The *tombula* is filled with water.

5. *Laano Tombula* (Bamboo Shoots)

Laano Tombula or bamboo tree shoots, which symbolize fertility. This is because bamboo trees are a type of plant that, even in the rainy and dry seasons, will not die. Bamboo trees can survive all weather. Therefore, the Muna people use bamboo trees as a form of hope that their plants, like these trees, can continue to survive even if there is no rain or in the face of continuous rain. They hope that their plants will also grow well and their harvests will be abundant.

6. *Kabhini Kadea* (Five Color Cloth)

The cloth has five colors, namely red, black, yellow, green, and white. These five colored cloths represent different types of jinn.

b. *Kaago-ago* Ritual Offerings

The term "Offerings" comes from a literary work called "*Jen Rahayu Ning Rat Pangruwat Ing Diyu*". It refers to the knowledge of nature that must be

understood to achieve health, safety, and prosperity in the universe while avoiding confusion and doubt. Over time, this term was shortened to "*Sastra Jen Ra*", then to "offerings" or "sajen".¹⁵

Offerings are devices used in various ritual activities and must be complete, with each device representing a specific meaning. The completeness of the offering is necessary for the recipient to accept it, and it also represents the giver's trust. The tradition of providing offerings is often found at religious events such as the reading of the Prophet's birthday (Mawlid) and the Manakib (Islamic rituals), where the presentation of food and drink is expected to bring blessings. The original law of this tradition is permissible, and the accompanying intentions and beliefs can influence its validity.¹⁶ For some people, offerings symbolize recognition of the power that needs to be satisfied to bring security and tranquility in their lives while fulfilling their requests.

According to Indonesian Dictionary, the term "offerings" or "*sajen*" etymologically comes from the word "*sajian*", which means food, flowers, and other items served to spirits.¹⁷ Offerings are a cultural practice passed down from one generation to another by ancestors who followed Hindu and Buddhist beliefs to connect with invisible forces such as gods, goddesses, spirits, or guardians of a place, which are believed to provide benefits and protect against evil.¹⁸

The Muna people believe that the offerings in the *kaago-ago* ritual are dishes that can connect them with supernatural beings in the forest area used for gardening.¹⁹ They think that supernatural beings who are given offerings can ward off disasters and calamities. According to traditional leaders of the Muna community, there are six ingredients in making *kaago-ago* offerings.²⁰

1. *Ghunteli* (egg)

Ghunteli is the Muna word for egg. The eggs used in the offerings are boiled eggs. Boiled eggs mean that the intention of the farmer who will plant a garden in that place is complete and also that boiled eggs function as a dish.

2. *Kambewe*

Kambewe is a typical food of the Muna tribe, where corn is crushed, shaped into a rectangle, and then wrapped in corn leaves. *Kambewe* serves as a dish.

¹⁵ Lailul Alfiah, et.al., "Pemberian Sesajen Untuk Ritual Ruwah Desa Perspektif Hukum Islam," *Ma'mal: Jurnal Laboratorium Syariah Dan Hukum* 3, no. 1 (2022), p. 1–17.

¹⁶ Muhammad Auffa Wirayudha, "Tradisi Penyediaan Sesajen Dalam Pembacaan Manakib Pada Masyarakat Banjar Perspektif Hukum Islam," *Indonesian Journal of Islamic Jurisprudence Economic and Legal Theory* 3, No. 1 (2025), p. 180-187.

¹⁷ Wilda Fizriyani and Nadzierul Mujtaba, "Istilah-Istilah Kuliner Dalam Ritual Neloni Di Kabupaten Malang: Studi Etnolinguistik," *Sutasoma: Jurnal Sastra Jawa* 10, no. 2 (2022), p. 118–27.

¹⁸ Idham Rizkiawan, "Faktor-Faktor Yang Mempengaruhi Persepsi Masyarakat Tentang Makna Sesajen Pada Upacara Bersih Desa," *E-Journal Boga* 5, no. 2 (2017), p. 11–17.

¹⁹ Rustam Awat and Darco, "Upacara Kaago-Ago Pada Masyarakat Barangka," *Jurnal Pendidikan Sejarah* 2, no. 1 (2016), p. 52–58.

²⁰ Interview with La Ode Herlina, Muna Community Figure, October 10, 2023.

3. *Katopo* (Ketupat)

Katopa is the Muna word for ketupat. Ketupat also has the same function as eggs and *kambewe*, namely as a dish.

4. *Kalembungo* (Young Coconut)

Khabuo-bhuo is a young coconut fruit. The number of young coconuts used is five, namely four very young (small) coconuts, while one young coconut is full. The aim is to use young coconuts that are still very small so they can be hung in the four corners of the *kaago-ago* hut. Meanwhile, a young, filled coconut will be placed on top of the offerings as a drink for supernatural beings.

5. *Kasoso* (Cigarette)

Kasoso is the Muna word for cigarette. Cigarettes are offered to male supernatural beings.

6. *Kampanaha*

Kampanaha consists of *karo-roo* (betel leaf), *obhea* (betel nut), and betel lime. The function of this *kampanaha* is to offer offerings to female supernatural beings for betel. For more details, the following researchers show photos of the *kaago-ago* Ritual offerings.



Documentation: *Kaago-ago* ritual offering, author 2023.

The previous conversation pertained to the materials and offerings required for performing the *kaago-ago* ritual. The objects mentioned earlier are commonly found in the daily life of the Muna tribe. For traditional Muna leaders, offerings are a crucial component of rituals, and their presence ensures the smooth running of the ceremony.

2. *Kaago-ago* Ritual Implementation Stage

At the implementation stage, the ritual is carried out on a good day, in the afternoon or evening, when the sun is facing west. According to the Muna people, this is the time when many supernatural creatures roam around, so they believe that performing the ritual at this time will allow those beings to find out about it. All the offering materials are placed on top of the *kaago-ago hut*, and the *Parika* (Garden Shaman) wears neat clothes, including a Muna sarong, a cap, and long sleeves.²¹ It is important to be neat and avoid red clothes, as the color is considered challenging and could potentially lead to conflict with supernatural creatures in the area.

During the ritual procession, the *Parika* stands in front of the *kaago-ago hut*, while farmers who are going to farm remain silent and watch from a distance.²² Everyone must be silent when the *parika* recites prayers and mantras. The prayers read by the *Parika* include Basmalah, greetings, Ayat Kursi, Surah al-Ikhlâs, Surah al-Falaq, and Surah an-Nas.²³ Afterward, the *parika* continues by reading *Bhatata*, which is intended to summon and invite supernatural beings to come and eat the offerings that have been prepared. According to *Parika's* confession, after the supernatural beings arrive, an agreement is made not to disturb the farmers while they cultivate crops in the area. The sentences for the *kaago-ago* mantra are as follows: "*Pandeha kanau, pandehangko, ihintu dhini kapute, dhini mongkolo, dhini kadea, dhini Islamu, dhini kakuni, dhini kaidho, pandeha kasami tapandehangko*".²⁴ It means; "You know me, I know you, you white jinn, black genie, red genie, Islamic genie, yellow genie, green genie, you know us, we know you."

After the *bhatata* (traditional prayer), the *kasambuno wite* ceremony will take place. The *kasambuno wite* is an agricultural offering ritual that involves digging the soil using a stick or machete. The hole that is dug is approximately 30 centimeter deep. Once the hole is dug, the *parika* (village shaman) will take a free-range chicken egg and place it in the soil. This egg is considered an offering to Adam, the first human in the world, who is regarded as the ruler of the land. The egg is placed in the soil as a representation of food with sincere intentions. Once the egg is placed in the hole, it is covered with soil and watered. This marks the end of the ritual process and the land is now ready to be cultivated.²⁵

The *kaago-ago* series of rituals concludes with *kabasaha haroa* (together prayer), which involves offering a prayer of thanks to Allah SWT. The prayer is combined with eating together and greetings by all the people involved in the *kaago-ago* ritual. The food brought by family members who will be gardening in the area

²¹Interview with Wa Ode Djuma, Female Traditional Figures of the Muna Community, September 13, 2023.

²²Interview with La Sunia, Muna Community Leaders, June 23, 2023.

²³Interview with La Ode Mbongaju, Muna community leaders, November 23, 2023.

²⁴Interview with La Ode Mbongaju, Muna community leaders, November 23, 2023.

²⁵Interview with Wa Ode Djuma, Female Traditional Figures of the Muna Community, September 13, 2023.

can also be enjoyed by everyone, but the offerings at the *kaago-ago* hut cannot be taken or taken home.

Objectives of Implementing the *Kaago-ago* Ritual of the Muna Tribe

Based on the results of the researcher's observations, data was found that there are two purposes for carrying out the *kaago-ago* ritual, namely:

1. Requesting Permission to Unseen Creatures

The Muna tribe located in Southeast Sulawesi believes that the universe possesses supernatural powers that originate from supernatural beings. That is why humans should not carry out activities recklessly without permission from these supernatural beings.²⁶ The *kaago-ago* ritual is a tradition that seeks permission from supernatural beings so that humans can plant gardens in their areas of rule. During this ritual, people are required to live in harmony with each other, and refrain from acts that go against religious teachings and existing societal norms.

The Muna people believe that by performing the *kaago-ago* ritual, they can attain peace, as they are assured that supernatural creatures will not harm their plants. They can also be protected from diseases, their families are kept away from evil or disasters, and there is a good relationship between humans and the supernatural beings that inhabit the place.

2. Controller of Social Action

The *kaago-ago* ritual is a forum for community togetherness where forms of solidarity can be seen, such as people coming to help even without being invited as a form of concern for those who will clear the land.²⁷ The *kaago-ago* ritual also aims to control the actions of the Muna people in maintaining their behavior in living their daily lives. Apart from that, through this ritual, people can also preserve the environment because they will not dare to carry out activities that can damage the environment. Because they believe that in this world there are other inhabitants besides humans. This social function is closely related to *Dopo pia-piara* or caring for each other.

Dopo pia-piara is one of the many proverbs of advice from the Muna people which means respecting each other, nurturing, and looking after each other.²⁸ This proverb is intended for people to respect each other. Don't let conflicts arise between them regarding farming businesses and the areas that will be used as farming areas. Meanwhile, mutual care and protection are intended so that all communities must be able to protect and maintain the environment by not cultivating and using the land arbitrarily.

²⁶Interview with Wa Ndorampi, Muna Community Leaders, September 08, 2023.

²⁷Aris, "Fungsi Ritual Kaago-Ago Pada Masyarakat Muna Sulawesi Tenggara."

²⁸Interview with Wa Mia, Muna Community Leaders, August 18, 2023.

The Kaago-ago Ritual of the Muna Tribe: An Islamic Legal Anthropology Perspective

Islamic law, in reality, has historical and anthropological dimensions since its revelation, so the use of social and anthropological theories can be analytical tools in the study of Islamic law. The theoretical framework in Islamic legal research using a legal anthropology approach can be implemented by integrating theories from the Qur'anic scholars, ushul fiqh, and social science theories, such as history, sociology, politics, and anthropology. The scope of the study covers two things: the establishment of law in the Qur'an and the acculturation of Islamic law with customs and culture.²⁹ The legal anthropology approach contributes to explaining the adaptability of Islamic law in modern law. In the study of Islamic law, which is in dialectic with customs and culture, the relevant theory as an analytical tool is the theory of *al-'urf*.

Referring to the theory of Islamic legal anthropology and the theory of a-*'urf*, Islamic teachings wisely provide space for humans to explore God's law from its (secondary) sources, as long as they do not conflict with the primary sources, namely the Qur'an and Sunnah. This is a form of Islamic respect for human life, which is dynamic, creative, and adaptable within its socio-cultural and geographical context. In eastern Indonesia several traditions are not universally in line with Islamic law but are still maintained by the community, such as the *kawi' pura* tradition in East Kolaka,³⁰ the *naung ri ere* tradition in Gowa,³¹ the *passampo siri'* marriage tradition in East Kolaka,³² including the *kaago-ago* ritual tradition in Muna. However, the arrival of Islam in Eastern Indonesia, certainly had a big influence on the reality that developed around it.³³ One of these influences can be seen in the socio-cultural sphere (customs) which are slowly showing Islamic characteristics, one of which is the implementation of the *kaago-ago* ritual in the Muna community, Southeast Sulawesi.

²⁹Ali Sodiqin, "Antropologi Hukum sebagai Pendekatan. Amrul Irsyadi and Surawardi Surawardi, "Pendekatan Antropologi Sebagai Epistemologi Hukum Islam," *Maqashiduna: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 2, No. 2 (2024), p. 103-122.

³⁰Syamsul Darlis, "Marriage for Covering Disgrace: The Practice of Kawi' Pura Tradition in the East Kolaka Muslim Society," *Al-Ahwal; Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 15, no. 1 (2022), p. 21-40. Kamaruddin Kamaruddin, "The early marriage of the Tolaki Konawe community in the perspective of critical Islamic law," *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam dan Kemanusiaan* 22, No. 2 (2022).

³¹Ahmad Muntazar and Mursyid Fikri, "Pandangan Tokoh Muhammadiyah Terhadap Tradisi Naung Ri Ere Dalam Pernikahan: Perspektif 'Urf," *Cakrawala: Jurnal Studi Islam* 18, no. 2 (2023), p. 77-86.

³²I pandang and Syamsul Darlis, "Passampo Siri' in the Bugis Marriage Practices in East Kolaka, Indonesia: A Sociological Perspective of Islamic Law," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam* 6, no. 2 (2022), p. 873-89.

³³Marwan Rahman, et.al., "Agama Islam Di Muna Pada Masa Pemerintahan Raja Titakono:1600-1625," *Journal Idea of History* 3, no. 1 (2020), p. 31-42.

As previously explained, the habit of the Muna people of Southeast Sulawesi in starting to clear forest land for plantations is always combined with carrying out the *kaago-ago* ritual, which consists of conveying goals or requesting permission from supernatural beings who are the first forest dwellers, so that they can When gardening humans are not disturbed.

In Islamic law, tradition is viewed as having sociological and cultural flexibility, which means that it can be adopted by all indigenous peoples and local cultures.³⁴ Islamic legal experts believe that the traditions of a society can be used as a source of law when the Koran and Sunnah do not address an issue.³⁵ Therefore, general rules that apply to a particular time and place can be incorporated into Islamic law.³⁶

One way to update laws based on the traditions that develop in society is through *ijtihad*, which is known as *al-'urf*.³⁷ *'Urf* can be used as a foundation for establishing laws whose legal provisions are not yet clear in the Sharia, as long as the *'urf* does not conflict with the text, namely the Koran and Sunnah or human common sense. This is in line with the rule in *ushul fiqh* that states:

العادة محكمة ما لم تخالف الشرع

The Meaning: “*Tradition can be a legal basis as long as it does not contradict Islamic law*”³⁸

To adapt to the changing circumstances of life,³⁹ Islamic law must incorporate the *qiyas* method as a primary source to establish sharia laws. Additionally, the *istihsan*, *istislah*, and *'urf* methods should be included as secondary sources to determine the law for situations where there are no texts or *qiyas* available.

Although the *kaago-ago* ritual is not specifically addressed in the Shari'a,⁴⁰ the general principle is that any act that is not explicitly forbidden is considered permissible.⁴¹ This is consistent with the rule in *ushul fiqh*, which states:

³⁴ Moh Dahlan, “Dialektika Norma Hukum Islam Dan Adat-Budaya Dalam Paradigma Ulama Nahdlatul Ulama: Kajian Tipologis,” *Jurnal Islam Nusantara* 3, no. 1 (2020), p. 238–62.

³⁵ Ali Mohtarom, “Merespon Tradisi Sesajen Dalam Perspektif Hadits,” *Jurnal Mu'allim* 4, no. 1 (2022), p. 104–18.

³⁶ Hendra Wijaya and Fadlan Akbar, “Te ' Nea Tradition in the View of Islamic Law Perspective (Case Study In Majannang Village),” *Nukhbatul 'Ulum* 6, no. 1 (2020), p. 145–58.

³⁷ Agus Moh Najib, “Reestablishing Indonesian Madhhab 'Urf and the Contribution of Intellectualism,” *Al-Jami'ah* 58, no. 1 (2020), p. 171–208.

³⁸ Imam Jalaluddin Abdurrahman al-Suyuti, *Al-Asybah wa An-Nadhairu*, (Makkah: Maktabah Nazzar al-Baz, 1997), p. 62.

³⁹ Fitra Rizal, “Penerapan 'Urf Sebagai Metode Dan Sumber Hukum Ekonomi Islam,” *Al-Manhaj: Jurnal Hukum Dan Pranata Sosial Islam* 1, no. 2 (2019), p. 155–76.

⁴⁰ Emi Yasir and Shafwan Bendadeh, “Urf Sebagai Metode Istinbath Hukum Islam (Pemikiran Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy Dengan Fiqh Indonesiannya),” *SYARIAH: Journal of Islamic Law* 3, no. 2 (2021), p. 14.

⁴¹ Ita Musarrofa and Holilur Rohman, “'Urf of Cyberspace: Solutions to the Problems of Islamic Law in the Digital Age,” *Al-Ahkam* 33, no. 1 (2023), p. 63–88.

وَالْأَصْلُ فِي الْعُقُودِ وَالْمُعَامَلَاتِ الصِّحَّةُ حَتَّى يَأْتِيَ دَلِيلٌ عَلَى الْبُطْلَانِ وَالتَّحْرِيمِ

The Meaning: *As long as everything is permissible (allowed) until an argument comes that forbids it.*

The Muna tribe community in Southeast Sulawesi follows a ritual known as the *kaago-ago*, which has been passed down from their ancestors and is considered an important custom that must be preserved. Before clearing land for farming, the community performs the *kaago-ago* ritual, which has been practiced continuously since the time of their ancestors. The term 'urf refers to something that is commonly known and done by a group of people, whether it is an action or a tradition.⁴² Therefore, the process and belief in the *kaago-ago* ritual can be considered an 'urf that has been maintained and upheld by the Muna people for generations.

The categorization of the *kaago-ago* ritual in the study of al-'Urf is as follows:

1. 'Urf Category based on Object Aspect

Categorizing al-'urf based on the object aspect, the *kaago-ago* ritual is included in "*al-'Urf al-Amali*", namely habits that take the form of actions, in the sense that they are believed and have become an agreement with the Muna community to carry out the ritual. In accordance with Abdul Wahab Khallaf's opinion, "*a habit can be in the form of words, actions, or things left behind*".⁴³

2. 'Urf Category Based on Coverage

In terms of scope, the *kaago-ago* ritual is included in "*al-'Urf al-Khas*", namely the customs that apply to a particular region and society. Because the *kaago-ago* ritual tradition is only carried out by the Muna Tribe of Southeast Sulawesi.

3. 'Urf Category Based on Validity

The *kaago-ago* ritual is a ritual tradition commonly carried out by the Muna people of Southeast Sulawesi. This ritual is carried out before planting crops. This ritual is carried out to give a message to supernatural beings not to disturb humans when carrying out gardening activities so that they can achieve safety.

In terms of its validity, whether this *kaago-ago* ritual can be accommodated following the rules of ushul fiqh, Islamic legal methodologists (ushul experts) require several conditions as follows:

⁴² Moh Rosyid and Lina Kushidayati, "Anticipating Disaster: The 'Urf Perspective of Rebo Wekasan Ceremony in Kudus, Central Java," *Al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum Dan Pranata Sosial* 17, no. 1 (2022), p. 91–112.

⁴³ Darnela Putri, "Konsep 'Urf Sebagai Sumber Hukum Dalam Islam," *El-Mashlahah* 10, no. 2 (2020), p. 14–25.

- a. 'Urf contains benefits and is acceptable to common sense.⁴⁴
 - b. 'Urf (whether general or specific or deed or spoken)⁴⁵ applies generally, with the meaning that 'Urf applies in the majority of cases that occur in society, and its validity is adhered to by the majority of society.
 - c. 'Urf had become public when the issue that was to be determined by law arose.
 - d. 'Urf does not conflict with the qath'i texts in the syara'.⁴⁶
- To facilitate analysis, the researcher describes it in table form as follows:

Table 1: Kaago-Ago validity between Islamic Law and 'Urf

<i>Kaago-ago Ritual</i>	'Urf contains benefits and is acceptable to common sense	Invalid
	'Urf (whether general or specific or deed or spoken) applies generally, with the meaning that 'Urf applies in the majority of cases that occur in society and its validity is adhered to by the majority of society	Valid
	'Urf had become public when the issue that was to be determined by law arose	Valid
	'Urf does not conflict with the Qath'i texts in the syara'	Invalid

The *kaago-ago* ritual does not contain benefits because according to al-Khwarizmi, *maslahah* is maintaining the purposes of sharia by preventing damage to creatures (humans). From al-Khwarizmi's formulation it can be understood that whether something is considered *maslahah* or not, the measurement is sharia', not just reason. According to Imam al-Syatibi, *maslahah* is everything that is understood to explain human problems with the achievement and rejection of *mafsadah-mafsadah*, it is not obtained through reason alone but it must be i'tiraf by the syara' to accept or reject it.⁴⁷ The connection with the *kaago-ago* ritual is that in the implementation process, there are things that damage the faith, such as offerings made to supernatural beings with the intention of obtaining salvation from them.

⁴⁴ Dedisyah Putra, "Konsep 'Urf Dan Implementasinya Pada Ihdad Wanita Karier," *El-USRAH: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga* 2, no. 2 (2019), p. 269.

⁴⁵ Januddin Muhammad Yusuf and Nawir Yuslem, "Acehnese Dayah Ulama's Response to the Use of 'Urf in Istibath of Fiqh Law from Islam Nusantara," *Al-Istinbath: Jurnal Hukum Islam* 8, no. 1 (2023), p. 291–306.

⁴⁶ Ismail Ismail, et. al., "The Contribution of 'Urf to the Reform of Islamic Inheritance Law in Indonesia," *Al-Risalah: Forum Kajian Hukum Dan Sosial Kemasyarakatan* 22, no. 2 (2022), p. 165–78.

⁴⁷ Muhammad Furqan and Syahril Syahril, "Kedudukan 'Urf Sebagai Sumber Hukum Dalam Mazhab Syāfi'ī," *Jurnal Al-Nadhair* 1, no. 2 (2022), p. 68–118.

According to the author, this will not bring any problems because in its implementation there is something haram.

In line with that, in the study of Islam or Islamic Law according to Atho Mudzhar there are five aspects that can be studied as religious phenomena, namely, 1) Scripture or manuscripts or sources of religious teachings and symbols; 2) followers or leaders or religious leaders, namely the attitudes, behavior and experiences of their followers; 3) Rites, institutions and worship, such as prayer, pilgrimage, fasting, marriage and inheritance; 4) Tools such as mosques, churches, bells, peci and the like; 5) Religious organizations where followers gather and play a role, such as Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah and Persatuan Islam.⁴⁸ The *kaago-ago* tradition in Muna society is included in the category of religious rites and rituals that contain sociological and anthropological values. This is evidence that Islamic law provides space for cultural and customary expression for harmony in society.⁴⁹

The *kaago-ago* ritual is contrary to the *qath'i* text in the Islami law. Where in the *kaago-ago* ritual there are offerings that are considered haram because in addition there is an element of waste, namely throwing away or not using food that is made with the aim that it will later be used by genies or supernatural beings who guard the land or forest. So, offering offerings can be said to be a *fasid* thing because it is considered to conflict with existing Islamic law. After all, if there are offerings, it means that you believe in the existence of help other than Allah SWT, then there is no consideration in '*urf* and including '*urf al-fasid* (corrupted tradition) because it contradicts the *qath'i* text.

The *kaago-ago* ritual in which there are offerings offered to supernatural beings with the belief that these creatures can provide goodness or bring misfortune to anyone they wish so that by offering these offerings they hope to reduce the anger of the supernatural beings, then this is an act of shirk and its law, *haram*. Based on the table above, it can be seen that the *kaago-ago* ritual only fulfills two conditions (the second and third conditions) of the four conditions that are fulfilled in considering '*urf* as law, so it can be concluded that the *kaago-ago* ritual tradition falls into the '*urf* category *al-fasid*, because it contains elements of shirk which are not contained in the teachings of Islam (contrary to the text), namely that they give offerings to supernatural beings in the belief that they will provide smoothness and safety in the implementation of the *kaago-ago* ritual.

Conclusion

The *kaago-ago* ritual is a cross-dimensional ritual with supernatural beings to inform and ask permission from supernatural beings before the Muna people of Southeast Sulawesi open new agricultural land. The practice of the *kaago-ago* ritual

⁴⁸ M. Atho Mudzhar, *Pendekatan Studi Islam dalam Teori dan Praktek*, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1998), p. 15.

⁴⁹ Mursyid Djawas, et.al., "Harmonization of State, Custom, and Islamic Law in Aceh: Perspective of Legal Pluralism," *Hasanuddin Law Review* 10, No. 1 (2024).

requires certain materials as offerings to carry out the ritual. The implementation of the *kaago-ago* ritual begins with determining a good day by the farmer shaman (*parika*) and closes with a joint prayer led by the farmer shaman (*parika*). The purpose of performing the *kaago-ago* ritual is to seek permission from supernatural beings and to control social actions for the Muna community. Meanwhile, from the perspective of *'urf*, the *kaago-ago* ritual is seen as a tradition that is not in line with the formulation of Islamic law, because the *kaago-ago* ritual does not meet the requirements required by ushul fiqh, namely; it does not contain benefits, is not in line with common sense, and is not in line with qath'i arguments. The study of this article on the anthropological conception of Islamic law finds something new that in the *kaago-ago* tradition there is a dialectic between Islamic teachings and traditions as well as between humans and nature which aims to find harmony and order as a function of law in society. Therefore, the research has not provided comprehensive information regarding the sociological study of these rituals. Based on these limitations, it is recommended that further research be conducted as an effort to accommodate broader comparative aspects and find more diverse data so that a comprehensive understanding of the conflict between customary law and Islamic law can be obtained.

References

Journals and Books

- Abdin, Non. "Maksim Kesantunan Falia Pada Sistem Pertanian Masyarakat Muna: Kajian Pragmatik." *Gurindam: Jurnal Bahasa Dan Sastra* 1, no. 1 (2021). <https://doi.org/10.24014/gjbs.v1i1.12773>.
- Alfiah, Lailul, et.al., "Pemberian Sesajen Untuk Ritual Ruwah Desa Perspektif Hukum Islam." *Ma'mal: Jurnal Laboratorium Syariah Dan Hukum* 3, no. 1 (2022). <https://doi.org/10.15642/mal.v3i1.118>.
- Aris, La Ode. "Fungsi Ritual Kaago-Ago Pada Masyarakat Muna Sulawesi Tenggara." *Komunitas* 4, no. 1 (2012).
- Awat, Rustam, and Darco. "Upacara Kaago-Ago Pada Masyarakat Barangka." *Jurnal Pendidikan Sejarah* 2, no. 1 (2016). <https://doi.org/https://osf.io/afsn3>.
- Dahlan, Moh. "Dialektika Norma Hukum Islam Dan Adat-Budaya Dalam Paradigma Ulama Nahdlatul Ulama: Kajian Tipologis." *Jurnal Islam Nusantara* 3, no. 1 (2020).
- Darlis, Syamsul. "Marriage for Covering Disgrace: The Practice of Kawi' Pura Tradition in the East Kolaka Muslim Society." *Al-Ahwal; Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 15, no. 1 (2022). <https://doi.org/10.14421/ahwal.2022.15102>.
- Djawas, Mursyid, et.al., "Harmonization of State, Custom, and Islamic Law in Aceh: Perspective of Legal Pluralism," *Hasanuddin law Review* 10, No. 1 (2024). <https://doi.org/10.20956/halrev.v10i1.4824>.

- Fizriyani, Wilda, and Nadzierul Mujtaba. "Istilah-Istilah Kuliner Dalam Ritual Neloni Di Kabupaten Malang: Studi Etnolinguistik." *Sutasoma: Jurnal Sastra Jawa* 10, no. 2 (2022). <https://doi.org/10.15294/sutasoma.v10i2.59500>.
- Furqan, Muhammad, and Syahrial Syahrial. "Kedudukan 'Urf Sebagai Sumber Hukum Dalam Mazhab Syāfi'ī." *Jurnal Al-Nadhair* 1, no. 2 (2022). <https://doi.org/10.61433/alnadhair.v1i2.9>.
- Halida, Halida, Sulaiman Ibrahim, and A. Hunowu Momy. "Persepsi Masyarakat Terhadap Ritual Kaago-Ago Di Desa Oelongko Kecamatan Bone Kabupaten Muna." *Tadayyun* I, no. 2 (2023).
- Harnita, H. Anwar, and Pendais Hak. "Ritual Dalam Tradisi Pertanian (Galuh) Pada Masyarakat Desa Bone Tondo Kecamatan Bone Kabupaten Muna (1979-2017)." *Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan Sejarah UHO* 3, no. 2 (2020). <https://doi.org/10.36709/jpps.v3i2.12072>.
- Hasyim, Muh. Fathoni, et.al., "The Walagara Marriage Ritual: The Negotiation between Islamic Law and Custom in Tengger," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 14, No. 1 (2020). DOI: 10.15642/jiis.2020.14.1.139-162.
- Ipandang, and Syamsul Darlis. "'Passampo Siri' in the Bugis Marriage Practices in East Kolaka, Indonesia: A Sociological Perspective of Islamic Law." *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam* 6, no. 2 (2022). <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v6i2.12874>.
- Irsyadi, Amrul, and Surawardi Surawardi, "Pendekatan Antropologi Sebagai Epistemologi Hukum Islam," *Maqashiduna: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 2, No. 2 (2024). DOI:10.47732/maqashiduna.v2i2.566.
- Ismail, Ismail, et.al., "The Contribution of 'Urf to the Reform of Islamic Inheritance Law in Indonesia." *Al-Risalah: Forum Kajian Hukum Dan Sosial Kemasyarakatan* 22, no. 2 (2022). <https://doi.org/10.30631/alrisalah.v22i2.1243>.
- Isnian, Sitti Nur, et.al., "Kaago-Ago Local Wisdom in Corn Plant Cultivation in Maligano Sub District of Muna Regency." *Etnoreflika: Jurnal Sosial Dan Budaya* 8, no. 3 (2019): 176–85. <https://doi.org/10.33772/etnoreflika.v8i3.809>.
- Julaman, Bahtiar, and Sarpin. "Eksistensi Budaya Kaseise (Tolong Menolong) Dalam Penyelenggaraan Pernikahan Suku Muna; Studi Di Desa Kombikuno Kecamatan Napano Kusambi)." *Journal of Chemical Information and Modeling* 4, no. 3 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.52423/jns.v4i3.7706>.
- Kamaruddin Kamaruddin, "The early marriage of the Tolaki Konawe community in the perspective of critical Islamic law," *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam dan Kemanusiaan* 22, No. 2 (2022). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijtihad.v22i2.255-270>.
- Kasmawati, Henny, et.al., "Kajian Etnomedisin Tumbuhan Obat Tradisional Suku Muna Desa Oe Nsuli Kecamatan Kabangka Kabupaten Muna Sulawesi Tenggara." *Pharmauho: Jurnal Farmasi, Sains, Dan Kesehatan* 5, no. 1

- (2019). <https://doi.org/10.33772/pharmauho.v5i1.8997>.
- Mohtarom, Ali. "Merespon Tradisi Sesajen Dalam Perspektif Hadits." *Jurnal Mu'allim* 4, no. 1 (2022). <https://doi.org/10.35891/muallim.v4i1.2929>.
- Moita, Ismayanti, et.al., "Makna Simbolik Kaago-Ago Dalam Tradisi Perladangan Masyarakat Muna Page 1." *Ilmu Komunikasi UHO* 1, no. 3 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.52423/jikuho.v1i3.1614>.
- Mudzhar, M. Atho, *Pendekatan Studi Islam dalam Teori dan Praktek*, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1998).
- Muntazar, Ahmad, and Mursyid Fikri. "Pandangan Tokoh Muhammadiyah Terhadap Tradisi Naung Ri Ere Dalam Pernikahan: Perspektif 'Urf." *Cakrawala: Jurnal Studi Islam* 18, no. 2 (2023). <https://doi.org/10.31603/cakrawala.10143>.
- Musarrofa, Ita, and Holilur Rohman. "'Urf of Cyberspace: Solutions to the Problems of Islamic Law in the Digital Age." *Al-Ahkam* 33, no. 1 (2023). <https://doi.org/10.21580/ahkam.2023.33.1.13236>.
- Najib, Agus Moh. "Reestablishing Indonesian Madhhab 'Urf and the Contribution of Intellectualism." *Al-Jami'ah* 58, no. 1 (2020). <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2020.581.171-208>.
- Nuridin, Abidin, et.al., "Mappatammaq Mangaji in Mandar, West Sulawesi: Childrearing Patterns Based on the Qur'an in the Anthropological Perspective of Islamic Law," *El-USrah* 7, No. 2 (2024). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22373/ujhk.v7i2.25338>.
- Pratama, W, and R Rinawati. "Semiotika Sesajen Dalam Upacara Nyajen Di Kampung Cireundeu." *Prosiding Manajemen ...* 4, no. 2 (2018). <https://karyailmiah.unisba.ac.id/index.php/mankom/article/view/12786>.
- Putra, Dedisyah. "Konsep 'Urf Dan Implementasinya Pada Ihdad Wanita Karier." *El-USRAH: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga* 2, no. 2 (2019). <https://doi.org/10.22373/ujhk.v2i2.7576>.
- Putri, Darnela. "Konsep 'Urf Sebagai Sumber Hukum Dalam Islam." *El-Mashlahah* 10, no. 2 (2020). <https://doi.org/10.23971/maslahah.v10i2.1911>.
- Rahman, Marwan, et.al., "Agama Islam Di Muna Pada Masa Pemerintahan Raja Titakono: 1600-1625." *Journal Idea of History* 3, no. 1 (2020). <https://doi.org/10.33772/history.v3i1.1000>.
- Rizal, Fitra, "Penerapan 'Urf Sebagai Metode Dan Sumber Hukum Ekonomi Islam." *Al-Manhaj: Jurnal Hukum Dan Pranata Sosial Islam* 1, no. 2 (2019). <https://doi.org/10.37680/almanhaj.v1i2.167>.
- Rizkiawan, Idham. "Faktor-Faktor Yang Mempengaruhi Persepsi Masyarakat Tentang Makna Sesajen Pada Upacara Bersih Desa." *E-Journal Boga* 5, no. 2 (2017).
- Sodiqin, Ali, "Antropologi Hukum sebagai Pendekatan dalam Penelitian Hukum Islam," *al-Manahij* 7, No. 1 (2013). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24090/mnh.v7i1.581>.
- S. Praja, Juhaya, *Teori Hukum dan Aplikasinya*, Bandung: Pustaka Setia, 2011.

- Rosyid, Moh, and Lina Kushidayati. "Anticipating Disaster: The 'Urf Perspective of Rebo Wekasan Ceremony in Kudus, Central Java." *Al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum Dan Pranata Sosial* 17, no. 1 (2022). <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-lhkam.v17i1.5705>.
- Wijaya, Hendra, and Fadlan Akbar. "Te' Nea Tradition in the View of Islamic Law Perspective (Case Study In Majannang Village)." *Nukhbatul 'Ulum* 6, no. 1 (2020). <https://doi.org/10.36701/nukhbah.v6i1.102>.
- Wirayudha, Muhammad Auffa, "Tradisi Penyediaan Sesajen Dalam Pembacaan Manakib Pada Masyarakat Banjar Perspektif Hukum Islam," *Indonesian Journal of Islamic Jurisprudence Economic and Legal Theory* 3, No. 1 (2025). DOI: 10.62976/ijjel.v3i1.904.
- Yasir, Emi, and Shafwan Bendadeh. "Urf Sebagai Metode Istinbath Hukum Islam (Pemikiran Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy Dengan Fiqh Indonesianya)." *SYARIAH: Journal of Islamic Law* 3, no. 2 (2021). <https://doi.org/10.22373/sy.v3i2.308>.
- Yusuf, Januddin Muhammad, and Nawir Yuslem. "Acehnese Dayah Ulama's Response to the Use of 'Urf in Istinbath of Fiqh Law from Islam Nusantara." *Al-Istinbath: Jurnal Hukum Islam* 8, no. 1 (2023): 291–306. <https://doi.org/10.29240/jhi.v8i1.5732>.

Interviews

- Interview with La Ode Mbongaju, Muna community Leaders, November 23, 2023.
- Interview with Wa Ode Djuma, Female Traditional Figures of the Muna Community, September 13, 2023.
- Interview with Wa Ndorampi, Muna Community Leaders, September 08, 2023.
- Interview with La Sunia, Muna Community Leaders, June 23, 2023.
- Interview with Wa Mia, Muna Community Leaders, August 18, 2023.
- Interview with La Ode Herlina, Muna Community Figure, October 10, 2023.