

Discursive Islam and Maritime Tradition: The Islamization of the Maccera Tasi Ritual in Luwu, South Sulawesi

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Doi: [10.24252/jad.v25i2a5](https://doi.org/10.24252/jad.v25i2a5)

(Submitted: 21/08/2025, Accepted: 19/10/2025, Available Online: 23/10/2025)

Abstract

This research is intended to investigate the interaction between Islam and local culture as reflected in the process of acculturation displayed in the tradition of Maccera Tasi. Using an anthropological approach, this research identifies the meanings and functions of coastal community rituals as a cultural system representing maritime Islamic culture in Eastern Indonesia. Relying on Talal Asad's theory of discursive Islam, this research argues that the interaction of Islam within maritime culture does not merely reflect a static relationship but rather demonstrates dynamic complexities. Coastal communities in Eastern Indonesia, on the one hand, cooperatively preserve local traditions as cultural identity, while on the other hand, some groups resist by abandoning established traditions. By employing a qualitative method with data collection techniques such as in-depth interviews, documentation, archives, and digital sources, this research finds that the Maccera Tasi tradition reflects the adaptation of Islam within historical and cultural frameworks through various manifestations, such as the reinforcement of Islamic principles, the adoption of the adhan in four directions as the opening of the ritual, the transformation of the buffalo head offering into fish feed, and the practice of monotheistic prayers for safety. These findings broaden the understanding of the interaction between Islam and maritime culture, affirming that Islamic values are not only transformed but also embodied contextually within the symbolic, social and ecological spheres of coastal communities. This research provides an important contribution to understanding the dynamics of Islamic acculturation in the maritime regions of Southeast Asia.

Keywords: Islam; Local Culture; Ritual; Luwu Community

ملخص

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى دراسة التفاعل بين الإسلام والثقافة المحلية كما تتجلى في عملية التثاقف التي تتجلى في تراث ماشيرا تاسي. وباستخدام نهج



أنثروبولوجي، تُحدد هذه الدراسة معنى ووظيفة طقوس المجتمعات الساحلية كنظام ثقافي يُمثل الثقافة الإسلامية البحرية في شرق إندونيسيا واستنادًا إلى نظرية طلال أسد الخطابية الإسلامية، تُجادل هذه الدراسة بأن تفاعل الإسلام والثقافة البحرية لا يعكس علاقة ثابتة فحسب، بل يُظهر تعقيدًا ديناميكيًا. فمن جهة، تُحافظ المجتمعات الساحلية في شرق إندونيسيا بشكل تعاوني على التقاليد المحلية كهويات ثقافية، بينما تُقاومها بعض الجماعات بالتخلي عن التقاليد الراسخة. باستخدام الأساليب النوعية وتقنيات جمع البيانات مثل المقابلات المتعمقة والتوثيق والأرشفات والمصادر الرقمية، تجد هذه الدراسة أن تقليد ماسيرا تاسي يعكس تكيف الإسلام في إطار تاريخي وثقافي من خلال مظاهر مختلفة، مثل تعزيز المبادئ الإسلامية، واستخدام الدعوة الرباعية للصلاة كبداية طقسية، وتحويل قرابين رأس الجاموس إلى طعام للأسماك، وممارسة الصلاة التوحيدية من أجل الخلاص. تُوسّع هذه النتائج فهمنا للتفاعل بين الإسلام والثقافة البحرية، مؤكدةً أن القيم الإسلامية لا تتحوّل فحسب، بل تتجسد أيضًا في سياقها في المجالات الرمزية والاجتماعية والبيئية للمجتمعات الساحلية. يُقدّم هذا البحث مساهمة مهمة في فهم ديناميكيات التثاقف الإسلامي في جنوب شرق آسيا البحري.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الإسلام; الثقافة المحلية; الطقوس; مجتمع لوو

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji interaksi antara Islam dan budaya lokal sebagaimana tercermin dalam proses akulturasi yang ditampilkan dalam tradisi Maccera Tasi. Dengan pendekatan antropologis, penelitian ini mengidentifikasi makna dan fungsi ritual masyarakat pesisir sebagai sistem budaya yang merepresentasikan budaya Islam maritim di Indonesia Timur. Berdasarkan teori Islam diskursif Talal Asad, penelitian ini berargumen bahwa interaksi Islam dalam budaya maritim tidak sekadar mencerminkan hubungan yang statis, melainkan menunjukkan kompleksitas yang dinamis. Masyarakat pesisir di Indonesia Timur,

di satu sisi, secara kooperatif melestarikan tradisi lokal sebagai identitas budaya, sementara di sisi lain, beberapa kelompok melakukan perlawanan dengan meninggalkan tradisi yang telah mapan. Dengan menggunakan metode kualitatif dan teknik pengumpulan data seperti wawancara mendalam, dokumentasi, arsip, dan sumber digital, penelitian ini menemukan bahwa tradisi Maccera Tasi mencerminkan adaptasi Islam dalam kerangka sejarah dan budaya melalui berbagai manifestasinya, seperti penguatan prinsip-prinsip Islam, penggunaan azan empat arah sebagai pembuka ritual, transformasi sesaji kepala kerbau menjadi pakan ikan, dan praktik doa tauhid untuk keselamatan. Temuan-temuan ini memperluas pemahaman tentang interaksi antara Islam dan budaya maritim, menegaskan bahwa nilai-nilai Islam tidak hanya ditransformasikan tetapi juga diwujudkan secara kontekstual dalam ranah simbolik, sosial dan ekologis masyarakat pesisir. Penelitian ini memberikan kontribusi penting untuk memahami dinamika akulturasi Islam di kawasan maritim Asia Tenggara.

Kata Kunci: Islam; Budaya Lokal; Ritual; Masyarakat Luwu

How to Cite This Article: Al Mudzill, Al Mudzill, and Hamdani Hamdani. "Discursive Islam and Maritime Tradition: The Islamization of the Maccera Tasi Ritual in Luwu, South Sulawesi". *Jurnal Adabiyah* 25, no. 2 (October 21, 2025). Accessed November 3, 2025. <https://journal.uin-alauddin.ac.id/index.php/adabiyah/article/view/61018>.

A. Introduction

Studies on Islam in Southeast Asia tend to focus more on the cultures of communities inhabiting the mainland, while maritime communities whose lives depend on the sea have often received less scholarly attention.¹ Existing research has predominantly emphasized Muslim communities residing in inland or urban areas, whereas groups whose way of life is rooted in the maritime sphere have been comparatively overlooked.² Hafner argues that research on Islam in this region has not received adequate scholarly attention, while scholars and observers tend to overlook the significance of Islamic dynamics in Southeast Asia compared to other regions.³ Azra also highlights that research on Islam in Southeast Asia tends to be neglected

¹ Angela Schottenhammer, ed., *Early Global Interconnectivity across the Indian Ocean World. Volume 2: Exchange of Ideas, Religions, and Technologies*, Palgrave Series in Indian Ocean World Studies (International Conference, Entitled "Crossroads between Empires and Peripheries - Knowledge Transfer, Product Exchange and Human Movement across the Indian Ocean World," Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), h.5.

² Hamdani, Idris Masaudi, and A Muhtarom, "Islam Maritim dan Kultur Penjelajah Laut Masyarakat Nusantara," *Islam Nusantara: Journal for the Study of Islamic History and Culture* 4, no. 1 (January 31, 2023): h. 30., <https://doi.org/10.47776/islamnusantara.v4i1.670>.

³ Thomas Gibson, *Islamic Narrative and Authority in Southeast Asia: From the 16th to the 21st Century*, 1st ed (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), h. 5.

compared to other regions, even though Islam plays a significant role in the social, political, and cultural dynamics of this area.⁴ Therefore, Azra emphasizes the importance of enhancing academic attention to issues related to Islam in Southeast Asia.

In line with this perspective, J.H. Kramers stated that the advanced development of Islamic civilization in Europe, Africa, and West Asia over the past ten centuries did not include Southeast Asia in its discourse. This indicates a gap in the study of Islam in the region, where the maritime aspect also an integral part of the culture and history of Islam in Southeast Asia tends to be less explored compared to the dimensions of mainland life.

The discussion on Islam and maritime culture refers to communities residing in coastal and archipelagic areas. From a geographical perspective, coastal communities inhabit regions situated between the sea and the mainland.⁵ This region is characterized by a reciprocal interaction between maritime dynamics extending inland and terrestrial dynamics reaching toward the sea. From a socio-cultural perspective, particularly among coastal communities that continue to uphold tradition, there exists a strong dependence on the economic resources available in coastal areas. They rely on the economic potential derived both from the sea and from the surrounding coastal land. These characteristics shape distinctive patterns of life and culture, reflecting the adaptation of coastal communities to their unique natural environment.⁶

Coastal communities possess distinctive characteristics in their rituals and ceremonies, which differ from the practices of inland societies. This distinctiveness reflects the unique features of coastal community life.⁷ For coastal inhabitants, Islamic teachings have become the primary foundation for shaping their behavior and actions. Coastal communities tend to integrate Islamic values into local culture, so that every aspect of their lives becomes a manifestation of Islam that has adapted to local wisdom. In contrast, communities residing in inland areas are more selective in choosing which religious elements to incorporate into their customs. They carefully align elements of Islamic teachings with their local traditions and then merge the two. This process results in a form of syncretic culture, in which Islamic elements and local traditions blend into a unique and unified whole.

⁴ Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama: Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII & XVIII: Akar Pembaruan Islam Indonesia*, Ed. rev (Kencana, 2004), h. 24.

⁵ Wahyono S. Kusumoprojo, *Indonesia Negara Maritim*, Cet. 2., ed. rev (Teraju, 2009), h. 2.

⁶ Rina Yulianti, *Perlindungan Hukum Bagi Hak Masyarakat Atas Sumber Daya Pesisir* (Scopindo Media Pustaka, 2021), h. 19.

⁷ Mahfudlah Fajrie, "Gaya Komunikasi Masyarakat Pesisir Wedung Jawa Tengah," *INJECT (Interdisciplinary Journal of Communication)* 2, no. 1 (2018): h. 66., <https://doi.org/10.18326/inject.v2i1.53-76>.

In addition to their connection with the sea, coastal communities also possess a rich tradition reflected in a series of customary ceremonies marking the life cycle. These ceremonies include rituals from pregnancy to death, each carrying specific meanings and procedures. Pregnancy rituals such as neloni, mitoni, or tingkebun, as well as birth ceremonies (procotan and mudun lemah), and weddings, are celebrated through brokohan a form of thanksgiving recitation accompanied by sharing food. On the other hand, funeral rituals, including geblake, neloni, mitoni, metang puluh, nyatus, mendak, and nyewu, are generally conducted in the form of slametan or nyalameti. These customary practices demonstrate how coastal communities integrate traditional beliefs with Islamic teachings, creating a unique cultural synthesis rich in symbolic meaning.⁸

From the discussion above, the differing geographical characteristics between coastal and inland regions have shaped distinctive patterns in the process of integrating Islamic values into the social structure of communities. There is a fundamental difference in the way coastal and inland societies incorporate Islam into their daily lives. Therefore, the diversity in how Islam is perceived and negotiated within maritime cultures among the Nusantara ethnic groups presents an interesting subject for analysis in conceptualizing Maritime Islam, a topic that has received limited scholarly attention.

Beaches and coastal areas have played a crucial role in the spread of Islam in Indonesia. Syam emphasizes that Islam initially developed rapidly in coastal regions before spreading to the inland areas.⁹ Cultural contact between newcomers and coastal communities during the early period of Islam in Java led to a dynamic interaction between local and foreign cultures. This resulted in syncretism and acculturation, such as the practice of adhering to Islamic teachings while still maintaining belief in local traditions. Azra also emphasizes that cultural contact between newcomers on the Javanese coast and local communities in the early Islamic period produced syncretism and acculturation. Islam that arrived in Java was influenced by the local traditions of its carriers, and thus was no longer purely Arab Islam. Various opinions regarding the arrival of Islam in the Nusantara revolve around Arab and non-Arab influences; however, it is certain that Islam in Java was shaped by the interpretations of its carriers.¹⁰

The spread of Islam in the eastern Nusantara cannot be separated from the region's strong maritime culture. The dissemination of the religion, which reached all levels of society, relied heavily on the vital role of boats as transportation, the closely connected inter-island networks, the development of port systems, and the dynamism of coastal communities. This phenomenon is particularly evident in the Islamization processes that occurred among the Bugis and Makassar communities in South

⁸ Nur Syam, *Islam Pesisir*, Cet. 1 (LKIS, 2021), h. 7.

⁹ Syam, *Islam Pesisir*, h. 5.

¹⁰ Syam, *Islam Pesisir*, h. 6.

Sulawesi.¹¹ However, the development disparity between western and eastern Indonesia has long been a deeply rooted issue. While the islands in the western part, particularly Java and Sumatra, have enjoyed rapid development with modern infrastructure, the eastern regions of Indonesia have often been overlooked. Provinces in Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Maluku, and Papua continue to struggle with limited access to basic facilities such as electricity, clean water, and adequate healthcare services. This disparity is reflected not only in physical infrastructure but also in human resource development and studies on Islamic culture. Consequently, the socio-economic gap between these regions continues to widen, posing serious challenges for the government in achieving equitable development and welfare for all Indonesians.

Given the ethnic complexity and the tendency of Javanese bias in national cultural discourse, research projected to investigate Islam and maritime culture in the context of Eastern Indonesian communities becomes highly significant. Such studies can provide a more balanced and comprehensive perspective on the diversity of cultural and religious practices in Indonesia. By focusing on the eastern regions, this research has the potential to reveal unique dynamics in the interaction between Islam and local traditions, which may differ from dominant narratives that tend to center on Java. This will not only enrich the understanding of cultural and religious pluralism in the Nusantara but also serve as an important step toward addressing the imbalance in cultural representation at the national level.

Research on maritime community culture and religious life practices has been widely conducted; however, conceptual frameworks that construct maritime culture or that highlight the interaction between Islam and maritime culture have not received sufficient scholarly attention. Studies such as those by Nur Syam (2005) on Local Coastal Islamic Traditions, Benny Baskara (2016) on the religious life of the Bajo people also known as sea nomads, Arifuddin Ismail (2012) in *Agama Nelayan*, discussing the encounter between Islam and local culture in Mandar, West Sulawesi, and Hamdani (2023) on Maritime Islam and the seafaring culture of the Nusantara, have provided insights relevant to this research topic.

These prior studies predominantly reveal Islam within inland community traditions, while discussions of Islam in coastal local contexts are not yet as extensive or rich as those mentioned above. Therefore, the position of this research is to investigate the interaction between Islam and maritime culture through the Maccera Tasi tradition of the Luwu community in South Sulawesi.

Luwu is one of the regions in South Sulawesi that possesses a rich and diverse historical and cultural heritage. The area is known for its strong traditions and customs,

¹¹ Hamdani dkk., "Islam Maritim," h. 39.

as well as the significant influence of Islam on the lives of its communities.¹² One of the prominent local cultural practices in the region is Maccera Tasi, a customary ceremony performed as an expression of gratitude by the community for the abundant marine harvest. This tradition reflects a fusion of Islamic values and local customs that have been integrated into the life of the Luwu people. Pabbajah notes that this tradition is manifested in rituals such as Mappangre Galung, performed by farmers, and Maccera Tasi, a tradition carried out by fishermen.¹³

Nevertheless, Islamization in Luwu has brought changes not only in the spiritual dimension but also in the social and cultural structures of the community.¹⁴ The spread of Islam in the Luwu region occurred harmoniously, with scholars wisely integrating Islamic teachings with the local wisdom that had long been rooted in the community.¹⁵ This is evident in the implementation of Maccera Tasi, where Islamic values such as gratitude to God and communal solidarity are expressed through customary rituals.

Maccera Tasi is a tradition that integrates elements of local customs and Islamic teachings in Luwu, South Sulawesi. According to Eggin and Slade, there are several perspectives for analyzing the oral tradition of Maccera Tasi as verbal interactions within thanksgiving ceremonies.¹⁶ The Sea Festival, or Maccera Tasi, is one of Luwu's cultural manifestations that illustrates the relationship between humans, the Almighty Creator, all living beings, and the surrounding natural environment. Thus, the Sea Festival, or Maccera Tasi, represents an expression of gratitude through prayers for the blessings and abundant marine resources, which are regarded as gifts from the Almighty. Based on the above description, research projected to investigate Islam and local culture in the context of Eastern Indonesian communities is deemed highly significant.

This research examines how the Maccera Tasi tradition represents the discursive negotiation between Islam and maritime culture in the Luwu region. The findings of

¹² Jumadi, "Revitalisasi Nilai Budaya Suku Cerekang Sebagai Upaya Pelestarian Lingkungan Hidup," *JIM: Jurnal Ilmiah Mahasiswa Pendidikan Sejarah* 8, no. 2 (2023): h. 816., <https://doi.org/DOI:%2520https://doi.org/10.24815/jimps.v8i2.24919>.

¹³ Ibnu Azka, Fathur Baldan Haramain, dkk., "Harmonization of Tradition and Islam: Mediating Culture and Religious Beliefs in Maccera Tasi Ritual in Luwu, South Sulawesi," *Heritage of Nusantara: International Journal of Religious Literature and Heritage* 13, no. 1 (2024): h. 33., <https://doi.org/10.31291/hn.v13i1.736>.

¹⁴ Mustaqim Pabbajah, "Relegiusitas dan Kepercayaan Masyarakat Bugis- Makassar," *Jurnal Al- Ulum* 2012 12, no. 2 (2012): 397–418.

¹⁵ Anzar Abdullah, "Islamisasi di Sulawesi Selatan dalam Perspektif Scharah," *Paramita: Historical Studies Journal* 26, no. 1 (February 20, 2016): h. 88., <https://doi.org/10.15294/paramita.v26i1.5148>.

¹⁶ Ditwdb, "No Title," Kemendikbud, 2019, <https://kebudayaan.kemdikbud.go.id/ditwdb/maccera-tasi-kepercayaan-masyarakat-luwu/>.

this analysis contribute to enriching the discourse on Islam Nusantara and the ongoing processes of cultural adaptation in Eastern Indonesia.

B. Research Method

This research employs a qualitative method with an anthropological approach. The anthropological approach is chosen to understand religion through the study of religious practices that emerge and develop within community life. From this perspective, the research seeks to explore the meaning and function of coastal community rituals as part of their cultural system. The focus of the research is directed at how these ritual practices function not only as spiritual expressions but also as representations of maritime Islamic culture that grows and adapts in Eastern Indonesia.

The research utilizes two types of data, namely secondary data and primary data. The researcher employs both types of data to seek solutions or answers to the research problem, either used together or separately.

Primary Data: The primary data in this research consist of interviews. In this case, the researcher will interview customary leaders and ritual practitioners involved in the implementation of the Maccera Tasi ceremony. Additionally, the researcher utilizes original documents written by the ritual practitioners and digital documentation related to the implementation of the Maccera Tasi ceremony among the coastal communities of Luwu, South Sulawesi. This data is often referred to as raw data because it is obtained directly from field research and requires further processing to derive deeper meaning.

Secondary Data: Secondary data are obtained from related literature, including journal articles, books, theses, dissertations, and other documents relevant to the research problem in order to produce accurate and appropriate data. Secondary data are used to complement and support primary data, so that both types of data mutually reinforce and strengthen the problem analysis.

The collected data were analyzed using a descriptive method to reveal the social dynamics of the Luwu community as a maritime society that has integrated Islamic teachings with local maritime wisdom. The analysis focused on the meaning and function of the Maccera Tasi tradition within the framework of the cultural system of the Luwu maritime community. The analytical process was conducted systematically from the initial stage of data collection to the final stage of the research. The obtained data were first reduced by summarizing key aspects, then categorized and assigned specific codes to facilitate retrieval. Subsequently, the data were verified for validity before being interpreted using relevant theoretical approaches.

In analyzing the research problem, the research employed Talal Asad's Discursive Islam theory to provide a dialectical perspective that bridges divine revelation with empirical context, exploring how religious principles are practiced, interpreted, and understood within diverse social spaces. From this perspective, Islam is not viewed as a monolithic entity but as a system of meaning that continuously

evolves and interacts with its local context. Through this theory, religious beliefs are understood as products of complex social interactions. Each community reads, interprets, and implements Islamic teachings in unique ways, resulting in a rich and diverse array of religious expressions. Thus, the theory offers a perspective that understands religion as a dynamic process, in which the meaning and practice of Islam are continuously shaped, reinterpreted, and negotiated within diverse cultural spaces.

C. Results and Discussion

1. Commitment to Customary Law and Sharia

The philosophical values of the Bugis people can be traced through the widely circulated Lontara manuscripts, whether held by the Bugis community themselves, collectors of ancient manuscripts, religious scholars, or academics interested in Bugis culture. These values are recorded in the Lontara as cultural expressions that not only reflect the social order of the community but also demonstrate harmony with Islamic teachings.¹⁷ This alignment is evident in the principles of ethics, justice, and the ideal social order, which are frequently referenced in scholarly writings on the Bugis community.¹⁸ Among the local principles of the Bugis-Makassar community is the saying, “*ade’na rilipu ri syara’, syara’na rilipu ri ade’*,” which means “customs are inseparable from Sharia, and Sharia is inseparable from customs.” This principle serves as the philosophical foundation shaping the value system in the social, cultural, and spiritual life of the community. The expression reflects a harmonious and mutually supportive relationship between customary norms, which have been passed down through generations, and Islamic teachings that serve as the community’s religious guidance. Within this framework, customs are not positioned as entities separate from or in opposition to religion; rather, they are understood as expressive vehicles of the values of tauhid that have been gradually internalized into the local cultural structure through a culturally oriented process of Islamization.

Islam and custom have become two integral elements in the life of the Bugis community.¹⁹ Amid the strong Islamic spirit embraced by the Bugis community, there is also a steadfast commitment to preserving customary traditions that have been passed down through generations. These two entities are often perceived as two poles that could potentially conflict. On one hand, the Bugis are known for their high religious devotion, while on the other hand, they also demonstrate deep loyalty to customary

¹⁷ Nfn Nurnaningsih, “Rekonstruksi Falsafah Bugis dalam Pembinaan Karakter: Kajian Naskah Paaseng Toriolo Tellumpocoe,” *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 13, no. 2 (2015): 395, <https://doi.org/10.31291/jlk.v13i2.232>.

¹⁸ Patmawati, “Peranan Nilai Filosofi Bugis Terhadap Proses Pengislaman Kerajaan Bugis Makassar di Sulawesi Selatan,” *Jurnal Khatulistiwa – Journal of Islamic Studies*, 2, vol. 6 (2016): 185.

¹⁹ Abdul Rahman Abu dkk., *Manusia Bugis* (Nalar [bekerjasama dengan] Forum Jakarta-Paris, Ecole française d’Extreme-Orient, 2006), 356–362.

values. In everyday life, the relationship between custom and Islam is not always dichotomous; rather, it is often negotiated and harmonized. Custom is regarded as a heritage from the ancestors, carrying noble values that are still considered relevant as guidance for achieving worldly well-being.²⁰ On the other hand, religion is seen as a means to fulfill spiritual needs and as a guiding principle of life, containing noble values capable of leading people toward the path of truth.²¹

The Maccera Tasi tradition, as an annual ritual of the Luwu coastal community aimed at expressing gratitude for the abundance of marine resources, serves as a concrete representation of the integration between custom and Sharia. This ritual not only reflects respect for nature as a source of livelihood but also demonstrates how local cultural heritage can be harmonized with Islamic values through symbolic reinterpretation and changes in ritual practice. Along with the growing influence of Islam in the Luwu region, particularly since the reign of Datu Suleiman, the first Islamic ruler of Luwu, Maccera Tasi has undergone transformations in its form, symbols, and meanings.²²

Based on an interview with Madika Bua, a customary leader directly involved in the implementation of the ritual, this transformation process occurred gradually and was not enforced. Islamization in this context does not diminish the meaning of local culture; rather, it accommodates it within the framework of Islamic values. The approach employed is cultural in nature, wherein customary symbols previously rooted in animistic belief systems are reinterpreted to align with the teachings of tauhid, without erasing the collective essence and cultural identity of the community.²³ This demonstrates that the integration between Islam and adat in the practice of Maccera Tasi is the result of a dynamic dialogical process between the two value systems, which mutually reinforce one another and give rise to a distinctive form of religiosity within the local Bugis-Luwu context.

One of the important principles bequeathed by Datu Suleiman is the maxim: “If you wish to say something or to do something, then anchor it in custom and ground it in religion.” This maxim subsequently became a normative and ethical framework that encouraged the community to align various cultural practices with Islamic values. In the context of Maccera Tasi, customary elements that once carried animistic

²⁰ Irwan Abdullah, “Dari Bounded System ke Borderless Society: Krisis Metode Antropologi dalam Memahami Masyarakat Masa Kini,” *Antropologi Indonesia* 30, no. 2 (2014): 185, <https://doi.org/10.7454/ai.v30i2.3563>.

²¹ Emile Durkheim dkk., *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, Oxford World’s Classics (Oxford University Press, 2001), 25.

²² Zulhas’ari Mustafa, “Mocera Tasi Ritual Among The Wotu Community In East Luwu (The Masalahat Perspective),” *JICSA (Journal of Islamic Civilization in Southeast Asia)* 8, no. 1 (2019): 82, <https://doi.org/10.24252/jicsa.v8i1.7742>.

²³ “Wawancara dengan Madika Bua, Transformasi Tradisi Maccera Tasi,” 30 April 2025.

connotations—such as the offering of a pig’s head to sea spirits—were gradually replaced with new symbols consistent with Islamic teachings. Today, the offering of a buffalo’s head has been substituted with the distribution of fish feed as an expression of gratitude to the sea, which is understood as one of God’s creations that sustains life.

Opu Sulolipu, a customary leader who also serves as Opukeni Dapu-Dapu (the coordinator of traditional rituals of the Kedatuan Luwu), explained that this transformation was driven not only by theological awareness but also by ethical and social considerations. The buffalo head that was once cast into the sea is now regarded as more beneficial when distributed to the community for consumption, while the inedible parts are offered to marine life.²⁴ This approach aligns with the Islamic principles of public welfare (*maslahah*) and the avoidance of wastefulness, while also reinforcing the value of social solidarity in food distribution.

The above description demonstrates that the strong religious spirit among the Bugis Muslim community does not diminish their commitment to ancestral customs that have been passed down through generations. The steadfastness of the Bugis in integrating religious rituals with traditional elements reflects the enduring significance of both within the local belief system. In practice, custom (*adat*) and Islam appear to coexist harmoniously in the socio-religious life of the Bugis people, thereby blurring the boundaries between the two.²⁵ This creates a condition in which the integration of Islamic values and local customs produces a distinctive form of religiosity imbued with syncretic nuances. In this context, Islam does not merely emerge to construct a new cultural order, but also engages in negotiation and even contestation over the domains of local civilization that had preexisted. As noted by Clifford Geertz, as cited in Ummu Sumbulah’s work, Islam came not only to build a civilization but also to “seize civilization,” implying an ongoing dialectic and tension between Islamic teachings and local traditions. This tension, in many cases, can still be observed in the cultural and religious expressions of the community to this day.²⁶

Furthermore, the process of transformation within the Maccera Tasi tradition is not only reflected in its symbolic aspects and ritual structure, but is also evident in the changes to the wording of prayers and the forms of worship that accompany the procession. Prayers that once drew from animistic traditions have gradually been replaced with Islamic recitations, such as Surah Al-Fatihah and Al-Ikhlas, along with the call to prayer (*adhan*) proclaimed from the four cardinal directions. The *adhan* is delivered with a resounding voice upon the Ance—the traditional raft that serves as the

²⁴ “Wawancara dengan, Kordinator Ritual Adat ‘Opukeni Dapu-Dapu’, Transformasi Simbol Pelarungan,” 21 April 2025.

²⁵ Abdullah, “Dari Bounded System ke Borderless Society,” 186.

²⁶ Umami Sumbulah, “Islam Jawa dan Akulturasi Budaya: karakteristik, Variasi dan ketaatan ekspresif,” *El-HAKAH (TERAKREDITASI)*, advance online publication, Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University, 1 Desember 2012, 51–68, <https://doi.org/10.18860/el.v0i0.2191>.

central point of the ceremony—not only to ensure that all participants can hear it clearly, but also to convey a profound symbolic dimension. As explained by Opu Sulolipu, the recitation of the adhan is intended to cultivate a solemn spiritual atmosphere throughout the procession, while at the same time affirming the position of Allah SWT as the ultimate center of spirituality in the entire sequence of rituals.²⁷

Although a number of elements within Maccera Tasi have undergone a reformulation of meaning within the framework of Islam, many customary structures have been preserved as part of a cultural heritage imbued with strong social and symbolic value. The presence of the Ance is interpreted as a spiritual space that connects human beings with the cosmos, while the figure of the sacred maiden involved in the procession is reinterpreted as a symbol of purity of intention and the community's collective morality. At the same time, the exchange of food known as Lise Rakki continues to be practiced as an expression of solidarity and social blessing. Such transformations reflect the continuous efforts of the Luwu people to synthesize customary values with Islamic principles into a cohesive cultural praxis, without losing the local identity handed down across generations. In this context, Maccera Tasi emerges as a representation of an Islamization model that is not destructive toward tradition, but instead fosters a creative dialogue between cultural heritage and religious values.

Although the process of transformation in the Maccera Tasi tradition has sought to harmonize customary values with Islamic law, certain customary symbols continue to face resistance from some groups who view them as incompatible with Islamic teachings. One symbol that is often misunderstood is the term maccera, which is literally translated as “blood,” and therefore perceived as a form of blood offering that contradicts the principle of *tawhīd*. However, according to the explanation of Madika Bua, a Luwu customary leader, the term maccera in the local cultural context is more appropriately understood as an expression of gratitude or a vow (*nazar*), in line with Islamic practice that permits animal sacrifice as a form of thanksgiving for sustenance or safety.²⁸ Therefore, within the framework of Islamic law, this tradition can be categorized as part of *al-ʿurf al-ṣaḥīḥ*, namely a local custom that is permissible so long as it does not contradict the fundamental principles of the *sharīʿa*. In addition, other customary symbols such as *sokko patan rupa* (the Four Colors), a traditional dish that functions within collective ceremonies, are also often viewed negatively because they are not recognized in the formal practices of Islamic worship. Yet, functionally and symbolically, *sokko patan rupa* bears resemblance to the *tumpeng* tradition in Javanese culture, which has been widely accepted and never questioned theologically. Both

²⁷ “Wawancara dengan Opu Sulolipu, Tokoh Adat Kadatuan Luwu, Penggunaan Azan Dalam Ritual Maccera Tasi,” 21 April 2025.

²⁸ “Wawancara dengan Madika Bua, Tokoh Adat Kedatuan Luwu, Makna Maccera Tasi,” 30 April 2025.

symbols represent values of blessing, togetherness, and gratitude for the divine favors bestowed by God, without implying any form of worship directed toward entities other than Allah.²⁹

Madika Bua criticizes the textualist approach that only recognizes the validity of religious practices explicitly mentioned in the Qur'an and Hadith. According to him, such an approach is narrow, as it overlooks the long history of acculturation between Islam and local cultures that has shaped the inclusive and adaptive character of Islam Nusantara. He emphasizes that understanding religious practices cannot be separated from the social, historical, and cultural contexts in which the religion is practiced.³⁰ Within this framework, traditional symbols do not necessarily need to be eliminated; rather, they are reinterpreted to align with the values of tawhīd and Islamic ethics.

Thus, resistance to traditional symbols in the Maccera Tasi tradition more accurately reflects differences in approaches to understanding Islam between a normative textual approach and a contextual cultural approach. Traditions such as maccera and sokko patan rupa demonstrate that Islam can harmonize with local customs without losing the essence of faith, provided that the reinterpretation of meanings is carried out wisely and remains grounded in the fundamental principles of Islam.

One significant aspect that enriches the symbolic meaning of the Maccera Tasi tradition is the procession of releasing tiko-tiko fish into the sea. In the Luwu community, this fish is known as Datunna Balede, which literally means "king of fish." Although small in size, the tiko-tiko fish holds high symbolic significance as a representation of the authority of marine life. The release of these fish is not merely a ceremonial ritual but carries a profound meaning as a symbol of returning life to the sea, while also manifesting the principle of reciprocity between humans and nature. In this context, the act reflects the ecological awareness of the coastal community of Luwu, recognizing the sea not only as a source of livelihood to be exploited but also as an entity that must be respected and preserved.³¹

This procession reflects the worldview of the Luwu community, which has been integrated with Islamic values, particularly the concept of humans as khalifah (God's representatives) on earth. In Islamic teachings, humans not only have the right to utilize natural resources but also bear moral and spiritual responsibilities to maintain their

²⁹ Isnaini Indrawati dkk., "Analisis Makna Simbolik Larung Tumpeng Pada Upacara Distrikan di Danau Ranu Desa Ranuklindungan Pasuruan," *Jurnal Komunikasi Nusantara* 4, no. 2 (2022): 307, <https://doi.org/10.33366/jkn.v4i2.223>.

³⁰ "Wawancara dengan Madika Bua, Tokoh Adat Kedatuan Luwu, Makna Maccera Tasi," 30 April 2025.

³¹ "Wawancara dengan, Kordinator Ritual Adat 'Opukeni Dapu-Dapu', Transformasi Simbol Pelarungan," 21 April 2025.

balance.³² Therefore, the release of tiko-tiko fish in the Maccera Tasi ritual holds not only ecological significance but also serves as a spiritual expression aligned with the principle of ecological tawhīd, which acknowledges that all creation is part of the divine will and must be cared for sustainably.

Thus, the transformation of values in the Maccera Tasi tradition cannot be understood as the erasure of local customs, but rather as a process of reinterpretation that takes place within the framework of Islamic values. The Islamization that occurred in Luwu represents an inclusive cultural dialogue, in which local values are not rejected but gradually and contextually integrated and harmonized with Islamic teachings. This process gives rise to a distinctive form of religiosity rooted in cultural heritage, yet open to spiritual transformation.

The Maccera Tasi tradition thus becomes an arena for articulating Islamic values such as tawhīd, ecological responsibility, and social solidarity, which are embodied in local symbols and practices. It demonstrates that Islam does not erase cultural traces; rather, it revitalizes them through creative and contextual reinterpretation. In an era of ongoing social and environmental change, Maccera Tasi remains a living, adaptable tradition, retaining its relevance amid the dynamics of the times.

2. The Adoption of the Adhan in Rituals from the Four Cardinal Directions

One of the most prominent symbolic aspects in the implementation of the Maccera Tasi tradition in Luwu is the procession of the adhan being called from the four cardinal directions: north, south, east, and west. In the context of this ritual, the adhan is not merely understood as a part of formal Sharia obligations but holds symbolic meaning as a form of spatial sanctification and an acknowledgment of God's presence in all corners of the universe. This procession reflects the efforts of the Bugis-Luwu community to create a sacred ritual space, in which the cardinal directions are not only geographical orientations but also represent the totality of existence and the balance of the cosmos.³³

Thus, the adhan recited from atop the Ancek (traditional raft) infuses spiritual meaning into the symbolic spaces that have long existed in the cultural imagination of the coastal community. This represents a subtle transformation of meaning, whereby Islamic elements are not merely inserted formally into the structure of local customs but are organically integrated into an established symbolic framework. In this context, the Maccera Tasi ritual serves not only as a space for enacting cultural heritage but also as a site of accommodation between two value systems: Islam and local customary law.

³² Aulia Rakhmat, "Islamic Ecotheology: Understanding The Concept Of Khalifah And The Ethical Responsibility Of The Environment," *Academic Journal of Islamic Principles and Philosophy* 3, no. 1 (2022): 1, <https://doi.org/10.22515/ajipp.v3i1.5104>.

³³ Naidah Naing dkk., "Makna Ruang Sakral pada Tata Ruang Dalam Rumah Panggung Tradisional Bugis," *Jurnal Permukiman* 14, no. 2 (2019): 62, <https://doi.org/10.31815/jp.2019.14.62-72>.

This process demonstrates that the integration of Islam and local culture in Luwu does not occur in a hegemonic or unilateral manner, but rather through dialogical and cultural mechanisms. The adhan, as a symbol of tawhid, does not negate existing customary structures; instead, it reinforces the spiritual meaning within the tradition. Therefore, Maccera Tasi can be seen as a tangible example of how Islamic practices are adapted into the symbolic structures of local culture, or conversely, how local symbols are reinterpreted within the framework of Islamic teachings. Both processes—Islam accommodating custom and custom adapting to Islam—create a form of contextual, dynamic religiosity that retains its cultural identity.

Based on interviews with Madika Bua, a local customary leader and cultural practitioner in Luwu, the adhan procession in the Maccera Tasi tradition is not merely understood as a formal religious ritual but also contains a cosmological dimension deeply rooted in the Bugis-Luwu worldview. According to Madika Bua, the local community does not refer to the directions of the adhan as the four corners, but rather as the four sides, reflecting the traditional worldview framework known as Sulapa Eppa' (the fourfold division).³⁴

Sulapa Eppa' literally means “quadrangle” and constitutes a fundamental principle in Bugis cosmology, serving as the foundation for understanding the order and balance of human life.³⁵ This concept not only depicts a four-sided geometric shape but also represents the structure of the cosmos and the human body, which is built upon four primary elements: fire, water, earth, and wind. These elements are believed to complement one another and serve as fundamental components in maintaining cosmic balance and the harmony of life. In the worldview of the Bugis-Luwu community, Sulapa Eppa' functions as a metaphor for the interconnectedness between humans and the universe, as well as between the spiritual and material dimensions of life.³⁶

In the context of Maccera Tasi, the Sulapa Eppa' concept is contextualized through the chanting of the adhan toward the four cardinal directions: north, south, east, and west. This procession serves as a symbol that the entire ritual space has been spiritually sanctified and that the presence of Allah SWT encompasses all directions of the universe. By directing the adhan to the four corners, the Bugis-Luwu community symbolically establishes vertical and horizontal communication between humans, nature, and the Creator. This illustrates how Islamic values are not only adopted

³⁴ “Wawancara dengan Madika Bua, Penggunaan Azan dalam Tradisi Maccera Tasi,” 30 April 2025.

³⁵ Antariksa Sudikno, “Relation Between Sulapa Eppa' Philosophy And Function-Form-Meaning-Context Theory In Revealing Adaptation Pattern On Bugis Diaspora Village Architecture,” *Journal of the International Society for the Study of Vernacular Settlements: ISVS*, 2, vol. 6 (2019): 49.

³⁶ Feby Triadi Petsy Jessy Ismoyo, “Sulapa Eppa: Bissu, Bugis Cosmology, and Queer Political Ecology,” *Jurnal Perempuan*, 3, vol. 23 (2023): 215.

normatively but also interpreted through a local system of meaning that has long existed within the cultural memory of the community.³⁷

This transformation of meaning demonstrates that Islamization within the Maccera Tasi tradition occurs through a process of symbolic integration and reinterpretation of local heritage. The values of tawḥīd do not erase the local cultural framework; rather, they enrich the symbolism already embedded within the community's cosmological structure. In this context, Sulapa Eppa' becomes a meeting point between the Bugis worldview and the Islamic concept of God's oneness, creating a distinctive, contextual religious expression rooted in local culture.

The four main directions north, south, east, and west toward which the adhan is chanted in the Maccera Tasi tradition not only serve as markers of the cardinal points but also carry symbolic meaning representing the elements that constitute human existence in Bugis cosmology. In the local understanding, these four directions depict spatial orientation intertwined with moral, social, and spiritual directions that every individual must uphold. Thus, the chanting of the adhan toward the four sides is not merely a ritual act; it serves as a marker that all aspects of life, both physical and metaphysical, need to be sanctified, balanced, and realigned according to the values of tawḥīd.

From the perspective of the King of Luwu, which is also embedded within the customary framework, a person—whether seated or standing—is symbolically assumed to be positioned at the center of the four sides. This “central” position is not merely spatial but carries a philosophical meaning, signifying that humans bear the responsibility to maintain balance in all directions of their life.³⁸ Within this framework, the concept of Sulapa Eppa' is not merely a representation of geometric space but a reflection of the relational ethics between humans, nature, and God. It establishes an ethical and spiritual framework in which humans are positioned as the central regulators of balance among the various forces and elements that constitute themselves and their environment.³⁹

Furthermore, Madika Bua added that human existence is not limited to just four sides. He explained that humans live within eight dimensions: front, back, right, left, above, below, as well as the inner side and the outer side. These additional four directions expand the understanding of the human relationship with the universe in a

³⁷ Ibnu Azka, Fathur Baldan Haramain, dkk., “Harmonization of Tradition and Islam: Mediating Culture and Religious Beliefs in Maccera Tasi Ritual in Luwu, South Sulawesi,” *Heritage of Nusantara: International Journal of Religious Literature and Heritage* 13, no. 1 (2024): 31., <https://doi.org/10.31291/hn.v13i1.736>.

³⁸ “Wawancara Pribadi Dengan Raja Luwu, prinsip adat dan syariat dalam tradisi Luwu, Kedatuan Luwu,” 11 Juni 2025.

³⁹ Syarif dkk., “Sulapa Eppa As The Basic or Fundamental Philosophy of Traditional Architecture Buginese,” *SHS Web of Conferences* 41 (2018): 1., <https://doi.org/10.1051/shsconf/20184104005>.

more complex and holistic manner. In this context, the inner and outer sides become particularly important dimensions, as they serve as arenas for character formation. According to Madika Bua, human character is shaped through the interaction between external influences (the six physical sides) and the internal conditions that constitute a person's personality.⁴⁰ Therefore, humans are not only responsible for maintaining harmony with the external world, but also have an obligation to preserve inner balance, ensuring that it is not distorted by the dominance of any single dimension.

Thus, the azan proclamation toward the four cardinal directions in the Maccera Tasi ritual carries a meaning that far exceeds its ritual function. It serves as a symbol of spatial sanctification, the alignment of cosmic energies, and a reminder of humanity's ontological position as the central being situated between the forces of heaven and earth, between the outer and inner realms, and between the physical world and the spiritual dimension. Within the Bugis-Luwu cosmological framework, which is harmonized with Islamic teachings, this rite reflects a profound value system in which humans are understood as guardians of balance and cosmic harmony. The integration of the local Sulapa Eppa' concept with the principle of tawhid demonstrates how Islamic practice can be contextually internalized within local cultural symbols and meanings without losing its religious essence.⁴¹

The proclamation of the azan toward the four directions in the Maccera Tasi tradition cannot be understood merely as a formal religious ritual. Beyond that, it represents the Bugis-Luwu community's effort to sanctify living spaces through spiritual acknowledgment of the four cardinal points: north, south, east, and west. From the perspective of local cosmology, this act reflects respect for the universe as an integral part of the human life ecosystem. The azan in the four directions functions as a marker of balance between the outer and inner dimensions, while also serving as a means of harmonizing customary elements with Islamic principles. The history of Islamization in Luwu demonstrates that customary elements were not eradicated radically; instead, they were allowed to metamorphose into new meanings more aligned with the values of tawhid.

Within this framework, the Sulapa Eppa' symbol functions as a conceptual structure bridging adat (custom) and syariat (Islamic law). Sulapa Eppa' is understood not only as a geometric four-sided shape but also as a model of thought and a value system embedded in the cultural practices of the Bugis-Luwu community. It symbolizes order and balance, connecting humans with the four elements that constitute their

⁴⁰ "Wawancara dengan Madika Bua, Penggunaan Azan dalam Tradisi Maccera Tasi," 30 April 2025.

⁴¹ Supratiwi Amir, "Sulapa Eppa Pada Lipa Sabbe Sengkang," *Gelar : Jurnal Seni Budaya* 16, no. 1 (2019): 50, <https://doi.org/10.33153/glr.v16i1.2339>.

existence: fire, water, earth, and wind.⁴² The Islamization process of this symbol does not erase its original meaning but rather reinterprets it in the light of tawhid. This transformation demonstrates that local traditions in Luwu are not static; instead, they constitute a dynamic space where meanings are negotiated between ancestral heritage and new values introduced from outside.

The integration of the azan into the framework of customary symbols illustrates a form of symbolic compromise between two value systems: the cosmologically grounded adat and the theocentric principles of Islam. As Azyumardi Azra explains, religion does not enter a cultural space that is empty; rather, it always interacts and negotiates with preexisting belief systems.⁴³ In the context of Maccera Tasi, the azan directed toward the four cardinal points is not merely a form of formal Islamization but serves as a representation of Islam enveloping customary symbols with a new, more transcendental meaning. The spiritual-animistic elements that were previously directed toward the supernatural forces of the sea are now oriented toward God Almighty. This demonstrates that Islamization in Luwu is carried out not confrontationally but culturally and symbolically, through the reinterpretation of values and the adjustment of meanings.

Furthermore, Sulapa Eppa' functions not only as a representation of the cosmos but also as a metaphor for human character.⁴⁴ According to Madika Bua, human character is shaped through the interaction between the inner and outer dimensions, which in turn are influenced by six external sides: above, below, right, left, front, and back. Therefore, spirituality in the Bugis-Luwu tradition is not limited to ritual worship but also encompasses the human effort to maintain balance within oneself in relation to the environment, community, and transcendental dimensions. Within this framework, the azan becomes a form of sacred communication that reaches all aspects of human existence, both physical and metaphysical.

This concept reinforces that the Maccera Tasi tradition is not merely a hereditary ritual but a reflection of the life philosophy of the maritime community that has undergone Islamization. Through the symbol of Sulapa Eppa', the people of Luwu internalize values of balance, harmony, and interconnectedness between humans, nature, and God within a dynamic cosmological system. This tradition demonstrates

⁴² Syarif dkk., "Sulapa Eppa As The Basic or Fundamental Philosophy of Traditional Architecture Buginese," 1.

⁴³ Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern "Ulamā" in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 1. publ, Southeast Asia Publications Series (Univ. of Hawai'i Press, 2004), 5.

⁴⁴ Antariksa Sudikno Kamal Abdullah Arif dan Primi Artiningrum, "Adaptation Patterns of Bugis Diaspora Village Architecture: Sulapa Eppa' Philosophy and Function- Form-Meaning-Context Theory," *Journal of the International Society for the Study of Vernacular Settlements: ISVS*, 2, vol. 6 (2019): 49.

that local belief systems have the capacity to endure and transform without losing their spiritual core.

Overall, Maccera Tasi shows that tradition is not a static entity but a dialectical space where past, present, and future values converge and are negotiated. The use of the Sulapa Eppa' symbol, reinterpreted in the light of Islam, serves as evidence of the ability of local traditions to adapt without losing their foundational identity. This perspective aligns with the theory of "invented tradition" as proposed by Hobsbawm,⁴⁵ Maccera Tasi can be seen as a form of tradition that is continually reproduced to respond to the challenges of the times, whether in terms of modernity, environment, or spirituality.

Thus, the practice of proclaiming the azan to the four directions in the Maccera Tasi tradition not only reflects the formal integration of Islam into local customs but also serves as a concrete example of the transcendence of local values into a renewed spiritual consciousness. Within this framework, space, the human body, and character merge into a dynamic symbolic system, enabling the continuity of the tradition within a contextual and adaptive Islamic landscape.

3. Symbolic and Functional Offerings for the Welfare of the Ocean and its Inhabitants

The Maccera Tasi tradition, passed down through generations by the coastal communities of Luwu, is a form of collective ritual that expresses gratitude for the abundance of the sea, which serves as their primary source of livelihood. In practice, this ritual not only embodies a spiritual dimension but also represents the ecological relationship between humans and nature, as well as reflecting socio-religious dynamics that continue to evolve.⁴⁶ The main symbols in this ritual, such as the buffalo head, fish feed, and the release of tiko-tiko fish, serve not merely as ceremonial elements but carry profound cultural significance. These symbols reflect a complex process of cultural adaptation: from a shift in belief systems from animism to Islamic monotheism, from sacred offerings to ecological symbols, and from markers of status to values of social utility.

One of the most prominent symbolic aspects of Maccera Tasi is the use of the buffalo head, fish feed, and the release of tiko-tiko fish as ceremonial elements. These symbols are not merely ceremonial but represent the historical relationship between

⁴⁵ E. J. Hobsbawm dan T. O. Ranger, ed., *The Invention of tradition*, Canto classics (Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1–14.

⁴⁶ Ismail Suardi Wakke, "Islam Dan Adat: Tinjauan Akulturasi Budaya Dan Agama Dalam Masyarakat Bugis," *Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, 1, vol. 13 (2017): 27–56., <https://doi.org/10.24042/ajsk.v13i1.641>.

humans, nature, and divine forces.⁴⁷ For example, the buffalo head, in the pre-Islamic era, was positioned as a sacred offering to sea entities believed to possess supernatural powers. This perspective was based on an animistic cosmology that recognized a spiritual connection between humans and nature, particularly the sea as a living entity that must be respected.⁴⁸

Each region in Indonesia possesses distinctive local cultural wealth, and in the process of its dissemination, Islam has demonstrated an adaptive capacity by integrating these cultural elements into the framework of Islamic values. One example is the art of wayang kulit (shadow puppet) performance in Java, which represents the process of inculturation between Islamic teachings and Hindu traditions through the staging of epic stories that are thematically and narratively adapted, thereby creating a unique and religiously meaningful form of artistic expression within the local cultural context.⁴⁹

As observed in the Ruwatan Laut tradition of the Javanese coastal communities, the ritual of casting a buffalo head into the sea is understood as an effort to maintain harmony with supernatural forces and to ward off misfortune from the ocean.⁵⁰ The ritual celebration of offering sacrifices cast into the sea is a central part of coastal communities' traditions that continue to preserve the heritage of ancestral beliefs. In the Ruwatan tradition, offerings are made as a form of supplication to ancestral spirits or the rulers of the sea, seeking abundant catches and protection from misfortune. Historically, this tradition has its roots in the Hindu belief system, in which the sea is regarded as a spiritual realm inhabited by supernatural forces that must be respected through symbolic actions.

In the context of Maccera Tasi, the casting of the buffalo head has undergone a shift in meaning from an offering to sea entities to a symbol of gratitude to God for the obtained marine resources. The buffalo head is no longer understood within an animistic-theological framework but is interpreted as a medium to express thanks to God. According to the traditional leader Madika Bua, the buffalo head, which was previously cast into the sea, is now seen as a symbol of providing food to marine life

⁴⁷ Indrawati dkk., "Analisis Makna Simbolik Larung Tumpeng Pada Upacara Distrikan di Danau Ranu Desa Ranuklindungan Pasuruan," 312.

⁴⁸ Ansaar Ansaar, "Fungsi Dan Makna Ritual Maccera'binanga Di Kelurahan Bentenge Kabupaten Bulukumba," *Walasuji: Jurnal Sejarah dan Budaya* 8, no. 2 (2017): 307, <https://doi.org/10.36869/wjsb.v8i2.123>.

⁴⁹ Moh. Teguh Prasetyo, "Islam Dan Transformasi Budaya Lokal Di Indonesia," *Batuthah: Jurnal Sejarah Padaban Islam* 2, no. 2 (2023): 150, <https://doi.org/10.38073/batuthah.v2i2.1107>.

⁵⁰ Rikza Fauzan dkk., "Tradisi Ruwatan Laut Desa Teluk Labuan Tahun 1992-2010," *Jurnal Artefak* 8, no. 1 (2021): 19, <https://doi.org/10.25157/ja.v8i1.3634>.

an ecological act that demonstrates awareness of the reciprocal cycle between humans and nature.⁵¹

This symbolic transformation demonstrates a process of Islamization that is not destructive but rather accommodative of the preexisting customary structures. Similar practices are also found in other coastal communities, such as the Bajo people, who continue the ritual of casting offerings into the sea, albeit with adjustments in meaning and procedure in accordance with Islamic values.⁵² This phenomenon affirms that Islam in Indonesia developed through dialogue with local cultures, rather than in opposition to them.

In the pre-Islamic period, the casting of animal heads, such as pigs or buffaloes, into the sea was practiced as an offering to sea entities believed to possess supernatural powers. This practice reflected an animistic cosmology that acknowledged a spiritual relationship between humans and the rulers of the sea. However, with the gradual arrival of Islam in the Luwu region and the ongoing process of Islamization, the symbolic meaning of this act was reinterpreted. The buffalo head was no longer regarded as a sacred offering but was redefined within the framework of Sharia as a symbolic expression of gratitude and recognition of the sea as a creation of Allah that provides humans with their catch.

As explained by Madika Bua, a Luwu customary leader directly involved in the ritual, the casting of the buffalo head is intended as a symbolic act of feeding the marine life. Since humans cannot directly feed the fish in the sea, the buffalo head serves as a collective symbol of thanks for the abundance of the sea that has been provided throughout the year.⁵³ In this context, the act no longer contains the element of offering in the animistic theological sense but has become part of an Islamic spiritual expression emphasizing reciprocity and ecological awareness.

The transformation of the buffalo head symbol became even more evident in contemporary practice, particularly during the 13th Nusantara Keraton Festival held in Luwu in 2019. During this event, the ritual of casting the buffalo head into the sea was officially discontinued and replaced with the provision of fish feed using a traditional container known as a *sebukati*. This change was made in response to the commitment to uphold the purity of Islamic creed and to prevent potential theological

⁵¹ "Wawancara Pribadi dengan Madika Bua, Pelarungan Kepala Kerbau dalam Tradisi Maccera Tasi," 30 April 2025.

⁵² Abbas Abbas, "Mistisisme Muslim Pesisir: Studi atas Ritual Masyarakat Muslim Bajo Sulawesi Tenggara," *Al-Izzah: Jurnal Hasil-Hasil Penelitian*, Institut Agama Islam Negeri Kendari, 26 November 2022, 83, <https://doi.org/10.31332/ai.v0i0.3731>.

⁵³ "Wawancara Pribadi dengan Madika Bua, Pelarungan Kepala Kerbau dalam Tradisi Maccera Tasi," 30 April 2025.

misunderstandings that could arise from customary practices resembling sacred offerings.

In the latest practice, the buffalo head is no longer thrown into the sea but is managed functionally according to the principle of *maslahah* (public benefit). The meat is distributed and consumed by the community as an expression of solidarity and social benefit, while parts of the animal that cannot be used by humans, such as bones and other leftover organs, are given to the sea to serve as natural feed for marine life. This approach not only reflects a symbolic reinterpretation but also demonstrates an ethical and ecological logic aligned with Islamic principles, such as efficiency, usefulness, and human responsibility as *khalifah* (stewards) on earth.⁵⁴ Thus, the transformation of the buffalo head symbol in the Maccera Tasi tradition serves as evidence that the Islamization of local customs is not necessarily confrontational but can occur in an accommodative and dialogical manner. Islam does not appear to eliminate tradition; rather, it provides space for the adjustment of meanings so that they remain spiritually, socially, and ecologically relevant in modern society.

The symbolic transformation within the Maccera Tasi tradition carries strong ethical values, particularly regarding social benefit and resource efficiency. As explained by Opu, the Opukeni Dapu-dapu or coordinator of Luwu's customary rituals, the fundamental principle now applied in managing the buffalo symbol in the ritual is that "if parts of the animal can still be utilized by humans, it is better to give them to humans; only the parts that are no longer useful are appropriate to be offered to marine life".⁵⁵ This statement reflects a shift in meaning from a sacred offering to a supernatural entity toward an ethically based distributive practice, emphasizing the importance of avoiding waste (*mubazir*) and maximizing social benefit (*maslahat*), as emphasized in Islamic teachings.

Beyond considerations of efficiency, the use of buffalo in the Maccera Tasi tradition also embodies values of solidarity and egalitarianism inherent in the coastal Luwu community. Unlike the Toraja tradition, where buffalo often symbolize social status and prestige evident in the selection of rare, long-horned, and expensive animals the people of Luwu tend to choose young buffalo with small horns, whose meat is abundant, fresh, and easy to manage. In this context, the selection of sacrificial animals is not based on prestige or social class symbolism but on the principle of utility and

⁵⁴ Irvan Setiawan, "Dari Ruwat Laut Menjadi Syukuran Laut: Strategi Mempertahankan Kelangsungan Tradisi Masyarakat Nelayan Pulau Jawa Di Kabupaten Lampung Selatan," *Patanjala: Journal of Historical and Cultural Research* 12, no. 2 (2020): 293, <https://doi.org/10.30959/patanjala.v12i2.644>.

⁵⁵ "Wawancara Pribadi dengan Sulolipu, Kordinator Ritual Adat Kedaduan Luwu, Pelarungan Kepala Kerbau dalam Tradisi Maccera Tasi," 21 April 2025.

collective benefit. The primary goal is for the meat to be distributed and enjoyed widely by the community as a form of social solidarity and communal consolation.⁵⁶

Thus, the buffalo in the Maccera Tasi tradition functions not only as a ceremonial symbol but also as a medium for internalizing values of sincerity in sharing, strengthening social cohesion, and extending the benefits of the ritual to all layers of society. These values align with fundamental Islamic principles that emphasize togetherness, generosity, and justice in social distribution. Consequently, the transformation of the buffalo's meaning in this tradition demonstrates a process of reinterpretation of customary symbols, leading to the integration of religious and social values within a contextual and dynamic cultural praxis.

Accordingly, the symbolism attached to the buffalo head in the Maccera Tasi ritual, when examined holistically, reveals a process of dynamic inculturation. Local traditions are not erased by the presence of Islam; rather, they are recontextualized to align with the teachings of tauhid and Islamic social values. Ritual forms are preserved in their outward expression, but their meanings are adapted and refined so that they no longer conflict with the principles of aqidah. Such transformation serves as evidence that the Islamization process in Luwu is not destructive toward local customs; instead, it follows an accommodative and transformative path, where Islamic law does not replace adat but serves as a normative framework that strengthens and provides new direction for local cultural expression.⁵⁷

In this context, Maccera Tasi serves as a concrete example of a tradition that successfully articulates local values within an Islamic framework in a contextual manner. It demonstrates how religious and cultural identities can interact harmoniously through living symbols that continue to evolve. This tradition functions not only as a historical heritage but also as a medium for spiritual, social, and ecological reflection, remaining relevant in addressing contemporary challenges.⁵⁸

The transformations that occur in the practice of Maccera Tasi clearly reflect the cultural flexibility of the Luwu community in responding to the dynamics of the times and changes in religious values. When traditional symbols, such as the offering of buffalo heads, began to be questioned for their potential theological objections, the community did not simply disregard or eliminate the tradition. Instead, they chose to adjust the form of the ritual to align with Islamic values, without erasing the substantive meaning embedded within it. In this way, the people of Luwu demonstrate their ability

⁵⁶ Kathleen M. Adams, *Art as Politics: Re-Crafting Identities, Tourism, and Power in Tana Toraja, Indonesia* (University of Hawaii Press, 2017), 80, <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780824861483>.

⁵⁷ Imam Nururi dkk., "Preserving Maccera Tasi of Bugis Migrants in Bandar Lampung: The Transformation of Cultural Identity," *Wawasan: Jurnal Ilmiah Agama dan Sosial Budaya* 9, no. 1 (2024): 65, <https://doi.org/10.15575/jw.v9i1.34558>.

⁵⁸ Azka, Fathur Baldan Haramain, dkk., "Harmonization of Tradition and Islam," 30.

to preserve cultural heritage while ensuring its continued relevance within an Islamic framework and the context of modernity.

Thus, Maccera Tasi cannot be viewed merely as an annual ceremonial ritual. It has evolved into a space of dialectics between custom, religion, and ecological awareness, serving as a means for preserving values, strengthening collective identity, and internalizing Islamic teachings within the local context. As a social practice embedded in the life of coastal communities, this tradition not only maintains intergenerational collective memory but also functions as a medium for fostering social solidarity and instilling a sense of environmental responsibility.

The transformation within this tradition should not be understood as the loss of old values, but rather as a process of cultural maturation that is adaptive and reflective. Customary values that were once rooted in animistic cosmology are now reinterpreted in the light of tawhid, without losing their social substance. This process demonstrates that the Luwu community can negotiate its cultural identity constructively with Islamic values, creating an integrative space between ancestral heritage and the spiritual demands of contemporary Muslims.

As a result of this accommodation and reinterpretation, Maccera Tasi has become more than just a cultural heritage; it lives as a dynamic system of meaning that continues to develop, remain relevant, and resilient in facing the challenges of modernity. It stands as evidence that tradition need not conflict with religion, but can coexist and grow alongside it as part of a dynamic and sustainable process of civilization.

4. The Practice of Monotheistic Prayers for Safety

The Maccera Tasi ritual is a distinctive religio-cultural expression of the coastal communities of Luwu, South Sulawesi, reflecting a long process of accommodation between local traditional heritage and Islamic values. As an expression of gratitude for the abundance of the sea, this ritual contains symbolic elements that not only reflect the ecological relationship between humans and nature but also the evolving socio-religious dynamics. One significant aspect of this transformation is the change in the prayer texts accompanying the ritual, shifting from animistic mantras to Islamic prayer structures. In the pre-Islamic period, the prayers in Maccera Tasi were composed as mantras sacred utterances believed to possess magical power and rooted in the cosmological worldview of the Bugis people. These mantras were typically directed to ancestral spirits or guardians of the sea and were often accompanied by natural symbols such as seawater, wind, and sacrificial animals.⁵⁹

However, with the advent of Islam, these recitations underwent a substantial transformation. The local mantras were gradually replaced by recitations of Qur'anic verses such as Surah Al-Fatihah, Al-Ikhlās, and customary supplications for safety

⁵⁹ Iriani, *Maccera 'Tasi' sebagai ritual nelayan di Luwu*, Cetakan I (Arus Timur, 2015), 26.

commonly practiced within Islamic tradition.⁶⁰ In line with findings from religious anthropology studies, as highlighted in *Gerbang Agama-Agama Nusantara*, religious acculturation does not occur through the eradication of local traditions, but rather through a gradual process of spiritual adaptation.⁶¹ In this context, the transformation of the sacred prayers in Maccera Tasi becomes part of a cultural strategy that allows the continuity of tradition within a new theological framework, while still respecting the human relationship with nature as a sacred spiritual realm. Therefore, the form of prayer in this ritual functions not only as a medium for transcendent communication but also as an expression of ecological values and collective ethics that develop within the Islamic coastal community.

This transformation does not necessarily erase customary values but demonstrates a process of gradual and dialogical reinterpretation. This approach aligns with Ihsan Sa'dudin's findings in his study on prayers for safety in *mujarobat* manuscripts, which emphasize the importance of *kaifiyah* the proper method of praying adapted to ensure its spiritual efficacy.⁶² In the context of Maccera Tasi, the recitation of safety prayers was modified not as a means of erasing local values, but as a process of aligning them with the principles of Islamic *tawhīd*. This change also carries a profound theological dimension. Within Islam, prayer is not merely a request, but an awareness of the divine presence in everyday reality. As discussed in Firdaus Salim's study on mystical prayers in Reformed traditions, prayer serves as a path toward inner unity between humans and God an aspect also found in Islamic mystical practices such as *tasawwuf*.⁶³ The replacement of animistic mantras in Maccera Tasi with Qur'anic prayers demonstrates the integration of local religious experiences with Islamic spirituality. This provides evidence that Islamization in Luwu did not occur confrontationally, but through a process of inculturation that positions Islam as a new interpretive framework for local symbols and practices. This approach reflects a principle in Bugis theology: *ade'na rilipu ri syara', syara'na rilipu ri ade'* "customs are alive through Sharia, and Sharia is alive through customs" emphasizing the synergy between two different yet complementary value systems.

⁶⁰ Ihsan Sa'dudin, "Ragam Doa dan Azimat Keselamatan dalam Naskah *Mujarobah*," *Jurnal Tamaddun: Jurnal Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Islam* 12, no. 1 (2024): 94.

⁶¹ Rusmin Tumanggor, *Gerbang agama-agama Nusantara: Hindu, Yahudi, Ru-Konghucu, Islam & Nasrani : kajian antropologi agama dan kesehatan di Barus*, Cetakan pertama (Komunitas Bambu, 2017), 1.

⁶² Firdaus Salim, "Kontribusi Doa Mistik Karl Rahner bagi Kalangan Reformed di Era Pascakebenaran," *Indonesian Journal of Theology* 9, no. 2 (2021): 168, <https://doi.org/10.46567/ijt.v9i2.192>.

⁶³ Salim, "Kontribusi Doa Mistik Karl Rahner bagi Kalangan Reformed di Era Pascakebenaran," 168–94.

Furthermore, the structure of the Islamic prayers now used in Maccera Tasi reflects a form of monotheistic safety prayers, uniting vertical orientation (relationship with God) and horizontal orientation (relationship with fellow humans and nature). Within this framework, prayer functions not only as a spiritual practice but also as a cultural medium for fostering social and ecological harmony. As Sa'dudin explains, prayers in the *mujarobat* manuscripts are not only imbued with spiritual content but are also practical, with specific *kaifiyah* that indicate a complex semiotic and performative structure.⁶⁴

Dengan demikian, transformasi doa dalam *Maccera Tasi* adalah bentuk adaptasi kreatif masyarakat Bugis terhadap ajaran Islam tanpa mengorbankan identitas lokalnya. Proses ini tidak sekadar mengganti teks, tetapi juga merekonstruksi makna, fungsi, dan tujuan spiritual dari ritual tersebut. Maka, *Maccera Tasi* dengan segala elemen simboliknya menjadi cerminan dari Islam yang hidup dalam ruang budaya lokal, yang spiritualitasnya dibangun dari interaksi dinamis antara wahyu, tradisi, dan realitas sosial.⁶⁵

The transformation in the performance of the Maccera Tasi ritual has become increasingly evident alongside the process of Islamization in the Luwu region. One of the most fundamental and striking changes lies in the recitation of prayers accompanying the ritual proceedings. According to Madika Bua, a traditional leader actively involved in the preservation of this tradition, the prayers recited in the pre-Islamic period were dominated by traditional mantras reflecting animistic elements and local beliefs in the powers of nature and ancestral spirits. However, after the people of Luwu embraced Islam, these elements underwent significant shifts. Traditional prayers were gradually replaced by recitations derived from Islamic teachings, such as Qur'anic verses and supplications aligned with the principles of *tauhid*. In some ritual proceedings, the prayer texts have even been specifically composed by local religious figures, including Dato' Suleiman, who is recognized as a central figure in the Islamization of local customs in Luwu.⁶⁶ This change reflects a process of cultural adaptation that is not antagonistic but unfolds through a dialogical mechanism between traditional leaders and religious authorities, allowing the ritual to be performed without diminishing the spiritual and symbolic values deeply rooted in the community's culture.

The transformation in the Maccera Tasi ritual is not limited to verbal aspects, such as the content of prayers, but also encompasses performative and symbolic elements within the overall structure of its execution. A notable innovation is the presence of muazzins who call the *adhan* from the four corners of the traditional raft

⁶⁴ Sa'dudin, "Ragam Doa dan Azimat Keselamatan dalam Naskah *Mujarobah*," 99.

⁶⁵ Azyumardi Azra, *Islam nusantara, jaringan global dan lokal*, Cet. 1 (Mizan : Didistribusikan oleh Mizan Media Utama, 2002), 45.

⁶⁶ "Wawancara dengan Madika Bua, Unsur Doa Dalam Ritual Maccera Tasi," 30 April 2025.

(ancek) positioned in the middle of the sea. This phenomenon signifies a symbolic shift reflecting the integration of customary elements with Islamic teachings, wherein Islamic symbols are harmoniously internalized into the indigenous ritual. According to Madika Bua, some of the pre-Islamic prayer texts have actually been preserved, though they are only known and mastered by certain ritual officers who possess specific authority and legitimacy within the social structure of the community. The restricted nature of this knowledge emphasizes that in the Luwu social system, ritual aspects considered sacred are transmitted selectively to individuals who hold high spiritual and social standing.⁶⁷

Such a transformation demonstrates that the people of Luwu did not immediately abandon local traditions upon embracing Islam; rather, they engaged in a process of symbolic and spiritual adaptation that allowed customary practices to continue within the framework of Islamic values. In this way, the Islamization process in the region proceeded in an accommodative and dialogical manner, without negating the local cultural roots long embedded within their social structures. The integration of adat (customary law) and syariat (Islamic law) in the Maccera Tasi ritual thus serves as concrete evidence of a model of religiosity that is inclusive, contextual, and reflective of the socio-religious dynamics of the Bugis-Luwu community.

According to Opu Sulolipu, a traditional leader who also serves as a ritual coordinator in Maccera Tasi, the prayer recitations in the pre-Islamic era were generally structured according to a cosmology deeply imbued with animistic spirituality. These prayers reflected the community's belief in the existence of spiritual beings and supernatural powers thought to govern and protect the sea and all its contents. In oral traditions still remembered by some members of the indigenous community, there exists a fragment of a prayer that reads: "lantero langi-e asemmu rialangie, munonno rilinoe, riasengi bale langi e," which symbolically represents an acknowledgment of spiritual entities originating from the heavens.⁶⁸ Within the framework of Bugis-Luwu local cosmology, these entities are believed to be part of the cosmic order that maintains balance between the human world, nature, and spiritual beings. Such prayer recitations are not merely petitions for safety or blessings but also serve as a sacred means of communication with the non-physical dimension, which is considered crucial in determining the harmony of life both at sea and on land.⁶⁹

Thus, the structure of pre-Islamic prayers in Maccera Tasi demonstrates the close relationship of traditional communities with the spiritual dimension of the universe, expressed through ritual language that is symbolic and rich in cosmological meaning.

⁶⁷ "Wawancara dengan Madika Bua, Unsur Doa Dalam Ritual Maccera Tasi," 30 April 2025.

⁶⁸ "Wawancara Pribadi dengan Sulolipu, Tokoh Adat kedatuan luwu, Perubahan Bacaan Do'a Dari Pra Islam dan Setelah Islam," 21 April 2025.

⁶⁹ Chaerul Mundzir dkk., "Persepsi Masyarakat Bugis Makassar terhadap Keberadaan Makhluk Halus," *Jurnal al-Hikmah* 23, no. 1 (2021): 88, <https://doi.org/10.24252/al-hikmah.v23i1.21724>.

The transformation of these prayers following the introduction of Islam reflects a shift in spiritual paradigms, while still maintaining continuity of values and careful preservation of the sacred essence of nature.

An important aspect of the prayer ritual in Maccera Tasi is the practice of reciting prayers atop the Ance, a traditional raft that serves as the central point for the ceremony in the middle of the sea. This raft is not only a physical focal point but also holds symbolic significance as a sacred space connecting humans with transcendental forces. During the ritual, prayers are recited loudly and in a high-pitched tone by the adat leader or religious figure leading the ceremony. According to Opu Sulolipu, a customary leader in Luwu, this manner of recitation is not solely intended for all participants to hear, but also carries profound symbolic meaning. The elevated voice represents humanity's effort to convey prayers to the Most High God, while simultaneously reinforcing collective spiritual strength that unites the entire community in shared awareness.⁷⁰ Thus, this practice demonstrates that the verbal aspect of Maccera Tasi is not merely a means of liturgical communication, but also a symbolic expression that integrates adat structures, the spiritual dimension of Islam, and the eco-social awareness of the Bugis-Luwu coastal community.⁷¹

In practice, the amplification of the voice during the recitation of prayers in the Maccera Tasi ritual serves as an adaptation to the unique acoustic conditions of the coastal and marine environment.⁷² The location of the ritual in the middle of the sea makes the human voice susceptible to being drowned out by the continuous crashing of waves and the blowing of wind across the water's surface. Therefore, the use of a loud voice by the ritual leader is essential so that the prayer recitations can be clearly heard by all participants, whether on the Ance or in the surrounding boats. However, this practice is not merely a technical matter. On a deeper level, the amplification of the voice carries significant symbolic and psychological functions. Symbolically, the elevated voice reflects the intensity of spiritual devotion and sincerity in conveying prayers to the Almighty, while also serving as a collective expression of the community's hope and submission to Divine will. Psychologically, the loud and resonant recitation enhances the sacred atmosphere, fosters a sense of reverence, and creates an emotional connection among the individuals participating in the ritual.⁷³

⁷⁰ "Wawancara Pribadi dengan Sulolipu, Tokoh Adat kedatuan luwu, Perubahan Bacaan Do'a Dari Pra Islam dan Setelah Islam," 21 April 2025.

⁷¹ "Wawancara Pribadi dengan Sulolipu, Tokoh Adat kedatuan luwu, Perubahan Bacaan Do'a Dari Pra Islam dan Setelah Islam," 21 April 2025.

⁷² Victoria Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, Lewis Henry Morgan Lectures 1966 (AldineTransaction, 2011), 94–131.

⁷³ Gemma Perry dkk., "Rhythmic Chanting and Mystical States across Traditions," *Brain Sciences* 11, no. 1 (2021): 101, <https://doi.org/10.3390/brainsci11010101>.

Reciting prayers in an elevated, performative tone creates a more sacred and intense atmosphere. A strong voice not only captures attention but also evokes a sense of spiritual connection between the participants and the ongoing ritual. In this context, the amplification of the voice serves as a means to cultivate an ambiance of devotion, strengthen collective focus, and heighten the participants' religious awareness of the meaning and purpose of the ceremony. This aligns with concepts in ritual anthropology that emphasize the significance of performative aspects in creating sacred and transcendental spaces within religious practices.⁷⁴

Thus, the loud recitation of prayers atop the Ance tower during Maccera Tasi is not merely a ceremonial or cosmetic act, but an integral part of a spiritual and symbolic communication strategy that unites technical, aesthetic, and religious aspects into a cohesive ritual experience. This practice also underscores that, within the coastal Luwu community, religious rituals are understood not only through the content of the prayers but also through the manner of their delivery, which collectively shapes sacred space and reinforces social cohesion within the framework of both adat and sharia.

The Maccera Tasi tradition in Luwu, South Sulawesi, as a sea thanksgiving ceremony rich with meaning, reflects the fishermen community's expression of gratitude to God while embodying a harmony between humans, nature, and the Divine. Talal Asad's theoretical approach is highly relevant to understanding that this tradition is not merely a local custom detached from Islamic values, but rather the result of an internal discourse within the local Muslim community in responding to Islamic teachings and the realities of daily life. The spiritual practices and expressions of gratitude within this tradition are rooted in the spirit of Islam, despite being deeply embedded with local wisdom, demonstrating that Islamic orthodoxy is not singular and uniform, but diverse according to cultural contexts. Furthermore, the performance of this ritual reflects an ongoing negotiation of meaning involving religious interpretation, power relations, and socio-ecological conditions that shape the dynamics of the Luwu community.

D. Conclusion

The Maccera Tasi tradition represents a form of cultural Islamization that occurs adaptively, harmoniously, and contextually within the coastal communities of Luwu. This tradition does not erase the old cultural heritage but reconstructs the symbols and meanings of rituals within the framework of Islamic monotheistic values. The transformation process is marked by the replacement of animistic symbols, such as the buffalo head, with Islamic symbols in the form of prayers, the call to prayer (azan), and offerings of fish feed, which strengthen the monotheistic spiritual orientation without diminishing the essence of local culture.

⁷⁴ Turner, *The Ritual Process*, 95–95.

The interaction between Islam and local customs in this tradition reflects an acculturative and syncretic model of Islam, where ritual practices and customary symbols are preserved while being theologically reinterpreted, forming a distinct religious expression rooted in the local context. Symbolism such as the reinforcement of Islamic principles since the reign of Datu Sulaiman (the first Islamic ruler in Luwu), the adoption of the azan from the four cardinal directions to open rituals, the transformation of symbolic offerings like the buffalo head into fish feed, as well as the practice of monotheistic prayers and Sokko' Empat Rupa as instruments for spiritual and ecological ethical education, illustrates the harmony between local values and Islam in shaping the worldview and social practices of the Bugis-Luwu community.

This research offers an alternative model for understanding the process of Islamization as a dialogical and ecological interaction, rather than merely a hegemonic transformation. Future research is expected to explore maritime Islamic traditions comparatively across the Nusantara in order to enrich the understanding of religious plurality in Indonesia.

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