

## ***Massekke* Tradition: Syncretism of Local Culture and Islamic Sharia in the Fishermen's Community at the Spermonde Archipelago, South Sulawesi**

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### **Abstract**

Zakah is an obligation for Muslims which is strictly regulated in Islamic law, but in Muslim communities in Indonesia, its implementation cannot be separated from local traditions. This research discusses the *Massekke* tradition in implementing Zakah and cultural syncretism in the *Massekke* tradition in fisherman communities in the Spermonde Islands, South Sulawesi. This socio-juridical research uses a qualitative approach. The analysis technique uses interactive models. The results show that the fisherman's community in the Spermonde Islands recognizes two types of Zakah, namely *sekke fittara* (Zakah al-fitr) and *sekke warang parang* (Zakah on the property). Zakah payments are made in the middle of the month of Ramadan until the end of the month of Ramadan in the form of



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rice or money accompanied by *pelleng* (candlenut) and candles as a symbol which means that the Zakah payer has a clear heart when paying Zakah, which begins with *mappacci* as a form of purification of property, body and soul. *Mustahik* (recipient of Zakah) among fisherman's communities at the Spermonde Islands, namely *guru pangngaji* (Qur'an teacher), *puang imam* (Imam of the Mosque), *sanro pammanaq* (midwife) and community leaders. The mixing of Islamic law and local culture in the *Massekke* tradition is a cultural syncretism that is alive and preserved in local communities in Indonesia.

**KEYWORDS** *Islamic Law; Local Culture; Massekke; Syncretism; Zakah.*

### **Abstrak**

Zakat merupakan suatu kewajiban bagi umat Islam yang diatur secara tegas dalam syariat Islam, namun pada masyarakat muslim di Indonesia, pelaksanaannya tidak lepas dari tradisi lokal. Penelitian ini mendiskusikan tentang tradisi *Massekke* dalam pelaksanaan Zakat dan sinkretisme budaya dalam tradisi *Massekke* pada masyarakat nelayan di Kepulauan Spermonde Sulawesi Selatan. Penelitian sosio yuridis ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif. Teknik analisis menggunakan interaktif model. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa masyarakat nelayan di Kepulauan Spermonde mengenal dua jenis Zakat, yaitu *sekke fittara* (Zakat fitrah) dan *sekke warang parang* (Zakat harta benda). Pembayaran Zakat dilakukan pada pertengahan bulan ramadhan sampai akhir bulan Ramadhan dalam bentuk beras atau uang yang disertai dengan *pelleng* (kemiri) dan lilin sebagai simbol yang dimaknai bahwa pembayar Zakat memiliki hati yang terang saat membayar Zakat, yang diawali dengan *mappacci* sebagai bentuk penyucian harta benda dan jiwa raga. *Mustahik* Zakat (penerima Zakat) pada masyarakat nelayan di Kepulauan Spermonde, yaitu *guru pangngaji* (guru mengaji), *puang imam* (Imam Masjid), *sanro pammanaq* (dukun beranak) dan tokoh masyarakat. Percampuran antara hukum Islam dan budaya lokal dalam tradisi *Massekke* merupakan sinkretisme budaya yang hidup dan dilestarikan dalam masyarakat lokal di Indonesia.

**KATA KUNCI** *Budaya Lokal, Hukum Islam, Massekke, Sinkretisme, Zakat.*

## Introduction

Zakah is one of the people's economic instruments with the purpose to improve the welfare of Muslims.<sup>1</sup> Apart from that, Zakah is aimed to eradicate usury and hardship from the Muslim community in both micro and macro levels<sup>2</sup>. On the micro level, as the fulfilment of one of the five pillars of Islam. While on the macro level, Zakah funds prevent the government from taking usurious loans from non-Muslim capitalist countries.<sup>3</sup> Zakah is an obligation for those with the financial capacity. Zakah will then be distributed to those who are eligible. This means those who are financially capable are obligated to pay Zakah.<sup>4</sup>

Zakah has two dimensions at once, vertically and horizontally. On the vertical dimension, Zakah is the worship to Allah. On the horizontal dimension, Zakah became one form of social solidarity among the people. This way, devotion to Allah and social care are at the core of the teachings of Zakah.<sup>5</sup> Zakah is an individual or personal obligation in Islam. If Zakah is not managed with solid management skills, it will not be on target or

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<sup>1</sup> Tika Widiastuti, et al. "Developing an integrated model of Islamic social finance: toward an effective governance framework." *Heliyon* Vol.8.No. 9 (2022); 1-10. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2022.e10383>. See, Mustafa Raza Rabbani, et al. "Exploring the role of islamic fintech in combating the aftershocks of covid-19: The open social innovation of the islamic financial system." *Journal of Open Innovation: Technology, Market, and Complexity* 7.2 (2021): 136. <https://doi.org/10.3390/joitmc7020136>

<sup>2</sup> Azwar Iskandar, et al. "Islamic philanthropy and poverty reduction in Indonesia: The role of integrated Islamic social and commercial finance institutions." *AL-IHKAM: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial* 16.2 (2021): 274-301. <http://doi.org/10.19105/al-ihkam.v16i2.5026>. See Asep Saepudin Jahar, "Developing Islamic philanthropy for human rights: The Indonesian experience." *1st International Conference of Law and Justice-Good Governance and Human Rights in Muslim Countries: Experiences and Challenges (ICLJ 2017)*. Atlantis Press, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.2991/iclj-17.2018.1>

<sup>3</sup> Evi Aninatin Nimatul Choiriyah et al., "Zakat and Poverty Alleviation in Indonesia: A Panel Analysis At Provincial Level," *Journal of Islamic Monetary Economics and Finance* 6, no. 4 (2020): 811-32, <https://doi.org/10.21098/jimf.v6i4.1122>.

<sup>4</sup> Zainuddin and Sahban, "Reinterpretasi Riqab Sebagai Korban Eksploitasi Seksual Dalam Hukum Zakat," *Masalah-Masalah Hukum* 50, no. 1 (2021): 17-23, <https://doi.org/10.14710/mmh.50.1.2021.17-23>.

<sup>5</sup> Muhammad Izzuddin Abdul Aziz and Heru Susetyo, "Dinamika Pengelolaan Zakat Oleh Negara Di Beberapa Provinsi Di Indonesia Pasca Undang-Undang Nomor 23 Tahun 2011," *Jurnal Hukum & Pembangunan* 49, no. 4 (2020): 968-77, <https://doi.org/10.21143/jhp.vol49.no4.2352>.

management skills, Zakah will not be on target or in other words will not be effective.<sup>6</sup>

Zakah is inseparable from the tradition of Indonesian society which became a part of the culture. This can be observed approaching Idul Fitri when the Muslim community flocked to pay Zakah <sup>7</sup>. as is the case in Tidore Islands which understood that Zakah *māl* (property Zakah) is paid at the end of Ramadan.<sup>8</sup> As with varying muzakki Zakah (those required to pay Zakah), the people of Wajo District in paying Zakah. Before a child is old enough to enrol on a primary school, Zakah fitrah is paid to the midwife of the child. However, if the child goes through informal education; such as studying the Qur'an at the Qur'an tutor's house, Zakah fitrah will be paid to said tutor. Although said Zakah fitrah will be paid to the mosque after said tutelage is over, as is common among other adults <sup>9</sup>. Meanwhile, the people of Madura believe that the mustahik Zakah only includes the poor and the kyais (those distinguished for their high religious knowledge).<sup>10</sup>

In the research done by Mahmud with the title "Pluralisme Hukum Dalam Pelaksanaan Zakah Di Desa Madello" ("Legal Pluralism in the Implementation of Zakah in Madello Village"), its result shows that there are three different class of mustahik Zakah in the people of Barru those

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<sup>6</sup> Siti Aminah Chaniago, "Pemberdayaan Zakat Produktif Dalam Pemberantasan Kemiskinan," *Jurnal Hukum Islam* 10, no. 2 (2016): 241–64, <https://doi.org/10.28918/jhi.v10i2.567>. see Christine Mallin Hisham Farag, and Kean Ow-Yong. "Corporate social responsibility and financial performance in Islamic banks." *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization* 103 (2014): S21-S38. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jebo.2014.03.001>

<sup>7</sup> Junardi Harahap, "Kesadaran Berzakat Umat Islam Di Indonesia: Suatu Perspektif Antropologi Dan Sosiologi," *Jurnal Masyarakat Dan Filantropi Islam* 1, no. 1 (2018): 7–8, <https://doi.org/10.24198/masy%20filantropi.v1i1>.

<sup>8</sup> Nursinita Killian, "Potensi Dan Implementasi Zakat Pertanian Di Desa Akeguraci Kecamatan Oba Tengah Kota Tidore Kepulauan," *Mizan: Journal of Islamic Law* 4, no. 2 (2020): 225–36, <https://doi.org/10.32507/mizan.v4i2.817>.

<sup>9</sup> Dika Sastriani Qasim and Nila Sastrawati, "Efektivitas Pengelolaan Zakat Oleh Badan Amil Zakat Nasional Kabupaten Wajo," *Siyasatuna* 3, no. 1 (2022): 220–32.

<sup>10</sup> Suaidi, "Persepsi Masyarakat Pesisir Madura Terhadap Mustahiq Zakat (Kajian Atas Pemberian Zakat Fitrah Kepada Kyai Di Dusun Laok Tambak, Desa Padelegan, Kec. Pademawu, Kab. Pamekasan)," *Jurisdictie: Jurnal Hukum Dan Syariah* 1, no. 2 (2005): 53–58, <https://doi.org/10.18860/j.voio.1585>.

being: Amil (those involved in handling Zakah funds), Qur'an tutors and midwives. These three groups of people are seen as those who are eligible to receive Zakah.<sup>11</sup>

This research differs from previous research, where this research focuses on the *Massekke* tradition (involving Zakah) that is related to local wisdom regarding the types of Zakah, a payment period of Zakah, mustahik Zakah and culture syncretism in Zakah. The subject of this research is the *Massekke* tradition that has been practised for generations within the fishermen communities in the Spermonde Archipelago. Tradisi ini merupakan percampuran unsur budaya lokal dengan unsur syariat Islam yang merupakan hasil seleksi alam dan dipilih oleh masyarakat selama bertahun-tahun sehingga menjadi tradisi yang unik khususnya dalam praktik pembayaran Zakah. There are three points in this research: Spermonde Archipelago as the locus of research, *Massekke* practices among the people of Spermonde Archipelago and culture syncretism in the *Massekke* tradition.

## Methods

This research is socio legal research. A kind of legal research that utilizes empirical facts derived from human behaviour, both verbal behaviour recorded from interviews and physical behaviour recorded through observation<sup>12</sup>. The approach of this research is sociological juridical being that law is the result of human interaction. The context of this research is the *Massekke* tradition. The location of the research is placed in the *Spermonde* Archipelago with the fishermen communities being the object of the research.

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<sup>11</sup> Mahmud Tang, *Aneka Ragam Pengaturan Sekuritas Sosial Di Bekas Kerajaan Berru Sulawesi Selatan Indonesia* (Wageninengen: Grafisch Service Cantrum Van Gils, B.V., 1996).

<sup>12</sup> Kornelius Benuf and Muhammad Azhar, "Metodologi Penelitian Hukum Sebagai Instrumen Mengurai Permasalahan Hukum Kontemporer," *Refleksi Hukum: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum* 3, no. 2 (2019): 20–33, <https://doi.org/10.24246/jrh.2019.v3.i2.p145-160>.

## Discussion

### Spermonde Archipelago as Locus of Research

The name of *Spermonde* Archipelago came from the word “*Spermon*” a Greek word that refers to the goddess “*Spermo*” who is Apollo’s granddaughter within Greek mythology.<sup>13</sup> Others, such as Wahyu Chandra suggests that the name *Spermonde* was given by the Dutch, coming from the word *sperm*, as the islands looked like the movement of lined up sperms when seen from above.<sup>14</sup>

*Spermonde* Archipelago consisted of hundreds of islands with varying degrees of environmental conditions and human activity. Some of the isles are uninhabited while some others are inhabited by humans.<sup>15</sup> The waters of *Spermonde* Archipelago is a shelf located outside of South Sulawesi, completely separate from the Sunda Shelf located across the Makassar Strait comprising many islands and *shelf banks*. The waters of *Spermonde* Archipelago start at the southern area from Takalar District, Makassar City, Pangkajene Kepulauan District to Barru District on the northern part of the South Sulawesi Western Beach.<sup>16</sup>

Van Vuuren (1920) divided the *Spermonde* Archipelago into four zones, starting from north to south and parallel to South Sulawesi Western Beach. These four zones are the *inner zone*, *middle inner zone*, *middle outer zone* and *outer zone*.<sup>17</sup> Other than the term *Spermonde* Archipelago,

<sup>13</sup> Syahril, “Menengok Sejarah Pulau Spermonde Di Selatan Sulawesi,” 2020, <https://mamminasata.com/2020/10/21/menengok-keindahan-kepulauan-spermonde/>.

<sup>14</sup> Wahyu Chandra, “Ekosistem Laut Kepulauan Spermonde Rusak Parah,” Mongabay, 2013, <https://www.mongabay.co.id/2013/07/24/ekosistem-laut-kepulauan-spermonde-rusak-parah/>.

<sup>15</sup> Catur Retnaningdyah et al., “Keterkaitan Aktivitas Manusia Dengan Kualitas Ekosistem Perairan Pantai Di Kepulauan Spermonde, Makasar, Sulawesi Selatan,” *Biotropika: Journal of Tropical Biology* 7, no. 3 (2019): 129–35, <https://doi.org/10.21776/ub.biotropika.2019.007.03.6>.

<sup>16</sup> Abd. Rasyid, “Distribusi Klorofil-a Pada Musim Peralihan Barat-Timur Di Perairan Spermonde Propinsi Sulawesi Selatan,” *Jurnal Sains Dan Teknologi* 9, no. 2 (2009): 125–32.

<sup>17</sup> Nurjannah Nurdin, *Informasi Geospasial Gugusan Pulau Kecil Kepulauan Spermonde* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Andi, 2020).

the people of Indonesia often call it “Kepulauan *Sangkarang*” (“*Sangkarang* Archipelago”). Not all of the islands in Pangkajene Kepulauan District are included in the *Spermonde* Archipelago, only those closer to the Sulawesi landmass are called *Spermonde*, hence the name *Pabbiring* or *Tupabbiring*.

*Spermonde* Archipelago is home to a diverse set of languages, Islands in the District of Takalar and Makassar use the Makassar language for communicating in their daily lives. Islands in proximity to the Sulawesi Island use the Bugis language and those sharing borders or further south with Makassar City use the Makassar language while the outermost part of Pangkep district uses Mandar language.

The biggest cluster of area in *Spermonde* Archipelago is located in Pangkajene Kepulauan District consisting of 115 islands with 73 of them inhabited and 42 uninhabited. The cluster stretches over a sea area of 11,464.44 km<sup>2</sup>, in 4 island Districts, namely Liukang Tangaya, Liukang Kalmas, Liukang Tupabbiring and North Liukang Tupabbiring Subdistricts.<sup>18</sup> Takalar Regency has 9 islands, Makassar City has 12 islands, and Barru has 13 islands.<sup>19</sup>

There are also names of islands starting with "Sa" in Pangkajene Kepulauan District, such as Salemo Island, Sabangko Island, Sagara Island, Sakuala Island, Satando Island, Samatellu Island, Sabutung Island, Salebbo Island, Sarappo Island, Saugi Island, and Sanane Island. These islands are part of the Tanete Barru Kingdom<sup>20</sup>. Meanwhile, islands that do not use the "sa" sound in the initial syllables in their names such as: Pulau Pandangan, Balang, Barrang, Bangko-Bangkoang, Kapoposang,

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<sup>18</sup> Dinas Penanaman Modal Pelayanan Terpadu Satu Pintu, “Profil Kabupaten Pangkep,” 2022, <https://dpmptsp.pangkep.link/index.php/profil-daerah-kab-pangkep/>.

<sup>19</sup> Badan Pusat Statistik Sulawesi Selatan, “Jumlah Pulau 2019,” 2022, <https://sulsel.bps.go.id/indicator/153/1625/1/jumlah-pulau.html>.

<sup>20</sup> Rahayu Salam, “Assitulungeng: Bentuk Tolong Menolong Dalam Upacara Akikah Di Pulau Salemo,” *Walasuji* 15, no. 2 (2014): 327–39.

Karangrang, Kulambing, Laiya, etc., are islands that were once controlled and received the influence of the Kingdom of Gowa.<sup>21</sup>

The *Spermonde* Archipelago were inhabited for hundreds of years but experienced partial population migration to the mainland of Sulawesi Island during the Dutch colonial period. The position of some of the outer *Spermonde* Archipelago area became a strategic area for the bases of the Royal Dutch warships of the time. Such conditions make these islands vulnerable to attack by enemy ships, causing residents to flee to the mainland or other island areas that are considered safe.<sup>22</sup>

In addition to the historical factors above, the people of the *Spermonde* Archipelago are also strongly influenced by the social structure factor with a very strong patron-client system that is inherited informally<sup>23</sup>. The patron-client system of fishermen communities in South Sulawesi and its surroundings is known as *Punggawa-Sawi*. *Punggawa* is a patron who has the capital to finance the entire process from production such as catching to marketing of fish caught. The *Punggawa* is usually also the owner of the boat or the financier who finances the construction of the boat. Meanwhile, *sawi* is a group of fishermen who work on *Punggawa* boats or run *Punggawa* boats. Afterwards, the *sawi* sells or deposits the catch of the fish to the *Punggawa* or deposits the proceeds from the sale of the fish to the *Punggawa* as the owner of the capital.<sup>24</sup>

Between the *Punggawa* and the *Sawi*, there exists a striking difference in income. The ship owner entrusts the *Punggawa* to manage and take overall responsibility for the ship, including recruiting staff. A *Punggawa* often recruits someone to become a *Sawi* because of acquaintance, whether it is of a family relationship, a neighbor, or a close

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<sup>21</sup> Nuraida Agus, "Toponimi Salemo: Bahasa, Sastra Dan Identitas Budaya," in *Pangaji Salemo: Rekonstruksi & Kontinuitas Keulamaan Nusantara*, ed. M.Alie Humaedi and Husnul Fahimah Ilyas (Bantul: LKiS, 2022), 45.

<sup>22</sup> Andi Ahmad Yani, "Otonomi Daerah Dan Pelayanan Publik Di Kepulauan Spermonde, Provinsi Sulawesi Selatan," 2010.

<sup>23</sup> Yani.

<sup>24</sup> Arif Satria, *Pengantar Sosiologi Masyarakat Pesisir* (Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, 2015).



friend. The group work system builds an emotional bond between one worker and another and is a voluntary relationship where one party can decide to stop working without any sanctions. However, in general, *sawi* will find it difficult to leave due to the sense of indebtedness to the *Punggawa*.<sup>25</sup>

Meanwhile, from the socio-religious point of view in the *Spermonde* Archipelago, the development of Islam in South Sulawesi and the Indonesian Archipelago cannot be separated from the *Spermonde* Archipelago as the medium for the spread of Islam. In the first half of the 19th century, Salemo Island, Karanrang Island was a center for Islamic religious studies<sup>26</sup> Salemo was a forum that produced qualified cleric candidates with high religious knowledge as well as a path for the development of *da'wah* through *mangngaji tudang* education<sup>27</sup>. Salemo Island became a footprint of pockets of knowledge transmission that took place in the early 20th century in South Sulawesi as a place for the *mangngaji tudang* XIX(circa 1850)<sup>28</sup>. *Mangngaji tudang* is a recitation with the wetonan method in the teaching and learning process in Islamic boarding schools where the kyai or cleric reads the book, translates and explains. While the santri or students listen and record what the kyai says.<sup>29</sup>

The Islamization process of Muslim nobles and traders, like in Salemo Islands whose Qur'an recitations developed by a wali dubbed by

<sup>25</sup> Alpiani, "Pola Hubungan Dan Sistem Bagi Hasil Punggawa-Sawi Pada Alat Tangkap Bagan Rambo Di Kabupaten Barru," *Gorontalo Fisheries Journal* 2, no. 1 (2019): 37–48.

<sup>26</sup> Anzar Abdullah, "Islamisasi Di Sulawesi Selatan Dalam Perspektif Sejarah," *Paramita: Historical Studies Journal* 26, no. 1 (2016): 86–94, <https://doi.org/10.15294/paramita.v26i1.5148>.

<sup>27</sup> Wardiah Hamid, "Geneologi Intelektual Ulama Awal Abad XX Di Kabupaten Bulukumba Dan Bantaeng Sulawesi Selatan," *Jurnal SMART (Studi Masyarakat, Religi, Dan Tradisi)* 5, no. 2 (2019): 187–200, <https://doi.org/10.18784/smart.v5i2.731>.

<sup>28</sup> Wardiah Hamid, "Jejak Dan Kiprah Ulama Pinrang Awal Abad XX," *Al-Qalam: Jurnal Penelitian Agama Dan Sosial Budaya* 25, no. 2 (2019): 405–20, <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.31969/alq.v25i2>.

<sup>29</sup> Faten Hamama, Abd. Rahim Arsyad, and Iskandar, "Metode Wetonan (Mangaji Tudang) Sebagai Media Berdakwah K.H. Abdurrahman Ambo Dalle Di Pondok Pesantren DDI Mangkoso," *Komunida: Media Komunikasi Dan Dakwah* 6, no. 2 (2016): 1–21, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.35905/komunida.v6i2.404>.

the local community as *Puang Awalli*, formally known as K. H. Abd. Rahim, evidence of the existence of Islam on Salemo Island is marked by a mosque built in the 18th century and renovated in 1947 and in 1969 named Nurul Ulama Mosque by K.H. Abd. Rahim *Cella Panrita*<sup>30</sup>. There are no other places of worship found besides the mosque in the Spermonde Archipelago, this indicates that the community is mostly Muslim. Although the Masjid Nurul Pulau Salemo is the oldest mosque in Pangkep Regency, its original form has not been found due to general renovations in 2000.

The interaction of the *Spermonde* Archipelago communities with foreigners such as the Malays also lasted a long time, when the Malays were considered treasonous, causing the defeat of the Kingdom of Gowa from the Dutch. *Karaeng* Karunrung expelled the Malays and placed them on islands starting with "sa" in their name around the Makassar sea, on Sabutung Island, Salemo Island, Satando Island, Sabalana Island including Selayar, and Sabaru Island.<sup>31</sup> In addition, merchants from China brought porcelain and silk fabrics to be sold to Bugis-Makassar merchants, while in return sea cucumber hunters were sought after as the main commodity by Chinese merchants.<sup>32</sup> Another observable evidence regarding the interaction of outsiders in the Spermonde Archipelago with foreigners, especially the Chinese, is the discovery of several Chinese graves in the Public Cemetery on Salemo Island.

### **Practice of *Massekke* in the Fishermen's Communities of Spermonde Archipelago**

*Massekke* is a term from the Bugis Language, it is called "*assekke*" in Makassar Language which means "with Zakah". Zakah came from the

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<sup>30</sup> Salam, "Assitulungeng: Bentuk Tolong Menolong Dalam Upacara Akikah Di Pulau Salemo."

<sup>31</sup> Bahtiar Bahtiar, "Orang Melayu Di Sulawesi Selatan," *Walasuji: Jurnal Sejarah Dan Budaya* 9, no. 2 (2018): 373–87, <https://doi.org/10.36869/wjsb.v9i2.54>.

<sup>32</sup> Sritimuryati Sritimuryati, "Beras Sebagai Komoditi Utama Dalam Perdagangan Maritim Di Makassar," *Walasuji: Jurnal Sejarah Dan Budaya* 9, no. 1 (2018): 129–40, <https://doi.org/10.36869/wjsb.v9i1.26>.

Arabic word “*zakah*” meaning “cleanliness, purification, increase, growth, righteousness, blessing and praise”.<sup>33</sup> Linguistically, the word *Zakah* means to grow and develop. The definition of *Zakah* as a term is an obligation that refers to the redistribution of wealth determined by God to a certain category of people. According to Islamic law, *Zakah* is the name for a certain extraction of a certain amount of wealth, according to certain properties and to be given to certain groups.<sup>34</sup>

*Zakah* as part of Islamic law in general aims to realize the benefit of humans in the world and the hereafter.<sup>35</sup> While the main purpose of Islamic sharia itself is to protect religion, soul, mind, lineage and property. These goals are categorized as *maqāshid al-dlarūriyat* or emergency goals<sup>36</sup>. In addition, other goals of *Zakah* are poverty alleviation, eliminating greed among Muslims and encouraging socially oriented behavior.<sup>37</sup>

*Zakah* is part of alms which is different from *infaq* and *waqf* as voluntary instruments. Meanwhile, *Zakah* is obligatory for *muzakki* whose property has reached the *nishab*, and whose property has passed one Hijri year (*haul*). The command to issue *Zakah* as an obligation for *muzakki* has been clearly narrated by Allah in the QS. At-Taubah verse 103 and many

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<sup>33</sup> Shair Ali Khan, “The Term ‘Zakat’ in the Quran and The Semantic Effects of Its Translational Variation Example From English Translations of Quran,” *Journal of Education and Social Sciences* 5, no. October (2016): 173–87, [https://www.jesoc.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/JESOC5\\_1.pdf](https://www.jesoc.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/JESOC5_1.pdf).

<sup>34</sup> M. Aziz Ritonga and Erta Mahyudin, “Review of Zakat, Infaq, and Shadaqah as a Similar Terminology,” in *Proceedings Of the 1st International Conference on Recent Innovations (ICRI)* (Jakarta: The SciTePress Digital Library (Science and Technology Publications, Lda), 2018), 801–8, <https://doi.org/10.5220/0009917608010808>.

<sup>35</sup> Kutbuddin Aibak, “Zakat Dalam Perspektif Maqashid Al-Syariah,” *Ahkam: Jurnal Hukum Islam* 3, no. 2 (2015): 199–218, <https://doi.org/10.21274/ahkam.2015.3.2.199-218>.

<sup>36</sup> Zainuddin Zainuddin, “Restorative Justice Concept on Jarimah Qishas in Islamic Criminal Law,” *Jurnal Dinamika Hukum* 17, no. 3 (2017): 335, <https://doi.org/10.20884/1.jdh.2017.17.3.826>.

<sup>37</sup> Wahid Damilola Olanipekun, Aminu Nassir Brimah, and Haruna Baba Sanusi, “The Role of Zakat as a Poverty Alleviation Strategy and a Tool for Sustainable Development: Insights from the Perspectives of the Holy Prophet (PBUH),” *Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review* 5, no. 3 (2015): 8–17, <https://doi.org/10.12816/0019109>.

other verses and hadiths explain God's obligations and threats to people who are able but do not want to fulfill them.<sup>38</sup>

The *Massekke* tradition in the fishermen communities in the Spermonde Archipelago in this study is divided into several parts as follows:

### 1. *Categories of Zakah*

As is the case in fiqh, Zakah is known as Zakah fitrah and Zakah al-mal (Zakah on wealth). The fishermen communities in the Spermonde Archipelago recognize two categories of Zakah, namely *sekke fittara* (Zakah fitrah) and *sekke warang parang* (Zakah al-mal). The awareness of paying *sekke fittara* is higher than paying for *sekke warang parang*.

The amount of public attention put into paying *sekke fittara* can be observed from family member overseas asking their families on the island to pay their Zakah to the Qur'an teacher and usually followed by *passidekka* (alms) to said teacher and also other residents who are considered economically in need. Islanders who are more economically successful in foreign countries send money to their families to pay Zakah both for themselves and their families.

According to Ustadz Jalaluddin (Interview, 2022) during his activities as a Qur'an teacher, he received more *sekke pittura* from his students' parents than *sekke warang parang*. Looking at their income, some of the student's parents work as *padangkang* (traders), *pappangempang* (tambak farmers), *pabbagang* (fishermen of bagang), *pagae* (fishers who use large boats and large nets) who have fulfilled the requirement for issuing Zakah on their property.

Basically, Zakah fitrah and Zakah on property is an obligation for a Muslim if they fulfill their economic ability minimums. The fishermen communities in the Zakah al-mal prioritizes paying Zakah fitrah even

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<sup>38</sup> Sulaeman, Rifaldi Majid, and Tika Widiastuti, "The Impact of Zakat on Socio-Economic Welfare before COVID-19 Pandemic in Indonesia: A Quantitative Study," *International Journal of Zakat* 6, no. 2 (2021): 75–90, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.37706/ijaz.v6i2.301>.

though they have fulfilled the requirements to pay Zakah on property. Zakah fitrah is generally paid using *berre* (rice), although there are also those who pay it with *doi* (money).

The view of the people above departs from the understanding of classical Zakah fiqh which recognizes two types of Zakah, namely Zakah fitrah and Zakah on property. These two types of Zakah have been practiced by Muslims throughout the world for hundreds of years, referring to the fiqh books created by previous scholars. These two types of Zakah have been practiced by Muslims around the world for hundreds of years, referring to the fiqh books created by previous scholars.<sup>39</sup>

People in the Spermonde Archipelago do not recognize professional Zakah as part of property Zakah. Professional Zakah (income) is Zakah issued from the results of a person's profession, whether doctors, architects, notaries, scholars or preachers, teacher employees and others. Furthermore, it is said that professional Zakah is Zakah issued from halal business results that can bring relatively large results (money) in a relatively easy way, through a certain skill.<sup>40</sup> Therefore, there are several elements that must be met, namely: 1) muzakki, 2) property, 3) a group entitled to receive (mustahik), 4) there is a dose (nishab), and 5) a specified time.<sup>41</sup>

## 2. The Appropriate Time to Pay Zakah

In the Spermonde Archipelago, people pay their Zakah in the month of Ramadan, including Zakah on their property. It is understood that the payment of Zakah is paid in the month of Ramadan and it is carried out on the fifteenth day of Ramadan until the end of Ramadan. For the

<sup>39</sup> Andi Intan Cahyani, "Zakat Profesi Dalam Era Kontemporer," *El-Iqthisadi: Jurnal Hukum Ekonomi Syariah Fakultas Syariah Dan Hukum* 2, no. 2 (2020): 162–74, <https://doi.org/10.24252/el-iqthisadi.v2i2.18351>.

<sup>40</sup> Muhammad Aziz and Sholikhah Sholikhah, "Zakat Profesi Dalam Perspektif Undang-Undang Nomor 23 Tahun 2011 Dan Hukum Islam," *Ulul Albab: Jurnal Studi Islam* 15, no. 2 (2015): 188–205, <https://doi.org/10.18860/ua.v15i2.2665>.

<sup>41</sup> Zaky Mubarak Sarmada and Mushlih Candrakusuma, "Sinergi Amil Zakat Indonesia: Kontekstualisasi Konsep Amil Zakat Berdasar Perundang-Undangan," *Al-Mabsut: Jurnal Studi Islam Dan Sosial* 15, no. 1 (2021): 75–91, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.56997/almabsut.v15i1.507>.

community, there is no payment of *sekke warang parang* outside of Ramadan even though it has fulfilled the nishab and haul, because it is not considered to bring any blessing to pay *sekke warang parang* outside the month of Ramadan.

According to Ustadz Mursyid Baharuddin (Interview, 2022), people often come to the homes of *guru pangaji* (religious teachers), *pua imam* (mosque priests/ustadz), *sanro pammanaq* (midwives) to bring their Zakah, after a half month of Ramadan or the fifteenth day, most of them come on takbiran night because that is considered to be more important

For the people of Sagara Island and Sabangko Island, two islands that have *pangempang* (milkfish ponds), people who work as *pappangempang* (fish farmers) pays Zakah in the month of Ramadan, meaning that *pappangempang* only once a year issues *sekke warang parang*, while the harvest of *bale bolu* (milkfish) is two or three times a year. This was stated by H. Paharuddin (Interview, 2022) that *sekke pangempang* was carried out in the month of Ramadan.

Likewise, fishermen of *pabbagan* and *pagae*, are obliged to pay Zakah after a period of rest from fishing during the bright moon period which is used by fishermen to repair their nets and boats. During this time period, the distribution of fish catches, known as *mattawa* (profit sharing) is also held which is attended by *punggawa* (ship owners) and *sawi* (workers).

According to Ustadz Sayyid Abdullah Aliah (Interview, 2022), *sekke warang parang* including *sekke pangempang*, *sekke wassele gae*, *bagang* does not need to be in the month of Ramadan. Every milkfish harvests and fishing breaks, Zakah should be issued, this understanding needs to be straightened out.

Referring to the word of Allah Q.S. Al-An'am verse 141, the meaning of the word *hašhad*, meaning picking (harvesting fish, Authors.) is used as a time for fulfilling obligations or giving guidance to others, as picking crops and also harvesting fish in ponds, aims to collect and set it aside for

the future or to sell it. As a result, the picking is not aimed at fulfilling the urgent need to be eaten by the owner and his family on the days of the picking. This provision is an indicator of an excess of owners, and from this the obligation or recommendation to set aside some for others is born. On the other hand, the harvest is a concrete proof of excess for the owner.<sup>42</sup>

Based on the Qur'anic argument above, it can be understood that the owner of the pond pays Zakah after the fish harvest. Pond farmers issue their Zakah by paying Zakah after harvesting the same as crop yields without having to wait one year (*haul*).

These findings indicate that in general people understand that the best time to pay Zakah is before Eid. As for the obligatory time is after sunset at the end of Ramadan until before the Eid prayer is carried out as in the Hadith of the Messenger of Allah narrated by Ibn Abbas that "The Messenger of Allah (SAW) required Zakah fitrah as a purification for those who fast from useless and dirty words, and as food for the poor. Whoever takes it out before the Eid prayer, then it is an accepted Zakah. If he takes it out after the Eid prayer, then it becomes an ordinary charity," (HR Abu Dawud and Ibn Majah).

Basically, it is sunnah to end (slow down) the Eid prayer to give Muslims the opportunity to pay Zakah fitrah to the poor. However, most people that Zakah on property are paid in the month of Ramadan.

### 3. *Mustahik of Zakah*

As per Islamic Sharia which is based on Q.S. At Taubah, there are eight groups who are entitled to receive Zakah (*asnaf / mustahiq*) namely the *fuqara* or the poor; namely people who live below the poverty line and do not have adequate means to live a normal life like other people, *Masakin* or the poor, namely people who have jobs but cannot fulfill their daily needs, Amilin or Zakah collectors, Mu'alaf or the poor

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<sup>42</sup> M. Quraish Shihab, *Tafsir Al-Mishbah: Pesan, Kesan Dan Keserasian Al-Qur'an*, vol. 04 (Jakarta: Lentera Hati, 2005).

who have recently converted to Islam, *Ar-Riqab* or slaves or free captives, *Ibnu Sabil* or travelers who need financial assistance, *Gharim* or debtors who are unable to pay for themselves, and *Fisabilillah*, people who are far from their hometowns in the way of Allah <sup>43</sup>.

The people's understanding of those who are entitled to receive *sekke*, can be grouped, as follows: *tau kasi-asi* (poor people), *puang imam* (mosque priest), *ustadz*, *guru pangaji* (religious teacher), *sanro pammanaq* (traditional birth attendant), *ameele* (manager of the Zakah which is individual in nature from religious leaders). It has been the same since the beginning and has not changed.

According to Kamaruddin (Interview, 2022), every Ramadan, they pay Zakah fitrah for five members of his family, two to the *guru pangaji*, one to the *sanro pammanaq*, two to the *puang imam*. Based on this statement in one family in a fishermen communities, paying Zakah fitrah is not only focused on one group but also paid to other groups according to the traditions of the local community.

Upon closer inspection, the group of Zakah mustahik in the fishermen communities in the Spermonde Archipelago only knows Zakah mustahik as being the Qur'an teacher, mosque imam, midwives and religious leaders. The determination of mustahik Zakah is of course based on traditions that have been passed down from generation to generation. The interesting thing is that *sanro pammanaq* is included as mustahik Zakah as the *sanro pammanaq* has urgency for the birth of a baby in the family. Giving Zakah fitrah to *sanro pammanaq* is only done before entering the age of Qur'an reciting a child. Furthermore, the child who has finished their study of the Qur'an, the payment of Zakah fitrah is transferred to the teacher of the Qur'an.

Likewise with the concept of *ameele sekke* (amil Zakah) which is understood by the fishermen communities in the Spermonde Archipelago.

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<sup>43</sup> Elleriz Aisha Khasandy and Rudy Badrudin, "The Influence of Zakat on Economic Growth and Welfare Society in Indonesia," *Integrated Journal of Business and Economics* 3, no. 1 (2019): 65, <https://doi.org/10.33019/ijbe.v3i1.89>.



*Ameele* is a religious figure. People fulfill their Zakah obligations to *ameele*, both *sekke fittara* and *sekke warang parang* to religious leaders who function as Zakah amil.

One of the religious leaders who is considered *ameele* by the fishermen communities is Ustadz Sayyid Abdullah Aliah (Interview, 2022). Based on the results of interviews, people trust him to receive Zakah as amil. The Zakah received is then handed over to poor people who are entitled to receive it. Their role is merely an intermediary to those entitled to receive it.

The reason for the fishermen communities to pay Zakah to the above group is due to *Guru pangaji*'s teaching of reading the Qur'an to everyone, as well as *sanro pammanaq* who has contributed to helping give birth, and *puang imam* and religious leaders who teach religious knowledge to the public. For their services is why people give Zakah to them.

Zakah received by *guru pangaji*, *sanro pammanaq*, *puang imam* in the form of rice is collected in sacks or *katoang loppo* (big basin), *panteng* (bucket) and also sacks of rice stored in *lontang tengnga* (middle room) and *jongke* (back room). Some are distributed to others and some are stored for daily consumption. Zakah received by *guru pangaji*, *sanro pammanaq*, and *puang imam* is not distributed to the poor or other Zakah recipients because they consider themselves to be entitled to receive *sekke*.

For the *ameele sekke* category, the fishermen communities understands that amil is a religious figure, although amil is more personal. Based on Undang-Undang No. 23 tahun 2011 tentang Pengelolaan Zakah, there is no individual amil Zakah. Amil Zakah regulated in the Undang-Undang Pengelolaan Zakah is institutional in nature. In Indonesia, in accordance with the Zakah Management Law, there are two types of Organisasi Pengelolaan Zakah (OPZ) or Zakah Management Organizations, which are the Badan Amil Zakah Nasional (BAZNAS) which is managed by the government and the Lembaga Amil Zakah (LAZ) whose

management is managed by the community, which is integrated and synergized in the process of collecting, managing and distributing Zakah.<sup>44</sup>

However, the *ameele sekke* that is personal in nature is still distributed to the poor after receiving from muzakki. This was stated by Ustadz Sayyid Abdullah Aliah (Interview, 2022), the Zakah received was passed on to the poor, for *sekke fittara*, the poor were given five liters per family. If someone pays for *sekke warang parang*, usually one hundred thousand is given for each poor family which is delivered directly to the mustahik.

Based on the results of research in the field, there are no people who have distributed their Zakah for Zakah management institutions such as LAZ or BAZNAS for Zakah collection as of yet. The Zakah Collection Unit (UPZ) has been formed. Broadly speaking, the differences between BAZ, LAZ, and UPZ are as follows:<sup>45</sup> (1) Badan Amil Zakah (BAZ) is a Zakah Management Organization formed by the Government consisting of elements of the community and the government with the task of collecting, distributing and utilizing Zakah in accordance with religious provisions; (2) Lembaga Amil Zakah (LAZ) is a Zakah management institution formed by the community and confirmed by the government to carry out collection, distribution, utilization, and Zakah activities in accordance with religious provisions; (3) Unit Pengumpulan Zakah (UPZ) is an organizational unit formed by BAZ at all levels with the task of collecting Zakah to serve Muzakki (obligatory Zakah), who are in the village/kelurahan, and the private sector, both domestically and abroad.

In the fiqh of Zakah, there are eight groups that are entitled to receive Zakah which are categorized into two major groups, namely: First, the group of Zakah recipients based on needs, such as the needy, poor, slaves, debtors, people who are on their way. Second, groups who are entitled to

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<sup>44</sup> Sarmada and Candrakusuma, "Sinergi Amil Zakat Indonesia: Kontekstualisasi Konsep Amil Zakat Berdasar Perundang-Undangan."

<sup>45</sup> Ade Nur Rohim, "Revitalisasi Peran Dan Kedudukan Amil Zakat Dalam Perekonomian," *Journal of Islamic Economics and Finance Studies* 1, no. 1 (2020): 41–61.

Zakah are not based on fulfilling their needs, such as *amil*, converts and *fisabilillah*.<sup>46</sup>

## Cultural Syncretism in the *Masekke* Tradition

When entering the fifteenth night of Ramadhan, at Azhar the drum beat is performed with a certain rhythm as a marker of the entry of the fifteenth night which is also marked by *mappacci* which means cleaning/purifying by placing mashed henna leaves on the nails which is usually done by girls. *Mappacci* is the same as the meaning of Zakah which means to purify or clean one's property and oneself.

The *mappacci* tradition is not only carried out when entering the fifteenth night of Ramadan as a sign of paying Zakah, but is also injured in traditional marriage ceremonies carried out for generations by the Bugis tribe with the aim of cleaning or purifying the bride from bad things, as that marriage is a good thing and must be based on good intentions. *Mappacci* in the Bugis tribe is believed to have a symbol of cleanliness and purity for the bride and groom. This means that both the groom and the bride are still considered clean and holy.<sup>47</sup>

Apart from *mappacci*, what is done when the fifteenth of Ramadan is entered is the *mappepe-pepe* tradition, namely the tradition of lighting candles or torches and several bottles filled with colorful water and various kinds of flowers that are lined up on *lego-lego* (terrace houses on stilts). However, this *mappepe-pepe* tradition, in general, people do not carry it out. Even though this ritual tradition is related to the *Massekke* tradition as a symbol of welcoming the obligation to pay Zakah which begins at the fifteenth of Ramadan.

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<sup>46</sup> Wan Khairuldin Wan Mohd Khairul Firdaus and Mohammad Mahadi, "The Philosophy and Elasticity of Zakah Distribution in Islam," *International Journal of Education and Research* 1, no. 8 (2013): 1–12, <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/222964134.pdf>.

<sup>47</sup> Atri Dewi Azis, "Symbolic Meanings of Equipments Used in Mappacci Buginese Traditional Ceremony," *Jurnal Ilmiah Profesi Pendidikan* 6, no. 1 (2021): 108–13, <https://doi.org/10.29303/jipp.v6i1.167>.

In the payment of Zakah, there is a tradition of the people of the archipelago keep *pelleng* (candlenut fruit) or candles on the rice that is Zakahed. The deviant tradition of *pelleng* or candles on rice to pay tithe to the Bugis-Makassar communities in the Spermonde Archipelago, the philosophy that is built with *pelleng* or candles should be able to illuminate the hearts of Zakah payers to always issue their Zakah.

Based on cultural values in the *Massekke* tradition, as long as their relevance to Islamic sharia can still be accounted for, then these values can be adopted using one of the guidelines in the formation of Islamic law, namely *al-'ādatu al-muhakkamah*, meaning customs and habits. can be accepted as a source of law as long as the spirit and spirit are authentic and do not conflict with Islamic sharia <sup>48</sup>. People's habits as long as they do not conflict with Islamic sharia are called the term 'urf, namely habits carried out by most people, both in words and actions that are carried out continuously and are recognized as good by the local community.

## Conclusion

The tradition of paying Zakah or in local terms for the Muslim community of the Spermonde Islands is called the *Massekke* tradition, which has been passed down from generation to generation since the arrival of Islam in the 18th century AD. The *Massekke* tradition is a combination of Islamic law and local community culture. The people of the Spermonde Islands recognize two types of zakat, namely *sekke fittara* (zakah al-fitr) and *sekke warang parang* (zakah of property ), but the community prioritizes *sekke fittara* over *sekke warang parang*. The time for zakah payments is made in the middle of the month of Ramadan until the end of the month of Ramadan which is paid in the form of rice or money accompanied by *pelleng* (candlenut) or candles which symbolizes

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<sup>48</sup> M. Arfin Hamid, *Kulturisasi Syariah Islam: Upaya Menginternalisasi Hukum Islam Dalam Proses Berbangsa Dan Bernegara (Sebuah Pendekatan Konstitusional), Islam* (Makassar: CV. Tohar Miedia, 2021). See Abdurrahman MBP, "Rekonstruksi "Islam Teh Sunda, Sunda Teh Islam," *Asy-Syari'Ah* 17, no. 1 (2015): 19–28, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.15575/as.v19i1>.

the zakat payer having a clear heart when paying zakat. Zakat payments begin with mappacci as a form of purification of property, soul and body. The fisherman's community in the Spermonde Islands recognizes guru pangngaji (Qur'an teacher), puang imam (mosque imam), sanro pammanaq (midwife), and community leaders as mustahik zakah (zakah recipients). Some of the *Massekke* traditions are in accordance with Islamic law and some are not in accordance with Islamic law.

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