



# From the Indigeneous to the Religious Practices: Islamic Construction of the Local Tradition in South Sulawesi, Indonesia

This study elaborates on the Islamic construction of the indigenous Bugis-Makassar tradition. The “Haji Bawakaraeng” is one the familiar practice and is believed to exist in the South Sulawesi region. Term Haji Bawakaraeng is a religious practice contained with local Muslim beliefs carried out on Mount Bawakaraeng. By using descriptive qualitative approach, this study finds that the Bugis-Makassar habit of carrying out a series of rituals on the summit of Mount Bawakaraeng is an old belief facing the process of negotiation and adaptation to the teachings of Islam. The presence of the term Hajj as an Islamic construction and Bawakaraeng as a local cultural construction is the result of the construction of Islam on the local beliefs of the Buginese-Makassarnese. In addition, this study also illustrates the dynamics of the inclusion of Islam in South Sulawesi as a variative and authentic inclusion. Finally, this study explains the diversity of the Bugis-Makassar people which tends to change from indigenous traditions to religious practices due to the ongoing construction of Islam. This paper recommends the need for further studies on the issue of religious and cultural relations at the micro level to see the dynamics of changing socio-religious practices in the community.

**Keywords:** Islamic Construction; Bawakaraeng Pilgrimage; Indigenous Tradition; Adaptation; Negotiation

Studi ini membahas konstruksi Islam atas tradisi lokal masyarakat Bugis-Makassar. “Haji Bawakaraeng” merupakan salah satu praktik yang familiar dan diakui keberadaannya di wilayah Sulawesi Selatan. Terma Haji Bawakaraeng merujuk pada praktik keagamaan yang memuat kepercayaan lokal masyarakat Muslim yang dilakukan di gunung Bawakaraeng. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan deskriptif kualitatif, studi ini menemukan bahwa kebiasaan masyarakat Bugis-Makassar melaksanakan serangkaian ritual di puncak Gunung Bawakaraeng merupakan kepercayaan lama dengan yang menghadapi proses negosiasi dan adaptasi dengan ajaran Islam. Hadirnya istilah Haji sebagai konstruksi Islam dan Bawakaraeng sebagai konstruksi tradisi lokal adalah hasil konstruksi Islam atas kepercayaan local orang Bugis-Makassar. Selain itu, studi ini juga menggambarkan dinamika proses masuknya Islam di Sulawesi Selatan sebagai proses inkulsi yang variatif dan beragam. Terakhir, studi ini menjelaskan tentang keberagaman orang Bugis-Makassar yang cenderung berubah dari tradisi lokal ke tradisi keagamaan akibat konstruksi Islam yang terus berlangsung. Tulisan ini merekomendasikan perlunya kajian lanjutan tentang isu hubungan agama dan budaya pada tingkat mikro untuk melihat dinamika perubahan praktik sosial keagamaan masyarakat.

**Kata Kunci:** Konstruksi Islam; Haji Bawakaraeng; Tradisi Lokal; Adaptasi; Negosiasi

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## Introduction

Although the Bugis-Makassar Muslims are known as devout and fanatical followers of Islam, some of them still hold the of indigenous beliefs consistently. *Haji Bawakaraeng* is one of the cases that shows that the Bugis-Makassar people still have local beliefs, especially belief in places like Mount Bawakaraeng in South Sulawesi. Belief in mountains is not something new for people in Indonesia. Studies as shown by some experts show that mountains have magical power and are considered sacred,<sup>1</sup> even for the world community there are still many who have faith in mountains,<sup>2</sup> meaning that the mountain is used as a ritual center is a unique religious practice and needs to be seen more about its correlation with the culture and local beliefs of the local community.

Mount Bawakaraeng is one of the highest mountains located in South Sulawesi. This mountain has a myth that is closely related to the old beliefs of the Makassar Bugis, including the Hajj ritual at the top of Mount Bawakaraeng.<sup>3</sup> In the view of a number of Anthropologists from South Sulawesi, for example Mattulada states that the habit of carrying out rituals in Puncak

Bawakaraeng is related to some beliefs of the people of South Sulawesi called Patuntung.<sup>4</sup> In this belief, it is believed that there is a Creator called To Kammayya Kanana (What is certain to say) is considered to be the supreme deity in addition to other names such as To rie A'ra'na (the Most Wishing), the Creator is believed to reside in a place that is high. From the community's perception, it opens space for Islamic teachings to construct Islamic values in the life of the people in South Sulawesi.

The study of the relationship between Islam and local beliefs has taken the attention of many religious and cultural researchers. From existing studies so far, it shows three trends in seeing the relationship between local religion and culture. First, the pattern of religious and cultural relations<sup>5</sup> in the practice of social life of the community,<sup>6</sup> as well as studies on the interrelationships of religion and culture complement each other,<sup>7</sup> so that it shows adaptation, compromise and acculturation.<sup>8</sup> Second, factors that encourage religious relations of cultural funds in the context of conflict resolution, and the cultural assets have potentials in the emergence of social and religious

<sup>1</sup> Marsudi Marsudi, "Bangkitnya Tradisi Neo-Megalitik di Gunung Arjuna," *Jurnal Sejarah dan Budaya* (2015). See, Desti Widiani and Jiyanto Jiyanto, "Rekonstruksi Kisah Pangeran Samudro: di Tengah Mitos Ritual Seks Gunung Kemukus, Sumber Lawang, Sragen," *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* (2019). 77.

<sup>2</sup> Geoffrey G. McCafferty, "Mountain of Heaven, Mountain of Earth: The Great Pyramid of Cholula as Sacred Landscape," in *Landscape and Power in Ancient Mesoamerica*, 2018, 279–314; Hugo García Capistrán, "The Sacred Mountain. Aspects of the Legitimation of Power in the Maya Classic," *Estudios de Cultura Maya* 53 (2019): 139–172; Mustaqim Pabbajah et al., "Pilgrimage to Bawakaraeng Mountain among the Bugis-Makassar in Indonesia: A Contestation between Islamic Identity and Local Tradition," *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage*, 2021; Wanfei Wang, Joseph S. Chen, and Keji Huang, "Religious Tourist Motivation in Buddhist Mountain: The Case from China," *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research* (2016).

<sup>3</sup> Pabbajah et al., "Pilgrimage to Bawakaraeng Mountain among the Bugis-Makassar in Indonesia: A Contestation between Islamic Identity and Local Tradition"; Mustaqim Pabbajah, "Religious Consistency and Commitment to Local

Tradition Within the Bawakareng Community in Indonesia's South Sulawesi" 9, No. 2 (2020): 179–198.

<sup>4</sup> Andi Mattulada, "Manusia dan Kebudayaan Bugis - Makassar dan Kaili di Sulawesi," *Antropologi Indonesia* (2014).

<sup>5</sup> Bryan S. Turner, "Religion," *Theory, Culture & Society* (2006).

<sup>6</sup> Gani Aldashev and Jean Philippe Platteau, "Religion, Culture, and Development," in *Handbook of the Economics of Art and Culture*, 2014.

<sup>7</sup> Agus Sriyanto, "Akulturasi Islam dengan Budaya Lokal," *Komunika: Jurnal Dakwah dan Komunikasi* 1, No. 1 (2016): 149–163; Buhori Buhori, "Islam dan Tradisi Lokal di Nusantara (Telaah Kritis Terhadap Tradisi Pelet Betteng pada Masyarakat Madura dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam)," *Al-Maslahah Jurnal Ilmu Syariah* 13, No. 2 (2017): 229; Abd. Rahim Yunus, "Nilai-Nilai Islam dalam Budaya dan Kearifan Lokal (Konteks Budaya Bugis)," *Jurnal Rihlah* II, no. 1 (2015): 1–12; Aulia Aziza, "Relasi Agama dan Budaya," *Alhadharah* (2017). 30.

<sup>8</sup> Roibin Roibin, "Agama dan Budaya-Relasi Konfrontatif Atau Kompromistik," *Jurisdictie* (2012); Derya Güngör, Marc H. Bornstein, and Karen Phalet, "Religiosity, Values, and Acculturation," *International Journal of Behavioral Development* 36, no. 5 (2012): 367–373.





conflicts.<sup>9</sup> Third, the future of religious and cultural relations,<sup>10</sup> as well as Islamic relations and local beliefs.<sup>11</sup> The study of the model of survival with ritual construction and resistance of the Haji Bawakaraeng community amidst the flow of Islamization in South Sulawesi.<sup>12</sup>

This study is a response to the previous study by completing the unexamined construction of religion (Islam) and local culture. In line with that, three questions can be formulated (a) how can the process of Islamization influence the religious practices of the Hajj community in South Sulawesi? (b) How is the Islamic construction of local beliefs in religious practices in the Bawakaraeng community? (c) how are the implications of Islamic construction on local beliefs on the diversity of the Bugis-Makassar people? These three questions form the sub-section of the discussion in this study which are expected to provide an overview of the construction of religion and local beliefs in Indonesia in general. This research uses a descriptive qualitative approach with data collection done through observation, interviews, and documentation studies.

There are three arguments built in this study by looking at the relationship of religion and local beliefs, especially in looking at the religious practices of the Bawakaraeng community in South Sulawesi. First, the existence of local beliefs is inseparable from the increasingly

dynamic relationship between religion and culture in Indonesia. In other words, religious practices will persist if negotiations of religion and local beliefs are still ongoing. Second, the pattern of negotiations practiced in religious communities is inseparable from the geographical environment and the influence of old beliefs that are still held by some local people. Third, Islam's ongoing construction of local beliefs shows that Islam has a strong dominance of local beliefs. In other words, Islam as the majority in Indonesia has a significant influence in the process of constructing Islamic teachings on local beliefs which results in the dynamics of religious practices in the community.

### The Dynamics of the Bugis-Makassar Land Islamization Process

The process of Islamization of the Bugis-Makassar people tends to take place peacefully and it starts from the elite to the top down. There are three versions of the process of entry into Islam in South Sulawesi. The first is the process of Islamization from top to bottom. The Islamization of this process can be seen in its history in the history of the kingdoms of Gowa and Tallo. King Tallo VI named I Mallikang Daeng Nyonri Karaeng Katangka began to embrace Islam on September 22, 1605. King Tallo who was also *Mangkubumi* of the Kingdom of Gowa was given an Arabic title: Sultan Abdullah Awwalul Islam. This event was followed by the

<sup>9</sup> Zaenuddin Hudi Prasodjo and Mustaqim Pabbajah, "Akomodasi Kultural Dalam Resolusi Konflik Bernuansa Agama" *Jurnal Aqlam*, 5, No. 1 (2020): 1–28.

<sup>10</sup> Giuseppe Giordan and Enzo Pace, *Religious Pluralism: Framing Religious Diversity in the Contemporary World*, *Religious Pluralism: Framing Religious Diversity in the Contemporary World*, 2014; Hasse Jubba, Mustaqim Pabbajah, Zainuddin H Prasodjo, et al., "The Future Relations between the Majority and Minority Religious Groups, Viewed from Indonesian Contemporary Perspective: A Case Study of the Coexistence of Muslims and the Towani Tolotang in Amparita, South Sulawesi," *International Journal of Islamic Thought* 16, No. 1 (December 2019): 13–23; P. Thirumal, "Culture and Dignity: Dialogues between the Middle East and the West," *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 36, No. 1 (2015): 104–106.

<sup>11</sup> Khabibi Muhammad Luthfi, "Islam Nusantara: Relasi Islam dan Budaya Lokal," *Shahih: Journal of Islamicate Multidisciplinary* (2016); Moh Masduki, "Islam and Cultural Plurality of Indonesia," *Toleransi: Media Ilmiah Komunikasi Umat Beragama* 10, No. 2 (2019): 96; Zaenuddin Hudi Prasodjo, "Religious and Cultural Existences Within the Communities of Upper Kapuas Riverside of West Kalimantan," *Al-Albab* 6, No. 2 (2017): 197; Samsul Maarif, "Dimensions of Religious Practice The Ammatoans of Sulawesi, Indonesia," *ProQuest Dissertations and Theses*, 2012.

<sup>12</sup> Syarifuddin Idris, "Konstruksi Ritual Ibadah Haji Pada Masyarakat Sekitar Gunung Bawakaraeng Kab. Gowa," *Al-Qalam* 23, No. 2 (2017); Pabbajah et al., "Pilgrimage to Bawakaraeng Mountain among the Bugis-Makassar in Indonesia: A Contestation between Islamic Identity and Local Tradition."





conversion of the king of Gowa XIV named I Mangarangi Daeng Manrabia, who got the Arabic name Sultan Awaluddin. Two years later all the people of Gowa and Tallo had converted to Islam.<sup>13</sup>

In this case, if the king has converted to Islam, then the people are considered to have also embraced the religion. The king's religion immediately becomes the state religion. This "from top to bottom" pattern of Islamization utilizes the local Bugis-Makassar tradition which regards the king as the owner of supernatural powers obtained through the dictation of the gods, who have physical and metaphysical power.<sup>14</sup> It is the leader of the divine deviation that is believed to represent the continued power of the earth and sky from the world to life after death. Power in a community group is respected by people who have supernatural powers (supernatural) are considered as decisive things in life, as well as being the source of all power and leadership.<sup>15</sup>

Islam itself reached Makassar around 1546-1565, because at that time the king of Gowa to XVI. Raja tonijallo had built a mosque for Malay people in Mangalekana. However, according to Mattulada, these two twin kingdoms were officially converted to Islam in the 16th century, precisely on November 9, 1607.<sup>16</sup> After that, the kingdoms of Gowa and Tallo became known as sources of the spread of Islam.<sup>17</sup> There are several

opinions about when exactly Islam entered Makassar officially. Spelman estimates that time to occur around 1603 (Notitie van Speelman/Speelman's note; 1669). This is agreed by F.W. Stapel (*Het Bongais verdrag*, 1922), Matthes (*Machassarche Cherosmatic*, 1883) and Crawford (*Historian of the Indian Archipelago*, 1820) who point to 1605. Another researcher, Rouffaer leaned on *Makassarche Historien* in 1607. It was the year of entry to the Archipelago, 1820 which points to 1605.<sup>18</sup> This difference is illustrated in sufficient detail by Noorduyn in his book *Islamization in Makassar*.<sup>19</sup>

The second is the formalization process. It is explained that in the official historical version, the process of Islamization of the Bugis-Makassarese in South Sulawesi was originally from the top down, namely through the power of the kings and then followed by the people.<sup>20</sup> This condition was also used by the Dutch colonials, which caused native religion to become victims of colonialism and discrimination.<sup>21</sup> The people were put into the category of 'heathen' *heidenen* as items left over a residual factor. Because the colonial government did not make any contact with ordinary people, the majority of which were native religions. However, they were only with feudal entrepreneurs who were more or less Islamic. Therefore, colonial regulations were guided by upper-minority religions.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Christian Pelras, "Religion, Tradition, and the Dynamics of Islamization in South Sulawesi," *Indonesia* (1993); Leonard Y. Andaya, "The Bugis. by Christian Pelras. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996. XVII, 386 pp.," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 57, No. 4 (1998): 1226-1227.

<sup>14</sup> Anzar Abdullah, "Islamisasi di Sulawesi Selatan dalam Perspektif Sejarah," *Paramita: Historical Studies Journal* (2016).

<sup>15</sup> Raluca Petrican and Christopher T. Burris, "Am I the Stone? Overattribution of Agency and Religious Orientation," *Psychology of Religion and Spirituality* 4, No. 4 (2012): 312-323.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> Mattulada, "Manusia dan Kebudayaan Bugis - Makassar dan Kaili di Sulawesi."

<sup>18</sup> Abdullah, "Islamisasi di Sulawesi Selatan dalam Perspektif Sejarah"; Aslan Abidin, "Pengaruh Islam dalam Perubahan Nama Diri Suku Bugis: Sebuah Tinjauan Sejarah," *Ibda` : Jurnal Kajian Islam dan Budaya* (2016).

<sup>19</sup> J. Noorduyn, "De Islamering van Makasar," *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* (2013).

<sup>20</sup> Abdullah, "Islamisasi di Sulawesi Selatan dalam Perspektif Sejarah." Muhammad Nur Ichsan Azis, "Islamisasi di Kawasan Laut Sulawesi pada Abad Ke-19," *Jurnal Penelitian Sejarah dan Budaya* 5, No. 1 (2019): 1-22.

<sup>21</sup> Hasse J, Bernard Adeney Risakotta, and Zainal Abidin Bagir, "Diskriminasi Negara Terhadap Agama di Indonesia," *Kawistara* (2011).

<sup>22</sup> Iza Hussin, "The Pursuit of the Perak Regalia: Islam, Law, and the Politics of Authority in the Colonial State," *Law and Social Inquiry* (2007); Justin Jones, *Shi'a Islam in Colonial India: Religion, Community and Sectarianism*, *Shi'a Islam in Colonial India: Religion, Community and Sectarianism*, 2011.





For example, the formalization process through regulation of 1895, No. 198, which required that all marriages of non-Christians and non-Hindus be carried out according to Islam. For the sake of simplifying the administration of marriage, the masses entered the statistics under the rubric of Islam and call themselves sellers (bugis) sallang (Makassar). To maintain *rust en orde*, polemic books were prohibited; subsidies were given to Islamic centers, the pilgrimage to Mecca was held on a large scale, and the whole of native customary law which was very different from the Shari'a, was adopted in official law according to the *receptio in complex* theory.<sup>23</sup> From the Islamic side there was little effort to change the "people-Islamic marriage certificate", which was suddenly millions of people merged with the people, to become believers who obeyed the Shari'a. Until 1895, even though the original religion was no longer smooth, it remained a dominant religious pattern. Without quality differences, native and foreign dogmas coexist. The confrontation of the santri with native religions began only after the contact with the Islamic center in Mecca, after the Suez Canal opened in 1869. An attempt was made to cleanse the Islamic body of superstition, the tradition of Javanese religion, *attoriolong* and the tradition of longevity and pre-Islam, and even this purification continued until the independence period.<sup>24</sup>

The third is the process of direct Islamization with local figures which is not written in official history. In this case there are also some who suspect that Islam entered the South Sulawesi region long before the years in the official historical version described earlier. K.H. S. Jamaluddin Aseegaf Puang Ramma, for example, in his book *Kafaa in Marriage and Dimensions of the South Sulawesi community* stated that the

entry of Islam into South Sulawesi was estimated to take place around 1320 (Adhan, Interview, 2018). Another story which is not written in official history is the Islamization of South Sulawesi carried out by Sayyid Jalaluddin in Mangara Bombang, now known as Cikoang.<sup>25</sup> Sayyid Jalaluddin was not well received in the Gowa kingdom. Because the spread of his teachings was not through the power and legitimacy of the kings, he was also less remembered in the history of Islamization, even his descendants and followers were now labeled heretics in Islam. Even though the Islamization process is not in the form of rigid sharia, but through a process of dialogue with the local culture. One example, he replaced the *rebbana* who impressed Arabic with *ganrang* as a musical instrument when commemorating the birth of the prophet (*maulid*). He even replaced the name of the Prophet's birthday with *kaddo minyak*.

Likewise, local Islamic advocates such as Latola Pallipa Putewe. He did not get a place in the history of Islamization in South Sulawesi. Whereas for Latola descendants, Puang Barakka and Peno, Latola was a guardian who was very meritorious in spreading Islam in Langnga, and Katteong and even Pinrang in general. "Latola was an advocate of Islam in this area, he was the one who taught the people at that time how a Muslim should have practiced the teachings of his religion", said Puang Barakka firmly.<sup>26</sup>

Writing history about the process of Islamization which tends to be elitist in nature, has resulted in other Islamic stories, which are local, which are nuanced in Sufism, and which make a dialogue with local culture, in fact become something strange for many people in South Sulawesi. Islamic practices that emerge as a memorial service for the birthday of the prophet (maudu lompoa) in Cikoang, Bissu,

<sup>23</sup> Pabbajah et al., "Pilgrimage to Bawakaraeng Mountain among the Bugis-Makassar in Indonesia: A Contestation between Islamic Identity and Local Tradition."

<sup>24</sup> Kamaruddin Mustamin et al., "Attoriolong Tradition of Lake Preservation," in *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, 2018.

<sup>25</sup> Muhammad Adlin Sila, "The Festivity of Maulid Nabi in Cikoang, South Sulawesi: Between Remembering and Exaggerating the Spirit of the Prophet," *Studia Islamika* (2014).

<sup>26</sup> Interview With Adnan Lewang, 2019





Karampuang, Cerekang, Tanah Toa, Tolotang and Bawakaraeng did not receive appreciation. On the contrary, they were even regarded as adherents of Islam that were not perfect or even heretical, so they needed to be straightened out and even crushed. Thus, during the Indonesian National Independence movement, the Islamization movement had no significant impact in the South Sulawesi region. The next period of Islamization had only had a significant impact on religion and local communities, namely during the Kahar Muzakkar rebellion around 1950-1957.<sup>27</sup> The historical construction of Islamization like this is one of the explanatory factors in the relationship between religion and local culture, which is dynamic today. On the one hand, the same historical construction also seems to provide legitimacy that the power of the State or leader has the right to regulate the religious life of the community, thereby resulting in the space for local communities to become increasingly narrow and marginalized. But on the other hand, it provides an explanation that the existence of local communities is increasingly popular among the people. Thus, this confirms the existence of a religious social life contestation process in the middle of the Bugis-Makassar Muslim community.<sup>28</sup>

### Islamic Construction of Indigenous Tradition

The arrival of Islam in Indonesia has greatly influenced the beliefs and local traditions of the local community (Aziz, 2015; Sumpena, 2014; Supriatna, 2019). Likewise, the arrival of Islam in South Sulawesi, as explained in the previous discussion, is rather late when compared to other

regions in Indonesia, such as Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan, and Maluku. This is due to the fact that the kingdom of Gowa was known as an influential kingdom and became a trading empire in the late XVI century or early XVII. During this period, Muslim traders from various regions of the archipelago and foreign traders from Europe began to rush into this area. According to the theory developed by Noorduynd, the process of Islamization in South Sulawesi is not much different from other regions in Indonesia<sup>29</sup> and nusantara,<sup>30</sup> through three stages: (1) the deeds of Islam, (2) acceptance of Islam, and (3) further spread.<sup>31</sup>

From the theory of Islamization, it illustrates that Islamization in terms of accepting Islam, can mean conversion and can also mean socio-cultural change. Conversion is the conversion of religions or beliefs held previously to Islam.<sup>32</sup> Meanwhile, Islamization in the understanding of socio-cultural changes, namely changes that occur in adaptation or gradual adjustment from pre-Islamic culture or local culture to Islamic culture. In this last sense, Islamic preachers do not make changes to existing socio-cultural institutions, but they give Islamic values to old institutions or add them to new institutions derived from Islamic culture.

This certainly has significance with the theory developed by the anthropology of Clifford Geertz that religion is a cultural system, which is influenced by various social changes and by itself various processes of social change

<sup>27</sup> Kathryn Robinson, "Sawerigading vs. Sharia: Identities and Political Contestation in Decentralised Indonesia," *Asian Journal of Social Science*, 2011.

<sup>28</sup> Mustaqim Pabbajah et al., "Contested Socioreligious Reality: An-Nadzir, a Non-Mainstream Islamic Movement in Indonesia," *The International Journal of Religion and Spirituality in Society* 9, No. 2 (2019): 71-78.

<sup>29</sup> Faizal Amin and Rifki Abror Ananda, "Kedatangan dan Penyebaran Islam di Asia Tenggara: Telaah Teoritik Tentang Proses Islamisasi Nusantara," *Analisis: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* (2019).

<sup>30</sup> Donald Qomaidiansyah Tungkagi, "Varian Islam Nusantara: Jawa, Minangkabau dan Gorontalo," *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* (2017).

<sup>31</sup> Saidin Hamzah, Ahmad M. Sewang, and Syamzan Syukur, "Kondisi Dana Mbojo (Bima) Pra Islam dalam Tinjauan Historis," *Jurnal Diskursus Islam* (2017).

<sup>32</sup> Haedar Nashir and Mutohharun Jinan, "Re-Islamisation: The Conversion of Subculture from Abangan Into Santri in Surakarta," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* (2018); Rabith Jihan Amaruli and Mahendra Pudji Utama, "Konversi Agama dan Formasi Identitas: Tionghoa Muslim Kudus Pasca-Indonesia Orde Baru," *Humanika* (2015).





are able to influence the cultural system.<sup>33</sup> Added again by Geertz that religion is a unique experience that is meaningful, contains a personal identity, and certain strengths. In other words, religion will relate to real feelings, actions, and experiences that are different from one another. Everyone has different feelings and experiences in carrying out their respective religions. Even in subsequent developments, religion is often influenced by matters outside themselves. Like political activities, bureaucracy, culture, modernization and world change are very influential on religious phenomena.

From this reality it can be seen how the construction of religion (Islam) in South Sulawesi can affect local beliefs. The presence of Islam in South Sulawesi has influenced the beliefs of local communities. Because of the interrelation between the two, negotiations and syncretism ensue and give birth to the identity of the 'pilgrimage' adopted from Islamic teachings. Religion is seen as a product of collective life; religious beliefs and rites strengthen social bonds on which collective life rests.<sup>34</sup> In other words, the relationship between religion and society shows the close interdependence. This is one of Durkheim's contributions to the consensus perspective<sup>35</sup>, with his explanation of religion functionally. He views that religious activity is found in society because religion has a positive function; namely helping to maintain the moral unity of the people.<sup>36</sup>

The arrival of Islam in South Sulawesi is inseparable from the influence of local culture. Because of the beginning of the arrival of Islam, advocates and preachers make dialogue between the Bugis-Makassar culture with Islamic culture. According to Abu Hamid, religious traditions

that generally develops in the Bugis-Makassar community can be divided into two principles, namely 1) old beliefs originating from ancestral religious traditions, and 2) beliefs that originate from Islamic teachings. The two principles of belief are intermingled in rituals and ceremonial practice.<sup>37</sup> Writing history of the process of Islamization which tends to be "palace centric", has resulted in stories of non-mainstream Islamism, which are local, which are nuanced in Sufism, and which make dialogue with local culture, in fact become something strange for many people. Islamic practices that emerged such as in Cikoang, Bissu, Karampuang, Cerekang, Kajang in Tanah Toa and the Haji Bawakaraeng community, did not gain sympathy. On the contrary, this community is considered of becoming a follower of Islam that is not perfect or even heretical, so it needs to be straightened out or even crushed. This historical construct of Islamization as this is one of the explanatory factors in the relationship between religion and local culture is undoubtedly problematic to date. On the other hand, the same historical construct also seems to provide legitimacy that the power of the state or leader has the right to regulate the religious life of the people.<sup>38</sup>

### **The Religion Practices of the Bugis-Makassar: From Indigeneous to Religious Practices**

Religion is an important element that determines the identity of a society. Therefore, the acceptance of Islam as a Bugis-Makassar religion is a negotiation between Islam and local beliefs. There are two issues that need to be addressed in relation to the first negotiations between the Buginese-Makassarese and the

<sup>33</sup> "Clifford Geertz," in *Key Thinkers in the Sociology of Religion*, 2014; Clifford Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," in *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion*, 2013. 1-176.

<sup>34</sup> Irwan Abdullah, "Penggunaan dan Penyalahgunaan Kebudayaan di Indonesia: Kebijakan Negara dalam Pemecahan Konflik Etnis," *Antropologi Indonesia*, No. 66 (2014).

<sup>35</sup> Emile Durkheim, "The Elementary Forms of Religious Life," in *Social Theory Re-Wired: New Connections to Classical and*

*Contemporary Perspectives* ed. Wesley Longhofer, Daniel Winchester (UK: Routledge, 2016).

<sup>36</sup> M. Amin Abdullah, "Religion, Science and Culture: An Integrated, Interconnected Paradigm of Science," *Al-Jami'ah* (2014).

<sup>37</sup> Abu Hamid, "Semangat Islam dalam Kebudayaan Orang Bugis-Makassar," *Jurnal Jaffray* 4, No. 1 (2006): 16.

<sup>38</sup> John MacCunn, "Religion and Politics," in *Edmund Burke: Appraisals and Applications*, 2017. 281-290





Muslims before officially embracing Islam in the early 17th century. First, negotiations carried out by Bugis-Makassar traders with Muslim residents when migrating. Second, the negotiations that took place within the South Sulawesi region through Muslim traders who had settled in Makassar since the mid-17th century. This is necessary in order to investigate the existence of Buginese-Makassarese who embraced Islam before Islam was officially accepted by the King in 1605.<sup>39</sup>

From the negotiation process that made the Bugis-Makassar people accounted for 90 percent more embraced Islam. They embraced Islam obediently in terms of belief. Although the Bugis-Makassar people in practice have not fully implemented the teachings of Islam perfectly, but they are reluctant to say that it is not Islam.<sup>40</sup> Those who are in this category make Islam more in their hearts and minds.<sup>41</sup> Perhaps, because of that reason, there are still some of them who still practice the belief in Atorilong. The Makassar Bugis always think of Islam, but the practices in the pillars of Islam are still difficult to do perfectly. Various symptoms about their responses to their natural surroundings and belief systems indicate negotiations in religious practice. This state of society, in Chabot's terms, calls it a religious community, which is a community formed based on certain objects of worship by people who live in one area.<sup>42</sup>

Adherents of Islam are usually united by a brotherhood of fellow Muslims (*ukhuwah Islamiyah*) which makes Muslims one brother to another Muslim. Most likely this is what underlies the tendency of the Bugis-Makassar people to form a supra-ethnic Bugis-Makassar entity that is getting stronger as a fellow Muslim

in South Sulawesi.<sup>43</sup> These different ethnicities will be happy to introduce themselves to outsiders as "Bugis-Makassarese". Although the penetration of Islamic teachings has been going on for a long time in South Sulawesi in accordance with the search above, traditional belief still persists in most of the Bugis-Makassar traditional communities. The traditional beliefs they believe in. Thus, the religious reality of the Buginese-Makassarese is actually far more complex than that picture. On the one hand, Islam has indeed become a part and is present in so many aspects of the life of the Bugis-Makassarese people. This can be seen in the practice of worship, Muslim names carried, there are many mosques and Islamic educational institutions such as madrassas, Islamic boarding schools, Islamic universities, etc., as well as various other forms of institutions. However, on the other hand, in their worship practices there are still many elements of pre-Islamic beliefs that still remain. For example, community rituals, their belief in pre-Islamic myths, offerings to heirlooms and sacred sites, and the presence of a number of bissu priests who still continue to play an active role. In fact, all these elements are very contrary to the teachings of Islam they profession.

Therefore, until now the continuity of the practice of Haji Bawakaraeng is a form of religious negotiations and beliefs of the Bugis-Makassar people who are constructed with Islamic teachings.<sup>44</sup> This ritual is more identical with Islamic teachings, although it is still full of syncretism practices between Islamic and pre-

<sup>39</sup> Pelras, "Religion, Tradition, and the Dynamics of Islamization in South Sulawesi"; Abdullah, "Islamisasi di Sulawesi Selatan dalam Perspektif Sejarah."

<sup>40</sup> Hasse Jubba, Ahmad Sultra Rustan, and Juhansar Juhansar, "Kompromi Islam dan Adat pada Praktik Keagamaan Muslim Bugis di Sulawesi Selatan," *JSW: Jurnal Sosiologi Walisongo* (2018). 137.

<sup>41</sup> Abu Hamid, "Semangat Islam dalam Kebudayaan Orang Bugis-Makassar," *Jurnal Jaffray* (2006).

<sup>42</sup> Andrew Williams, "Spiritual Landscapes of Pentecostal Worship, Belief, and Embodiment in a Therapeutic Community: New Critical Perspectives," *Emotion, Space and Society* (2016).

<sup>43</sup> L. Andaya, "The Bugis-Makassar Diasporas," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1995). 1226-1227.

<sup>44</sup> Pabbajah et al., "Pilgrimage to Bawakaraeng Mountain among the Bugis-Makassar in Indonesia: A Contestation between Islamic Identity and Local Tradition." (2021) 179.







Islamic teachings.<sup>45</sup> In this case it is classified into two types: esoteric syncretism and practical syncretism. The category that can be included in the category of esoteric syncretism is the teachings of the flow of beliefs that originate from the early period of Islamization, which is spread through mostly oral texts (although there are a few written ones) by the followers of these teachings which among others are among the nobility Luwu 'or in the Tolotang tradition in Sidenreng<sup>46</sup> and the Ammatoa tradition in Kajang.<sup>47</sup> This local belief is sometimes associated with sacred places like Mount Bawakaraeng in Gowa or Bulu 'Iowa in Amparita (Sidrap). A number of esoteric texts, which were profoundly saved by its adherents, contain teachings that consecrate Islamic Sufism with the concept of God (theology) and concepts of the pre-Islamic Bugis-Makassar universe.

In the practice of negotiation, the Bugis-Makassar people run it openly, even though many are opposed by adherents of fundamentalist Islamic teachings. Negotiations practically do not have a particular concept formulation. One can only draw conclusions about the underlying concepts by observing a variety of Bugis-Makassar practices, such as life cycle rites, rites related to agriculture, house construction, boat building, fishing, and medical rites. These practices are actually contrary to Islamic teachings, because they tend to treat spiritual entities (to *alusu*) and supernatural entities (to *tenrita*) as intermediaries between humans and God. The implications of polytheism of these practices are not always realized by those who carry them out. Some practitioners of syncretism practically regard to *'alusu* and to *tenrita* as gods or spirits of ancestral, some consider them to be *jinn* and

angels. Although Islamic teachings believe in *jinn* and angels, their purpose is not to be worshiped. Remnants of the habit of worshipping ancestors or continuing worship of ancestors, we can still see the practice to this day.<sup>48</sup> Like, rice offerings at the new house construction rites and porridge offerings at the Ashura celebrations, but in the ceremonies of death there are no remains of pre-Islamic practices. It's just that the pilgrimage to the tomb of certain figures believed to be an intermediary between humans and God is still widely practiced.

### Conclusion

The arrival of Islam in an area, not only changes the people's perspective on religion, but also forces indigenous traditions to adapt to Islamic teachings. This study shows that the Bawakaraeng tradition which is practiced by some communities in South Sulawesi is a form of Islamic construction on the original tradition. This is supported by the arrival of Islam in South Sulawesi, which is diverse and dynamic, which the local population has responded to with adaptation. So that in religious practice it tends to show a shift from the indigenous traditions to the religious practices. In other words, old traditions and religious activities are often practiced simultaneously socio-cultural activities due to the ongoing Islamic construction.

The relation between religion and culture is increasingly intense and interesting to be investigated along with the development of social and religious practices of the people in Indonesia. The concept of construction used in this study makes it possible to see how religion influences the traditional practices of local communities in South Sulawesi. In this case, Islam as a divine religion is able to penetrate

<sup>45</sup> Andik Wahyun Muqoyyidin, "Dialektika Islam dan Budaya Lokal Jawa Andik," *Ibda, Jurnal Kebudayaan Islam* (2013). 1-18.

<sup>46</sup> Hasse Jubba, Mustaqim Pabbajah, Zaenuddin H. Prasodjo, et al., "The Future Relations between the Majority and Minority Religious Groups, Viewed from Indonesian Contemporary Perspective: A Case Study of the Coexistence of Muslims and the Towani Tolotang in Amparita, South

Sulawesi," *International Journal of Islamic Thought* (National University of Malaysia, 2019). 13-23.

<sup>47</sup> Samsul Maarif, "Ammatoan Indigenous Religion and Forest Conservation," *Worldviews: Environment, Culture, Religion* 19, No. 2 (2015): 144-160.

<sup>48</sup> J. Stephen Lansing et al., "An Ongoing Austronesian Expansion in Island Southeast Asia," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* (2011). 262-272.





indigenous practices and beliefs. The religious attitude of some South Sulawesi's people is not only holding strong the teachings of their religion (Islam) or *Usul al-Din*, but also mixing them with pre-Islamic beliefs that are not fully in accordance with Islamic teachings, even tend to be different. However, of the two elements there are also beliefs with varying degrees of acculturation and Austronesian cultural heritage which are much older and which have a significant influence. In the end, as a form of construction, in the practice of ritual traditions of the Bugis-Makassar people show the construction of Islamic elements of pre-Islamic local beliefs that are negotiating with each other.

The limitation of this study lies in the relatively small data used as the object of study using a descriptive qualitative analysis approach. In addition, this study focuses on only one local community in South Sulawesi, namely the Bawakaraeng community, while there are still many communities that have similar characteristics both in Sulawesi and other regions in Indonesia. Therefore, it is still very possible to conduct further comparative studies with a more contextual concept approach. Thus, the existence of local communities is not only mapped as the diversity of the Indonesian nation, but also provides recommendations in the formulation of national policies that do not conflict with local interests.

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