

CHAPTER FOUR

The Ideological Dimensions of Disputes over Religious Practices in Cikoang

In this chapter I will examine certain current religious arguments over popular beliefs and practices of the Muslims of Cikoang. In Cikoang there are many scholars and teachers constituting religion as a definable sphere of knowledge and practice, with the people identifying themselves with one of two chief religious orientations. The first is that of the so-called 'Cikoangese' (Mak. *tu Cikoang*; In. *orang Cikoang*) consisting of the Sayyid and Jawi people, but practically grouped as one social unit through the relationships of Sayyid patrons and Jawi clients, with their similar long-standing socio-religious practices discussed in the previous chapter. They identify themselves as those who affirm long-standing religious practices inherited from Sayyid Jalaluddin and his successors while associating themselves with a specific school of Islamic institutions.

Those of the second orientation have come to be known as 'outsiders' (Mak. *tu pantara*; Ind. *orang luar*). As mentioned earlier, this category may also include some Cikoangese themselves, both Sayyid and Jawi. I use the term 'outsiders' to refer to those who argue against the distinctive Cikoangese festivities of Maudu' and Pattumateang. For the main, they have obtained their religious knowledge through modern educational institutions such as those owned by the

organisation Muhammadiyah¹ and they include those who have graduated from other networks of schools and associations supported by the Islamic modernist movement.

Here in this second part of the study I group the two clusters of Muslims into the categories of 'traditionalists' and 'modernists'.² The Cikoangese tend to regard themselves in most respects as traditionalists, to the extent that their religious specialists (the Sayyid, along with a small number of Jawi) perpetuate their traditional knowledge of beliefs and practices and counter any kind of criticism from outsiders. On the other hand, the adherents of the modernist movement may reside both in or beyond the village of Cikoang. These are mostly said to be non-Sayyid, with a small number of Jawi and Sayyid who have graduated from educational institutions outside Sayyid control.

In terms of the present analysis, I propose a way of viewing the typical roles of the two groups as they have been identified and expounded upon by Makassar scholars in particular and by Indonesian scholars in general. The two categories have also frequently attracted internal discussion, not only in Cikoang but also in Ujung Pandang and Jakarta, which constitute the three regions of Cikoangese residence.

My fieldwork was longer in Jakarta than in Cikoang and Ujung Pandang. I stayed in Jakarta for more than two months out of the four months of my gathering of data because it was there that I had more access to a number of Sayyid who were facing religious criticism from non-Sayyid people: not only from non-Sayyid Makassarese but also from other Indonesians – Javanese, Betawi, Sundanese and Minangkabau – who personally supported the modernist movement. Some Sayyid experienced opposition directly, while others heard it reported by their elders. Some had had personal experience of the religious debate with the Muhammadiyah in Cikoang and Ujung Pandang regions as well.

In the following discussion we shall see how these Cikoangese protect their identity, even as it changes within the context of their social relations with other Muslims in Jakarta. The basic aim is to explore the extent to which the Cikoangese in Jakarta maintain adherence to their religious practices in the face of the challenges of the modernists.

1 'One of the most important Muslim social organisations in Indonesia in the prewar period, perhaps until the modern time. It was founded in Yogyakarta on 18 November 1912 by Kyahi Haji Ahmad Dahlan in response to suggestions made by his pupils. Its aim was the spreading of Islam among the population and the promotion of religious life among its members. For this purpose it was to establish educational institutions, *waqf* (charities), mosques and published books, brochures, newspapers and periodicals.' Noer 1973: 75.

2 I have adopted these useful terms from the perspective of John R. Bowen's study in the Gayo highlands; they may have different manifestations in the context of Cikoang and other communities, as Bowen has acknowledged (Bowen 1993).

And changes have taken place, in part due to the small numbers of the Sayyid population in the region, which is the reverse of the situation in Cikoang. At present many young Cikoangese receive their devotional learning from other domains, which has broadened their religious horizons (see Table 5 below). Consequently, there is both space for religious reform and a new appreciation of their traditions by young Cikoangese which is flexible and tolerant. Even so, these changes may bring only variations – without radical implications – for the authenticity of their traditions. In Jakarta, specifically in Kelurahan Penjaringan situated in North Jakarta, I chose as my population sample Luar Batang, one of Kelurahan Penjaringan's two hamlets, the other being Muara Baru.

Table 5: Sayyid population by class in Luar Batang hamlet, Kelurahan Penjaringan, North Jakarta, 1996

Variable	Number	Per cent
Sayyid Karaeng	2	0.4
Sayyid Tuan	31	6.4
Sayyid Daeng	14	2.9
Non-Sayyid peoples (the Jawi and other Makassar from Turratea regions, Takalar and Jeneponto).	438	90.3
Total	485^a	100

^a The total 485 is taken from Kantor Kelurahan Penjaringan Jakarta Utara (1996).

I was able to explore the extent to which one of the largest modernist organisations, Muhammadiyah, managed to interact socially with the Cikoangese in this area. It is my purpose here to reach a general understanding of religious beliefs and proper practices constructed and debated by these two categories of Muslims.³

Traditionalists versus modernists

When I first arrived in the Makassar settlement in the Kelurahan, or sub-district, of Penjaringan, North Jakarta, I had not intended to explore religious arguments between traditionalists and modernists. Instead, I had planned to observe how the Makassarrese there maintained their kinship system after a long

3 I prefer to use the terms 'beliefs' and 'practices' rather than adopting Kluckhohn's (1965: 45–79) 'myth' and 'ritual' because, according to the two groups of Muslims, there is no valid separation between the Islamic doctrines they embrace and the practices they perform. For them, there is unity in faith and action: their practices are an expression of their faith, or what Graham (1983: 59) viewed as 'a symbolic articulation of Muslim ideals and values'. Rippin (1990: 99) also observed a lack of mythological sense in any of the Muslim rituals; they are 'an expression of an individual's piety and obedience to God's command and an indication of the person's membership within the Islamic community'.

period of emigration from home. Yet the ongoing debate between these two groups of Muslims soon drew me to discover the substance of the two camps' opposing religious orientations.

On a November day in 1996, when beginning to collect my census, I dropped by a branch office of Muhammadiyah located in the centre of the hamlet of Luar Batang. I was curious about the extent to which Muhammadiyah had managed to survive in the very typical Cikoangese area, whereas in Cikoang itself Muhammadiyah had never been able to put down roots, because of a strong resistance by the local people (see below). Pak Darul, who is the Deputy Chairman of the Muhammadiyah sub-branch founded in 1979, admitted to me:

Here (in Luar Batang) in order not to be rejected, we never present any of the Muhammadiyah attributes in approaching the Cikoangese. We facilitate classes open to children only (mostly the children of the Cikoangese) for practice in reciting the Qur'an and the teaching of religious studies. Children are easier to teach than their parents, who are already too fanatical about their traditions. We hope that these children will have a better knowledge of their religion in the future.

Pak Darul then introduced me to one of his former students who is now very keen to support the modernist movement of Muhammadiyah. Pak Darul's acknowledgement above, and several interviews conducted with him after that, brought me to two conclusions: first, that the Muhammadiyah never put their views into public contest with the Cikoangese; second, because neither of the two parties is brave enough to criticise the other openly, it being a very sensitive matter, they seem to live in harmony. However, the two camps' opposing ideas over what constitutes Islamic belief and how religious practices should be carried out became apparent when I conducted a series of confidential interviews, projective tests and other psychological testing methods on a number of members of the two groups (see Keesing 1982: 31). The ethnographic data presented here are a result of that research.

Before I explore the views of the modernists, it needs to be pointed out that within the traditionalist group itself there also exists an argument between the Sayyid, who hold religious authority, and the Jawi people. Early research (see Hisyam 1985) showed that this debate is a result of the patron–client relationship between them. This long-standing relationship has practically always benefited the Sayyid. With their economic, traditional and religious authority, the Sayyid present themselves as being more honourable and as having higher moral worth than the Jawi. In return, according to the Jawi people I spoke with, the daily actions of the Sayyid are expected to be exemplary. As descendants of the Prophet, the Sayyid should behave in a manner similar to his life. Yet in reality,

say the Jawi people, many Sayyid are habitually the same as themselves – less pious Muslims. It was not uncommon for the Jawi and the outsiders to mention this matter to me – but they did so in private.

The Sayyid principally base their view of proper conduct on the scriptures of the Qur'an and Hadith or accounts of the Prophet's behaviour. However, according to the Jawi, there are Sayyid who also transgress certain prohibitions, while always, the Jawi argue, excusing their conduct in ways in which fundamentally run counter to the teachings of Islam and to common sense. One Jawi told me:

I found one Sayyid who was drunk on alcohol, and when I asked him why he drank (because Islam forbids alcoholic beverages) he replied, 'I am a Sayyid and a descendant of the Prophet, my blood is pure. Whether I am drunk or not, it does not matter, I will stay clean from sin.'

This is one among numerous other examples which lead the Jawi to question the origins of the Sayyid as true descendants of the Prophet. Such doubt, and many other criticisms which I heard voiced, indicate that some Jawi have been moved either intentionally or unintentionally to support the modernist movement.

And yet it is a fact that the Sayyid rely on the Jawi in a different form of dependency, that is, for their religious domination. Without the Jawi in subjection to them the religious legitimacy of the Sayyid becomes less powerful. The Sayyid need the support of the Jawi for the maintenance of their integrity. The relative numbers of the Sayyid population can also be another parameter of the lessening of Jawi subjection to the Sayyid. Since the proportion of their population is much smaller in Jakarta than in Cikoang, the Jawi in Jakarta have had far greater freedom in their religious activities, so that the Sayyid are no longer the only religious specialists accessible to the Jawi.

Nevertheless, as Hisyam (1985) observed, this doubt about Sayyid origins and their religious licence has not affected the belief of the Jawi in the teachings of the Sufi Tarekat Bahr ul-Nur and in their honouring of the Prophet. Enthusiasm for celebrating the Maudu' festival is still very much alive among them. The Jawi only expect consistency in the everyday speech and actions of the Sayyid as their religious specialists.⁴

Another factor giving rise to religious argument is the fact that among the Jawi there are a number who have experienced wider horizons. This group of educated Jawi, along with Muhammadiyah in general, challenge the provenance of the Sayyids' Islamic beliefs and practices. Yet official or institutional attempts to criticise openly the teachings of traditionalists are rare. Rather, debates arise in private contexts. This is so because critics are in fear of violating the well-

4 See Hisyam (1985: 28–30) for a discussion of other reasons for the conflict.

being of the social body as a whole. Meanwhile, it is the teachers, scholars and students of educational institutions who are mostly *tu pantara*, or outsiders, who have produced scholarly written criticisms.⁵

The main principle of the modernist position is the belief that each individual Muslim should take responsibility for understanding the scriptures, the Qur'an and Hadith. In their religious practices, all Muslims, traditionalists and modernists alike, always recognise that the Syari'at and the scriptures are the God-prescribed 'path' for humans to follow. These are the centre of their faith and the source of the doctrines and duties that all good Muslims must try to observe and apply in their daily conduct. In relation to the mystical beliefs of *tasawuf* and the Tarekat Bahr ul-Nur, modernists do not agree with such practices, which focus unduly on the Prophet Muhammad (cf. Schimmel 1985). They see most Sufi teachers as giving an exaggerated image of his character. Modernists make clear that the axis of Islam is not the figure of Muhammad; rather, it is the message that God sent to humankind through him, whether collected as the Qur'an or embodied in his 'statements' and 'actions' recorded in the Hadith.⁶ In other words, modernists agree that it is understandable if Muslims are fond of praising the Prophet because he is the father of the *ummah*, the Muslim community, but what is most important is to what extent Muslims appreciate and put into practice in their daily lives the messages revealed by God.

In addition, say the modernists, despite every religious matter having its own justification in scripture, we should use our power of reason. We should critically observe every religious practice. We can use other written religious texts for reference, but they are applicable only to the extent that they clarify what already appears in scripture. Changing what scripture reveals or practising what scripture has never ordered is perceived as heretical innovation, called in Arabic, *bid'ah*. For this reason, the modernists stress the importance of correctly interpreting scripture.

In so doing, continue the modernists, should there be those in doubt about one single statement of scripture, we need reliable scholars to prevent them from interpreting freely on their own (see Bowen 1993). Modernists often quote the Prophet Muhammad to the effect that 'anyone who performs what I never give

5 On the celebration of Maulid in Cikoang, see Ahmad 1979/1980; Gassing 1975; Malik 1997. All of the writers are graduates of the State Institute for Islamic Studies (IAIN) of Ujung Pandang.

6 John Bowen (1993: 22) explains: 'the reports (Hadith) were written down only after they had been transmitted orally across several generations, and religious scholars have evaluated them in part by scrutinising the reliability of each link in the chain of transmission. Deciding on the correctness of a particular religious practice often turns on the reliability – itself to be judged from the moral character of each transmitter.' See also Juynboll (1983) and Fischer and Abedi (1990: 95–149).

as an example, the reward of his or her doing is refused'. Thus a person may do everything as he or she wishes, except where it is unlawful in Islam or without prophetic precedent to do so.

The traditionalists also stand for what they feel is right in principle from the scriptural sources. They often justify their customary beliefs and practices by referring to the Hadith traditionally recorded by past scholars. In the series of interviews which I held with Cikoangese traditionalists, I was personally impressed by their ability to justify their practices. They appeared to be well equipped in their knowledge of scripture. Many of them – almost all Sayyid and a small number of Jawi – are familiar with Qur'anic verses and Hadith and know how to recite them, mostly in Indonesian and Makassarese. Yet this knowledge tends to be limited to certain matters, such as the grounds for conducting the Maudu' festival.

Such differences in the interpretation and elucidation of the texts of the Qur'an and Hadith adopted by these two groups of Muslims serve their opposing positions. For the modernists, scripture may have only one set of conventional interpretations. These are the vernacular renderings called *tafsir*, which contain interpretations of and commentaries of scripture pioneered by later scriptural scholars (Ar. *mufasssir*). The most popular source used by the majority of today's Muslims, both Sunni and Shi'i, is the highly influential 30-volume *Fi Zilal al-Qur'an* (In the Shadow of the Qur'an) by the Egyptian thinker Sayyid Qutb (d. 1386/1966) of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood (see Ayoub 1984: 7).

On the other hand, the traditionalists rely on the interpretations of the Qur'an and Hadith inherited from religious specialists of the more distant past, which have been handed down orally from generation to generation. The traditionalists faithfully perpetuate the sayings and actions of the earlier scholars and feel isolated from their comrades when they no longer show appreciation of the precedents of old. The bottom line is that the utilisation of *tafsir* is the concern of the modernists only, so that the traditionalists have come to conceive of *tafsir* as a symbol of the modernist movement.

Many times during my fieldwork I heard the opinion by the modernists that most scriptural references cited by the traditionalists are, in modern scholarly terminology, *da'if*, 'weak', and sometimes even *maudu'*, 'false', being based on an unreliable or a non-conventional understanding. For instance, one of the Hadith which I collected from the traditionalists states: 'The Prophet Muhammad said: someone is not yet regarded as among the true believers before he loves me more than he loves himself, his parents, his children and his descendants.' According to the interpretation of the traditionalists, in order to show love and admiration to the Prophet, Muslims are obligated to celebrate the day of his

birth. In weddings and the Pattumateang, or ritual purification of dead souls, for example, the traditionalists prefer to perform Barazanji, songs of praise, to the person of the Prophet over recitation of the Qur'an.

In addition, both modernists and traditionalists seem to consider the ongoing debates between them to arise from different Islamic schools of thought (Ar. *madhhab*), which they both legally adopt. We know that the majority of Indonesian Muslims follow the Madhhab Safi'i, a Sunni law school which counsels reliance on the collective practices of Syari'at (the Qur'an and Hadith). The traditionalists of Cikoang adopt the Madhhab Ahl ul-Bait (School of Members of the Prophet's House, i.e. his descendants), which stresses the knowledge of *tasawuf* via the Tarekat Bahr ul-Nur. One Sayyid Daeng explained to me:

We (the Sayyid) are more interested in studying *tasawuf* (rather than Syari'at) because it is the essence of Islam. *Tasawuf* for us is like the extracted rich milk of the coconut fruit (In. *santan*), while Syari'at is just like its outer husk (In. *sabuk kelapa*). It is the *santan* which is the core of the coconut and not the *sabuk kelapa*.

Traditionally, knowledge of *tasawuf* is transmitted orally by an *anrongguru* to the *ana'guru*. It was only recently, in 1996, that Maluddin Daeng Sikki, head of the al-'Aidid Organisation of Makassar recorded the doctrine in writing.

However, both groups have come to suggest that Muslims should attempt more to rise above conflict. *Khilafiyah*, or different interpretations of scripture over specifically detailed problems, should never be contested, but rather their variety must be understood as *rachmat*, God's mercy. Although this latter statement, pushed harder by the traditionalists, is reluctantly tolerated by the modernists, it has currently become a unifying cry for Muslims in discussions of religious life in Cikoang.

The religious orientations of the traditionalists

As we saw earlier, the teachings of Sayyid Jalaluddin al-'Aidid were continued by his children and a number of his students such as the historical figures Hapeleka, noted for his memorisation of the Qur'an and Sayyid Abdullah As-Saqqaf (or Asseggaf). In particular, Hapeleka recorded the details of Sayyid Jalaluddin's doctrine in specially written prayers called *jikkiri* (Mak.; from Ar. and In. *zikir*, remembrance) covering the celebration of the Maudu' festival and supplying the religious grounds of it. These Jikkiri were collected in a book known as *Bayanul Bayan* and signed by Sayyid Jalaluddin himself in 1032 AH/1632 CE (see Nurdin et al. 1977/1978: 38; Hisyam 1985: 19). The manuscript is still kept

in Eastern Cikoang, in Kampong Lakatong (see maps on page 18 of this volume) under the guardianship of the descendants of Hapeleka. It cannot be disclosed to any unknown or unreliable people, because of its sacredness.⁷

Despite the fact that, as Hamonic (1985) has argued, there is a group of people in Cikoang who consciously consider themselves to be Shi'i Muslims, a large part of the religious doctrines circulating in Cikoang are based on the cosmological conception of Nur Muhammad, the Divine Light of Muhammad coeval with creation, which is not a specification of the doctrine of the Shi'ah as such, but of *tasawuf*, both ideologically and terminologically speaking. According to my findings, the Cikoangese also do not traditionally celebrate the martyrdom of Husein on the 10th day of Muharram as do other Shi'i Indonesians, such as takes place in the *tabot* festival held in Bengkulu and certain Minangkabau areas of Sumatra. This is what the traditionalists of Cikoang believe:

We (the Sayyid) consider ourselves as followers of the Shi'ah in terms of our marriage policy, *kafa'ah*. This system is essentially viewed as Shi'ah, whereas other beliefs and practices are Sunni, while the Maudu' festival alone is the Cikoangese typical ritual. We are not able to reproduce exactly the doctrine practiced in Iran (a Shi'ah state) such as in terms of leadership (i.e. the Imamate or rule by learned clergy) which should be both secular and under ritual chiefs, because we cannot impose our expectations on the society where we reside. We tend to assimilate, that is how we introduce Islam to the local people; we marry the local women, then Islam is introduced to them.

This acknowledgement would seem to be disingenuous, because in fact the Sayyid dominate the current administration of the Cikoang bureaucracy; for example, the head of Mangarabombang district, a higher authority than the Cikoang village head, is genealogically a Sayyid Karaeng (see Diagram 2).

The question of Shi'ism is not the main concern of the modernists; rather it is the method in which the traditionalist ritual practices are conducted which the modernists, for the most part, take issue with. Hence I am more concerned with how the Cikoangese Muslims decide their methods of understanding doctrine in relation to the Maudu' festival, rather than arguing whether or not Shi'ah ideology either underlies or is superimposed upon the religious orientation of the Muslims of Cikoang.⁸

For the Sayyid, Tarekat Bahr ul-Nur is another name for the doctrine of Nur Muhammad that the light of Muhammad's prophecy was coeval with the creation of the Qur'an and with creation itself. Taught by Sayyid Jalaluddin

7 Karaeng Sikki informed me that an attempt had been made to photograph this core manuscript of the Tarekat Bahr ul-Nur. When the film was printed it was blank. References which I use here are from derived sources owned by Karaeng Sikki.

8 Compare Hamonic 1985: 180.

and his successors, it serves as the primary ground of the religious orientation of the traditionalists. They maintain that this *tarekat* originates from their Madhhab Ahl ul-Bait, and to counter modernist criticism, they emphasise their religious practices as the valid enactment of the Madhhab Ahl ul-Bait.⁹ In terms of the beliefs and practices of Tarekat Bahr ul-Nur, if we enquire as to why a certain teaching is set out in a particular way (especially in relation to the Maudu' festival) the traditionalists say: 'We repeat the old stories in the way they were told to us and with the words we ourselves remember.' Their defence obeys the idea of *taqlid* in Islam. Strictly speaking, *taqlid* refers to the uncritical acceptance of legal and theological decisions of a teacher or teachers, or simply the unquestioning following of tradition. It is anathema to the modernist position. 'To follow *taqlid* is *bid'ah*, it is heretical innovation in religion', say the modernists, since in *taqlid* there is no attempt on the part of the traditionalists to refer to scripture for validation or clarification.

The modernists, in their opposition to *taqlid*, emphasise the exercise of individual reason, called *ijtihad*; that is, the process of checking and rechecking the interpretation of scripture used to justify a particular practice, rather than blindly following earlier sayings and actions of the elders. The modernists maintain that every Muslim should understand and implement Islamic teachings by using *ijtihad* if capable of doing so; if not, a Muslim then exercises a so-called *ittiba'* – literally 'following'. *Ittiba'* means accepting every religious decision of recognised scholars and then adopting such judgments after carrying out a critical observation of the *dalil*, or scriptural evidence from the Qur'an and the Hadith (see Adams 1933).

Before embarking on to a full understanding of the Tasawuf Bahr ul-Nur, say the traditionalists, the *ana'guru*, or students from among the Sayyid and the Jawi must have passed a series of basic prerequisites set up by the teacher, the *anrongguru*; as one *ana'guru* told me:

We must adhere faithfully by offering something in exchange for the religious lessons given by an *anrongguru*. It is these duties which prove an *ana'guru's* loyalty. When these duties are not properly met, an *ana'guru* is considered to be a traitor to his *anrongguru* and is not entitled to obtain further teachings, which in turn disvalues him even in his worldly life.

The reason for such discipline is that the Tarekat Bahr ul-Nur is the core and the most difficult module in the teachings of the Madhhab Ahl ul-Bait. The doctrines of the Madhhab Ahl ul-Bait are not formally provided in any specific place of study, unlike a common school of today in which academic

9 *Ahl ul-Bait*, the members of the Prophet's house comprise the five persons of his immediate family: Muhammad, Fatimah, Ali, Hasan and Husein. By extension, it embraces all descendants of these (the Sayyid). See Nurdin et al. 1977/1978, op. cit.; and Hisyam 1985, op. cit.

activities run systematically and are based on a clearly defined curriculum. Rather, the *ana'guru* must make their way to the residence of their *anrongguru*, wherever they might live. Long ago, instruction might also have taken place in traditional colleges, which the Dutch closed down during the colonial period for fear of them threatening their presence in the region. In modern Cikoang the teaching process is still run informally, sometimes secretly, though there has been a recent attempt to re-establish formal institutions, as we shall see further below.

As this study points out, the most obvious occasion of traditional visitation is that of the Maudu' festival, when *ana'guru* from all parts of Indonesia gather collectively in the house of their *anrongguru* from the 10th of the month of Safar to the 10th day of Rabi'ul Awwal of the Islamic calendar. This is the month of preparation for the Maudu' festival, Bulan Pannyongko (see Nurdin et al. 1977/1978; cf. Hisyam 1985: 59 and see Chapter Five below).

Progress in understanding along the path of the *tarekat* depends on how frequently an *ana'guru* visits the *anrongguru*; the more frequent the visits the more advanced the comprehension of the body of doctrine. In addition to this, the *anrongguru* are considered to be the best people to take charge of every religious practice conducted by their *ana'guru*, such as in the celebration of marriage, of Maudu' and of funeral rites. It is through this kind of relationship that the process of teaching and studying takes place; for example, on one occasion in a series of interviews with Sayyid Maluddin Daeng Sikki (Karaeng Sikki), a family of *ana'guru* came to visit Karaeng Sikki, their *anrongguru*, to consult upon the best day for their daughter's betrothal ceremony. The process of this consultation continued until the very last days of the wedding festivities of the family's daughter.

The relationship between *ana'guru* and *anrongguru* is very paternalistic, creating an almost fanatical loyalty among the *ana'guru* towards their master. Thus, an *ana'guru* may defer to a particular *anrongguru* only and not to others, because the '*anrongguruship*' is seen as individual and bound by religious devotion. According to one informant, the '*anrongguruship*' is not an inherited rank; rather, it is attained through the experience of the learning and teaching process. In reverse, failure to progress in the learning process is considered a possibility for all *ana'guru*, even for the children of the *anrongguru* himself.¹⁰

10 In reality it is only boys who are entitled to obtain religious lessons in Cikoang tradition. As one Syarifah told me, the daughters have to obtain their knowledge of religion within the family or from outside educational institutions.

In my research I chose Karaeng Sikki, chair of the al-'Aidid Organisation of Makassar as the *anrongguru* from whom I obtained the basic principles of the teachings of the Madhhab Ahl ul-Bait. The doctrines of Islamic knowledge among the Sayyid solidified around three elements to form a supposedly indivisible entity (compare Nurdin et al. 1977/1978). They are 1) *fiqh* (jurisprudence) as set out in the book of *ash-Sirat al-Mustaqim* (*The Straight Path*) from which the students were taught about *assare'a*, Islamic law and its applications; 2) *ushul al-din* (theology) relating to the *Sharaf ul-Anam* (A Story of Maulid), *Akhbar al-Akhirah* (*News of the Hereafter*) and *Aqidat ul-'Awam* (*A Beginners' Guide to Faith*) written in the Arabic alphabet, but put into in the Makassarese language by Sheikh Nur ul-din Ibnu Aly Azzanjy al-Raniri in 1634; and 3) *tasawuf* (mysticism) set out in a book called *Sharab al-'Ashikin* (*Imbibements of the Seekers*) written by Hamzah Fansuri of North Sumatra.¹¹

In the third stage the students are trained in *attareka'* (Mak; In. *tarekat*) or the Sufi disciplines of *hakikah* (the final destination of obedience), *ibadah*, in which the students perform certain rituals and *zikir*, the remembrance of God by chanting names of Allah (In. *asma-asma Allah*). The main objective is to develop the *bathin*, or inward realm of the soul, which then results in *ma'rifat* (gnosis), *musyahadah* (testimony), *mukasyafah* and *mahabbah* (the loving of Allah). At the completion of this stage, the imparting of discourse on esoteric matters related to the creation of the universe and the figure of the Prophet Muhammad marks the mastery of the preceding steps. Those successful in all stages are entitled to become an *anrongguru* and to be honoured as such in their community. Their numbers may include Jawi as well as Sayyid.¹²

The traditionalists of Cikoang believe in the creation of the universe from a Bahr ul-Nur, a Sea of Light, which is also identified as the Nur Muhammad, the Divine Light of Muhammad. The Nur Muhammad is equally the beginning of the creation of all living things (see further Chapter Five). Following on from this, the Tarekat Bahr ul-Nur directs itself toward the cosmological relation between the Prophet Muhammad and Allah, with the theosophical goal of understanding the true essence of the Prophet and the final assumption that Allah as Creator and Muhammad are essentially one (see Hisyam 1985).

The belief in the cosmological pre-existence of Muhammad before his actual physical birth was first interpreted by Sahl al-Tustari, an Iraqi Sufi (d. 896 CE), and subsequently developed by his student, al-Hallaj, and other Sufi scholars

11 On the latter two writers see Kreemer (1922–1923) *Atjeh*, 2 vols. Leiden: E.J. Brill; cf. Bowen 1993: 44.

12 The number of Jawi, however, who become *anrongguru* is relatively small and their students tend to be drawn from fellow Jawi. No certification used to be given on the completion of studies; however I observed that there was a growing concern among the Sayyid to produce their doctrines in written form, to be distributed to all Sayyid families. Such documents have provided my main reference in the discussion of traditionalist orientations.

and writers and systematically postulated by the Sufi scholar Ibn 'Arabi. It was later to penetrate the teachings of *tasawuf* in the Muslim world. Ibn 'Arabi was most responsible for the emphasis on the role of the divine light (see Schimmel 1985). His concepts increasingly became the basis of poetic statements of Islamic piety, in which Muhammad is described as the highest-ranking man on earth, the *insan al-kamil*.

This same concept has come to underpin the social hierarchy maintained among the traditionalists of Cikoang: the Sayyid, as religious specialists, are descended from the Prophet Muhammad, himself originally of Nur Muhammad, whereas the Jawi originated from the Prophet Adam, who was created from the Nur Muhammad. This view is given a more general encryption in the phrase '*Muhamma' manggena nyawaya, Adam manggena tubuwwa*' ('Muhammad is the source of spirits, *aba ul-arwah*, while Adam is the source of bodies, *aba ul-basyar*') (cf. Hisyam 1985: 23). Within *tasawuf*, *al-arwah*, the inward realm of *bathin*, is also given more value than *al-basyar*, or the outward realm of *lahir*.

The clear implications of the Tarekat Bahr ul-Nur are that honour is to be accorded to the Sayyid as both religious specialists and as descendants of the Prophet. This then forms the basis of all social relationships between the Sayyid and Jawi people; there is an interdependent relation between the *ana'guru* (who are mostly the Jawi, along with children of the Sayyid) and the *anrongguru* as teachers drawn from the Sayyid and a very small number of the Jawi. The pursuit of traditionalist religious, ritual and cosmological teachings still lies in the hands of the Sayyid.

The field notes which I obtained on this subject were directly completed by the Sayyid themselves, which then enabled me to come to the understanding of why the Maudu' festival is considered to be the main pillar of Islamic law and is particularly meaningful for traditionalists (see further Chapter Five).¹³

Muhammadiyah: The modernist movement

Within South Sulawesi at large, the region which takes in Cikoang, the practice of *tasawuf* was historically more popular than the study of Syari'at or Islamic law (see Safwan and Kutoyo 1981). The popularity of *tasawuf*, although essentially concerned with the belief in the oneness of God, is believed by many observers

13 I personally thank Sayyid Maluddin Daeng Sikki for providing all literature derived from the manuscripts and I am indebted to other traditionalist scholars: Ir. H. Najamuddin Harun al-'Aidid, Abdullah Syahrani al-'Aidid, Syakhirul Najamuddin al-'Aidid and Tuan Hasan al-'Aidid, who informed me on the key concepts of the Tarekat Bahr ul-Nur.

to be accounted for as a remnant of the pre-Islamic religion of the local people. This critical point was later taken up by the modernists along the following lines.

Before Islam was adopted, the Bugis-Makassar people believed in One God called Dewata Seuwae in Bugis and Karaeng Kaminang Kammaya in Makassarese (see Chapter Two). Following the successful efforts of Datok ri Bandang (one of the three proselytising Datok) to introduce the concept of Islamic *tauhid* or monotheism, the Bugis-Makassar people began to embrace Islam. The formerly local term *pangngissengang* (inner or spiritual power) was turned to Islamic use, both culturally and terminologically, so that it is commonly known in *tasawuf* as *ilmu laduni*. At present, the process of studying *tasawuf* still incorporates many local usages, such as the gaining of invulnerability against lethal weapons, fire and so forth under the guidance of a charismatic *anrongguru*.

Such mystical phenomena continued uninterrupted until approximately the first years of the 20th century. During the last years of the 19th century, according to the historical research done by the Department of Education of Indonesia (1980–1981), the Muslims of Makassar had little formal knowledge about their religion. Islam was ascriptive in nature. The children became Muslims because their parents were Muslims. There was little effort to study the complete teachings of Islam in any ordered way.

In the first half of the 20th century, however, a larger number of religious teachers made the great pilgrimage to Mecca and returned from studying there. They brought home not only the title *al-Hajj* or *Haji*, but also the inspiration of the writings of the founding fathers of the modernist-reformist movement, the peripatetic Jamaluddin al-Afghani (1839–1897) and Muhammad Abduh (1849–1905), a famous *ulama* in Egypt, as well as the influence of the strict revivalist Saudi Wahhabi movement at Mecca. These returning religious scholars then influenced the religious orientation of the Makassarese.

Echoes of modernist thinking became more clearly heard in Makassar after the official founding of a branch of the organisation of Muhammadiyah (Followers of Muhammad) in the region on 4 April 1926, only five years after Kiyai Haji Muhammad Dahlan founded the central structure in Yogyakarta on 18 November 1912. The first chairperson of the branch in Ujung Pandang, with its 17 members, was Haji Yusuf Daeng Mattiro. This organisation adopted the methods of modern management in running the educational institutions, which it then set up. Its main aim was to purify the Islamic faith of local 'variations' and to turn the non-Islamic elements still existing in such practices to the central tenets of the Qur'an and Hadith. In general studies of Indonesian Muslims, the Muhammadiyah is seen as the reform movement that most strongly objected to mystical practices and targeted the *tarekat* (see Shihab 1995).

The strength of the Muhammadiyah lay in its system of schools. The educational institutions it provided in Ujung Pandang were initially run informally as *pengajian*, or religious study sessions, and were conducted circulating from private home to home. When a young *ulama* from Minangkabau named Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah, more commonly known as HAMKA, came to Ujung Pandang, he saw that the *pengajian* needed to be institutionalised. The result of his proposal was that in 1932 a *sekolah tabligh*, or missionary school, was founded and soon changed to Muallimin Muhammadiyah (Muhammadiyah Schooling) in 1934.

Once this school took shape, local Makassar Muslims became familiar with the use of classrooms, writing boards and classes run through regular programs. The teachers came mostly from the Minangkabau region of West Sumatra and cities such as its capital Padang. Their students were instructed in preparation to become Islamic teachers and missionaries, *muballigh*, and on graduating were placed within the region of South Sulawesi. On October 1945, during the revolutionary era of the struggle for national independence, a Perguruan Islam Datumuseng (Datumuseng Islamic Institution) was set up. Among its founding fathers were Haji Mansyur Daeng Tompo, Haji Gazali Syachlan, Haji Darwis Zakariah, Haji Muhiddin Daeng Sikki, Luthan Muhammad and others. The reformist organisation of Persis (In. Persatuan Islam; Muslim Unity) set up in Bandung in 1923 also offered its assistance. The Datumuseng institution was founded upon two motivations: first, to show opposition to the invaders, Japan, who had closed down several institutions owned by Muhammadiyah under their tight censorship, and the second was to encourage all Muslims to join the fight against colonialism.

After Indonesia gained its independence in 1945, the primary objectives of Perguruan Islam Datumuseng and Muhammadiyah were to find ways to purify the faith of local Muslims. In reality, many Muslims *were* keen practitioners of Islam: they performed the five daily prayers, attended the Friday congregations (Ar. *jum'ah*), fasted during the holy month of Ramadhan and displayed a real piety, but at the same time they took part in pre-Islamic ceremonies, such as making offerings to sacred places or objects. Many still believed in the reality of the pre-Islamic God. As another example, they regularly visited sacred tombs and brought offerings, not for the sake of the souls of the deceased, but to ask for prosperity, health and other good fortune. So the Makassar Muslims tended to meet their Islamic duties while still participating in local customs (In. *adat*; Mak. *ada* and Bug. *ade*).¹⁴

14 The most popular tomb visited in Gowa and in Makassar as a whole is that of Syekh Yusuf, known as Ko' banga. He was one of the most outspoken teachers against local practices at the height of the kingdom of Gowa. Interestingly, in contemporary Gowa the local people visit his tomb for exactly the same purposes.

In regard to their religious beliefs, the Makassar Muslims of South Sulawesi, particularly those in the rural areas, were always mindful that the Qur'an and the Hadith were the sources of their religious doctrines and duties. They were the centres of their faith, which all good Muslims must try to observe and apply in their daily activities. Almost all traditionalists are able to recite some Arabic texts relevant to their needs. Since childhood, many had been familiar with the reading of the Qur'an aloud, even though they did not know the literal meaning or the proper application of the texts. In their religious practices they preferred to recite, instead of the Qur'an, the Barazanji, or the special Arabic prayers offered on the birth of the Prophet. These were also used on various occasions such as at the celebration of weddings, the Maudu' festival and for Pattumateang, or ritual purification. At other times, a more Islamic part was simply added on to an otherwise almost completely traditional ritual. This became the main issue leading to the dispute between the Muhammadiyah and the local traditionalist Muslims in modern Ujung Pandang and South Sulawesi at large.

Within the religious environment of Cikoang, as is freely admitted by the modernists, it has been difficult to make inroads. The Muhammadiyah was never able to found a sub-branch, in the face of strong opposition by the local people. When asked about this, an informant told me, 'It is impossible to found a Muhammadiyah sub-branch in this region (Kampong Cikoang), because all Muslims here are adherents of the traditionalist organisation NU (Nahdhatul Ulama; Revival of Religious Scholars) – not organisationally, but practically.' Another informant told me that there was a Muhammadiyah sub-branch located in another village called Lengkese, in the same district as Cikoang. Yet, as he went on:

The majority of its members derive from outside regions, because none of the local people are brave enough to become members. Even the chairperson of the Muhammadiyah sub-branch, Daeng Sila asked my grandfather, who was a Sayyid, to lead the funeral rituals for his father. This was because he showed respect more to my grandfather than to other non-Sayyid religious specialists.

So for the local people the Muhammadiyah, as an institution, is seen as an outsider group intolerant of their traditions, whereas the Sayyid are still held to be the religious specialists on whom they are emotionally and intellectually dependent. The following cases illustrate such phenomena, as told by my informants in Jakarta.

Case 1. Time: Unrecorded

One day a Muhammadiyah lecturer delivered a religious talk (In. *ceramah agama*) in a mosque in Cikoang. He was immediately asked by the congregation (In. *jama'ah*) to leave the mosque and never to come to Cikoang again if he still wanted to live, because he had offended the local people by criticising the Maudu' festival.

After this incident, no members of Muhammadiyah ever again tried to approach Cikoang for the purpose of preaching their doctrines. It is on the recommendations of the local people that the authorities have not allowed the organisation to found a sub-branch in the region. Yet the Sayyid residing outside Cikoang but forming their own exclusive community also face a number of problems in maintaining their long-standing religious practices.

Many Sayyid in Jakarta narrate the following two events which occurred in Ujung Pandang over their relatives' conflict with those who supported Muhammadiyah.

Case 2. Time: Late 1970s

A Sayyid Karaeng named Karaeng Sarro, living in Banta-Bantaeng, Ujung Pandang near the mosque of emigrant Muhajirin had an argument with a member of Muhammadiyah who also lived in the region. The conflict arose when that person criticised the Maudu' festival while delivering a *khotbah*, or Friday sermon, in the mosque. Upon hearing it, Karaeng Sarro immediately stood up and told that person never to criticise the Maudu' festival unless he wanted to put himself at risk. Karaeng Sarro continued that a religious talk should give people happiness and coolness and not the reverse of a feeling of offence. The conflict was not yet over, because Karaeng Sarro asked several of his relatives in Cikoang to help him patrol that person's house for a number of weeks.

This is only one among many similar cases experienced by Sayyid living outside Cikoang. It indicates the strong fanaticism of the Sayyid in countering outside criticism of their religious traditions.

The case below also interestingly demonstrates the attempt of one Sayyid who challenged his own Sayyid traditions.

Case 3. Time: Unrecorded

A Sayyid graduating from IAIN (Institut Agama Islam Negeri; State Islamic Institute) in Ujung Pandang who supported the modernist movement used to be keen to challenge the religious orientation of his Sayyid relatives, notably regarding *kafa'ah*, Maudu' and Pattumateang. Facing strong resistance from his relatives he then had to move to another city, Palu (the capital of the province of Central Sulawesi), to save his life and that of his family. After several years his wife divorced him and he became an object of ridicule by his Sayyid relatives. One Sayyid then reconfirmed the danger of challenging the long-standing traditions of the Sayyid.

Yet this does not mean that once the Cikoangese (particularly the Sayyid) have studied at the IAIN or similar modernist schools they will automatically support the modernist movement. Cases like the above are, I think, rare and not a general reflection of all Cikoangese. I found a Sayyid Tuan who is a graduate of a typical *pesantren*, or religious boarding school of the modernists, and he remains proud of his Sayyid traditions. He told me, 'We are well prepared to critically accept what we are learning at school. If my teacher criticises the Maudu' festival, I will then think that he or she does not understand its significance for the Cikoangese. So it is just easy not to be influenced.'

The many cases exemplified by the above have forced the Muhammadiyah to be more cautious in its religious mission. Pak Syamsuddin, a non-Cikoangese from Makassar who has experienced the fanaticism of the Sayyid, and is the chief director of the Muhammadiyah branch in Luar Batang hamlet, Northern Jakarta, said:

We tend not to use a Muhammadiyah 'cloth' (the Muhammadiyah label) when approaching the Cikoangese, because it has become the most hated word for them. We participate in their ritual practices, as individuals, in order to show our solidarity. If I am asked to deliver a speech, I never mention any of the Muhammadiyah doctrines. Since we have practised that method over the last ten years, we have been trusted to become the religious instructors (In. *guru mengaji*) of their children. We are now considered to be as capable as their own religious specialists (the Sayyid) and we hope that we can teach the younger generations about the basic teachings of Islam.

He then recounted a number of ceremonies conducted by the Sayyid to which he was invited as a guest. This method is applied generally in educational institutions of the Muhammadiyah organisation. Students are being taught how to construct a bridge between a complete implementation of Islamic law and the students' previous beliefs about Islam (Shihab 1995). In other words, the

Muhammadiyah is trying to approach the local Muslims by a gentle means and at the same time is searching for compromise solutions. I interviewed a student from a Cikoangese family named Nurdin. He said:

After studying here (with the Muhammadiyah) I became more acquainted with the teachings of my religion. For example, I had known how to recite *Surah al-Ikhlās* (one of the shortest chapters in the Qur'an emphasising the oneness of God) since I was a little kid, but I never knew its location in the Qur'an and its proper meaning until I became a student there.

And after realising the benefit of studying at Muhammadiyah schools he registered his own children in their educational institutions.

Within the arguments around religious life in Cikoang, the modernists have given both oral and written explanations of their position, most of them advocating that the beliefs and practices of the traditionalists be purified. Their reasoning is quite clear: although the traditionalists regard themselves as being adherents to Sunnism, in the Maudu' festival especially they embrace an exaggerated version of the Prophet Muhammad as somehow supernatural. In order to show their love and admiration for him, the traditionalists see his character imbued in the actual material objects used in the composition of the rituals. The modernists, however, have learned not to impose their expectations on such elements of the traditionalist practices, which they do otherwise criticise. Rather, they must attempt to find other personal ways to bridge the gap between themselves and the traditionalists.

This text is taken from *Maudu': A Way of Union with God*,
by Muhammad Adlin Sila, published 2015 by ANU Press,
The Australian National University, Canberra, Australia.