

CHAPTER FIVE

The Festivals of Maudu’ and Pattumateang

This chapter describes in detail the celebration of the festivals of Maudu’ and Pattumateang from the perspective of the traditionalist Muslims of Cikoang and explores elements of both to which the modernists raise their objections. While there is some participation in the ceremonies by the modernists, I discuss the extent to which the two groups differ in their performance. Each of the parties justifies its own practice with reference to the same sources, while remaining different in spirit and application.

Maudu’: Celebrating the birth of the Prophet

Maulid or Maulud (from the Arabic root meaning ‘birth’) is a holiday occurring on the 12th day of the month of Rabi’ul Awwal of the Islamic calendar to commemorate the Prophet Muhammad’s birth. It is a yearly festival celebrated in many Muslim regions, with religious gatherings associated with feasting and the reciting of *barazanji*, or special prayers praising events in the life of Muhammad.¹

1 The Arabic source book of Barzanji tells the legends of the Prophet, collected and edited by Ja’afar ibn Hasan al-Barzanji (d. 1766, Medina), a *qadi*, or judge, of the Maliki law school. The ceremonial recitation is known in the Makassarese context as *a’rate’*. See Carl Brockelmann 1898–1902, 1937–1942. Z: 384, S2: 517; Knappert 1961: 24–31; also see Schimmel 1985 on the Maulid.

For the Muslims of Cikoang, Maulid, locally more commonly called Maudu', is a feast day.² It is said to have first been conducted in the region on 8 Rabi'ul Awwal 1041 AH (1620 CE) on the initiative of Sayyid Jalaluddin and I-Bunrang and was performed in I-Bunrang's house. On that occasion Sayyid Jalaluddin asked I-Bunrang's aid to provide 10 of litres of rice, 40 chickens and 120 chicken or duck eggs for 40 guests. For this first Maudu' there were 40 Kanre Maudu', or Maudu' meals, presented in bamboo baskets. In the following year, on 12 Rabi'ul Awwal 1042 AH, the number of participants had increased greatly. Every participant, representing his household, was therefore asked to prepare a Kanre Maudu'. This was known as Maudu' Ca'di (In. Maulid Kecil or Small Maulid) prepared under the guidance of an *anrongguru*. The contents of the Kanre Maudu' consist of four litres of rice, one chicken, one coconut and at least one egg for each member of the household.

From around 1050 AH the number of participants in the festival continued to increase and the Maudu' needed to be held in a larger location, later called Maudu' Lompoa (Mak.; In. Maulid Besar or Great Maulid). It is alleged that it was both Sayyid Umar and Sayyid Sahabuddin, the sons of Sayyid Jalaluddin who created the Maudu' Lompoa.

In modern Cikoang the preparation of Maudu' Ca'di remains intact as the opening program of the festival. From the 12th to the last days of Rabi'ul Awwal, all members of the al-'Aidid clan are given the opportunity to arrive in Cikoang village prior to the celebration of Maudu' Lompoa, which forms the culminating point of the whole ritual. The households preparing the Kanre Maudu' come from many different parts of Indonesia: Jakarta, Kalimantan, Sumbawa, Palu and other areas, such as Selayar, Buton, Luwu, Mandar and Kaili. Those who cannot come under constraints of time or money will donate to others making the journey. Thus the Kanre Maudu' are representative of all households involved with the celebration.

Once the *Maudu' Ca'di* is complete the *Maudu' Lompoa* begins and the households of the al-'Aidid clan gather publicly at the edge of the Cikoang river (Mak. je'ne Cikoang; In. Sungai Cikoang, see the maps on page 18 of this volume). Small boats called *julung-julung* are jammed together in pairs, in which the Kanre Maudu' are placed. The *julung-julung* are then set astride a real boat. According to my informant, the number of *julung-julung* indicates the number of marriages conducted throughout the year in the Sayyid families. The *julung-julung* are also called *bunting baru*, or 'newly married couples'. Karaeng Sikki explained to me the religious reason for using boats in the festival; he quoted the Prophet Muhammad to the effect that 'anyone who rides in the boat of the Ahl ul-Bait

2 Apart from my own observations, the following description draws on the book *Peringatan Maulid Nabi di Cikoang* issued by Kerukunan Keluarga Al-'Aidid and a long interview with H. Maluddin Karaeng Sikki.

(Household of the Prophet), his or her life will be pleasant in the Hereafter.' Karaeng Sikki interpreted this to refer to any couples whose marriage was based on the Sayyid marriage system of *kafa'ah*. They will remain as members of the Family of the Prophet and will have a place among the blessed.

The modernist Muslims agree with the celebration of the Maudu' festival as long as it is held for the purpose of introducing the Prophet's teachings, so that people become more acquainted with the doctrines. If such is the reason for conducting the Maudu', then it is *mubah* (Ar.) or of neutral value, neither forbidden nor prescribed in Islam. For the traditionalists, however, the Maudu' festival is the occasion for a high ritual meal of remembrance of the character of the Prophet.

Hisyam (1985) and Hamonic (1985) observed that the traditionalists of Cikoang believe that truly pious Muslims have the duty to pay respect to the Maudu' festival by celebrating it as lavishly as possible, while other religious practices, including the set five daily prayers, are accorded less priority. Another interesting point is that, for the traditionalists, participation in the Maudu' festival is regarded as having rewards equal to those of making the great pilgrimage to Mecca, the *hajj* (In. *naik haji*) which is the fifth and the last fundamental pillar of Islam. This understanding has had a wide impact on the socio-cultural development of Cikoang. Every activity of the community throughout the year is directed toward the Maudu' festival, reaching a peak between the months of Safar and Rabi'ul Awwal.

Nobody in the community will consciously go against these long-standing traditions without facing terrible obstacles. One *anrongguru* quoted a Hadith to me, saying 'Anyone who does not perform the Maudu' festival in the month of Rabi'ul Awwal, which is the month of the Prophet Muhammad's birth, will be cursed on the Qur'an and the Bible. While he or she walks on earth, they will be cursed by the earth as walking dogs and pigs.' The following local verses also strengthen this belief:

1. *Manna tena kusambayang, assalak a'maudukmamak, antama tonjarisuruga pappinyamang.*

Though I do not perform the salat prayers, as long as I perform the Maudu', paradise will be mine.

2. *Ka'deji kunipapile, assambayang na'mauduka, kualleangang a'mauduka ri Nabbia.*

If I am asked to choose between prayers and Maudu', I will choose Maudu' for the sake of the Prophet.

3. *Tassitaunga 'kareso, a'panassa pangngasselang, tena maraeng nakupa'maudukang ri Nabbia.*

Every year I work hard, collecting much money, for nothing but Maudu' for the sake of the Prophet.

4. *Tepoki memang bukunnu, akkareso bangngi allo, sollanna niak sallang nupa'maudukang.*

Let everything in our power, working hard day or night, contain something for conducting for Maudu'.

5. *Inakke kaniakkangku, I lalang ri anne lino, tena maraeng, passangali a'mauduk.*
My existence on this earth is but nothing, if not directed to Maudu'.

6. *Manna memangja kumate, susa tena la'busu'na kuparetonji, maudu'ku ri Nabbia.*

Even though I may lie dying, my last efforts would turn, to making my Maudu' for the Prophet.

7. *Balukangi tedonnu, pappita'gallangi tananu, nu' maudu' mamo.*

Let buffalo be sold, let the land be pawned, for the purpose only of Maudu'.

8. *Anngaipaka nuranggaselakamma, nupattaenai baran-barannu, naiya minne paggauskang kaminang mala'biri.*

Why do you nurse regret, on sacrificing your belongings, when this is the most honourable deed.³

According to my findings, this traditional belief is in fact not entirely universal among the Sayyid. It seems that among some members of the clan there are different interpretations of the significance of the Maudu' celebrations. This opposition, arising within the Sayyid community itself, is not commonplace, however. The numbers of those who have doubts about the significance of the practice are very small and what is more, the consequences of such an opposition, if expressed publicly, may bring down punishment from the wider Sayyid community, such as taunts or even killings (see Chapter Four).

So in reality, for the most part, the traditionalists' respect for the Maudu' festival runs deep. This is most apparent during the month of Rabi'ul Awwal, when no other religious practices, even due life-cycle rites, may be conducted.

3 Manyambeang 1984.

Bulang Pannyongko: The month of preparation

All participants of the Maudu' festival have one month in which to prepare their Kanre Maudu'. From the 10th day of Safar to the 10th of Rabi'ul Awwal, family members of the al-'Aidid clan gather, numbering 20 to 40 heads of households acting under the guidance of an *opua*, a Sayyid Karaeng. Representatives from among the household heads are then chosen to prepare Kanre Maudu' for all the family members they represent. Every family member, including children, must donate at least four litres of rice, one chicken, one coconut and one chicken or duck egg towards the making of the Kanre Maudu'.

According to my informants, during this month of preparation, the sanctity of the items must be preserved; for example, to keep them clean, the chickens must be put in a bamboo stockade for the whole month and only consume good food given by the owners, the Sayyid, until slaughter. The people in charge of the preparations must make their ablutions (Ar. *wudhu'*) – the same purification of the body with water as precedes the *salat* prayers. The women involved in the preparations must be clear from menstruation. Transgression against these rules will annul the whole preparation process (see Nurdin et al. 1977/1978). The participants should also be in a state of inner sincerity when they donate their belongings to make the Kanre Maudu', because the festival is also seen as a time of giving charity to the needy (Mak. *passidakkang*; In. *sedekah*).

Kanre Maudu': The Maudu' foods

Regarding the foodstuffs for the festival, after they are finished cooking, the ingredients of Kanre Maudu' – rice, chicken, coconuts and eggs – are placed into a number of bamboo storage baskets, locally called *bakul duduk*. The rice alone, however, must be only half-cooked (Mak. *nipamatarak*; In. *setengah matang*). It is the job of the people to whom the Kanre Maudu' are given who will cook the rice finally later on, so that it does not spoil before being consumed (see Manyambeang 1984). The chickens are fried with curry powder and placed in the *bakul duduk*. The cooked eggs are tinted with bright colours, often red, then are threaded on to a half-metre long thin stick and arranged in rows and circles on top of the *bakul duduk* (see Figure 9). The *bakul duduk* may also sometimes include sweet cookies and a selection of snacks.⁴

4 For more description of the making of Kanre Maudu' in Cikoang see Nurdin et al. 1977/1978; Harmonic 1985; and compare a similar set of practices in the Gayo highlands (Bowen 1993: 237–240).

The number of *bakul duduk* are then arranged on *bembengan* (Mak.; In. *usungan*) or wooden litters. The *bembengan* is quadrangle-shaped at its base, which is topped by a frame, a *kandawari* or another similar but smaller shape called *sulapa'*. The dimensions of the *bembengan* are made in size as to whether the Kanre Maudu' is for an individual or for a family. Finally, the *bembengan* are placed into a small boat, supported by four 1-metre-long poles, called *julung-julung* (see Figure 10).



Figure 9: The *kandawari* and *sulapa'* are put in a *bembengan*



Figure 10: The *kandawari* are put on top of the *julung-julung*

In order to understand how the Maudu' festival is organised within its ritual composition, let us begin with a mystical verse quoted from traditionalist teachings: 'Allah created the light of Muhammad unequalled in beauty. The *Nur Muhammad* resembled the body hair of a peacock, and then it was poured into a crystal glass and placed in *Shajarat ul-Yaqin*, the Tree of Faith' (H. Maluddin Daeng Sikki).

As we have seen earlier, the preliminary items of Kanre Maudu' consist of a number of live chickens. These symbolise both the peacock as a symbol of beauty (Ar. *jamal*) and the mercy inherent in the Nur Muhammad. The *bakul duduk*, being made of bamboo, are white and represent the crystal glass. The towering *kandawari* stands for the *Shajarat ul-Yaqin*. The decorative colouring of the items of Kanre Maudu' also reflect the perfection and beauty of the Nur Muhammad. The red and white eggs are a symbol of the spirits surrounding it. The brightly coloured sails decorating the boats symbolise the banners of al-Mu'minin (the Faithful of Islam) which will safeguard believers on the Day of Judgement (Ar. *Yaum ul-Masyar*). Fruits and plaited and woven materials illustrate prosperity, vitality and cheerfulness, welcoming the creation of the divine light of Muhammad and the creation of the whole universe. Thus, the celebration of the Maulid/Maudu' festival in Cikoang can be seen as a visual representation of the creation of Nur Muhammad and the Prophet Muhammad before his earthly existence.

In the course of the festival, the Kanre Maudu' are grouped and brought to the site of celebration at the edge of the Cikoang river (see maps on page 18 of this volume). This event is called 'the procession of the Kanre Maudu' (*anngantara kanre maudu'*). Now the Maudu' Lompoa of the Great Maudu' proper begins, when the *julung-julung* are set in place on the riverbank. At the Maudu' Lompoa held in 1996, there were 15 *julung-julung* in all, indicating that there were 15 *bunting beru*, or newly married couples, whose weddings had been conducted in the preceding year.

A'rate: Reciting the Barazanji

Once all the *julung-julung* have been assembled by the riverbank of *je'ne Cikoang*, the largest of them is chosen as a stage for the recitation of the Barazanji (Mak. *A'rate'*). Tens of *parate'*, or readers, seat themselves with crossed legs. Then for more than two hours the *parate'* recite the Barazanji, singly by turns and then in chorus. The Barazanji, also locally termed *jikkiri* or *zikir* from the terminology of Sufism, contain stories of the life of the Prophet Muhammad, re-modified, according to tradition, by Sayyid Jalaluddin himself (see Nurdin et al. 1977/1978; cf. Hamonic 1985).

Before the singing gets under way, all the owners of the Kanre Maudu' have been summoned to see the collection of the feasts. There are amusing moments as each owner exaggerates how fine his offering is and disparages those of other people. This occasion is called *a'ganda*, meaning 'multiplication', 'increment', or even 'exaggeration' (see Nurdin et al. 1977/1978). Arguments erupt over whose Kanre Maudu' is the best, which sometimes leads to mock physical fights, and each participant strives to plunge his enemy under the water of the Cikoang River. After this the participants change out of their wet clothes and return to join the ensuing programs without any hard feelings. After the *A'rate* the gatherings recite Shalawat, or blessings upon the Prophet and his family, as well as his close companions.

Pa'bageang Kanre Maudu': Distributing the food baskets

After reciting the Shalawat, all the guests invited by the Sayyid community – prominent intellectuals, heads of religious institutions from outside Cikoang, heads of surrounding villages, heads of districts and other distinguished people, along with all the participants – are served meals and drinks, which are not taken from the Kanre Maudu' but provided specially for the guests.

This stage is called the *pattoanang*, or reception. Then the Kanre Maudu' are distributed by the head Sayyid Karaeng of the festival in ordered stages – not to the participants, which is unlawful – but to a number of selected figures of prominence. This is called *pa'bageang* Kanre Maudu'.

First, the Qadhi', Islamic judges and the *imam*, the leaders of the communal prayers who are not from among the Sayyid community are presented with the Kanre Maudu' as gifts. The second group in the hierarchy of distribution are the *parate'* and the heads of nearby villages and heads of districts. Finally, the rest of the Kanre Maudu' are distributed to the crowd, mostly the poor. Lengths of fabric and unsown sarongs decorating the *julung-julung* also used to be distributed in the past, but are now collected and sold by the head of Mangarabombang district for financing the development of Kampong Cikoang (see Nurdin et al. 1977/1978). Therewith, all stages of the Maudu' festival are complete.

The modernists, debating the validity of Maudu', object to its interpretation as a ritual meal and an obligatory practice (cf. Bowen 1993). For them, its celebration was never commanded by Allah nor recommended by the Prophet Muhammad himself. According to one modernist scholar, the first Maulid festival was held by Sultan Salahuddin al-'Ayyub in 1187 CE, more than 500 years after the death of the Prophet, and was done for the purpose of raising the spirits of the Muslim soldiers fighting in the Crusades.

Popular commemorations of Maulid in Ujung Pandang and Jakarta, where most modernists reside, take the form of didactic lectures at which an *ulama*, or scholar, recounts the magnificence of the life of the Prophet from the time of his childhood as an orphan up to the events of his prophetic mission. These are held for the purpose of introducing the Prophet's teachings, so that people will become more acquainted with and remember the doctrine. Haji Malik, one of the most outspoken modernist scholars in Ujung Pandang, tends to stress the role of the Prophet Muhammad as an exemplary human figure. He and others believe that 'if the inclusion of any meal in the celebration is intended to be offered to the spirit of the Prophet, or even to represent his physical self, then it is *bid'ah*, a heretical and forbidden innovation.' This statement should be set against a real life event, as one Sayyid told me:

In the Maudu' festival of 1996, there was invited a Muhammadiyah Imam living in Ujung Pandang. When the Kanre Maudu' was distributed to him, he received it happily, he even took the biggest one. We sometimes laughed when we remembered that occasion, because we knew that Muhammadiyah members criticised the inclusion of food in the Maudu' festival, but they ate it when we gave it. That is hypocritical.

Opposed ideas about a proper way of conducting the Maudu' festival between modernist and traditionalist scholars rarely come into the public sphere, however. The modernists take part in the celebrations, but only as guests. This is not because they are not allowed to participate but, as was mentioned to me by one modernist, this is the most tactful way to show their disagreement.

Pattumateang: Purifying the deceased

According to the traditionalists, death is a matter entirely in the hands of Allah. It is one of the divine signs of God (In. *tanda-tanda kekuasaan Allah*), which no human being can predict.⁵ When its time comes, the only thing humans should do is to submit. Moreover, for the *anrongguru*, the religious specialists of the traditionalists, death is not the end but the passage into the next and eternal existence. It is yet another realm for humans to enter, called *alam barzakh*, a purgatorial period between death and Judgment Day, before entering the hereafter (Ar. *al-akhirat*; In. *alam akhirat*). The modernists agree with this doctrine. Pak Syamsuddin recited the verse of the Qur'an (QS 3: 185) which proclaims that 'every soul will experience death'.

According to the traditionalist point of view, death entails a further process of human interaction through which the dead are assisted by the living. Pattumateang, literally 'purifying the deceased' conducted after the burial service, is a means through which the living can transfer merit to the dead. Modernists object to this latter assumption by asking: 'How can the dead be responsive to what the living are trying to do for them?' The traditionalist argument is to do with proper practice and the salvationist intent behind it. They ask in return: 'What are the living supposed to do for the dead? What is the purpose of performing a particular rite for the dead?' (Compare Bowen 1993: 251.)

On a November day in 1996,⁶ in Tuan Kebo's house in the centre of the hamlet of Luar Batang, I met with a Makassar man named Pak Kadir, who excused himself from my interviewing to go and attend the Pattumateang of a Sayyid *anrongguru* who had died three days before. Before leaving, Pak Kadir accompanied me for a while to visit one Tuan Ridwan, who recounted the last conversation between him and the deceased Sayyid. Tuan Ridwan told me: 'Several days before that Sayyid died, I was told that I must prepare for his Pattumateang soon because he was to die in two days. After two days, death really did come to him. Is it

5 The others are birth (In. *kelahiran*), livelihood (In. *rezki*) and marriage partner (In. *jodoh*).

6 This account is taken directly from my field notes. It was Pak Kadir, Tuan Kebo's guest, who became one of my key informants during my stay in Jakarta and who introduced me to other Sayyid living in the district.

a coincidence? No, it is not, because I have previously experienced this kind of matter twice.' My Sayyid informant repeatedly said that death should not be sorrowful. Rather, it must be accepted as a natural disposition of humankind. What the living should do is to help the deceased pass to the *alam barzakh* peacefully, that is, by performing the ritual of Pattumateang.⁷

Pattumateang, or Attumate (Mak.), the purification of the departed, is conducted day and night for 40 days from the third night after the burial service. In the traditionalist perspective, the soul of the deceased will step over seven points of crossing, or cross-examination, all taking place at night in the 40-day-long journey, before it is entitled to enter paradise (see below). This cross-examination is locally called Bahrullah, from the Arabic for the 'Sea of Allah.'

The first crossing is on the third night, the second crossing is on the seventh night, the third crossing is on the 10th night, the fourth crossing is on the 15th night, the fifth crossing is on the 20th night, the sixth crossing is on the 30th and the seventh crossing is on the 40th night. The 40th and last night is said to be the point of determination as to whether the soul is to enter paradise or hell. Pattumateang is therefore compulsory because it is a means to help release the deceased soul smoothly through the crossing (see Manyambeang 1984).

There are elements in the Pattumateang practice to be performed by the family of the deceased, led by the deceased's *anrongguru* during life; these are *assurommacakanre sibokoi* and *appanaung panganreang segang katinroang*.

***Assurommacakanre sibokoi*: Recitations over the food**

On the third night after the burial service, which is the deceased's first journey in the *bahrullah*, the *anrongguru* guides the gatherings in the collective recitation of Shalawat and Taslim, phrases meaning 'Peace be upon Him' (the Prophet) as follows:

Allahumma shalli 'ala sayyidina Muhammadin nabi al-ummi wa 'ala alihi wa ashabihi wa salam.

God, call down blessings on our master Muhammad the unlettered prophet and on His family and companions, and greet them with peace.

7 Pak Kadir observed that there is a clear distinction between the Pattumateang held for the Sayyid and Karaeng and that conducted for ordinary Makassarese. If the deceased is Sayyid or Karaeng the body will be laid out, in state, as it were, in the front living room, the best room in the house, whereas if the deceased belongs to the lower orders the body will be placed in any of the rooms.

At the time of death agony, people in Cikoang will have recited the *talqing* (Mak.; Ar. *talqin*) a catechism intended to remind the dying person about the primary tenets of Islam and to help release the departing soul to be smoothly taken away by Malakul maut, the angel of death. According to the traditionalists, there will be two other angels, Mungkar and Nakir, whose task is to interrogate the deceased's soul in the *alam barzakh*. Dead Sayyid have nothing to worry about, say the traditionalists, because the two angels are also Sayyid.⁸

This occasion, called *assuromacakanre sibokoi*, means 'asking the living to recite over food for the deceased'. The traditionalists believe the recitation of Shalawat and Taslim are necessary in order to inform the Prophet Muhammad that one of his family, a member of the Ahl al-Bait has died. The gathering also collectively chants the Qur'an, known locally as *attadarusu* (Mak.; In. *tadarusan*) and more particularly the *Akhbar ul-Akhirah* (*News of the Hereafter*), a book telling the progress of the deceased from the time life is taken away to the journey to paradise. According to the traditionalists, the recitation of the *Akhbar ul-Akhirah* will help the soul of the deceased in successfully finding its way and it will not get lost. Throughout the 40 days and nights of this continuing ritual, the participants are served meals of food and drink by their hosts, the family of the deceased.

On the 40th and last night, the host must offer a sacrificed animal to become the deceased's 'vehicle' on its way through the seven crossings. The type of animal given is based on the level of the deceased's rank in society. If the deceased is from among the Sayyid Karaeng, his or her family must slaughter at least one buffalo, the most expensive sacrificial animal in the region. Nevertheless, this is only valid in normal situations. A chicken or a goat is acceptable when the family cannot afford a buffalo. A poor Sayyid Karaeng is allowed to have only a chicken sacrificed for him. The Sayyid do not, however, always match their economic capacities with rank or status levels in this matter.

So the traditionalists believe that the Pattumateang and the feasting assist the soul of the deceased to erase sins and to make the journey to paradise. The modernists, by contrast, object to the salvationist intention behind the reading of the Qur'an and so forth and the inclusion of food in the rituals. Pak Syamsuddin, for example, maintained 'it is *bid'ah* and pointless, if one intends to present the Qur'an verses recited for the sake of the dead'. He argued that no other person can erase the sins of the dead; it is only the dead who can be responsible for their own behaviour in life.

⁸ On the role of these two angels, see for Egypt, Lane 1860: 522–25; for Morocco, Westermarck 1926, II: 464–65; and cf. Bowen 1993: 255.

Popular ceremonies after the burial service conducted in Ujung Pandang and Jakarta are called *ta'ziah* (Ar.; 'times of remembering notions of death'). *Ta'ziah*, which are held for three to six nights, comprise a series of face-to-face lectures in which an *ulama* delivers religious talks (In. *ceramah agama*) encouraging all humankind to be in a state of preparation for death. At one of the *ta'ziah* I attended the *ulama* said; 'we, the living, during our lifetime should not waste time in pursuit of worldly things, because when death comes to us, the only thing we bring with us to face Allah is the account of our good deeds. So before death we should concentrate on good deeds (e.g. by helping the needy) as much as we can.'

During the *ta'ziah*, the hosts also often serve guests with food and drink. This is another cause for objection by the modernists, because according to Pak Syamsuddin, 'If the host provides food and drinks, that makes it a meal party and this is what Islam does not accept, because it will double the disadvantage of the deceased in the *alam barzakh*'. Bowen (1993) found that among the Gayo of Sulawesi that the consumption of food in the house of the dead is considered tantamount to corrupting away the food of orphans – meaning that the sins of this action will flow on to the dead.

***Appanaung panganreang segang katinroang:* Bringing down delicacies with a bed**

This comprises the last section of the Pattumateang, where all the participants, particularly those in charge of reciting Shalawat and Taslim, the Qur'an and *Akhbar ul-Akhirah* are given gifts in appreciation of their 40 days of attendance at the Pattumateang. The *anrongguru* receives the largest gift, because he will have played the most important role in the proceedings.

This occasion is called *appanaung panganreang segang katinroang* – meaning 'the offering of favourite food and that of the bed' – the bed stands for that which the deceased liked most during their lifetime, and is offered to the former *anrongguru*. The 'food' consists of a large cupboard containing food, cakes and desserts, while the 'bed' or household wherewithal is sometimes a new one, or at least the former bed of the deceased, together with its linen and pillows. All are presented to the deceased's *anrongguru*. This custom provides yet another cause for opposition by the modernists, on the reasoning that the awarding of gifts to the *anrongguru* is not necessary, especially if it comes at the expense of the grieving family of the deceased.

The arguments adduced by the modernists are based on the teachings of Imam Shafi'i, the founder of the Sunni Shafi'i school of law, with reference to a Hadith which says: 'If a child of Adam (a human being) dies, all but three of his or her good deeds are held above reckoning: charity given during his or her lifetime, applied knowledge and a pious child to pray for his or her sake.' One of my modernist informants, Pak Syamsuddin, said that if the deceased in his or her lifetime has made a donation, to the building of mosque, for example, the reward of that deed will continuously flow to the spirit of the deceased whenever the mosque is used for prayer or other religious activities. If pious children of the deceased recite prayers for the sake of their dead parents, God will unquestionably answer their prayers. Nevertheless, Pak Syamsuddin added, children cannot not erase the sins of their dead parents. The most they can do is ask God for His mercy.

It is these same three good deeds of one's lifetime, said the modernists – charity, useful knowledge and pious children who continue to pray for their dead parents – that will sustain the well-being of the deceased in *alam barzakh*. It is not sustained through the reciting of verses of the Qur'an under the guidance of the deceased's former *anrongguru*, nor the slaughter of a sacrificial animal for serving to the guests in the 40th night of the Pattumateang. Pak Syamsuddin then went on to criticise the expense borne by the family for the feasting:

It is supposed to be the remaining family members who are entitled to receive food from the guests, not the reverse. They are in mourning, they need both moral and material aid. How can one ask for food from those who are in need of help? It is corrupting.

On another occasion Pak Syamsuddin narrated to me his experience when he was invited as a guest to Pattumateang proceedings:

When the *anrongguru* who led the rite said 'let us state our intention that the meal we want to eat may scent the dead, so the dead will be at peace in the *alam barzakh*'. I said gently afterwards, 'Prayers are essentially for the meal that we were about to eat, because the prayers are said to be our expression of gratitude to God. So, may God shower us all (including the family members of the deceased) with His mercy.' A few of them nodded, indicating their agreement, but the majority of them just ignored it.

Pak Syamsuddin went on to explain to me that on every occasion conducted by the Sayyid to which he was invited, he tried by any possible means to translate the essential meaning and proper use of every prayer recited and of each scriptural text used, because for the most part the traditionalists do not know the 'proper' meaning and use of the Qur'anic verses.

Reciting the Qur'an for the benefit of the dead is a commonplace practice in Muslim communities. The modernists strongly object to the assumption that the living can send merit to the dead by performing the Pattumateang. As well, the modernists criticise the traditionalist practice of visiting the tombs of holy ancestors. The modernists also question the capacities of the *anrongguru* beyond the grave.

On the other hand, the traditionalists believe that because the bereaved family are in need of help to perform the prayers, a religious specialist is required and the best is the former *anrongguru* of their parents while alive. It should be noted clearly that this argument never develops into open conflict. One reason is probably because the modernists (mostly members of Muhammadiyah) actually rarely attend Pattumateang ceremonies. As one modernist put it to me, 'if we come we must eat and drink, and that is unlawful, so it is better not to come.'

Overall, the consequence of decades of such arguments over these issues is that many Cikoangese today, especially those residing in Jakarta, are wiser in terms of what is 'Islamic' about their long-standing festivities, particularly with reference to the sources of the Qur'an and Hadith. Despite their frequent reliance in Cikoang on religious practices of Maudu' and Pattumateang, the Sayyid in Jakarta are more flexible and have a different understanding about the grounds for performing the practices than those back in Cikoang. One Sayyid in Jakarta openly acknowledged to me that he personally criticised traditional assumptions, for example, that the Maudu' festival is the most rewarding religious practice in the eyes of Allah and that if one performs Maudu' he or she will be exempt from all other religious duties, including the five daily prayers and the pilgrimage to Mecca. He said:

Maudu' is a practice symbolising the holiness of the Prophet Muhammad. It is a medium of *dakwah*, so that people will be continuously reminded of the teachings of the Prophet and will copy his example. *Sembahyang* is also another religious practice. Both of these are symbols of devotion.

This Sayyid believed that his relatives in Cikoang were fanatical in following early sayings of the elders, without adopting a critical attitude to scriptural evidence (In. *dalil syar'i*). Yet his firm belief in the pre-existence of the Prophet Muhammad before the creation of the world (Nur Muhammad) and the possibility of the Sufi attainment of union with Allah (a la Tarekat Bahr ul-Nur) remained unchanged.

Another interesting point is that, in principle, Maudu' is said to be valid (In. *sah*) only if it is celebrated in Cikoang. Yet the Cikoangese in Jakarta are able to excuse themselves from coming to Cikoang for the celebration of the Maudu'. If they are under constraints of finance or time, those living in Jakarta

have no strict obligation to carry out the rituals. What they can do is to entrust to someone a sum of money for their relatives in Cikoang for the preparations. A Cikoangese calculated the sum of money he sent thus:

I spent roughly between Rupiah 700,000 and Rupiah 1,000,000 for my Maudu' obligations every year. It was a lot of money, but much cheaper than if I were to make the trip to Cikoang myself.

So the cost of travel back home can also become a convenient excuse for absence from the Maudu' ceremonies.

As for the ritual observation of Pattumateang, the Cikoangese in Jakarta depend on their *anrongguru*, whose residence may be in Kampong Cikoang or in Ujung Pandang. They do not ask their *anrongguru* to come to Jakarta unless they are financially capable of doing so. Those who cannot afford it will ask non-Sayyid religious specialists to proceed with their Pattumateang. Such arrangements suggest that the beliefs and practices of the Cikoangese bring obligations consequent to the power they create, but that they are also dependent on allocations of resources which may not be crippling. Commitments to and from the social body of Cikoang are on the whole very flexible.

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