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Michael Wood

ISLAMIC LAW VERSUS ADAT: DEBATE ABOUT INHERITENCE LAW
AND THE RISE OF CAPITALISM IN MINANGKABAU

Yasrul Huda

PATTUMATEANG AMONG PEOPLES OF CIKOANG,
SOUTH SULAWESI: A LOCAL PRACTICE OF MORTUARY
RITUAL IN THE ISLAMIC COMMUNITY

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Muhammad Adlin Sila

Pattumateang among Peoples of Cikoang, South Sulawesi: A Local Practice of Mortuary Ritual in the Islamic Community

Abstrak: Perbedaan dan perdebatan antara pendukung Islam reformis dan tradisional senantiasa menjadi isu menarik dalam kajian Islam Indonesia, meskipun tidak sedikit kritik telah dialamatkan pada pendekatan tersebut. Artikel ini adalah salah satunya. Artikel ini menggambarkan bagaimana perdebatan reformist-tradisionalis tersebut berlangsung lewat upacara *pattumateang*, praktik lokal ritual kematian dalam masyarakat Muslim di Cikoang, Sulawesi Selatan. *Pattumateang*, yang dilaksanakan setelah upacara penguburan jenazah, dipahami sebagai satu cara yang—melalui upacara ini—orang yang hidup dapat mengirimkan doa kepada orang yang sudah meninggal.

Pattumateang adalah salah satu praktik ritual Muslim tradisional di Sulawesi Selatan. Praktik ini menjadi sebab bagi pertentangan panjang dan tanpa akhir di antara Muslim Cikoang. Sebagian menolak konsep membantu orang yang sudah mati sebagaimana dituju oleh *pattumateang*. Maka, ritual *pattumateang* pun mekahirkan pembentukan dua kelompok yang saling berlawanan, yang mendukung dan menolak ritual tersebut.

Dalam masyarakat Cikoang modern, kontroversi atas ritual ini mengarah pada friksi antara orang-orang yang mendukung kelompok Muslim reformis, yakni Muhammadiyah, dan orang-orang yang tetap mengikuti *anrongguru* (mahaguru) lokal. Dalam artikel ini, dua kelompok berbeda tersebut dikategorikan ke dalam tradisional dan modernis. Kaum tradisional mengidentifikasi diri mereka sebagai orang-orang yang menerima berbagai praktik keagamaan yang diwarisi dari Sayyid Jalaluddin (Sayyid Jalal al-Din), nenek moyang masyarakat Cikoang. Mereka mempertahankan keyakinan dan praktik keagamaan tradisional tersebut serta melawan setiap bentuk kritik dari pihak luar. Sementara kelompok modernis kebanyakan bersandar pada pemikiran yang menekankan penafsiran rasional atas ajaran Islam.

Upacara *pattumateang* didasarkan pada anggapan bahwa kematian bukanlah akhir, melainkan satu tahap ke kehidupan selanjutnya, untuk masuk ke alam *barzakh*—secara literal berarti periode antara kematian dan kiamat sebelum masuk dunia akhirat. Sebagian masyarakat Cikoang percaya bahwa kematian merupakan bagian alami kehidupan. Apa yang harus dilakukan orang masih hidup adalah membantu orang yang meninggal melewati alam *barzakh* secara damai. Dalam kaitan inilah *pattumateang* menjadi sebuah keharusan. Praktik ritual ini dimulai dari hari ketiga setelah penguburan orang yang meninggal dan berakhir setelah empat puluh malam (hari). Selama ritual ini, masyarakat Cikoang menyelenggarakan pesta dan membaca *barzanji*. Semua ini dilakukan dengan tujuan menyucikan orang yang meninggal dunia tersebut.

Terdapat dua elemen utama dalam praktik *pattumateang* yang harus dilaksanakan oleh keluarga orang yang meninggal, dipimpin oleh *anrongguru* dari orang yang meninggal tersebut ketika dia hidup. Yang pertama adalah *assurommacakanre sibokoi*, yaitu membaca *shalawat* dan *taslim* secara bersama-sama, bertadarus *al-Quran*, dan membaca *akhbaru al-akhirah* (berita hari kiamat, sebuah buku yang menceritakan tentang orang yang meninggal dunia dari saat nyawa mereka diambil sampai perjalanan menuju surga). Selama empat puluh malam (hari) peserta upacara ini diberi makanan dan minuman oleh tuan rumah (keluarga orang yang meninggal dunia).

Kedua *appanaung panganreang segang katinroang*, di mana semua peserta *pattumateang*, khususnya orang-orang yang membaca *shalawat*, *taslim*, *al-Quran*, dan *akhbaru al-akhirah*, diberikan hadiah sebagai penghargaan atas kehadiran mereka selama empat puluh hari di *pattumateang*. *Anrongguru* adalah orang yang menerima hadiah paling besar, karena dia memainkan peranan paling penting dalam praktik keagamaan tersebut.

Kaum tradisional percaya bahwa *pattumateang* ini membantu jiwa orang-orang yang meninggal dunia dalam perjalanannya ke surga dan menghapus dosa-dosa mereka. Namun, kaum modernis sebaliknya keberatan dengan “misi keselamatan” di balik pembacaan *al-Quran* dan penyediaan makanan dalam praktik *pattumateang*. Kaum modernis melihat praktik Islam Cikoang masih mempertahankan ketaatan kepada tradisi lokal mereka, (*bid'ah*).

Karena kritiknya terhadap tradisi lokal ini, organisasi kelompok modernis Muhammadiyah tidak pernah bisa mendirikan cabang lokal di Cikoang, dan karenanya memiliki pengaruh kecil dalam masyarakat di sana. Sebaliknya, sebagian besar Muslim di Cikoang ini adalah pengikut NU (*Nahdlatul Ulama*). Bagi penduduk lokal, Muhammadiyah sebagai sebuah institusi, dipandang sebagai kelompok luar yang intoleran terhadap tradisi mereka. Sementara *anrongguru* dianggap sebagai pemimpin agama di mana secara emosional dan intelektual mereka menggantungkan pengetahuan dan bimbingan keagamaan.

Muhammad Adlin Sila

Pattumateang among Peoples of Cikoang, South Sulawesi: A Local Practice of Mortuary Ritual in the Islamic Community

الخلاصة: إن الخلاف والمجادلة بين أنصار الإسلام التجديدي وبين أنصار الإسلام التقليدي دائما يكون قضية مثيرة في البحوث الإسلامية في إندونيسيا، رغم هناك الانتقادات الموجهة إلى هذه الطريقة، من بينها هذه المقالة. تصف لنا المقالة وقائع المجادلة بين الاتجاه التجديدي والتقليدي التي تجرى بينهما في حفلة باتوماتيانج *pattumateang* هو طقوس محلية للموتى في المجتمع الإسلامي في شيكوانج Cikoang سولاويسي الجنوبية. تنعقد باتوماتيانج بعد ما دفن الميت على أساس الرأي أنها وسيلة للحى لإرسال الدعاء إلى الميت.

باتوماتيانج من طقوس المسلمين التقليديين في سولاويسي الجنوبية التي تؤدي إلى الخلاف الطويل ودون النهاية عند المسلمين في شيكوانج Cikoang. ويرفض البعض على فكرة لمساعدة الميت بمثل ما تهدف إليه باتوماتيانج فيسفر عنها ظهور الفئتين المتخلفتين بين المؤيدين والمعارضين للفكرة المذكورة.

وهذا الخلاف في المجتمع الشيكوانجي Cikoang يؤدي إلى ظهور الفرقتين، فرقة المؤيدين للفئة الإسلامية التجديدية أي الجمعية الحمديّة، وفرقة المتابعين للمعلم المحلي *anrongguru*. وتم التصنيف للفرقتين في هذه المقالة إلى أنصار الإسلام التجديدي وأنصار الإسلام التقليدي. يعترف أنصار الإسلام التقليدي بأن ما يقومون به من طقوس دينية هو موروث من السيد جلال الدين، وهو من أجداد المجتمع الشيكوانجي. وهؤلاء يدافعون عن ذلك الاعتقاد وهذه الطقوس الدينية ويقاومون على أي انتقاد عليه من الآخرين. بينما نجد أن أنصار الإسلام التجديدي يعتمدون كثيرا على الآراء التي تقوم على التفسير العقلي للتعاليم الإسلامية.

تقوم طقوس باتوماتيانج على أساس الاعتقاد بأن الموت لم يكن نهاية، لكنه مرحلة للحياة التالية للدخول في عالم البرزخ يعنى الفترة الزمانية بين الموت ويوم القيامة. ويرى بعض المجتمع الشيكوانجى أن الموت يمثل جزءا طبيعيا للحياة. أن ما يمكن عمل إنسان حي فيه هو مساعدة الميت لتجاوز عالم البرزخ سلميا. من هنا أصبحت شيكوانج Cikoang من اللازم. تبدأ هذه الطقوس بعد دفن الميت بثلاثة أيام وتنتهى بعد أربعين يوما. وفي هذه الفترة يقيم المجتمع الشيكوانجى بحفلات وقراءة البرزنجى التى تهدف إلى تطهير الميت المذكور.

توجد العنصران فى طقوس باتوماتيانج الذان يجب على عائلة الميت أن يقوم بهما بإشراف المعلم المحلى للميت أثناء حياته. والعنصر الأول يتكون من قراءة الصلوات والتسليم جماعة، وتدارس القرآن وتلاوة أخبار الآخرة (وهو كتاب يحتوى على أحوال الميت مبتدئا من قبض روحه حتى رحلته إلى الجنة). وتكاليف لإقامة هذه الحفلة لمدة أربعين يوما بما فيها إعداد الطعام الشرب للحاضرين تقع على حساب عائلة الميت.

والعنصر الثانى أن هذه الحفلة "باتوماتيانج" تخصص الهدايا تكريما للحاضرين التى اشتركوا فيها أربعين يوما، خاصة للذين قرأوا الصلوات والتسليم والقرآن وأخبار الآخرة. يتلقى المعلم المحلى أو المشرف على الحفلة أكبر الهدايا والتقدير، لأنه يلعب دورا مهما فى هذه الطقوس الدينية.

يعتقد أنصار الإسلام التقليدى بأن باتوماتيانج تقدم عوناً لروح الإنسان الميت فى رحلته إلى الجنة وتطهره من الذنوب. لكن يرى أنصار الإسلام التجديدى عكس تلك الآراء، ويعترضون على رسالة النجاة وراء قراءة القرآن وإعداد المأكولات فى حفلة باتوماتيانج. ويلاحظون إن الممارسات الدينية لهؤلاء التقليديين فى هذه المنطقة ما تزال متأثرة ومنفذة للتقاليد القديمة (البدع) فى حفلة باتوماتيانج.

من أثر هذه الانتقادات على التقاليد المحلية، لن تستطيع المنظمة المعاصرة "جمعية المحمدية" أن تفتح فرعا لها فى هذه المنطقة، بالعكس أن معظم المسلمين فى شيكوانج Cikoang ينتمون إلى جمعية ههضة العلماء NU (Nahdlatul Ulama). وينظر هذا المجتمع إلى المحمدية كمنظمة غريبة وغير متساحة بتقاليدهم. ويعتبرون المعلم المحلى أو المشرف الدينى فى رأيهم عالما دينيا حيث يعتمدون عليه شعوريا وثقافيا فى العلوم الدينية ونصائحها.

Background

According to the teachings of Islam, the time of one's death is something which only Allah knows and controls: no single man can predict his or someone else's death.¹ When its time comes, the only thing man can do is submit to the will of Allah. For the *anrongguru* (Ind. *maha guru*), religious leaders of the Cikoang people, death is not the end but the passage into the next life; it is another realm for humans to enter the *alam barzakh* - literally the period between death and Judgment before entering the hereafter. The other two worlds prior to *alam barzakh* are the mother's womb (Ind. *alam kandungan*) and the perishable world (Ind. *alam fana*) respectively.

Pattumateang, conducted after the burial service, is conceived as a means through which the living can transfer blessings to the dead. This practice has been the cause for an everlasting debate among Muslims in Cikoang. Some object to the concept of being able to help the dead and call on followers to accept proper Islamic teachings and practices.² This article is an illustration of how the *Pattumateang* ritual, and others like it, can lead to the creation of two opposing groups of Muslims, those for and against such a ritual.

Pattumateang at Glance

In November 1996, in the house of Tuan Kebo in North Jakarta, I met with one native of Makassar named Pak Kadir who excused himself to attend a *pattumateang* of an *anrongguru* who had died three days before. Before he left, he accompanied me for a while to visit Tuan Ridwan, who recounted the last conversation between him and the dead *anrongguru*. Tuan Ridwan told me: "Several days before that *anrongguru* died, I was told that I must prepare his *pattumateang* soon because he was to die in two days. After two days, death really came to him."³ Tuan Ridwan then went on to explain that death should not be a cause for sorrow but rather something which is a natural part of life. What the living should do is to help the dying pass to the *alam barzakh* peacefully.⁴ In so doing, *pattumateang* is a must. This ritual practice starts from the third night after the burial service of the dead and lasts for forty nights and days. During this ritual, local Muslims conduct several concerts such as feasting and reciting *barazanji*.⁵ All of this is done for the purpose of purifying the deceased.

A Short Description of the Cikoang People

Some figures of the Cikoang people I met in the Luar Batang hamlet, northern Jakarta, were originally born in a remote village called Cikoang of the South Sulawesi province, a region where Makassar peoples reside. *Kampung Cikoang*, is located in *Kecamatan Mangarabombang* (district), Takalar regency. The people make a living mainly from salt making and agriculture (90%) and fishing (10%). The village produces approximately 3,000 to 4,000 tones of salt per year.⁶ Houses are built close to each other near the river in the traditional Makassar style called *balla rate* (Ind. *rumah panggung*; Eng. stilted house).

According to the Cikoangese, in around 1514 a nobleman called Karaeng Cikondong from Binamu (in the Jenepono regency) first founded Cikoang. With his forty-four loyal followers, he cleared the land and by giving the ruler of the Gowa kingdom forty water buffaloes, he was able to name the settlement Cikoang. At the time, this settlement was in the village of Laikang to the South. Hisyam (1985) noted, basing his assertions on a local source, that in the last years of the 16th century, that Laikang had become an autonomous small kingdom. Its first ruler was a Bugis prince named Makkasaung ri langi', the son of Arumpone Petta Punggawa - the king of the Bone kingdom. He was appointed to become the ruler of Laikang. This ruler then married the daughter of one of the Laikang nobility. From this union, Makkaraus Daeng Ngilau was born who then replaced his father as the ruler of Laikang. This tiny kingdom persisted until the early twentieth century.⁷

Islam and Religious Orientations in Cikoang

Like other Makassar people in the past, the Cikoangese were also known as great seafarers. With the strategic position of Cikoang located on the south coast of South Sulawesi, the Cikoangese came into contact with other ethnic groups of Indonesia such as the Acehnese and Malay peoples, who were mostly Muslims, through sea trade. According to local Historians, Islam most likely gained its root in Cikoang partly due to the commercial relationship between the Cikoang and the Muslim world, both the Sumatran and Malay peoples.⁸

The coming of Islam to Cikoang was traditionally associated with one of the Acehnese *ulama* (Eng. Islamic scholars) genealogically descending from Hadramaut (Yemen) named Jalāl al-Dīn, a Sayyid

(Arab) of the al-Aydīd clan. Due to his efforts, today all people of Cikoang are Muslims and most follow the tradition of the Sayyid in their socio-religious life. As a result, the descendants of Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn al-Aydīd sit atop the hierarchy of the Cikoang social strata and they are considered the most charismatic *anrongguru* to whom the local people regularly turn to for religious guidance. Before Jalāl al-Dīn established Islam in Cikoang roughly in the first years of the seventeenth century, he stayed for a while in Gowa (an ancient kingdom of South Sulawesi) with all his family because he was invited by Datok ri Bandang, also one of the Minangkabau ulamas, who brought Islam to South Sulawesi, to help spread Islam in the region. Thus, Jalāl al-Dīn also took part in the establishment of Islam in South Sulawesi in general, starting primarily by the conversion of rulers of the Gowa and Tallo' kingdoms from 1603 to 1605.⁹

The echo of modernist thinking came to South Sulawesi after the official founding of the local Muhammadiyah branch in the region on 4 April 1926. This means that only after fourteen years after Kyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan founded the Muhammadiyah Organization in Yogyakarta on 18 November 1912. The first chairperson of the Muhammadiyah branch in Makassar, the capital city, with its 17 members, was Haji Yusuf Daeng Mattiro. This organization adopted a modern management in running its educational institutions. Its main aim was to purify the Islamic faith of local variations and to return the non-Islamic elements existing in local Islamic practices to the main tenets of the Qur'an and Hadith, Muslim Scriptures. In the study of Indonesian Muslims at large, the Muhammadiyah is largely seen as a reform movement which strongly objects to religious practices foreign to Islam.

Educational institutions provided by the Muhammadiyah in Makassar were primarily run informally in the form of a so-called *pengajian* (religious lectures). When a young ulama from Minangkabau named Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah, usually called Buya Hamka, came to Makassar, he thought that the *pengajian* needed to be institutionalized. As a realization of that proposal, in 1932 a so-called *sekolah tabligh* (Eng. missionary school) was founded, and changed to Muallimin Muhammadiyah (Eng. the Muhammadiyah Schooling) in 1934.

After the foundation of this school, local Makassar Muslims became familiar with the use of class rooms and blackboards, and the process of teaching at regular periods. The teachers came mostly from West Sumatra, like from Padang and the Minangkabau region.

The students were prepared to become Islamic teachers and missionaries (Ind. *Muballigh*) and after graduating, they were placed within the region of South Sulawesi. In the revolutionary era, a Perguruan Islam Datumuseng (Eng. Datumuseng Islamic Institution) was founded on 1 October 1945. Among the founding fathers of that institution were Haji Mansyur Daeng Tompo, Haji Gazali Syachlan, Haji Darwis Zakariah, Haji Muhiddin Daeng Sikki, Luthan Muhammad and others. Persis (Ind. *Persatuan Islam*; Eng. Muslim Unity), founded in Bandung in 1923 facilitated the founding of this institution. The establishment of this institution was spurred by two motivations: the first was to show their opposition to the invaders, Japan, who had closed several institutions owned by the Muhammadiyah; the second was to encourage all Muslims to unite in a fight against colonialism.

After Indonesia gained its independence, the primary objectives of Perguruan Islam Datumuseng and the Muhammadiyah in particular concentrated on how to purify the faith of the local Muslims. In reality, many Muslims were keen practitioners of Islam, performed their five prayers a day, were assiduous at the Friday congregation (*Jum'ah*), fasted intentionally during the holy month of Ramadan, and displayed a real piety, but at the same time took part in pre-Islamic ceremonies, such as bringing offerings to sacred places or objects and still believed in the existence of the pre-Islamic God. They regularly visited sacred tombs and asked for prosperity, health and good fortune through the dead.¹⁰ Thus, the Makassar Muslims tended to practice their Islamic duties, while still appreciating their pre-Islamic customs and traditions. In regard to their religious beliefs, the Makassar Muslims in South Sulawesi, particularly in rural areas, always bore in mind that the Qur'an and the Hadith were the sources of their religious doctrines and duties, the centre of their faith, which all good Muslims must try to observe and apply in their daily activities. Almost all traditionalists are able to read Arabic texts, including the Qur'an as well as the *barazanji*, even though they do not know their proper meaning and use. Sometimes, an Islamic element is added to an otherwise almost completely traditional ritual to legitimize the occasion.

Indonesian modernism was a combination of progressive Arabic thought in the Near East and a long-standing tradition of Indonesian (and particularly Sumatran) revivalism. Cairo was the centre for a rethinking of the relationship of the Islamic faith to the Western social and scientific world of the late nineteenth century. Jamaluddin

al-Afghani and his student, Mohammed Abduh, wrote of the need to reinterpret Islamic rules according to the current worldview and adapt them to a modern world. For the Indonesian context, the Muhammadiyah organization is allegedly known as a Muslim group that promotes modernist ideas.¹¹

The Muhammadiyah and Its Rejection in Cikoang

The Muhammadiyah organization has never been able to establish a local sub-branch in Cikoang, and has thus had very little influence on the people. This is due to the strong opposition of the local people. When asked about this, my informant told me: "It is impossible to find a Muhammadiyah sub-branch in this region (Kampong Cikoang), because all Muslims here are adherents of NU (Nahdlatul Ulama, the awakening of Islamic scholars, an organization of the traditionalists) not organizationally 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 told me:

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

For the local people, the Muhammadiyah, as an institution, is seen as an outsider group intolerant of their traditions, whereas the *anronggurus* are still considered as their sole religious leaders on whom they are emotionally and intellectually dependent for religious knowledge and guidance. The Cikoang's distinctive religious practices consist of the Mawlid festival (locally called *Maudu*) and *Pattumateang*, regarded by the Muhammadiyah as committing *bid'ah* (heresy).¹²

In modern Cikoang, controversy over these rituals has led to considerable friction between those who support modernist Muslim groups such as Muhammadiyah and those who continue to follow the local *anrongguru*.¹³ For the purpose of this article, I shall group these two clusters in the category of 'traditionalists' and 'modernists'.¹⁴ The traditionalists identify themselves as those who affirm long-standing religious practices inherited from Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn, ancestor of the Cikoang people. In most respects, the traditional-

ists perpetuate traditional knowledge of religious beliefs and practices and counter any kind of criticism from the outsiders. The latter groups mostly bear radical ideas of the modernism which put forward rational interpretation over religious beliefs and practices.

Detailed Portrayal of *Pattumateang*

From the perspective of the Cikoang peoples, the soul of the dead will step over seven points of crossing, all occurring at night in the forty-day-long journey to Paradise. The crossings are locally called *bahrullah*, from an Arabic root meaning 'sea of Allah' (*baḥr Allāh*). The first crossing is on the third night, the second crossing is on the seventh night, the third crossing is on the tenth night, the fourth crossing is on the fifteenth night, the fifth crossing is on the twentieth night, the sixth crossing is on the thirtieth, and the seventh crossing is on the fortieth night. The fortieth night, or the last night, is said to be the determining point as to whether the deceased are to enter Paradise or go to Hell.

Pattumateang is therefore compulsory because it is regarded as a means to help release the soul of the deceased smoothly from those seven crossing points.¹⁵ There are two primary elements in the *Pattumateang* practice that must be performed by the family of the deceased, and led by the former *anrongguru* of the deceased during his or her life; the first is *Assurommacakanre sibokoi* and the second is *Appanaung panganreang segang katinroang*.

a) *Assurommacakanre sibokoi*: Asking people to recite on the food

On the third night after the burial service of the deceased, or the deceased's first journey in *bahrullah*, the *anrongguru* guides the gatherings in the recitation of *Shalawat* and *Taslim*, two religious phrases usually recited together collectively, meaning 'peace be upon Him' (i.e. the prophet Muhammad). The phrases read as follows:

*Allāhumma ṣallī 'alā sayyidinā Muḥammadin nabī al-ummī
wa 'alā ālihi wa aṣṭābihi wa sallam.*

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

At the time of death, people in Cikoang recite *talqing* (Ar. *talqīn*) or catechism intending to remind the dying person about the pri-

mary tenets of Islam and to help release the soul of the dying person smoothly taken away by *malakul maut* (E. the angel of death). According to the traditionalists, there will be two angels, *Mungkar* and *Nakir*, who are in charge of interrogating the deceased in *alam barzakh*.

This occasion is locally called *assuromacakanre sibokoi*, and according to the traditionalists, the recitation of *Shalawat* and *Taslim* is necessary in order to inform the prophet Muhammad that one of His family members has died (i.e. members of *Ahl al-Bayt*, the household of the Prophet).

Apart from reciting *Shalawat* and *Taslim*, the Qur'an is also recited at the gatherings collectively, an action locally called *attadarusu* (Ind. *Tadarusan*), and more particularly the *Akhhbār al-Ākhirah* (news of the Hereafter, a book covering the tale of the deceased from the time their life is taken away to that of their journey to Paradise). According to the traditionalists, the recitation of the *Akhhbār al-Ākhirah* will help the soul of the deceased in successfully finding its way to Paradise, so it will not get lost. Throughout forty days and nights of this festival, the participants are served dishes and drinks by the hosts (i.e. the family of the deceased).

On the fortieth night (the last night), the host must slaughter a sacrificial animal on the grounds that this animal will be the deceased's vehicle on its way through those seven crossings. The type of sacrificial animal is based on the level of the deceased's social rank in the society. If the deceased is among the Sayyid Karaeng, his or her family must slaughter at least one buffalo, the most expensive sacrificial animal in the region. A chicken, as well as a goat, is acceptable when the family cannot afford one buffalo. A poor Sayyid Karaeng is allowed to have only a chicken sacrificed for him, until he can afford to have a buffalo. The Sayyid do not always correspond economic capacity with rank or status in this matter.

The traditionalists believe that this *Pattumateang*, and its feasting section, support the soul of the deceased on its journey to Paradise and erase the sins of the deceased. The modernists, by contrast, object to the Salvationist intent behind the reading of, for example, the Qur'an and the inclusion of food in the *Pattumateang* practice. Pak Syamsuddin maintained, "It is *bid'ah* and pointless if one intends to present the Qur'anic verses recited for the sake of the dead." Likewise, feasting in the mortuary ritual, for the modernists, is like eating funeral meals. While for the Cikoang people, feasting is a mere medium of communication between the living family

and the dead to ensure the prosperity of the community rests. In principle, mortuary ritual underlines the continuity of communication between the living and the dead and the possibility of mutual assistance.¹⁶

During this occasion, the host sometimes serves the guests food and drinks. This is cause for further objection of the modernists, because according to Pak Syamsuddin, "If the host provides food and drinks, that means a meal party and this is what Islam does not accept, because that will double the disadvantage of the deceased in *alam barzakh*".

b) *Appanaung Panganreang Segang Katinroang: Bringing down delicacies together with a bed*

This is the second and last element of the *Pattumateang* where all the participants, particularly the people in charge of reciting *Shalawat* and *Taslim*, the Qur'an and the *Akhbār al-Ākhirah*, are given presents in exchange for their forty days of attendance in the *Pattumateang*. The *anrongguru* is the person who receives the largest present, because he plays the most important role in the religious practice.

This occasion is called *appanaung panganreang segang katinroang* - literally meaning the giving of the favourite food and that of the bed, the bed which the deceased liked most in their lifetime to their former *anrongguru*. In practice, the food consists of one big cupboard enclosing food, cookies and desserts, while the bed is sometimes a new one, or at least the former bed of the deceased (together with its bed sheet and pillows), all given to the deceased's *anrongguru*. This practice is also criticised by the modernists on the grounds that the awarding of a present to the *anrongguru* is not necessary, especially at the expense of the family of the deceased.

The arguments of the modernists are based on the teachings of Imām Shāfi'ī (after whom the Shāfi'ī school of thought is named) with reference to one Hadith saying: "If a child of Adam (human being) dies, all but three of his or her good deeds are discontinued: charity given during his or her lifetime, applied knowledge and a pious child who always prays for his or her sake." If the deceased in his or her lifetime used to donate, for example, to the building of mosque, explains Pak Syamsuddin, the reward of that deed will continuously flow to the spirit of the deceased whenever the mosque is used for prayer and other religious activities. If pious children of the deceased recite prayers for the sake of their dead parents, God

will answer their prayers. This does not mean, however, that the children themselves can erase the sins of their dead parents. The most the children can do is ask God for His mercy.

It is these three good deeds in one's lifetime, argue the modernists – charity, useful knowledge, and pious children who always pray for their dead parents - that will assist the deceased's entrance to Paradise. It is not through reciting the verses of the Qur'an guided by the deceased's former *anrongguru*, nor through the sacrifice of an animal.

Pak Syamsuddin further criticizes the deceased's family's expenditure on the *Pattumateang*:

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

In another place, Pak Syamsuddin narrated to me his experience when he was invited as a guest in a *Pattumateang*:

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 *alam barzakh*'. I gently said afterward, 'the prayers are essentially for the meal we want to eat, because the prayers are said to be our expression of gratitude to God. So, may God shower us all (including the remaining family members of the deceased) with His mercy. A few of them nodded, conforming agreement, but the majority of them just ignored it.

In the *pattumateang*, the Cikoang people depend on their *anrongguru* whose residence is sometimes far away. They do not ask their *anrongguru* to come unless they are financially capable of doing so. Those who cannot afford it will ask other nearby religious specialists to attend their *pattumateang*. This religious phenomenon suggests that beliefs and practices of the Cikoang people become obligatory with the power they create, but also dependent on allocations and flexible commitments from the whole social body of the community.

Religious Complexity in Islamic Praxis

The modernists maintain that while the Cikoang Muslims tend to meet their Islamic obligations they still adhere to their local tra-

ditions. They see the Cikoang's Islamic practices as *bid'ah*. For instance, the Cikoang believe that in order to show their Islamic piety they give precedence to the veneration of the prophet Muhammad and that of their *anrongguru* before other Islamic practices. This is evident during the *pattumateang*, which the Cikoang people believe is the time of obtaining *barakah* (Allah's blessings) through the spirit of the Prophet Muhammad. They also regularly visit the tombs of their ancestors in asking *wasilah* (intermediaries or spirit medium) to obtain reward from Allah by ways of bringing flowers, offerings and burning *dupa* (incense). However, they mostly regard this visiting tradition as a request for prosperity and good fortunes for themselves.

This practice is found throughout the Muslim world, from Morocco to Indonesia, where many Muslims regard the tombs of the holy saints as places to gain Allah's blessing.¹⁷ One of the very popular tombs of holy saints is 'Abd Al-Qādir Al-Jīlānī located in Baghdad, Iraq.¹⁸ In the Indonesian context, an excellent example of this tradition was provided by Jamhari. He, for example, identifies this visiting to a sacred tomb as *ziarah* in the Javanese context. *Ziarah* is a way of linking one's 'intellectual chain' to the holy saints (e.g. the *wali*). *Nyekar* is a synonym for *ziarah* which means to strew flowers over a sacred tomb. Another similar term is *sowan*, although this term refers to visiting a living person regarded as having higher social status.¹⁹ Jamhari differentiates *ziarah* from *nyekar* and *sowan*. *Ziarah* is intended to achieve *barakah* through the mediation of the *Wali*. *Nyekar* and *sowan*, however, contain a more material intention like asking for good fortune.²⁰ The practice of visiting the tombs of the dead *anrongguru* is conceived as one of the main issues leading to the dispute between the Cikoang people and the modernists in modern Cikoang.

***Pattumateang* and Influence of Sufism**

According to my informant, the Cikoang's beliefs and practices find their roots in Sufi traditions rather than pre-Islamic beliefs and practices. The *tarekat* (Sufi order (*tarekat*)) most widely practiced among the Cikoang people is called Baḥr al-Nūr. Tarekat Baḥr al-Nūr, a so called local *tarekat*, emphasizes notions of 'Nūr Muḥammad' (the divine light of Muhammad), as it is regarded as the beginning of the creation of all living things in the universe. This notion is central to Sufi thought. Furthermore, all Muslims should show veneration

and admiration toward the Sayyid, the descendants of the prophet Muhammad, as they are the forebears of all human beings.

This notion too is a point of contention between the Cikoang people and the modernists. One of the arguments that the modernists suggest is that Muslims should seek guidance from the messages that Allah sent to humankind through the Prophet, be it the Qur'an or the Hadith (statements and deeds of the Prophet), and not from the Prophet Muhammad or His descendents. In other words, modernists maintain that what is most important is to what extent people as good Muslims appreciate and put into practice in their daily lives the messages or the Scripture that Allah revealed to the Prophet Muhammad.

According to historical writings, there has been a long interaction between indigenous mysticism and Sufism (Ar. *taṣawwuf*, Eng. Islamic mysticism) in almost every part of Indonesia. For instance, as happened in Java and parts of Sumatra, Sufism – because of some of its similarities to Hinduism which is also very mystical in nature – was used by early Muslim preachers as the means to win converts. This interplay is seen as the harmonization between old traditions and Islamic principles. Woodward's study on Javanese Islam in Yogyakarta, however, clarifies that the bottom line is actually not how the interaction between non-Islamic elements and Muslim tradition occurs. Rather, how those elements are Islamically interpreted. His overall point is that much that is considered syncretic, or *kejawen* in Clifford Geertz's study, is actually encompassed by Sufism.

This later body of knowledge then coloured the indigenous religious life of the Javanese and not the reverse.²¹ Take for example the interpretation of the Prophet Muhammad as the perfect man. The Prophet Muhammad is described as *Semar*, the most important character in the Javanese tradition of *wayang* (shadow hand puppet). *Semar* is said to have reached the state of divinity, the owner of pure *bathin* (inner or spiritual being). That is why some Javanese conceive of *Semar* as *nabi bathin* (spiritual prophet). He is a symbol of the union between humanity and divinity. But, because he has a physical shape, he is not completely God, simply precluding condemnations committing *shirk* (polytheism) an act of *kufr* (disbelief) in Islam.²²

Concluding Remarks

Overall, the form and meaning of such rituals as the *pattumateang* is not only a topic for academic analysis, it is also a subject for long-standing religious debates within Indonesian communities, between the proponents of Islamic modernism and loyalists of local ritual practices. The consequence of decades of arguments about this issue is that many Cikoang today, especially those residing in Jakarta, are wiser in terms of what is 'Islamic'. Despite their frequent reliance on religious practices, notably *pattumateang*, the Cikoang in Jakarta are more flexible in terms of grounds of performing religious practices than those in Cikoang. This is partly due to educational background and also the socio-economic status of each individual.

Pattumateang or mortuary ritual of the holy persons (i.e. the Sayyid) underlines the continuity of communication between the living and the dead and the possibility of mutual assistance. The primary objection of the modernists seems to centre on how they feel that certain Sufi beliefs and practices, especially those regarding the veneration of the holy persons, are not doctrinally orthodox according to their criteria (i.e. are not warranted by Islamic law). The modernists oppose the idea of mortuary ritual which sees it as primarily a passage out of this world into another, emphasizing the rupture between the living and the dead at the moment of death, and the eventual judgment of the dead at the end of the world.²³ The central concern then is with the problem raised by Hefner in his study on Tengger. Hefner said; "It is impossible to say with absolute certainty how popular religion in modern Tengger differs from its old Javanese progenitor."²⁴

Endnotes

An earlier version of this article was presented in the International Workshop on "The Bugis Diaspora and Islamic Dissemination in the 20th Century Malay-Indonesian Archipelago", June 6 – 8, 2003, Makassar Golden Hotel, Makassar, organized by International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS), Leiden, the Netherlands. I would like to thank Dr. Johan Meuleman and Dr. Andi Faisal Bakti as well as those who attended the workshop for their comments on the article.

1. Others are birth, livelihood, and marriage partner.
2. Compare John Richard Bowen 1993. *Muslims through Discourse*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press 1993: 251.
3. I wrote these field notes down not long after the occasion, when one native of Makassar named Pak Kadir visited Tuan Kebo's house while I was in the house as well. It was Pak Kadir, one of my key informants during my stay in Jakarta, who introduced me to other Sayyids living in the region. Although fieldwork in Jakarta and Cikoang was conducted between November 1996 and January 1997 with support from the Department of Anthropology, the faculty of Arts, the Australian National University (ANU), and an AusAID research grant, I have been amazed by the development of *pattumateang* among younger Cikoang peoples during my continuous visits to Cikoang in recent years.
4. There are two social clusters in Cikoang peoples; the sayyid who claim descent from the prophet Muhammad and non Sayyid. It is Abdul Kadir Manyambeang *et al* (*Upacara Traditional Dalam Kaitannya Dengan Peristiwa Alam Dan Kepercayaan Propinsi Sulawesi Selatan*. Ujung Pandang-Indonesia: Proyek Inventarisasi Dan Dokumentasi Kebudayaan Daerah. 1983/1984, pp. 21) who observed that there is a clear distinction between *pattumateang* held for the Sayyid along with the *Karaeng* (the Makassar nobility) and that conducted for ordinary Makassar. If the deceased are among the Sayyid and the *Karaeng*, their body will be laid out in the living room (usually located in the fore room of the house), the largest and the best room in the Makassar house, whereas if the deceased is among ordinary Makassar his or her body will just be put in any part of the house.
5. *Barazanji* in local usage or just *barzanji*, is a book consisting of special prayers recited, most commonly, in the time of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday festival. Muhammadiyah and other modernist organizations reject the chanting of the *barazanji*, which they regard as a non-canonical text. The book is written in Arabic, but originally in Persian, telling the Prophet Muhammad's birth story which is legendary (edited by Ja'far ibn Usan al-Barzanji in the 18th century, a *qāḍī*, Islamic judge of Mālikī school, died in 1766, Medina). The action of reciting it is known in the Makassar context as a 'rate'. Concerning the *barazanji* see Carl Brockelmann. *Geschichte der arabischen literatur (GAL)*, 3 vols. with supplement. Leiden: Brill, 1898, 1937, 1949. Z. 384, S2:517; Jan Knapert, 1961, *The Figure of the prophet Muhammad According to the Popular Literature of the Islamic Peoples*. Swahili, no. 32: 24-31.
6. See Muhammad Hisyam, 'Sayyid-Jawi, studi kasus jaringan sosial di Kampung Cikoang, Kecamatan Mangarabombang, kabupaten Takalar, Sulawesi Selatan,' in Mukhlis and Robinson, Kathy (eds), *Agama dan Realitas Sosial*.

- (Ujung Pandang-Indonesia: Lembaga Penerbitan Universitas Hasanuddin, 1985: 14). The business of salt making is mainly centered in northern Lingsungan Cikoang and Pattopakang. The activity only runs particularly in the dry season lasting for four to five months depending on the duration of the dry season. When the rainy season comes, the Cikoangese resume farming.
7. In 1966, based on *SK Gubernur Kepala Daerah Tingkat I Sulawesi Selatan* (a decree issued by provincial authority) No. 450/XII/1965, the term Kampung was issued. After that, Laikang was divided into two Kampung, Kampung Cikoang and Kampung Laikang (Hisyam 1985, *Ibid.*, pp. 126).
 8. *Ibid.*
 9. See Mattulada 1976, *Islam in South Sulawesi*. Jakarta-Indonesia: LEKNAS/LIPI, p. 19.
 10. The most popular tomb in Makassar is the tomb of *Syeikh Yusuf*, well known as *Ko'bunga*. He was allegedly regarded as one of the most outspoken lecturers who did not agree with such practices at the era of the Gowa kingdom. Interestingly, in modern Gowa, the local people frequently visit his tomb in terms of asking for fortunes.
 11. On the growth of Muhammadiyah, see Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia, 1900-1942* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 31-83, and Mitsuo Nakamura, *The Crescent Arises over the Banyan Tree: A Study of the Muhammadiyah Movement in a Central Javanese Town* (Yogyakarta: University of Gadjah Mada Press, 1984). On the Sumatra Thawalib, see Taufik Abdullah, *Schools and Politics: The Kaum Muda Movement in West Sumatra (1927-1933)* (Ithaca: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 1971). Muhammadiyah, as Deliar Noer (1973: 75) puts it, is "one of the most important Muslim social organizations in Indonesia in the prewar period, perhaps until the modern time. It was founded in Yogyakarta on 18 November 1912 by Kyai 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* (charity), mosques and published books, brochures, newspapers and periodicals."
 12. Controversy between the Muhammadiyah and the Cikoang over the Maulid festival is discussed in Muhammad Adlin Sila, "The Festivity of Maulid Nabi among the People of Cikoang: Between Remembering and Exaggerating the Spirit of the Prophet Muhammad," in *Studia Islamika: Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies*, Volume 8, Number 3 2001.
 13. During the regional rebellion (1950-1965) led by Abdul Kahar Muzakkar, especially in Bugis and Mandar regions, people were under pressure from the rebels to drop syncretistic practices. *Gerombolan* guerillas were known to execute people they found giving offerings to the tombs of ancestors. In fact, some still excited for continuing such practices as veneration of tombs of local ancestors (see Barbara Sillars Harvey. *Pemberontakan Kahar Muzakkar: dari Tradisi ke DI/TII*, Jakarta: Grafiti Pers. (Its English version is, *Tradition, Islam and Rebellion: South Sulawesi 1950-1965*. Department of Government, Cornell University, 1974, unpublished PhD dissertation, available through Xerox University Microfilms, Ann Arbor MI, 1989: 199-204). In the reformation era, this controversy has increased since the advent of *Komite Persiapan Penegakan Syariat Islam* (a Committee for upholding Islamic Law

- in South Sulawesi). This committee is well known for its struggle to promote the implementation of syariat by laws in many districts like Takalar where the Cikoang village is located. See current studies on this issue on Muhammad Adlin Sila, "Studi Kualitatif Tuntutan Pelaksanaan Syariat Islam di Makassar, Sulawesi Selatan", unpublished research report, Jakarta: PPIM-UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2002; and Hamdan Juhannis, "Komite Persiapan Penegakan Syariat Islam: A South Sulawesi Formalist Islamic Movement", in *Studia Islamika*, volume 14, Number 1, 2007.
14. I adopt these glosses from the study of John R. Bowen in the Gayo highlands of Sumatera (See John R. Bowen 1993. *Muslims through Discourse: Religion and Ritual in Gayo Society*. Princeton University Press, New Jersey).
 15. See Abd. Kadir Manyambeang *et al* 1983/1984, *Op. cit.*, pp. 143.
 16. Setting up a feasting during a death ritual, associated with reciting the *barazanji* and the Qur'anic verses, for the purpose of benefiting the dead is a commonplace ritual practice in Muslim communities. See other similar practices, for example studied by Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje (*De Atjehers (The Achehnese)*, Leyden: E.J. Brill. 1906. I: 428-29) in lowland Aceh; Walter William Skeat (*Malay Magic: being an introduction to the folklore and popular religion of the Malay Peninsula*. New York: Dover. 1967: 407) in Malaysia; Edward William Lane (*An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*. 5th ed. London: John Murray 1860: 526-27) in Egypt; Richard Kurin ('Morality, Personhood, and the Exemplary Life: Popular Conceptions of Muslims in Paradise.' B. D. Metcalf, (ed), *Moral Conduct and Authority: the Place of Adab in South Asian Islam*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press 1984: 204-5); Pnina Werbner (1990, *The Migration Process: Capital, Gifts and Offerings among British Pakistanis*. New York: Berg, 1990: 168) among Pakistanis in Britain; Edward Alexander Westermarck (*Ritual and Belief in Morocco*. 2 vols. London: Macmillan 1926, II:461) in Morocco, and Bowen (1993, *Op.cit.*) in Gayo, West Sumatra. This practice is usually called in Javanese tradition as *kenduri*. This practice would have provided a new form in which communication with the dead could be carried out. Syaf'i law books which are used by Indonesian scholars equate the Persian term *kenduri* with the Arabic *shadaqah* (alms), but as alms given by the host to his guests, rather than to the soul of the deceased.
 17. See Mark Woodward 1989: *Islam in Java: Normative Piety and Mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta*, Tucson: the University of Arizona Press. 68-9; and Henri Chambert-Loir & Claude Guillot: *Ziarah & Wali di Dunia Islam*, Jakarta: EFEO, Forum Jakarta-Paris, 2007.
 18. Chambert-Loir & Guillot, 2007, *Ibid*. pp. 53.
 19. Jamhari Makruf, 1995, *Visit to a Sacred Tomb*. (Unpublished MA Thesis). Canberra A.C.T: Department of Anthropology and Archaeology, Australian National University.
 20. *Ibid*.
 21. Clifford Geertz was the first scholar of Indonesian studies to introduce concepts of syncretism in discussing Javanese Muslims through his phenomenal book entitled, *The Religion of Java* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1960). Geertz concluded that systems of rituals and the cosmology of the Javanese are represented in three-dimensional levels of practicing Islam; *Santri* who always perform *shalat*, *puasa* and *haji*; *Abangan* who like to perform *slametan* and believe in animism and dynamism; and *Priyayi* who

- concentrate on the power of mysticism. Recently, Geertz's thesis has been contested by many scholars like Mark Woodward (1989). *Op. cit.*; Deliar Noer (1996/1973), *Op. cit.*; Bambang Pranowo (1991). *Creating Islamic Tradition in Rural Java*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, Monash University, and Muhaimin AG (1995). *The Islamic Tradition of Cirebon: Ibadat and Adat among Javanese Muslims*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, the Australian National University (ANU).
22. Mark Woodward 1989, *op. cit.*, pp. 223-225.
 23. See similar arguments of the modernists in Gayo highland of Sumatera, as studied by John R. Bowen in, "Death and the History of Islam in Highland Aceh," posted from <http://melayuonline.com/article>, 28 March 2008. See also Priscilla Keswani in *Mortuary Ritual and Society in Bronze Age Cyprus*. David Brown Book Company, Paper back December 2006 (1st edition in 2004).
 24. See Robert W. Hefner, 1985. *Hindu Javanese: Tengger Tradition and Islam*. Princeton University Press.

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