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The Festivity of *Maulid Nabi* in Cikoang, South Sulawesi: Between Remembering and Exaggerating the Spirit of the Prophet

Abstrak: Sudah menjadi kesepakatan di antara sarjana-sarjana Islam, khususnya di Indonesia, bahwa pengaruh masyarakat sayyid sangat besar dalam proses datangnya misi Islam ke Indonesia. Para sayyid ini umumnya mengikuti jalur perjalanan para pedagang Arab ke setiap tempat persinggahan mereka lalu menyebarkan agama Islam, antara lain dengan jalan mengawini wanita setempat. Para sayyid ini dikenal luas dalam literatur Islam sebagai kelompok sosial yang mengklaim adanya hubungan darah langsung dengan keluarga Nabi Muhammad, atau lazim disebut ahl al-bait. Tempat asal para sayyid diketahui banyak, namun yang datang ke Indonesia umumnya berasal dari Hadramaut (Yaman). Dalam perjuangan kemerdekaan nasional, para sayyid dikenal pula sebagai bagian dari para pelopornya. Begitu pun dalam tradisi beragama di Indonesia, para sayyid ini berperan dalam mewarnai berbagai model ritual dan praktek keberagamaan masyarakat Indonesia. Salah satu peran sayyid yang cukup menonjol adalah dalam kaitannya dengan perayaan *Maulid Nabi*, sebuah perayaan atas kelahiran Nabi Muhammad, yang di beberapa wilayah terlihat massif dan cenderung melibatkan unsur-unsur lokal sebagai variasi dalam setiap komponennya. Sayangnya, kajian yang khusus mengupas tentang hal ini belum banyak dilakukan.

Artikel ini menghadirkan sebuah deskripsi tentang sebuah perayaan *Maulid Nabi* yang khas, terutama dari segi prakteknya. Data artikel ini diambil dari sebuah desa kecil di ujung pantai selatan Sulawesi Selatan yang bernama Cikoang. Desa Cikoang adalah rumah bagi sebuah masyarakat sayyid, yang mengafiliasikan diri dengan leluhur mereka, Nabi Muhammad, melalui Hadramaut. Identitas mereka tergambarakan melalui sistem kekerabatan dan praktek keagamaan mereka. Identitas ini tidak hanya dipertahankan di daerah asal mereka, tapi juga di tempat mana saja mereka berdomsili. Meskipun, identitas itu sedikit mengubah diri dengan mengadaptasi unsur-unsur lokalitas. Hal ini bisa kita lihat secara telanjang dari perayaan *Maulid Nabi* mereka. Artikel ini membahas bagaimana kekhasan *maulid Nabi* mereka dan spirit yang menjadi latarbelakangnya di Cikoang.

Sistem ritual dan praktek keagamaan masyarakat Cikoang, sebagaimana dipengaruhi oleh tradisi sayyid, bertahan seiring dengan terus berkembangnya Islam di daerah tersebut, meskipun menghadapi kritikan dan bujukan dari kelompok Islam puritan, terutama yang diwakili oleh Muhammadiyah. Sistem ritual masyarakat Cikoang seperti Maulid Nabi, tetap bertahan sebagai ciri khas tradisi keagamaan masyarakat Cikoang. Mereka selalu mengacu kepada perkataan dan perbuatan para leluhur sebagai dasar dari legitimasi dari tradisi keagamaan mereka. Salah seorang leluhur mereka, yang diyakini sebagai sayyid pertama yang datang dan membawa Islam ke Cikoang, bernama Sayyid Jalaluddin al-Aidid. Kepada Sayyid Jalaluddin Al-Aidid lah mereka menisbatkan segala dasar dan rujukan tradisi keagamaannya, kendati al-Qur'an dan al-Hadith tetap menjadi referensi utama.

Bagi masyarakat Cikoang, perayaan Maulid bukan hanya sekedar perayaan makan (feasting), tapi sebagai wujud penghormatan kepada spirit Nabi Muhammad, yang diyakini sebagai manusia paling sempurna yang pernah ada di muka bumi. Nabi Muhammad adalah figur keteladanan seorang hamba yang telah mencapai martabat tertinggi dalam penghambaan kepada Sang Pencipta. Dalam ilmu tasawuf, Nabi Muhammad dipercaya telah berada pada maqam tertinggi, ma'rifat, yaitu ketika jiwa manusia sudah mencapai kesatupaduan dengan Tuhannya.

Masyarakat Cikoang mempercayai keesaan absolut Allah, dan berusaha untuk mencapai kesatuan dengan-Nya. Kesatupaduan antara manusia dengan Allah, sebagaimana dicontohkan dalam diri Nabi Muhammad, dapat diperoleh dengan cara merayakan Maulid Nabi, hari kelahiran Nabi Muhammad. Melalui perayaan Maulid Nabi, masyarakat Cikoang berharap akan memperoleh martabat tertinggi pula dalam penghambaan kepada Allah, sebagaimana yang telah dicapai oleh Nabi Muhammad. Konsep ini menggambarkan adanya kesamaan dengan doktrin teosofi, yang dikenal dalam tradisi tasawuf, dan masyarakat Cikoang juga mengaku bahwa mereka menganut salah satu tarekat yang mereka namai tarekat Bahr ul-Nûr, salah satu tarekat yang sejauh ini dilupakan dalam studi tasawuf di Indonesia.

Tidak bisa dipungkiri, konsep tasawuf mendasari tradisi perayaan maulid Nabi di Cikoang. Meskipun data yang diperoleh terbatas, temuan ini sedikit memperbaiki pemahaman kebanyakan dari kita bahwa perayaan Maulid Nabi tidak lebih dari sekedar memperingati kelahiran Nabi Muhammad. Ternyata, argumentasi di balik perayaan Maulid Nabi dan simbol-simbol budaya sebagaimana dipraktikkan oleh masyarakat Cikoang diambil dari prinsip-prinsip ajaran tasawuf. Melalui penjelasan dalam artikel ini pun, kita akan menjadi tahu bahwa selama ini, tradisi Maulid Nabi yang penuh dengan unsur-unsur lokal, tidak hanya ditemukan di Yogyakarta melalui upacara Sekatennya, tapi juga di daerah lain di Indonesia.

The Festivity of *Maulid Nabi* in Cikoang, South Sulawesi: Between Remembering and Exaggerating the Spirit of the Prophet

خلاصة: أجمع الباحثون المسلمون والإندونيسيون منهم خاصة على أهمية تأثير السادة الأشراف على انتشار الإسلام في ربوع إندونيسيا، فقد كانوا في معظم الأحيان يرافقون رحلة التجار العرب أينما نزلوا فيقيمون ويتزوجون بالمواطنات الإندونيسيات فيقومون بالدعوة الإسلامية، ويعرف السادة الأشراف بشكل واسع في التراث الإسلامي على أنهم جماعة يدعون اتصال نسبهم بالنبي محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم أو ما يعرف بأهل البيت؛ وتختلف المناطق التي جاءوا منها إلا أن الوافدين إلى إندونيسيا معظمهم يأتون من حضرموت باليمن؛ وريادتهم في كفاح الشعب الإندونيسي على الاستقلال معروفة، وكذلك دورهم في تشكيل الممارسات الدينية وأساليب العبادة للمجتمع الإسلامي بإندونيسيا، ومن أبرز ما يدل على ذلك ما كان يتعلق منه بالاحتفال بذكرى المولد النبوي التي تأخذ في مناطق معينة مشاركة جماهيرية وتدخل فيها عناصر محلية كجزء مكمل للتعبير عن بالغ الحفاوة بها، وللأسف لم تكن الدراسات التي أجريت للبحث في هذا الموضوع بالكثرة التي يستحقها.

وهذه المقالة تعرض بيانا مقتضبا حول الاحتفال بذكرى المولد النبوي التي لها ميزتها خاصة من الناحية العملية، والمصدر الرئيسي للمقالة مأخوذ من قرية صغيرة في أقصى سواحل سلاويسي الجنوبية تسمى قرية شيكوانج (Cikoang) وهي قرية تعدد موطننا لمجتمع ينتمي نسب أفرادها إلى النبي محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم عن طريق حضرموت، وتعرف هويتهم من خلال نظام النسب والممارسات الدينية عندهم، وهي هوية احتفظوا بها أبا عن جد ليس فحسب في منشأهم وإنما أيضا في كل مكان يستقر لهم المقام فيه، على الرغم مما يطرأ لها تغير بتبني العناصر المحلية، وهو ما نستطيع أن نجده عيانا في

احتفالهم بالمولد النبوي؛ فهذه المقالة تتناول خصوصية هذا الاحتفال والعوامل الروحية التي تكمن وراءها في شيكوانج.

ولقد احتفظ أهل شيكوانج بنظام التنسك والممارسات الدينية التي تتأثر بتقاليد السادة الأشراف وسط المسلمين السنين المتزمتين وخاصة في المناطق التي تخضع لنفوذ جمعية المحمدية، فقد احتفظوا بما لديهم من أسلوب في الاحتفال بالمولد الذي أصبح مميزا لهم في ممارستهم الدينية فهم يرجعون دائما إلى ما توارثوه مما قال أجدادهم وما فعلوه كسند لما يقومون به من ممارسات؛ ومن يعتقدون من أجدادهم أنه أول من جاء بالإسلام إلى شيكوانج هو السيد جلال الدين العيديد الذي اعتبروه المرجع لكل ما لديهم من تعاليم إسلامية بجانب المرجع الأساسي وهو القرآن والسنة.

والاحتفال بالمولد النبوي في نظر المجتمع بشيكوانج ليس مجرد احتفال يأكل فيه الناس وإنما احترام واحتفاء بروح النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم الذي يعتقدون فيه أكمل مخلوقات الله في أرضه فهو مثال للعبد الذي بلغ القمة في عبوديته للخالق، وطبقا للتعاليم الصوفية فإن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قد بلغ أعلى مقامات المعرفة وهي التي تتحقق عندما يصل الإنسان إلى التوحد بالله، والمجتمع في شيكوانج يعتقدون بوحداية الله المطلقة ويحاولون أن يتوحدوا به كما تمثل به النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وهو ما يستطيع الإنسان أن يتحقق به من خلال الاحتفال بميلاده صلى الله عليه وسلم، ويرى أهل شيكوانج أنه بالاحتفال بالمولد يأملون أن يتحققوا بأعلى المقامات في العبودية لله تعالى كما كان عليه صلى الله عليه وسلم.

وهذه النظرية تنبع عن تشابه بينها وبين التيوسوفيا المعروفة لدى أوساط الصوفية، وكذلك أهل شيكوانج ينتمون إلى طريقة صوفية تعرف باسم طريقة بحر النور وهي طريقة غابت عن أنظار الباحثين في التصوف بإندونيسيا حتى الآن؛ وليس للمرء أن ينكر ما يكمن وراء الاحتفال بالمولد لدى أهل شيكوانج من نظريات صوفية، ولكن كسنت المعلومات عن ذلك غير كافية إلا أن هذا الاكتشاف يصحح الأخطاء التي يقع فيها كثير منا من أن الاحتفال بالمولد كان مجرد احتفال بميلاد النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم، فقد ظهر أن الأدلة المبني عليها بالاحتفال بالمولد وكذلك الرموز الثقافية كما مارسها أهل شيكوانج مأخوذة من التعاليم الصوفية؛ وبهذا الاستعراض في هذه المقالة نستطيع أن ندرك كيف أن الاحتفال بالمولد النبوي الذي يستوعب عناصر (ثقافية) محلية لم يكن موجودا في مدينة يوغياكرتا فحسب من خلال مراسم سيكاتين (Sekaten) وإنما أيضا في مناطق أخرى بإندونيسيا.

This article traces the problems of religious distinctiveness in a stratified community in the village of Cikoang on the south coast of South Sulawesi. With a population of approximately 8000 people, and ranked in an elaborate social hierarchy, Cikoang is in most respects a typical Makassarese village (Source: *Cikoang Dalam Angka* 1994). The inhabitants claim to be Shâfi'î Muslims (a school of Islamic Law within the Sunnî branch of Islam), and have altogether a similar historical tradition.

Social stratification is an important aspect of this community. The highest level of the social strata is occupied by the so-called Sayyid,¹ people who claim to be descendants of the Prophet Muhammad from the al-'Aidîd family in Hadramaut. They dominate the socio-religious structure of Cikoang both culturally and politically. They are often the *Anrongguru* (religious specialists or teachers), for their surrounding people.² In this article I shall refer to the people of Cikoang Village as the Cikoangese, a term which also relates to the Sayyid.

One of the distinctive religious rituals of the people of Cikoang is *Maudu'* (the Prophet Muhammad's birthday festival), more popularly known to as *Maulid Nabi*. The intention of this article is to analyze in detail the overall Cikoangese religious identity. This article discusses the religious comprehension of the Cikoangese as a whole compared to that of other Muslims. In undertaking this, my main concern has been to explore a framework that will elucidate on the different understandings of Islamic practices, notably *Maulid Nabi*, between the Cikoangese and the non-Cikoangese. Therefore, I wish to discuss the extent to which the two groups of Muslims propose different interpretations and methods in conducting the 'proper' religious practice of *Maulid Nabi*.

I will view the practice of *Maulid Nabi* from the Cikoangese perspective and examine what elements of those rituals the outsiders, notably Muhammadiyah, do not agree with (I use the term "outsiders" to refer to those who oppose the ongoing Cikoangese tradition of *Maulid Nabi*. These are mostly the non-Cikoangese, but may include some Cikoangese). And finally, a tentative conclusion is proposed regarding the religious identity of the Sayyid as discussed in the preceding paragraphs. This conclusion also provides some critical elements of the article, which requires further research in the future. This article is the result of four months fieldwork in the area discussed in 1996-1997.³

The Sayyid

Etymologically, Sayyid is an Arabic word that literally means 'master'. The term *Sharīf*, which literally means 'the honorable', is a synonym for Sayyid, and a lady of a Sayyid house is called *Sayyidah* or *Sharīfah*. The Sayyid title is normally attributed to the Arab people, notably the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad from His grandson, al Hosein (the son of Ali and Fatimah).⁴ Thus the Sayyid claim descent from the household of the Prophet Muhammad.

Historical accounts state that the early Arab trade with Indonesia is undoubtedly related to the Arab sea trade with China.⁵ This trade relationship made possible the coming of the Sayyid to Indonesia. Most scholars on Indonesia, both Indonesian and non Indonesian, believe that Gujarat on the South west of Rajputana (India) had long been an important center of commercial and religious relations between the East and the West. The Harbor town of Cambay was regularly frequented by foreign traders, among them, the Arabs, Persians, Chinese and Indonesians (Battuta 1957: 228 229).

The following assumptions are apparently the most popular and commonly used ones by scholars on Indonesia in the historical study of Indonesian Islamisation. It was due to the efforts of Muslim merchants - Arabs, Indians, Persians or Chinese - that Islam took root in Indonesia (Ali 1970; and Patji 1991). From India, for example, must have come the Shi'ite influence, of which traces can still be found in Java and Sumatra.⁶ According to historians, Muslim traders on the route to China regularly visited some ports in Southeast Asia from the 7th (or 8th) century, but Islamic kingdoms or power centers were only established in the 13th century. In brief, in the Middle Ages (13th to 15th centuries), there were close trading exchanges between Southern Arabia, especially between Maskat, Persian Ocean, Yemen (Hadramaut), Hijaz, Egypt or the east coast of Africa, China, India and Indonesia (Berg 1886: 1, 67; Arnold 1913: 363 407; Reid 1988 & 1993).⁷ This easily allowed the Arab traders to create settlements in many important ports in Indonesia.

According to L.W.C. Van Den Berg (1886: 67 68), Arab traders had long been in Indonesia, but their number was relatively small until approximately the late 18th century. In around 1812 1813, the total number of Arab immigrants, labeled "*orang Arab Moro*" (the Arab Muslims), in Java and Madura was only 621.⁸ Later, this figure increased steadily with the coming of new immigrants from

Hadramaut. It was due to the improvement of sea transportation (including the opening of the Suez Canal) and also the development of economic activities that a large number of Hadramis migrated to Indonesia.⁹

The Sayyid of Indonesia is historically believed to have emigrated from Hadramaut (Berg 1886; Abaza 1988).¹⁰ The region of Hadramaut has a history of abundant religious and intellectual life. The Hadramis were known as sophisticated people, hard working traders, intellectuals and saints or holy men (Berg 1886), and were particularly predominant in spreading the Shâfi'î school of Islam¹¹ (Serjeant 1981, VIII 25; Bujra 1971; Berg 1886). Renaud (1984: 57) argues, however, that the Zaydî doctrine, which referred to a Shi'ite sect (believing that the Imam (leader) should be a descendant of the Prophet), was spread and developed in Yemen during the twelfth century. Nevertheless, Zaydism¹² is closer to Sunnite Islam than Ismailism or other sects practiced in Iran (a Shi'ite Muslim country). The majority of Yemenis adhere to the Shâfi'î school and all Hadramis belong to this school. Therefore, it was probably the Hadramis, along with other Muslim immigrants, who predominantly brought to Indonesia the Shâfi'î school which has become the most popular Islamic school of Indonesian Muslims.

Despite the fact that all Hadramis spoke the same dialect and belonged to the same religion, there existed social stratification. The following four major hierarchical strata were recognized:

- 1) the Sayyid,
- 2) the *Mashâyikh*¹³ (singular *Shaikhs*),
- 3) the *Qabâ'il* (tradesmen), and
- 4) the *Masâkin* or *Du'afâ*, the have nots.¹⁴

According to traditional accounts, one forebear of the Sayyid group in Hadramaut was a person called Sayyid Aḥmad bin 'Isâ, also known as *al Muhâjir*,¹⁵ (Berg 1886: 34 36; Aḥmad 1976: 16). To distinguish themselves from other Sayyid groups such as those in Mecca and Morocco, those living in Hadramaut are called al 'Alwî (or al 'Alawiyîn), the grandchildren of Aḥmad bin 'Isâ (Serjeant 1981).¹⁶ Seven generations after Aḥmad bin 'Isâ, the genealogy of the Sayyid group had two branches with two sons of Muhammad, labeled *Ṣaḥîb ar Robat*. After that, the Sayyid group was divided into several clans. A list of the Sayyid clans is presented amongst others, by van den Berg (1886) as outlined in the below Table.

List of Several Sayyid Clans in Hadramaut (Berg 1886)

Al-Saqqâf	Abû-Numai	Al-Fad'âq
Al-Ba'âqil	Al 'Aidrûs	Al-Khird
Al-Musiyiyikh	Al-Ṭâhâ	Al-Khunaimân
Al-Sag	Al-Batumar	Al-Ba'âlf
Al-Munawwar	'Alî bin Shihâb al-Dîn ¹⁷	Al-Gaisah
Al-Had	Al-Mashhûr	Al-Bar
Al-Zâhir	Al-Sulaibiyyah	Al-Baraqah
Al-Mawlâ al-Dawilah	Al-Moqaibil	Al-Bid
Al-Mawlâ Khailah	'Alî bin Sâhil ¹⁸	Al-Qadrî
'Alî bin Yahyâ ¹⁹	Al-Ba'abud ²⁰	Al-Baharum
Al-Hinduan	Al-Mahjûb	Al-Shatirî
Al-'Abdal Malik	Al-Hâsyim ²¹	Al-Muhdar
Al-Sumait	Al-Nadîr	Al-Babaraik
Al-Ṭâhir	Al-Husain al-Qârah	Al-Bahusain
Al-Haddâd	Al-Bafâqih	Al-Hut
Al-Bafaraj	'Alî bin Qitbân	Al-Hamil
Al-Basurrah	Al-Hudailî	Al-Kâf
Al-'Aidîd ²²	Al-Junaid ²³	Al-Jufrî ²⁴
Al-Shillî	Al-Barum	Al-Bilfaqih
Al-Muniffir	Al-Ĥâmid	Al-Serf
Al-Syanbal	Bâ Syaiban	Al-Habsyî
Al-Musâwâ	Al-Baiti ²⁵	Al-Jamâl al-Lail
Al-Ismaîl	Al-Maknûn ²⁶	And others.
Ali bin Barahim	Al-Basyumailah	
Al-Ta'wîl	Al-'Aqîl bin Salîm	
Al-'Aṭṭâs	Al-Shaikh Abû Bakar ²⁷	
Al-Haddâr	Abû Futaim	
Al-Mutahhar	Al-Mudîr	
Al-Marzak	Al-Mudaihij	

Several clans of the above list no longer exist in Hadramaut. However, this does not mean that none of their descendants exist today. For instance, the descendants of the Bâ al-Syaibân family still exist in Java, and those of the al Qadri family live in Pontianak (Berg 1886: 36; Lombard 1990: 71; Patji 1991). Also, as described in this article, the descendants of the al-'Aidîd family in particular, and those of the al-Ṣaqqâf family are still said to exist in South Sulawesi.

In 1885, the Hadramis numbered approximately 20,000 people throughout Indonesia: 10,888 in Java and Madura, and 9,613 in other islands (Berg 1886: 107, 109). In 1905, they numbered almost 30,000: 19,148 in Java and Madura, and 10,440 in other regions. By 1934, between 20 and 30 per cent of all Hadramis lived in the East Indies, East Africa and the Red Sea countries (Serjeant 1981: 24 29; Abaza 1988: 15; Roff 1964: 81).²⁸

The Hadramis tended to settle along the coast in big cities such as Batavia (Jakarta), Pekalongan, Semarang and Surabaya, as well as Palembang. The majority of them were subsistence traders, but some were fishermen, and a small number of them were manual laborers. Many of them were extremely wealthy as they owned ships, property and buildings that were very profitable (Lombard 1990: 71). Prior to the 20th century, the Arab society (the Hadramis) seemed to have founded and controlled to a great extent the Haji (or pilgrimage to Mecca) industry in the Indian Archipelago (Berg 1886). In the period between 1900 and 1940, most pilgrims traveled by Dutch and British steamers, and the colonial government controlled most of the pilgrimage process.

In addition to this, the Arab traders (particularly, the non Sayyid, either Hadramis or other Arabs) created the Arab sponsored school network Al-Irshad (*Jamî'at al-Islâm wa al-Irshâd al-Arabiyya*, Association of Islam and Arabian Guidance) in their settlements. Al-Irshad was founded in Jakarta in 1913 (Noer 1973). The organization's founders "chafed at the deference demanded of them by those Arabs in Indonesia who claimed the status of Sayyid and sole religious scholars". They formed Al-Irshad to promote equality and educational advancement within the Arab community. They found religious support for their emphasis on social equality in the writings of modernist Muslims, and consequently focused increasingly on educational institutions (Noer 1973: 62).²⁹

It is necessary for this study to look at historical records regarding the coming of Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn, the founding father of Sayyid community, and his first assimilation with the local people in Cikoang village, and to examine the existing debate on Islamic practices, notably *Maulid Nabi*, between the Cikoangese and other Muslims, both in Cikoang and those living outside Cikoang such as in Makassar.

Review of Literature

The existence of the Sayyid in Cikoang, with their distinctive ritual of Maulid Nabi, has been an integral part of the Makassarese historical context for centuries. Their long-standing presence has generated much discussion by both Indonesian and non-Indonesian scholars. For instance, Nurdin and his colleagues carried out research on this issue in 1977/1978. This research provided a quite sophisticated report on the *Maudu'* in Cikoang through which a general understanding of the Cikoangese as a whole became available for other researchers.

Similarly, in 1985 a sociologist named Muhammad Hisyam observed the social web of the Sayyid and the commoners in Cikoang, and the exercising of patron-client relations that formed a set of reciprocal practices. In the religious realm, Hisyam also discussed the reciprocal relationship between *anrongguru* (teachers) and *ana'guru* (students). The *anrongguru* are the people in charge of giving religious teachings while in return, the *ana'guru* are obliged to give goods and other necessities to the *anrongguru*. There is also well-documented information on the conducting of *Maudu'* in Cikoang in the account given by Gilbert Harmonic (1985). Harmonic found that some of the Cikoangese beliefs and rituals find their roots in Shi'ite doctrines. Yet he clarified that the *Maudu'* ceremony alone is a distinct ceremony of the Cikoangese constructed by their elders. Despite his wide discussion of the islamization of South Sulawesi, including of Cikoang, Christian Pelras (1985) only devoted one paragraph to the coming of Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn al-'Aidîd as the founder of Islamization and the Sayyid community in Cikoang.

Cikoang

Cikoang is situated in the southern part of *kabupaten* (regency) Takalar, in *kecamatan* (district) Mangarabombang. The village is rectangular in shape, with *kabupaten* Jeneponto to the north and *desa* (village) Laikang to the south. Within Cikoang there are four *lingkungan* (hamlets), namely *lingkungan* Cikoang, Pattopakang, Bontoparang and Panjanglalang. For the purpose of this article, I consider the main *lingkungan*, Cikoang, and the other three hamlets to be one social unit, and the name Cikoang will be used to refer to this unit as a whole. Cikoang covers around 20 square kilometers. The people depend for their subsistence mainly on salt production and agriculture (90%) and fishing (10 %). They produce approximately 3,000 to 4,000 tonnes of salt each year.³⁰ Houses are built close to each other near the river in the Makassarese style *balla rate* (long houses).

According to Cikoangese records, Cikoang was first founded by a nobleman called Karaeng Cikondong from Binamu (in *kabupaten Jeneponto*) in around 1514 (Harmonic 1985). Like other Makassarese in the past, the Cikoangese were known as great seafarers. With the strategic positioning of Cikoang on the south coast of South Sulawesi, through sea trade the Cikoangese came into contact with other ethnic groups of Indonesia such as the

Acehnese and Malay peoples, who were mostly Muslims. According to local historians, Islam most likely gained its root in Cikoang partly due to the commercial relationship between the Cikoangese and the Muslim world (both the Sumatran and Malay peoples) (see Hisyam 1985).

The coming of Islam to Cikoang was traditionally associated with an Acehnese *ulama* (Islamic scholar) named Jalâl al-Dîn (Sayyid *Jalâl al-Dîn al-'Aidîd*), genealogically descended from the Hadramaut, a Sayyid (Arab) of the al-'Aidîd clan. Due to his efforts, all inhabitants of Cikoang today are Muslims, and most follow the tradition of the Sayyid in their socio religious life. Before Jalâl al-Dîn established Islam in Cikoang apparently in the first years of the seventeenth century (Hisyam 1985), he stayed for a while in Gowa (an ancient kingdom of South Sulawesi) with all his family as he was invited to help spread Islam in the region by Datok ri Bandang, one of the founding fathers of the Islamization of South Sulawesi (see Nurdin *et al* 1977/1978). The conversion to Islam of the people of South Sulawesi gained ground in 1605. Thus Jalâl al-Dîn also took part in the establishment of Islam in South Sulawesi in general, started primarily by the rulers of Gowa and Tallo' kingdoms (two ancient kingdoms of South Sulawesi) (Mattulada 1976: 19).

In relation to Cikoang, the appearance of the Sayyid can be, of course, related to the coming of Jalâl al-Dîn to the region (Pelras 1985: 113). He married the daughter of a Makassarese nobleman from Gowa.³¹ Traditional records note that Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn al-'Aidîd first arrived in Aceh, and then, by the end of the sixteenth century, had left for Banjarmasin where his preaching was strongly tinged with Shi'ite influences. From there, he traveled across to Cikoang, via Gowa (Pelras 1985: 113; and Harmonic 1985: 176). However, according to Pelras (1985), it was Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn's grandfather who originally came from Iraq, and then stayed for a while in Hadramaut. From there he went to Aceh. The Sayyid family currently living in Cikoang believe that Sayyid Ahmad bin 'Isa is the forebear of Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn al-'Aidîd (see genealogy). Pelras implies that Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn was born in Aceh, but local Cikoang oral sources might want to see him as coming straight from the source - Hadramaut, just as they might wish to push back the time frame. Thus Pelras' view (1985) is that it might be in those first years of the seventeenth century that Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn al-'Aidîd came to Cikoang and founded a Sayyid community in the region.

A Profile of Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn

This section discusses the use of the Cikoangese stories of the elders (*caritana turioloa*) or what Fox (1979) refers to as “historical narratives” in the interpretation of the coming of Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn and thus the coming of Islamic missions to Cikoang. *Caritana Turioloa* relates the following:

Masyarakat di sekitar kediaman I Bunrang memberikan perhatian penuh atas keberadoan seseorang yang bertampang Arab dengan wajah anggun penuh wibawa dan rendah hati.

Sampai setiap orang yang menemuinya sangat terkesan dan menjadi terpikat terutama kepribadiannya yang senantiasa memancarkan kata kata “hikmah” dan tidak lepas dari menyebut nama Allah.

In the vicinity of I Bunrang residence, the people paid attention to the presence of a person who resembled an Arab with elegant and unpretentious behavior.

As a consequence, everyone who met him was impressed and became interested especially in his character which always expressed philosophical (hikmah) words and recited the name of Allah.

This is a very well known tale among the Cikoangese describing the first contact of Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn with the local people in Cikoang. The tale of Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn and his Islamic mission conveys the message that his figure made a great impression in the minds of the Cikoangese from the time of his arrival. People always refer to him whenever they talk about religious activities in Cikoang. However, there is doubt about when and why exactly Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn al-‘Aidîd came to Cikoang. What is substantially the main character of his teachings? The only available sources are in the possession of the Cikoangese themselves. Moreover, the remains of his doctrinal teachings such as old manuscripts and chronicles are extremely difficult to obtain due to the sacredness of them. Access to old manuscripts of the doctrinal teachings of Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn al-‘Aidîd is extremely restricted for outsiders (as the writer experienced), and even for the Cikoangese themselves. The only people entitled to access them are those who are categorized as *anrongguru* (religious specialists of the Cikoangese), who are currently very few. Sayyid Maluddin Daeng Sikki al-‘Aidîd, a Sayyid noble, Chairperson of the al-‘Aidîd organization of Makassar, is one person from whom I could obtain several modern written transcripts of the old manuscripts. These old manuscripts provide the history of the coming of Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn, and

the grounds for conducting the *Maudu'* tradition and other Sayyid traditions.³²

The tomb of Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn al-'Aidîd is not located in Cikoang, and only the tomb of his second son, Sayyid Sahabuddin al-'Aidîd, can be found in the cemetery called *Jera' Paletteka*. This cemetery has traditionally been accessible only to members of the Sayyid families. It is regarded as a sacred site, and is popular with visitors asking for fortunes. According to Cikoang sources, Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn al-'Aidîd died in Sumbawa, west Nusa Tenggara and was buried there. According to my informant, the reason why the Cikoangese did not bury his body in Cikoang is that the descendants of Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn living in Sumbawa would not agree to its removal.

Every observer who conducts research in the community depends heavily on the information given by the *anrongguru*, which has been handed down orally from generation to generation. For instance, French scholars Gilbert Harmonic (1985) and Christian Pelras (1985) as well as Indonesian observers such as Muhammad Hisyam (1983), having observed the distinctiveness of the religious life of the Cikoangese, could not avoid adopting the accounts of the *anrongguru*. Therefore, these stories of the elders provide special perceptions of the Cikoangese historical accounts.

In the periods of South Sulawesi's contact with Malay regions, Cikoangese sailing to Aceh met two Cikoangese named *Hapeleka* (who had an excellent memory of the Qurân) and *Saeha* (syekh) and one *ulama* who was a descendent from Hadramaut, namely Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn al-'Aidîd.³³ It was historically these two Cikoangese who asked Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn al-'Aidîd to come to Cikoang.³⁴

When he was in the Gowa Kingdom (the first Makassar polity), prior to his arrival in Cikoang, Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn al-'Aidîd was reported to have been appointed by A. Abd. Kadir Karaenta ri Bura'ne, the brother of Sultan Alauddin, the Gowa ruler, as the Gowa ruler's adviser, in particular in matters of military tactics and religious studies (*Dîn al-Islâm*). After Islam had become the major faith of Gowa and there already existed the teachings of a number of influential Sufi scholars such as Ḥamzah Fansûrî and Nûr al-Dîn al-Rânîrî (Malay mystical scholars) Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn took his entire family to Cikoang based on the suggestion of the Gowa ruler, Sultan Alauddin, and Karaeng Matoaya (I Mallingkaang Daeng Nyonri Karaeng Katangka). His arrival there is still commemorated every year on the occasion of the *Maulid Nabi* celebration.

The Spread of the Teachings and Followers of Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn al-'Aidîd

The status of the Sayyid is very significant in the context of the Cikoang community because their presence is always attributed to the excellence of the Prophet Muhammad as the father of the Muslim community. The way the Sayyid perpetuate their traditional status is firmly based on the Islamic teachings historically brought by Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn al-'Aidîd (a descendant of the Prophet) as the founder of the Sayyid community in Cikoang (Hisyam 1985).

Harmonic (1985) found that Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn al-'Aidîd, during his stay in Cikoang, developed a life style which encouraged believers to abandon, without completely alienating, worldly things or as it is prevalently called in Sufi tradition, *uzlah* (praying in isolation). This teaching is based on the *Shari'at* (the God prescribed 'path' for humans to follow, as set out in the Qurân and Hadîth (the traditional sayings and deeds of the Prophet Muhammad), otherwise known as Islamic law) in conjunction with *fiqh* (Islamic Jurisprudence), and *tarekat* (Sufi Order doctrine), namely *tarekat Bahar al-Nûr*, which concentrates on *Hakikat* (the essence of obedience to God) and *Ma'rifat* (gnosis) doctrines. In addition to these doctrines, the teachings of Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn al-'Aidîd primarily emphasized the commemoration of *Maulid Nabi* (locally called *Maudu'*), and the methods of conducting the commemoration.³⁵ His teachings on the *Bahar al-Nûr* Sufi Order (*al-Nûr* refers to *Nur Muhammad*, the divine light (or sparkling of God) of Muhammad, which connotes the pre-existence of Muhammad as the origin of the universe) flourished and his followers increased in number. Because he thought his religious duty had finished, he then traveled via Selayar and Buton to Sumbawa where he died and was buried. In modern Cikoang, the Sayyid always bear in mind that the *Bahar al-Nûr* Sufi Order is the product of their *madhhab* (Islamic school of interpretation of *Shari'at*), namely *madhhab Abl al-Bait* - literally the *madhhab* of the household of the Prophet Muhammad (Hisyam 1985: 26).

His second son, Sayyid Sahabuddin, continued the teachings of Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn al-'Aidîd in Cikoang and married there. According to Cikoang sources, the descendants of Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn al-'Aidîd spread out to Cikoang, Selayar, Buton, Luwu', Mandar, South Kalimantan, and Jakarta Utara (Luar Batang) where they are still said to exist. Moreover, due to strict endogamy, the subsequent genera-

tions founded a distinctive community called *Kelompok Masyarakat Sayyid* (The al-'Aidid Society of Makassar). And in 1905, thanks to a local hero by the name of Sayyid Bahauddin, the existing government of Cikoang collapsed and the Sayyid took power (Harmonic 1985). Following this, the Sayyid community has always dominated the appointment of the village head in Cikoang. This in turn smoothed the way for the spread of Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn's teachings.

Hisyam (1985) observed that the election of top officials in the Cikoangese administration is rather complicated, particularly at the level of village head, due to the attitude of the Sayyid. If the appointed village head is not from among the Sayyid, the Sayyid community will only reluctantly agree to decisions made by the village head. Thus, according to Hisyam's findings, in order to better rule the Sayyid community in particular and the Cikoangese in general, the head of *Mangarabombang* district (a higher authority than the Cikoang village head) would rather welcome a candidate of Sayyid origin in the village head election. Daeng Sila (a Sayyid) told me that:

"in Punaga (another hamlet near Cikoang village), the village head has always come from the Sayyid family since the Sayyid settled in the region. The reason is because it is easy to get official approval to celebrate the *Maulid Nabi* festival if the village head is a Sayyid".

It can be concluded that the appointment of village head in Cikoang is a major concern of the Cikoangese because it has a wide impact on the maintenance of the Sayyid traditions.

The genealogy
of Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn al-'Aidid

Muḥammad SAW → Fâtîmah (m. 'Alî bin Abî Tâlib) → Ḥusain → Zain al-Âbidîn
→ Muḥammad Bâqir → Ja'far al-Şâdiq → 'Alî al-Uraidî → Muḥammad al-Naqîb
→ 'Isâ → Aḥmad al-Muhâjir → 'Abd Allâh → Al-'Alwî → Muḥammad Qâsim
→ 'Alî → Muḥammad Shahib → 'Alwî → Faqîh 'Abd al-Raḥmân → Faqîh → Aḥmad
→ 'Abd Allâh → Muḥammad → 'Alî → Faqîh Shahib → 'Abd Allâh 'Umar → 'Alî →
Muḥammad → Abû Bakr → Muḥammad Waḥîd al-'Aidid → Jalâl al-Dîn al-'Aidid

Maulid Nabi: Celebrating the Birthday of the Prophet Muhammad

This section examines in greater detail the celebration of *Maulid Nabi* according to the scriptural perspective of those I term Traditionalists (the Cikoangese), and explores some elements of the religious practice to which Modernists object. In pursuit of this, I discuss the extent to which the two opposing groups of Muslims observe *Maulid Nabi* differently. Both parties justify their practice with reference to the same source (*Shari'at*), but they are traditionally different in interpretation and application.

Maulid or *maulud*, from an Arabic root word meaning 'birth', literally refers to the commemoration of the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad. It is an Islamic holiday which is held on the twelfth day of the month of Rabi' al-Awwal. It is a yearly festival celebrated in many Muslim regions by performing ritual meals and reciting special prayers recounting the life of the Prophet Muhammad, the latter known as *Barazanji*.³⁶

For the Cikoangese Muslims, *Maulid Nabi*, locally called *Maudu'*, is a ritual feasting. It is said to have been first conducted on the 8th of Rabi' ul-Awwal 1041 H (1620 AD), primarily pioneered by Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn in conjunction with I-Bunrang (a local), and was performed in I-Bunrang's house. At that time, Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn asked for I-Bunrang's assistance to provide tens of liters of rice, forty chickens and 120 chicken or duck eggs for forty guests. Thus on this first occasion there were forty *Kanre Maudu'* (*Maudu'* food, put in a bamboo basket) altogether. In the following year, on the 12th Rabi'ul Awwal 1042 H (1621 AD), the number of participants increased greatly. Every participant representing his household was therefore asked to prepare *Kanre Maudu'*, the preparation being known as *Maudu' caddi* (the smaller *Maulid*), under the guidance of its own *anrongguru* (religious specialist). The *Kanre Maudu'* consists of four liters of rice, one chicken, one coconut and at least one egg for each family member of a household.

As the number of the participants in the festival continued to increase every year, *Maudu'* needed to be held in a bigger location, and later became known as the *Maudu' lompoa* (the Great *Maulid*), beginning roughly in 1050 H (1629 AD). It is allegedly that it was both Sayyid Umar and Sayyid Sahabuddin, the children of Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn, who created *Maudu' Lompoa*.

In modern Cikoang, the practice of *Maudu' caddi* remains intact

as the opening program of the ritual. From the twelfth to the last days of Rabi' al-'Awwal, all individuals of the al-'Aidid clan are given the opportunity to arrive in Cikoang village prior to the celebration of *Maudu' Lompoa*, which is the culminating point of the whole ritual. Thus the *Maudu'* festival consists of two stages, the first being the *Maudu' caddi*, where each household makes a *Kanre Maudu'* in their own house, and the second being the *Maudu' lompoa*, a ritual meal where the *Kanre Maudu'* prepared by each household of the al-'Aidid clan are gathered publicly at the edge of the estuary of the Cikoang River.³⁷

There are several petty boats used for the *Maudu' Lompoa*, locally called "*julung-julung*" (literally meaning the jamming together of two petty boats as in a pair) in which *Kanre Maudu'* are placed collectively. This *julung-julung* is then placed in a real boat. According to my informant, the number of *julung-julung* indicates the number of marriages in the Sayyid family conducted throughout the year. Thus, *julung-julung* are also called *bunting baru* (literally meaning newly married couples). Karaeng Sikki, in explaining to me the religious reason for using boats in the ritual, quoted the Prophet Muhammad to the effect that "anyone who rides in the boat of *Ahl al-Bait* (the household of the Prophet), his or her life will be pleasant in the Hereafter." He interpreted this to mean that anyone whose marriage is based on the Kafa'ah system, which is the Sayyid marriage policy, will remain as a family member of the Prophet, and will be placed among the blessed.

Modernists agree with the celebration of the *Maudu'* festival so long as it is held for the purpose of introducing the Prophet Muhammad's teachings in order that people become more acquainted with the doctrines. If that is the reason for conducting the *Maudu'* festival, then it is *mubah* (neutral), neither forbidden nor prescribed. However, Traditionalists see the *Maudu'* festival as an occasion for a ritual meal because it is considered to be the visualization of the character of the Prophet Muhammad. Hisyam (1985) and Harmonic (1985) observed that the Cikoangese (Traditionalists) believe that a truly pious Muslim has a duty to pay their respects upon the Prophet Muhammad's birthday festival (*Maudu'*) by celebrating it as merrily as possible, while other religious obligations, including the five daily prayers, are given lower priority. Another interesting matter is that the *Maudu'* festival is regarded as having rewards equal to those of the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Such an understanding of the *Maudu'* festival has a wide impact on the socio cultural development of Cikoang. Every activity of the community throughout the year concentrates on the *Maudu'* festival, especially between the months of Safar and Rabi' al-Awwal. Nobody in the community will consciously go against the long-standing traditions, especially the *Maudu'* festival, without facing terrible obstacles. An *anrongguru* related an Hadith saying; "Anyone who does not perform the *Maudu'* festival in the month of Rabi' al-Awwal (the month of the Prophet Muhammad's birth), will be cursed in the Qur'an and Bible. Consequently, if he or she walks on earth they will be cursed by earth as walking dogs and pigs." The following local phrases also strengthen such a belief:

1. *Manna tena kusambayang,
assalak a'maudukumamak, antama tonja
risuruga pappinyamang.*
1. Though I do not perform prayers (five times a day)
I will also be in the Paradise.
2. *Ka'deji kunipapile, assambayang
na'mauduka, kualleangang a'mauduka
ri Nabbia.*
2. If I am asked to choose between prayer and *Maudu'*
I will choose *Maudu'*.
3. *Tassitaunga 'kareso,
a'panassa pangngasselang, tena maraeng
nakupa'maudukang ri Nabbia.*
3. Every year I work hard for nothing but *Maudu'*.
4. *Tepoki memang bukunnu, akkareso bangngi allo,
sollanna niak sallang nupa'maudukang.*
4. Let us work hard so we have something
for conducting *Maudu'*.
5. *I nakke kaniakkangku,
I lalang ri anne lino, tena maraeng,
passangali a'mauduk.*
5. My existence on this earth is for nothing
but *Maudu'*.
6. *Manna memangja kumate
susa tena la'busu'na kuparetonji
Maudu'ku ri Nabbia.*
6. Even though I am dying,
I still want to make my *Maudu'* for the Prophet.

7. *Balukangi tedonnu,
pappita'gallangi tananu,
nu' Maudu' mamo.*
7. Sell your buffalo,
take your land to pawn,
for the purpose of *Maudu'* only.
8. *Anngaipaka nurangaselakamma,
nupattaenai baran-barannu, naiya
minne paggaukang kaminang
mala'biri'.*
8. Why do you regret sacrificing your belongings,
whereas this is the most honorable deed.³⁸

However, according to my findings, to a certain extent, this traditional belief in fact is not universal among the Sayyid. It seems that among members of the Sayyid clan there exist different interpretations of the significance of the celebration of the *Maudu'* festival. Yet the opposition arising within the Sayyid community itself over the *Maude'* is not commonplace since the proportion of the people who doubt the significance of the ritual are relatively very small and also, the consequence of such opposition, if expressed publicly, may include social sanctions by the Sayyid community such as taunts and even killing.

In reality, for the most part, Traditionalists' respect for the *Maudu'* festival is deep. This is apparent during the month of Rabi' ul-Awwal, the month of the *Maudu'* festival, when no other rituals, including life-cycle rites, are conducted throughout the month.

Bulang Pannyongko: The Month of Preparation

All participants in the *Maudu'* festival are given one month to prepare their *Kanre Maudu'*, from the 10th of Safar until the 10th of Rabi' al-Awwal. Each family member of the al-'Aidid clan (there are twenty to forty heads of household in all) gather under the guidance of Opu, a Sayyid *Karaeng*. During this time, a representative of these heads of households is chosen to prepare the *Kanre Maudu'* for all family members of other heads of households he represents. Every family member of each household representative must donate at least four liters of rice, one chicken, one coconut and one chicken or duck egg in the production of the *Kanre Maudu'*.

According to my informant, during this month, the sanctity of these items must be protected. For example, to keep them clean, the chicken must be put in a bamboo stockade for the whole month and should only consume food given by its owner (the Sayyid) until it is slaughtered. The people in charge of this preparation must undertake *wudhu'* (ablutions, or the purification of certain parts of the body by using water intended for performing prayer), in advance. In particular, women must be clean from menstruation. Transgressions against these rules will annul the whole preparation (see Nurdin *et al* 1977/78). Further, the participants should be in a state of sincerity when they donate their belongings for the preparation of the *Kanre Maudu'* because the *Maudu'* festival is seen as a time of charity for the needy.

Preparing *Kanre Maudu'*

The items used as ingredients for *Kanre Maudu'* (rice, chicken, coconut and egg), are placed into a number of bamboo storage baskets, locally called *Baku' Maudu'* (or *bakul duduk*), after they are properly cooked. Unlike other items, the rice alone, however, must be half-cooked. It is the task of the people to whom the *Kanre Maudu'* are given to cook the rice properly later on so that the rice is not spoiled prior to being consumed by its recipients (see Kadir *et al* 1984). The chickens are fried with curry powder and are placed inside the *bakul duduk*. The cooked eggs are colored with bright colors (for example, red). After that, the eggs are pricked with a half-meter long thin stick and arranged in a row and in a circle on top of the *bakul duduk*. The *bakul duduk* may also include sweet cookies and a number of snacks.³⁹

The *Kanre Maudu'*, consisting of a number of *bakul duduk*, are then arranged in order in *bembengan* (wooden stretchers, also called *kandawari*), which are quadrangular, or in another similar but smaller shape, called *sulapa'*. The sizes of *bembengan* are in accordance with whether the *Kanre Maudu'* is for an individual or for a big family. Finally, the *bembengan* are placed into the *julung-julung*, the petty boats, supported by four one-meter long poles.

To clarify how this *Maudu'* festival is perceived as a ritual composition, let us take a brief look at a mystical poem deriving from Traditionalist teachings. The poem states that:

“Allah created *Nur Muhammad* unequalled in beauty. This *Nur* resembled the body hair of a peacock, and then it was poured into a crystallized glass, as well as placed in a faith tree called *Shajarat ul Yaqin*.”

As stated earlier, the items of *Kanre Maudu'* prepared for the *Maudu'* festival consist of a number of live chickens symbolizing the peacock (a symbol of beauty, *jamâl*), as compared equally to the mercy of Divine Light. The *bakul duduk*, which are white, illustrate the crystallized glass. And the *kandawari* symbolizes the faith tree (*Shajarat al-Yaqîn*). Decoration coloring the *Kanre Maudu'* outlines the perfection and beauty of *Nur Muhammad*. Red or white colored eggs are a symbol of the spirits surrounding it. Several colorful sails decorating the boats symbolize the banners of the *Mu'minîn* (the believers of Islam), which will safeguard those believers on the day of or resurrection or judgment (*Yaum al-Maṭshar*). Fruit and various plaited materials illustrate prosperity, vitality and cheerfulness welcoming the creation of the Divine Light of Muhammad, the creation of the whole universe. Thus the celebration of the *Maudu'* festival in Cikoang can be seen as a visualization of the creation of *Nur Muhammad* and thus the Prophet Muhammad before his existence on earth.

In the ritual, the *Kanre Maudu'* are grouped together and brought to the place of celebration at the edge of the estuary of Cikoang River. This occasion is called *anngantara kanre maudu'*. In this place, where the *julung-julung* are located on the riverbank, the *Maudu' Lompoa* starts to take place. At the *Maudu' Lompoa* held in 1996, there were fifteen *julung-julung* altogether meaning that there were fifteen newly married couples celebrated throughout the year.

A'rate: Recitation of *Barazanji*

After all the *julung-julung* are in place by the banks of the Cikoang River, the biggest *julung-julung* is then chosen for the recitation of the *Barazanji* (or *A'rate'*, special prayers regarding the life of the Prophet Muhammad), where tens of *parate'* (the readers of the *Barazanji*) sit collectively with their legs crossed. For more than two hours, *parate'* recite the *Barazanji* by turn, and then simultaneously. The *Barazanji* (also called *Jikkiri* or *Zikir*) used locally were remobilized by Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn, and contain the stories of the life of the Prophet Muhammad (see Nurdin *et al* 1977/1978; and Harmonic 1985).

Before this occasion, all owners of the *Kanre Maudu'* are summoned to see the collection of the *Kanre Maudu'*. There is a funny moment here as each owner exaggerates how fine his *Kanre Maudu'* is and expresses his disapproval of the others'. Those whose *Kanre Maudu'* are criticized try to make them much better than the *Kanre Maudu'* of the faultfinders. This occasion is locally called *a'ganda* (literally meaning multiplication or increment) (see Nurdin *et al* 1977/1978). This argument over whose *Kanre Maudu'* is the best sometimes leads to petty physical fighting, when for example, each strives to plunge his enemy into the waters of the Cikoang River. But after that, they change their wet clothes and return to follow the ensuing programs peacefully and without any hard feelings. After *A'rate*, those gathered recite *Salawat*, or recitations for the well being of the Prophet Muhammad and his family as well as his companions.

Pa'bageang Kanre Maudu': Distributing Kanre Maudu'

After reciting *Salawat*, all guests from outside Cikoang invited by the Sayyid community, such as intellectuals, heads of religious institutions (such as the Muhammadiyah), heads of surrounding villages, heads of districts and other distinguished people along with all the participants are served with dishes and drinks which are not from the *Kanre Maudu'* but which are provided especially for these guests. This stage of the reception is called *pattoanang*. After that, the *Kanre Maudu'* is distributed in stages by the head of the *Maudu'* festival (a Sayyid *Karaeng*), not to the participants, which is unlawful (the *Kanre Maudu'* are strictly not for the donators), but to a number of selected people. This occasion is called *pabbageang kanre Maudu'*. Initially, it is the *Qâdî'* (Islamic judge) and the *Imâm* (leaders in prayer), derived not from among the Sayyid, but sometimes from the Muhammadiyah, who are given the *Kanre Maudu'* as a gift. The second group in the distribution hierarchy are the *parate'* and the heads of nearby villages and districts. And finally, the rest of the *Kanre Maudu'* are distributed to the crowd who are mostly the poor. Fabric and sarongs (unsown cloths) decorating the *julung-julung* also used to be distributed in the past, but these are now collected by the head of Mangarabombang district for the development of the Cikoang village (see Nurdin *et al* 1977/1978). Thus the whole ritual of *Maudu'* is complete.

Polemics in Celebrating *Maulid Nabi* in Cikoang: Traditionalists versus Modernists

This section examines the religious arguments over popular religious beliefs and practices of Cikoangese Muslims. In the context of religious life in Cikoang, there are many religious scholars and teachers who view religion as a definable sphere of knowledge and practice, and people identify themselves as affiliated with one of two religious orientations. The first one is that of the so called “Cikoangese”, consisting of the Sayyid. In modern Cikoang, the Cikoangese identify themselves as those who affirm the long standing religious practices inherited from Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn and his successors. They associate themselves with a different school of Islamic institutions.

The second has come to be known as the “outsiders”. I use this term to refer to those who argue against the distinct Cikoangese festivities, notably *Maulid Nabi* or *Maudu'*, and who mostly obtained their religious knowledge through modern educational institutions (such as those owned by the Muhammadiyah)⁴⁰ and who graduated from other networks of schools and associations supporting the modernist movement.

For the purposes of this article, I shall group these two clusters in the category of “Traditionalists” and “Modernists”.⁴¹ The Cikoangese tend to regard themselves in most respects as Traditionalists, to the extent that their religious specialists (the Sayyid) perpetuate traditional knowledge of religious beliefs and ritual practices, and tend to counter any kind of criticisms from non-Traditionalists. On the other hand, the adherents of the modernist movement (notably the Muhammadiyah) are mostly believed to be non Sayyid who have graduated from educational institutions outside the control of the Sayyid.

In this analysis, I propose a way of viewing the typical roles of the two groups (Traditionalists and Modernists) as identified and expounded by Makassarese scholars in particular, and Indonesian scholars in general. These two categories have frequently attracted discussion by other Muslims. In the following paragraphs we shall see how these Cikoangese (later Traditionalists), still protect their identity, even as it changes within the context of their social relations with other Muslims in Makassar. The basic aim of this section is to explore the extent to which Traditionalists in Makassar continuously maintain their fanatical adherence to their religious practices in the face of religious challenges of Modernists. It is worthwhile to note

that those typical roles (Traditionalists and Modernists) are only applicable for particular purposes. My purpose, as we shall see, is to provide a general understanding of religious beliefs and proper practices constructed and debated by these two groups of Muslims.⁴²

Modernists concerned with *Maudu'* object to the interpretation of *Maudu'* as a ritual meal and an obligatory practice (Bowen 1993). For them, the celebration of *Maudu'* was never commanded by Allah nor recommended by the Prophet Muhammad himself. According to one modernist scholar, the first *Maulid* festival was practiced by Sulţān Şalāḥ al-Dīn al-'Ayyūbī in 1187 AD (more than 500 years after the death of the Prophet Muhammad), and was carried out for the purposes of enhancing the enthusiasm of Muslim soldiers fighting the enemy during the Crusades.

Popular commemorations in Makassar and Jakarta, where most Modernists reside, take the form of didactic lectures at which *ulama* recount the magnificence of the life of the Prophet Muhammad from the time of His childhood as an orphan up to that of His prophetic missions. These are held for the purpose of introducing the Prophet Muhammad's teachings so that people do not forget them and indeed become more acquainted with the doctrines. Haji Malik, one of the most outspoken scholars of the Modernists in Makassar, tends to stress the role of the Prophet Muhammad as an exemplary figure. He and other Modernist scholars believe that "if the inclusion of any meal in the celebration is intended to visualize the physical performance of the Prophet Muhammad, it is then *bid'ah* (heretical innovation) and forbidden". This statement seems to be hypocritical, as one Sayyid told me:

"In the 1996 *Maudu'* festival, there was a Muhammadiyah *Imam* invited, living in Makassar. When the *Kanre Maudu'* was distributed to him, he received it happily, he even took the biggest *Kanre Maudu'*. We sometimes laughed when we remembered that occasion, because we knew that Muhammadiyah criticized an over inclusion of food in the *Maudu'* festival, but they ate it when we gave it, that's hypocritical".

Opposing ideas between Modernists and Traditionalists regarding the proper way to conduct the *Maudu'* festival rarely arise in the public sphere. In the celebration of the *Maudu'* festival, Modernists may take part, but only as guests. This is not because they are not allowed to be participants but, as mentioned by one modernist, this is the gentlest way for them to express their disagreement with the *Maudu'* festival.

The differences between the two groups probably lie in the social significance of ritual objects used in the *Maudu'* festival. For example, Traditionalists believe that the inclusion of rice, chickens, coconut and eggs in the ritual is the only way, or obligatory way, to express their religious faith in Islam, and they would feel humiliated if they could not include these objects. Contrary to this, the Modernists are more flexible and not restricted to particular ingredients used in the celebration. For Modernists, the main aspect of the celebration is the propagation of the Prophet Muhammad's teachings. Thus they have free choice, since the *Maudu'* festival is not obligatory for them.

The central concern in regards to the meaning of the *Maudu'* festival then, is the idea of the two parties on how the objectives of the celebration should be fulfilled by its practitioners. Traditionalists principally base their view on the Qurân and Hadîth (the Islamic Scriptures). In reality, however, there are a number of Traditionalists who also transgress some prohibitions laid down in the teachings of Islam but always excuse the contradiction in their conduct by referring to the two Islamic sources that basically contrast the teachings of Islam and common sense. One informant told me,

"I found one Sayyid who was drunk, and when I asked him why he drank alcoholic drinks (Islam forbids the consumption of alcoholic beverage), he replied: 'I am a Sayyid (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 other examples that leads people to doubt the origins of the Sayyid as descendants of the Prophet Muhammad.

Modernists challenge the derivation of the Traditionalists' Islamic beliefs and practices. Yet official or institutional attempts by Modernists to criticize openly the teachings of Traditionalists are rarely found. Rather, the debates mainly arise in private settings. Teachers, scholars and students of educational institutions, who are mostly outsiders, also produce many written criticisms.⁴³ The two opposing groups have been involved in moderate debate because they obviously fear a violation of the well being of the social body as a whole. The main principle of the Modernists' position embodies the belief that each individual Muslim should take responsibility for referring to and understanding the Scriptures. Regarding religious practices, all Muslims, whether Traditionalists or Modernists, always keep in mind that *Shari'at* is the center of their faith and the source of religious doctrines and duties that all good Muslims must try to observe

and apply in their daily conduct. Almost all Traditionalists are able to recite Arabic texts because of their lifelong familiarization with the reading of the Qurân and the *Barazanji* (which are written in Arabic), even though they do not necessarily know the proper meaning and use of these texts. In their religious practices such as in the *Maudu'* festival, they prefer reciting the *Barazanji* instead of reading the Qurân.

In relation to the *Bahar al-Nûr* Sufism practiced among Traditionalists, Modernists do not agree with the veneration of mysticism focused on the spirit of the Prophet Muhammad (Schimmel 1979). They see most Sufi scholars as exaggerating the importance of the spirit of the Prophet Muhammad. Clearly, Modernists suggest that the axis of Islam is not the spirit of the Prophet Muhammad, but rather the messages that God sent to humankind through Muhammad, whether collected in the Qurân or embodied in "statements" and "actions" of the Prophet Muhammad (i.e. the Ḥadîth).⁴⁴ In other words, Modernists suggest that it is understandable when Muslims are fond of praising the Prophet Muhammad because he is the father of the *Ummah* (Muslim community). However, what is of most importance is to what extent people as good Muslims appreciate and put into practice in their daily lives the messages of the Scriptures (the Qurân and Ḥadîth) that God revealed to the Prophet Muhammad. In this sense, add Modernists, despite every religious matter having its own clarification in the Scriptures, Muslims should use their own powers of reasoning. That is, they should critically observe every ritual practice. In ritual practices, other written religious texts may be used as references but they are applicable only to the extent that they clarify what is already in the Scriptures. Changing what the Scriptures reveal or practicing what the Scriptures never ordered are viewed as heretical innovations (*bid'ah*). This is the reason why Modernists always suggest the importance of correctly interpreting the Scriptures. In so doing, reliable Scriptural scholars are needed for clarifying doubts over statements in the Scriptures and to prevent individuals from interpreting them freely (Bowen 1993). Modernists often quote the Prophet Muhammad to the effect that "anyone who performs what I never give as an example, the reward of his or her doing is refused." An individual may do whatever they wish except where it is clearly stated that it is unlawful to do so. Thus every action must rely on the Scriptures (the Qurân and the Ḥadîth).

Traditionalists also in principle stand for what they feel is right as

derived from the Scriptures. They often justify their typical beliefs and rituals by referring to Hadîth, traditionally recorded by their scholars in the past.⁴⁵ Many Traditionalists (almost all Sayyid and a small number of Jawi), know a number of Quranic verses and Hadîth as well as how to recite them, mostly in Indonesian and Makassarese, but their understanding of them is mostly limited to certain matters such as the grounds for conducting the *Maudu'* festival.

Traditionalists and Modernists both often justify their religious practices by referring to the two Muslim Scriptures. However, the differences in the interpretation and elucidation of the text of the Qurân and Hadîth adopted by the two groups of Muslims may be superimposed on their opposing arguments. For Modernists, the Scriptures have only one set of conventional interpretations, this being the vernacular renderings of the Scriptures called *Tafsîr* (literally, the science of the Qurân containing interpretations of and commentaries on the Quranic verses pioneered by earlier Scriptural scholars) (Mufassir). The most popular interpretation used by the majority of today's Muslims, both Sunnî and Shi'ah, is *Fi-Zilâl al-Qurân* (in the Shadow of the Qurân), written by the Egyptian thinker Sayyid Quṭb (d. 1386 H / 1966 AD) (Ayoub 1984: 7). The *Tafsîr* used by Modernists in Indonesia is a version issued by the Department of Religious Affairs of Indonesia, written in Indonesian. On the other hand, Traditionalists rely on the interpretations of the Qurân and Hadîth inherited orally from past religious specialists. Traditionalists also heavily perpetuate the sayings and actions of their earlier scholars, and tend to feel isolated from comrades who no longer appreciate what the old people did in the first place. The bottom line is that the utilization of *Tafsîr* is the concern of Modernists only, whereas Traditionalists conceive of *Tafsîr* as a symbol of the Modernists movement.

During my fieldwork, I often heard Modernists express the opinion that most Scriptural references adopted by Traditionalists are *ḍa'îf* (weak) and sometimes *mauḍû'* (false), based on unreliable and non-conventional interpretations. For instance, one of the Hadîth which I collected from a Traditionalist states: "The Prophet Muhammad said: someone is not yet regarded as among the true believers before he loves me (the Prophet) more than he loves himself, his parents, his children and his descendants." According to the interpretation of Traditionalists, in order to show love and admiration for the Prophet, Muslims are obligated to celebrate his birthday. Yet

from the Modernists point of view, the Ḥadīth simply encourages Muslims to put into practice the sayings and actions of the Prophet in daily life.

In sum, many of the differences between the two camps of Muslim scholars originate from their opposing ideas of how Muslims are supposed to justify their religious practices by interpreting the Scriptures. In addition, both Modernists and Traditionalists seemingly consider the ongoing debates between them as a result of the different *madhhab* that they both adopt. We know that generally the majority of Indonesian Muslims follow the Shāfi'ī school, which counsels reliance on the collective practices of *Shari'at*, while Traditionalists in Cikoang adopt the *Ahl al-Bait* school, which stresses the knowledge of *taṣawwuf* focused on *Babar al-Nūr* Sufi doctrine in relation to the spirit of the Prophet Muhammad. As Sayyid Daeng explained to me:

“We (the Sayyid) are more interested in studying *taṣawwuf* (rather than *Shari'at*), because it is the essence of Islam. *Taṣawwuf* for us is like the coconut milk of the coconut fruit, while *Shari'at* is just like the outer leaves of the coconut. It is coconut milk which is the core of the coconut and not its outer leaves”.⁴⁶

Despite there being a group of people in Cikoang who consciously consider themselves as Shi'ah (or Shi'ite) Muslims, as Harmonic (1985) argued, a large proportion of the religious doctrines in Cikoang are based on the concept of *Nur Muhammad* which is not a specification of Shi'ah doctrines but rather of Sufism, either in ideology or terminology.⁴⁷ Traditionalists argue that:

“We consider ourselves (the Sayyid) as Shi'ah followers in terms of marriage policy or *Kafa'ab*. This marriage system is essentially viewed as Shi'ah, whereas other beliefs and practices are Sunni, 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. their *Imām* (Islamic leaders) should be both secular and 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 (the Sayyid) marry the local women then Islam is introduced to them.”⁴⁸

This acknowledgment seems to be inappropriate because in fact the Sayyid dominates the current administration of the Cikoang bureaucracy. For example, the Mangarabombang district head, a higher authority than the Cikoang village head, is genealogically a Sayyid. Yet this Shi'ah discussion is not the main concern for Modernists as

they are more concerned with the Traditionalists' method of conducting ritual practices with which, for the most part, they do not agree. Hence I am more concerned with how the Cikoangese Muslims decide methods of understanding their doctrines (i.e. *Bahar al-Nûr* Sufi doctrine) relating to the *Maudu'* festival than whether or not Shi'ah ideology is superimposed on the religious orientations of the Cikoangese Muslims.

The Religious Orientation of the Traditionalists

Bahar al-Nûr Sufism, as taught by Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn and his successors, serves as the primary basis for the religious orientations of the Traditionalists in justifying their religious practices. This is particularly apparent in the religious ritual and cosmological matters of the Traditionalists. The Traditionalists maintain that the *Bahar al-Nûr* Sufi doctrine originates from their *madhhab Ahl al-Bait*.⁴⁹ To counter criticisms any of them, Traditionalists have always emphasized their typical ceremonies (for example, the *Maudu'* festival) as enactments of the *Bahar al-Nûr* Sufi Order.

In terms of the beliefs and practices of the *Bahar al-Nûr* Sufi Order, if we inquire as to why a certain teaching is set out in a particular way (especially in relation to the *Maudu'* festival), Traditionalists often say, "we repeat the old stories in the way they were told to us and with the words we ourselves remember." This relates to the idea of *taqlîd*, which, strictly speaking, means the uncritical acceptance of legal and theological decisions of a teacher or teachers, or people just following the practices of their elders. "To follow this one is considered to be *bid'ah* (heretical innovations) in religion", say a Modernist, since there is no attempt to refer to the Scriptures for clarification purposes. By contrast, Modernists emphasize using the power of individual reasoning (*ijtihâd*), that is the checking and rechecking of interpretations of the Scriptures used to justify a particular ritual rather than just blindly following earlier sayings and actions of the elders. Modernists maintain that every Muslim should understand and practice Islam by using *ijtihâd* if they are capable of doing so, and if not, a Muslim then exercises so-called *ittibâ'* – literally, following or accepting every religious decision of recognized scholars and then adopting the judgments after affecting a critical observation of the *dalîl* (evidence) from the Qurân and the Ḥadîth (see Adams 1933).

According to one Traditionalist, *ana'guru* (students, mostly the

children of the Sayyid) must pass a series of basic prerequisites set by the *anrongguru* before they can move on to gaining an understanding of *taṣawwuf Bahar al-Nûr*. For example, one *ana'guru* told me:

“we must adhere faithfully by giving something (e.g. a present) in exchange for religious lessons given by an *anrongguru*. It is these duties that prove an *ana'guru's* loyalty. When these duties are not properly applied, 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 in his worldly life.”

The reason for this is that *Bahar al-Nûr* Sufism is the core and the most difficult module in the teachings of *madhhab Ahl al-Bait*.

In reality, the doctrines of *madhhab Ahl al-Bait* are not formally provided in a specific studying place. It is not like a common school in which teachings, readings, and other academic activities run systematically and are based on a clearly defined curriculum. Rather, the students must actively visit the residence of their teachers, wherever that may be, for the purpose of studying.⁵⁰ Thus understanding depends on how frequently an *ana'guru* visits an *anrongguru*: the more frequent the visits, the more advanced and complete is the understanding of the body of doctrine. For example, on one occasion in a series of interviews with Sayyid Maluddin Daeng Sikki (*Karaeng Sikki*), a family (*ana'guru*) came to visit *Karaeng Sikki* (*anrongguru*) to consult him about which would be the best day for their daughter's engagement. This consultation continued until the last days of the wedding festival.

Further, the *anrongguru* are said to be the people in charge of every ritual conducted by their *ana'guru* such as at the time of marriage, of *Maudu'* and of funeral celebrations. Thus the process of teaching and studying takes place through this kind of relationship. Therefore, without taking an active attitude or completing a series of prerequisites, the *ana'guru* will never be able to complete the study of *Bahar al-Nûr* Sufism, the final stage of the whole teachings of *madhhab Ahl al-Bait*.

The relationship between *ana'guru* and *anrongguru* is very paternalistic, which in turn creates a fanatical loyalty among *ana'guru* to their *anrongguru*. Thus an *ana'guru* may refer to a particular *anrongguru* only and not to others because *anrongguruship* is seen as an individual entity tied by religious emotion (and not as an institutional entity). Furthermore, the *anrongguruship*, according to one informant, is not inherited genealogically, but rather it is del-

egated through the learning process. Failure in the learning process is considered possible for all *ana'guru*, even the children of the *anrongguru*.⁵¹

For my research I chose Karaeng Sikki as the *anrongguru* from whom I obtained the basic principles of *madhhab Abl al-Bait*'s teachings.⁵² The Islamic doctrines of the Sayyid are consolidated around three elements that form a supposedly indivisible entity (Nurdin *et al* 1978). These are: *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) set out in the book of *Şirâṭ al-Mustaqîm* (Straight Path). Students are taught about *assare'a*, that is, the teachings of *Şharî'at* and its applications. The second element is *uşûl al-dîn* (theology), which is teachings relating to the *Şaraf al-Anâm*, *Akhhbâr al-Âkhirah* (News of the Hereafter) and *Aqâdat al-'Awwâm* (About Faith) written by Shaikh Nûr al-Dîn al-Rânîrî in 1634 using Arabic alphabet but Makassarese language. And the third element is *taşawwuf* (Islamic mysticism) set out in a book called *Şharab al-'Ashiqîn* written by Ḥamzah Fansûrî (these last two are Sufi (Mystical) scholars who used to live in Aceh in the mid 17th century).⁵³

In this third stage (the study of *taşawwuf*), the students were trained in *tarekat*, or Sufism, namely the teachings of *ḥaqîqat* (the essence of obedience to God) through which students practice Sufi rituals by performing *zîker* (remembrance of God by reciting the names of Allah (*asma-asma Allah*), in Arabic). The main objective of this is building *bâtîn* (the internal realm) which then results in *ma'rifat* (gnosis), *mushâbadah* (testimony), *mukâshafah* (discovery) and *maḥabbah* (loving Allah). The successful completion of this stage, which develops the discourse of religious matters related to the creation of the universe and the spirit of the Prophet Muhammad, is surely a symbol marking the mastering of the preceding steps. Those who succeed in doing this are entitled to become *anrongguru* and be honored in their community. This is true for all *ana'guru*, both Sayyid and non-Sayyid.⁵⁴

In sum, the doctrines of the Traditionalists basically emphasize the early creation of the universe from *Nur*, that is, *Bahar al-Nûr* which etymologically comes from an Arabic root word meaning 'sea of light' or, quite literally, *Nur Muhammad*. Thus *Bahar al-Nûr* Sufi doctrine is essentially concerned with a secret relationship between the Prophet Muhammad and Allah. Nonetheless, the overall orientation of this theosophy is towards understanding the true essence of the Prophet Muhammad. According to the Traditionalists' point of

view, this universe substantially originated from *Nur Muhammad*. In other words, *Nur Muhammad* is the beginning of the creation of all living things in the universe. This leads to the final assumption that Allah (the Creator) and the Prophet Muhammad are essentially one (Hisyam 1985).

The belief in this pre-existence of the Prophet Muhammad, which was first interpreted by Sahl al-Tustârî, an Iraqi Sufi who died in 896 AD, was developed by his student, al-Hallâj and other Sufi scholars and writers and was systematically postulated by Ibn ‘Arabî, later penetrating the teachings of *tasawwuf* throughout the Muslim world. Ibn ‘Arabî is the Sufi scholar most responsible for emphasizing the main role of this divine light of Muhammad in the teachings of *tasawwuf* (see Schimmel 1979). His concepts increasingly became the basis of most statements in poems of Islamic piety where Muhammad is described as the highest-ranking man on earth.⁵⁵

This concept is reflected in the social hierarchy of the Traditionalists. It is argued that the Sayyid are descended from the Prophet Muhammad, who was originally from *Nur Muhammad*, the early creation of all living things, whereas the non-Sayyid originated from Adam who was created from *Nur Muhammad*. This view is expressed in the following phrase: “*Muhamma’ manggena nyawaya, Adam manggena tubuwawa*” (literally Muhammad is described as the source of spirit (*abâ al-arwâh*), while Adam is said to be the source of the body (*abâ al-bashar*)). This phrase obviously describes the highly honorable figure of the Prophet Muhammad whose honor is also that of Allah (see Hisyam 1983: 23). Accordingly, in the social context of the Traditionalists, the rank of the Sayyid is more honorable than that of others. The implication of the *tarekat Babar al-Nûr* is that honor is given to the Sayyid as religious specialists among Traditionalists and also as the descendants of the prophet Muhammad. This capacity then creates the basis for all social relationships between the Sayyid and the ordinary people, for instance, an interdependent relation between *ana’guru* (the students, mostly the non-Sayyid along with children of the Sayyid) and *anrongguru* (the teachers, notably the Sayyid and a small number of the non-Sayyid).⁵⁶ Following from this, the pursuit of religious, ritual and cosmological teachings of the Traditionalists is in the hands of the Sayyid. Several notes which I obtained here were directly completed by the Sayyid themselves,⁵⁷ 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.

In South Sulawesi, the region where Traditionalists (Cikoangese) come from, the study of *taṣawwuf* has historically been more popular than that of *Shari'at* (Safwan and Kutoyo 1981). The popularity of *taṣawwuf*, essentially concerned with the belief in the oneness of God, is said to be a remnant of the pre-Islamic religion of the local people. Before Islam was adopted, the Makassarese people believed in *Karaeng Kaminang Kammaya*, or the one God. Following the successful efforts of Datok ri Bandang (one of the Three Datok) in introducing the concept of *Tauhid* (the Islamic idea of the oneness of God) to the Makassarese people, the formerly used local term for *taṣawwuf* (*kebatinan*), was then replaced by the term *taṣawwuf*. The process of studying *taṣawwuf* is called *tarekat*, which in Cikoang is led by a charismatic *arrongguru* and includes the adoption of many local usages such as the practices of invulnerability against lethal weapons, fire and so forth.

This mystical phenomenon persisted 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 Makassarese Muslims, for example, knew little about their religion. Islam was inscriptive in nature. The children became Muslims because their parents were Muslims. There was little effort to study intensively the complete teachings of Islam in order to become more acquainted with its religious doctrines.

Muhammadiyah Voluntary Organization: The Modernists Movement

In the first half of the 20th century, a large number of religious teachers returned from studying at Mecca. They brought with them not only the title *ḥajj*, but also the inspirations of the writings of the founding fathers of the modernist (reformist or *Salafia*) movement, Jamāl al-Dîn al-Afghânî (1839-1897) and Muḥammad Abduh (1849-1905), two famous *ulama* in Egypt at that time. They also brought the influence of the Wahhabi movement at Mecca. It was these returning religious scholars who then influenced the religious orientations of the Makassarese.

The echo of the modernist thinking became more influential in Makassar after the official founding of the Muhammadiyah (one

of the most popular Muslim organisation) branch in the region on the 4th of April 1926. This was only fourteen years after the founding father, Kiyai Haji Muhammad Dahlan, founded the Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta on the 2nd September 1912. The first chairperson of the Muhammadiyah branch in Makassar, with its 17 members, was Haji Yusuf Daeng Mattiro. This organization adopted modern management in running its educational institutions. Its main aim was to purify the Islamic faith of local variations, and to replace the non-Islamic elements existing in local Islamic practices with the main tenets of the Qurân and Hadîth. Muhammadiyah is also claimed to be a reform movement that strongly objects to Sufism (Shihab 1995).

Educational institutions provided by the Muhammadiyah in Makassar were primarily run informally in the form of *pengajian* (religious gatherings), and were conducted circularly from home to home. When a young *ulama* from Minangkabau (in Sumatra) named Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah (usually referred to as Hamka), came to Makassar, he thought that the *pengajian* needed to be institutionalized.⁵⁸ As a realization of that proposal, a *Sekolah Tabligh* (*tabligh* or sermon school) was founded in 1932.⁵⁹ After the foundation of this school, local Makassarese Muslims became familiar with the use of classrooms and writing boards, and teaching was conducted in regular periods. The teachers were mostly imported from West Sumatra. The students were prepared to become Islamic teachers and religious lecturers distributed throughout the South Sulawesi region.

On the 1st of October 1945, during the revolutionary era, the Datumuseng Islamic Institution was founded. Among the founding fathers of this institution were: Haji Mansyur Daeng Tompo, Haji Gazali Syachlan, Haji Darwis Zakariah, Haji Muhiddin Daeng Sikki, and Luthan Muhammad. Persis (Persatuan Islam or Muslim Unity), which was founded in Bandung in 1923, facilitated this institution. The founding of this institution had two motivations: the first was to show their opposition to the invaders, the Japanese, who had closed several institutions owned by the Muhammadiyah. And the second was to encourage all Muslims to unite in the fight against colonialism.

After Indonesia gained independence, the primary objectives of the Datumuseng Islamic Institution and the Muhammadiyah in particular was the purification of the faith of local Muslims. In

reality, many Muslims were keen practitioners of Islam. They performed the five daily prayers, were assiduous in their attendance of Friday congregational prayer, fasted during the holy month of Ramadhan, and displayed real piety. However, at the same time, they took part in pre-Islamic ceremonies such as making offerings at sacred places or objects, and they still believed in the reality of *Karaeng Kaminang Kammaya*, the pre-Islamic god. They also visited sacred tombs regularly, making offerings not for the sake of the deceased, but to ask for prosperity, health and other fortunes.⁶⁰ Thus the Makassarese Muslims tended to practice their Islamic duties while still appreciating their pre-Islamic traditions (syncretism).

With respect to their religious beliefs, the Makassarese Muslims in South Sulawesi, particularly in rural areas, always bore in mind that the Qurân and the Ḥadîth were the source of their religious doctrines and duties, the center of their faith that all good Muslims must try to observe and apply in their daily activities. In relation to their ritual practices, many Makassarese preferred reciting the *Barazanji* to the Qurân on special Islamic occasions, such as at funeral services or when visiting tombs. From time to time, Islamic practices were simply added to an otherwise almost completely traditional ritual.

In the context of religious life in Cikoang, as admitted by Modernists, it is rather difficult to interfere because the Muhammadiyah was never able to found a sub-branch in Cikoang due to strong opposition by the local people. When asked about this, my informant told me: "It is impossible to found a Muhammadiyah sub-branch in this region (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 Lengkesa, in the same district as Cikoang. Yet, as he told me:

"the majority of its members derived 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, used to ask 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 of Cikoang, Muhammadiyah as an institution is seen as an outsider group that is intolerant of and indeed rejects their traditions. On the contrary, the Sayyid are still considered to be their sole religious specialists on whom they are emotionally dependent for religious knowledge. The following cases illustrate such phenomena as told by my informants:

Case 1

Time: unrecorded

“One day a Muhammadiyah religious lecturer delivered a religious speech in one mosque in Cikoang. He was immediately asked by the *jama'ah* (the religious crowd) to leave the mosque and never to come again to Cikoang if he still wanted to live, because he offended the local people by criticizing the *Maudu'* festival.”

After this incident, no Muhammadiyah members ever tried again to come to Cikoang for the purpose of introducing Muhammadiyah doctrines. Hence the Muhammadiyah is prohibited by the local authority, as recommended by the local people, from founding a sub-branch in the region.

The Sayyid residing outside Cikoang (but forming an exclusive community), also face a number of problems in the maintenance of their long-standing religious practices. The following two cases, as narrated by my Sayyid informants in Jakarta, concern the conflict with family members who support Muhammadiyah (the modernist movement).

Case 2

Time: in the late 1970s

“A Sayyid Karen named *Karaeng Sarro* living in Banta-Bantaeng, Makassar, near the mosque of Mohair used to have arguments with a Muhammadiyah member who also lived in the region. The conflict began when that person criticized the *Maudu'* festival while he was delivering a religious speech in Friday sermons in the mosque. After hearing it *Karaeng Sarro* immediately stood up and told that person never to criticize *Maudu'* festival unless he wanted to be at risk. *Karaeng Sarro* continued by stating that religious speeches should give people happiness and coolness and not the reverse (offensive feeling). The conflict was not yet over because *Karaeng Sarro* asked a number of his relatives in Cikoang to help him patrol that person's house for several weeks”.

The above case is only one among many other similar cases experienced by the Sayyid living outside Cikoang, indicating the strong fanaticism of the Sayyid in keenly countering outside criticisms of their religious traditions. The case below demonstrates an attempt of one Sayyid to challenge the Sayyid traditions.

Case 3

Time: unrecorded

“A Sayyid graduating from IAIN (State Institute For Islamic Studies) in Makassar who supported the modernist movement used to be keen to challenge the religious orientations of his Sayyid relatives, notably the *Maudu'* festival. It was because he faced strong resistance from his Sayyid relatives that he then moved to Palu, another province, to save his life and family. After several years, his wife divorced him and he then became an object of ridicule for his Sayyid relatives. One Sayyid then reconfirmed the danger of challenging the long-standing traditions of the Sayyid.”

This does not mean that once the Cikoangese (particularly the Sayyid) study at IAIN or modernist schools they will automatically support the modernist movement. The above case is, I think, a rare exception. It is not a general reflection of all Cikoangese. For example, I found a Sayyid who is a graduate of one of Modernists' *pesantren* (an Islamic boarding school) who is still proud of his Sayyid traditions. He told me: “We are well prepared to critically accept what we are learning at school; if my teacher criticizes the *Maudu'* festival, I will then think that he or she does not understand yet the significance of the *Maudu'* festival for the Cikoangese, so it is just easy not to be influenced.”

The above-mentioned cases forced Muhammadiyah to be more cautious in their religious mission. A non-Cikoangese Makassarese and chief director of a Muhammadiyah branch who experienced the strong fanaticism of the Sayyid said:

“we tend not to use Muhammadiyah ‘cloth’ in approaching the Cikoangese, because Muhammadiyah has become the most hated word for the Cikoangese. We participate in their ritual practices, as an individual, 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 practiced that method over the last ten years, we have been trusted to be the religious instructors of their children, we are already considered as being as capable as their religious specialists (the Sayyid), and we hope that we can teach these young generations about the basic teachings of Islam.”

He then recounted a number of ritual occasions conducted by the Sayyid to which he was invited as a guest. This method is applied generally in the educational institutions of the Muhammadiyah. Students are taught how to construct a bridge between 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 gently, and at the same time is searching for a compromise solution. I interviewed a student of a Cikoangese family named Nurdin, who said:

“After studying here (Muhammadiyah) I then became more acquainted with the teachings of my religion (Islam). For example, I knew how to recite *Surah al-Ikhlâs*, (one of the shortest chapters in the Qurân, emphasizing the oneness of God), since I was a little kid, but I never knew its location in the Qurân and its proper meaning until I became a student here (Muhammadiyah).”

After realizing the benefits of studying at Muhammadiyah schools, he then registered his children in educational institutions of the Muhammadiyah.

In the arguments regarding religious life in Cikoang, Modernists (Muhammadiyah) have expressed both oral and written views that the Islamic beliefs and practices of the Traditionalists must be purified. For them, the reason is quite clear: even though Traditionalists regard themselves as being Sunnî followers, they emphasize an exaggerated spirit of the Prophet Muhammad as supernatural for example in the *Maudu'* festival. Traditionalists, in order to demonstrate their love and admiration, infer the spirit of the Prophet Muhammad in material objects of a ritual composition such as those used during the *Maudu'* festival. In the face of this, Modernists do not impose their expectations on the aspects of the Traditionalists' religious practices with which they disagree. Rather, they attempt to bridge the gap between themselves and Traditionalists. In short, the consequence of decades of arguments about this issue is that many Cikoangese today are wiser in terms of what is proper about their long-standing festivities, particularly with reference to the Qurân and Ḥadîth.

Despite their continual reliance in Cikoang on religious practices, notably *Maudu'*, many Sayyid residing outside Cikoang, for example in Luar Batang, North Jakarta, are more flexible and have

a better knowledge regarding the religious basis for performing those rituals than those in Cikoang (the case of North Jakarta is merely a comparative study). One such Sayyid honestly admitted to me that he personally criticized the traditional assumption that, for example, the *Maudu'* festival is the most rewarding ritual in the eyes of Allah (i.e. that if one has performed *Maudu'* he or she will be exempt from any other religious obligations including the five daily prayers and the pilgrimage to Mecca). He said:

“*Maudu'* is a ritual symbolizing the piety of the Prophet Muhammad. It is the medium of *dakwah* so that people will be continuously reminded about the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad and will copy him. *Sembakyang* is also a ritual. The two are symbols of devotion.”

He believes that his relatives in Cikoang are too fanatical in following the earlier sayings of the elders without adopting a critical attitude to their evidence in the Scriptures. Yet his belief in the pre-existence of the Prophet Muhammad and the attainment of union to Allah remained unchanged.

Another interesting case is that in principle, the *Maudu'* is said to be valid only if it is celebrated in Cikoang yet the Cikoangese in Jakarta may be excused from coming to Cikoang for the celebration of the *Maudu'*. Partly due to financial and time constraints, those living in Jakarta have no strict obligation to carry out the *Maudu'*, unless they manage to get to Cikoang. The least they can do is to entrust a sum of money to someone for their relatives in Cikoang for the preparation of the *Maudu'*. A Cikoangese calculated the sum of money he sent to Cikoang: “I spent roughly between 700.000 and 1.000.000 Rupiah for preparing my *Maudu'* every year. It was a lot of money but much cheaper than if I went to Cikoang myself.” Thus the cost of transportation can also become an excuse for their absence from the *Maudu'* ritual. Comparing the religious practices of the *Maudu'* festival of Cikoangese residing in Cikoang and those residing in Jakarta shows us that the beliefs and practices of the Cikoangese become charged or obligated with a power they create, but also dependent on allocations and flexible commitments from the social body.

Concluding Remarks: Between *Tarekat* and *Shari'at*

The exclusiveness of the Sayyid is directly derived from the interplay between religious and social constructions. The religious legitimacy of the Sayyid is based on their descent from Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn whose is related to the Prophet Muhammad by blood. It is this notion of descent that justifies their religious authority over the commoners (non-Sayyid). Generally speaking, to discard the theological decisions of the Sayyid is to reject the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad, and to disagree with the Sayyid is improper and to hate them is wrong. Interestingly, given their religious status, the Sayyid not only eclipse the commoners in terms of religion but also in other realms such as in the economic and political arena. The Sayyid are said to have dominated the village head election for decades, particularly in Cikoang. They are also among the major employers of the area. Traces of this can be easily found in Cikoang and Jakarta.

In relation to the religious debate between the Cikoangese (Traditionalists) and the Muhammadiyah (Modernists), the argument of the two derives from who is 'correct' in their application and carrying out of Islamic rituals, or who is the more 'Islamic' or more 'pious' Muslim. Those who side with the unchanged practices of the past are associated with the Traditionalists and those who stand for reform are dubbed Modernists.

For Modernists, the religious practices of the Traditionalists are the result of Islamic penetration of local traditions (*adat*) at the start of the period of the Islamic expansion. This claim has led to a religious dispute between Modernists and Traditionalists in the religious arena of Cikoang regarding what constitutes truly Islamic practices. The inherent tendency of the Muslims in Cikoang to perpetuate their own Islamic conduct, which they see as central to their local traditions, confronts Modernists who insist on a complete implementation of their own interpretation of Islamic practices.

Modernists maintain that Traditionalists tend to practice their Islamic duties while still adhering to their local custom. For instance, the people of Cikoang believe that the celebration of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday is the main tenet of Islam on the ground that the Prophet Muhammad and Allah are actually one in mystic terms. By submitting to the will of the Prophet Muhammad through celebrating his birthday, they claim that submission to Allah is also

completed. Thus in order to show their Islamic piety, the Cikoangese place the veneration of the Prophet Muhammad and that of their *anrongguru*, as the descendants of the Prophet, before other rituals such as the five daily prayers. This is evident during the *Maudu'* celebration, which Traditionalists believe is the time for obtaining *barakka* (blessings) from the spirit of the Prophet Muhammad. They also visit regularly the tombs of their dead *anrongguru*, bringing offerings not in the interests of the dead but as a request for prosperity for themselves. This practice of considering the tombs of holy persons to be places of blessing is found throughout the Muslim world, from Morocco to Indonesia (Woodward 1989: 68-9). These are the main Islamic issues that have led to the dispute between Traditionalists and Modernists in modern Cikoang.

According to Modernists such as the Muhammadiyah, Islam has to be purified from any pagan practices including those of the local culture and tradition because such practices go against the authority of Allah as the only supernatural being to whom human beings should ask for assistance. They add that Islam discourages the use of *wasilah* (intermediaries) in asking Allah's assistance. Modernists view the Islamic practice of the indigenous Muslims in Cikoang in particular as being *Shirk* (literally, committing the fundamental sin of associating the monotheistic Allah with other supernatural beings or polytheism). The Modernists' point of view is undoubtedly based on the Qur'an (Verse 112, Chapter *al-Ikhlâs* (Sincerity)), which is read by both the Traditionalists of Cikoang and the Modernists. The emphasis of this Quranic chapter is the need for each Muslim to prioritize the oneness of Allah before all other things on earth.

In Islamic tradition, Sufi Orders, which are frequently associated with Traditionalists, are known throughout the Muslim world as most responsible for popularizing the celebration of *Maulid Nabi*. The *tarekat* regard this occasion as the symbol of the Prophet Muhammad's piety. On the contrary, this celebration is considered by Modernists to have combined Islam and local customs. This veneration of the Prophet Muhammad serves as the basis of the *Nur Muhammad* theory of Islamic mysticism. This in turn leads to the belief that the unity of the Prophet Muhammad and Allah (the Creator) represents the unity of humanity with respect to Allah. Modern Muslim mystics agree that prayer can be a mystical experience that brings the heart to the key of nearness with Allah. Yet they object

the concept of the unity of man and Allah because it can lead to *shirk* (Woodward 1989, pp 237).

Principally, the nature of the debate is between the followers of *tarekat* (Traditionalists) and the followers of *Shari'at* (Modernists, notably Muhammadiyah). Modernists claim that the *tarekat* tend to stress meditation and veneration of saints by various means, while minimizing the importance of *Shari'at*. For some Sufi scholars, the culminating practice of Sufism is achieving spiritual unity with Allah, regardless of what methods it takes. As Gilsenan (1973: 5) puts it, "there are as many paths to God as there are children of Adam." On the other hand, *Shari'at* emphasizes proper rituals as the medium for submission to Allah's will. The *Shari'at*-minded Muslims believed that by performing rituals in the proper manner, that is, according to the Qur'an and Hadith, one could reach nearness to Allah. Thus there is a hidden agreement here. That is, both the *tarekat* and *Shari'at* followers in principle aim to get close to Allah, the difference lying in the course of its proper application.

The Traditionalists of Cikoang in fact exercise one of the many different kinds of *tarekat* or 'pathways'. Thus there is no need to define a clear distinction between proper and improper *tarekat* in terms of practice, because what is substantive behind the term *tarekat* is "a variety of religious groupings bearing a variety of social meanings and functions in a variety of social, economic and political settings" (Gilsenan 1973: 5). From most Sufi doctrines, I have learned that there exists a great variety of *tarekat*, yet each generates from the same concept of the divine light of the Prophet Muhammad or *Nur Muhammad*. Thus notions of *tarekat* (or pathways) may vary from one group of Muslims to another but are generally defended by reference to conventional sources based on recognizable related utterances.

The debate between Modernists and Traditionalists is a never-ending phenomenon. As compromise is needed, new differences arise and the debate is affected by political circumstances and conditions of modernity. In addition, there has been a growing concern among the Traditionalists of Cikoang to rectify their traditional beliefs and practices. For example, the doctrines of *tarekat Bahr ul-Nur* are now available in written forms and are circulated among heads of households. The production of these written teachings are intended to refresh and represent their Sufi orientation in

light of scholarly and modern thought. This has been carried out in order to emphasize the balance of the ritual and contemplative aspects of their Sufi practices.

In terms of the *Maudu'* ritual, the Indonesian government, most notably at the local level in Makassar, has officially recognized the *Maudu'* festival as an integral part of South Sulawesi traditions. Today, the *Maudu'* in Cikoang is said to have become one of the most popular tourist destinations and has supported the regional income of Makassar authorities in recent years. These opportunities have inspired Traditionalists in Cikoang to maintain the central practices of their faith and identity, even as they change with contemporary Indonesian society.

Endnotes

1. Nurdin, M, Idrus Borahima, Ridwan Manyambeang, A. Kadir 1977 / 1978: *Laporan Penelitian Tentang Maulid Cikoang sebagai Salah Satu Bentuk Kebudayaan Spesifik Tradisional di Sulawesi Selatan*, A Research Report of *Maulid Cikoang*. Hasanuddin University Project Research; pp.16 20; Muhammad Hisyam 1985, "Sayyid Jawi, Studi Kasus Jaringan Sosial di Desa Cikoang, Kecamatan Mangarabombang, Kabupaten Takalar, Sulawesi Selatan," in Mukhlis and Robinson, K (Eds.), *Agama dan Realitas Sosial*. Lembaga Penerbitan Universitas Hasanuddin Ujung Pandang, 1985. See also Van den Berg 1886: *Le Hadramaut Et. Les Colonies Arabes Dans L'Archipel Indien. Indonesian -Netherlands Cooperation in Islamic Studies*.
2. In Cikoang, two main clusters exist: *the Sayyid and the Jawi* (the non-Sayyid or the commoners). The Sayyid are divided into three categories, namely 1) Sayyid *Karaeng*, literally children of a Sayyid father and a *Karaeng* (Makassar nobility) mother. This rank is socially seen as a perfect stratum because it reconciles Sayyid (in terms of religious legitimacy) on the one hand and *Karaeng* (in terms of secular legitimacy) on the other hand. They form the majority of Cikoangese chiefs and *anrongguru* (religious teachers or specialists). In principle, the Sayyid *Karaeng* are those who can trace their origins from both the father's (the Sayyid) and the mother's (the nobility) sides. With this genealogical link, they are categorized and called both Sayyid and *Karaeng*. 2) Sayyid *Tuan*, the pure Sayyid, the children of the intermarriage between the Sayyid and the *Sharifah* (Sayyid women) often called *Anak Tikenok* (proper children). The *Sharifah* are not limited to the al-'Aidid clan only and can be from any other Sayyid clan (e.g. Assegaf). Yet the children take the family name of their father and not their mother. 3) Sayyid *Daeng*, children of a Sayyid father and a mother from *Tumaradeka* (free people) or lower.
3. In pursuit of this, I spent my fieldwork time gathering data more in Jakarta than in Cikoang and Makassar. I stayed in Jakarta for more than two months (out of four months of fieldwork) because I had more access to many Sayyid who were at that time withstanding religious criticism from non-Sayyid people (not only from non-Sayyid Makassarese but also from other Indonesians who personally support the modernist movement). Some Sayyid experienced this opposition directly while others heard it from their elders. Some had personal experience of the religious debate with the Muhammadiyah in both Cikoang and Makassar regions.
4. Hisyam Ahmad (1976:15), in *Latar Belakang Sosial Budaya Masyarakat Keturunan Arab dan Sejarah Pertumbuhan dan Perjuangan Partai Arab Indonesia*. The University of Padjajaran Bandung. The Sayyid are considered to be the descendants of al-Husain, and the Sharif are those of al-Hasan (both are the children of 'Alī bin Abū Ṭālib). For a different interpretation, see Abaza (1988:6) who claims that both the Sayyid and Sharif claim to be the descendants of al-Hosein.
5. Haji Agus Salim maintains that: "according to an Arab historian, the Arab vessels used to sail along the sea shore of the south Indian ocean to the Nicobar islands, and then past the northern part of Sumatra to Kedah, and through the Malacca strait. Their route then branched in two directions: either northwards to China, or eastwards to Palembang (Sumatra) or Java. Usually they first went eastwards then to the North, past Cambodia, Cochinchina, to China. It was no

- wonder that the Arabs, Persians, Indians, those Muslims from the West, knew Indonesia and its people from the very early times when they began to bring their merchandise to the East. Thus Agus Salim concluded that at that time no ships except those of the Muslims carried maritime commerce through the Indian Ocean" (H. Kraemer and C.A.O. van Nieuwenhuijze 1952, *Agama Islam*. Badan Penerbit Kristen (BPKI), Jakarta, pp. 112-113. See also DR. A. Mukti Ali 1970, *The Spread of Islam in Indonesia*. Yayasan NIDA, Yogyakarta Indonesia.
6. For instance, the cases found in Java and the *Tabut* festival in Bengkulu (South Sumatra).
 7. Also see Anthony Reid 1988 & 1993: *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce*, 2 vols. Yale University Press.
 8. See Th. St. Raffles 1817, *The History of Java*. London. Vol. 1, Table I. p. 62. The table maintains: 430 people for Batavia and 168 people for Pekalongan. See also Denys Lombard 1990, *Le Carrefour Javanais. Essai d'histoire globale. 11. Les réseaux asiatiques*. Indonesian translation, Denys Lombard 1996, *Nusa Jawa: Silang Budaya. Jaringan Asia*. Jilid 2. P.T. Gramedia Pustaka Utama Jakarta: p. 71.
 9. Mona Abaza (1988, op. cit., p. 1 2), however, claims that "natural conditions, such as the harsh desert climate accompanied by excessive rains, and the loss of the yield, the decline of certain markets, but also the wish to escape political tyranny, the exercise of violence, feuds and rebellions, religious confessionalism, attempts of assassinations of successive Imams seemed common place or simply the quest for wealth and discovery, are all reasons which, since old times, have enforced migration". Also see Badry (1984).
 10. Hadramaut consists of the 4th and 5th provinces of the new People's Republic of South Yemen. It embraces the former British colony and protectorate of Aden as well as former Yemen. The capital city is Aden. It covers roughly 112,000 sq. miles. In 1979, the population was estimated at about 1.9 million people (Koszinowski 1983). Hadramaut is also well known for its many intellectual centers such as the holy city of Tarim, Saiwun; Shibani (the biggest city) and Wadi Hadramaut, which is known as the most populated of all villages in the region (Abaza 1988).
 11. The Shâfi'î school, which the majority of Indonesian Muslims adopt, belongs to one of the four Schools of Law in Sunnite Islam. The Schools of Law were founded in the ninth century on an orthodox basis. The Madhâhib (singular Madhhab) are orthodox rites and not dissenting sects. The Shâfi'î School was founded by M. bin Idrîs al Shafi'î and was the official Islamic thought of the Abbassides. It was spread by Imâm Mâlik bin Anas from Medina and had an impact in the Maghreb and Central Africa (Gaudefroy Demombynes 1961: *Muslim Institutions*. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., pp. 67-68). For more about the Shâfi'î school see also George Maksidi 1990: *The Rise of Humanism In Classical Islam and the Christian West*. Edinburgh University Press, chapters 1 and 2.
 12. Zaydism originated from Zayd Ibn 'Alî who was the grandchild of 'Alî ibn Abî Tâlib, the fourth caliph and the cousin of the Prophet. He is connected with the branch of Ḥasan and Zayn al-'Âbidîn. Zayd struggled against the Ommayyads in Damascus and was killed in 740 AD / 122 H. The Zaydis regard themselves as the fifth school of al-Madhhab al-Khâmis, as a parallel school to the other four Sunnite schools (Renaud, E 1984: "Historie de la pensee religieuse au Yemen,"

- in: *l'Arabie du Sud*, Tome II, J. Chelhod (Ed.), Maisonneuve et Larose, Paris, pp. 57-68.
13. According to Abaza, "the Sayyid and Sheikhs are families; clans in which special qualities, virtues of a supernatural kind, and nobility (*sharaf*) are held to reside - qualities termed by modern Arab writers 'al sultat al ruhiyah' spiritual power", *op. cit.*, p.7.
 14. See also L.W.C. van den Berg (1886), Bujra (1971), R.B. Serjeant (1981) and Chelhod (1984). Many scholars who have written about Hadramaut propose the existing different hierarchical strata of the Hadramis, for instance, Mona Abaza (1988). For the last three strata, Bujra (1971), Chelhod (1984) and Van den Berg (1886) each gave different and more concrete explanations, especially Serjeant (1981), who has more expansive details on the Sayyid of Hadramaut.
 15. He was called al-Muhâjir because he migrated from Baghdad to Hadramaut. He moved with the 80th generation of the Sayyid.
 16. All the population of Hadramaut, except the Sayyids and a couple of the middle class families along with the slaves, considered themselves to be the posterity of Ya'rûb bin Qahtân bin Hûd (see Patji 1991).
 17. Usually known by the short name, 'Alî bin Shihâb, *ibid.*
 18. There are three families holding the name, *ibid.*
 19. One branch of the family, *ibid.*
 20. There are three families holding this name, *ibid.*
 21. There are two families holding this name, *ibid.*
 22. The family of Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn al-'Aidîd and to whom the Sayyid in Cikoang belong.
 23. There are two families holding this name, *op. cit.*
 24. One branch of the family is Al-Bahar, *ibid.*
 25. There are two families holding this name, *ibid.*
 26. There are two families holding this name, *ibid.*
 27. The family has two branches, al-Hosein and al-Hamid, *ibid.*
 28. van den Berg. *op. cit.*, p. 105. Berg argued that we could not inquire about Arab colonies before the 19th century although before that period there were several Arab peoples having lived in the most important ports of the Indian Archipelago and they even had an influential political role on behalf of the local people.
 29. "Their religious leader was Shaikh Ahmad Surkati, born in Sudan in 1872. Surkati had taught in Mecca, where he was impressed by the writings of Muhammad 'Abduh. He was recruited by the Indonesian Arab community and arrived in Jakarta in 1911. From 1913 until his death in 1943 he served as the spiritual leader of Al-Irshad. The organisation quickly established schools throughout Java, and in the 1930s the Surabaya branch created a two year course to train religious teachers", see Deliar Noer 1973, *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia, 1900-1942*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press. There is no information regarding the Makassar branch.
 30. See Muhammad Hisyam. *Op. cit.*, p. 14. The business of salt making is mainly centered in northern Lingkungan Cikoang and Pattopakang. The activity only runs in the dry season and lasts for four to five months depending on the duration of the dry season. When the rainy season comes the Cikoangese resume farming. Achmad provides a more recent detailed description on the subsistence of the Cikoangese (1995), *op. cit.*

31. His wife's name is I accara Daeng Tamami, the daughter of Gowa nobility, one of the closest relatives of the Gowa ruler. From the marriage, Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn al-'Aidîd had three children, two sons and one daughter; Sayyid Umar, Sayyid Sahabuddin and Sayyidah (*Sharifah*) Saharibonang al-'Aidid (Nurdin *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p.34).
32. All the transcripts I obtained here were written in 1996. Thus besides collecting data through a series of scheduled interview, I also received several written pieces of information from my key informant, Sayyid H. Maluddin Daeng Sikki.
33. According to Cikoang sources (Pelras 1985), Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn al-'Aidîd was a son of Sayyid Muhammad Wahid, of Aceh, and Sharîfah Halisyah. The latter's father, Sayyid 'Alawiyah Jalâ al-Âlam was himself a son of a Sayyid Muhâjirûn al-Basrah who, in exile from Basrah, fled Iraq at the beginning of the sixteenth century because of political troubles (maybe the wars between the Ottoman empire and the Persian kingdom, which erupted in 1514).
34. Muhammad Hisyam said, on his trip to Makassar, Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn al-'Aidîd dropped by in Kutai Kalimantan where he met Abdul Kadir Daeng Malliongi' or Bambaŋa ri Gowa (a Makassarese nobleman who fled Gowa because he got involved in *Siri'* case (taking away a girl, *annyala*, he took away a female nobility of Gowa kingdom). He taught Daeng Malliongi' religious studies and then married his daughter, I accara Daeng Tamami, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
35. Another Cikoangese tradition is *Pattumateang*, the holding of a religious gathering for a certain number of days after someone's death in favor of the dead person's purification.
36. The book is written in Arabic and tells of the Prophet Muhammad's birth, which is legendary (edited in the 18th century by Ja'far ibn Hasan al-Barzanji, a qâdî' (Islamic judge) of the Mâlîkî school, who died in 1766 in Medina). The action of reciting is known in the Makassarese context as *'arate'*. On the science of *Barazanji* see Brockelmann, Carl. *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur (GAL)*, 3 vols with supplement. Leiden: Brill, 1898, 1937, 1943. Z:384, S2:517; Knappert, Jan 1961, *The Figure of the Prophet Muhammad According to the Popular Literature of the Islamic Peoples*. Swahili, no. 32: 24 31; also see Schimmel (1985) on *Maulid*.
37. The households preparing the *Kanre Maudu'* are derived from different parts of Indonesia: Jakarta, Kalimantan, Sumbawa, Palu and other surrounding areas such as Selayar, Buton, Luwu, Mandar, Kaili. Those who cannot afford to come to Cikoang (partly) due to time or money constraints, contribute their money to others who manage to go to Cikoang. Thus the *Kanre Maudu'* is sometimes a representative of a number of households.
38. Drs. Abd. Kadir Manyambeang (1984), *Upacara Tradisional dalam Kaitannya dengan Peristiwa Alam dan Kepercayaan Propinsi Sulawesi Selatan*. Proyek Inventarisasi dan Dokumentasi Kebudayaan Daerah 1983/1984.
39. For elaboration on the making of *Kanre Maudu'* in Cikoang, see M. Idrus Nurdin, Abd. Kadir Manyambeang and R. Borahima (1977/1978); Gilbert Harmonic (1985). To compare a similar set of practices in Gayo, see Bowen J.R, 1993, pp. 237 240.
40. "One of the most important Muslim social organizations in Indonesia in the pre-war period, perhaps until the modern time. It was founded in Yogyakarta on 18 November 1912 by Kiyahi 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" (Deliar Noer 1973, *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900-1942*. Oxford University Press. London. New York. p. 75).

41. I adopt these glosses from the perspective of John R. Bowen's study (1993) in *Muslims through Discourse: Religion and Ritual in Gayo Society*. (Princeton University Press New Jersey). See also Deliar Noer (1973) in *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900-1942*. (London. New York: Oxford University Press). These terms may have different meanings in the Cikoangese context and others as Bowen acknowledged, yet they may be useful to demonstrate a typical characterization of the two groups in Cikoang. As will be discussed in the ensuing paragraph, Muslims in Cikoang perpetuate a traditional long standing concept of religious practices, each with its own religious orientation.
42. I prefer using the term "beliefs" and "practices", rather than adopting Kluckhohn's sense of those words, "myth" and "ritual" (1942: 45-79), because according to these two groups of Muslims, there is no valid separation between the Islamic doctrines they embrace and the actual practices they perform. To them, it is like the unity of faith and action; their religious practices are said to be a valid expression of their faith in Islam, 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 Muslim rituals. He therefore maintained that Muslim rituals are seen as "an expression of an individual's piety and obedience to God's command and as an indication of the person's membership within the Islamic community".
43. For modernist scholars who have criticized the Cikoangese in written form, see; Muhammad Ahmad, in "Kelompok Masyarakat Sayyid di Cikoang", in *Agama, Budaya dan Masyarakat, lektisar Laporan Hasil hasil Penelitian*. Badan Penelitian dan Pengembangan Agama, Departemen Agama, R.I. Also see A. Qadir Gasing, in "Tinjauan Syariat Islam terhadap Tradisi Maulid Masyarakat Cikoang Daerah Kabupaten Takalar" (a Presentation Paper), IAIN Ujung Pandang, 1975. K.H.M. Malik wrote a paper for the purpose of my article regarding the observation of Shari'at over Maulid festival in Cikoang: "Upacara Maulid Di Cikoang Ditinjau Dari Segi Hukum Islam", 1 January 1997. Ujung Pandang. All these scholars are graduates of the State Institute For Islamic Studies (IAIN), Makassar.
44. As John Bowen (1993: 22) explained, "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 scrutinizing 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". For more about Hadith interpretation, see Juynboll (1983), and Fisher and Abedi (1990:95 149). See also Bowen (1993).
45. I was personally impressed by the ability of traditionalist scholars to justify their religious rituals in a series of interviews. They seem well equipped in the knowledge of the Scriptures.
46. Traditionally, this *tasawwuf* knowledge is orally transmitted by *anrongguru* to *ana'guru*, and only recently were its doctrines written, primarily by Maluddin

- Daeng Sikki, Chairperson of the al-'Aidid Organisation of Makassar, in September 1996. The teachings of Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn al-'Aidid, the founding fathers of the Traditionalists, were continued by his children and a number of his students such as Hapeleka (noted for his good memory of the Qurân), or Sayyid Abdullah Assaqqaf (or assegaf). In particular, Hapeleka noted the details of Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn's doctrines in special written prayers called *Jikkiri* (or *zikir* - the remembrance of God) covering the *Maudu'* festival and the scriptural grounds of it. These *Jikkiri* were collected in a book known as *Bayanul Bayan* and signed by Sayyid Jalâl al-Dîn himself in 1032 H / 1632 AD (see Nurdin *et al* 1977/1978: 38; Hisyam 1983: 19). This manuscript is still found in Eastern Cikoang, Desa Lakatong under the guardianship of the descendants of Hapeleka. It cannot be disclosed to any unknown and unreliable people due to its sacredness.
47. The Cikoangese also do not traditionally celebrate the martyrdom of al Hosein on the tenth of Muharram (one of the Islamic holydays, which is another Shi'ah feature) as other Indonesians do such as in the *Tabut* festival in Bengkulu (south Sumatera).
 48. Compare Gilbert Harmonic 1985 "La Fete du grand Maulid a Cikoang, regard sur une tarekat cite shi'ite en Pays Makassar", *Archipel*. 29. Paris Cedex. p. 180.
 49. See Nurdin *et al* 1977/1978. *Op. cit.*; Muhammad Hisyam 1983. *Op. cit.* The term *Ahl al-Bait* basically means the household of the Prophet Muhammad consisting of five family members: the Prophet Muhammad, Ali bin Abi Thalib, Fatimah az Zahrah, Hosein and Hasan. This category then refers to all of the Prophet' descendants of the latter.
 50. The teaching process was previously run in a formal institution, but during the colonial period the Dutch closed down that institution in fear of it threatening the Dutch existence in the region. In modern Cikoang, the teaching process run informally, sometimes secretly, though there has been a recent attempt to reestablish this institution. The most obvious one is in the occasion of the *Maudu'* festival, when all *ana'guru* from different parts of Indonesia gather collectively in the house of their *anrongguru* from the tenth of Safar to the tenth of *Rabi al-'Awwal*, the preparation month of the *Maudu'* festival, *Bulang Pannyongko* (see Nurdin *et al* 1977/1978; cf. Hisyam 1984: 59).
 51. Hisyam (1984) in this regard seemed to conclude too quickly that the *anrongguruship* and *ana'guruship* were inherited genealogically because in fact I found a Sayyid man who failed to become an *anrongguru* partly due to his misbehavior and disloyalty. And in reality, only the boys are entitled to obtain religious lessons since the Sayyid's kinship system is patrilineal. As one Sharifah said, the daughters (the Sharifah) therefore obtain their religious knowledge in other educational institutions.
 52. As chairperson of the al-'Aidid Organization of Makassar, *Karaeng Sikki* is a more reliable source than other *anrongguru* for this matter. Also, many *anrongguru* I dealt with always referred to *Karaeng Sikki* for their statements.
 53. Kraemer 1922 1923, Atjoh. 2 vols. Leiden: E.J. Brill. Also see Bowen 1993, p. 44.
 54. There is no written paper (e.g. a certificate) symbolizing the completion of the learning process entitling students to become *anrongguru*. Although previous studies (see Nurdin *et al* 1977/1978 and Hisyam 1984) observed that this teaching process is no longer apparent among Traditionalists, as I found, there has been a growing concern at present among the Sayyid to produce their religious

- doctrines in written form to be distributed to all Sayyid families. All those written religious teachings are the main reference for Traditionalists' religious orientations in this discussion.
55. An interrelation between the doctrines of Sahl al-Tustârî, Hallâj and Ibn 'Arabî on the one hand, and Shi'ite Islam on the Light of the Imam on the other, may exist, but this is difficult to identify. This opinion is also valid for the influences of the Ma'rifat (recognizing Allah) doctrines, which probably formed the basis of *Light Mysticism* and of other Islamic traditions where Muhammad's prestige is enhanced to the level of a superman. Much research has been done to examine aspects of this mysticism, but a clear description of its history is not available yet. For more about the development of such research see Nicholson (1921) and Schimmel (1979).
 56. Muhammad Hisyam 1983, Sayyid *Jawi: Studi Kasus Jaringan Sosial di Desa Cikoang, Kecamatan Mangarabombang, Kabupaten Takalar (Sul Sel)*. PLPIIS Hasanuddin University Press. Ujung Pandang.
 57. In this regard I personally thank Sayyid Maluddin Daeng Sikki (*karaeng Sikki*), who is the chair of the al-'Aidîd Organization of Makassar, for providing all literature derivative in nature of the manuscripts; and other Traditionalists scholars, Ir.H. Najamuddin Harun al-'Aidîd, Abdullah Syahrân al-'Aidîd, Syakhirul Najamuddin al-'Aidîd, H. Moh. Nur al ' Aidid and Tuan Hasan al-'Aidîd. Through the help of these Sayyid, I gained access to details regarding the concepts of the *tarekat Bahar al-Nûr*.
 58. During his life, Hamka was well known as the only Islamic scholar who paid close attention to the popularity of *tasawwuf*, although he himself was a modernist. His contribution to *tasawwuf* can be seen in his continuously published book entitled *Tasawwuf Modern*, first published by Pustaka Panjimas in 1939.
 59. The name changed to *Muallimin Muhammadiyah* in 1934.
 60. The most popular tomb in Gowa and in Makassar as a whole is the tomb of Shaikh Yusuf, well known as *Ko'bang*. He was allegedly regarded as one of the most outspoken lecturers who did not agree with such practices at the height of the Gowa kingdom era. Interestingly, in modern Gowa, the local people frequently visit his tomb in terms of asking for fortunes.

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Muhammad Adlin Sila, a Master Graduate from The Australian National University (ANU), is researcher in Division of Research and Development, Ministry of Religious Affairs.

حقوق الطبعة محفوظة

عنوان المراسلة:

STUDIA ISLAMIKA, Gedung Pusat Pengkajian
Islam dan Masyarakat (PPIM) IAIN Jakarta
Jl. Kertamukti no. 5, P.O. Box 225 Pisangan Barat
Ciputat 15419 Jakarta, Indonesia
Telp. (62-21) 7423543, 7499227
Fax. (62-21) 742 3543
E-mail: studia@cbn.net.id.

رقم الحساب:

خارج إندونيسيا (دولارا أمريكا):

PPIM-CENSIS, CITIBANK Jakarta, Indonesia,
account No. 3000212848 (USD), ABA No. 021 000089,
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PPIM-CENSIS Citibank, Jakarta No. Rek: 3000212831

قيمة الاشتراك السنوي خارج إندونيسيا:

لسنة واحدة: ٩٠ دولارا أمريكا (للمؤسسة)، ٧٥ دولارا أمريكا (للفرد)،

٦٠ دولارا أمريكا (للطالب). قيمة العدد الواحد: ٣٠ دولارا أمريكا.

قيمة الاشتراك السنوي داخل إندونيسيا:

لسنة واحدة: ٧٥.٠٠٠ روبية (للمؤسسة)، ٦٧.٥٠٠ روبية (للفرد)،

٦٠.٠٠٠ روبية (للطالب).

قيمة العدد الواحد: ٢٥,٠٠٠ روبية.

والقيمة مشتملة على النفقة للإرسال بالبريد الجوي.



هيئة الإشراف على التحرير:

- م. قريش شهاب (الجامعة الإسلامية الحكومية جاكرتا)
توفيق عبد الله (المؤسسة الإندونيسية للعلوم)
نور أ. فاضل لوبيس (الجامعة الإسلامية الحكومية سومطرة الشمالية)
م. ش. ريكليف (جامعة ميلبورن)
مارتين فان برونسين (جامعة أترينجة)
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م. عطاء مظهر (الجامعة الإسلامية الحكومية جو كجاكرتا)
م. كمال حسن (الجامعة الإسلامية العالمية كوالا لومبور)

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