

Haji Bawakaraeng: The Resistance of Local Society in South Sulawesi

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Abstract. This research aims to explore the existence of Haji Bawakaraeng community tradition in South Sulawesi that is still consistent to depend and to keep their belief, also their resistance in depending their tradition. Besides that, researcher wants to describe the ritual phenomenon in the top of Bawakaraeng mountain. This research is the field research focused on the study about ritual tradition of Haji Bawakaraeng in South Sulawesi. Data collection is done with field observation way by using analysis descriptive method that is to observe natural condition and the social life directly to find out the data about the existence of Haji Bawakaraeng community. Data collection is also done by interviewing the figures and the believers of Haji Bawakaraeng deeply, also the documentation study done to complete the data obtained beforehand. The collected data then will be analyzed by using socio-anthropologic approach and will be explored in a qualitative descriptive way. This research shows that the ritual tradition of Haji Bawakaraeng practiced by the believer of this belief still exists until today, although they face many obstacles. They remain depending their belief strongly practiced since a long time ago by doing adaptation and negotiation of any resistance that they face at present.

Keywords: *Haji Bawakaraeng, Resistance, Bugis-Makassar, Ritual, and Belief.*

Introduction

The Bugis-Macassar people, the major ethnic groups populace South Sulawesi, are identic with Islam. But, in another side, they are still consistent in preserving their ancient tradition

of religion. Bawakaraeng community is one of the community examples in South Sulawesi that still exists in keeping the ancient tradition by performing some rituals. An apparent example of those rituals is, instead visiting Mecca to having pilgrimage (as one pillar of Islam), they perform the hajj rituals by hiking the top of Bawakaraeng Mountain with the belief (assumption) that they do pilgrimage although the place is not in Mecca.

Indeed, coming to the top of Bawakaraeng mountain to do rituals is not a new to local peoples. According to Puang Wali, who always does ritual in the top of Bawakaraeng mountain, this tradition began before Islam. It is approximately far before the 15th century, i.e. in the era of Gowa kingdom and the other kingdoms in South Sulawesi, many people in South Sulawesi had frequently done the ritual in the top of Bawakaraeng mountain for a long time.

The performing pilgrimage on Bawakaraeng, i.e. the so-called 'Haji Bawakaraeng', depicts an interesting phenomenon to study. On the one hand, the existence of Bawakaraeng community in South Sulawesi with the title of 'Haji Bawakaraeng' constitutes one of the strategies to preserve their tradition that has been done far before Islam came to South Sulawesi. In fact, the local belief in the past (*attoriolong*) that is still preserved and kept consistently to the present of Bugis-Macassar people can be traced and found. On the other hand, the people of Bugis-Macassar are widely acknowledged fanatic and loyal to Islam ritual. With their identities in embracing religion specially Islam, in although facing hindrance but they can make adaptation and make a negotiation with the belief comes later.

There are three particular matters in this paper to focus on. First, the reason of Haji Bawakaraeng community to do the rituals in the top of Bawakaraeng mountain. Second, the forms of doing the ritual in the top of Bawakaraeng mountain. Third, to see the survival strategy taken by this community in defending their belief.

Geographic Location of Bawakaraeng Mountain in South Sulawesi

Bawakaraeng, actually, is the name of a mountain located about 20 kilometers from southeast Malino city, or approximate 75 kilometers from south Makassar city, the capital of South Sulawesi province. This mountain locates near to *Lompobattang* mountain, one of highest peak in the region. In the cloudy weather although in the dry season, the top of Bawakaraeng mountain almost never appears because of surrounded by thick fog. But in contrast, if the weather is fresh or not cloudy, it appears beautiful and charming view from the far distance, so the natural lover will be curious before seeing it directly from near distance.

Administratively, Bawakaraeng mountain includes government administrative region of sub-district Tinggi Moncong, Gowa regency (administrative area) of South Sulawesi Province. Bawakaraeng mountain situated near to the border between Gowa district and Sinjai district in the north and east side, and near to the border among Gowa district, Bulukumba and Bantaeng administrative area from the south side. On the foot of the Bawakaraeng mountain in the west there is a group of houses named Lembanna, a place where the people who want to visit Bawakaraeng can take a break.

Bawakaraeng mountain stands geographicly with height of 2.830 Mdpl, and in locates in the position of 119°56'40" east longitude (BT) and 05°19'01" LS. The minimum temperature is about 17°C and the maximum is 25°C. The forest covers foot of the mountain is dominated by the vegetation of lowland mountain, the forest of below mountainous area and above mountainous area. The plants most found here such as pine tree, orchid, edelweiss, ferns, pandanus, clove, rattan, encrustation algae and the like. Whereas for fauna that can be found here those are; dwarf buffalo, pig, honey sucker bird, and the like. This mountain constitutes primitive arrest region for Gowa, Makassar, and Sinjai regency. Also it includes the headwaters of Jene'berang river. This area is also a tour forest sphere including into protected forest of Lompobattang

The name of *Bawakaraeng* itself comes from Makassar language, according to local people, consisting of *Bawa* and

Karaeng, *Bawa* means *Mouth*, but sometimes the word is used in the daily communication that means talking or utterance, and *Karaeng* means God. Thus, Bawakaraeng is defined as 'the mountain of God's mouth of God's utterance'. According to one of the versions obtained from the the story of the soccity that why the mountain given name of Bawakaraeng because they say that person living on the top of the mountain always hears a voice which is not known where it comes from; and so, the voice is believed as the God's utterance (Bawakaraeng).

For the South Sulawesi society, Bawakaraeng mountain is well-known enough, mainly for the society living in the regions such as Macassar city, Gowa, Takalar, Jeneponto, Bantaeng, Bulukumba, Sinjai, Bone, Maros, Wajo, Soppeng, and Pangkep. While in Macassar city itself, it becomes more popular because there is a street extends, in the centre of the city, from the west direction toward the east direction named Bawakaraeng mountain street. Even, in the city, there is an institution, participating in educational sector, named Institution of Bawakaraeng School.

Beside gardening, rearing also becomes one of the mainstays of the society around Bawakaraeng mountain, especially in the west region of Sinjai regency, although it is still limited because of needing big capital. The society of west Sinjai living around that mountain is generally well-known as industrious people whose work is to rear cattle and well-known as producer cow's milk in South Sulawesi. Beside working in the garden and rearing, another livelihood undergone by the society living around Bawakaraeng mountain generally is to have a profession as civil government employee (PNS), army/police, bisnissman/bisniswomen and craftsman.

From the explanation above shows that most of the citizen around Bawakaraeng mountain prefer gardening to make living. This can be understood not just because of the geographic condition enabling it, but also because the the society living in the mountainous area generally tends to have static way of life; so they understandably prefer the traditional ways which have been done since their ancient. Whereas, another work beside farming and rearing is just populer for the mid level society, for example civil government employee for

whom graduates from senior high school or the bachelor, one whose work is to rear cattle for whom has much or big capital also for merchant and for craftsman, special just for whom has skill

Haji Bawakaraeng: Resistance of Local Society Motive of Doing Pilgrimage Ritual to Bawakaraeng

Every man, in doing an activity, usually has certain motives. The more the thought of the human being develops, the more the willingness develops, total and kind of their need also developed. Beside the basic needs such as cloth, food, and housing estate, man also tries to fulfill the other needs of their life, such as picnic, health, safety or security, communication with the other people, and the like.

Related to those needs, most people of South Sulawesi view that Bawakaraeng Mountain is one of the places to fulfill the life need. That's why in certain times, Bawakaraeng Mountain is crowded by many people. What kinds of the life need do they want to fulfill? What kinds of motivation do make them come to Bawakaraeng Mountain? From the result of my observation and interview with some people of lover and visitor of the mountain, it can be understood that many factors influence and attract them to come to that mountain. But, at least there are four interesting motives to study. According to the writer's observation, the four motives are:

1. *Jappa Biasa* (usual walking/hanging around)
2. *Jappa sanro* (walking of being a shaman)
3. *Pakkio' Akkusiang* (ritual interest)
4. *Jappa Pinati* (walking to guide or supervised)

Those four motives above, three of them are related much with this research, those are; *Jappa Sanro*, *Pakkio' Akkusiang*, and *Jappa Pinati*. Nevertheless, the first motive, that is *Jappa Biasa*, is also explained in this writing.

1. Jappa Biasa

Jappa Biasa meant here is the journey to Bawakaraeng Mountain to enjoy the natural beauty of the mountain and just to fulfill the need for refreshing. Most of them are youths of nature lover, either in the organized student

organization/group or individual or nonformal group. Seemingly, the young generation, lately years, tends to use the nature, specially the mountaneous area, as the object of phisicly excercise, picnic or tourism place. This one can be proved in their dayly life, namely it is always seen the goups of the youth from the university student of the nature lover passing certain path with perfect fasilitation to climb the mountain., Bawakaraeng Mountain is the favorite object/place for climbing in South Sulawesi for this one.

2. *Jappa Sanro*

Jappa Sanro is a journey to Bawakaraeng Mountain with the aim to take or seek medicine for any kind of diseases. Such is the ingredients used to make medicine for antidote; to find out plant which is considered can make someone rich, and the other reasons related to the advantage of the life. Those who do journey like this are usually called and recognized by the society as *sanro* or shaman. They are minority in a mount if compared with the visitors with the aim of refreshing and with the ritual motive. They are not bound by the time to visit Bawakaraeng Mountain and can do journey whenever they want. However, some of them have double motives, that is, *jappa sanro* while doing ritual likewise on the contrary.

3. *Jappa Pinati*

In the society view, what is meant *Jappa Pinati* is someone guiding the *ummah* or people visitting Bawakaraeng Mountain, like the committee of TPHI at Indonesian collective pilgrimage in Mecca. According to the head of sub-district of Tinggi Moncong, someone becoming such as *pinati* is usually the citizen living around Bawakaraeng Mountain, such as the village citizen of Lembanna, Kanreapia, Manipi, and another village around Bawakaraeng. They serve the visitors doing the journey for refreshing or enjoying the natural beauty more. They become the road guidance while helping the visitors bringing thier instrument, such as tent, rucksack, food, and the like.

Whereas someone becoming the *Pinati* for the visitor for the ritual is usually from the member of the community itself. The *Pinati* like this one usually tries to find members

out as many as possible, far before the journey done. So, according to the head of sub-district of Tinggi Moncong, visitor community of Bawakaraeng Mountain consists of many groups, it depends on how many *Pinati* are. Daeng Jarre shows the proof that collective pilgrimage to Bawakaraeng in 2007-2008 coming from Macassar consisted of many groups. Each group had *Pinati*, for example the group led by Puang Wali from Pangkep had members about 200 persons. Also the other groups from the another region, such as Bulukumba, Sinjai, Gowa, Maros, and another region with its own members. *Pinati* guiding this collective people sometimes has double purposes, those are guiding the people in another side, and also for ritual and finding blessing in the top of Bawakaraeng Mountain.

4. *Pakkio' Akkusiang*

Pakkio' Akkusiang meant here is the persuasion for ritual and to find blessing out on the top of Bawakaraeng Mountain. This ritual practice is not irrespective of being a doctrine or belief of many islamic society in South Sulawesi. The realization of the ritual done mix with the tradition and the orogin of their ancient's belief. Beside that, there are also among of them receive or understand the doctrine of Islam wrongly, so the realization is little different. In Djamas perspective, the islamization, basicly having been doctined since the coming of Islam in South Sulawesi in the beginning of 17th century by Datuk ri Bandang with syari'ah aspect, Datuk Patimang with the development of Kalam (Tauhid), then the implementation of tasawuf aspect by Datuk ri Tiro, was just an acquaintance, that was not followed with the deepening of the doctrine in the next process. As the consuquence, Islam developing in South Sulawesi, mainly in the Bugis Macassar society, is the syncretic Islam, that is in thought of Islam mixed with the tradition and the origin of ancient's belief in the realization.¹

The History of Haji Bawakaraeng Existence

¹ Nurhayati Djamas, "Varian Keagamaan Orang Bugis Makassar", dalam Mukhlis. *Agama dan Realitas Sosial*. (Ujung Pandang: Lephass, 1985) ix.

Since a long time ago, the ritual of doing pilgrimage to Bawakaraeng Mountain had been existed within the society tradition in South Sulawesi. This tradition has existed coincidentally when the society began knowing divinity and religion in South Sulawesi. However, because this tradition is different from the pilgrimage tradition done always by the moslem in general, that is to Mecca, so in the development this tradition always faces obstacle. The follower of tradition of pilgrimage to Bawakaraeng is very often labelled as poly theist even infidel. Some of their followers were arrested then brought to District Military Command and suspected as the opponent of misled path for mistisim to follow (*tarekat*). In 1960s, this tradition was totally prohibited by DI/TII, whoever was found going to Bawakaraeng in the meaning of certain ritual ceremony or just for visitting sacred place would be arrested, even some of them were put into death sentenced. From the result of writer's interview and observation toward some of this sect, also some reliable figures in the society, so it can be highlighted some factors made the existence of the Haji Bawakaraeng:

1. *The Influence of Myth About Syekh Yusuf*

Myth, so far, is seen as collection of irrational story and comics. Myth born either in the primitive culture or in the modern era each follow the law of development. Myth bears from the anexation of logic ideas.² A myth can relates the imagination events with the life story of a figure, myth can develope logicly beyont the word game and give subsequent influence in the society believing toward the legend figure. From the characteristic of such this myth becoming the factor in analysing Bawakaraeng Belief.

According to Daeng Jarre;

Sabanarna katte jappa ri Bawakaraeng, nasaba pamminawanganna Tuanta Salamaka Yusuf naniboya barakka'na, anjo Yusuf battupi ri Bawakaraeng nampa lampu ri Makka. That what they do to Bawakaraeng Mountain is merely as "*peminawangan*" namely to join *tuanta*

² Daniel L. Pals, *Dekonstruksi Kebenaran Kritik Tujub Teori Agama*. (Yogyakarta: IRCiSoD, 2006) 40.

Salamaka or Syekh Yusuf in order to obtain his blessing, because Yusuf went to Bawakaraeng first before going to Mecca.³

Basically, the follower of this belief admires Syekh Yusuf's intensity through mythology story developing in the society for generations; so, they would believe the truth to the present by undertaking Syekh Yusuf's doctrine on the peak of Bawakaraeng Mountain. They are sure that in this place Syekh Yusuf, religious leader spreading Islam in South Sulawesi, dwells. That's why visitors of Bawakaraeng Mountain come to Syekh Yusuf's niche indicating the direction of Mecca, because they can't do pilgrimage to Mecca as Syekh Yusuf did. It has been believed that, in their credo, Syekh Yusuf has represented their real pilgrimage to Mecca if they come for pilgrimage in the peak of Bawakaraeng Mountain.

2. *The Will for Pilgrimage and The System Complication*

Pilgrimage to Mecca is one of the pillars in Islam. As the part of Islamic doctrine, the mechanism of implementation of pilgrimage to Mecca needs any kind of material and non-material ability, mentality, self awareness, religiosity spirit, integrity, struggle, and sacrifice.⁴ Generally, someone is ready to do anything for the sake of this ritual pilgrimage to Mecca. Even many of the society sell their valuable assets, for example ricefield, land, vehicle, jewelry, and the other materials for the sake of undertaking the fifth pillar of Islam. They do pilgrimage to Mecca sincerely which ritual like the reconstruction of the prophet travel. They don't care whether they still have enough assets to continue their life after coming back, the most important thing for them is they have visited the city of the prophet.

It is said that someone is brave to owe in order to cover the expenses for doing pilgrimage to Mecca which is now costed about 35 million rupiahs. It is also found in many cases in the Bugis-Macassar society, the parent bring his/her daughter/son to do pilgrimage to Mecca, even though

³ Daeng Jarre, interview on 23 November 2009.

⁴ Saleh Putuhena, *Historiografi Haji Indonesia*. (Yogyakarta: Lembaga Kajian Islam dan Sosial (LKIS), 2007) v.

his/her daughter/son has not been adult enough. In the society view, if the son/daughter has done pilgrimage to Mecca, the family statue will be respectable in the society. So, some the Bugis-Macassar society, especially the follower of the belief of Haji Bawakaraeng, try to find out the alternative way to get this respectability. For example by making equal ritual of doing pilgrimage to the peak of Bawakaraeng Mountain by some of Bugis-Macassar society, based on the assumption that the merit is corresponded with the ceremony done in Mecca and Medinah. The existence of Haji Bawakaraeng is not irrespective from their spirit to undertake the fifth pillar of Islam. Besides that the complicated system and procedure in implementation of ritual pilgrimage to Mecca made by the government of Indonesia, so many of them take the short-cut way in implementing this pilgrimage ritual.

Based also on the story of a shoe sewer Ali al- Muwaffaq who can't undertake pilgrimage to Mecca because of giving help his neighbor requiring help, and Sufi Rabiatal Adawiyah not doing pilgrimage to Mecca, but the reward of her pilgrimage is received by God. Therefore, doing pilgrimage to Mecca needs the strong physic and has heavy travelling, so they make an analogy that excellent place requires heavy travelling and they choose Bawakaraeng Mountain as the excellent place like Mecca.

3. *The Influence of Primitive Religion*

E.B Tylor defines religion as the belief toward spiritual thing. This defenition can be received and has its own excess because it is simple, explicit, and has large scope. Farther Taylor said that we can find other similarities in every religion, but the only characteristic belonging to the religion, big or small, old and modern religion, is the belief of the soul thinking, behaving like human being.⁵ This is the origins of the religion in the defenition of Taylor in his theory about primitive culture and primitive religion.

⁵ Daniel L. Pals, *Dekonstruksi Kebenaran Kritik Tujub Teori Agama*. (Yogyakarta: IRCiSoD, 2006) 41.

Basing on Tylor argument above, it can be said that primitive religion still appears to influence the belief of modern society at present. This can be traced within society in South Sulawesi. In fact, although Islam came to this region for about the 17th century, we still find some of the society preserve and believe their local beliefs. There are some groups of resident of Bugis-Macassar confessing as the followers of Islam, but it is still found the animism practice in the essence of their belief, such as the belief of Tolotang, in Sidenreng Rappang, led by one leader known *Una'*, with the highest god concept called *To-Palanroe*.⁶ It is still found the concept of their belief constituting the residues of the belief in Lagaligo era, that is, the era of the oldest government of Bugis-Macassar Kings.

4. *The Influence of Sufism Sect*

Sufism sect in their understanding is always based on the mystic doctrine constituting one of the aspects of the Islam doctrine. This mystic doctrine gives priority to the inner purity, which is required to reach the truth of the Godness, as the absolute truth. The concept of this mystic sect looks inspired by the way taken by prophet Muhammad meditating in Gua Hira before receiving God's divine revelation. After meditating for some hours, prophet Muhammad reached the purity in the matters of inner self and the outer world, at that time Jibril came to deliver the divine revelation for him.⁷ From this occurrence many sects of mystic doctrine appears in numbers concretizing in their concepts in many mystic sect. In Bawakaraeng Mountain, the part of sub-district of Tinggi Moncong of Gowa Regency most, there is

⁶ Hasse J. "Agama Tolotang di Tengah Dinamika Sosio-Politik Indonesia: Konstruksi Negara atas Komunitas Tolotang di Sulawesi Selatan", dalam Irwan Abdullah (ed.), *Agama dan Kearifan Lokal dalam Tantangan Global*. (Yogyakarta: Sekolah Pascasarjana UGM-Pustaka Pelajar, 2008)

⁷ Nurhayati Djamas, *Varian Keagamaan Orang Bugis-Makassar: Studi Kasus di Desa Timbusseng Gowa*. (Ujung Pandang: PLPIIS Universitas Hasanuddin, 1983) 74.

a mystic sect named “*Barakka Bontolebang* and *Barakka Balasuka*”.

It can be seen here, the tradition of going to Bawakaraeng is not just influenced by the myth story and primitive religion. Yet we can see from the society in Islam understanding the doctrine of the path for mystic to follow, that is; *Barakka Bontolebang* and *Barakka Balasuka* which are two of the path for mystic to follow whose contents of its doctrine has been implemented much in Islam faith.

Although most of the followers of this ism deny the existence of the relationship to the visitor of Haji Bawakaraeng, but it is obvious that this ism was received on Bawakaraeng Mountain through the religious leader (*wali*), so, it is common if many of the society believing this sect convince more of the magnificence and the intensity of Bawakaraeng Mountain and they try to visit this place always in order to find favor out while undertaking such pilgrimage ritual if coinciding the Idul Adha celebration day.

Religious Practice in Bawakaraeng Mountain

People coming to Bawakaraeng Mountain, also called *Butta Lompoa*, *Butta Towayya*, and *Butta Malabbirika* as having been explained before, have different motives, so the activities that they do after arriving on the top of Bawakaraeng mountain appear having different form and pattern also. This study particularly focuses on religious rituals which are considered to have religious motives. At this point, some rituals performed on the top of the Bawakaraeng will be highlighted.

1. Idul Adha Ritual Prayer

In implementing the agenda understood as pilgrimage rituals, the followers do whatever they can for themselves in a maximum way to reach the top of Bawakaraeng mountain, namely at post 10, in the night of 10 Zulhijjah in order to join taking Idul Adha prayer together early in the morning for the next day. With the exception preceded by adzan as the sign for the Idul Adha is going to be begun, the Idul Adha that they performance (rituals) are the same as the Idul Adha conducted by other Muslims.

The place where the Idul Adha is taken place usually at post 10 thought representing Medinah City. In this place, there is the spring that, according to them, is seen as Zamzam well,⁸ which they always call *bubung barania*.⁹ At this well, they obtain water to take a bath, to take a ritual ablution before praying, and other needs. The Idul Adha conducted on the top of Bawakaraeng mountain is also led by an *imam* (the leader in taking prayer-*Shalat Id*). Person selected to be the *imam* usually the mosque *imam* at village around Bawakaraeng mountain or one of them who always beomes *imam*.

2. *Idul Adha Sermon*

After they do the Idul Adha, the followers stay at their places each because they listen Ied sermon delivered by a preacher. According to the information spoken by Daeng Jarre, someone always appointed as the preacher is Rala from Pao village, Maros regency. The implementation of Idul Adha in 1988 or 1408 Hijriyah, there was no preacher delivering sermon because none of the visittors joining with me to Bawakaraeng mountain could deliver sermon at the time.¹⁰

Idul Adha sermon is sometimes delivered in Macassar, but once in a while combined with the Bugis and little in Indonesia. Most content of the Idul Adha sermon delivered emphasizes on establishment of morals or characters, fervor of secrifice, and dzikir or to remember God.

3. *Thawaf*

When the Idul Adha has been done located at post 10, the followers don't goback soon because they still undertake the next ritual which is usually led by Haji Saribu, coming

⁸ *Majalah Editor*, No. 49 Tahun 1, Agustus 1988, 76.

⁹ Named *Bubung Barania* because not everyone can come here to draw water from the well, if we come there to bail water, we have to cover our hand. If only one bails, how many people want to use that water it will be enough. On the contrary, although the well is full of water, but if many people bail water by turns, the well will be dry. More if someone who has just defecated touch that well, the well will be dry directly. There is also well named *Bubung Tujua* and *Bubung Salapanga* (Interview with Puang Kanto, November 12, 2009).

¹⁰ Interview with Daeng Jarre on 5 November 2009.

from Sapaya village, Gangking Sub-district, Bulukumba regency. On the guidance and instruction from Haji Saribu, they soon leave post 10 and leave for post 13 by passing the mountain back that is about 500 meters distance. The back of this mountain, they call it *Teteanna Anjayya*, i.e. the bridge believed in the hereafter and also called the bridge of *Shirathal Mustaqim*.

After walking in a narrow path, finally they come to post 13 which is called *Makka Caddia* or 'the small Mecca'. In this place they do *thawaf* (to walk round the *Kabbah* at Mecca and Pray at the same time) or walk round a monument built by the Dutch in the past, because this monument is like the pillar (*treanggulasi*), they view it as *Ka'bab*. Then they do *thawaf* for seven times rounds while throwing the piece of metal money for seven times too. In every rotation, they kiss the pillar enthusiastically.¹¹

4. *Sacrifice*

Like the other Muslim communities, after finishing doing Idul Adha, the followers in all over the world sacrifice. One of the rituals done on the top of Bawakaraeng mountain is to sacrifice as well. It is very often to sacrifice cow, buffalo, goat, and chicken. There are two ways for them to sacrifice, namely by slaughtering or by escaping only. The first way to sacrifice is usually done in the post 10 and the animal slaughtered is commonly the four-footed animal such as cow and buffalo. Whereas the the second way is generally done in the post 13 after doing *thawaf*. Whereas the animal used as the victim is usually the animal like chicken or goat. Generally, people coming to this place by bringing animal have the reason to fulfill their vows (*nazar*).

As for the animal meat which has been sacrificed besides given some to the people (*jama'ah*), there are also given to the resident of Lembanna village, mainly for whom gives help and assistance as long as the people undertake the ritual at Bawakaraeng mountain, so the sacrificed animal can be brought to the top of Bawakaraeng mountain.

¹¹ Mustafa Helmi, dan Yusuf Haseng, "Berhaji Lewat Bawakaraeng," dalam *Majalah Editor*, No. 49 Tahun 1, Agustus 1988, 76.

5. *Giving alms*

The communities, after finishing all the rituals at their coming to Bawakaraeng mountain, they don't leave the mountain directly, but they meet the people considered having need helps in implementing the visiting agenda which has been done. This is to thank for those helpful people, they give alms, some of them give alms to people that they they consider deserve even until hundreds thousand rupias, but some of them just give as they can.

These are the religiosity practices done by the visitors to Bawakaraeng mountain, mainly for them coming to this place because of the motive and aim understood as the experience of pilgrimage ritual. So, after coming back from Bawakaraeng mountain, in their assumption, they have performed the pilgrimage ritual which is seen to have the same value by doing the pilgrimage to Mecca. Although some of them have different view of this pilgrimage, that is, the belief of the followers.

The Resistance of Haji Bawakaraeng Community

Doing pilgrimage to *Baitullah (Makkah al-Mukarramah)* in Mecca, of course, is the dream of every muslim. Because, beside the implementation constitutes the fulfilment of the fifth pillar of Islam, doing ritual in this holy land has reward one thousand fold than doing ritual in Indonesia, that is the belief of the ummah supported with many *dalil naqli*. Hence, it's not surprising if the collective pilgrimage to Mecca from Indonesia gets more and more, even exceeding the quota determined. Although the Indonesian economic is in the crises and the poverty is anywhere, the amount of Islamic people wanting to undertake the fifth pillar of Islam doesn't decrease.

The problem come up when there is someone or a group of society does choose another way suddenly to fulfill the ritual assumed has the same value as the "pilgrimage". Considered it an alternative way because it is different from the implementation of the mainstream pilgrimage. If the common pilgrimage we see is to Mecca, this ritual done by the some of the society in South Sulawesi is not in Mecca but at Bawakaraeng mountain. If the event such this occurs, the label

such as deviate, apostate, polythesit and many more another stereotype¹² will be addressed for this minority society. Even some of the society in South Sulawesi, mainly the social organizations feeling their religion is the rightest one, shouts out to the aughtorized apparatus to disperse or to arrest this kind of society with the classic reason, “cause the society ambiguity and uneasiness”.

Therefore, before the society gives deviate label or even try to disperse the community such this Haji Bawakaraeng, it should be understood its existence and the motive of its coming into being. At this point, it is possible that what we called deviate, in it, has philosophy about religiousity, resignation, sincerity, also the motive of resistance and struggle all at once to have the meaning of the rightness of the religion. Haji Bawakaraeng is not the one thing arising suddenly from the group of the society just lookong for sensation, also could not be simplified that the existance of such this tradition because of the shortcoming of understanding the religion (Islam) of some groups of the society. This tradition has existed for a long time in the field of so complicated contestation between the religion and the local tradition.

Here they against penetration from the religion (Islam) and also penetration from the government and apparatus. Where the religion proponents, specially Islam, want to change the tradition of this Haji Bawakaraeng, but they can keep the tradition by negotiating and adapting by taking the tradition from the Islam doctrine itself, namely pilgrimage.

The followers are frequently under the scrutiny of the apparatus. In fact, pressure from local government that has prohibited the follower of Haji Bawakaraeng to the ritual at Bawakaraeng Mountain with the reason of the natural condition which is dangerous for the life of the visitors. The local

¹² Stereotype is the credo of the society. A group of people will receive the depiction or the verbalistic ideas and signed by the emotion, modest and as the concept of caricature from the characteristics, personality, social structure aspects, or the social activities which is the acurate depiction in mind. Free interpretation from Fairchild (1977:308) in Nurhayati Djamas, *Varian Keagamaan Orang Bugis-Makassar: Studi Kasus di Desa Timbusseng Gowa*,139.

government puts its apparatus in every certain month to keep and to hinder this community to do ritual at Bawakaraeng. But, the followers of Haji Bawakaraeng remain undergoing the ritual with assumption that they come to Bawakaraeng just for taking a prayer because just in this place they can feel the devoutness and the beauty of praying.

From many processes of the pressure they encounter, they can fight against without coercion, but the process of negotiation with the Islam mainstream doctrine. To make the ritual as the resistance constituting its character by adopting the Islam doctrine with tradition and their credo that they have believed since in the past. This is the factor making them survive to the present, so they can face any pressure.

Furthermore, the followers always perform rituals on the top of Bawakaraeng mountain, approximately far before the 15th century, in the era of Gowa Kingdom and the other kingdoms, A.A.Cence¹³ and De Jong¹⁴, both of the researchers of the belief of South Sulawesi society say that the habit of doing this ritual on the top of Bawakaraeng mountain related to some of the credo of South Sulawesi society known *Patuntung*. In this credo, it is believed that the Creator named with *To Kammayya Kananna* (Someone says something certainly) resides at the highest place. Therefore, to maintain a relationship with the Creator, the people of South Sulawesi try to find out a place that they feel near to the Creator (God) and the place is, in their view, mountain. However the ritual at Bawakaraeng at the time at was still specific for local society and hadn't been named Haji Bawakaraeng.

In the process of the struggle of Haji Bawakaraeng community, it can be divided into two ways of struggling. First, the struggle of the meaning pilgrimage itself, where they do fight of the meaning of the mainstream pilgrimage by doing pilgrimage to Bawakaraeng. By implementing act of devotion on the top of Bawakaraeng with the assumption that they have undertaken pilgrimage ritual although not in Mecca. To defend

¹³ A.A.Cence, *Pemujaan Syekh Yusuf di Sulawesi Selatan*, dalam Taufik Abdullah (ed.) *Sejarah Lokal di Indonesia*. (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1985).

¹⁴ Chris G.F. De Jong, *Ilalang Arenna*. (Jakarta: Gunung Mulia, 1996).

the tradition they believe, the local society makes effort to adapt with Islamic doctrine coming by negotiating some of their tradition with the doctrine of Islam.

The process of imitating or, borrowing the term used by Homi Bhaba,¹⁵ “mimikri” began existing (lasting). The Islamic doctrine, such as pilgrimage, is imitated and adapted into the tradition of going to Bawakaraeng. Surely, it is wrong if we assume that this process of adaptation done without based on the reason of this local community, with the assumption that their understanding of the religion is limited (low). Even this process is done, because, in another side, they must follow the new belief called Islam, but, in another side, they are consistent to defend their tradition. To defend the tradition, the local society makes the effort to enter the spaces of the religion which can be negotiated, for example the formal forms of eksoteric from the religion giving space to give an interpretation.

This process then bears Haji Bawakaraeng. That’s the process of negotiation between the habit going to Bawakaraeng and the ritual of pilgrimage in Islam. In this process, it appears that there are imitations formally, for example the addressing of the names of the place similar to place to do pilgrimage to Mecca and at Bawakaraeng such as Ka’bah, Medina atau Rasul’s grave. Also in having the act of devotion, for instance Idul Adha pray, Sermon, Thawaf, Qurban (to sacrifice), and the like. However in the level of the pilgrimage value, they almost have the same view not to say, because in their view whether they have done pilgrimage or not is related to God.

Therefore, this negotiation at least shows two matters of Haji Bawakaraeng tradition, that is, besides doing ritual also as the tool of resistance of the local society toward the resistance and the pressure for them. To this community, the tradition of pilgrimage to Bawakaraeng is one of the ways for act of devotion for God. At the high place, they feel humility and serenity of taking the act of devotion. In the certain level, any of them feels the same value as going pilgrimage to Mecca. This

¹⁵ Homi K. Bhaba, *The Location of Culture*. (London: Routledge, 1994).

is not certainly wrong, because the value matter of pilgrimage for someone is not just decided by the place but also by intention and the integrity. This kind of negotiation is comparable with the story of Jalaluddin al-Rumi or Rabiyyatu al-Adawiyah whom were not intended coming to Mecca to undertake their pilgrimage, because of their love for God makes Baitullah even come to visit them, or Ali al-Muwaffaq not going pilgrimage to Mecca, but the angel said, was only received his pilgrimage because of his integrity and his high social sense.¹⁶ So he got tittle as male pilgrim to Mecca from God.

The next point is Haji Bawakaraeng can be attributed with the resistance movement of the local society. The followers try to fight against the demand from the outside, specially the mainstream Islamic movement trying to change their tradition. In this case, their resistance way is not with the coercion way but even by adapting. Interestingly, the process of adaptation with the doctrine of Islam is made by them as the resistance because their adaptation process is not just smelted but full of negotiations. Which one of the Islamic traditions they should take without breaking the value of their tradition and which one should not.

Moreover, the form of the second resistance process, community of Haji Bawakaraeng makes symbolic resistance of the local societ toward the management system of pilgrimage, mainly in Indonesia. Because, so far, the managment of pilgrimage is defiled by many problems, beginning from the high fee, the complicated procedure, the amount of cutting for collective pilgrimage, untill the fund of the pilgrimage is corrupted. Beside that, many people do pilgrimage to Mecca in order to obtain social status (prestige) or escape from the sin. In this context, undertaking the pilgrimage to Mecca is not the spiritual travelling anymore, but it has become product consumed in identifying self.¹⁷ Related to this case, the tradition of Haji Bawakaraeng becomes a sign that the society doesn't

¹⁶ Ijhal Thamaona, "Haji Bawakaraeng: Antara Ritual dan Resistensi," dalam *Rubrik Ada'ta*. (Makassar: Lapar, 2007).

¹⁷ Irwan Abdullah, *Konstruksi dan Reproduksi Kebudayaan*. (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2006) 113.

believe the system and the way of going pilgrimage to Mecca. It is possible that Haji Bawakaraeng doesn't fight against the pilgrimage, but the way of people do pilgrimage to Mecca.

Here we can see from the economic aspect as well, they prefer going pilgrimage to Bawakaraeng to going pilgrimage to Mecca. It is caused the cost of doing pilgrimage to Mecca is quite expensive and through the complicated procedures. If compared, going to Bawakaraeng is far cheaper, because it doesn't require much time, and the procedure is not complicated aslo, and they just bring supplies as they can, whereas the merit and the value matter is jut known by God and it depends on our aim. From the political aspect, additionally, they prefer associating with other people in general, making survival strategy. The strategy such as adapting and negotiating by associating with the other people from many regions, so they can observe and learn directly what they should do to defend their credo.

The struggle movement such Haji Bawakaraeng can be reflected with the model of contemporary cultural rebellion fighting against the mechanism of control system and supervision of the state toward the society.¹⁸ Many millenarians movement in Indonesia based on eschatological doctrine of the religion, for example religiosity movement of *Imam Mahdiisme* or religiosity movement of *Ratu Adil* (The Justice Queen), aiming to uphold the ideal society, free from the social injustice and torture by the state.¹⁹ The struggle of this Haji Bawakaraeng can be a method of the local society to challenge an established doctrine and government policy.

Conclusion

To conclude briefly, it can be summarized that the ritual to Bawakaraeng is the ancestor's tradition, *attoriolong*, existed within the society of Bugis-Macassar. It is mainly the belief of *Patuntung* perceiving that Bawakaraeng Mountain is the centre

¹⁸ Zuly Qodir, *Gerakan Sosial Islam: Manifesto Kaum Beriman* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2009) h. 245.

¹⁹ Sartono Kartodirjo, *Pemberontakan Petani Banten*. (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 1985).

of the earth of *buttalompoa*, the place for saint (wali). The tradition of going to the mountain was maintained until Islam came to South Sulawesi in 17th century. Actually, doing adoration to Bawakaraeng mountain had existed before Islam came to south Sulawesi.

The local society in South Sulawesi, to the present, remains strong to preserving the tradition they have. Although they face many hindrances and pressures. Seemingly, they don't lose their creativity to negotiate it. It is possible that the name of Haji Bawakaraeng is to stigmatize its followers. Yet, this community adopts it as their identity, and then made as the field of the meaning contestation and survival. Therefore, when the stigma of Haji Bawakaraeng emerges, either the place or its ritual such as the bridge of *siraathal mustaqiima*, the guard of the bridge they call *Nabi Sulempang*, the place they approve as *Bakkah*, and Kabbah; its followers try to negotiate with the doctrine of Islam formally, without surrendering from the pressure of the dominant power

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