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Pilgrimage to Bawakaraeng Mountain Among the Bugis-Makassar in Indonesia: A Contestation between Islamic Identity and Local Tradition

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This study discusses the contestation of Islamic identity and local traditions of the Bugis-Makassar people in socio-religious life. Tradition contains a belief with form and practices that can still be traced to the present. In this case, the identity of the hajj pilgrimage attached to Muslims has been adapted to the Bawakaraeng Hajj community in the South Sulawesi region. The current research employed a qualitative descriptive approach and field-based data collection techniques by conducting observations and interviews with key informants about the Bawakaraeng community. It was found that the Bugis-Makassar practice of carrying out a series of rituals on the summit of Mount Bawakaraeng is an old tradition indicating a contestation between Islamic identity and local traditions. The term Hajj, which is attached to the Bawakaraeng pilgrimage, is a media construct, alluding to the mainstream Hajj, due to the strong influence of Islamization in South Sulawesi. Contestation takes place in three forms. First, mild contestation that shows religion and tradition accept and complement each other. Second, open contestation that distinguishes religious practices and traditions. Third, contestation that seeks to impose influence upon one another - a frontal conflict between religion and local traditions. This paper suggests that the study of Islam and culture in Indonesia, as a multicultural nation, still needs to be explored contextually and comprehensively as an ever-changing social phenomenon.

Key Words: contestation, Islam, local traditions, Bawakaraeng hajj, Bugis-Makassar

Introduction

Hajj is the dream of every Muslim in Indonesia, which they desire to fulfil as soon as possible in the holy land of Mecca, but there is also a group of Muslims who still maintain a tradition of ritual practices with a mountain, where they implement an important pilgrimage in addition to Mecca (Idris, 2017; Pabbajah, 2012). Thus, a variety of activities and practices take place at a variety of sites, comprising of rituals, pilgrimage, and tourism (Griffin & Raj, 2017). A belief rooted in mountains is not something new for people of Indonesia, or people the

world over. The mythical view of the world communities toward mountains is based on the ecological fact that mountains are a source of life (Eisenberg, 2001; Archie, 2014; Koirala, 2017). Therefore, this study intends to examine a phenomenon of religious practice that is carried out by a religious society wherein the mountain is used as a ritual centre. This religious practice is considered unique and its relevance needs to be assessed with in the context of the Hajj, which is an annual pilgrimage of worship to Mecca for financially and physically capable Muslims. The Hajj is an integral component of

the increasing Muslim population around the world and the modernisation of Arab countries on the international stage further reinforces the increasing trend of Islamic tourism (Kessler, 2015). Public interest in Indonesia for carrying out the pilgrimage is very high. Every year the number of Hajj registrants increases, resulting in longer and longer waiting lists. Data from the ministry of religion states that the longest hajj waiting list is in South Sulawesi, which is 39 years (Kompas.com). This shows that the community's enthusiasm is very high in this region for fulfilling the call to pilgrimage, which certainly creates a strong focus in the mindset of some locals in terms of fulfilling the call of god.

The current study looks at the tendency for contestation between religious (Islamic) identity and local traditions of the local community, with the ritual practices on Mount Bawakaraeng set as a contestation medium in the implementation of pilgrimage. Mountain myths and their correlation with people's beliefs have been widely studied by researchers. Based on the existing studies, there are at least three trends that can be mapped out in the literature.

First, the exploration of local community belief in mountains (Alfath & Permana, 2016; Ball, 2000; Butler, 2013; Sorensen, 2018) is a global phenomenon as well as existing in various regions in Indonesia (Pabbajah, 2012; Sudiro, 2012; Muliati, 2018).

Second, many authors explore cultural and religious debates (Aziza, 2017; Indiyanto & Kuswanjono, 2012; Roibin, 2012), religious adaptation to culture (Binder & Crowther, 2014; Aziza, 2017; Khoiruddin, 2016) confrontation and compromise (Jubba *et al.*, 2018), and acculturation (Aziz, 2015; Sumbulah, 2012; GÜngör *et al.*, 2012; Iryani, 2018).

Third, researchers also study the correlation of religion and local community traditions (Djar'ie & Prasojo, 2016; Prasojo, 2015) local beliefs and ecology (Maarif, 2015; Afifuddin, 2017).

Reference is made to these three trends, throughout this study.

The current study is a response to existing studies, complementing these other studies with the concept of religious contestation (Islam) in relation to local traditions.

Accordingly, three questions can be formulated. First, what are the traditions of the Bugis-Makassar people in practicing their religious life on Mount Bawakaraeng. Second, how does the contestation between pilgrimage identity and local tradition take place in the ritual practices of the Bawakaraeng Hajj community. Third, what is the impact of the contestation between Islam and local traditions on the socio-religious practices of the Bugis-Makassar community. The three questions will be answered through the discussion in this study. This study will look at the enthusiasm of the community in carrying out the pilgrimage on the one hand, and their consistency in practicing local traditions on the other.

The assumptions in this study are based on at least three aspects. First, contestation between religion and culture will continue to take place in a multi-ethnic, multicultural, and multi-religious society with the various pros and cons that go with it. Second, the contestation between religion and local traditions cannot be separated from the dominance of the mainstream religion that continues to penetrate into the local traditions of the local community, thereby requiring local traditions to adapt and negotiate. Third, the on-going relationship between religion and culture not only shows a compromise, but also indicates the existence of a contestation of competing influences. In other words, contestation between religion and local traditions of the community will display harmonious dynamics, even though in practice they are contrary to the concepts outlined by the prevailing religion or tradition.

Literature Review

Islamic Identity (Hajj)

Identity is a characteristic of an individual, group or society that functions as an identifier and differentiator from the others. Identity activation as discussed in theory, and the cognitive and motivational processes arise from identity by category/group and role (Stets & Burke, 2000). One type of social identity that an individual maintains is religion. Religion is a social identity with eternal group membership and respected beliefs and values; thus, the importance of religious identity, religious commitment, and religious involvement may have implications for aggressive responses to perceived threats to one's religious identity (de Bruin-Wassinkmaat *et al.*, 2019; Etengoff & Rodriguez, 2020; Wright & Young, 2017).

⁷The identity of community groups is present in various forms. Those belonging to the middle class Muslim community shape their religious identity differently from others outside the community. This article notes that middle-class Muslims practice various activities such as studying the Koran, sacrificing animals during Eid al-Adha, Infaq, Sadaqah, and undertaking the Hajj and Umrah pilgrimages (Qodir & Nashir, 2019). Islam as a religion has an identity or value that guides religious practices known as the pillars of Islam as instructed in the Koran (Lestari, 2014).

¹⁶One of the Five Pillars of Islam is Hajj - performing the pilgrimage to *Baitullah* in the holy city of Mecca. Hajj is a part of being a Muslim, being an obligation for those who are considered capable of carrying it out, it also forms part of a Muslim's social identity. In the tradition of the Islamic community in Indonesia, most people carry out a series of rituals before performing the Hajj pilgrimage which certainly has significant economic implications (Syuhudi, 2019).

An anthropological approach is proposed to examine the phenomenon of the Hajj, which intensively dialects on the construction of a social culture. Without prejudice to the *syar'i* values that they will naturally rely on to fulfill their practices, cultural spaces provide a significant colour for the implementation of the pilgrimage. Pilgrimage is presented in the lives of Muslim communities in tandem with intensive dialogue related to their social culture. This can be seen in the ceremonial proceedings carried out at the departure and reception of pilgrims who will depart to and return from the City of Mecca and Medina (Mas'udi, 2013). As such, Hajj is not only a religious ritual but also a social activity, in addition to being a symbol of one's economic ability.

Religious and Cultural Contestation

Discourse on contestation of religious spaces is an ongoing issue as a result of various struggles for identity in the public sphere, which result in a low level of religious tolerance and coexistence (Jubba *et al.*, 2020). Although such contestation does not reflect the religious orientation of most adherents of two religious groups, they cause tensions and polarization in the population as a whole. Among those who have a universal view of religious coexistence and tolerance, it has created

an apology response on behalf of the perpetrators of religious intolerance. Adherents of a particular religion can be subjected to ridicule and slander against their beliefs. For example, the Islamic call for prayer (Azan) has been debated by many non-Muslim religious groups, especially in non-muslim majority residential areas, who regard this as an invasion of their privacy and public disturbance (Khan, 2013).

In Scandinavia, the issue of religion has become a public concern with a historical understanding of religion originating from the Lutheran Church as a public utility and cultural resource; these secular states are considered as regulators of religious freedom and equality. However, religion is contested through various symbols, traditions, practices and artefacts that are given religious meaning through their uses, and negotiations. Conflict can result from the processes by which social identity and relationships are formed from interactions.

Religious contestation is often mediated through the media which presents a particular view of activities such as legal hearings. Typically this is represented as discrete polarised social classifications of fundamental religion. The meaning and function of religious expression in many communities is contested - what is religion? The place of religion in society is a topic where disputes often occur (Lövheim & Lied, 2018). This happened to the native Chirumhanzu of Zimbabwe who guarded the temples and claimed the temple as their own. This then leads to religious contestation of holy places - as in the religious landscape of Zimbabwe (Musoni, 2016).

Cultural contestation is about identity expressed in the symbolic realm of society consisting of the realm of cultural practices, expressions, and social attachments (Rodenberg & Wagenaar, 2018). Cultural expression is a very important element¹⁰ for group identity. Group identities are closely related to heritage, cultural practices, and expressions, whether they are tangible such as landscapes, monuments, and artefacts or intangible such as rituals, festivals, or languages (Maags, 2018). When such cultural expressions are thought to threaten other groups,¹⁰ there is cultural contestation to maintain identity. Cultural contestation arises between two ethnic groups with different cultures. Such contestation can involve strong interests and strategies. But, according

to Ross (2017), cultural contestation goes beyond structural approaches or only acting in the interests of the state; cultural contestation influences the existence of a cultural group, resulting in damaging or preserving their identity.

Religious Practice and Local Tradition

Religious practices tend to be inseparable from the traditions of the local community. In the context of the multicultural and multi-ethnic Indonesian society, it is a constituent element of the nation's wealth and needs to be preserved. Indonesian society is inseparable from its relationship with religion, especially Islam, in accepting societies that contribute to the overall potential and cultural strength (Abdullah *et al.*, 2019). This can be traced through the process of spreading Islam in Java, where a form of acculturation occurred, both absorbent and dialogical in nature. Despite fluctuations in the relationship between Islam and Javanese culture, especially during the 19th century, acculturative Javanese Islam seems to be dominant in almost every expression of the Muslim community in

this region. Hence, 'syncretism' and religious tolerance have become unique cultural characters for Javanese Islam (Muqoyyidin, 2013). An exemplar of this is shown in the native Banjar tribe that are Muslims. They still uphold the traditions of their ancestors, but the traditions are adapted to the teachings of Islam. If the tradition deviates from Islam, they replace it so as not to deviate from Islamic teachings (Rosyida, 2016).

The contact between Islam and local culture leads to the diversity of traditions with Islamic nuances. The tradition in the month of *Muharram* (first month of the Islamic calendar) in Indonesian society, which is generally carried out on 1-10 *Muharram*, is manifested in various forms and types. Aceh has the *Asan Usin* tradition, West Sumatra has the *Tabuik* tradition, and Bengkulu has the Ark tradition. Whereas in the land of Java, the most prominent is the carnival tradition in the *kraton* (palace) of Yogyakarta and Solo (Japarudin, 2017). Sundanese Tatar society shows acculturation with Islam which is embraced by Sundanese people as the majority religion. This means that Islam is implemented in a form that is mingled with local culture - it has firm



Figure 2: Worship Activities at the Top of Bawakaraeng Mountain



<https://lontar.id/mengenal-haji-bawakaraeng-haji-imajiner/> AND <https://www.liputan6.com/haji/read/2596283/> accessed, 2020

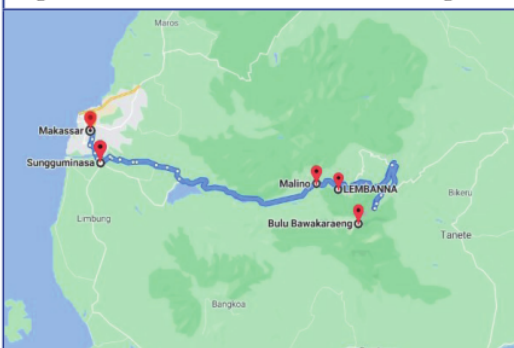
roots - Islam is Sundanese and Sunda is Islam (Sujati, 2020). Similar conditions are observed in religions other than Islam such as the Ajeg tradition in Bali, which, in its development, is believed to be a local religion that grows and develops in the tradition of the Balinese people. In its development, people's understanding of Bali's Ajeg tradition was divided into two forms namely articulation and disarticulation. Even though they are different, both intend to preserve customary values and fully protect themselves from the influence of foreign or global cultures (Miharja, 2017).

Methods

The relationship between religion and local tradition experiences ups and downs as a result of the increasingly intensive penetration of the mainstream or majority religion. This is an important reason for conducting studies in line with the development of socio-religious practices in Indonesia. This study was carried out to provide a complementary illustration of the dynamics

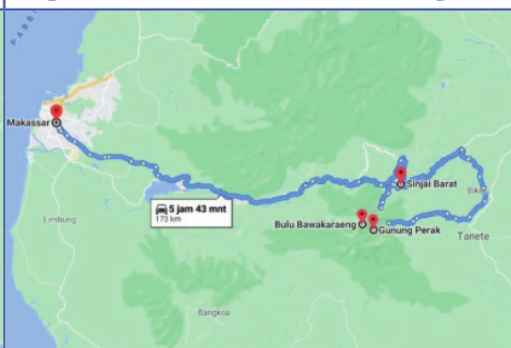
of social-religious change by looking at the contestation between religion and local traditions in the ritual practices of the Bawakaraeng Hajj community in South Sulawesi (Figure 1). The present study is a continuation of previous studies using qualitative descriptive research (field research) conducted in the period of 2013-2018. Participatory observations were carried out by getting to know the natural conditions and social and religious life of the community, then trying to understand them, as well as engaging in activities with the community that practices the rituals of Bawakaraeng Hajj. In the participatory observation, the research began with a daily calendar adjusted to the intensity of the Bawakaraeng Hajj community in practicing its rituals, especially in the Hajj season. Worship activities were observed when the Bawakaraeng Hajj community performed their worship practices at the top of Mount Bawakaraeng, as shown in Figure 2.

Figure 3a: The Lembana Path to Bawakaraeng Peak



Source: Google Map Accessed, 2020

Figure 3b: The Tassoss Path to Bawakaraeng Peak



Source: Google Map Accessed, 2020

Data collection in this study was done through interviews with the community in order to trace activities and perceptions of ritual practices at Mount Bawakaraeng. Interviews were conducted with the Bawakaraeng mountain caretaker, several Bawakaraeng Hajj community members, cultural and religious observers, and researchers in South Sulawesi. In addition, the data were also strengthened by searching for relevant literature to support the analysis of contestation between religion (Islam) and the local tradition of the Bugis-Makassar people. The collected data were subsequently analysed, grouped, then presented in a descriptive structure.

There are two access paths to reach the peak of Bawakaraeng Mountain (Figure 3a & 3b). The mountain peak can only be reached by the two paths, namely the Lembanna path that is situated in Gowa Regency, and the Tassoso' path, which is located in Sinjai Regency. Aside from the two paths, there are two alternative routes toward Bawakaraeng peak that can also be used as a track, the first one goes through Ramma hill, from Post 1 there is a junction, take the track on the right and it will lead to Post 8, the track is quite long and it passes through quite an extraordinary hill, you can see the Taka Palu Waterfall that is 50 meters tall. Meanwhile, the second alternative route goes through Lompo Battang, the hike can be undertaken by passing through the Lompo Battang Mountain toward Bawakaraeng peak and then descend in Gowa Regency, it is said that the route requires 3 days of travel. The following are the two paths heading toward Bawakaraeng peak.

First, the Lembanna Path (Figure 3a). Lembanna is located in the Northwest of Bawakaraeng peak. This area is situated right at the foot of Bawakaraeng mountain with an elevation of 1,400 meters above sea level and coordinates of 119°54'18" E and 05°15'15" S. The livelihood of the community is farming. Average rainfall is 2,034mm per annum with a minimum temperature of 15°C and maximum temperature of 20°C. The residents in the area are commonly of Makassar ethnicity or native inhabitants, and they are usually willing to let their house be used to stay the night. This village, which is included in Tinggi Moncong District of Gowa Regency, is more popularly known as the Malino Tourism area. The people of Lembanna village are very polite and friendly, many hikers spend the night for free in the villagers' houses

before going up the mountain. Every weekend, this place is full of visitors wanting to hike to Bawakaraeng mountain or to simply relax and enjoy their holiday at the foot of the mountain. The sequence for reaching the top of the mountain from Makassar is illustrated in Figure 3a,

Second, the Tassoso Path (Figure 3b) (Tassoso' Sub-village, Manipi District, Sinjai Regency is located to the Northeast of Bawakaraeng Mountain. This area is situated right at the foot of the mountain at 1,320 meters above sea level, with coordinates of 119°58'38" E and 05°58'55" S. The livelihood of the inhabitants is farming. The average rainfall is 78.7mm per annum with a minimum temperature of 15°C and maximum temperature of 27°C. The route from Makassar to the mountain top through Tassoso' is illustrated in Figure 3b.

Results and Discussion

The Tradition of the Bugis-Makassar Community at Mount Bawakaraeng

Mount Bawakaraeng is one of the highest mountains in South Sulawesi. This mountain has myths that are closely related to the old beliefs of the Makassar Bugis. One of them is the practice of Hajj rituals at the top of Mount Bawakaraeng. This tradition has long been practiced by Bugis and Makassar communities, mainly those who live around Bawakaraeng. According to the perspectives of some Anthropologists from South Sulawesi, for example Mattulada, the habit of carrying out rituals at Bawakaraeng Peak is related to the beliefs of the people of South Sulawesi called Patuntung (Hasan & Nur, 2019; Syamsurijal, 2016). According to their belief there is a Creator called To Kammayya Kanana (One whose word is certain to happen) who is considered to be the highest god, They are known by other names also such as To rie A'ra'na (the Most Wishing). this Creator is believed to reside in a high place (Maarif, 2016; Pabbajah, 2012).

The social paradigm in the past when dealing with the Creator, was more likely to look for a place that was considered close to them. The Mountain was believed to be that place because of the belief that the creator resides in a high place - in this case the mountain is deemed the highest place on the surface of the earth.

At the time, ritual practices in Bawakaraeng were still typical local community rituals and had not been termed Bawakaraeng Hajj (Idris, 2017; Pabbajah, 2012). However, the beginning of this tradition cannot be separated from the existence of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani as the first guardian in Mecca as well as the guardian in South Sulawesi. The practice of performing the pilgrimage to Bawakaraeng is directly connected to the teachings of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani. According to some traditions, he was the first person who carried out the ritual at Bawakaraeng (Pabbajah, 2012).

In the South Sulawesi community, Mount Bawakaraeng is very popular. Besides being an eye-catching tourist spot and attracting students who appreciate the great outdoors, there are also people who still believe in the myth of Mount Bawakaraeng along with its various dynamics and mystical stories. Such belief is especially observed by those living in areas such as Makassar, Gowa, Takalar, Jenepono, Bantaeng, Bulukumba, Sinjai, Bone, Maros, Wajo, Soppeng, and Pangkep. Moreover, the distance from Makassar city (75 kilometres) makes it quite accessible - it is the most visited mountain in the region. The mountain is a favourite destination for mountain climbers from Makassar and surrounding areas - mainly attracting students. During the rainy season, the weather conditions on the mountain become very poor and frequent storms occur in the Lompobattang mountains. The best time to visit therefore, is from May to September because during those months the weather conditions are quite favourable and the natural scenery is extremely beautiful. Furthermore, Mount Bawakaraeng is positioned close to the sea and at night the city of Makassar looks beautiful from the top of Bawakaraeng.

Mount Bawakaraeng is a part of the Lompobattang Protected Forest zone. According to one of the residents who lives in the area of Lembanna, on the eve of Eid al-Adha, the mountain is exceedingly crowded, because there are people in the Gowa Regency who believe that climbing Mount Bawakaraeng is the same as traveling to the Holy Land of Mecca, thus, this activity is subsequently referred to as the Bawakaraeng Hajj ritual (DA, interview, 2016).

It turns out this mountain holds many mysteries. Many mystical legends are associated with it. An interview

with one of the caretakers of Mount Bawakaraeng some time ago, found that the name Mount Bawakaraeng itself comes from the Makassar language and according to the surrounding community, 'bawa' means mouth, but sometimes the word is used for 'conversation', which means talking or saying, while 'karaeng' means God, so a literal translation of Mount Bawakaraeng is God's Mouth or God's Words Mountain (TR, Interview: 2015).

The term Bawakaraeng Hajj became popular and widely known by the public in 1987. This is because during that year many people were victims of a natural disaster that occurred. About 14 people died and all of them were members of the community who would carry out rituals in Bawakaraeng (Pabbajah 2012; Palippui, 2016). In the beginning, this term was used by the government to refer to the Bawakaraeng community. After that, this term was used to refer to people who often go up Mount Bawakaraeng to carry out certain practices and rituals. As stated by one of the senior researchers of the Makassar Religious Research and Development organisation, the stigma of Bawakaraeng Hajj actually came from people who are unhappy with the community that performs rituals on Mount Bawakaraeng. With this stigma it clearly meant to show that there are Muslim communities who have violated the Sharia (SR, Interview, 2016).

According to TR, there are four other names by which Mount Bawakaraeng is also referred to, which are first, 'Buttalompoa' which comes from the Makassar language and consists of two words, namely *Butta* and *Lompoa*. The word *Butta* when translated into Indonesian means land, while *Lompoa* means big, and thereby *Buttalompoa* means large land. Second, *Butta Malabbirika* means noble land. Third, *Butta Toayya* means old land; and fourth, *Buttasalamaka* means land that is saved. They called Mount Bawakaraeng by these names because they assume that the place maintains the same position as the city of Mecca in Saudi Arabia (TR, interview, 2015).

The tradition of performing rituals at the top of Bawakaraeng occurred until the arrival of Islam which is thought to have been embraced by the people of South Sulawesi in the 15th century (Sewang, 2005). Islam came to Makassar about 1546-1565 at the time of the 16th king of Gowa Tunipalangga. Raja Tonijallo built a mosque for Malay people in Mangalekkana. According to Mattulada,

these two big twin kingdoms embraced Islam in the 16th century, and the precise date of November 9, 1607 is noted (Mattulada, 2014).

Contestation between the Hajj (Islamic Identity) and Local Traditions

The Bugis-Makassar people are acquainted with local beliefs which have survived from long before being introduced to Islam. Their belief is called the *Attorioloang*, and in some places, people refer to it using the term *Attaurioloang*. This belief is the native religion in the region, which is linked to the oldest migratory wave of the Proto Malay ethnic groups (Toala and Tokea) in Sulawesi, which for some time was mixed with the second wave of Deutero Malay ethnic beliefs that moved in a later universal religious environment (Nyompa, 1992:33). However, the spiritual elements of the two beliefs continue to exist in under certain conditions. They developed along with the official religions, but are not permitted to run an organisation or carry out open investment. They attempt to not offend other religious followers. They disguise the term *mappanre galung* which means to feed rice / land, which is commonly referred to in the term bugis *mappano* which means lowering food in certain ceremonies (Marhani, 2018).

In terms of the practice carried out in Mount Bawakaraeng, there are three forms of contestation in religious rituals. First, the use of the word of Hajj itself becomes a media of contestation for the Bawakaraeng community. One of the community members performing worship at Bawakaraeng said:

Actually, the most important pilgrimage is the intention, and it, essentially is in the heart, although one has not had a chance to visit the temple, God willing, the intention has already been received (DT, Interview, 2016).

Based on the statement above, the motive of the Bawakaraeng community is quite clear, that the priority of the Hajj for a Muslim is the intention, so that every Muslim pilgrimage does not have to go to Mecca. It also shows open contestation over the implementation of the mainstream Hajj, where now, more and more Muslims want to perform the Hajj just for the sake of the title and social status it implies.

In fact, rituals that are considered as spiritual journeys have been established for centuries. The pilgrimage ritual itself has an attraction, although with a very complicated process, and is full of both material and spiritual sacrifices. That is not enough, a person who has performed the pilgrimage ritual, and returned from the holy land, will attain an elevated status, which certainly has considerable moral consequences (Sakirman, 2018). Furthermore, the essence of the Hajj pilgrimage is basically an act of *mujahadah* (an earnest effort of the soul) to gain awareness of *musyaadah* (witness), which is the process of perseverance of a servant visiting Baitullah (the house of God) as a means of meeting (*liqa'*) with God. Hajj is a symbol of a person's return to God the Absolute (Istianah, 2017). Thus, religion as a fact and history has a symbolic and sociological dimension as an abstract domain structure independent of space and time (Zainuddin, 2013).

Secondly, the meaning of Hajj for a Muslim is something that makes a difference. The title of Hajji attached to the name of someone who has performed the Hajj will change their social status among the community. In the South Sulawesi region, the title of Hajji is a social status that is considered in society. It is practically functional and it is significant. Its importance can easily be found in socio-religious activities, for example in weddings and other joint activities. In other words, the value of 'prestige' takes precedence over the 'function' of the pilgrimage itself. Ideally, it is linked to the contribution of Hajj values (Saputra, 2016). As stated by one of the Bawakaraeng Hajj community members:

What is shown by people who have performed the Hajj is their behaviour, not just the title. However, it is shown with how they behave in daily relationships with the community. That is the true meaning of Hajj according to religion (RL, interview, 2016).

This is in line with the response of Hajj behaviour for some Muslims in Indonesia, for example in Lombok, the pilgrimage is an attraction that absorbs the ideals, ambitions, and focus of life of many Sasak Muslim individuals in Tanah Merah. Hajj becomes the model for an ideal individual identity with a positive image attached to it, and people call the person a Hajj master. Sociologically, the struggle for identity and efforts to

build the self-image of pilgrims gives an understanding of the relationship and distance between religious doctrines as a model for reality of Islamic teachings and the implementation of the doctrine in social praxis (Soehadha, 2018). Kreiner states that each religion has differences in the practice of Hajj which tends to show that the purpose of Hajj and travel is blurred (Collins-Kreiner, 2018).

Third is the Hajj related financial difficulties. As indicated in the previous discussion (see introduction), the longest Hajj waiting list in Indonesia is in South Sulawesi. It is undeniable that the struggle of the Bugis-Makassar people to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca is a dream that people are 'compelled' to perform. Although this ritual is only required to be performed by those who have sound physical and psychological abilities, as well as financial capacity to carry it out (Sulthoni *et al.*, 2013), for the Bugis-Makassar community it is not that simple. The significance of the act goes beyond the meaning of Hajj and its financial implementations. In South Sulawesi, Hajj has not only religious aspects but also social and economic aspects (Ahmad, 2016). Of the three forms of contestation, Hajj for the Bawakaraeng community is a natural process and it is something that, symbolically, they do not reject. Even though they do not accept it absolutely, it is a contestation tool for the identity of the mainstream pilgrimage. The meaning of Hajj is also a means of contestation which tends to show the struggle for the true meaning of Hajj. It is a means of putting good behaviour in the community, even though they have not gone to Mecca. Moreover, the funding required for the mainstream pilgrimage is relatively expensive with a complicated process, so the Bawakaraeng community chooses to worship at the top of the mountain as a representation of their closeness to a god who knows neither space nor time. In practice, the pilgrimage to the top of Mount Bawakaraeng is more financially affordable, but also, they can make the journey without having to wait for decades on a waiting list.

Contestation of Socio-Religious Identity for the Bugis-Makassar Society

Religion, tradition, and social conditions are three important elements that determine the identity of a society. These three elements mutually complement and

influence one another in socio-religious practices. Even though the Bugis-Makassar community is commonly associated with Islam, religious practices are still heavily influenced by local traditions that existed before the advent of Islam. Therefore, the acceptance of Islam as a Bugis-Makassar religion is very important in the transformation of the religious paradigm. There are two issues that need to be identified regarding the initial interactions between the Buginese-Makassarese and Muslims before they officially embraced Islam in the early seventeenth century (Bahtiar, 2016). First, contact was made by Bugis-Makassar traders with Muslim residents when they migrated. Second, the contact took place within the South Sulawesi region through Muslim traders who had settled in Makassar in the mid-sixteenth century. It is necessary to investigate the existence of Bugis-Makassarese who embraced Islam before Islam was officially accepted by the King in 1605 (Noorduyn, 2013; Pabbajah, 2012).

Not only in the Bugis-Makassar community, the arrival of Islam to the Indonesian territory resulted in a shift in the beliefs and traditions of the Indonesian archipelago. In this case, it is based on assumptions and strategies of compromise between Islam and local culture, into a single monotheism culture. As a concept, cultural monotheism became a strategy in seeing and responding to the Islamic religiosity of the Archipelago (Soehadha, 2016). This involves the arrival of Islam that sufficiently influenced the habits of the people of South Sulawesi, and had an effect on all socio-religious activity. Although the arrival of Islam at the time did not try to totally change religious practice, it highlighted that the contestation between religion and tradition was becoming more increasingly apparent. To maintain the old traditions locals believed in, they constantly sought to challenge the teachings of Islam by negotiating some of their traditions via Islamic teachings (Jubba, 2019). Humans are affected and receive various inherited teachings, beliefs, and ideologies from the influence of their communities through internalisation; they are born within households and are influenced by the environment in which they grow (Hamid, 2006)

Contestation can be found in three trends of religious practice. First, mild contestation which is more accepting and complementary of the differences between religion and tradition. This can be seen in the practice of religions

such as Islam, when there are still elements of traditional beliefs acculturated through various socio-religious activities. Islamic teachings have indeed had an impact and are present in many aspects of Bugis-Makassar life. This can be seen in the practice of marriage which is laden with a mixture of religion and tradition. Islamic identity and tradition are found in the names given at birth. There are many mosques where followers recite the Quran and sholawat before prayers. Furthermore, there are Islamic educational institutions such as madrassas, Islamic boarding schools, Islamic universities, and so on, as well as various other forms of institutions indicating community acceptance of Islam's presence. This shows that collaboration between religious teachings and cultural values is an important force in the development of a religion, and how the religion's influences subsequently spreads to every corner of the cultural elements that exist in the region where the community is located (Soehadha, 2018).

The second type of contestation is open contestation in the practice of religion and tradition - where groups are open to each other in their differences, these can also be termed as free contestation - in this situation, groups are more likely to reveal the difference between religion and tradition. Here, tradition often seems to dominate in religious activities where there are elements of pre-Islamic belief that are consistently carried out. For example, community rituals, belief in pre-Islamic myths, offerings to heirlooms and sacred places, and the presence of several *Bissu* priests who continue to play an active role in community activities (Adnan, 2018). All of these elements are contrary to the teachings of Islam, which is professed by the majority of the population in South Sulawesi (Andaya, 1998; Pabbajah, 2012). In this case religion and culture tend to be separated, so they neither touch nor contradict each other, which prevents disputes. If it has nothing to do with the teachings of mainstream religion, it is given freedom to be practiced openly as a contestation of socio-religious reality (Pabbajah *et al.*, 2019). This contestation is usually manifest through ceremonial activities or cultural festivals.

The third form of contestation is the struggle for influence between religion and tradition, and in practice, this is a more frontal confrontation between the two. Religion and tradition face each other to gain dominant

influence. This constellation is closer to the term hard or frontal contestation. It is blatantly expressed that religion and tradition are practically in conflict. One of them may become the winner while the other may submit or become fused. Such contestation is not expected to occur in a multicultural society, but the potential for confrontation remains quite open. Contestation can be expressed in public religious symbols as a form of resistance to seek public influence or sympathy (Jubba *et al.*, 2020). This is in line with the contestation of two Islamic traditions in Yogyakarta where both maintain strict cultural boundaries through symbols that represent each other's identity, whether in religious practice, art, culture, economics or politics (Arifin *et al.*, 2019).

Reflecting on the three forms of contestation between religion and local traditions, it is increasingly emphasised that religion and culture are elements that continue to exist in socio-religious practices. In practice both sometimes follow the same rhythm, sometimes they clash, and even conquer each other. Contestation in this case is understood as a referential approach in observing socio-religious phenomena, so that religion and tradition are considered as two elements that have the power to mutually influence one another. As demonstrated in the ritual practices of the Bawakaraeng community there has been a contestation that has taken place with various dynamics of the resulting social change. Thus, religion and tradition are important elements in social change that continue to negotiate in accordance with the context of society.

5 Conclusion

The relationship between Islam and local traditions will always be interesting and open to be studied from various perspectives. The key finding in the present study is the dynamic relationship between religion and culture in Indonesia. There are three findings of this study. First, the Islamic contestation, which is represented by the identity of the pilgrimage, has a dual perspective of mainstream religion and local tradition in the Bawakaraeng Hajj community. Second, the contestation between Islamic identity and local tradition fluctuates depending on the conditions of time and place where the contestation occurs. Third, the contestation between Islam and local tradition corroborates Indonesia's religious and cultural

wealth, which has a potential and strength that can influence the socio-religious practices of the community. In other words, contestation is not always seen from its negative aspects that may lead to conflict, but cultural power is accommodated as national wealth that can be used for the promotion of national development.

This study serves as an introduction to open up the way for further studies. The authors realise that the current study still has limitations in analysing the relationship between religion and culture, especially since data collection was conducted on a small scale. Thus, it is recommended that further studies be carried out with comparative data on cultural and religious relationships, which of course are still very abundant, but have not been examined in this study. The potential of the Indonesian people with their variety of cultures, ethnicities, and religions needs to gain the attention of all parties in the context of preserving this unique wealth. The government as policy maker needs to continue to provide support to local communities in making strategic policies related to the existence of local wisdom. This includes providing education to the wider community and avoiding bias and negative stigma as well. Moreover, the development and change of culture with various social identities that ensue, offers opportunities and challenges that cannot be avoided in the current age of globalisation.

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