

# The Encounter of Customs and Religion in Cultivating Religious Moderation in Bugis

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## ABSTRACT

The encounter of Islam and culture in Bugis society has been widely studied by various groups. But how these encounters can shape the character of religious moderation in society has not been studied in depth. In fact, culturally religious ways have so far been one of the important elements that shape moderate religious practices. This study aims to: First, explain how these cultural religious ways form a moderate way of religion in Bugis society. Second, describing the challenges of cultural religion in the current situation of rampant religious radicalism, and third, showing the vital role of *Gurutta*, *Anregurutta* and the *pangederreng* system in reinforcing cultural Islam as well as religious moderation in society. This study was conducted by conducting qualitative research or field research. Emic data from the field is processed by analysis from below (grounded theory) as well as assisted by cultural Islamic theories that have existed so far. The results of the study show that culturally religious ways have so far smoothed the relationship between religion and local culture, so that there is no antipathy towards local culture, while also facilitating relations with different religious groups, because they do not demand much formalistic Islam. While the practice of cultural Islam can be strengthened again, if the agency roles of *Gurutta* and *Anregurutta* can be maximally reworked the *pangederreng* system to function again in society.

**Keywords:** Cultural Islam, *pangederreng*, *gurutta* (*anregurutta*), religious moderation.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is known as a nation with moderate religious thought. This is represented by the religious thought patterns of the two largest Islamic organizations; Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah. Both organizations have religious views that are not rigid, can accept diversity and become the foremost organizations in protecting the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI).

However, the moderate face of Indonesian Islam began to face serious challenges after the reform. Since 2000 groups that carry a fundamentalist understanding of Islam began to develop (Ahmad, 2009). This group interprets religion in black and white, it is difficult to accept differences, rejects the concept of democracy and tries to replace a democracy based on Pancasila, into a

religious state. Religious expressions that emerged began to shift from moderatism to fundamentalism.

As mentioned by Abd Kadir Ahmad, the religious expression of high tension shown by this fundamentalist group is far different from the religious ways shown by Muslims in previous times. Although in the 70s to 90s there were still remnants of the NII group, in general, Indonesian Muslims practice religion culturally. A religious way that does not prioritize symbols and formalities, but blends with the cultures of the archipelago that live in society (Ahmad, 2019).

Islamic culture which is applied in the religious ways of the Indonesian people is a process of a long struggle between Islam and the cultures that live in the archipelago. In this struggle, Islam not only accommodates the existing culture in the archipelago, but both Islam and local culture reinforce each other. The journey of Islamic culture in the Muslim

community has brought a soft religious situation and strengthened social cohesion. The Muslim community in its Islamic culture expression is not easy to blame other different groups, can respect the local culture that develops in society and can coexist with other religions. This situation reflects that the life of religious moderation has been going well. The mainstreaming of religious moderation itself in recent years is being promoted by various parties, including the government. In other words, the praxis of religious moderation has actually been part of the religious ways of the community since the first through the expression of Islamic culture.

In the Muslim community in South Sulawesi, this Islamic culture practice is reflected in a value system called *pangaderreng* (Bugis) or *pangadakkang* (Makassar) (hereinafter written as *pangaderreng*). In the *pangaderreng* system, the encounter of Islam and local culture is clearly reflected. In *pangaderreng*, apart from having a system that is sourced from local values and rules, there are also Islamic values with the element of *sarak* (*shari'a*).

It is undeniable that the values of this *pangaderreng* can continue to live in society because of the role of the *ulama* who in Bugis-Makassar society are called *Anregurutta* and *Gurutta*. The roles of these clerics borrowed Emile Durkheim's term to be something like social punctuation of time and space. Through the presence of this cleric in various events and rituals of the human life cycle, the *pangaderreng* and thus Islamic culture continues to be present in people's lives. The presence of the *ulama* became a kind of marker of the encounter of Islam and local traditions. Why is that? Because in all the rituals of the community's life cycle, it is thick with local culture. The presence of the *ulama* at the event ensured that Islam was also present. Indeed, there has been an Islamic tradition in these ceremonies, namely through *barzanji* and prayer, but the presence of *ulama* in these rituals is a stronger legitimacy.

*Ulama* became a kind, to borrow Geertz's term, 'main connecting link', the link between Islamic teachings and local traditions (Geertz, 1960). Of course, in this case, it is not only the *ulama*, on the other side there are traditional/cultural leaders (*topanrita*) who also have a similar function, namely connecting local traditions and Islamic traditions. Nevertheless, the *ulama* are the key, because the existence of the *ulama* becomes a kind of legitimacy for the practice of Islamic culture.

As for this paper, it focuses on several things. First, explain the expression of Islamic culture, as well as its relationship with the moderate religious way in *Bugis-Makassar* society. Second, describing the challenges of cultural religion in the current situation of rampant religious radicalism, and third, showing the vital role of *ulama* (*Gurutta*, *Anregurutta*) in the *pangaderreng*

system to reaffirm Islamic culture as well as religious moderation in society.

### 1.1. Theoretical Review of Islamic culture

In the spread of Islam carried out by Wali Songo, culture is placed as an important entity. Instead of getting rid of it, on the contrary, the culture of the archipelago is considered a treasure of local knowledge that is embraced and met with Islamic teachings. The way of Wali Songo was then continued by his successor scholars in various parts of the archipelago. This is the forerunner of Islamic culture. Islamic culture, thus, can be considered as Islam that is spread and implemented in ways to accommodate the local culture that develops in society.

As a way of practicing mainstream Islam in the archipelago, this Islamic culture has been studied by many people and has produced many theories. Recently, what has become a hot topic of discussion is the concept of Islam Nusantara. This term became popular after in 2015 at the 33rd NU Congress it became the central theme. Islam Nusantara itself is a way of understanding and practicing Islam from our point of view as people of the archipelago which are rich in nature and civilization. In addition, Islam Nusantara is also understood as a way of expressing Islam in accordance with the cultural nature of the Indonesian people (Baso, 2015).

This understanding shows that we do not only accept, but also cultivate Islam that comes to us in order to be able to answer various problems that arise in society. In such a position, between Islam and the archipelago give each other and complement each other. Like the words, Islam with all its civilization is a diamond, the archipelago with its culture is a diamond. Their meeting gave birth to pearls.

To this day, writings about Islam Nusantara, both in the form of books and articles in journals, continue to appear. Writings that support or reject alternately brighten up the discourse on Islam in the archipelago (Tanobara, 2020; al-Zastrouw, 2017; Akhiyat, 2017; Al-Maarif, 2015; Ghazali, 2015; Zainul Milal, 2016).

Besides Islam Nusantara, previously there was Taufik Abdullah who used the term Islam Soft, namely Islamization by taming its targets by means of polite *da'wah*, while at the same time flexing himself to be able to accept local cultures in society (Abdullah, 1987).

Clifford Gertz also observes this Islamic culture in his famous work on Javanese Religion. The Islamic practice of Javanese people, Gertz said, occurred in the process of Islamic accommodation of local culture or Gertz called it great cultural accommodation of local culture. On the other hand, Islam provides wide possibilities for local culture to continue to grow and develop. Then there is the integration process (Geertz, 2017).

Azyumardi Azra sees the Islamic practice of the Nusantara people as evolutionist Islam, namely the practice of Islam being carried out in stages. Thus, Islamic teachings do not necessarily dominate all aspects of human life. The process takes place step by step, until finally it is well accepted by the community. (Azra, 2002).

Another term is what Abdurrahman Wahid calls the Indigenization of Islam. What is the indigenization of Islam, Gusdur, another name for Abdurrahman Wahid explains it;

“Indigenization of Islam is not Javanization (Buginization, Makassarization, etc.) or syncretism, because indigenization of Islam only considers local needs in formulating religious laws, without adding to the law itself. Nor is it an attempt to leave the norm for the sake of culture, but so that the norm accommodates cultural needs by using the opportunities provided by variations in the understanding of the texts while still giving a role to *ushul fiqh* and *qaedah fiqh*”. (Wahid, 1989)

The stages of the encounter between Islamic teachings and local culture are also quite interestingly described by Grunebaum. This stage shows that before the local culture merges into Islam or becomes part of Islam, a process has occurred with the following stages: First, the big tradition accepts the small tradition; second, the big tradition extends the small tradition; and third, the integration between the two (Grunebaum, 1983).

The concept and theory of Islamic culture is basically based on the concepts of acculturation and assimilation, two classical concepts that describe the meeting of two cultures in a multicultural society. Acculturation itself is often described as a meeting of two or more different cultures that interact with each other absorb each other. Usually in the process of meeting, the big (universal) culture absorbs the small (local) culture and melts into the big culture, so that the characteristics of the previous culture are no longer visible. This stage is called assimilation (Budiman, 2005).

Monk Parekh criticized the concept of assimilation because he considered this model to be nothing more than monocultureism, namely the understanding of the existence of a single and dominant culture (Parekh, 2000). In the context of the meeting of Islam and the culture of the archipelago, Hikmat Budiman stated that this model allows local culture to be accommodated in an Islamic culture, after first releasing certain characteristics and characteristics of the culture (Budiman, 2005).

Parekh then proposes a model of encounter between cultures in which there is a mutually beneficial dialogue. This is what he calls an encounter (Parekh, 2000). Encounter is not only interpreted as an ordinary encounter, but an encounter, in this case Islam and local culture, both of which give and receive each other

without losing any of their characteristics. In the context of Islamic culture in Bugis-Makassar, namely in the concept of *pangaderreng*, it is this encounter that looks the most appropriate in photographing it. This Islamic encounter can also be seen from the concepts of Islam Nusantara, especially those offered by Ahmad Baso and Agus Sunyoto (Baso, 2015; Sunyoto, 2017).

## 1.2. Research Methods

The data in this paper were obtained through qualitative research. In qualitative research, the author goes to the field to conduct interviews with Anregurutta, Gurutta, community leaders and traditional leaders. In addition, he also made direct observations of the Islamic culture practices carried out in the community, especially in the villages in Bulukumba. Data collection, therefore, has followed the rules of qualitative research which, as Tadjoe Ridjal calls it, must include interviews and observations. (Ridjal, 2004:91). Data mining and description are not only at the surface level, or in Geertz's language, thin descriptions, but also explore the meanings at the deepest layer (thick description) (Gertz, 1973). By doing these two things, the concept and practice of Islamic culture can be understood,

## 2. DISCUSSION

### 2.1. Islamic culture and Religious Moderation

Islamic culture has actually been an expression of Muslims in Indonesia since ancient times, especially when Wali Songo became a key figure in the spread of Islam. In some Javanese historiography, for example, written by R. Tanoyo, it is stated that Islam has existed in the archipelago since the 7th century AD, long before Wali Songo spread it, only that at that time Islam had not been widely embraced by the people of the archipelago. There is an impression that in those early days, the locals actually fought back. The records of Haji Ma Huan, who followed Admiral Zheng He's journey around 1405 mentions that there have also been Muslim groups, but they have not been massive. Islam later spread widely in the mid-15th century, after Wali Songo became the central figure of the Islamization. The key, Wali Songo at that time spread Islam culturally. The way to spread Islam from Wali Songo, which was later called Islamic culture, was not only with polite and friendly *da'wah*, but also being involved in solving social problems and political turmoil in society. In addition, this Islamic culture appears in the form of a creative dialogue with local culture (Sunyoto, 2017).

Wali Songo and subsequent generations of scholars who have a genealogical line of knowledge from Wali Songo, did not completely eliminate local culture, but instead accommodated it. Some are even used as a

medium to convey Islam. For example, what was done by Sunan Kalijaga by making wayang stories originating from Hindu culture as a medium to convey Islam. In that way, the people's habit of thinking about wayang is not eliminated, instead it is developed.

Likewise, the saints and ulama who were students of Wali Songo who came to Bugis-Makassar, they also put forward Islamic culture, although Islam also entered through power. The triad of Islamic developers in South Sulawesi, namely Datuk Patimang, Datuk ri Bandang and Datuk ri Tiro, although they have their own da'wah style, generally apply this Islamic culture. Datuk ri Bandang, who is considered a scholar with a very strong fiqh style, does not ignore the importance of Islamic accommodation to local culture. Datuk ri Bandang is even considered the formulator of the 'Sarak-Adek Encounter Charter'. The charter reads:

*Assituresenna ade'e sara'e  
Mappakarajai sara'e ri ade'e  
Mapakalebbii ade'e ri sara'e  
Temmakulle sirusa' bicara  
Narekko pusai bicaranna ade'e  
Makkutanae ri bicaranna sara'e  
Makkutanae ri ade'e  
Temmekulleni siapusang.  
Temmekulleni tessiapusang.*

(Agreement between custom and Sarak  
Sarak respects custom  
The custom glorifies Sarak  
Custom and Sarak do not cancel each other's decisions. If custom cannot decide a case, then custom asks Sarak. If Sarak can't decide a thing, Sarak asks custom. Both will not be wrong in making decisions) (Mattulada, 1985).

In South Sulawesi society, this Islamic culture model is built on the concept of *pagaderreng*. This concept is a set of norms that guide the *Bugis-Makassar* community in their lives. *Pangaderreng* consists of five elements, which are related to each other. These elements are adek (custom), talk (legal norms), rapang (exemplary norms), warik (norms governing social stratification) and sarak (Islamic law). This last element was added after Islam became a religion embraced by the community (Mattulada, 1985).

Through this *pangaderreng*, especially through sarak, Islam is applied in people's lives. This is where the principle of religious moderation can be seen in the *pangaderreng* Islamic system. By going through *pangaderreng*, not only can the four elements other than sarak be maintained, but also the implementation of Islam in sarak runs flexibly, is not tense and is able to accommodate local cultures that develop in the community.

If we match this with religious moderation, which is the current government program, then what appears in the application of Islam through this *pangaderreng* is the

most obvious example. Why can it be concluded that way? Because the important aspects of religious moderation have actually been implemented in the *pangaderreng* system.

As mentioned in the Religious Moderation of the Ministry of Religion, there are four important aspects of religious moderation, namely upholding human values and being tolerant of differences, rejecting all forms of violence, accepting the concept of nationality as a collective agreement and accommodating local culture (Kemenag Team, 2019). These aspects of religious moderation are clearly illustrated in this *pangaderreng*, especially in two aspects, being tolerant and accommodating to local culture.

For example, this tolerant and accommodating attitude is reflected in the spirit to maintain the traditions and culture of the community. One example is that Islam still retains the titles of local kings, namely Sombayya ri Gowa, although at the same time it also gives a symbol of Islam to the king, namely the title 'sultan'. In royal protocol the local symbol in the form of "Sudanga" (royal sword) is side by side with the Qur'an. (Ahmad, 1981).

Islamic culture does not put forward the institutional ego that wants to suppress the entire system that already exists in society, and replace it with an Islamic system. The system of government known in Islam, for example the caliphate system, is not forced to become a system of government in society. Islam at a certain point only has a position as a source of government ethics that is absorbed into the *pangaderreng*.

One of the elements of *pagaderreng* is the willingness to absorb Islamic values. For example, there are five things that are signs of a corrupt government. First, if the government does not want to be warned. Second, if there are no knowledgeable people in the country. Third, if law enforcers accept bribes. Fourth, if there is a lot of chaos in the country. Fifth, if the government does not love its people (Ahmad, 2010). In addition, it is also mentioned that the ideal standard of a leader is based on the possession of the quality of the *eppak sulapak* (square) within him. The components of *eppak sulapak* are *macca* (intelligent), *panrita* (ulama), *sugik* (rich), and *warani* (knight) (Pelras, 1996). It also shows appreciation for knowledgeable people (scholars), scholars, rich people, and knights.

Through Islamic culture also, human life cycle ceremonies based on local culture are still given a place. So the ritual from birth, marriage to death is still held with local expressions. At birth, a child will be married, according to Islamic tradition, but in the Bugis-Makassar community an *attampolo* event is also added, even in the Tanah Toa Kajang Community, Bulukumba, there is another specific event, namely *akkalomba*. When the wedding is held in Islamic ways, there are also events that are expressions of local culture, for example the tradition of *mappacking*, *mappasikarawa* and others. On the other hand, in the ceremony of the

life cycle, there are elements of Islam that are absorbed as well.

The influence of Islam through barzanji itself, has been shown by Thomas Gibson quite clearly. According to Gibson, before the arrival of Islam several beliefs in Bugis-Makassar were influenced by beliefs characterized by Austronesian, Sriwijaya and Majapahit cosmologies with Hinduism as their foundation. That's why one of the myths about the birth of the figure of To Manurung from inside a bamboo trunk, actually does not exist in the myth about origins in South Sulawesi. The myth was much influenced by the beliefs brought by traders from Sriwijaya and Majapahit. However, the influence of Sriwijaya, Majapahit and Hinduism changed a lot after the arrival of Islam. One of the Islamic traditions that has entered the ritual niche of the people of South Sulawesi is barzanji. Thomas Gibson says:

It is through these life cycle ceremonies that community cohesion is strengthened. Even different religious groups take part and are involved in these various events. In fact, often at Islamic events, such as Maulid or Isra Mikraj, non-Muslims are also present. This can happen, because these religious ceremonies are packaged with local cultural expressions.

In addition, minority Islamic groups in the Bugis-Makassar community through Islam, are also given a place in society. Its formulation and practice are outlined in the principles of coexistence and mutual respect without intervention. For example, Ahmadiyah and Shia have always been possible to live in society. As another example, minority Islamic groups with local expressions and in some ways their religious practices are different from mainstream Islam are also not questioned. The indigenous community of Tanah Toa Kajang and their indigenous leader called Amma Toa, for example, are left to live with their own local wisdom. Of course, a community like Tanah Toa is not left isolated and does not absorb external values, but the process is carried out slowly. The process of encountering Islamic values is carried out without coercion. This community is also invited to continue to dialogue with values that come from outside, including with Islamic values, until finally these new values can be accepted. This is an evolutionist process, to borrow the term Azra (2002), or if using the term Taufik Abdullah (1987) it is called Islam Soft.

The practice of Islamic culture in the development of Islam in South Sulawesi has so far been proven to strengthen harmony in society. It can be said that this Islamic culture is actually a valuable experience for the Indonesian people to develop a more deeply rooted religious moderation. Islamic culture has gone through a long journey and has been tested since the 14th century until today. Such experiences have enabled this plural nation to survive as a unitary state.

## 2.2. Islamic culture and the Challenges of Religious Radicalism

In recent years, the practice of Islamic culture has begun to get disturbed from several circles. These methods are considered not the perfect way of Islam or not Kaffah Islam. That's why this Islamic culture began to be sued, emerged a way of Islam that no longer wants to interfere with local cultural expressions.

The Islamic model that has emerged recently has appeared in various names, some call it purification of Islam, Puritan Islam, Islamist groups, Islamic Fundamentalism and last but not least, Islamic Radicalism. All of these different terms each have their own emphasis, but which is certainly entirely anti-Islamic culture ways.

In fact, to be honest, the challenge to Islamic culture is not something new in the last few years. Several groups have tried to change the religious way of this cultural and moderate society, one of which is through the movement carried out by DI/TII. Under the leadership of Kahar Muzakkar, this group tried to apply Islam in black and white and strictly eliminate all elements of culture in Islam. The life cycle ceremonies were abolished, the drums during the salvation ceremony stopped beating, the instruments for performing rituals were also destroyed. It did not stop there, minority groups, such as the Tanah Toa, Bissu and Tolotang communities were forced to convert to Islam puritanically. Those who do not want to be persecuted, hunted and even killed (Prasetia, 2010; Syamsurijal & L. Nasurung, 2019).

This high-tensioned Islam which intended to eliminate Islamic culture turned out to be a failure. The community cannot accept a religious way that does not respect the local culture and at the same time tries to uproot them from their culture. Communities like Bissu choose to run away from having to follow such a religious model. Tolotang, who experienced violence and persecution, instead chose to embrace Hinduism, while Tanah Toa Kajang fought back by forming a dompea army.

For the record, the Tolotang community before the coercion to embrace Islam had actually followed Islamic culture. At that time, the Tolotang community arrived in the Sidenreng kingdom and they stated that they were willing to follow several Islamic teachings offered by Addatuang Sidenreng, namely being buried in Islam (Ulamuko), married in Islam (uppakkawikko), and paying zakat fitrah (upappittarako). At that time, Ipabbere, a Tolotang community figure representing others, stated:

*Gettengi Beccikku, Aja tatteangi mappugao mappuroroku, Nakko tangge gettengi becciku temmu areangka mappuroroku ugiling alelu uleang aloang (We accept, on condition that we are not prohibited from doing our customs, if this*

condition is denied and we are not given the opportunity to carry out our customs and rituals, then we will violate the provisions that have been set) (Syamsurijal & L. Nasurung, 2019).

Unfortunately, later on, especially in the 60-70s, the community Tolotang is experiencing an event of Islamic radicalization. The incident forced them to make a choice, whether to embrace Islam or leave it. Finally, Islamic Culture which previously had slowly become part of the life of the Tolotang community was abandoned and they chose Hinduism as their formal religion. Traces of Islamic culture can still be seen today in the Tolotang community when they hold certain ceremonies. They, for example, still wear clothes like Muslims, namely wearing a skullcap and wearing a Sarong in each of these ceremonies.

Past experience shows that radical Islam is not suitable and is not accepted in South Sulawesi society. But apparently there are still groups who do not want to learn from the past experience. Now there is a resurgence of the Islamic movement which is contrary to Islamic culture. The understanding of religion that is developed in the community, especially the younger generation, is an anti-culture understanding. That is why, when the discourse of Islam Nusantara appeared which tried to re-strengthen the position of Islamic culture, some circles challenged it. Appearing on social media *posts* who ridiculed and thought that Islam Nusantara was an attempt to mislead Muslims. There are also those who say that Islam Nusantara is the behavior of superstition and polytheism in the modern age.

In several studies, it is stated that the younger generation, who is commonly referred to as this millennial generation and generation z, are slowly being invited to stay away from culturally religious ways. For example, in one school, according to the findings of the Makassar Religious Research and Development Research, the students began to be anti-religious traditions that have been synonymous with Islamic culture. In Makassar there are Islamic Spiritual students who reject the celebration of the Prophet Muhammad's Birthday, even though the celebration is carried out in general, without any barzanji reading. In the Pinrang area, there was also a case of a class of students boycotting the celebration of Mawlid which was considered an act of heresy. If the celebration is like a birthday, they refuse, let alone other forms of celebration in the cycle of human life (Syamsurijal, 2021).

In addition to their rejection of Islamic cultureic celebrations, some of the younger generation also began to be anti-art. In Research and Development, it is stated that some students refuse art, even do not want to take art subjects. They insist that music in Islam is forbidden. This is certainly different from the ways in which Islamic culture treats art and music. As previously stated, Sunan Kalijaga is not anti-art, instead conveying

Islam through wayang. This wayang or artistic tradition was also told by KH Saifuddin Zuhri from his experience as a santri. According to him, the students at that time enjoyed watching wayang. Every time there are certain events in the community, then there is a puppet show, the students also watch. KH Saifuddin Zuhri then stated that pesantren students are part of the community, part of the culture that exists in the community. Therefore, a santri cannot be a group that is anti-culture that is developing in that society. Kiai Zuhri said:

*"That Islamic boarding schools are citizens of our community too, they have done for their nation ... they are not a group of people who alienate themselves, because Islamic boarding schools are not a closed fortress (Saifuddin Zuhri, 2007)."*

The challenges of radical groups are now increasingly felt, because da'wah media are increasingly open. If in the past groups that were anti-Islamic Culture could only convey their ideas through direct da'wah, now da'wah can be done through the media, especially the media *on line*. Anti-cultural groups used to not be able to influence people to remote areas because the Islamic cultureic religious leaders were in remote areas. It is these Islamic cultureic figures who have been protecting the community and are present in every event that takes place in their places. Now the da'wah process no longer has to be carried out directly, by, for example, visiting remote areas. Now the anti-Islamic propaganda can be spread through social media. Through social media, the reach of his da'wah becomes massive and can expose various groups.

Some of the younger generations of Islam whose religious understanding has turned radical, it turns out, one of them, because they are influenced by anti-Islamic cultural da'wah on social media. They get lectures that make musyrikkan various religious expressions that are commonly practiced so far by the people of Indonesia. Several religious teachings from sites that cornered Islamic culture have influenced the younger generation. For example, there are telegrams atsar.id and Indonesian salafi. Likewise, there are religious da'wahs on Instagram with the Salafi Indonesia account and the Indonesian account of monotheism. In addition, there is also a study through the Indonesian Islamic Radio application. If they want to find information or learn about Islam through Google, they don't search directly on Google, but through the search engine: 'Muslim Reference.' This search engine is unique, because through this search engine, almost all Islamic discourses that appear are those characterized by conservatism, puritanism and even radicals. If we try to search Islam Nusantara, then all the writings that appear in this search engine are the ones that corner the discourse.

PPIM, as mentioned by Syamsurijal, had published the results of their research in 2017 about sites that dominate online media. The results show Islamism sites with content that is anti-Islamic Culture that dominates.

The number of visitors for each of these media in the range of July-September 2017, as follows: Era Muslim.com visited more than 9.5 million, VOA Islam; 8.3 million visitors. Moderate sites, such as NU Online, were visited by more than 6.5 million and Suara Muhammadiyah around 388 thousand visitors (Syamsurijal, 2021).

The large number of visitors shows that there is a strong influence from this anti-Islam cultural group. They managed to frame their issues as if they were the most Islamic. They have also succeeded in showing that the Islamic methods that have been practiced so far have distanced Muslims from kaffah Islam. They succeeded in eliciting a feeling called by Sageman, a sense of moral outrage, a sense of moral wrath (Sardarnia & Safizadeh, 2017).

After 2017 and above, moderate Islamic media began to rise. Several portals managed by NU and Muhammadiyah have begun to counter the ideas developed by this high-tension Islamic group. One of the sites managed by NU, namely, nu.or.id in the Alexa survey in 2018 became the most visited site. In 2020, Alexa re-ranked Islamic sites, as a result nu.or.id, again became the most popular Islamic site. Other moderate Islamic sites such as islam.co, muslim.co, rumaysho.com and alif.id, are also in the top ranks of popular Islamic (Syamsurijal, 2020).

The strengthening of moderate Islamic sites in online media shows that there is public awareness to look for alternative media that is more soothing, and may also be an awareness to return to Islamic culture which is considered more peaceful. But that does not mean the challenges of Islamic culture have begun to fade. Because, at this time, anti-traditional puritan groups continue to spread their wings and establish various branches to remote areas. Villages or remote areas that were previously patronized by ulema who are identical with Islamic culture, have now been taken over by ustaz who come from puritan groups who are anti-traditional. Thus, the current struggle for Islamic culture to become the understanding and practice of mainstream Islam for Indonesian Muslims will still go through a steep and rocky road.

### **2.3. Anregurutta, Pangaderreng and Strengthening Islam Culture**

The role of ulama in inculturing Islamic culture in South Sulawesi society is an important key. Just as the ulema in Java became, to borrow Geertz's term, cultural brokers, the same thing happened to the Makassar Bugis clerics (Geertz, 1960). They become key figures in connecting Islam and local culture, so that harmony can take place. As a determinant in connecting between Islamic culture and local culture, ulama have their own place in the pangaderreng and in the culture of the community. The scholars received honorable titles because they were considered to maintain the balance of adat and sarak. In building this balance, scholars do not

see any that are considered more dignified, bigger and higher than others. Both Islam and local culture, both are considered as valuable values. Therefore, the ulama who mediate the encounter of Islam and local culture will maintain the characteristics of each of the two different cultures. This is a process that is no longer just assimilation and acculturation, but an encounter process.

Ulama in South Sulawesi are generally called Gurutta. Higher qualifications are called Anregurutta. When associated with expertise, both are called Topanrita (Ahmad, 2013). In addition, the category of ulama is also based on their scientific orientation, namely anreguru mupekikie (fiqh scholars), and saheknatosopie (Sufi sheikhs) (Mattammeng, 1983).

Ulama are also called topanrita sulesanae (wise scholars). It is called topanrita sulesanae because scholars have wisdom in maintaining the balance of sarak and adak in the pangaderreng system.

The importance of the role of the ulama in this pangaderreng, made him given an honorable position. His position was equal to that of the high nobles. Because of that, the figure of the cleric became the personification of the depths of religious knowledge, the glory of blood and integrity. An Anregurutta must master the yellow book and deep religious knowledge, but at the same time must have a manic nature (only words and deeds, careful, always take care of oneself), as well as the desire and ability of malleureng (to be with the community) (Ahmad, 2004b). An Anregurutta is seen as a religious symbol. The presence of Anregurutta in ceremonies or rituals performed by the community becomes a symbol of the presence of religion in that place. Anregurutta's presence becomes, to borrow Durkheim's term, *social punctuation of time and space* (social punctuation of space and time). His existence in life cycle rituals, from birth, marriage, to death, signifies the presence of religion in all niches of people's lives. It is at this point that the ulama (Anregurutta and gurutta) play a role in strengthening the Islamic culture.

That is why, in society, not all intelligent and religious people are given the title Gurutta, let alone Anregurutta. If they only have religious knowledge, but they do not become symbols and markers of Islamic culture in society, then people who have knowledge will never be considered scholars by the community. Even though on campus he is a professor of certain religious studies, if he is not malleureng and attends cultural events in the community, he will not be called Anregurutta.

In addition to direct involvement in the community, the forum for developing Islamic culture for Gurutta and Anregurutta is pesantren. This institution has been initiated in South Sulawesi since the 17th century. According to Amansyah, the pesantren were built in the

mula selleng (beginning of Islam) areas, namely Patimang in Luwu, Basokeng and Erelebu in Bulukumba, and Kalukubodoa in Gowa (Amansyah, 1975). It's just that after the early era of the emergence of pesantren, there are no more records related to the development of pesantren in South Sulawesi, until the establishment of the As'adiyah pesantren in the early 20th century. This pesantren was founded by Anregurutta As'ad, a scholar who had experienced education in Makkah.

After the existence of the As'adiyah Islamic Boarding School, other pesantren have sprung up in different places. Most of them are networks of As'adiyah, directly or indirectly (Ahmad, 1993). In addition, there is also the Darul Dakwah wal Irsyad (DDI) network of Islamic boarding schools founded by Anregurutta Ambo Dalle. This pesantren also has a genealogy of knowledge with As'adiyah, because its founder had studied with Anregurutta As'ad. It is through these pesantren that Islamic culture is spread. The yellow books are taught to the students in Arabic and the local language (Bugis-Makassar). The students who study books in these two languages are not only proficient in Arabic but also skilled in using the local language.

It is also through pesantren that Anregurutta builds harmony with the diversity that surrounds her. They do not close themselves into an exclusive group, but build relationships with various groups. Pesantren As'adiyah, for example, builds relationships with the nobility, traditional leaders and associates with followers of the Tolotang faith. They do not close themselves to just hanging out with fellow students in the pesantren environment alone.

Since the beginning, the world of pesantren was known; in the sense of a learning process from a santri to a cleric. The management of ethnic and religious diversity in a friendly manner has indeed emerged. This can be seen in several texts that talk about pesantren. One of them is as expressed by Ahmad Baso in his monumental work *Pesantren Studies* (Ahmad Baso, 2012). In the article, one of the saga of Indra Pura was appointed in the text of LOR 3170 in Malay, the letter pegon, dated 1843, Baso shows how the identity of the harmonious or guyub nationality appears in the pesantren text. Uniquely, this manuscript was rewritten by a Chinese national BabaGa Hjan Sin. Here's what the script reads:

*Si Baharuddin konon yang empunya  
Di Batavia konon rumahnya  
Mandor Tong akan mandornya  
Nyonya Yang akan istrinya*

In another manuscript entitled *Boekoe Sair Tiong Hwa Hwe Kwan: Koetika Boekanja Passar Derma* (1905) written by Tjia Ki Siang it is stated:

*Sekalian Hwe Kwan Poenja alamat  
Terpandang Kwi-khi sebagai djimat  
Nabi Kong Hoe Tjoe jang kita hormat  
Allah Poedjiken dengan slamat (Ahmad Baso, 2012)*

The first text in the text above brings together the figures of Baharuddin representing Pesantren, and the figures of Foreman Tong and Nyonya Yang representing ethnic Chinese. This manuscript explains the familiarity, not only the pesantren text among the Chinese, but also the personal relationship between them. The second text shows respect for each other's beliefs by mentioning the Prophet Confucius and Allah SWT in one stanza.

Thus, the ulama, who are known in South Sulawesi as Anregurutta and gurutta, as well as their pesantren institutions, are an important key in maintaining this Islamic culture. They are the social capital that has made Islamic culture possible to this day. But as previously described, there are currently challenges with the presence of Radical Islamic groups. The problem is, these groups also form figures who are also called by them 'ulama'. They also set up a boarding school. Finally, what we consider to be key figures in Islamic culture, are now considered to be part of the Radical Islam movement.

In this kind of situation, the ulema and Islamic boarding schools that have been maintaining the sustainability of Islamic culture, inevitably have to work harder. Position as *social punctuation of time and space*, not to be taken over by Radical Islamic groups. Especially now that these groups have spread to remote villages. In addition, religious authority today is not what it used to be, which is centered on ulama and pesantren with all their charisma and uniqueness. Now Muslims, especially the younger generation, have a new place to study religion, namely through the internet. In such a virtual world, religious information is indeed increasingly overflowing and its contents can be very diverse. Religious information no longer only contains Islamic culture discourse, but also radical, puritan and even political understandings of religion. Without the involvement of these scholars (Anregurutta, Gurutta) in the internet world, it is possible that the younger generation of Islam will move away from the idea of Islamic culture.

### 3. CONCLUSION

By bringing up the experience of Islamic culture in South Sulawesi, this paper can be considered to strengthen the concept of Islamic culture that has been put forward by previous thinkers. It's just that, not only showing the process of acculturation and assimilation that characterizes previous Islamic culture thought,



this paper also shows the process of 'encounter' in models of Islamic and cultural dialogue. In such a process what happens is a balanced and complementary dialogue (complementary, not supplementary).

Islamic culture in Bugis-Makassar is summarized in pangaderreng (Bugis) or pangadakkang (Makassar). It is in the concept of pangaderreng that the process of encountering customs and religion takes place. Over the years, through the concept of pangaderreng, Islamic Culture has succeeded in building harmonization in religious life. The relationship between religion and culture can be flexible and not full of tension, as well as the relationship between Islam and other groups with different beliefs. Islamic culture through this pangaderreng has succeeded well in realizing religious moderation in people's lives.

The key figures who strengthen this Islamic culture are the Gurutta, Anregurutta, and Topanrita (scholars/customary leaders). They act as executors of sarak, become figures who lead religious ceremonies in the community and at the same time become actors who maintain a balance between Islam and local culture. These Ulama also established pesantren, then through pesantren, Islamic values and local culture were absorbed, then transmitted to the students and the wider community.

In its journey, Islamic culture often faces challenges from opposing groups, especially Radical Islam groups. However, because the movements that challenge Islamic culture are not rooted in the culture of the people, especially in the pangaderreng system, so far they have not been able to eliminate the practice of Islamic culture in society.

Now since the information technology revolution, the challenge of Islamic culture from high-tension Islamic groups has emerged in another form. Islamic culture is slowly trying to be marginalized through mainstreaming radical ideas through the internet. Several younger generations, it is evident, have been influenced by the movement through cyberspace. Therefore, Anregurutta and Gurutta, now have a new task, which is not only to become religious markers in real rituals, but also to appear as markers in religious rituals in cyberspace.

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