

RELIGIOUS CONSISTENCY AND COMMITMENT TO LOCAL TRADITION WITHIN THE BAWAKARENG COMMUNITY IN INDONESIA'S SOUTH SULAWESI

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ABSTRACT

Islam and local traditions have been struggling dynamically as seen in the reality of the social and religious life in the Indonesian context. This study aims to reaffirm the relationship between religion and local traditions by observing the consistency of South Sulawesi's Bawakaraeng community in practicing both Islam and local traditions. This work is based on data collected through observation, interviews, and literature studies with a qualitative descriptive analysis approach. The results of this study show three findings. First, the Bawakaraeng community, represented by some people of Buginese and Macassarese ethnic groups, still believes that a local mountain is the center of a ritual to get closer to the creator. Second, the community has not only a strong consistency in the practice of Islamic teachings, but also a high commitment to maintaining local traditions, as practiced by Bawakaraeng community members. Third, religious consistency and a commitment to local traditions are practiced simultaneously through worshiping rituals such as prayers, remembrances, alms, and the pilgrimage activities (qurban-scarification) and tawaf). Thus, the Islamic spirits are being practiced consistently and continuously within the community's local context. This study suggests further undiscovered research on local communities using a contextual approach.

Keywords: Religious Consistency, Commitment, Local Tradition, Bawakaraeng.

INTRODUCTION

Buginese and Macassarese are the two major ethnic groups in South Sulawesi with not only strong consistency in the practice of Islamic teachings, but also high commitment to maintaining local traditions, such as the Ammatoa community in Kajang (Hasan & Nur, 2019; Maarif, 2014), Andaya, 2019; Iman et al., 2018), Maudu' Lompoa in Jeneponto (Rahim, 2020; Yamin et al., 2019), Tolotang in Sidrap (Jubba et al., 2019; Qodir, 2013; Rusli, 2012); Bissu in Pangkep (Adnan, 2018); "Bride-price" in Bone (Juhansar, 2018); Haji Bawakaraeng in Gowa (Idris, 2017; Pabbajah, 2012; Palippui, 2016), and other local communities that have maintained their beliefs and traditions since being

introduced to Islam. That research shows how the two ethnic groups commit to not only maintain Islamic teachings but local traditions as well. Databoks (2019) shows the number of the local religion adherents in Indonesia reached seven hundred thousand people¹ or 0.13% of the Indonesian population (270 million people)². Therefore, the existence of local religious adherents, as a minority and the cultural capital of the Indonesian nation, is still needed to study from various perspectives.

Studies on religion and local traditions have been carried out by experts and scholars using various methods. The existing studies can be applied to three trends: first, the dynamics of religious and cultural relations of the local community (Haryanto, 2015; Hasan, 2016; Muallifin, 2019; Muqoyyidin, 2013; Wekke, 2013); second, religious construction of local culture (Lichterman, 2008; Rozi, 2013; Hartney & Tower, 2016) and religious and cultural contestation as well as religious identity contestation (Jubba et al., 2020; Pabbajah et al., 2019; Arifin et al., 2019). Religion and ethnicity play central roles in the identity dynamics of multi-ethnic Indonesian communities (Prasojo et al., 2019); and third and finally, the compromise of the religion and customs of the local community (Aziza, 2017; Roibin, 2012; Solihah, 2019; Jubba et al., 2018). Religion and culture are also seen in the integrative aspect of solving social problems (Indiyanto & Kuswanjono, 2012; Tule, 2014). Indeed, religion and culture have had a long relationship with harmonious contestation within the dynamics of social change.

This study is a response to previous studies concerning religious consistency and the commitment to maintain the tradition of the local community in South Sulawesi. Accordingly, this study addresses three questions. First, what are the motivations of the Buginese and Macassarese ethnic groups in the Islamic and local traditional ritual practices at Mount Bawakaraeng? Second, how strong is the commitment of the Buginese and Macassarese people in preserving tradition? Third, how is the influence of religion (Islam) in line with local traditions of Buginese and Macassarese ethnic groups as practiced by the Bawakaraeng community? The three questions will be examined in this study.

This study makes three assertions concerning the consistency and the commitment of the community in religious and local traditions and practices. First, Indonesia as a multicultural country having strong religious beliefs proves the inevitable intersection of religion and local tradition. Second, both religion and local traditions go hand-in-hand according to community

1 databoks.katadata.co.id

2 Kompas.com

consistency and commitment. Third, it is well-known that the Buginese-Macassarese people are identical with their strong religiosity in the practice of Islam; however, some others still have a high commitment to maintaining the practices of local tradition (*attoriolong*). Indeed, these three assumptions are going to be tested in the discussion of this study.

CONSISTENCY IN ISLAM

Consistency is closely related to the self-concept that will influence the principles taken. Someone who holds fast to basic principles is classified as someone with self-consistency. This means the person already has a positive self-concept. One positive self-concept is to apply discipline in one's life (Leonard, 2015). Related to religious principles, someone who embraces a religion has consistency and discipline in carrying out religious teachings. Values of religious teachings are expected to occupy an inner void in each person so that they can then make the right choice of behavior (in accordance with religious norms and teachings) and avoid deviant behavior (Sahrudin, 2017). Likewise, religion becomes a person's social control in behavioral and social interaction. Essentially this proves humans cannot be separated from the social aspects of religion as a social behavior. It is in our nature to be social creatures that synergize with each other. Religion becomes a human need to interact and carry out commands as servants of God (Saputro & Rois, 2016). One example is the evidence of increased social control in dealing with corrupt behavior, guided by religious teachings (Khodijah, 2018). Thus, religious consistency is holding firm to a religious principle and carrying it out in a disciplined manner per social norms.

Religious consistency for Muslim communities in Indonesia can be observed in the celebration of Islamic holidays. These Islamic celebrations in practice are colored by local traditions. Indonesia, as a multicultural and pluralistic nation, shows how its people practice Islamic teachings hand-in-hand with local traditions. (Abdullah et al., 2019). It indicates the existence of dialogue and the "give and take" relationship between Islam and the local culture (Masduki, 2019). Studies on Islam and local culture have been carried out looking at socio-religious adaptation and dialectics (Arifai, 2018; Lutfi, 2016; Muqoyyidin, 2013; Prasetawati & Asnawi, 2018; Sriyanto, 2016). Similarly, religious and local traditions practices are carried out simultaneously (Al-Amri & Haramain, 2017; Sakirman, 2016; Sujati, 2020; Wekke, 2013). It proves that in Indonesia, Islam and local traditions are consistently practiced hand-in-hand and influence each other.

MOUNT BAWAKARAENG: “QIBLA” PILGRIMAGE FOR THE BUGI-NESE- MACASSARESE COMMUNITY

Motivation for Visiting Bawakaraeng

Every human being carries out a job based on certain motives. As human thought develops, human desire does too. The number and type of necessities in life grow with desire. In addition to basic needs of clothing, food, and housing, humans also try to fulfill other life needs, such as recreation, health, security or safety, communication, and/or relationships with others, and more (Nuttin, 2014). Correspondingly, some people of South Sulawesi, view local Mount Bawakaraeng as an important place to fulfill the necessities of life. Thus, at certain times throughout each year there are people visiting Mount Bawakaraeng based on several different motivations.

First, is a tour carried out by many young people, especially nature-loving students from campuses in Macassar city. This trip is considered an ordinary trip or picnic to see the view of nature from the top of the mountain. The younger generation tends to utilize nature, especially mountainous areas, for physical exercise, recreation, and/or tourism. This can be proven in everyday life, with groups of nature loving students passing through certain roads with complete facilities and equipment in order to climb mountains. Mount Bawakaraeng is usually a favorite destination for climbing. As quoted from an interview with one of visitors:

Our arrival here (Bawakaraeng) is a form of love for nature and this has become a routine activity for nature lover students on our campus. Climbing to the top of Bawakaraeng itself is an achievement that we are proud of when we get to the top and enjoy the beautiful natural scenery (DK, Interviewed in 2016).

From this statement, it can be understood the arrival of students to Bawakaraeng, representing all youth, is a symbol of pride. Although the Bawakaraeng hiking trail is extreme to undertake, the enthusiasm of students to visit is very high. In their view, the journey to the peak is a grand achievement, and there are even some communities that provide certificates for students who reach the top safely.

The second motivation is to find sacred objects in the Bawakaraeng area. This is done usually in shamanic practices that still maintain a mystical belief in the mountain. In a part of the community, there is a belief that Bawakaraeng is a place where spirits live, and consequently has a lot of mystical auras. Among the visitors who come for this reason, are middle-aged people who believe in myths and shamanistic practices. As stated by one of the following visitors:

Bawakaraeng is not an ordinary mountain. There are many relics that can be used for the good of humans. The relics can even be used to cure diseases. If you find an object when you travel to Bawakaraeng, it must be saved later, and it will be of some use because there is someone putting it down (RP, Interviewed in 2017).

The second motivation for undertaking this trip shows that the incentive of some people to visit Mount Bawakaraeng is not for the beauty of nature as the first group's incentive. This incentive is quite relevant to this paper because people maintaining their belief in traditional mysticism has to have been passed down for generations and centuries. Hence, there are still some who believe that Mount Bawakaraeng stores various kinds of mystic relics that can be used for human interests, especially for the treatment of diseases. Likewise, they believe in the ingredients for natural medicines and antidotes can be found here by looking for plants considered to bring fortune and other objects related to a healthy life. Those who travel for this purpose are commonly referred to and recognized by the community as *sanro* or shaman. Their number is minimal when compared to visitors who intend to partake in recreation/entertainment and those who are motivated by worship. They are not bound by time constraints when visiting Mount Bawakaraeng and can thus travel whenever they want. However, some of them have double motivations, in addition to *sanrojappa*, to carry out worship or vice versa. In other words, this trip is closer to the motivation of shamanism. In Buginese and Macassarese languages, it is called *sanro* (shaman).

Third is the motivation to travel as a guide to bring visitors to the top of Bawakaraeng. The journey to the top of Mount Bawakaraeng is not an easy journey, and requires physical and mental readiness. There are several paths or trailheads for hiking trails, where each entry has a guide commonly referred to as *Pinati*. It is stated by one representative of the *Tinggi Moncong* sub-district government as follows:

People who become Pinati, like that, are usually residents who live around the slopes of Mount Bawakaraeng, such as Lembanna, Kanreapia, Manipi, and other villages around Bawakaraeng. They serve more visitors who go on regular trips. They become guides, and they help visitors to bring equipment, such as tents, haversack, food supplies, and so on (GS, Interviewed in 2015)

According to the *Pinati*, visitors who intend to carry out worship are usually members of a congregation. With this understanding, *Pinati* usually tries to find as many members as possible in advance of the trip. Therefore, according

to the *Tinggi Moncong* sub-district head, the congregation of visitors to Mount Bawakaraeng consists of many groups, depending on how many *Pinatis* are with them.

The fourth is a religious trip to the summit of Mount Bawakaraeng. This is closely related to what is being studied in this study. It is related to the beliefs of some people who visit with worship motives. The practice of worship is inseparable from the existence of a teaching or belief in some Islamic communities in South Sulawesi. One visitor who was contacted stated:

People who came for worship between the years 2010-2013 from Macassarese consisted of several groups. Each group has its own interests, for example a group led by Puang Wali from Pangkep of approximately 230 people and other regional groups, such as Bulukumba, Sinjai, Gowa, Maros, and other regions with their respective members. (D), Interviewed in 2015).

The role of *Pinati* is very central in the process of worship, in addition to being a guide, *Pinati* must take full responsibility for each member of the group that they guide. Likewise, *Pinati* have a dual purpose. In addition to guiding worshipers, they worship and seek blessings on Mount Bawakaraeng (Pabbajah, 2012). With the practice of worship carried out on Bawakaraeng, it shows the commitment of the community in preserving the traditions inherited from their ancestors, even though the majority have embraced Islam, they clearly still maintain their traditions.

THE INFLUENCE OF ISLAM ON THE RITUAL TRADITION ON MOUNT BAWAKARAENG

The arrival of Islam in Indonesia has generally resulted in a shift in local traditions. The strong penetration of Islam into local culture has been shown by various studies. In the context of Islam in the Padang Sidempuan of Batak community, for example, elements in *Panaek Bungkulun* that are mystical and superstitious have been deemed incompatible with Sharia rule, and have been ruled to be eliminated. Other ritual elements, if they can be communicated clearly and do not damage the faith, can still be carried out (Harahap, 2015). This is felt by the Bawakaraeng community, which have a tradition of rituals practiced on Mount Bawakaraeng that visibly do not damage the Islamic faith. However, various challenges effectively integrating traditions have been experienced with the penetration of Islam. Followers of the Bawakaraeng tradition are sometimes condemned as polytheists and even apostates. Some of the followers have been arrested and then taken to the local authorities

because they were considered as advocates of a misleading *tarekat*. In the 1960s, this tradition was totally banned by DI / TII, and anyone caught on Bawakaraeng for a ritual or pilgrimage would be arrested. Some of them were even sentenced to death (Pabbajah, 2012). The interviews and observations carried out in this study found three important influences of Islam on the ritual tradition on Mount Bawakaraeng as follows:

First is the historical significance and subsequent construction of Sheikh Yusuf's visit. His adherents are convinced that this is the place where Sheikh Yusuf, the guardian of Islamic propagation in South Sulawesi, lived. Thus, they feel amazed and connected to the greatness of Sheikh Yusuf through mythological stories that are hereditary and passed down through generations, and they practice his teachings on Mount Bawakaraeng's peak. Accordingly, visitors to Mount Bawakaraeng come to the Sheikh Yusuf's *mihrab*, due to their inability to go to Mecca like Sheikh Yusuf. It is said, according to their belief, Sheikh Yusuf represents a true Hajj, if he deemed it important to make a pilgrimage to Mount Bawakaraeng. The desire that drives the subject of the Hajj to Puncak Bring Karaeng comes from the story of the spiritual experiences experienced by Sheikh Yusuf while using pious knowledge to encourage him to the top of Bawakaraeng, then to Mecca. This story is re-translated by Joseph's followers, as a marker in identifying themselves - who are in the pilgrimage phase (Palippui, 2016), as stated by one of the following Bawakaraeng communities;

We went to Mount Bawakaraeng to follow in the footsteps of Sheikh Yusuf, who was the first to set foot on the Peak of Bawakaraeng (DJ, interviewed on 23 October 2016).

Second is the influence of the *tarekat* streams. Along with the process of Islamization, various *tarekat* streams emerge and develop in the community with significance in Islamization. The *tarekat* streams and their development can attract the hearts of the community so that they can spread and be accepted in a wider Indonesian community (Sudarmaji, 2018). The *tarekat* streams are always propped up by Sufism which is an inseparable part of the development of Islam, and one aspect of the teachings of Islam itself (Pujiastuti, 2016). The teachings of Sufism give priority to cleanliness and inner purity, which is needed to arrive at divine truth or absolute truth (Sidqi, 2015; Sirajuddin, 2016). This understanding of Sufism is cited as having been inspired by the way in which the Prophet Muhammad conducted a *khalwat* in the Cave of Hira before receiving God's revelation. After being solitary for some time, the Prophet Muhammad attained purity physically and mentally, and then the angel Gerbil delivered revelations to him (Djamas, 1983: 74).

From that event, various kinds of Sufism teachings have emerged in which their understandings have been manifested in various schools of *tarekat*. On Bawakaraeng Mountain, which is mostly in the area of Tinggi Moncong sub-district, Gowa district, there is a school of *tarekat* called “Barakka Bontolebang and Barakka Balasuka” (Pabbajah, 2012).

ENTHUSIASM IN CARRYING OUT THE FIVE PILLARS OF ISLAM

Completing Hajj is one of the pillars of Islam. Hajj is an obligation for Muslims who are capable of carrying it out (Syuhudi, 2019) As part of Islamic teachings, performing Hajj requires material and non-material abilities: mental readiness, self-awareness, religious zeal, sincerity, struggle, and sacrifice (Putuhena, 2007: v). The enthusiasm of the Buginese Macassarese community in carrying out Hajj makes them willing to do anything to effectively complete this worship. In fact, someone is willing to sell valuable assets, for example; rice fields, land, vehicles, jewelry, and other assets in order to fulfill the fifth pillar of Islam. It shows in the Hajj, besides religious aspects, there are also social and economic aspects (Ahmad, 2016).

The ritual of Hajj is unique because it often transcends normative boundaries as an exclusive and unique worship (Sulthoni et al., 2013). In some observations, someone is even willing to go into debt to cover the cost of the pilgrimage, which currently amounts to around 37 million Indonesian Rupiah. Likewise, this tends to happen in the Buginese-Macassarese community. Parents bring their children to implement the fifth pillar of Islam, even though they have not reached the age of pilgrimage, and thus are not yet obliged to perform the pilgrimage. This is done with the assumption that all children who have the title of Haji will make the social status of the family more respectable within the community. In addition, the status of the pilgrimage is considered capable of providing a special place in family events, such as marriage, birth, and so forth. With such a strong desire, most of the Buginese-Macassarese people, especially the Bawakaraeng community, are looking for other ways to get this honor. For example, some Buginese-Macassarese people create rival rituals for Hajj on the summit of Mount Bawakaraeng. They assume that their reward is commensurate with the procession carried out in Mecca and Medina. The presence of the Bawakaraeng community that conducts a series of services such as the Hajj certainly cannot be separated from the internal spirit that wants to fulfill the fifth pillar of Islam.

In addition to social considerations, there is also the most fundamental problem to directly discuss, the issue of economics. The pilgrimage to Mecca, as previously explained, has significant economic consequences. Therefore, the

Bawakaraeng community prefers to go to Mount Bawakaraeng first to worship before Mecca. It is considered to be more economically efficient and shorter for time. Likewise, worship performed by the Bawakaraeng community can be a form of protest against the difficult and hindering procedures and systems of the Indonesian government for those wanting to undergo the pilgrimage. Among them are the problems of pilgrimage interest that are increasing every year and are not accompanied by an improvement in supporting facilities for pilgrimage: lodging, sustenance, passport, and visa arrangements often hampered by poor bureaucracy, and the separation of operators and regulators in the implementation of the religious journey (Farid, 2019). Hence, some Muslims take alternative paths to successfully embark on the pilgrimage, and there are even pilgrims who must use passports from other countries that have Hajj quotas that are still empty.

CONSISTENCY IN ISLAM AND COMMITMENT TO MAINTAINING LOCAL TRADITIONS ON MOUNT BAWAKARAENG

In religious practice, ethnic Buginese and Macassarese tend to show high consistency and commitment. In this case, the teachings of the Buginese and Macassarese religions are consistent with the Islamic faith, but still carry out the traditions practiced in socio-religious activities. Pelras calls it a practical syncretism which shows the mixing of Islamic teachings with traditions and beliefs that were held before the introduction of Islam (Pelras, 1993). In relation to the ritual traditions of the Bawakaraeng community, there are four forms of consistency in Islam and Tradition which are practiced simultaneously.

The first form of consistency is a prayer at the peak of Mount Bawakaraeng. The practice of prayer is done by the consideration that God resides in a high place, so that the corresponding representation on this earth is a mountain. The following interview excerpt from the Bawakaraeng community communicates this point highlights this:

Prayer can be done anywhere, because God is everywhere, if we are at the top of the mountain, it means we are near God because God is in a high place, like this mountain (US, interviewed in 2017).

There is a certain time that the Bawakaraeng community performs more religious activities, particularly during *Eid al-Adha*. At that time, Mount Bawakaraeng receives more visitors than at any other time, especially from groups of people who come to worship. *Eid Al-Adha* prayers here are carried out in the same way as *Eid Al-Adha* prayers are performed by Muslims all

around the world. There are Imams as prayer leaders who usually come from the local village. The only difference is the start of the prayer is preceded by sounding the call to prayer as a signal to begin. It is from this practice that this community tends to practice worship similar to the pilgrimage, so many groups call it the Hajj Bawakaraeng (Idris, 2017; Pabbajah, 2012). Around the peak of Mount Bawakaraeng there is a place to purify or perform ablution before prayer called *buhungbarania*, as a representation of *zam-zam* wells according to the Bawakaraeng community view.

Second, *dhikr* and prayer are carried out during the trip to the top of Bawakaraeng. Chanting remembrance usually said when traveling is repeating the phrase *Laailaahillallaah*. This is done repeatedly until the prayer reaches the summit. In addition, they read the prayers with a mixture of Arabic and Macassarese languages. One person usually leads the prayer and the other one gives permission for it to occur. Likewise, there is a community that chants the *talbiyah* sentence, *Labbaikallaa Humma Labbaik*, like it is sung by the pilgrims who leave for Mecca. This became a part of the observation when the research study was carried out, then confirmed to one community who revealed that:

During the trip to Bawakaraeng, we only pray and dhikr. There is nothing else to expect but the blessing of Allah to be given safety and good health. Remembrance is also done in order to avoid interference from other creatures in the Bawakaraeng residents (KT, interviewed in 2015).

From these observations and statements, it appears that the community visiting Bawakaraeng has the main goal of worship in order to feel and get closer to God. In addition, there is also the construction of the pilgrimage as desire to carry out the fifth pillar of Islam, but with practice of local traditions. This phenomenon has been developed in the global Islamic community, as a Muslim to establish closer to God by praying at the right place and the right time through the right person who can get the blessing of their prayers (though it cannot be denied this phenomenon has caused debate in Islam) (Sani, 2017). Among them are religious incentives, religious tourism, seeking blessings, being careful in praying, refusing reinforcements, spiritual behavior and seeking peace (Mustaghfiroh, et al., 2014). Thus, the consistency of religious and cultural traditions cannot be separated.

Third, is the slaughter of sacrificial animals. This practice is traditional in the history of Islam where the sacrifice of *qurban* was first carried out by the prophet Ibrahim to slaughter his son Prophet Ismail. This annual sacrifice worship by global Muslims is an animal slaughtering ritual when celebrating *Eid al-Adha* (Marlina et al., 2019; Zikri, 2011). Likewise, the Bawakaraeng community

recites a communal prayer. Some community members are able to slaughter sacrificial animals they bring when visiting Bawakaraeng. Animals that can be brought are goats, of course, with a consideration of being easily carried or “dragged”. The animal is then slaughtered after the *Eid al-Adha* prayer at the peak. After the slaughter, the meat of sacrificial animals is distributed to the communities that come. In addition, some meat is given to residents of Kampung Lembanna, especially to those who have given assistance and aid during the rituals at Mount Bawakaraeng.

In the *qurban* tradition of the Bawakaraeng community, there is also a release of animals on Mount Bawakaraeng. The sacrificial animals released are usually chickens or goats. In general, those who bring sacrificial animals to the place do so because of vows. This tradition has been practiced by the Buginese-Macassarese people. It is called *maccera* (*suguhan*), a form of devotion to nature; *maccera' tappareng* (Muhajir & Ahmad Gani, 2019; Mustamin, 2017). Likewise, it can function as a reinforcement and as an expression of gratitude and respect for the place and figure who are saved (Lawwarani & Alizah, 2018). In the Javanese tradition they are called offerings (Adam, 2019; Aminullah, 2017; Rizkiawan, 2017) or *sedeqah laut* (Madzhab et al., 2019). Correspondingly, in Hindu teaching, known as a form of devotion to God, this is a must for every religious person. Hinduism explains the teachings of Bhakti in the Bhagavata Purana known as Navavida Bhakti (MPdH, 2019)

Fourth is *Tawaf* and *Sedeqah* which are practiced after the prayer and slaughter of sacrificial animals. *Tawaf* is a series of pilgrimage practices of a Muslim in addition to *wukuf*, and *sa'i*, with certain conditions (Nuri, 2014). In the practice of *tawaf* as part of a series of worship, the Bawakaraeng community surrounds a mountain ridge which is represented as a practice of *waqf* in a series of pilgrimages in the Grand Mosque. This ritual is led by one of the elders or someone who often performs rituals in Bawakaraeng. The mountain ridges that are surrounded are called *Teteanna Anjayya* which means the bridge of the day, or the *Shirathal Mustaqim* Bridge in Islam. After surrounding the place, they arrive at Post 13 called *Makka Caddia* or Little Mecca. In this place they perform *tawaf* or surround a monument that was first built by the Dutch. This monument is considered the Ka'bah. Then they perform seven rounds of *tawaf* while throwing pieces of coins seven times as well. In each round, they kiss the monument with enthusiasm (Helmi, 1988, Pabbajah, 2012).

After the *tawaf* ritual has been performed, members of the Bawakaraeng community give alms to someone who is deemed meritorious in the preparation, the implementation, and the ending of the worship ritual. One of the most meritorious people is the *pinati* or guide that accompanies each

group. Giving alms is not an obligation, but depends on the ability and sincerity of the individual. *Sadaqah* is practiced as a form of happiness after perfecting worship. Then, with the blessing of giving alms, they will be given health and repelling potential disasters. This health is made from happiness and a feeling of calm when making others happy (Ashar, 2012; Rusdi et al., 2018). Therefore, the Bawakaraeng community gives alms with the hope that blessings and greed be given after spiritual worship and social worship as forms of gratitude to God.

The explanation shows that the Buginese-Macassarese community as represented in the Bawakaraeng community worship practices demonstrates consistency in Islam with a commitment to keeping traditions inherited from their ancestors. In other words, the Buginese-Macassarese community is identical in carrying out Islamic teachings, but is still committed to carrying out pre-Islamic traditions. There are even some traditional practices contrary to the values and concepts of Islamic teachings. Likewise, the acculturation of Islam as the majority religion is inevitable from the influence of local traditions that are still inherent in some communities. This emphasizes that consistency in carrying out religious teachings and maintaining tradition can go hand-in-hand, even though it goes through an ongoing process of adaptation and negotiation.

CONCLUSION

The relationship between Islam and local traditions has colored many of the socio-religious practices in Indonesian society. This study reaffirmed the inevitable relationship of these two elements. There are three important findings as a result of the analysis of this study. First, the Buginese-Macassarese people still have a high commitment to maintaining the traditions inherited from their ancestors, even though Islam has been adhered to and practiced consistently. In this case, there are still some local people who are represented by the Bawakaraeng community in South Sulawesi, although they are consistent in practicing Islam as a religious teaching, but they remain committed in maintaining local traditions. Second, local religion and traditions can go hand-in-hand with the similarity of spirit they have, which is to draw closer to God. Third, the form of religious consistency and commitment to tradition is demonstrated by the practice of worship carried out by the Bawakaraeng community, such as prayer, *dzikir*, slaughter of sacrificial animals, *tawaf*, and alms as a symbol of Islam and local traditions which are carried out simultaneously.

The study is still limited to just one community with the presentation of

qualitative data with the approach of religious consistency concept and tradition in the Bawakaraeng community. Hence, further studies are needed by presenting quantitative data on the number of Bawakaraeng communities who visit Mount Bawakaraeng each year with a contextual and comprehensive concept approach. Likewise, this study recommends that studies on the existence of local communities in Indonesia still require special attention for researchers and policymakers, so that local religious communities' local wisdom can be mapped in a way that encourages progress of a nation. Thus, further studies are still needed in order to explore the local wealth and decentralized knowledge that is still scattered throughout the archipelago, then documented into intellectual property.

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