



***Pattula' Bala* as a Discursive Tradition: The Reception of the Qur'an in the Muslim Bugis Community**

Pattula' Bala sebagai Tradisi Diskursif: Penerimaan Al-Qur'an di Komunitas Muslim Bugis

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Info Artikel	Abstract
<p>Diterima 23 Maret 2022</p> <p>Revisi I 14 April 2022</p> <p>Revisi II 02 Mei 2022</p> <p>Disetujui 01 Juni 2022</p>	<p><i>This article examines the Pattula' Bala (PB) practice by the Bugis Muslim community in Indonesia, especially in Kendari City. PB is the practice of displaying the verses of the Qur'an, which its users in certain places install intending to prevent them from calamity. This article aims to reveal the genealogy of the PB tradition as part of the discursive Islamic tradition. This study uses a descriptive-analytic design from interview data, documentation, and literature exploration. The data were analyzed using the genealogical theory developed by Talal Asad and the exegetical reception approach developed by Ahmad Rafiq, especially in Qur'anic studies discourse. Research findings show that the Bugis Muslim community practices PB as a repellent to disasters and as a motivation to be more active in worship (tabarruk). Historically, information about similar practices is also found in Hadith and Faḍā'il 'Amal literature. However, they have undergone a process of transmission and transformation from time to time until the entry of Islam into Sulawesi. This process cannot be separated from the role of religious figures who introduced Islam in Sulawesi through a Sufistic or mystic approach. Nevertheless, these findings still require philological studies, so the claims of this study are more convincing historically. The implication of this research is to synthesize the claim of "Islam as a discursive tradition," which is claimed by Talal Asad.</i></p> <p>Keywords: <i>Discursive Tradition, Pattula' Bala', the Muslim Bugis Community, Qur'anic Reception.</i></p> <p>Artikel ini mengkaji tentang praktik <i>Pattula' Bala (PB)</i> oleh komunitas Muslim Bugis di Kota Kendari. <i>PB</i> merupakan praktik pajangan ayat-ayat Al-Qur'an yang dipasang oleh penggunanya di tempat-tempat tertentu dengan tujuan agar mereka terhindar dari musibah. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap genealogi tradisi <i>PB</i> sebagai bagian dari tradisi Islam yang bersifat diskursif. Penelitian ini menggunakan desain deskriptif analitik dari data wawancara, dokumentasi, dan eksplorasi literatur. Teknik wawancara dan dokumentasi digunakan untuk memperoleh data terkait bentuk praktik <i>PB</i> oleh komunitas Muslim Bugis. Data dianalisis menggunakan teori genealogi yang dikembangkan oleh Talal Asad yang dikombinasikan dengan pendekatan <i>exegetical reception</i> yang dikembangkan oleh Ahmad Rafiq, khususnya dalam wacana studi Al-Qur'an. Temuan penelitian menunjukkan bahwa komunitas Muslim Bugis mempraktikkan <i>PB</i> tidak hanya</p>

sebagai penolak bencana, melainkan juga sebagai motivasi untuk lebih giat dalam beribadah (*tabarruk*). Secara historis, informasi tentang praktik yang serupa juga ditemukan dalam literatur Hadis dan *Faḍā'il 'Amal*, meskipun telah mengalami proses transmisi dan transformasi dari masa ke masa hingga masuknya Islam di Sulawesi. Proses tersebut tidak terlepas dari peran tokoh agamawan yang memperkenalkan Islam di Sulawesi melalui pendekatan sufistik atau mistisisme. Meskipun demikian, temuan ini masih membutuhkan studi filologi, sehingga klaim penelitian ini lebih meyakinkan secara historis. Implikasi penelitian ini berperan sebagai sintesis terhadap klaim "*Islam as a discursive tradition*" oleh Talal Asad.

Kata Kunci: *Diskursive Tradition, Pattula' Bala'*, Komunitas Muslim Bugis, Resepsi Al-Qur'an.

INTRODUCTION

"Islamic is not only a religion of Arabs" (Westerlund, David, and Ingvar Svanberg, 1999: vii), but should be in line with the local tradition of a community in the world. The presence of local traditions as part of Islamic teachings continues to ignite debate, disputes, and conflicts among Muslims, which gave rise to orthodoxy and heterodoxy (Fathurahman, 2011). For example, the Buginese Muslims in Indonesia, especially in Kendari city use the Qur'an verses as a medium to practice *tolak bala* because it can be beneficial for society and prevent any harm. This is in line with Apjan, who points out that the practice of *tolak bala* can prevent people from any harm and can make everyone safe (Apjan, 2017). On the other hand, Conservative Muslims consider such practices *bid'ah*, *khurafāt*, and *musyrik* because they are not accommodated in the the Qur'an and Sunnah (Federspiel, H. M. 1970). Therefore, a serious study is needed to trace intellectual roots and find genealogical explanations of a tradition in society to avoid normative speculation (Huda, 2019). Olsson (2015) asserted that only with a historical approach, the theological, and legal debate of a local tradition could be

resolved. In addition to the historical approach, a deep reflection on the history of local traditions as part of Islamic teachings is also needed to avoid a narrow understanding of the concept of religious teachings adopted by the Bugis community in South Sulawesi.

In general, the studies on this tradition have been gaining ground in the research. Kamaluddin et al., for example, investigated *Pananrangan* tradition using an ethnographic approach. The findings showed that the *Pananrang* was a form of ritual to decide the best period for seed plantation as well as harvest for the Bugis society (Kamaluddin et al. 2016). Diab and Muhalling examined the relationship between the mystical model of Mabissagalung (*rice harvest tradition*) and *Maqashid Syariah* in Bugis Sidenreng Rappang's communities. The findings showed that the *Mabbisa Galung* tradition performed as a form of *tolak bala* of pest for rice fields (Diab and Muhalling, 2018). Muhajir et al. discussed the tradition of *maccera' tappareng* by using a social anthropology perspective. The findings showed that *maccera' tappereng* tradition as a part of animal-slaughtering rituals provided to supernatural beings believed as the

master of a particular sacred site (Muhajir, As'ad, and Gani, 2018). Mustamin et al. studied the rituals of purification of the Tempe lake by fishers in Bugis for their belief of *tolak bala* upon any disaster coming from the lake using a socio-anthropological approach. The study concluded that *Macua Tappareng* has legitimacy and a strategic position in protecting lakes, as evidenced by the existence of several prohibitions on fishing at certain places and times (Mustamin et al., 2018). These studies are only descriptive without examining the historical genealogy roots of the emergence of the tradition of the Bugis Muslim community as part of the reception of Islamic teachings. As well as, the non-ritual tradition, such as a particular ornament within the rituals of *tolak bala*, namely *pattula' bala*, has so far been understudied, despite its prominent position as part of the mystical faith of Bugis Muslims that survives the modernity. Against this backdrop, this study attempts to fill this gap. It focuses on the practices of *Pattula' Bala'* (PB) that is one kind of *tolak bala* tradition and at the same time, is on the Islamic teachings preserved by Bugis Muslim.

This research strives to answer the following questions: How is the reception of *PB* in the Bugis Muslim society? And how is genealogy, or the transmission and transformation of *PB*, part of Islamic teaching? This study would trace back the history of the interconnectedness (genealogy) of the *PB* practice as part of the discursivity of Islamic teaching. For that matter, this study would not limit itself to an anthropological perspective but also use historical inquiries through the literature of Hadith and other resources. The basic assumption this study departed from is

an argument suggesting that *PB* among the Bugis Muslim society is part of the discursive tradition of Islamic teaching. This tradition has interconnectedness with knowledge transmission across the history of Islamic civilization across the early centuries of Hijra, the middle age, and the modern period. This study would also prove that the *PB* tradition is the outcome of acculturation that is substantially part of Islamic teaching that has transformed into a form corresponding to the character of local society, mainly the Bugis Muslim in Sulawesi.

Literature Review

***Tola' Bala* Tradition among Bugis Muslims Community**

Before the arrival of Islam in South Sulawesi, the Bugis-Makassar system of belief was called *attoriolong* (belief in ancestors). This system of belief required faith in the existence of the highest soul, namely *to palanroe* or *dewata sewwae* (God which masters the universe) (Pelras, 1993). After the arrival of Islam, Muslim Bugis continued to connect. They recently recognized Islamic teaching with their previous traditions. When they are performing a particular ritual recognized by their culture, they infuse Islamic values within. As a result, those rituals go with marked involvement of Islamic practices such as the recitation of a particular prayer at the beginning of the rituals by a religious leader, the rehearsal of prophet history or *barzanji*, etc., (Amin et al., 2015).

When researching to the record of Islamisation of Sulawesi in the early seventeenth century recognizes the role

of three *ulama* who came from Minangkabau during the ruling of Aceh Kingdom, widely known by Bugis Muslim with *Datu' Tellue*. They are Abdul Kadir Datuk Tunggal, religious cleric, better known as Datuk Ribandang, Sulaiman or Datuk Patimang, and Khatib Bungsu or Datuk Ritiro (Ilyas, 2011): Each of them had different duties. Datuk Ribandang taught *fiqh* upon gamblers, drunkards, adulterers, and usurers. Datuk Ritiro taught *kalam* to introduce monotheism to polytheist Bugis, who worshipped gods or Galigo mythology. Datuk Patimang taught *taşawwuf* to people who believed in dark magic. Islam that they were carrying into Bugis accommodated local tradition, which was further Islamized (Feener, 1998).

The *tola' bala* ritual is one of the traditions preserved by Bugis Muslims to maintain security and avoid calamity. For that matter, *tola' bala* is considered an alternative solution for problems regarded as unresolvable from the empirical perspective. There are various rituals classified as *tola' bala*: the *tasyakkuran* (declaring thankfulness) or *baca doang* (Rahman, 2016), the ritual during harvest time or *mappedandang* (Rakhmat and Fatimah, 2016), the ritual to be informed about the right or wrong time to do something important (Gunawan, 2018), the sacrificial ritual or *maccera'* (Naping, Safriadi, and Musywirah, 2019), the ritual during the night of wedding ceremony or *mapacci* (Kahar et al., 2018), and the ritual of displaying the medium of *tola' bala* or *Pattula' Bala* (*PB*). Besides *PB*, those rituals involve food, otherwise known as *beppa pitung rupa* (the seven kinds of cake). All of those seven kinds of cake contain philosophical and sacred

meaning relevant to the daily life of Bugis people.

PB is different from other *tola' bala* rituals. Unlike those rituals, *PB* is not performed through customary rituals. Instead, it only requires the presence of a local religious authority as the creator of the *PB* medium. In addition to that, *PB* does not include magic spells. Instead, it only comprises of Qur'anic verses, the prwired *wirid*, and other Islamic symbols. *PB* does not require recitation as well, either for the holder of the tattoo or others. This phenomenon is the reason why *PB* is an interesting subject of scholarly inquiry because it is different from magic, talisman, or other magical tools.

Discursive Tradition

Asad, in a number of his works, discusses the relation between Islamic religious practices with what he terms discursive tradition. Among the works dealing with the issue is *The Idea of an Anthropology of Islam* and *Thinking about Tradition, Religion, and Politics in Egypt Today*. In both works, Asad introduces the concept of Islam as a discursive tradition, as his counter-argument against what he considered the segmented approach in the dominant anthropological studies on Islam (Asad, 1986; Asad, 2015). Asad gets support from Soares, who underlines that Islam should be studied as a discursive tradition, either in the local or supralocal realm, including the tradition involving the Qur'an and Hadith more comprehensive and holistic (Soares, 2007). On the other hand, Barbara Metcalf (1993) sees the idea of Islam as a discursive tradition convincing, as shown in her work *Living Hadith in The Tablighi Jama'at*. This work presents a

solid account of the discursive perspective of the Jamā'a Tablīgh community from 1920 until this day. Metcalf shows that the tradition presented by the Tablīghī community was based on the Prophetic traditions that were successfully preserved until the twenty-first century, even without a significant disruption from the rapid changing of social structure in the past century. Likewise, Kahrizi et al., (2012) through their research on medicinal herbs indicated by the Qur'an, proof that those herbs maintain their function until the modern age. Both pieces of research show that Islam remains relevant despite the changing time and places across the generations. Islam is always present in dialogue with different social realities across the different ages.

Tareen (2014) is not convinced of Asad's proposal. Coming into two works, *Islamism and Democracy in India: The Transformation of Jamaat-e-Islami* by Irfan Ahmad and *In the Shadow of the Shari'a: Islam, Islamic Law, and Democracy in Pakistan* by Matthew J. Nelson. Tareen suggests that the discursive approach would not help much in deriving a more comprehensive understanding of Islamic or secular democracy as a discursive tradition. Likewise, Anjum (2007) acknowledges the mistakes of several researchers who saw the religions of the world as the big tradition and the small tradition. Those researchers characterize the big tradition as one that becomes orthodoxy, reflective, and textualist, while the small tradition is considered heterodox, local, popular, and non-reflective. This dichotomy appears as an attempt to understand religious tradition with its complexities in the social-modern society, yet

provide little help in differing Islamic tradition from that of other religions.

Al-Būṭī suggests that Islam came not in a vacuum. Instead, it was preceded by the various tradition of the Arabians preserved and practiced in the pre-Islamic period, otherwise known as well as the *Jahiliyya* time (Al-Buthi, 1993: 151). For that matter, Islam essentially came to respond to those traditions with four approaches: (1) total accommodation, for those considered compatible with Islamic teachings, (2) total rejection, for those considered contradictory to Islamic teachings and social norms, (3) particular accommodation, and (4) modification, Islamization, or synchronization (Sattar, 2017: 183-206). This statement shows that Islam does not necessarily reject local traditions at face value so long they are compatible with Islamic teachings recorded in the Qur'an and the Hadiths. In line with al-Būṭī, Erzad suggests that local tradition and Islamic teaching should not be viewed as contradicting each other. Instead, both categories can go hand in hand through the process of acculturation (Erzad and Suciati, 2018).

The mysticism is one of the inherent elements in the local tradition of Indonesian worth a consideration. It has an integral role in the society, because before the arrival of Islam, thus the acculturation of local practices with Islamic rituals, the belief of native Indonesian in mysticism had been established from the institutionalization of dynamism and animism. It seems to relate to one of the essential characteristics of human beings that, according to Frazer, would always seek bigger power outside of their intellectual and power reach. With this

instinct, the human being finds supernatural power as the inheritance of their ancestors (Frazer, 1983). However, we should also acknowledge that the accommodation of local tradition would also result in a certain bias in the epistemology of Islamic knowledge. This accommodation, of course, makes humans have faith and strong intuition because of their ancestor heritage to create supernatural power.

The long historical journey of assimilation or acculturation between Islamic teachings and local traditions pursued by scholars and scholars in Indonesia has gone through a difficult period of struggle. Starting from the beginning of the spread of Islam, the colonialism of Dutch and Japanese colonialism, the period of independence, to the post-independence period of government have shown moderate Islamic teachings on the social conditions of the local community (Azra, 2013). That phenomenon shows that Islam can open itself to the local cultural diversity. Discursive Islamic teachings can unite the cultural differences in each of the main countries in Southeast Asia. The power of Islam in accommodating local traditions has gone through a long process of Islamization, especially through trade activities and Sufism. From there, it can be concluded that Islam is a unifying religion, peace, and promotes dialogue. Although Islam is present in various ethnic groups, Islamic teachings have proven that it does not rule out noble values behind local culture and traditions. Instead, Islam opens itself to them and incorporates them into the concept of universal Islamic teachings (*rahmatan li al-'ālamīn*) (Jamhari, 2002).

The Reception of the Qur'an Concept

“Reception” in Latin is called *recipere*, which means response or reaction towards a text by the reader (Floyd and Forster, 2016). Rafiq (2012) conveys that the reception of the Qur'an is the manifestation of Muslim etiquette of Muslims to accept, respond to, use, or employ the Qur'an in their daily life. Reception theory was employed to analyze the literary texts. However, its further development sees the involvement of religious sociologists and anthropologists that use the approach to analyze non-literary texts, such as religious texts like the Qur'an and Hadith. For example, Rafiq (2014) uses the approach to understand the reception of the non-Arabic speaking Muslim community of Banjar in South Kalimantan, Indonesia, on the Qur'an in their local practices.

Reception is a form of acceptance and implementation of a tradition within the structure of a local community. Studies related to the reception of Indonesian people towards Al-Qur'an and Hadith began to attract the interest of researchers to studies conduct deeper, which later became known as the “study of the Qur'an and Sunnah living.” That is because various forms of reception of the Qur'an by Muslims in Indonesia are not only considered religious scripture. The acceptance of the Islamic community in Indonesia towards the Qur'an is an important part of religious tradition. Al-Qur'an is involved in various social activities, such as contests in the form of memorization, calligraphy art, recitations, and so forth. Even the Qur'an is also sometimes used as decoration in homes, restaurants, places of worship (Mosques), vehicles, and

others (Mukholik, 2017). That, of course, is inseparable from the traces of historical relics by ancestors or propagators of Islamic teachings in Indonesia. Islam was originally spread by Walisongo (Nine Ulama) with Sufism and cultural approaches. They use the acculturation model so that Islam can be easily accepted so that it is considered part of the noble culture, and thus, many local expressions of Islam emerge (Lutfillah, 2019; Kasdi, 2017). Such an image also appears in the traditions of the Bugis Muslim community, which expresses the Qur'an as part of a lofty tradition that functions as a *PB*. Such practices can be closely related to the role of ulemas who spread the teachings of Islam in Sulawesi. That is why the genealogy of the *PB* tradition, which was perceived by the Bugis Muslim community was carried out so as not to cause normative speculation, which caused a theological debate because it covered up the historical data of a discursive tradition.

Rafiq classifies reception theory into three perspectives: the exegetical reception, the aesthetic reception, and the functional reception. One of the three receptions can be useful for research that has traditional Muslim practices as the subject matter. The exegetical reception is used to trace the meaning of the text as understood by a community while practicing a particular religious tradition. Aesthetic reception is used to analyze the artistic values manifested in a certain media. The functional reception is employed to explain the forms of practices conducted in a particular religious tradition. All the three perspectives are combined as one study to find the informative and performative aspect of a particular

practiced religious tradition (Rafiq, 2014).

The religious practices of multicultural society cannot be viewed from a mono-perspective of textual legitimation of the Qur'an and the Hadith. Instead, one needs to have a more comprehensive look at the intrinsic elements of those practices through which people reflect on their faith in particular religious teaching. Syamsuddin underlines that local religious rites that involve the Qur'an and Hadiths with their entire receptive pattern show acceptability of the Qur'an within the society (*the everyday life of the Qur'ān*), otherwise known as *living Qur'an and Sunnah* (Syamsuddin, 2007). Likewise, according to Najjar, a thorough inquiry into the root of tradition is essential because Muslims across generations have acknowledged *sanad* as one of the modes of knowledge transmission. This kind of inquiry enables us to understand the form of transformation in particular Islamic teaching, either of which is stable or fluctuating (Al-Najjār, 1989).

Method

This research is a descriptive-qualitative employing a case study approach. The case in question is *PB* practiced by the Bugis community in South Sulawesi. *PB* is a Qur'anic text created by a renowned *ulama* in South Sulawesi, such as A.G.H. Abdurrahman Abdo Dalle (d. 1996) in Barru, Pinrang, Pare-pare, the founder of Pesantren Darul Dakwah Islamiyyah (DDI); A.G.H. Ahmad Bone (d. 1972) A.G.H. Fashih Mustafa (d. 2012), the branch chief of DDI of Takkalasi Barru; and A.G.H. Imam Lapoe (d. 1952), the

founder of Nur At-Taubah Lapeo Mosque from Mandar.

Data compilation strategies are observation, interview, and documentation. The observation is addressed in the Bugis communities, which I belong to that society. The interview aims to grasp an idea about how do thugis people perceive the tattoo. The documentation is aimed at collecting the used tattoos in society. There are 13 respondents, 7 are men, and the other 6 are women. Five men and two women amongst them are religious scholars, while others are commoners. The data would further be divided into two sections: the tattoo obtained from the interview and literature of Hadiths, history, and other literature related to tattoos.

The compiled data would further be reduced and classified. The analysis follows the reception theory framework, addressing three points: the understanding of the society about *PB*, the aesthetic dimension preserved in the tattoos of *pattula' bala*, and how do Bugis people interact with the data in question. In addition to reception theory, this study also employs genealogy to trace the root and origin of the tattoos found in the Bugis people.

Findings

The Reception of *Pattula' Bala* in the Bugis Muslim Community

Buginese Muslims believe that the Qur'an not only becomes a holy book. It also becomes a faith thing that could be beneficial for people if it is used wisely. It is in line with A.G.H. Hamzah Mappa' as one of the Buginese public figures who points out that the

Qur'an becomes *Pattula' Bala (PB)*. He adds that the Qur'an can be used to pray or only accessories at home if only they are doing it because of Allah. One of the examples is that people tend to use the Qur'an verse, *Ayat Kursi*, or QS. al-Baqarah/2: 256. This verse contains 21 of the names and characteristics of Allah More than in QS. al-Ikhlāṣ/112: 1-4, which only contains two Allah names. Accordingly, our prophet Muhammad SAW asks us always to use it well. All of this is a part of an effort as what our prophet said "*innamā al-a'māl bi al-niyāt*" (all actions start with intention) (Interview with HM/90 years old, 06/05/2018). Besides, The other Informants also point out that some hadiths are enabling people to practice *PB*. The following is one of the Hadith's examples.

"An 'Auf b. Mālik al-Asyja'ī qāl: qāl Rasūlullāh (PBUH) I'ridū 'alayya ruqākum, lā ba's bi'l-ruqā mā lam yakun fīh syirqun." ('Abdul Bāqī, 2010: 1720)

(From 'Auf ibn Mālik al-Ashja'ī, he said: ... the Prophet said: Show me your ruqā. There is no problem with al-ruqā as long as no shirk in it.)

The history of the Hadith above shows that not all forms of ruqā (reject reinforcements) are forbidden by the Messenger of Allah Muhammad (PBUH). The Hadith precisely emphasizes the existence of special criteria for the repellent that is permissible in Islamic teachings. Furthermore, Iqbal explained that the object of the prohibited reinforcements in the hadith was the reinforcement that contained elements of magic that were contrary to the teachings of religion and humanity. One of the traditions that explain the prohibition is as follows.

“‘An ‘Uqbah b. ‘Āmir qāl: qāl Rasullullāh (PBUH): man ‘allaq wada‘ fa-lā wada‘ llāh, wa man ‘allaq tamīma fa-lā tammamallāh lahu.” (Al-Tabrānī, 1994: 297)

(From ‘Uqba ibn ‘Āmir, he said: the Prophet (PBUH) said: whoever hangs wada‘a, Allah would not provide him with serenity, and whoever hangs tamīma, Allah would not perfect him.)

The Information also explains that our faith in the Qur’an sometimes is not widely accepted, but because it comes from the god, it is common if it is beyond human thinking (Interview with IQL/33 years old, 06/07/2018). Likewise, the concept of *PB* written in it the Qur’anic verses does not necessarily mean sacralizing a particular thing. They believe that it plays a role merely as an intermediary tool (*wasīlah*) or connector (*barakka’*) that drives stronger faith in the miraculous nature of the Qur’ān. The *PB* has, comes only for the mercy of God. Therefore, *PB* is not the real cause behind the protection against calamity; instead, the devotion and confession of the holder play a great role (Interview with AKL/55 years old, 04/05/2018)

Essentially, *PB* for Buginese Muslims not only makes the people feel safe but also encourages them to worship. This is based on the interview with JMR (47 years old) who pointed out that since they have *PB*, they become more determined to perform worship, and even more, afraid of being neglectful which further lead to calamities. That is also the case from other informants, who says that he once got into a car accident because of his negligence upon Ashar prayer when he was in a hurry. After the accident, he realized that *PB* hung in his car would

not save him from the accident and could do him harm if he disobeys God (Interview with TMD/52 years old, 02/09/2018).

The *PB* used by Bugis Muslims varies in form and functions. One of the *PB* has a picture of a sunflower with the inscription of the names of *aṣḥāb al-kaḥf* in it. This particular *PB* is believed to have been made by a renowned ulama in South Sulawesi, the founder of the Pesantren Darud Dakwah wall Irsyad (DDI). This *PB* functions as the protection from a natural disaster as well as a potential accident on a journey (see picture 1).



Picture 1

The other *PB* has the inscription of *asmā’ al-ḥusnā*, *sūra al-ikhhlās*, and a randomly written Arabic alphabet on a table. This *PB* can maintain a harmonious marriage and protect its holder from magic spells addressed to disunite husband and wife (see picture 2).



Picture 2

In addition to that, there is also a particular *PB* with the inscription of Q.S. al-Tawba: 128 with a photograph of a prominent ulama, namely Imām Lapeo', along with some Islamic symbols, such as the green flag with moon-star ornament, a twin towers, and four circles with the names of *khulafā al-rāsyidūn* in them. Bugis Muslims believe that this *PB* can protect shelter and its residents from any potential threats (see picture 3).



Picture 3

For the belief of Bugis Muslim, all of these three *PB* does not contradict Islamic teaching. The reason behind this acceptability is that the Qur'anic verse is written in them, alongside other *wirid*, *du'ā*, and other Islamic symbols. In addition to that, they are created by religious authorities. Therefore, it is unlikely that those authorities teach illegal practices. Most of the Buginese Muslims interviewed point out that a *PB* came from an ulama, *Anre Gurutta*', and it is impossible that he provided her with something unlawful in Islam (Interview with HLM/52 years old, 10/08/2018).

A.G.H. Hamzah Mappa, a religious cleric, explained that the symbols and ornaments contained in the *pattula media* were not part of the terms of use of the media. The symbols are just decorations. The main purpose of the *pattula 'bala'* is the verses of the Qur'an contained therein. He also explained that there are no verses specifically used in the *PB* because all the verses of the Qur'an can be used as prayers that can bring salvation. All of that goes back to the user's intention and belief in God's power. Although *PB* used is sourced from the Qur'an, if it is not able to make someone aware of the power of God, even make him proud, then at that time, he was not putting the Qur'an as part of his beliefs.

For Bugis Muslims, having *PB* has different procedures from hanging a particular artwork or other common ornaments. Each *PB* has distinctive rules, based on its forms and functions, either rule that is related to the process of handing it over, the place, time, or the person who has the right to place it. While the procedure of handling the *PB* over to its holder is

based on religious rituals, either with a particular contract (*ijāb-qabūl*) or other rituals such as *sunna* prayer, *du‘ā*, *wired*, etc. The contract of *PB*. as follows:

“The giver: In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate, I attest that there is no God but Allah and Muhammad is the messenger of Allah. I provide you with this benefaction of Allah, may it become the mercy and the blessing for all of us, so that we can obtain protection in the world and hereafter because of Allah.”

“The recipient: In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate, I attest that there is no God but Allah and Muhammad is the messenger of Allah. I take this benefaction of Allah, may it become the mercy and the blessing for all of us, so that we can obtain protection in the world and hereafter because of Allah.”

In addition to that, Ardiyanto also tells a story of his handing over the *PB* from the late A.G.H. Fashih Mustafa BA., through a religious ritual, namely *sunnah* prayer, reciting *wirid*, and praying. The following is his testimony:

“When he provided me with this Pattula’ Bala’, he had done sunnah prayer and prayed to Allah, as if he asked permission to Him because only those who have noble and pious character can obtain His blessings.” (Interview with ARD/32 years old, 10/12/2018)

The places where to situate the *PB* are dependent on the forms and the functions of the *pattula’ bala.’* The *PB* displayed in picture 1, when situated at home, should be placed behind the main door of the building. The same *PB* when situated in a car, should be hung

on the dashboard. The *PB* shown in picture 2, is placed in no other than the sleeping room (Interview with RZQ/47 years old, 12/06/2018). That is shown in picture 3, belongs to the guest room, main room, or hidden places (Interview with FTR/50 years old, 05/07/2018).

Table 1: The Functions and Places to put *Pattula’ Bala’ (PB)*

Kind of <i>Pattula’ Bala’</i>	Function	Place
Picture 1	Protecting from natural disasters and potential accident on a journey	- The uppers side of the main door of a house - Hung on the upper side of the steering wheel. - Stucked in the dashboard of a motorbike
Picture 2	Protecting from spells or <i>sibr</i> that are intended to disunite husband and wife	At the wall of the sleeping room.
Picture 3	Keeping a shelter away from the bad deeds of others	At the wall of the main room

With regards to the time to put *PB*, our interviewees suggest that they can be put at any time except in the period between the Maghrib and Isha prayers. Notwithstanding, they are better to be placed in between Subuh and Dhuhur prayers. However, they have no concrete reason for it. Additionally, the ones who can put the *PB* in the decided place are the respected or the head of the family (Interview with RSL/50 years old, 26/03/2018).

The Genealogy of *Pattula’ Bala’* in Islamic Literature

In the context of local traditions in Indonesia, the occultism phenomenon is not something new. This phenomenon has strong genealogical roots in the past and still survives today in various manifestations (Karim, 2007). One of them was present in the form of negotiations between Islamic teachings and local traditions in Indonesia through Sufistic literature. A.G.H. Hamzah Mappa’ points out that Buginese

Muslims use the Qur'an verse as *PB* because of the Islamic teachings in South Sulawesi, as like from A.G.H. Ahmad Bone, A.G.H. Abdul Rahman Ambo Dalle,' and others. All the important figures use *Al-Mujārabāt al-Dairabi al-Kabīr*, a work of al-Dairabi (d. 1123/1711) as one of the guided books. As well as, that all the Islamic experts use other holy books such as *al-Awfaq* of Al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), *Shams al-Ma'ārif al-Kubrā* and *Manba' al-Uṣūl li'l-Hikma* of Abil 'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Būnī (d. 622/1255). They are the ulama who followed Sufi tradition, whereas, in Islam *taṣawwuf* is a discipline in which one learns about mysticism and spirituality. That is the reason why those books explain various rituals related to prayer, *wirid*, and tattoo, the objective of which is *tolak bala*, either the method of recitation or situation in a particular place (Interview with LKM/70 years old, 18/12/2018). The following are the pictures of those books:

the paradigm of occult sciences or occultism is one part of Islamic intellectual discourse that cannot be ignored (Musadad, 2017). Nevertheless, Gardiner stressed that the accusations against the deviation of shari'a teachings embedded in the books of *al-Mujārabāt* were undeniable.



Picture 4: Kitab *Shams al-Ma'arif al-Kubrā*. (Al-Būnī, 1985: 8)

The book *Syams al-Ma'arif al-Kubrā* is one of the books which is accused of being a source of teachings that deviate from Islamic sharia. Such accusations originate from scholars who use a textual approach to understanding religious teachings. They consider that such literature is a source of magic teachings that are packaged as part of Islamic teachings (Gardiner, 2012). However, the accusation was refuted by Saif, who asserted that the appearance of occultism in Islamic teaching discourse, especially in the Middle Ages of the Hijri, was considered as an antithesis to the existence of witchcraft which was contrary to the values of Islamic teachings. The books of *al-Mujārabāt*, which contain a fusion of natural philosophical knowledge on the one hand, and Sufism, on the other hand, can provide their distinction that forms



Picture 6: *al-Mujarabat al-Dairabi al-Kabir*. (Al-Dairabi, n.d.: 8)



Picture 5: Kitab *Awfaq*. (Al-Ghazālī, n.d.:9)

The three books of *al-Mujārabāt* above are authoritative reference books for the scholars of *Ahl Sunna wa al-Jamā'a* (Sunni) related to the guidelines for making and using media to reject reinforcements. It shows that in the historical record of Islamic civilization,

the paradigm of belief in shar'i occultism (Saif, 2017). That is why the Book of *Syams al-Ma'arif al-Kubrā* by al-Būnī, as one of *al-mujarabat*'s books, is an authoritative reference for Sufi scholars who are engaged in the discipline of letter science (*sīmiyā*'), so that the book helps the Sufi scholars in spreading Islamic teachings. In animism and dynamism (Coulon, 2016). Al-Būnī himself stated in the preface of his book that the book is a reference for scholars who are involved in mysticism, and have mastered shari'a (Al-Būnī, 1985).

Furthermore, the practice of *PB* is not only proposed by some experts based on *al-Mujārabāt* holy books but also based on the hadith. For example, one of the hadith found in *Al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr* of al-Ṭabrānī reports that Khālīd ibn Walīd had the iron hat as protection during warfare. In a part of the hat, there is a piece of the Prophet's hair, and Khalid stated that he would not lose any battle after he had used the hat (Al-Ṭabrānī, 1994). Another report from *Al-Aẓkār al-Muntakhaba min Kalām Sayyid al-Abrār* of al-Nawāwī reveals a particular story of 'Abdullāh b. 'Amr, that he wrote "*A'ūzu bi kalimātil-lāh al-tāmma min gaḍābih wa syar'ibādih, wa min humzāt al-syayāṭīn wa an yaḥdurūn*" (I seek protection with the word of Allah from His wrath and disreputes of His creatures, and from the disturbance of satan and his followers) and put it as a necklace for illiterate children with hope that it became *PB* for them (Al-Sijistānī, 2009).

Ulama and the founder of pesantren mostly create *PB* currently used by Bugis Muslims. The charisma of the *ulama* of Bugis in Sulawesi is not only for their deep knowledge but also for their reputation for mystical knowledge

and *karāma*. The stories of the *karāma* of Bugis ulama are transmitted orally, making it difficult to evaluate their validity. One of the popular stories is the story of A.G.H. Abdurahman Ambo Dalle who is believed to be able to communicate with *Jin*. This *karāma* creates a certain mystical belief in Bugis people, represented by *PB*. Furthermore, this kind of belief does not harm the *aqīda* of monotheism or *tauḥīd* of Islam, because this belief considers *PB* as *tabarruk* or *wasīla*, not as talisman or *siḥr* (Interview with BSR/50 years old, 02/07/2019).

DISCUSSION

The uniqueness of *Pattula' Bala* (*PB*) tradition of the Bugis society lies in its receptive form when compared to the *tolak bala* tradition in general practiced by Muslim communities in Malaysia (Anwar and Kartolo, 2018), and Indonesia (Zulhadi, 2019). If *tolak bala* generally involves traditional ceremonial rituals, *PB* of the Bugis Muslim community is carried out by displaying the *pattula* as a medium in certain places based on its function, such as on the walls of houses or shops, vehicles, and others. Besides, the Bugis Muslim community believed *PB* not only to be a mediator (*wasīla* or *tabarruk*) between a servant and his Lord that can bring salvation and blessing but also as a motivation to increase belief in God so that it functions as a panoptic to prevent users from carrying out acts prohibited in the Islamic teachings. That is why belief in *PB* is different from the practice of talismans, magic, kings, and various other media of *tolak bala*.

PB as the manifestation of Bugis Muslim's exegesis reception of the

Qur'an does not harm the restriction of Islamic teachings. The reason for this is because the material used in the medium of *PB* includes the Qur'an, which is theologically based on the nature of the Qur'an as *shifā'*, *wasīla*, and *tabarruk*. Likewise, Bugis Muslims reveals that the *PB* contributes to enhancing their piety through growing motivation to performworships. From the perspective of aesthetic reception, the texts and symbols displayed by the *PB* do not contain symbols contradicting Islamic teachings. Even more, if we come deeper into the subject, picture 1 provides the names of *Aṣḥāb al-Kahf*, calling the story of seven young men along with a dog who obtained protection from Allah for their piety and devotion to His order. Similarly, picture 2 shows one of the Qur'anic *surah*, *al-Fātiḥa*, and *al-Ikhlāṣ*, the meaning of which are the essence of *tawḥīd*. Picture 3 displays Q.S. al-Tawba: 128, which is the verse containing an order to humankind to follow the teaching of Muhammad (PBUH).

From the functional perspective, *PB* shows that Bugis Muslims put it as a medium from which they grow their motivation or get the suggestion to become more pious to God. This is in line with the statement of Pargament, who suggests that the spirituality of a particular tradition drives religious practices (Pargament, 2013). For that reason, based on the reception theory, the media of *PB* for the Bugis Muslim community is not a sacred instrument that contradicts *tawḥīd*. It is instead considered merely as *wasīla* or *tabarruk*, to have more drive enhancing their faith and religious devotion.

In addition to that, seeing from the perspective of the history of Islamic civilization, the practices of *tolak bala* has been found from generation to generation (Zeilabi, 2019). The Hadiths concerning the use of *tolak bala* reveal that not all *tolak bala* is prohibited by the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). Once a particular Muslim came to the Prophet Muhammad to ask him about the legality of *tolak bala* they had, the Prophet asked them to show it to him. If he identified it to have contained *sihr*, he prohibited it, and he did not reject some of them because they contained Qur'anic verses and were used for the *maṣlahah* of the people. That is the reason why ulama conclude that *tolak bala* is allowed for several conditions: (1) it does not contain forbidden elements such as *sihr* or other bad deeds (al-Duwaish, 2003); (2) it is used as the healing instrument that is in line with *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*; (3) it is used as *wasīla* and *tabarruk*, namely an intermediary tool to obtain the blessing of God, (Al-Bantānī, 2002); (4) it uses Qur'anic verses or *Asmā' al-Ḥusnā* and avoids the use of spells and magical symbols used during the jahiliya period ('Abdullāh bin Bāz, 2008).

In addition to that, the story of Khalid ibn Wālid and 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar are the prototype of the emergence of the works of *al-mujarrabāt* that were written by several renowned *ulama*. Similarly, the information of our Bugis Muslim respondents shows that the medium of *PB* that they have obtained is created by *ulama* who are at the same time the head of the *pesantren*. This means that the medium of the *PB* they have is strongly connected to the transmission and transformation of similar tradition from the Islamic civilization. This is the reason why that tradition cannot be

considered as the Islamised local practices, but rather as the inherently recognized practices from within Islamic tradition itself that are substantially similar to local practices of the Bugis people of Sulawesi. Wright also comes with the same line of argument, suggesting that Sufism which is closely linked to mysticism in Islamic tradition is the output of knowledge transmission between ulamas across generations that have transformed in the modern age (Wright, 2018).

CLOSING

The *Pattula' Bala (PB)* tradition, which was perceived by the Bugis Muslim community, was hereditary in the early Islamic era. The narrations of the traditions that emerged in the first century of the Hijri confirmed it. Besides, the tradition perceived by the Bugis Muslim community was created and taught by a prominent and well-known religious cleric at the South Sulawesi Islamic Boarding School. They have a scientific genealogy to the medieval Islamic cleric who wrote a remarkable book about the media rejecting reinforcements. As part of acculturation, in substance, *PB* not only functions as a *wasīlah* or *tabarruk* that brings salvation but can also function as a panoptical that presents real supervision for the Bugis Muslim community. This phenomenon is undoubtedly beneficial for Bugis Muslims, who use *PB* because it can internalize the values of religious teachings in carrying out God's commands and can motivate them to stay away from all immoral acts. The results of this study also strengthen the theory of Islam as a discursive tradition. The point is that the Bugis Muslim

community perceives the practice of *PB* as purely part of Islamic teachings because it is legitimized by the sources of Islamic teachings, the Qur'an, and Hadith. Although the practice of *tolak bala* in each Muslim community is different, as long as it is still in line with the substance of Islamic teachings, the Qur'an and Hadth, and the religious practices of Muslims in the previous generation, it is still considered part of the transmission and transformation of Islamic teachings. Finally, this research contributes to the study of local traditions relating to the concept of Islamic teachings by strengthening the theory of Islamic tradition transmission and transformation. However, this study also has limitations and can be continued in historical studies, especially philological studies.

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