



## **Hajj and Hajj Attire for Bugis Women: A Phenomenological Study in Bone District, South Sulawesi**

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### **Abstract**

For the Bugis people in South Sulawesi, Indonesia, hajj (pilgrimage to Mecca) is a religious practice that illustrates a balance between practicing Islamic teachings and preserving local culture. This article explores the construction of meaning in hajj practices among Bugis women through various rituals and attributes, including wearing hajj attire. Data were collected through fieldwork in Bone District, South Sulawesi in which we conducted interviews with Bugis women of different ages, levels of education, and social classes who had made the pilgrimage. Through a phenomenological approach, we found that the practice of Bugis hajj rituals, such as *mappatoppo*, is common among all Bugis women across different groups. However, the hajj attire varies and can be categorized into traditional, modern, and moderate. The variations are influenced by the level of education, access to information and technology, social status, knowledge of the Islamic religion, occupation, kinship and association, and generational groups. We argued hajj attire carries different functions for different Bugis women, i.e., social control, traditional identity, representation of past political memory, social status and legitimacy, and markers of exclusivity. This study contributes to the global talk about the mix between religious and cultural expression by showing a complex continuity and changes of the expression amid the modernization the Bugis people experience.

### **Keywords:**

Hajj, Hajj attire, Local culture, Bugis, Social change

**Abstrak**

Beribadah haji di kalangan masyarakat Bugis merupakan praktik beragama yang menggambarkan percampuran yang kompleks antara menjalankan ajaran Islam dengan lekatnya budaya local khas suku Bugis. Artikel ini bertujuan mengeksplorasi konstruksi dan pemaknaan perempuan Bugis atas ibadah haji, sebagaimana terrepresentasikan dalam berbagai ritual terkait haji dan pengenaan gaya busana tertentu dalam konteks masyarakat Bugis yang terus berubah. Artikel ini dihasilkan melalui riset lapangan di Kabupaten Bone, Sulawesi Selatan dengan mewawancarai para perempuan dari berbagai latar belakang usia, tingkat pendidikan dan kelas sosial, yang telah berhaji. Melalui pendekatan fenomenologi, kami menemukan bahwa tidak ada perbedaan yang signifikan dalam praktik ritual haji khas Bugis seperti *mappatoppo* pada semua perempuan yang kami teliti. Namun, kami menemukan varian berbusana di antara mereka, yang kemudian kami kategorikan sebagai tradisional, modern, dan moderat. Perbedaan varian busana tersebut dibentuk oleh jenjang pendidikan yang ditamatkan, akses informasi dan teknologi, status sosial, pengetahuan agama Islam, pekerjaan, kekerabatan dan pergaulan, serta kelompok generasi. Kami berargumen bahwa perempuan Bugis memiliki titik tekan pemaknaan yang berbeda atas busana haji yang mereka kenakan, seperti alat kontrol sosial, sebagai identitas orang Bugis, representasi memori politik masa lalu, status dan legitimasi sosial, dan penanda kelompok eksklusif. Studi ini berkontribusi pada percakapan global tentang percampuran ekspresi keagamaan dan kebudayaan dengan menunjukkan keberlanjutan dan perubahan yang kompleks dalam tradisi ini seiring dengan modernisasi yang dialami masyarakat Bugis.

**Kata Kunci:**

Haji, Busana haji, Budaya local, Bugis, Perubahan sosial

**Introduction**

Hajj is an integral part of the Islamic faith and a way to express a Muslim's belief in the religious law (Haryono, 1992). For social and cultural purposes, hajj returnees in the Bugis community have to wear certain clothes and symbols at certain times to show that they have been to the *Baitullah* (the House of Allah). Thus, specific attire, especially among women, is a significant mark that one has performed the pilgrimage. Such attire is more prominent among the Bugis than other tribes in Indonesia, especially among the women. However, they also use the title *haji* (someone who has performed hajj), which is the same as in other ethnic communities in the archipelago.

In the Bugis community, the title *haji* can strengthen one's identity. Someone who has performed the pilgrimage will secure a different place in society and raise awareness of

social-religious relations in their environment. *Haji* candidates interpret the pilgrimage as a symbol of pride, courage and respect (Agustang, 2009). Hajj is not only about perfecting the pillars of Islam but also increasing one's social status. Someone with a *haji* title has more value in society as their social status is elevated (Zainuddin, 2013). Other designations include *puang aji* (the respectable) and *daeng aji* (older brother/sister). In a nuclear family, a parent who has made a pilgrimage will be called *ajiku*. In public, people will greet a *haji* they recognize from the special attire, such as the *songkok haji* (hat), *cipo-cipo*, *talilli* (headwear), *bowong patoppo* (head cover), or *kabe* (robe).

The use of pilgrimage symbols and the enthusiasm of the Bugis people to perform the pilgrimage indicate that individual piety is considered a form of expression of their beliefs in Islam. According to Ibrahim (Jati, 2013) Islam is also an identity that becomes the foundation of social piety among the middle class, with the 'us and them' dichotomy used to identify obedience to religious orders. The piety identity reflects the materialization of spirituality and the spiritualization of material things.

The cultural, Islamic title and symbol of hajj constructed by the Bugis affect the social stratification. For example, the Bugis people believe in the philosophy of *siri* life (Safitri, 2020) which is the feeling of shame because life is not perfect until they perform the pilgrimage. They will try to achieve this goal even though going on a hajj trip requires solid financial support.

Meanwhile, in a broader context, the Indonesian Muslim community has experienced significant changes in how they articulate their Islamic beliefs in the last two decades (Fealy, 2008). For example, more Muslim women now wear a broader and more covering hijab, considered more Sharia-compliant than the popular styles a few decades ago. Apart from that, the way people interact in society has also changed. People form associations in a recitation forum led by an *ustadz* (Islamic religious leader). The intensive recitation sessions bring people closer together, and they express their Islamic beliefs based on the understanding they obtain from the recitation (Fealy, 2008).

Against this backdrop, this research explores the construction of meaning among Bugis women in relation to hajj and hajj attire. Theoretically, the findings can add knowledge about pilgrimage symbolization or pilgrim identity. On a practical level, the

findings can be used as a reference, especially for outsiders, in building socio-religious relations with the Bugis community.

Studies on pilgrimage and its symbolization in Indonesia have been done before. Martin van Bruinessen has explored the connection between pilgrim trips of people from the archipelago and the transmission of Islamic knowledge and traditions from the Arabs to the region, as well as the contribution to the resistance against the Dutch colonizers. M. Saleh Putuhenaz (Bruinessen, 2015) also argued that pilgrimage strengthened the resistance network during the colony era.

A research in the 2000s by Muslim Abdurrahman (2009) shows that pilgrimage became increasingly popular among the urban middle-upper class. The pilgrimage was no longer limited to the *santri* (Islamic scholars) community, who often lived in rural areas and worked as farmers. The urban community created a more 'classy' pilgrim trip managed by private travel companies. They called this trip a 'tourist pilgrimage,' which is much more expensive than the regular trip. This model is called the Pilgrimage Cost (ONH) Plus. This hajj package is only 12 days, unlike the regular 40-day trip. The 'tourist pilgrims' can also continue their journey to Middle Eastern countries and *Türkiye*. According to Muslim Abdurrahman (2009), this kind of hajj trip allows the upper-middle class to accentuate the segregation and foster their social class.

In the context of the Bugis community in Bone, (Agustang, 2009) found that hajj attire reflects not only the religious dimension but also the social system. It fulfills the aesthetic function and symbolizes hajj but also contains symbolism that affects the socio-cultural life of the Bugis people. The hajj attire is not only worn after the pilgrimage but must be coronated in a ritual called *mappatoppo*. Therefore, after being *patoppoi* (coronated), a pilgrim must always wear hajj attire at every formal event or when they appear in public. The symbol of the hajj is expected to be shown in public or at events attended by the broader community because the pilgrimage identity is desirable to the people. Before one start wearing the attire, the sacred procession intensifies the pressure—wearing it is a form of respect. The hajj attire also varies depending on the situation and social context.

Agustang (2009) also found that the number of female pilgrims was significantly higher than men, which could be due to the attractiveness of pilgrim attributes. Hajj

attributes for women are more extravagant than those for men. Nonetheless, such attributes are allowed to be worn only by pilgrimage returnees. Subair (2018) found that anyone who wears hajj attributes without performing the pilgrimage will receive social sanctions from the community.

Asma Lutfi (2006) argues that the pilgrimage developed in rural Bugis society resulted from a reinterpretation of religious doctrine and modernization. There is a dialect between local and global events, giving birth to the *aji modereng* (modern hajj) lifestyle. People adopt this lifestyle to foster their identity and gain social status.

In brief, existing studies on the meaning of the pilgrimage have been extensive, but none has focused on Bugis women and how they express their understanding of the pilgrimage and all the symbols in, among others, their choice of clothing. Therefore, this research aims to fill the gap by exploring the pilgrimage as a cultural symbol among the Bugis. The analysis uses social construction theory by Peter L. Berger and phenomenological theory by Schutz. These theories are arguably the most suitable for exploring the construction of the hajj in the Bugis as a cultural product. Social construction theory by Berger combines the perspectives of prominent thinkers in sociology, i.e., subjective meaning (Weber), individual dialectics as a product of society (Marx), and society as an individual product and an objective reality (Durkheim). In addition, the thoughts of the German philosopher Scheler also had an influence. However, among many experts influencing Berger, Schutz's thoughts and theories are the most dominant, especially when discussing meaning in everyday life (common sense) (Suharso, 2015).

According to Berger, the social reality created or constructed in everyday life is socially produced knowledge. Knowledge is not objective but is obtained through interactions within social groups. Everyday reality is strongly influenced by how individuals understand something based on their habitus and background knowledge. Interpretation appears as an effect of social relativity when one tries to make meanings out of an object based on self-definition (Karman, 2015).

Social reality cannot explain itself but requires knowledge to analyze how it is constructed (Berger 1990). An individual's knowledge becomes the basis for how they behave in everyday life. Social reality is also intersubjective, which means when individuals

meet an object, they interpret reality differently. According to Hidayat (Samuel, 2012) social reality is relative and applies according to the specific context considered relevant by social actors.

Meanwhile, according to James Carey (Karman, 2015), social construction is formed in four stages. The first is the construction when social actors develop the concept of how the knowledge that is still invisible becomes a reality. The second is maintenance when people actively maintain social constructs to preserve them. If a construct is no longer relevant, it will fade and be forgotten. The third is repair when social actors make improvements. The fourth is the change.

For Berger (1991), social reality can be realized through interaction and co-creation. Social reality is created here and now, which means it is created because the individuals are present. In life, there are zones where people do not cross paths, and people may go through and live different life zones without affecting others (Berger, 1991). Social reality cannot be lived by individuals alone but is experienced with others through social interaction. Interactions that exist between two people mutually construct society collectively.

Furthermore, social reality is constructed in three stages: externalization, objectivation, and internalization. Externalization is individual expression or self-actualization. Objectivation is when the results of individual activities are transmitted to others. Objectivation of reality is formed before one is born and does not depend on other people's understanding of the constructed phenomena. Meanwhile, internalization is the process of accepting the institutionalized situations from birth to maturity, the process experienced by humans to adapt to the world being inhabited by one's predecessor (Samuel, 2012). Internalization lasts for a lifetime, involving primary and secondary socialization.

As defined by Berger, the social construction also views society as an objective and subjective reality. As a subjective reality, society is built through internalization, externalization, and objectification as described above (Karman, 2015). Meanwhile, society as an objective reality consists of legitimization and institutionalization. Legitimacy is needed because knowledge consists of not only cognitive but also normative dimensions,

i.e., not only explanations but also values. Legitimacy makes institutionalized objectification make sense subjectively. Objectivated knowledge is legitimized socially to explain and justify social orders (Berger, 1990).

This study uses a phenomenological approach (Moustakas, 1994) to uncover the social construction in the Bugis community and understand the meaning of the ongoing phenomenon. This approach requires the observers to abandon all pre-existing knowledge to avoid prejudice and bias—a technique Moustakas calls *epoche*. The author first listens to the experiences expressed by informants. In this approach, the author enters the conceptual world of the subject under study to understand what and how the informant creates reality.

Phenomenology focuses on the uniqueness of life experience and the essence of a particular phenomenon. It describes phenomena and does not explain phenomena. Phenomenon includes anything that appears as human emotions, thoughts, and actions as they are. Phenomenology describes something as ‘it in and on itself.’ Presupposition becomes irrelevant because the aim is to investigate a phenomenon as it is (Tom, 2003).

The data were collected through field studies in Bone District, South Sulawesi, Indonesia. This district was chosen because the discourse of pilgrimage as a religious order is reproduced in such a way as to engender variants of hajj attire worn by women of multiple generations. Using qualitative methods and a phenomenological approach, the authors interviewed nine women pilgrimage returnees (*hajjah*), aged 35 to 70 years, with educational qualifications ranging from elementary to Master’s degree. Field observations through visits to the informants’ homes and events where the participants appeared to support the data collected through the interviews was conducted from June 2019 to March 2020. In that occasion, complementary data such as document and photos was also collected.

### **Hajj and the Bugis Typical Rituals**

The Bugis’ pilgrimage journey is inseparable from the network of Bugis clerics in the Middle East. It is also closely related to the network of scholars created by Middle Eastern clerics when they moved to Bugis land to seek refuge from the political turmoil in their home countries (Ilyas, 2018). The beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was a turbulent

decade of Islamic development in Mecca, marked by a coup by the Wahhabis to take over power from the government of Mecca at that time. This upheaval significantly influenced other Islamic countries, propelling the transmission of Islamic knowledge to *Nusantara* (the Indonesian archipelago) by the *ablusunnah waljamaah* (Sunni, the largest branch of Islam) scholars. Contacts between the *Nusantara* and Mecca clerics through the *ablusunnah waljamaah* were initially non-political and religious in nature, but then the relationship turned political. As a result, Islam in the archipelago was mixed with local culture and was often considered to have no connection with Meccan Islam. The relationship between Islam in the archipelago and Islam in the Middle East has been fostered since the early days of Islam when Muslim traders from Arabia, Persia, and the Indian subcontinent came not only to trade but also to spread Islam to the locals (Azra, 2007).

The heated political situation in the Middle East at that time sent several clerics to South Sulawesi, including Sayyid Syekh Umar Al Yamani, who spread Islam in Pare-pare, Assayyid Syekh Muhammad Al-Akhdal, who spread Islam in Pinrang District, Sayyid Syekh Mahmud Al-Jabbar Al-Madani who spread Islam in Bone District, and Sheikh Sayyid Ali bin Abd Rahman bin Shihab who spread Islam in Sidrap and Pare-Pare Regencies. The teaching of these clerics resulted in the emergence of local clerics. The Bugis people's piety grew and they were thirsty for religious knowledge, so they voyaged to the holy land to study and perform hajj simultaneously. The Middle East's scientific influence on the Bugis scholars was strong so some started to live there (Putuhena, 2007).

The Bugis scholars who settled in the holy land then offered a transportation service for the pilgrimage. For example, Syekh Umar Bugis was a scholar and a merchant. The Bugis then used his services to travel to the holy land to perform the pilgrimage. In addition, the strong scientific tradition established in the Middle East encouraged the Bugis not only to perform the pilgrimage but also to study. For example, the Bone congregation Sheikh Ahmad, Cleric and *Haji* (KH) Adam in 1825, KH Syafiyannah, KH Abdul Wahid in 1855, KH Muhammad Yusuf (who lived in Mecca for seven years, 1860-1867), KH Sulaiman bin Abdul Rasyid (later studied in Mecca for six years, 1881-1887), and Sheikh Abdurrahman Bugis and his son Sheikh Husain Bugis, and Sheikh Abdul Rasyid Bugis and his son Sheikh Muhammad As'ad Bugis. Sheikh Husain Bugis left for Mecca at a relatively



young age, following in the footsteps of his father, who had left earlier and lived there for 20 years. Syeikh Abdurrahman Bugis and Sheikh Abdul Rasyid Bugis later became teachers for immigrants from South Sulawesi and other areas in Nusantara (Ilyas, 2018).

Likewise, the Bugis' pilgrimage journey was also prompted by the Arab settlers on the Bugis land who taught Islam to the Bugis people. Before Islam was introduced, the Bugis believed in sacred places or objects. After the introduction of Islam, the pilgrimage is a sacred religious order to the Bugis. According to Nurhyati Rahman (Wakke, 2013), the pilgrimage is sacred because it is *saraq* (sharia) interacting with *adeq* (traditions), forming a *rendering* (social law). As a fusion between religious and customary orders, the pilgrimage starts with a series of rituals called *barasanji*. Relatives and neighbors are invited to pray for the safety of the prospective *haji* during the pilgrimage. This *barasanji* is carried out seven times every Friday night to make a prayer for people on the pilgrimage trip.

The mix of religious values and the Bugis culture form a pilgrimage tradition with specific characteristics different from the practice in other tribes. This uniqueness is maintained albeit with several shifts to adjust to the modern developments. Hajj has been performed from generation to generation, so the uniqueness evolves with the development of the times, adjusting to age.

*Barazanji* is a recitation of praises to the Prophet Muhammad led by religious leaders. It is also the reading of *Al-Barzanji* by Sheikh Ja'far Al-Barzanji bin Husin bin Abdul Karim. *Al-Barzanji* is a tribute to the author and his place of origin: the Barzinj in Kurdistan (Aziz, 2001). Special foods of the Bugis are served in the ceremony. The food is full of meaning and is prayed for, which includes *onde-onde*, *sokko bolong* and *sokko pute* (black and white sticky rice), *bella lavo* (pumpkin compote), and bananas. *Barazanji* is carried out a few days before departing the holy land, hoping the pilgrimage will run smoothly. Relatives and the community gather around the place where the hajj departs. Families and communities also give *passolo* (envelopes) to support the pilgrimage. This is reflected in the statement of the informant:

*“wettukku menre mekka mabarasanjika jolo nappa jokka, mega rupa-rupanna dipalenne, bella lavo, utti tasa, sokko pute sibawa bolong, onde-onde, yarodo dipalenne'E disaba-sabakini dolo sibawa pak imang, mangobbi tokka yaro biasa, nasoloritona tawe, nasaloriki tawe supaya kolisukam matu wellingani ole-oleh”*

“When I was going to go to the holy land, I first did *barazanji*. In the *barazanji*, I served various foods such as pumpkin compote, ripe bananas, black and white sticky rice, and dumplings. The foods were prayed for by religious leaders. Guests attending the event gave envelopes (money) for souvenirs when we returned to their homeland.” (Beccettang Interview, 25 November 2019).

Rituals, such as *barazanji*, carried out by people who wish to perform the pilgrimage receive social support from the community and close family in the form of *passolo* (financial support). This binds the people in reciprocation. When support is given, a return is expected to be received when the pilgrim comes home. The *barazanji* continues to be carried out seven times, hosted by family members every Friday night. This is carried out as a form of support and prayer for families on the pilgrimage journey. The event is led by religious leaders and attended by the local community.

Before the era of easy communication, as it is today, the hajj was seen as a worship that separates the pilgrim thousands of miles from the family. People performing the pilgrimage could not communicate with family members or give them an update about their condition. They created a way to find a ‘clue’ or signal about the pilgrim's conditions. This way is called *pallama-lama* (signifier), done by planting a coconut tree. An informant, Farida, stated:

“When I went on a pilgrimage, my family put coconut shoots in my room as a sign of my condition during the hajj. The coconut shoots placed in my room showed unusual signs. There were spots on the coconut leaves, and sure enough, something bad happened to me on that day. At that time, I almost lost my life because I was jolted with pilgrims from Africa and Turkey. Fortunately, the police immediately helped me” (Interview, 15 December 2019).

Farida carried out the pilgrimage at the end of the 1990s. She did not yet have a means of communication to connect with her family, so her family created a *pallama-lama* to ‘know’ about her condition. This was the means to ‘receive signals’ about the people who perform hajj before the era of digital communication.

The development of communication technology has brought about changes in society, including the Bugis community. For example, applications make it easier for people to communicate and connect, especially those going away to another part of the world, such as performing the pilgrimage. Technological developments have gradually shifted the

social constructions that the Bugis ancestors believed. One of the informants, Andi Sanating, said:

At that time, I went on a pilgrimage in 2011. Adami (the pilgrim) had a cell phone, so it was easy to communicate with my family. We no longer kept coconut shoots in my room. That is how the Bugis people usually do. I'm afraid it is a shirk or something like that. (Interview, 12 December 2019).

### **Pre-Hajj: The Hajj Construction for the Bugis**

Hajj and the pilgrimage traditions inherent to the Bugis are inseparable from the role of families as agents of socialization. For example, families play a role in constructing the perception about hajj clothes through daily activities that instill values and norms. Individuals began to understand values and norms that construct hajj clothes and attire by experiencing how they are adopted in a family. This stage is what Berger calls an externalization process, which is when individuals imitate habits existing in their environment (Berger, 1991).

A pilgrim brought up in a *haji* environment is used to seeing hajj attire worn by their family. The family habits are imitated by one of the respondents, Halija, as reflected in the following expression:

“Both (of my) parents are pilgrims. I am familiar with hajj attire even though I have not yet performed hajj. Therefore, I am obliged to perform hajj as my parents did” (Interview, Bone, 12 December 2019).

Halija has been familiar with hajj attire worn by her family, so these clothes are considered a social reality. It becomes a motivation to do the same thing. Performing hajj is a target to achieve in her family.

Likewise, Camakka comes from a family that is not much different from Halija's. Cammakka's parents have also performed the pilgrimage. His family hoped that all the children could perform the pilgrimage. Camakka had five siblings, who all performed the pilgrimage at a young age. Cammakka's reason for carrying out the pilgrimage is expressed as follows.

“Even though our family is wealthy, if we haven't performed the pilgrimage, we feel that our life is incomplete” (Interview, Bone, 20 November 2019).

Cammakka's family considers the pilgrimage an honor, mainly when all family members can perform the pilgrimage. The reason is that someone who has performed the pilgrimage becomes an ideal human being in the Bugis society (Mattulada, 1985).

### **Hajj Process: Coronation of Hajj Signs (*Mappatoppo*)**

The social construction of hajj attire for the Bugis is formed through certain rituals during the pilgrimage: *mappatoppo*. It is the process of officiating the sign of the pilgrimage, which differentiates Bugis pilgrimage traditions from other tribes in Indonesia. The *mappatoppo* procession generates various interpretations of the hajj attire, which the Bugis wear after performing the pilgrimage. According to Bugis humanist, Nurhayati Rahman, the *mappatoppo* procession is a mix between religion and culture. Islam that entered South Sulawesi was given traditional clothes so that custom and Islam merged into one (acculturated) (Wakke, 2013).

Hajj, as a religious order, is scripted in religious texts, namely in the holy Koran and Hadith. The Bugis contextualizes the hajj tradition through the *mappatoppo* ritual. The Bugis form the *mappatoppo* ritual so that the Bugis community can understand religious teachings more readily. This is expressed by Andi Sanating as follows:

*"Wettutta mappatoppo, nasaba-sabakiki, marengkalingakki cermah"*

During the implementation of the *mappatoppo* ritual, we were prayed for and listened to sermons. (Interview, Bone 12 December 2019).

The *mappatoppo* ritual performed for Andi Sanating contains prayers and religious advice so that people can understand religious teachings better. People like Andi Sanating may not be extensively exposed to religious teaching. The *mappatoppo* ceremony is led by a religious figure with religious legitimacy and is trusted by the pilgrims. It is a social reality formed through people's interaction in a congregation, in line with Berger's argument about reality being created collectively.



Picture 1. *Mappatoppo* ritual  
(Source: documentation by Asriani Haruna)

*Mappatoppo* begins with using the *bowong patoppo* (head cover) for a female pilgrim, continuing with the black hajj robes and *talliting*. The procedure ends by reciting a prayer. The ritual is captured in the statement by a respondent, Sakka, as follows:

*Idi ugi'e dipatoppokiki silong puang syekhe, pammulang napasangini bowong, nappa lecce siki napasangisiki, kabe, nappa napasangitoni talitting nappa mello doang.*

We, the Bugis, follow the *mappatoppo* ritual led by a sheikh. First of all, we were given the *misba*, and then *kabe*. After that, we were taught *mattalitting* by the sheikh. The process ends with a prayer. (Interview, Bone 12 December 2019).

The *mappatoppo* ritual carried out for Sakka was led by a person with religious knowledge (sheikh). This ceremony also introduced and taught the attendees several types of traditional hajj clothing commonly used by the Bugis. Wearing white cloth in this ritual has an underlying philosophy. According to Cammakka, this symbolizes a person being reborn like a baby who is still pure. However, *mappatoppo* ritual, as a process of constructing a variant of the hajj tradition by the Bugis people, has been a subject of evaluation by the religious leaders. This ritual does not exist in Islamic religious guidance, as reflected in Cammakka's narrative.

“I took part in the *mappatoppo* ritual led by an ustadz from Indonesia who deeply understands the religion. Before the *mappatoppo* started, he reminded us that this ritual can be opted out because it is only an addition by the Bugis people.” (Interview, Bone 20 November 2019).

The *mappatoppo* ritual is carried out in sacred places for the Bugis. The procession is a condition for a pilgrim to be worthy of wearing hajj attire. This is reflected in Halija’s statement, as follows:

“*sudapi mappatoppo baru bisaki pake cogko-cogko*”  
Only after undergoing the *mappatoppo* ritual one can wear the hajj attire. (Interview, Bone 12 December 2019)

The *mappatoppo* procession is carried out in the presence of the pilgrims and religious leaders before the pilgrims depart. Referring to Berger’s perspective (1991) that social reality is created based on the concept of here and now. This means that reality is created because an individual’s body or form is present at that time—a zone that others cannot enter freely.



Picture 2. After practicing the *mappatoppo* ritual  
(Source: documentation by Camakka)

After completing the *mappatoppo* ritual, the pilgrims receive advice on permissible things when they return from the pilgrimage. The Bugis people believe when they have performed the pilgrimage and *mappatoppo*, they should never put anything on their head other than the symbol of pilgrimage. Physical work that requires using the head, especially

for women, such as carrying something on the head, is no longer possible. However, this can be negotiated with the sheikh when doing *mappatoppo*, asking the sheikh to allow the term *majjujung* (i.e., to carry things on the head), which is common among the Bugis women (interview, 15 December 2019).

Sakka also negotiated when performing the *mappatoppo* ritual, as her job required her to carry things on her head (*majjujung*). She did not have a husband to help her carry goods, so she asked the sheikh to allow her to return to her routine (*majjujung*) when she returned from the pilgrimage. Sakka was allowed to do *majjujung* after asking for the blessings. It is something that a *haji* should not do to protect the sacredness of the hajj attire. This is because the radiance of a *haji* will be seen when wearing the hajj clothes, as reflected in a statement by Sakka, as follows:

*“Kopoleki mekka nappa pake congko-congko, nappa mamakkaki dita”*

When returning to the homeland, wearing hajj clothes makes a face look radiant (Interview, Bone 12 December 2019).

### **Hajj Attire for Bugis Women**

The emergence of hajj attire variants in the Bugis community is a process of adjustment of religious teachings. These variants are their articulation of religiosity. Among the factors that influence their views of the variants of the hajj attire are the level of education, access to information and technology, social status, knowledge of the Islamic religion, employment, kinship and association, and generational groups. The following are variants of the hajj clothing worn by Bugis women.

#### **Traditional Variants**

Older women wear the traditional hajj attire variant. This style maintains traditional hajj attributes used by the Bugis, including *tallitiing*, *bowong patoppo*, and *kabe*. The attributes associated with the pilgrimage identity are worn without modification or modernization. This habit is maintained to preserve the identity of the pilgrimage. Sakka stated:

*“Tyya mattalittitutu matokka, deupada haji makko yamagayae, engkatona aga pake kudung”*

I still wear tallitting, although the hajj clothes have become more modern. There are many variants. Some hajis also wear headscarves after completing the pilgrimage. (Interview, Bone 12 December 2019).

Below is a picture of people returning from the pilgrimage wearing traditional patterned clothing, black robes, *talliting* around their heads, and pink misba (head cover).



Picture 3. Traditional hajj attire  
(Source: The hajj journey documentation by Farida)

### **Modern Variant**

The modern hajj style looks more up-to-date. The hajj identity is modified to follow the latest trends in society. The appearance of modern Hajj clothing looks eccentric because it is combined with hajj accessories to enhance appearance. The modern hajj style results from a mix and match of various looks that people adopt to appear in public. This can be captured in the following statement by Farida:

*“Kojjokka bottingge, magello pakiakku mappake ulaweng tona”*

I wear nice clothes (modern hajj style) and jewelry when I go to a wedding. (Interview, Bone 15 December 2019)





Picture 4. Modern hajj attire  
(Source: documentation by Nurhikma HS)

### ***Moderate Variant***

Like its name, the moderate hajj dress style is the middle ground between modern and traditional. Women choosing this variant wear neither the traditional hajj attire nor the modern one. This hajj group no longer uses the hajj identity in their daily lives and social functions because they realize that it is more of a Bugis culture (than an Islamic order), so they do not feel obliged to wear it. Moderate pilgrims prefer to wear the hijab after completing the pilgrimage.



Picture 5. Moderat hajj attire  
(Source: Hajj trip documentation by Cammakka)

The three hajj styles created and chosen by the Bugis women are based on their experience and knowledge. The informants gained different experiences in their pilgrimage trip so that they could be classified into specific groups based on the similarity of the experiences and knowledge.

The three styles above facilitate objectivation, i.e., distinguishing one social reality from the other. In this case, they distinguish their reality and social realities outside of them. An interaction of socio-cultural worlds is a tug-of-war. The reality outside the individuals is that the Bugis people adhere to Islamic teachings. Then, they pull the subjective reality to become their version of an objective world. Following this is institutionalization, which manifests into several styles of hajj clothing for Bugis women.

### **The Meaning of Hajj Attire for Bugis Women**

Hajj attire worn by the Bugis women has an aesthetic function and manifests several aspects of their social life. The emergence of hajj attire variants (traditional, modern, and moderate) indicates how hajj is interpreted in an internalization process. Wearing specific hajj attire or preferences is a practice that gives individuals and others an understanding of their place in the social order. Meanwhile, according to Fakhri (Fakhri

2017), every product in society represents a value. The informants' use of hajj attire variants (objectivation) is a continuous redefinition of hajj (internalization). In other words, the selection of the variants is inseparable from the meaning of the variants and how the Bugis define their hajj practices. The following is the meaning of the variants.

### **Social Control**

In social life, individuals cannot act as they please. Living in society requires adherence to rules and regulations so that the community members can live in harmony. Restriction is needed to create order in society. Social control is also necessary to maintain order so that community members can live side by side. This includes preventive actions that can minimize violations of the norms and regulate people's behavior so that they can distinguish which behavior is permissible and which one is not.

According to Paul B. Horton and Chester L. Hunt (Murdiyatmoko, 2004), social control comprises ways and processes taken by a group of people or society so that the community members can act in accordance with the expectations of the internal and external groups or society. Social control can also be exercised through religious teachings because they are embedded with values. According to Durkheim, religion is not only related to God and the Spirit but is also collective or social. It is a set of beliefs and practices that determine what is sacred and forbidden, providing a unified moral guideline that binds everyone who submits to it (Durkheim, 1985).

The religious teachings the community adheres are shaping the way a person expresses their beliefs (Fealy 2008). The Bugis Muslims express their adherence to religious values by combining Islamic values with Bugis culture, i.e., Islam in traditional clothes (Wakke, 2013). The expectation of wearing hajj attire is a form of social control so the community members do not commit deviant acts. This is reflected in a statement by Cammakka as follows:

"What I wear is a form of social control. When I am tempted to commit deviant acts, I remember what I wear on my head (hajj). When I remember that, it can prevent me from doing that." (Interview, 20 November 2019)

According to Cammakka, hajj attire is a form of social control related to religious teachings to become a better person after performing the pilgrimage. In the interview,

Cammakka shared her experience and understanding of *mappatoppo*. She believed that placing a white cloth on his head symbolized being reborn, a new (and better) person than before. She believed he had been reborn pure, represented by a white cloth on her head.

Social control is furthermore enforced through hajj attire and the conference of the predicate '*haji mabrur*,' namely a *haji* who can change or leave past bad habits. When pilgrims violate a norm, they receive social sanctions, e.g., ridicule, so that they will be excluded from society. According to the understanding of the community, a pilgrim should not violate any norm because they have social control in the form of hajj attire.

The observations show that when a *haji* does something disgraceful, they are labeled as '*aji bawang*,' which means the title is *haji*, but they do not act like a *haji*. The hajj identity, reflected in the hajj attire, means they must maintain their and their families' good name.

Cammakka understands the essence of performing the pilgrimage as a reflection of her future actions. After performing the pilgrimage, she should wear the hajj attire, however, she prefers to wear the hijab (interview, 20 November 2019). This choice is motivated by the function of hijab as social control. When she wants to do something, she will remember what she wears on her head: the pilgrimage attributes (represented by the hijab). She achieved it with full sacrifice. When she remembers her pilgrimage rituals, she will restrain herself from committing immoral or questionable acts. From the narratives told by Sakka and Cammakka, the sheikh also implemented preventive measures when carrying out the Hajj rituals. In the *mappatoppo*, the sheikh reminded the pilgrims to avoid prohibited actions in religion as they could harm themselves and others (interview, 12 December 2019).

### **The Bugis Identity**

The Bugis people are nomadic, spreading all over Indonesia, even to foreign countries, such as Malaysia (Kesuma, 2007), where they work as migrant workers. In the field study, three informants departed for Hajj from Malaysia. We did not determine the criteria for where the informants depart to carry out the pilgrimage. The data we obtained in the field study speaks for itself. Informants said that the pilgrimage they performed was different from the Malays because the Malays did not have the *mappatoppo* ritual. Indeed,

*mappatoppo* is a tradition the Bugis owns as an individual and group identity. Culture is inseparable from people's lives. It is the whole system of ideas, actions, and the results of collective work and a learning process (Koentjaraningrat, 2009)

According to Halija's experience, the pilgrimage of the Bugis and Malay is different because there was no *mappatoppo* among Malays. She chose to follow the Bugis *mappatoppo* that she already knew (interview, 12 December 2019). Farida's experience is similar to Halija that the hajj procedure for the Malays is different from that of Bugis. Farida stated that only the Bugis wear the specific hajj attire.

*Idimi bawang ugie No. songko-songko, No. lainge degaga No.*

Only the Bugis hajj pilgrims wear the hajj attire. No other citizens wear it. (Interview, 15 December 2019).

Andi Sanating (interview, 12 December 2019) and Murni (interview, 20 November 2019) corroborate the statement above. Based on their experience performing the pilgrimage, when they returned to Indonesia, only the Bugis wore hajj attire to indicate that they were *hajjis*. They did not see people from other ethnicities wearing the hajj identity like the Bugis.

### **Status and Social Legitimation**

The hajj identity and meaning are shifting based on the perspective of the Bugis. As expressed by Farida, after performing the pilgrimage, she becomes an important figure in her community and is listened to and asked for help by the community members.

*Wettukku lisu pole mekka, nitana tawe, nakkalingani aga upau, iyyana aga naobbi komeloi jokka madduta*

When I already performed hajj, people started looking at me. I started to be considered an important person. They listened to what I had to say. I was also called to help with a proposal to a woman (Interview, 15 December 2019).

People who have performed hajj receive higher respect and appreciation from the community. They receive this treatment because the community considers that people who have performed the pilgrimage are considered more perfect in their Islamic practice, more secure in the afterlife, have more religious knowledge, and are more obedient and diligent in worship (Putuhena, 2007). Religiosity is also defined as how far one's knowledge is, how

strong one's belief is, and how well the worship is implemented. A person's attitude and outlook reflect the values they believe in (Hamid, 2004).

### **Past Political Memories**

The identity of the hajj attire worn by the Bugis people has a historical connection with the past in South Sulawesi. The identity of the pilgrimage is partly interpreted based on this event. Beccettang interpreted the hajj attire as having a connection with the rebellion carried out by Kahar Muzakar (interview, 24 November 2019). Five years after Indonesia's independence, there was a rebellion led by Kahar Mudzakkar in South Sulawesi (Gonggong, 1992). When Kahar Muzakkar rebelled, people would run because they were afraid to avoid any negative impact that could happen to them, so that they would look for a safe place. According to Beccettang's experience, Kahar Muzakkar, the once a rebel in Indonesian national history but was recognized as a "hero" among Bugis people, ordered the public to cover up when performing hajj by wearing hajj attire and a *congko-congko* to cover the hair. According to Beccettang, the order further strengthens the use of hajj attire. Kahar Muzakkar also wanted to purify Islamic teachings. Those still carrying out local traditions were also asked to return to pure Islam. The Kahar Mudzakkar movement has the support of the clerics. One of the most prominent clerics who supports the Kahar Mudzakkar movement is Haji Abdul Rahman Ambo Dalle, who owned the Darul Da'watul Ershad (DDI) educational institution.

### **Executive Group**

Humans have a tendency to group based on similarities among group members. The similarity is continuously maintained so that they become closer to one another. The closeness will eventually exclude them from the others. This phenomenon can be found among the pilgrims. The pilgrimage has given a title in front of one's name, namely H (*haji*) for men and Hj (*hajjah*) for women.

The pilgrimage carried out by Indonesians has a cultural touch. The pilgrimage has specific characteristics or identity. For certain tribes like the Bugis, this identity is manifested into attire or other attributes. In the Bugis community, a *hajja* is easy to identify just by looking at the attire. This similarity brings fellow pilgrims closer and prompts

people with the *haji* or *hajja* title to be exclusive. Farida stated that she has fellow *hajjah* friends. She feels comfortable making friends with fellow *hajjah* because if she wants to travel, they can go together, especially if she wants to attend a wedding. She will wear the hajj attire together with her friends.

Farida also shared that, at every celebration she attended, especially weddings, she sat close to her fellow *hajjah* because they were often called a beautiful frontline at weddings. Farida said a certain place is reserved for her and her fellow *hajjah*. Based on the experiences shared by the two informants, the exclusivity formed in the Bugis community is due to the similarity in the *haji* title and the similarity in the use of typical hajj clothing.

The pilgrimage gives specific titles to the pilgrims and establishes exclusivity among the fellow pilgrims because they have a shared experience. Gathering for fellow pilgrims becomes a nostalgic moment to share their experiences when performing the pilgrimage. The similarity of experiences and identities is imposed to form certain societal groups. This is akin to humans in ancient times, bound in a group to gain a survival advantage (Baumeister & Leary, 1995).

## Conclusion

Hajj and hajj attire for Bugis women are related to social status. The forms of hajj attire are symbols and representations to show the social class and position of a *haji* in society. The hajj attire varies, as has been influenced by the level of education, access to information and technology, social status, knowledge of the Islamic religion, occupation, kinship and association, and generational groups among the Bugis women. We argued hajj attire carries different functions for different Bugis women, i.e., social control, traditional identity, representation of past political memory, social status and legitimacy, and markers of exclusivity. This study has shown a complex continuity and changes of the expression amid the modernization and socio-economic changes the Bugis people experience.

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