



The Religious Authority of *Anre Gurutta*' K.H. Muhammad As'Ad in the Spread of Cultural Da'wah in South Sulawesi

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ABSTRACT

Cultural da'wah has become an integral part of the history of da'wah development in Indonesia, including Anre Gurutta' K.H. Muhammad As'ad, founder of the As'sadiyah Islamic Boarding School in Wajo, South Sulawesi. This study aims to analyze the patterns of religious authority of Anre Gurutta' K.H. Muhammad As'ad and his role in cultural da'wah strategies that contributed to the spread of Islam in South Sulawesi. A descriptive qualitative research method with a phenomenological approach was used to analyze and narratively present all aspects related to the relevance of religious authority in the implementation of cultural da'wah in traditional Islamic boarding schools in South Sulawesi, based on observations and interviews with the relevant sources. The results of this study indicate that the religious authority of Anre Gurutta' K.H. Muhammad As'ad was shaped by traditional, rational-legal, and charismatic authority, which contributed to the spread of pesantren-based cultural da'wah in South Sulawesi. The role of religious authority figures is expected to strengthen religious moderation through cultural da'wah in Indonesia.

Keywords: *Anre gurutta; articulatory labor; cultural da'wah; K.H. Muhammad As'ad; religious authority; South Sulawesi.*

INTRODUCTION

Religious authority in sociological terms refers to the power and authority held by a religious figure who has obtained legitimacy from individuals, groups, or institutions to provide guidance, regulate, or determine understanding in the implementation of religious teachings (Sunier & Buskens, 2022). On the other hand, religious authority is not limited to authority derived from institutional hierarchy or the official position of religious leaders. Rather, this authority is built, granted, and recognized relationally by followers based on a figure's personal qualities and abilities (Lipková, 2025). This shows that religious authority bridges the gap between religious figures and the community in matters of religious

doctrine, the implementation of religious rituals, moral formation, and solutions to the social problems faced by religious people. Religious authority, which today develops in the realm of religious interaction, cannot be separated from Max Weber's view, which is divided into three main parts: traditional authority, rational-legal authority, and charismatic authority (Ritonga, 2023).

Traditional authority is the result of trust over time and across cultures that certain individuals and groups can command, and it forms the basis for the respect accorded to those who embody society's values and norms. The main characteristics of traditional authority include the conventional rules that underpin it, a higher personal position, and freedom that does not conflict with those rules (Subaidi, 2021). The traditional authority possessed by a religious leader is the result of the cultural traits inherent in Indonesian society, which continues to uphold the heritage of local cultural traditions through three components of authority, namely gerontocracy as a form of legitimization of power and authority given to elders or respected individuals to regulate and control the social control system in society (Sulhan & Lessy, 2022), patriarchy, which refers to the creation of a structured and personalistic system of authority led by a man (Brännmark, 2021), and patrimonialism as a form of power based on personal relationships and direct loyalty to the leader, rather than on formal rules or laws that apply in society (Grant & Le Billon, 2021).

Rational legal authority is the authority possessed by a person who has met the requirements and competencies of an existing legal system and institution in society (Mukhtar Harahap et al., 2023). Rational legal authority held by a religious leader can be limited based on a predetermined period of time in accordance with applicable regulations. It has three main aspects of authority, namely a rational legal system that derives its legitimacy from power that is considered legitimate because it is based on rational and formal legal rules (Coutu, 2023), a bureaucratic system that is run based on legal rules, hierarchical structures, technical competence, and professionalism (Wicaksono & Aji, 2025), and impersonal relationships that are oriented towards compliance with formal rules and procedures without regard to persuasive closeness (Yilmaz & Telsaç, 2021).

Finally, charismatic authority is a form of belief related to the supernatural (intrinsic) aspects of a religious figure valued by society (Sulhan & Lessy, 2022). The charismatic authority of a religious figure stems from spiritual knowledge, mystical experiences, or a transcendent relationship with a divine entity (Newberg, 2022), and from supernatural powers that demonstrate the magical abilities of a spiritual leader (Barisione, 2023).

The description of the three types of authority mentioned by Max Weber above shows that religious authority in Islam is grounded in a complex dynamic within society. Traditional religious authority is based on beliefs in traditions

passed down from generation to generation, legitimized by the power of religious scholars to transform Islamic teachings within an established hierarchical system. This is then supported by the application of legal-rational Sharia law, based on the interpretation of normative teachings in the Qur'an and hadith that require the ulama always to be honored. The final reinforcement of religious authority is the presence of charismatic clerics who serve as exemplary and authoritative leaders capable of inspiring and mobilizing their followers. In addition to describing religious authority from Max Weber's perspective, religious authority built within Islamic communities can also be formed through the articulatory labor network of the religious scholar.

Articulatory labor is defined as an effort to connect thoughts, creative values, and actions with the surrounding environment, thereby creating space for freedom, plurality, and togetherness that can continue to grow (Ozola, 2023). The religious scholars use the concept of articulatory labor to build community through the continuous distribution of religious authority. The intellectual, spiritual, and cultural approaches taken by scholars to explain, interpret, and apply Islamic teachings so that they are relevant to the lives of the community in various circumstances. Articulatory labor in religious authority, as formulated by Ismail Fajrie Alatas, comprises three elements: network, relationalities, and labor.

Networks within religious authorities are formed and maintained through social networks involving clerics, communities, and religious institutions. These networks disseminate religious teachings, legitimize authority, and exert spiritual influence to foster solidarity among the faithful within the broad scope of religious authority. Relationalities within religious authority are formed through mutually beneficial social relationships between clerics and their followers. These relationships are not only based on textual legitimacy but also on the personal abilities of religious scholars to build personal relationships and mutual trust with their followers. Labor in religious authority includes various activities carried out by religious scholars, such as studying religious knowledge, teaching, building relationships with communities, and maintaining the relevance of religious teachings in a flexible social context (Alatas, 2021). The concept of articulatory labor, as formulated, shows the dynamic and relational nature of religious authority. The description of a series of concepts of religious authority presented above can be found in the leadership of *Anre Gurutta'* in traditional Islamic boarding schools in South Sulawesi.

Islamic boarding schools, as the oldest Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia, continue to make a significant contribution to religious social education. The existence of Islamic boarding schools as educational institutions has strong indigenous roots in the Muslim community in Indonesia (Idrus, 2020). This is based on the journey of Islamic boarding schools, which have maintained

and preserved their survival systems and developed a multifaceted educational model. In their dynamic development, Islamic boarding schools, as centers for the dissemination and development of Islamic teachings, not only focus on organizing activities in Islamic religious education but also on disseminating the values contained in local cultural traditions, which give them distinctive scientific characteristics (Susilo & Wulansari, 2020). Moreover, have been integrated into the community's traditional culture through the active involvement of Islamic boarding school leaders.

A boarding school leader plays a central role as a spiritual leader, organizer, and symbol of traditional values in the boarding school. First, a *kyai* is a spiritual and moral leader in religious life, instilling Salafi values through religious rituals, classical Islamic texts, and a simple lifestyle. The charisma and moral exemplary behavior of the *kyai* shape the Islamic boarding school egalitarian and ascetic culture (Zamroni et al., 2022). Second, the *kyai* is an organizational manager and policymaker who serves as the top manager, decision-maker, and primary supervisor of all Islamic boarding school activities, spanning education and organization to business unit development. The authority of the *kyai* greatly influences the performance of members and the success of Islamic boarding school programs (Fuadi, 2023; Triatmo et al., 2024). Third, maintaining the continuity of Islamic boarding school traditions while integrating innovations such as technology, modern curricula, and social entrepreneurship without losing the Islamic boarding school's identity (Arifyanto et al., 2021). Fourth, shaping the character of students through moral education and instilling values of moderation and tolerance to prevent radicalism and intolerance (Misdah et al., 2025).

The four leadership functions and characteristics above show that as the leader of a Islamic boarding school, a *kyai* is a central figure who determines the direction, values, and sustainability of traditional Islamic boarding school. The *kyai*'s leadership is charismatic, adaptive, and multifunctional, enabling the Islamic boarding school to continue to exist and remain relevant to the spiritual and moral conditions and changes occurring in society.

The leader of a traditional Islamic boarding school for the Bugis community in South Sulawesi is known by the title *Anre Gurutta*, which etymologically consists of two syllables 'anre', derived from the word 'panre', meaning the expert, and 'guru', meaning teacher, with the addition of 'ta', meaning our, so that *anre guru* translates as our great teacher. In terms of terminology, *anre guru* is someone who has attained the highest level of religious knowledge and personality (M & Husna, 2022). This definition indicates that the title *anre guru* is only given to figures who play an important role in spreading Islamic teachings, guiding the people, and serving as role models in the daily lives of the Bugis community.

An *anre guru* has the mandate to lead an Islamic boarding school's based on

three strengths: a high level of spiritual strength, being a respected figure honored by the community, and extensive religious knowledge and learning (Khaerussalam, 2025). These strengths indicate that *anre guru* is individuals with deep knowledge who make significant contributions to education and the spread of Islam in society. In this study, there is an *anre guru*, known as the founder and leader of a traditional Islamic boarding school in South Sulawesi, who will be used as the object of research: namely, *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad, the founder of the As'adiyah Wajo Islamic Boarding School in South Sulawesi.

Anre Gurutta' K. H. Muhammad As'ad was born in Mecca in 1907 AD, to parents who were originally from Wajo and had migrated to Mecca. His father, Sheikh H. Abd. Rasyid was a respected scholar born in Wajo, and his mother, Hj. St. Saleha binti H. Abd. Rahman, who held the title of Guru Terru al-Bugisiy, was a woman descended from *to panrita tana wugi* (a descendant of Bugis scholars). During his childhood, he was surrounded by people with extensive knowledge of religious sciences, including his father, who provided him with a thorough Islamic education. At the age of 21, in 1928, he returned to his ancestral land in Wajo to carry out his mission. He spread his understanding of Islam by establishing an educational institution focused on developing an understanding of the creed and purifying Islamic teachings through traditional recitation (*mangaji tudang*) (Jaya et al., 2023).

Mangaji tudang is one of the traditional methods of preaching developed by *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad as a distinctive tradition of learning Islam in Bugis culture (Arwansyah & Nur, 2024). This tradition was adapted from *balaqah* activities, circular teaching and learning sessions held in mosques in Mecca as a form of early education before the existence of madrasas, which have been carried out since the time of the Prophet Muhammad. In its development, *mangaji tudang* gave rise to the Madrasah Arabiyah Islam (MAI), which led to the establishment of the As'adiyah Wajo Islamic Boarding School, which in turn produced many prominent scholars in South Sulawesi, including *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Abdurrahman Ambo Dalle and *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Lanre Said (HS et al., 2022).

The strong relationship between traditional Islamic boarding schools and the *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad as the founders who raised the As'adiyah Wajo Islamic Boarding School in South Sulawesi shows that traditional Islamic boarding schools are a canon of cultural da'wah movements that are sustainable. This began with a series of cycles, starting with the idea of establishing Islamic educational institutions for remote communities, which then transformed into centers of religious information and ultimately opened up opportunities to apply various methods of cultural da'wah in addressing the socio-religious conditions that existed in society.

Dakwah refers to the process of reviving Islamic principles through

religious messages, thereby fostering positive change in the community (Moh. Ahsan Faradisi et al., 2023). In its development, there is a form of dakwah that aims to align it with society's socio-cultural conditions. Cultural dakwah has become an integral part of the spread of Islam in Indonesia, as evidenced by the historical traces of Islamization carried out by the Walisongo in Java (Nurul Syalafiyah & Budi Harianto, 2020). The use of local traditions, such as language and local cultural arts, which were acculturated through Islamic teachings, became part of the Walisongo's spread of Islam and later served as a reference for the spread of cultural-based da'wah in various regions of Indonesia.

Cultural da'wah is an approach to conveying religious messages through culture as a medium of preaching (Saefulloh et al., 2024; Laelani & Mukarom, 2025). Cultural da'wah can be understood in two ways, namely broadly and specifically. Broadly speaking, cultural da'wah is defined as da'wah activities that take into account the potential and tendencies of humans as cultural beings to produce an alternative culture with Islamic values that are cultured and civilized. Meanwhile, in a specific sense, cultural da'wah refers to da'wah activities that take into account the benefits of local customs and culture, ensuring they do not conflict with Islamic teachings (Amin, 2020). This description provides an understanding that the dissemination of Islamic teachings through cultural da'wah focuses on using elements of local culture to convey Islamic values without eliminating local cultural identities, thereby making them more easily accepted by the community.

On the other hand, cultural da'wah also refers to a plan for social change within the scope of da'wah development in local communities, carried out gradually in accordance with empirical conditions, which is then directed towards the development of Islamic life in local communities as the object of da'wah (*mad'u*) (Octalia, 2020). It shows that cultural da'wah is effective among communities with strong cultural roots, because da'wah messages are not rigidly imposed but rather conveyed through methods that align with the community's cultural practices. Cultural da'wah has three approaches: adaptation, acculturation, and cultural accommodation.

Cultural adaptation is a process of adjustment undertaken by individuals, groups, or communities to a new culture or one different from their original culture, to create harmony with the new cultural environment (Thahir, 2023). This definition states that cultural adaptation is carried out to address changes in the scope of the socio-cultural environment within society. The process of cultural adaptation occurs between cultural and religious traditions, thereby encouraging acculturative relationships. Cultural acculturation is defined as the process of interaction between two or more cultures, without eliminating the characteristics of each culture, to preserve each culture's core identity (Nurdianzah, 2020).

Cultural accommodation is a process of adjustment or acceptance carried out by individuals or groups from different cultures to create harmonious relationships without eliminating their respective cultural identities, thereby minimizing conflict and strengthening social interaction in a multicultural environment (Nurhikmah et al., 2021). This process can be achieved if everyone is willing to compromise and does not seek to dominate one another. Cultural accommodation is achieved through various negotiations that benefit both parties.

These three aspects of cultural da'wah show that da'wah carried out in local communities adapts to local traditions, customs, and habits through a persuasive, harmonious approach that avoids conflict with existing local cultures. Cultural da'wah can adapt to a local community's social and cultural context without losing the essence of Islam. The approach to cultural da'wah, which tends to be open and respectful of diversity, is believed capable of fostering a friendly atmosphere by honoring the community's local cultural traditions.

Previously, several studies have examined the religious authority of scholars, one of which is entitled *Reproduksi Otoritas Keagamaan di Pesantren Daarul Attahid Muaro Kumpeh: Pendidikan Berbasis Tauhid dan Respon Masyarakat* (Mesalina et al., 2024). This study, which uses a qualitative descriptive method with a phenomenological approach, discusses the Daarul Attahid Islamic boarding school's role in reproducing religious authority through tauhid-based education. The results of this study show that the reproduction of religious authority that occurs in Islamic boarding schools generally has the potential to become a legacy for students who will spread it to the public.

Meanwhile, research discussing the messages of Islamic boarding schools and *anre guru* in South Sulawesi includes a study titled *Ulama Dan Umara dalam Modernisasi Pendidikan Islam di Tanah Bugis Abad XX* (Dalle & Jundi, 2022). This study uses library research to discuss the role of ulama and umara in the modernization of Islamic education in Bugis land in the 20th century, with results showing that an *anre guru* is highly revered compared to rulers.

Last, a research study that serves as a reference on cultural da'wah is entitled *Strategi Dakwah Kultural di Indonesia* (Adde, 2022). The study, which used library research methods, shows that cultural da'wah strategies seek to understand the social systems of local communities, promote tolerant social da'wah ideas, and pay attention to the positive customs, traditions, and cultures of local communities, so that da'wah practitioners can adapt themselves and their messages can be generally accepted by the community.

Based on several previous studies, it can be concluded that this research aims to complement and expand upon prior research by comprehensively analysing the role of the religious authority figure of the 'anre guru' as a central figure within the pesantren educational institution, who contributes to the

dissemination of Islamic teachings based on cultural da'wah in South Sulawesi. It is hoped that the results of this study will benefit researchers, academics, preachers, stakeholders, and the wider community regarding the role of the religious authority of a religious figure and leader within the pesantren educational institution in strengthening the concept of religious moderation based on the application of cultural da'wah strategies.

METHODS

This research is a qualitative study employing a phenomenological approach to analyse and present, in narrative form, all matters relating to the relevance of religious authority in the implementation of cultural da'wah based on traditional pesantren in South Sulawesi. Data collection was carried out through observation, interviews, and documentation involving 15 individuals comprising male and female students, mentors, teachers, alumni, and members of the community in the vicinity of the As'sadiyah Islamic Boarding School in Wajo, South Sulawesi. The collected data were subsequently analysed using data analysis techniques, including data reduction, data display, and verification (Mawardi, 2022) to understand the phenomenon of the religious authority of a teacher in the implementation of cultural da'wah from the various perspectives of the subjects under study. Finally, data validity was tested through credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability checks to ensure the resulting data could be explained in detail, clearly, systematically, and accurately, thereby providing a strong academic foundation.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

The religious and charismatic figure associated with K. H. Muhammad As'ad as an *anre guru* cannot be separated from his efforts to fulfill his mandate as a person with extensive knowledge in religion. Concerns about shifts in religious beliefs among the people of South Sulawesi, who still maintain ancestral traditions that are contrary to the concept of monotheism in Islam, ultimately led *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad to establish the Madrasah Arabiyah Islam (MAI), which led to the establishment of the As'adiyah Islamic Boarding School in Wajo Regency. As an Islamic educational institution, *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad was able to elaborate on the *halaqah* method with a circular model based on the traditional Bugis concept of *tudang sipulung* (sitting cross-legged together), giving rise to a method known as *mangaji tudang* (reciting the Quran together while sitting cross-legged in a circle). The *mangaji tudang* method ultimately became an attraction for people in Wajo Regency and its surroundings in the past, enabling them to deepen their religious knowledge under *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad. The rapid development of the As'adiyah Islamic Boarding School made

him a role model who bridged the gap between himself and the community in religious doctrine, the performance of religious rituals, moral formation, and solutions to the social problems faced by religious people in society.

The description of the form and process of religious authority held by *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad is based on the researcher's interviews with students, mentors, teachers, alumni, and the community around the As'sadiyah Islamic Boarding School in Wajo Regency. The personal data of the informants from this study can be seen in the following table:

Table 1.
Data Informant

Name	Age	Gender	Profession	Address
Informant 1	62	F	Head of As'sadiyah Islamic Boarding School	Sengkang, Wajo
Informant 2	50	M	Head of the Council for Da'wah, Fatwa, and Bahtsul Masa'il at As'sadiyah Islamic Boarding School	Sengkang, Wajo
Informant 3	50	F	Teacher at As'sadiyah Islamic Boarding School	Sengkang, Wajo
Informant 4	47	F	Teacher at As'sadiyah Islamic Boarding School	Sengkang, Wajo
Informant 5	43	M	Teacher at As'sadiyah Islamic Boarding School	Sengkang, Wajo
Informant 6	16	F	Student at As'sadiyah Islamic Boarding School	Sengkang, Wajo
Informant 7	16	F	Student at As'sadiyah Islamic Boarding School	Sengkang, Wajo
Informant 8	16	F	Student at As'sadiyah Islamic Boarding School	Sengkang, Wajo
Informant 9	16	F	Student at As'sadiyah Islamic Boarding School	Sengkang, Wajo
Informant 10	52	M	Head of the Alumni Association of As'sadiyah Islamic Boarding School in Parepare City	Kota Parepare

Informant 11	41	M	Secretary of the Alumni Association of As'sadiyah Islamic Boarding School in Parepare City	Kota Parepare
Informant 12	44	F	Member of the Alumni Association of As'sadiyah Islamic Boarding School in Parepare City	Kota Parepare
Informant 13	23	F	Member of the Alumni Association of As'sadiyah Islamic Boarding School in Parepare City	Kota Parepare
Informant 14	60	M	The community around the As'sadiyah Islamic Boarding School	Sengkang, Wajo
Informant 15	42	F	The community around the As'sadiyah Islamic Boarding School	Sengkang, Wajo

Source: Author's Observation, 2026

The results of interviews with the above sources were then analyzed to identify patterns of religious authority exercised by *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad, a central figure at the As`adiyah Islamic boarding school, who contributed to the spread of Islam through cultural da'wah in South Sulawesi.

Religious Authority *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad

The religious authority of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad was shaped by his position as a cleric in Bugis society, his scholarly legitimacy, his personal charisma, and his role as a central figure in the As'sadiyah Islamic boarding school network and religious community in South Sulawesi. As a central figure in the As'adiyah Islamic boarding school network and religious community in South Sulawesi, the religious authority of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad is rooted in his mastery of classical literature, his interpretive abilities in addressing contemporary issues, and his consistent moral reputation within the community.

The strategy of fostering santri (Islamic boarding school students) that combines the method of learning the scriptures acquired while studying in Mecca with the local traditions of the Bugis community has indirectly strengthened collective trust in legitimizing the title of *anre' guru* (religious teacher) for the figure of K. H. Muhammad As'ad. The religious authority of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad, both structural and symbolic, is consistently reproduced and transformed through religious interactions rooted in three components of authority: traditional, legal-rational, and charismatic.

The traditional authority of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad stems from traditional rules embraced by the community, whereby a teacher always has

a higher personal status than others through three components of authority, namely gerontocracy, patriarchy, and patrimonialism.

In gerontocracy, the traditional authority of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad is legitimized by the community as an elder in the group, with the traditional belief that advanced age is always synonymous with extensive life experience, deep knowledge, and more mature wisdom. Traditional religious authority through gerontocracy positions *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad not only as a teacher and cleric, but also as a representative of gerontocracy in South Sulawesi culture, embodying the figure of a *panrita* (wise person), identified as a senior cleric who has achieved intellectual and spiritual maturity (Interview Informant 4). *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad is highly respected as an elder and regarded as the holder of the highest wisdom in society.

In patriarchy, *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad is represented as a father figure who has the right and authority to rule and make the best decisions based on his personal point of view, while the students, alumni, and administrators of the As'adiyah Islamic Boarding School position themselves as children who have a full obligation to obey and serve *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad. The patriarchal relationship created between the two is personal and full of traditional moral values, not contractual.

Traditional authority within the patriarchal culture deeply rooted in South Sulawesi society is the purest and most historical manifestation of traditional authority, embodied in the figure of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad. The As'adiyah Islamic Boarding School is likened to a large family, with *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad serving as a father figure, holding the highest authority and an important position and influence in the boarding school's leadership structure, and shaping the students' character (Interview Informant 10).

In patrimonialism, the students, alumni, and administrators of the As'adiyah Islamic Boarding School place *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad at the top of the leadership hierarchy, both as the boarding school's leader and as a spiritual leader who serves as a source of information for religious knowledge. As a central figure in patrimonialism, *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad provides symbolic capital in the form of the blessing of knowledge, policy legitimacy, advice, and mediation of conflicts between Islamic teachings and the local cultural traditions of the community. Conversely, the students, alumni, administrators, and community around the As'adiyah Islamic Boarding School demonstrate loyalty through policy support, financial contributions to the boarding school, and maximum dedication.

The description of the traditional authority held by *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad above shows that traditional authority stems from the implementation of cultural traits inherent to South Sulawesi society, which always

upholds local cultural traditions. *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad's maturity strengthens gerontocratic legitimacy. At the same time, the network of cleric families and patriarchal norms support genealogical authority, and personal relationships and deep loyalty between teachers and students form the foundation of patrimonialism. These three aspects create stable and sustainable legitimacy, enabling the Islamic boarding school and scientific network pioneered by *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad to survive from generation to generation and to form traditional religious authority in South Sulawesi.

The rational legal authority possessed by *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad lies in the non-formal legal rules inherent in the social system of society regarding the position of a teacher and leader of an educational institution. Rational legal authority comprises three aspects: the rational legal system, the bureaucratic system, and impersonal relationships.

In the rational-legal system, the authority of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad derives from the legitimacy of power, which is considered valid because it is grounded in rational-legal rules that create social stability and order. Legal rationality in the context of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad's leadership is mediated by his mastery of rational Sharia law with consideration for the common good.

Anre Gurutta' K. H. Muhammad As`ad systematically imparted clear, logical, and universally applicable Islamic teachings to students and the community (Interview Informant 14). It shows that the legitimacy of his leadership was not arbitrary, but rooted in scientific authority that was methodologically accountable. The community's decision to continue using the teachings of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad as a reference for the practice of religion is a form of appreciation for him as one of the founders of monotheistic teachings in South Sulawesi society.

In the bureaucratic system, *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad exercised authority based on legal regulations, hierarchical structures, technical competence, and professionalism. One of his important contributions is his ability to position Islamic boarding schools not only as spiritual spaces, but also as educational institutions with a bureaucratic structure. *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad, who holds the positions and titles of founder and grand master at the As'sadiyah Islamic Boarding School, has procedural authority in decision-making and policy-making, with policies openly accepted by students and the community (Interview Informant 5).

The teaching method applied by *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad when he led the As'sadiyah Islamic Boarding School standardized students' knowledge, enabling them to use a similar system when they later established and led Islamic boarding schools. Therefore, even though *Anre Gurutta'* K. H.

Muhammad As`ad has passed away, his legal authority cannot be eliminated because it has been transformed to the students who have become teachers and managers of the education system at the As`sadiyah Islamic Boarding School or to the students who have established their own Islamic boarding schools.

In impersonal relationships, *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad exercised leadership based on institutional rules, rather than personal relationships. Strategic positions in the management of the As'sadiyah Islamic Boarding School were selected based on meritocracy, taking into account the abilities, competencies, achievements, performance, integrity, and morality of the alumni and students. *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad implemented impersonal relationships to avoid nepotism, emphasizing merit as the basis for appointment rather than kinship or personal closeness (Interview Informant 1).

In the context of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad's leadership, the impersonal nature of `ad does not imply cold social relationships or a lack of humanity, but rather indicates that rules rather than personal preferences guide decisions, policies, and treatment within the institution. The three components of rational legal authority possessed by *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad above show that rational legal authority is an important foundation for the modernization of Islamic institutions in South Sulawesi by combining traditional religious values with modern institutional management patterns, thus creating a leadership model that is relevant to the contemporary socio-religious context.

Charismatic authority is the highest level possessed by *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad as a form of belief related to the supernatural (intrinsic) aspects inherent in him as a religious figure. *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad's charismatic authority has given rise to a perception of uniqueness among his students and the community, as a form of appreciation for the charismatic figure of a grand master and religious leader who possesses spiritual knowledge and supernatural powers that greatly benefit society.

Anre Gurutta' K. H. Muhammad As`ad's spiritual knowledge stems from the community's recognition of his extraordinary spiritual qualities, including mystical experiences and a transcendent relationship with God (Interview Informant 11). The spiritual knowledge possessed by *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad has indirectly shaped his personal charismatic image. This image has subsequently transformed and taken root strongly in students' beliefs over generations through the reinforcement of narratives about the depth of his knowledge, stemming from transcendent experiences and closeness to Allah SWT.

The supernatural powers of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad stem from the belief of his students and the people of South Sulawesi that he possesses supernatural powers that go beyond those of a mere teacher, but rather that he is a person gifted with extraordinary abilities to influence and guide people to the

path of monotheism without causing conflict. The alumni of the As'sadiyah Islamic Boarding School in Wajo strongly believe that *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad possessed supernatural powers. In addition to having revolutionary powers that changed the social order in the community, he also had several other extraordinary abilities, such as the ability to pray for healing or blessings for others (Interview Informant 12).

The description of the charismatic authority possessed by *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad above shows that in the pesantren tradition and South Sulawesi society, great scholars such as *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad are often associated with supernatural stories that are considered karamah (miracles) and glory given by God to pious people. This belief makes the community increasingly regard him as a figure who has a special position in their spiritual view. The stories about *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad are not told simply to idolize him, but rather to show respect and legitimize his charisma.

In the discourse related to the religious authority attached to the figure of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad, it is emphasized that religious authority formed through the components of traditional, legal-rational, and charismatic authority does not exist separately, but rather supports each other, forming a strong and layered configuration of legitimacy, which is categorized in the following table.

Table 2.

Categorization of the Religious Authority of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad

Religious Authority Category	Key Features	Manifestations in K. H. Muhammad Asad	Forms of Social Relationships
Traditional Authority	Gerontocracy Patriarchy Patrimonialism	Respected as senior religious scholars in the tradition of South Sulawesi society (gerontocracy) Legitimized by descendants and networks of religious scholars (patriarchy) Leading with a pattern of personal relationships and direct loyalty between teachers and students (patrimonialism)	Personal relationships based on emotional closeness, loyalty, and forms of respect for customs and traditions.
Rational Legal Authority	Rational legal system	Possess scientific legitimacy based on textual education	Impersonal relationships that follow institutional rules and competencies

	Bureaucratic system	and systematic rational methodology (rational law)	
	Impersonal relations	Be involved in structured Islamic educational and administrative institutions (bureaucracy)	
		Select Islamic boarding school administrators based on a meritocratic and procedural system, rather than persuasive proximity (impersonal)	
Charismatic Authority	Spiritual knowledge Supernatural powers	Recognized as having spiritual depth that serves as a reference point for society (spiritual) Seen as a religious figure with extraordinary abilities as a divine gift (supernatural)	The emotional and spiritual connection formed from the admiration and trust of the community

Source: Research Analysis

In the table categorizing religious authority, *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad shows that traditional authority provides a genealogical and cultural basis rooted in the traditions of the people of South Sulawesi. Rational legal authority has conferred institutional and intellectual legitimacy on the acceptance of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad as an exemplary role model leader. Finally, charismatic authority provides moral and spiritual strength, making *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad's leadership widely accepted by the community. The combination of these three components of religious authority makes *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad a leader who can shape and maintain the continuity of Islamic scholarly traditions in South Sulawesi. The religious authority possessed by *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad is an important part of social interaction among the Muslim community and is also supported by articulatory labor.

Articulatory labor aims to connect thoughts, creative values, and actions, thereby creating space for freedom, plurality, and togetherness that can continue to develop in society. *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad uses the concept of articulatory labor in building the community in South Sulawesi based on the continuous distribution of religious authority. *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad uses intellectual, spiritual, and cultural approaches to explain, interpret, and apply Islamic teachings so that they are relevant to the lives of the community in various circumstances. Articulatory labor in religious authority as demonstrated by *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad is divided into three main components,

namely network, relationalities, and labor.

In terms of networks, the religious authority possessed by *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad was formed and maintained through social networks involving scholars, students, alumni, communities, and government institutions at the local and national levels, both by *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad himself during his lifetime and by others who had studied at the As'sadiyah Islamic Boarding School. This network has succeeded in distributing the religious teachings, legitimacy of authority, and spiritual influence of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad in order to create solidarity among the people through the broad scope of religious authority.

The network owned by *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad consists of several parts, including a genealogical network of religious scholars, an academic network, an Islamic educational institution and bureaucracy network, a network of Islamic boarding school students and alumni, a traditional community network, and a symbolic network.

The genealogical network is one of the initial foundations for the formation of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad's religious authority. He is respected because he is a descendant of a large family of scholars from his father and mother who have long been guardians of religious traditions in South Sulawesi, especially in the Wajo area.

The genealogical legitimacy of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad has become a symbol that connects him with the social network of his ancestors, which gives him moral weight and the trust of the community. From an articulatory labor perspective, this genealogical network functions as a symbolic space that is rearticulated by *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad through his practices of scholarship, teaching, exemplary behavior, and involvement in community rituals.

The scholarly network of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad was created through a process of mangaji tudang (halaqah) and tiered teaching conducted during the development of the As'sadiyah Wajo Islamic boarding school. In this process, an articulation linked the method of learning classical Islamic texts (halaqah) to the local cultural context of the people of South Sulawesi (tudang sipulung), thereby creating relevance between sharia and everyday life.

Anre Gurutta' K. H. Muhammad As`ad's scientific network produced competence-based legitimacy, meaning his authority was accepted not only because of tradition but also because of his intellectual capacity. From an articulatory labor perspective, this network became a machine for producing authority and for articulating the relationship between knowledge, experience, and moral interpretation.

The institutional and bureaucratic network of Islamic education, the success

of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad in establishing and developing the As'sadiyah Wajo Islamic Boarding School as one of the most influential Islamic educational institutions in South Sulawesi. His success in managing the institutional network motivated several of his students to establish Islamic boarding schools in South Sulawesi, such as *Anre Gurutta'* K.H. Abd. Rahman Ambo' Dalle with the DDI Mangkoso Barru Islamic Boarding School and *Anre Gurutta'* K.H. Lanre Said with the Darul Huffadh Tujutuju Bone Islamic Boarding School, which adopted the same methods and curriculum as the As'sadiyah Islamic Boarding School.

From an articulatory labor perspective, *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad's participation in Islamic educational institutions as an actor articulates traditional Islamic values into modern institutional designs. The network of students and alumni of the As'sadiyah Islamic Boarding School is the most vital element in *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad's articulatory network. This network continuously and widely disseminates and expands the discourse on the figure of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad. The students and alumni of the As'sadiyah Islamic Boarding School in Wajo bring the teachings and scholarly traditions of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad to their respective communities, whether on a local, national, or international scale.

From an articulatory labor perspective, the students and alumni of the As'sadiyah Wajo Islamic Boarding School are the spearhead that channels the symbolic relationship between the figure of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad and the community. This relationship includes the transmission of values of manners, spirituality, moral commitment, and religious practice. The network of students and alumni of the As'sadiyah Wajo Islamic Boarding School has created a multiplier effect of authority that connects even distant regions within the same tradition of leadership.

The network of the Bugis indigenous community in South Sulawesi has positioned *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad as a scholar who can articulate Islamic values in harmony with local customary structures, thereby increasing his authority's wider acceptance. In addition, the local cultural value of *siri' na pesse* (pride and solidarity), which has become the philosophy of life for the indigenous people of South Sulawesi, further strengthens the authority of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad as a guardian of social morality. From an articulatory labor perspective, the integration of Islamic values and local customs resulted in interpretive autonomy that provided moral legitimacy for *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad in practicing certain customs.

Anre Gurutta' K. H. Muhammad As`ad's symbolic network stems from the traditions of the majority of the Islamic community in Indonesia, which positions the figure of the ulama as *waliyyu al-'ilm*. This charismatic scholar is not only

knowledgeable but also capable of bringing spiritual peace. From an articulatory labor perspective, *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad's symbolic network articulates the community's spiritual experiences through his figure, thereby building loyalty and respect.

In the description of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad Asad's religious authority network from an articulatory labor perspective, various layers of social networks are formed through discourse and the legitimization of interconnected values. *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad Asad's ability to manage and integrate a series of networks has enabled him to build a solid, multilevel, and sustainable religious authority.

In relationalities, the religious authority held by *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad was formed through mutually beneficial social relationships between him as a cleric and his followers. This relationship is not only based on textual legitimacy but also on *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad's personal ability to build personal relationships and mutual trust with his followers. The relationship *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad has with other elements consists of a cleric and students, the community, scientific traditions, cultural spaces, and transcendental spiritual dimensions.

Anre Gurutta' K. H. Muhammad As'ad's relationship with the students of the As'sadiyah Islamic Boarding School is communal and pedagogical. *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad's authority is formed through the transmission of knowledge using the methods of ta'lim (teaching) and ta'dib (manners). This relationship has created an authority rooted in the students' direct experience of their teacher's exemplary behavior.

Anre Gurutta' K. H. Muhammad As`ad uses a humanistic approach with his students to foster a relationship of trust and sincere respect. From an articulatory labor perspective, the relationship between the cleric and his students is reproductive, as students educated and returned to society will become agents who carry the authority of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad.

Anre Gurutta' K. H. Muhammad As`ad's relationship with the people of South Sulawesi was shaped by his socio-religious role in spreading Islamic teachings in accordance with sharia principles. *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad is known as a cleric who displays moral integrity in his words and actions. Narratives about his simplicity, honesty, and concern for the community underpin the legitimacy of his authority. On the other hand, the name *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad is often used as a reference in conflict resolution, customary decision-making, and the legitimization of religious rituals. From an articulatory labor perspective, the relationship between the cleric and the community has opened up space for the acceptance of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad's authority, which is integrated into the social structure of the South Sulawesi

community.

Anre Gurutta' K. H. Muhammad As`ad's relationship with the scholarly tradition stems from the legitimacy of his assertive thinking, continuity of knowledge, and ability to contextualize classical teachings in modern reality. From an articulatory labor perspective, *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad's mastery of texts, his authority, and his ability to link Islamic monotheistic teachings with the spiritual, social, and ethical needs of the community have bridged the gap between the rigidity of tradition and the flexibility of context in the scientific methods taught.

Anre Gurutta' K. H. Muhammad As`ad's relationship in the cultural space is illustrated through teaching methods that prioritize cultural aspects. The use of the Bugis language in teaching and preaching, the optimization of customs as a space for ethical integration in Islam, and the appreciation of local symbols have minimized friction between Islam and local culture.

From an articulatory labor perspective, *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad's ability to present emotional and down-to-earth religious experiences has helped people in South Sulawesi feel that Islamic teachings are not a foreign discourse but are connected to their local identity. *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad's relationship in the transcendental spiritual dimension is formed through the performativity of worship, social testimony of piety, and ethical consistency. Santri and the community feel the serenity and blessings of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad through witnessing the depth of his worship, his simple demeanor, and his devotion. From an articulatory labor perspective, the transcendental spiritual dimension of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad is attained through the ritual of zikr and deep spiritual guidance, both of which are worthy of emulation.

Ultimately, by combining all the dimensions of relationalities found in articulatory labor, it can be concluded that the religious authority of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad is interdependent and productive. The religious authority of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad arises from various relationships that have their own tasks and functions.

In labor, the religious authority possessed by *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad encompasses his various activities as a cleric and grand master at the As'sadiyah Islamic boarding school in studying religious knowledge, teaching, building relationships with the community, and maintaining the relevance of religious teachings in the more flexible socio-cultural context of South Sulawesi society.

The concept of utilizing the religious authority possessed by *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad in managing the As'sadiyah Islamic Boarding School demonstrates a dynamic and relational nature for the community, which consists

of intensive and relevant scientific endeavors, moral exemplarity, social connections, public representation, and the integration of Islamic teachings and traditions.

The first labor made to maintain the religious authority of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad was to transform the knowledge and science that had been taught intensively and relevantly. Cohesive and authoritative religious discourse was disseminated through da'wah activities, recitations, and scientific discussions, which became a relevant arena for building the people of South Sulawesi's trust in the leadership of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad. From an articulatory labor perspective, the continuous production of discourse aims to build a relationship between the scientific legacy of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad and the social reality of society.

The next labor, an important point in maintaining the religious authority of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad, is to emulate his moral example. *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad Asad, known as a simple, disciplined, and consistent practitioner of his religion, has become the standard for his students and followers in moral performativity in society. From an articulatory labor perspective, maintaining good manners in social interactions and religious practices is an articulatory mechanism that can strengthen the South Sulawesi community's perception of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad's piety and suitability as a leader.

The next labor to maintain *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad's religious authority is to build social connections. Students, alumni, and administrators of the As'sadiyah Wajo Islamic Boarding School who have direct or indirect personal relationships with *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad strive to expand these relationships to their families, community leaders, and stakeholders in their respective regions.

From an articulatory labor perspective, the social network built by students, alumni, and administrators of the As'sadiyah Islamic Boarding School aims to enable others to experience the exemplary nature of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad, which they have never had the opportunity to do.

The labor to make *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad a representative of Bugis scholars is an attempt to strengthen his religious authority. *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad's identity, which includes using the Bugis language in his preaching and wearing a sarong, a white turban, a robe, and a cane, is also imitated by his followers. From an articulatory labor perspective, the use of regional language and clothing that imitate *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad can serve as audio and visual markers of the continuity of the tradition of scholarship and of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad's closeness to local values.

The final labor to maintain the religious authority of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H.

Muhammad As'ad was to spread his teachings, which always integrated Islamic values with the local traditions of the people of South Sulawesi. *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad's teaching method, which always sought to present Islam as a teaching relevant to the socio-cultural community, became a means for his followers to open up space for more moderate dialogue on differences.

From an articulatory labor perspective, the efforts of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad's followers to integrate Islamic teachings and the local traditions of the people of South Sulawesi in an argumentative and consistent manner reflect the religious authority of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad, who has inspired their movement. In a series of descriptions of the efforts made by students, alumni, administrators of the As'sadiyah Islamic Boarding School, or followers of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad, a series of collective efforts were carried out systematically, consistently, and continuously. The purpose of these labors is to establish *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad as an authoritative source of legitimacy, accepted and respected by the community.

Religious authority, through the perspective of articulatory labor that elaborates the components of network, relationalities, and labor, becomes a means of shaping the figure of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad as an Islamic scholar who has a major influence in the spread of Islam in South Sulawesi based on the pesantren institution. In terms of networks, the religious authority of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad grew through his connections within the pesantren structure, the santri community, and the network of scholars in South Sulawesi, thereby strengthening his scientific legitimacy and social authority. The relationalities of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad are reflected in the way he builds pedagogical and spiritual closeness with santri and the community through affective and symbolic means. Finally, in the labor component of intellectual discipline, the consistency of preaching and the work of the santri, alumni, administrators of the As'adiyah Wajo Islamic boarding school, and followers of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad affirm his moral commitment and scholarly ethos. Therefore, it can be concluded that the religious authority of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad in the perspective of articulatory labor is always maintained through continuous and meaningful religious practices.

Cultural Da'wah of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad

Cultural da'wah has become an integral part of the spread of Islam carried out by *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad in South Sulawesi. The use of local traditions, such as language and local cultural arts, which were acculturated through Islamic teachings, became part of the spread of Islam carried out by *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad, and later served as a reference for the cultural-based da'wah carried out in various regions by his students.

The cultural da'wah taught by *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad focused more on utilizing elements of local culture to convey Islamic values without eliminating local cultural identities, so that the community could more easily accept them. The messages of da'wah taught by *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad were not rigidly imposed, but rather conveyed through methods closer to the community's cultural interactions, using three approaches: adaptation, acculturation, and cultural accommodation.

In cultural adaptation approach, *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad transformed cultural preaching by adapting the Islamic teachings he acquired while studying in Mecca to the Bugis culture and traditions, aiming to create harmony between the two. *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad, to address changes in the socio-cultural environment. The process of cultural adaptation between cultural traditions and Islam can be seen in the learning process undertaken by *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad, who returned from Mecca and went directly to the Wajo community to observe the socio-religious conditions.

The observations made by *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad were aimed at identifying the root causes of the deviations in faith occurring in society at that time. After finding the answer, *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As`ad did not immediately prohibit these deviations, but gradually conveyed their impact to the community using a rational and cultural approach, making it easy to understand.

Anre Gurutta' K. H. Muhammad As'ad's cultural adaptation approach stemmed from his understanding that Islam has normative flexibility, as evidenced by a series of cultural forms that do not substantially deviate from Islamic law. *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad positioned Islamic teachings as a value system relevant to the philosophy contained in every cultural tradition of the Bugis people. Its indirectly negates Islam and local culture as two entities that exist in a spiritual praxis space that can synergize with each other (Interview Informant 2).

Anre Gurutta' K. H. Muhammad As`ad made the concept of pangadereng (custom) in Bugis tradition an integrative element that could be harmonized with Islamic teachings. This approach was a reflection of cultural da'wah aimed at preventing a dichotomy between Islam and culture, which was a source of tension in the process of Islamization in society. In addition, *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad's process of transforming Islamic learning was mostly carried out using the Bugis language.

The use of Bugis as the community's local language was intended to strengthen the cultural adaptation mechanism implemented by *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad. The Bugis community tends to respect figures who can speak their cultural language with a high degree of flexibility, especially when it is

used to convey moral messages. *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad established himself as part of the Bugis community who understood and lived according to the traditional values of the Bugis tribe. Ultimately, the community sees *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad as a figure from their own world, so that the messages he conveys are more readily accepted.

Finally, in the process of cultural adaptation, *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad has not only made the As'sadiyah Islamic Boarding School a rigid Islamic educational institution, but also a space for the reproduction of Islamic Bugis culture. The students were not only equipped with the knowledge and ability to read classical texts. Still, they were also given an understanding of the urgency of local cultural heritage, which could serve as a medium for spreading Islamic teachings in the community.

The cultural adaptation approach developed by *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad Asad demonstrates that cultural da'wah is an effective intellectual and social strategy for spreading Islamic teachings. He understood that Islamic values can live and thrive when conveyed through the language, symbols, and cultural institutions that they understand and appreciate. Cultural adaptation in the cultural da'wah method carried out by *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad Asad aims to preserve Bugis identity through strengthening Islamic values. It reflects that the process of cultural adaptation in da'wah is more effective when it prioritizes cultural principles aligned with the local community's level of understanding.

In cultural acculturation approach, *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad implemented the results of his careful reading of the socio-cultural structure of the Bugis people. Cultural acculturation is carried out through interaction between two cultures, namely the Arab community's study of Islam and the Bugis community's traditions, without eliminating the characteristics and core identities of each culture.

One form of cultural acculturation practiced by *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad is changing the *balaqah* (sitting in a circle) around a teacher to study and examine Islam, which is a characteristic of the religious learning method in Mecca, to the *mangaji tudang* method (reciting while sitting cross-legged), which is based on the tradition of the Bugis tribe who like to do *tudang sipulung* (sitting together) to find solutions to problems or simply to strengthen friendship (Interview Informant 3). The *mangaji tudang* method ultimately enabled the community to accept the teachings of Islam preached by *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad, as they felt their understanding of religion was not forced upon them but rather the result of a mutual agreement.

Anre Gurutta' K. H. Muhammad As'ad's approach to cultural acculturation in cultural da'wah among the Bugis community is a smart, visionary, transformative inculturation strategy. *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad does

not reject Bugis culture, but rather uses it as a medium for instilling pure Islamic teachings based on education. This cultural acculturation has resulted in synergy between Islamic teachings in accordance with Sharia law and the unique socio-cultural context of the Bugis community. It is what ultimately made the cultural da'wah strategy widely accepted and rapidly developed, with the As'sadiyah Islamic Boarding School becoming one of the bases for Islamic boarding schools that has produced generations of moderate scholars in South Sulawesi.

In the cultural accommodation approach, the spread of Islamic teachings through cultural da'wah carried out by *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad demonstrates recognition, appreciation, and utilization of local cultural values, symbols, practices, and expressions in Bugis society to convey Islamic messages effectively. *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad as a form of respect for the identity of the community as well as an effort to make cultural da'wah a relevant, contextual method of learning Islam that touches on the socio-cultural life of the community.

Anre Gurutta' K. H. Muhammad Asad practices a cultural accommodation approach through a gentle cultural da'wah strategy (*bil hikmah*), a non-confrontational approach to debate (*mujadalah*), and a deep understanding (*mau'idzahtul hasanah*) of the Bugis community's cultural system. The elaboration of the concept of *siri' na pesse* (pride and solidarity) as a form of morality in Islam, a kinship structure that respects elders, traditional cosmology as human nature, and various ritual practices that implement relationships between humans became a means of cultural accommodation that made *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad Asad's da'wah widely accepted and fostered an inclusive religious character in Bugis society.

Therefore, it can be concluded that the cultural da'wah strategy carried out by *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad, and its acceptance by the Bugis community, have created a harmonious cultural accommodation space that preserves their respective cultural identities, thereby minimizing conflict and strengthening social interaction in a multicultural environment.

The three aspects of cultural da'wah carried out by *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad, based on traditional Islamic boarding schools, show that da'wah in the local Bugis community takes the form of adaptation to the traditions, customs, and habits of the local community through a persuasive and harmonious approach to avoid clashes with local culture. *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad's cultural da'wah adapts to the local community's social and cultural context without losing the essence of Islam, through openness and respect for diversity. Ultimately, *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad's cultural da'wah has fostered a friendly atmosphere by respecting the local cultural traditions of the people of South Sulawesi.

CONCLUSION

The religious authority of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad was formed through a combination of traditional, legal-rational, and charismatic authorities that reinforce each other. The religious authority of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad is further strengthened through articulatory labor that elaborates the components of network, relationalities, and labor into a means of shaping the figure of *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad is an Islamic scholar who has had a major influence on the spread of Islam in South Sulawesi, based at the As'sadiyah Sengkang Islamic boarding school in Wajo.

Anre Gurutta' K. H. Muhammad As'ad's cultural da'wah emphasizes that Islam can be spread harmoniously by integrating religious values with the Bugis people's local culture through three approaches: adaptation, acculturation, and cultural accommodation. The use of language, traditions, symbols, and cultural practices as media for cultural da'wah demonstrates *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad's ability to use culture as a bridge to an inclusive understanding of religion. *Anre Gurutta'* K. H. Muhammad As'ad's cultural da'wah approach has succeeded in minimizing conflicts between Islam and culture and creating a moderate religious character in South Sulawesi society.

The limitations of this study lie in its focus on religious authority, which was examined solely in relation to one religious figure, a teacher, and one Islamic boarding school in South Sulawesi; consequently, it does not yet provide a comparative analysis of religious authority amongst religious figures. It is therefore recommended that future researchers investigate other religious figures from the past who utilized religious authority as a means of implementing cultural da'wah within Indonesia. Furthermore, an in-depth study of the religious authority inherent in religious figures at other Islamic boarding schools could also serve as a reference in formulating a da'wah approach relevant to the current condition of Muslims.

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