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Striving for modesty; Fundamentals of the religion and social organization of the Makassarese Patuntung

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STRIVING FOR MODESTY: FUNDAMENTALS OF THE RELIGION AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE MAKASSARESE PATUNTUNG

Introduction

The southern part of the Indonesian province of South Sulawesi is generally regarded as one of the principal centres of Indonesian Islam. Since its arrival in the peninsula dates back to the early 17th century, many studies deal with the impact of Islam on the political structure of the former local kingdoms, as well as with its role in recent religious and social developments. When starting my fieldwork in the former principality (now *desa*) of Kasepekang, which is located in the eastern highlands of *kabupaten* Gowa[1], my primary intention was to examine the present religious situation in a region to which Islam gained access almost 300 years after its diffusion among the Makassar living in the coastal lowlands of South Sulawesi. Since written sources on the area were virtually lacking, I was surprised to find out that the actual influence of Islam on the religious life in Makassarese highland villages was, in fact, rather superficial, while religious concepts as well as rituals were to a great extent still based upon the pre-Islamic religion. In the region under discussion, the latter is referred to as the religion of the Patuntung, or, more exactly, the religious beliefs of people designating themselves as Patuntung. Before giving a detailed explanation of the meaning of this term, I would like to briefly mention the most important written sources that provide some information

[1] Fieldwork in East Gowa was conducted in collaboration with my wife, Birgitt Röttger-Rössler, from April 1984 until March 1985. It was carried out under the auspices of LIPI in Jakarta, and was sponsored by Universitas Hasanuddin, Ujung Pandang. The name 'Kasepekang', which refers to a small *desa* in the eastern highlands of *kabupaten* Gowa, is a pseudonym.

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about these particular people, none of which, however, is concerned specifically with East Gowa. That earlier studies of indigenous communities in the highlands east of Ujung Pandang were very rare was obviously due to the fact that the Dutch colonial administration could not gain access to that region before the turn of the century. On the other hand, there are some earlier records of a distinct form of pre-Islamic Makassar religion which came to be known as the worship of *karaeng lowe*, translatable as 'Great Lord' (cf. Goudswaard 1865; Harrebomée 1875; Kooreman 1883, I: 178, 186, 188). While these sources seem to indicate that the worship of *karaeng lowe* existed throughout the southern coastal regions (such as Bantaeng, for example), there is no indication as to any different form of indigenous religion existing in the highlands around the peaks of Mts Bawakaraeng and Lompobattang. In 1897, Eerdmans, in his essay on 'het landschap Gowa', remarked: 'In het Zuiden, midden en Oosten van Gowa moet naast het Mohammedanisme en de Karaëng-lowé vereering een bizondere eeredienst, die der Patoentoeng, bestaan, welks principes en ceremoniën ik, niettegenstaande herhaalde pogingen, te vergeefs trachtte te ontdekken' (Eerdmans 1897:33). A few years later, the missionary A.C. Kruyt stated incidentally that there were certain 'Makassaren, die den guru patuntung volgen', whom he supposed, due to the fact that Islam was considered to be the dominant religion among the Makassar, to represent the last 'heidenen onder de Makassaren' (Kruyt 1906:401). The first European to endeavour to take a closer look at the Patuntung was W.A. Pénard, who under the auspices of the *Encyclopaedisch Bureau der Buitenbezittingen* described some characteristic features of indigenous religion and social organization in Malakaji/South Gowa, including a brief discussion of Islamic influences. For many years this article was the only source providing detailed information on the Patuntung, while for the area in question in particular it is until now the only ethnographic source on indigenous religion and society. In 1931, the Dutch linguist A.A. Cense wrote a short essay on the Patuntung of Kajang, in the north-eastern part of Bulukumba, pointing out that these groups should be distinguished from other Makassar (Cense 1931:1). This article focuses on a community which even today is commonly regarded as a kind of cultural enclave, in that its members have managed to preserve many features of an almost archaic type of religious and social organization. Although Kajang is located quite a distance from Malakaji, Cense was definitely right in remarking that some of the facts presented by Pénard were presumably open to question (Cense 1931:1-2). As far as I know, Cense was the last Western scholar to concern himself with the study of Patuntung. Further details of the latter's particular type of religion and social organization — which Pénard already described as vanishing rapidly — did not come to light until the late nineteen seventies, when three studies by Indonesian graduate students at the IAIN (Institut Agama Islam Negeri) and PLPIIS (Pusat Latihan Penelitian Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial) in Ujung Pandang shed more light on the Patun-

tung. Ulaen (1978) deals with the community of Onto in Bantaeng. Even if he does not mention the name Patuntung in his work, according to Pénard (1913:518) Onto was, in fact, inhabited by people designating themselves as Patuntung. Renre (1978) makes a comparative study of patterns of belief among the Patuntung in West Sinjai, over against those of Islam. Some of his arguments presumably need to be questioned, however, because they are to a great extent based upon Pénard's article of 1913. Doubtless the most interesting of the three Indonesian studies is the one presented by Usop (1978), which again deals with the community of Kajang. By means of a thorough analysis of oral traditions, Usop succeeds in laying bare a number of fascinating details of the local religion and social organization.

When one considers that of all the sources cited above only one has been published, namely Pénard's article, and that 75 years ago, it becomes evident that our present knowledge about the Patuntung is very scant. Further difficulties arise from the considerable geographical dispersion of the communities hitherto investigated. The most comprehensive list of regions originally inhabited by Patuntung again is given by Pénard (1913:518-519).[2] The following map, which is based upon all the available written sources on the Patuntung, shows the latters' approximate original distribution, as well as the localities where the respective authors carried out their empirical investigations.

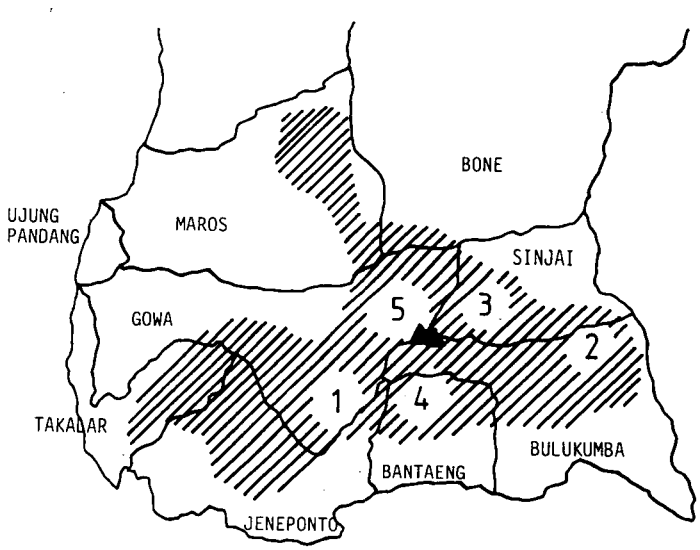
The ethnographical data which are presented in the studies mentioned above are mutually contradictory in many respects. This may be explained not only by the geographical diffusion of the research locations, but also by the fact that all of these locations have undergone different kinds of external cultural influence in the course of time. These influences emanated from the adjacent Buginese areas, as in the case of the communities studied by Pénard, Renre and Usop, or from Islam in the locations investigated by Pénard and myself. While some authors, including Pénard, who in some instances explicitly refers to Islamic concepts (1913:524), are aware of religious influences that give rise to syncretistic patterns of belief, my informants identified some of the terms found in Pénard and Renre as deriving from the Buginese language or, as the case may be, from Buginese religious terminology.[3] Especially for an evaluation of the actual present-day religious life many difficulties are provided by various forms of syncretism in individual patterns of belief as well as in ritual acts (cf. Rössler 1987). I shall therefore not attempt to reconstruct an 'archaic' substratum of religion and social organization among the Patuntung, but shall rather

[2] This list includes names of places in East and South Gowa, North Bantaeng, the northern areas of Jeneponto and Takalar, and a part of Maros. What Pénard referred to as 'W. Goa' should probably be 'East Gowa', since all of the locations he lists under this heading lie in East Gowa.

[3] I obtained these respective sources in Ujung Pandang, and at the end of my fieldwork used them for the purpose of crosschecking the religious terminology.

try to deduce some of the basic principles of these by contrasting my own data with those collected in adjacent areas. In addition, I shall focus upon the question of to what extent cultural patterns in the area under discussion in general, and those in East Gowa in particular, may have been subject to influences from the Makassarese kingdom of Gowa before the arrival of Islam, which in the region studied by me occurred only some 70 years ago.

Map Showing the Original Distribution of Patuntung



1 = area studied by Pénard (Malakaji); 2 = Cense and Usop (Kajang); 3 = Renre (West Sinjai); 4 = Ulaen (Onto); 5 = Rössler (Kasepekang). ▲ = Mts Bawakaraeng/Lompobattang.
The borderlines are those between the actual *kabupaten*

The meaning of the word *patuntung* has been explained in various ways. While according to Matthes's dictionary (1874) a *patuntung* is a 'soort van sanro [traditional religious functionary], die uitsluitend met water geneest', an interesting indigenous interpretation is given in Cense's manuscript (1931:5), where the connected verb *tuntungi* is translated as 'to inquire into' or 'to investigate' (*nagaan, onderzoeken*), namely the religion of Islam. Since it may be doubted if people adhering to a traditional system of belief would designate themselves by reference to Islam, such a popular etymology seems to be of limited analytical value, even though Cense's translation is basically correct. While according to Renre (1978:85) the word in question means 'to always try to bring oneself and one's attention

closer to the land of one's ancestors' (*selalu berusaha mendekatkan diri dan perhatiannya kepada tanah leluhurnya*), perhaps the most satisfactory definition is that given in Usop's study. According to him, both the noun *patuntung* and the verb *annuntung* occur frequently in the oral traditions of Kajang, where a *patuntung* is a person who strives to (*manuntungi*) bring his behaviour into conformity with the basic norms and values of tradition (Usop 1978:45, 79-80). As will be further elucidated below, this does not refer exclusively to the religious domain, but rather to a belief system which cannot be divided into distinct categories like the sacred as opposed to the profane. Consequently, the word *patuntung* is not applied to a specific type of religion as a system of knowledge or to a system of belief *per se*, but instead designates certain individuals (or, taken in a plural sense, a group of individuals) who strive to attain a mode of living that is in accordance with specific beliefs, norms, and values laid down in their oral traditions.

It has been pointed out by various authors that belief systems, or cultural knowledge in general, are necessarily subject to individual variation, so that often there are contradictions in this respect between the different members of a given society (e.g. Keesing 1982:207-209, 244; Schweizer 1988:48). According to them, generalizations such as 'the patuntung belief system' would unwarrantably presuppose the existence of an overall system underlying individual modes of thinking and individual cultural knowledge (cf. Schieffelin 1985:720). On the other hand, however, anthropologists have also attempted to identify general 'moods and motivations' (Geertz 1975:119-122), a general 'world view' and 'ethos' (Geertz 1975:126-127), or recurrent cultural 'themes' as being relevant for all members of a social community. The 'high-level structure' of a belief system, which relates but indirectly to individual variations on its content, may be conceived of as encompassing a shared repertoire of themes, which in turn are defined as cognitive principles used to interpret individual experience and to organize individual behaviour, while at the same time serving as links between 'subsystems of cultural meaning' (Spradley 1979:186-188; Abelson 1973:325). After spending some months among the Patuntung of Kasepekang, I was soon led to the conviction that the idea of being a Patuntung in fact refers to such a high-level belief system comprising specific cultural themes as well as specific patterns in religion, world view, ethos, and norms and values which are conceived of as organizing everyday behaviour. Religion, besides fusing ethos and world view (Geertz 1975:131-137), is closely related with most other domains of the local culture: the belief system of any Patuntung thus is 'religious' in many respects. This is also reflected in the sources cited above, all of which emphasize the religious aspect of the belief system.[4]

[4] The religious aspect of the belief system is also reflected by the Indonesian expression *kepercayaan patuntung*, which is used by strict adherents of Islam when talking about persons still adhering to the old religion.

Although there was no general doubt among my informants about the fact that they traditionally shared a certain belief system, and that before the rise of Islam they had all been *patuntung*, no one could define exactly what it actually was a *patuntung* should strive for. For the region under discussion it goes without saying that, due to the increasing influence of Islam and urban culture, knowledge of the concepts of the old religion is declining rapidly. When analysing various kinds of ritual in detail (cf. Rössler 1987), it becomes apparent that none is performed entirely in accordance with traditional precepts today. Even the word *patuntung* itself is now almost never used in public, since everybody lives in constant fear of being regarded as an adherent of a 'heathenish' faith (cf. Atkinson 1983:684-689). Consequently, a deeper knowledge of the traditional religion today is almost entirely confined to a number of older (mainly female) villagers. They are also regarded as experts on the performance of various kinds of minor rites, even though the latter are attended by many younger people as well.

While Pénard (1913:517) reports how Islam was propagated by force among the Patuntung in the reign of the 32nd prince of Gowa (I Kumala') in the 19th century, Cense (1931:3) and Usop (1978:24,32,46) observed many Islamic influences even among the people of Kajang, who are commonly believed to represent the last genuine *patuntung*. Likewise, Renre argues that a number of features he investigated in West Sinjai were greatly influenced by Islam (1978:81,93-94). As regards the general situation which a contemporary investigator of religious beliefs among *patuntung* faces, further difficulties arise from the fact that most people attempt to explain the fundamentals of their traditional religion by constantly referring to Islamic concepts (cf. Atkinson 1983:685). In order to obtain a reliable picture of indigenous religious concepts, the observer is thus forced to repeatedly check his information against Islamic theology.

As regards the peculiarities of its religious as well as its socio-political history, the eastern mountain area of Gowa contrasts with Kajang in one most significant respect: unlike the latter region, the former was wholly incorporated into the kingdom of Gowa from the 16th century on, and subsequently underwent far-reaching influences from a culture the origins of which lay in the western lowlands. Through an analysis which is based upon data from several communities of Patuntung it should be possible, therefore, to shed some light not only on the remnants of the pre-Islamic religion and social organization in East Gowa, but also on the way in which communities which were originally characterized by a distinctive pattern of religious and socio-political organization were influenced by the politically superior kingdom of Gowa. Notwithstanding the fact that Gowa also exercised political control over Kajang and West Sinjai for some time, its impact on these regions was comparatively slight (Cense 1931:30-31; Renre 1978:93), whereas these areas were dominated for a long time by the Buginese kingdom of Bone. After Kajang had been annexed by Gowa

in the early 16th century, the influence of the latter kingdom on this area is said to have declined again some decades later (Usop 1978:22). By contrast, the areas west of the peaks of Mounts Bawakaraeng and Lompobattang remained part of Gowa until the kingdom was formally dissolved in 1906. While Kajang and the adjacent regions were never integrated into the political structure of Gowa, various small principalities, the political organization of which closely corresponded to that of Gowa, sprang up in the highlands between the west coast and the Bawakaraeng-Lompobattang massif. Furthermore, the inhabitants of these areas very soon came to consider the court culture of Gowa as an ideal standard for many aspects of their culture, including such features as language and *ada'* in general (cf. Pelenkahu et al. 1971:6-7).[5] The fame and political prestige of the kingdom doubtless contributed much to the extraordinary attractiveness of its 'palace culture' in the eyes of the subordinate principalities.

Religious beliefs of Patuntung

Myths concerning the origin of mankind and/or of social communities of Patuntung are invariably related to the relevant territories (cf. Cense 1931:4-5; Renre 1978:100). Though possessing a common basic structure, they vary considerably as regards contents or thematic details. These frequently refer to such figures as Nabi Adang, Nabi Jibrail, Iblis or Setang, and to such concepts as hell and paradise, or other notions taken from Islam (cf. Pénard 1913:520; Cense 1931:4). Nevertheless, there are at the same time many similarities between versions of myths collected by Pénard and myself. On the other hand, the myths from Kajang deviate from the others in several respects. The inhabitants of each region consider their own territory to be the very birthplace of mankind, as well as of the particular socio-political organization which evolved later on. In contrast to the people of Kajang, who regard their specific 'Ancient Land' (*butta toaya* or *tana toa*) as the hub of the universe (Konjo dialect: *possi' tana*; otherwise *pocci' tana*), the inhabitants of the mountain regions in the interior regard the summit of Mt. Bawakaraeng, or, as the case may be, Mt. Lompobattang, as their place of origin. In Kasepekang as well as in Malakaji it is believed that the world was originally covered by an immense ocean, out of which the peak of Mt. Bawakaraeng rose.[6] The world is believed to be surrounded by a realm of indefinite extent. This is called *allaka*: the space between the world and nothingness. *Allaka* is located

[5] As regards dialects, it should be noted that Lakiung, which is spoken in West Gowa, and might also be labelled 'official Makassarese', is considered by the mountain population to be much more refined and elegant than, for example, the local Konjo dialect. *Ada'* is the Makassarese equivalent of Indonesian *adat*.

[6] Cf. Pelenkahu et al. 1971:9; Usop 1978:17-19; Pénard 1913:519; Cense 1931:4. Whether Mt. Lompobattang or Mt. Bawakaraeng is the hub of the universe is dependent upon geographical factors.

neither above (since that is where heaven is) nor below (since that is where earth is). Neither can it be on top of Mt. Bawakaraeng, because it is known that this place does not, in fact, differ greatly from the rest of the world. *Allaka* is governed by the 'Almighty Lord' (*karaeng kaminang kammaya*), who not only is considered to be the most powerful deity, but at the same time is said to have created the world: one day he caused the ocean to recede before creating man and, subsequently, plants and animals.

While according to Pénard (1913:519, 523) and Renre (1978:95-96) the Patuntung ascribe Creation to a deity referred to as Ampatana (cf. Cense 1979:531; *ampatanna*), who is believed either to have created the world himself or at least to have induced Karaeng Kaminang Kammaya to create it, in Kasepekang Karaeng Kaminang Kammaya is considered to be the highest-ranking deity, who exercises supreme control over the entire universe. He is assisted by the 'Lord, owner of the world', Karaeng Patanna Lino, who is believed to have his fixed abode on the peak of Mt. Bawakaraeng. In contrast with Karaeng Kaminang Kammaya, his influence is limited to the guidance of man's fate. While the notions about the highest deity in Kajang do not entirely correspond with those prevailing in Kasepekang (cf. Usop 1978:44-50)[7], the latter seem to resemble closely the ideas entertained by the people of Onto (Ulaen 1978:23, 37). Here Karaeng Kaminang Kammaya is also regarded as the creator and ruler of the universe, though he is believed to dwell on top of Mt. Bawakaraeng. Many beliefs centering around Karaeng Kaminang Kammaya seemingly reveal monotheistic features (Usop 1978:45). This is underlined by the fact that in present-day ritual performances it is very difficult to know whether Karaeng Kaminang Kammaya or Allāh is being referred to. Nevertheless, there are other conceptions which are basically difficult to reconcile with monotheism. For the category of deities (*rihata*) further comprises the 'owners of heaven' (*malaeka' patanna langi'*) and the 'owners of the earth' (*malaeka' patanna butta*), all of whom have distinctive functions in the realm of the supernatural. Notwithstanding the fact that the term *malaeka'* derives from Arabic *malā'ika*, the two categories of divine beings are by no means regarded as angels or spirits, but rather as deities. The 'owners of heaven', who are subordinate to Karaeng Kaminang Kammaya, are believed to dwell in the upper world (*boting langi'*), where they exercise control over the rain and sunshine, while the 'owners of the earth' live below the surface of the earth, where they are in charge of the growth of plants. In addition, there are many similar deities, who are believed to be in charge of specific kinds of plants or animals, such as, for instance, the 'owners of trees' (*patanna kayu*) or the 'owners of cattle' (*patanna sapi*). These latter are addressed particularly in the course of certain rituals

[7] According to Usop (1978:44), in Kajang the highest deity is called *Tau Rie'a A'ra'na*, i.e., 'The One Who Wishes' or 'The One Who Determines'. Renre (1978:96) mentions the term *karaeng kaminang jaria a'ra'na*, which is a combination of the designations current in Kasepekang and Kajang.

performed in compensation for the use of the deities' property by man, for example when trees have to be felled for the purpose of house-building. Man is obliged to utilize plants and animals, since they were created for his specific benefit by Karaeng Kaminang Kammaya. However, he is also required to compensate for his use of the products of nature by providing offerings for the deities as the owners of nature, in order to avoid being struck by calamities such as serious illness or crop failure (cf. Pénard 1913:527).

The macrocosm is conceived of as possessing a tripartite structure. Each part is inhabited by one particular category of deities. The upper world (*boting langi'*) is the realm of the Malaeka' Patanna Langi', while the Malaeka' Patanna Butta dwell in the underworld (*padatiri*; cf. Cense 1979:497, *padatari*). The surface of the world is referred to as *lino*, the centre of which (*pocci' tana*) is Mt. Bawakaraeng, which at the same time is the abode of the 'Lord, owner of the world', Karaeng Patanna Lino. The universe as a whole is subordinate to Karaeng Kaminang Kammaya, who lives in outer space (*allaka*).

The prominent position of Mt. Bawakaraeng in many domains of the religious life deserves special attention. In Kasepekang, as in Kajang and West Sinjai (Usop 1978:30; Renre 1978:105), the facades of houses as well as traditional graves were oriented towards the peak of the sacred mountain. Due to the influence of Islam, as well as to the various consequences of recent resettlement projects, at present such a symbolic orientation of houses and graves no longer is observed. Instead, graves are now constructed according to Islamic precepts, while houses are commonly erected in rows along main roads. On the other hand, the symbolic orientation towards Mt. Bawakaraeng is still very important within the ritual context, so that the implicit intentions of ritual performances may in many cases be inferred from the mere orientation of single sequences.

The fact that Mt. Bawakaraeng is regarded as the hub of the universe, the abode of Karaeng Patanna Lino, and the place where the world was created, has a number of implications for its general significance in the everyday life of Patuntung. It is still very common to ascend the peak to make ritual offerings or to search out secret knowledge (*pa'ngissengang*). In conformity with the rich variety of syncretistic elements in the present-day religious beliefs of the Patuntung, there is a common notion that Mecca was once located on the top of the sacred mountain before it was moved to Arabia. In some areas the traditional 'pilgrimage' to the peak is even referred to as *ha'ji bawakaraeng*, while many Muslims consider it necessary to make offerings at the various sacred places on the summit before making the pilgrimage to Mecca. In addition to these sacred places (cf. P. and F. Sarasin 1905, II:325-326), one of the most important spots in the vicinity of the mountain is the village of the ancestral souls, which is believed to lie in a dense forest, and may only be reached via a narrow pathway leading along a steep slope (*tete anja*). At some distance from this

village there is a market place (*pasara' anjayya*) which is visited exclusively by the souls of the deceased.

All manifestations of the supernatural mentioned so far relate to deities (*rihata*). In everyday life and most of the minor rituals, however, the influence of the ancestral souls is believed to exceed that of the deities. The former's significance is already assessable from the term that is assigned to them, namely *pakammi'na pa'rasangenga*, 'guardians of the village territory'.[8] Notions of the soul among the Patuntung closely correspond to those described by Kruyt (1906:6-8,117), including the concept of two distinct kinds of soul, the first of which (*sumanga'*) animates the whole of nature, including human beings. *Sumanga'* leaves the body during sleep, and disappears at the moment of death. For this reason, the *sumanga'* of man as well as that of animals is commonly associated with breath (*nappasa'*). At the moment of death a second kind of soul emerges: *anja*, the actual origin of which is unknown, or at least uncertain. I could get no information as to whether *anja* is a transformation of *sumanga'* or *nappasa'*, or whether it is of external origin. As a result of the increasing influence of Islam, the concept of *anja* has become even more vague, and the use of the term today is confined to a very few phenomena such as *pasara' anjayya* (cf. above). Recently the notion of *anja* seems to have been replaced by, or modified into, the idea of two distinct categories of supernatural beings, namely benevolent and malevolent souls, both of which are said to emerge from the *anja* of an individual as soon as all of his death rituals have been performed. Accordingly, the *anja* of an individual who during his lifetime has obeyed the rules of *ada'* and who has died a natural death is believed to be transformed into a *jing sallang* ('Islamic *jinn*'), who will subsequently be allowed to live in the realm of the ancestral souls near Karaeng Kaminang Kammaya. By contrast, the *anja* of an individual who has offended against *ada'* several times during his lifetime, who has been murdered, or whose death rituals have not been performed in accordance with the precepts of the traditional religion, is believed to be transformed into a *jing kapere'* (this term, meaning 'unbelieving *jinn*', is borrowed from Arabic *jinn kāfir*), who is condemned to an existence of restlessly straying around and bothering the living. In any case, the latter are required to constantly communicate with either category of souls, since the benevolent *jing sallang* may become angry if they are not regularly presented with offerings, while *jing kapere'*, on the other hand, have to be appeased with offerings in order to prevent them from exercising an evil influence upon the members of the community. In practice, however, the distinction between benevolent and malevolent souls is not as clear as might be supposed from the above, so that the designation of these supernatural beings by Arabic terms is apparently of only a superficial character.

[8] Chabot (1950:45) translates *patanna pa'rasanganga* as 'de Heer van het Land'. Though this Makassarese term is also used in Kasepekang, here it refers to a group of supernatural beings, and there is no notion of any 'Lord of the Land' (cf. below).

Consequently, both terms are usually avoided, and substituted by the neutral term 'guardians of the village territory'.

In order to gain access to the realm of the deities in the form of a *jing sallang* after one's death, it is necessary always to act in conformity with the traditions inherited from the ancestors. In other words, only an individual who has been a true Patuntung (see below) during his lifetime will be allowed to return to the origin of life on Mt. Bawakaraeng. As will be further elucidated below, characterization as 'true *patuntung*' here refers to the ideal structure of the belief system, whereas in practice today it may be applied exclusively to older people. I have not come across any notions of reincarnation such as those mentioned by Usop (1978:48), whereby individuals who have not *manuntungi* during their lifetime are reborn as animals.

There are distinct locations where communication between the living and the souls of their ancestors is considered to be particularly intense, even though offerings may be presented in many places. Apart from the central pillars of houses (*pocci' balla'*), such locations include *saukang* and *pantasa'*, which are still to be found in most villages.[9] In addition each community usually recognizes several specific sacred places that are regularly visited for the performance of rituals. Sacred places in general occupy a very important place in the traditional religion, even though sometimes it seems difficult to isolate any common features from among the numerous ethnographic data concerning these phenomena. According to Cense (1931:4,13-14,20) and Usop (1978:54-55) the sacred grove of Tombolo is of outstanding symbolic importance for the Patuntung of Kajang: it is regarded as the 'Ancient Land' (*butta toaya*), which is periodically visited for the performance of rituals. Doubtless this location occupies the same symbolic position for the people of Kajang as does Mt. Bawakaraeng for other communities, as may be concluded from the fact that in Kajang it is considered necessary to perform a ritual in the sacred grove before making the pilgrimage to Mecca (Usop 1978:54-55). Springs and stones of a specific shape are equally important for the Patuntung of Kajang and those of East Gowa. The same phenomenon is reported by Ulaen (1978:15-18), who remarks that the traditional settlement pattern in Onto was determined to a great extent by the location of sacred places. These may be marked, on the level of the hamlet as well as the *desa*, by stones, trees, or miniature houses. In Onto these latter are called *saukang*, while in Kajang Cense came across a stone called *batu saukang*, which for the local community had the same functions (Cense 1931:21). In Kasepekang the term *saukang* (at least today) is not applied to miniature houses, but rather to big trees and/or piles of stones that are said to be frequently visited by the ancestral souls. These locations, however, neither are regarded as places of origin of mankind, nor are connected with any other

[9] For further details concerning such sacred places see Rössler 1987:82, 155-163.

mythical events. Accordingly, they do not possess any specific symbolic value with regard to the socio-religious system of a community, either, as is obvious in Kajang and Onto. On the other hand, it seems possible that, due to the influence of Islam — or to earlier influences from West Gowa —, the earlier character of *saukang* in Kasepekang has been blotted out. In any case, it is interesting that in this region *saukang* are not conceived of as the abode of an 'owner' or 'guardian of the land', as are those mentioned by Cense (1931:4, *padatinana buttaya*), Ulaen (1978:15, *punnana butta*) and Chabot (1950:45, *patanna pa'rasanganga*). Such notions of a personified supernatural 'owner' of the village territory are absent in Kasepekang. Instead, the real ownership of the land here is attributed to the community of deities called *patanna butta*, who, along with the ancestral souls, exercise joint control over the community's territory.

One of the most significant aspects of the religion of the Patuntung of Kasepekang is the cult of the sacred heirlooms (called *kalompoang*, or *kala'birang*, literally meaning 'magnificence', in the local language). These objects are still very important on the level of individual belief, whereas their socio-political function has now necessarily lost significance.[10] It has to be pointed out that *kalompoang* are obviously of only marginal significance in the communities of Kajang and Malakaji, while in Onto the situation seems to correspond to that in Kasepekang (cf. Ulaen 1978:23,38-39). Apparently there is no ritual centred around sacred heirlooms in Kajang (cf. Usop 1978:51-53). Here the important ritual which is periodically performed in the sacred grove of Tombolo seems to be aimed at the same end as *kalompoang* rituals in East Gowa (cf. Cense 1931:15-20; Usop 1978:52,54). Since the role of *kalompoang* may best be explained through an examination of their former political functions, this aspect will be dealt with further below.

Lack of space allows us to make only some brief remarks about rituals among the Patuntung. The data presented by Renre (1978:107-131) and Usop (1978:51-55) indicate that there is a variety of autochthonous rituals still performed in West Sinjai and Kajang, even if there is little information on their actual significance in everyday life. An analysis of contemporary rituals in Kasepekang clearly reveals that even today traditional religious concepts account for the basic symbolic structure of ritual acts, although the latter are also influenced by many ideas deriving from Islam. On the other hand, in particular the community-wide rituals now have lost much of their former attraction, since they are subject to increasing criticism from political and (Islamic) religious officials. Moreover, due to a general decline in knowledge concerning the performance of traditional rituals, some of them ceased to be performed about 10 to 20 years ago.

There are, of course, several alternative ways of classifying rituals in any

[10] Cf. Rössler 1987:84-90,186-205, and Rössler and Röttger-Rössler 1987, where the significance of *kalompoang* is discussed for the entire *desa* of Kasepekang.

given society. As regards the rituals performed in Kasepekang, I have distinguished between five different categories. They are: 1) Islamic feasts, with which we shall concern ourselves no further here; 2) rituals of the agricultural cycle; 3) protective rituals; 4) rituals in connection with vows; and 5) rites of passage.

Rituals of the agricultural cycle include various kinds of offerings for the benefit especially of the souls of the ancestors and the 'owners of the land'. These rituals are linked to specific periods in the agricultural cycle, and often include symbolic purifications of animals or tools used for cultivation. The terminological variety with respect to these rituals is striking. Even a comparison of terms applied to identical rituals within the former principality of Kasepekang reveals a number of variations.[11] On the general level, agricultural rituals in West Sinjai (cf. Renre 1978:124-126) seem to correspond more closely to those performed in East Gowa than to the rituals of Kajang (cf. Usop 1978:52). Though Usop's list of rituals possibly is incomplete[12], he mentions one particular ritual which again suggests certain parallels between religious patterns in Kajang and Kasepekang. This ritual in Kajang is called *akaharu* ('to purify from evil influences') and is performed in the sacred grove of Tombolo in the event of a crop failure. In Kasepekang similar rituals are performed in the presence of *kalompoang*, which for the local communities evidently have the same symbolic functions as the sacred grove has in Kajang.

Protective rituals, the main purpose of which is to guard man as well as material objects against malevolent supernatural forces, involve many kinds of individual intentions and a variety of modes of performance. They are carried out on the occasions of the construction and the consecration of a house, and when someone has dreamt of a potential threat to his family or property (cf. Rössler 1987:164-180; Usop 1978:51; Renre 1978:126-131). In contrast with the rituals of the agricultural cycle, protective rituals all over the region seem to be more or less influenced by Islamic concepts, in that for instance Allāh or the Prophet is addressed instead of Karaeng Kaminang Kammaya. A fundamental element of many of these rituals is purificatory 'cooling' (*addingingi*) using water mixed with specific herbal ingredients. Cense (1931:16, appendix) remarks that the term which is used to designate 'cooling water' in Kajang, namely *ere pandingingi*, differs from that found in the Makassarese lowlands, viz. *je'ne' passili*. In Kasepekang, the term *je'ne' pa'dinging* is used in this context. Corresponding to the presence here of a mixture of the Makassarese Lakiung, Konjo and Bantaeng dialects, this term points to a close affinity with the Patuntung

[11] The considerable variety of indigenous terms for the designation of agricultural rituals stems in particular from the fact that these by no means are abstract formulations, but for the most part refer to the main sequence in each ritual, which may be denoted in different ways.

[12] This may result from the fact that Usop spent only half a year in Kajang, moving between different locations, and thus could not observe all rituals of the annual agricultural cycle.

of Kajang, since ritual purification in Kasepekang is only referred to as *appasili* in the context of a marginal part of the marriage ritual.

One of the most striking contradictions between the ethnographic records of other communities of Patuntung and my own data concerns the complex of individual vows (*tinja'*). Although the other authors on the area do not deal with this particular phenomenon, aside from some incidental remarks (Pénard 1913:534; Renre 1978:122-123; Usop 1978:52), rituals which are performed on the occasion of making or redeeming a vow are of outstanding significance in the religious life of Kasepekang. Since a lenghty treatment of this aspect is beyond the scope of this article (see Rössler 1987:86f., 181-231; Rössler and Röttger-Rössler 1987), it may suffice to mention that vows are made for three different principal kinds of reason: 1) to prevent calamities; 2) to induce a state of happiness; or 3) to achieve material wealth. In all of these cases the vow is combined with an offering or sacrifice (ranging from some bananas or fowls to a number of water buffaloes) to induce a given supernatural power to support the initiator in his attempt to achieve his aim.[13] In all *tinja'*, an appeal to the spirit of a sacred heirloom, which plays a mediating role between man and the highest deity, is believed to be particularly effective, even though vows may equally well refer to other sacred places or objects. In Kasepekang, this important (many of the local Patuntung would say, the most important) aspect of traditional religion, which may be conceived of as an attempt by man to control his own fate, occupies an extraordinarily prominent position in everyday life.[14] On average, vows are either made or redeemed in the presence of a *kalompoang* three times a week, not to mention the vows connected with other sacred symbols. Doubtless the other ethnographers would have discussed this important aspect of indigenous religion elaborately if it had been equally significant in Kajang, Malakaji and West Sinjai.[15] Thus the symbolic position of sacred heirlooms is obviously much more prominent in East Gowa than in the other regions inhabited by Patuntung. There seems to be some evidence that this particular religious feature is a result of influences from the 'palace culture' of Gowa, which will be further explained in the context of the socio-political aspects of sacred heirlooms below.

In all Patuntung communities, rites of passage are more or less influenced by Islamic concepts, although this applies to a lesser degree to

[13] Vows today are made mostly by women, who in general possess a better knowledge of the old religion than men.

[14] Even though the term *tinja'* is commonly translated into Indonesian as *nazar*, which in turn derives from the Arabic *naḍhr*, the implications of the latter are, in fact, very different from the intentions behind a *tinja'*. While a *tinja'* may be regarded as a utilitarian contract between man and a supernatural power, *naḍhr* in the main involves the consecration of one's self to the glory of God.

[15] Usop (1978:52) mentions different kinds of vows (*tinja'*, *samaja*, *tarabagoro*), but does not even explain the meanings of these terms. If vows were as important in Kajang as they are in Kasepekang, he probably would have discussed this aspect in greater detail.

marriage and death rituals (cf. Renre 1978:111-121; Usop 1978:51). Especially those rites of passage which are performed in the period between birth and adolescence possess many features that are obviously borrowed from Islam, as, for instance, the ceremony of the first cutting of the hair conducted on the 7th or 40th day after birth. However, there are many variations in the performance of this latter ritual. This may be illustrated by a few examples. In Kasepekang, this ritual is called *atturungeng* - a term which refers primarily to the mother's 'descent' from the house at the end of a forty-day period during which she has been subject to various taboos. This particular ritual, which is performed in commoner communities, has to be distinguished from the *tompolo'* ritual as carried out by the local nobility as well as by strict adherents of Islam. While the intentions of both rituals are virtually identical, the performance of a *tompolo'* requires the sacrifice of a goat as well as the recitation of Arabic texts such as the book of Barzanji. Since in a *tompolo'* ceremony the cutting of the infant's first hair is the key act, it is synonymously called *kattere'* ('to cut'). By contrast, in an *atturungèng* the application of a paste consisting of various symbolic ingredients (*pattompolo'*) to the child's fontanel is considered the main ritual act. According to Usop (1978:51), in Kajang the *kattere'* is performed exclusively in the so-called 'outer circle' (*kuasayya*) of the society, which, in contrast to the 'inner circle' (*kamasemasea*) - where the traditional belief system is strictly observed in its 'pure' form -, is influenced by Islam and 'modernity' to a far greater extent.

A similar ritual is performed in West Sinjai (Renre 1978:111), where it is also influenced by Islam, as may be inferred from the principal act of sacrificing a goat. Renre reports moreover that one of the purposes of this ritual is the naming of the child. Although similar notions are to be found in Kasepekang today, here the incorporation of the naming into the *tompolo'* or, as the case may be, the *atturungeng* ritual took place fairly recently. This is testified by the fact that originally every child was only given a name some months, or even years, after its birth. The reason for this was that Makassarese personal names (which for the most part are nouns, verbs, or adjectives) generally denote some characteristic personal quality of the individual concerned, or refer to specific circumstances at the moment of birth.[16] Therefore the element of the naming of the child obviously was not part of the ritual under discussion before the spread of Arabic and Javanese names, which today in Kasepekang have almost entirely replaced traditional Makassarese names.

Another interesting feature is the relationship between the traditional tooth filing on the one hand, and circumcision or (symbolic) excision on the other. The filing of the upper incisors (*ari'*) no longer took place in Kasepekang by the beginning of our century. Whether some form of

[16] Thus a strong boy may be named Gassing, a child who was born on top of a hill Tompo', etc. Before receiving such a definitive name, a child used traditionally to be called by the stereotyped names *baco'* (m.) and *bacce'* (f.).

circumcision or excision was practised before the arrival of Islam is (as elsewhere) difficult to determine.[17] It should be pointed out, however, that in Kasepekang (symbolic) excision is always carried out within the framework of a more extensive ritual, whereas circumcision is a very marginal act, which by many people is not considered to be a ritual at all. Likewise the word used for excision, *akkattang* ('to scrape'), has no connection with any Islamic concepts or terminology[18], whereas such terms as *appasunna'* and *passalang* (Usop 1978:51; cf. Renre 1978:112) obviously do. As a common phenomenon throughout the area under discussion, the 'official' basic intention of the ritual in question is the initiation of boys and girls into the Muslim community, even though there are no definite rules with respect to circumcision in Islam, and children are regarded as virtual Muslims before they have undergone the operation. In contrast with the situation in Kasepekang, tooth filing still seems to be of some significance in Kajang, as well as in West Sinjai. In these areas the primary intention of the ritual is the initiation of boys and girls into the community of Patuntung, after they have been taught the basic principles of religion and *ada'* for some time.[19] It seems doubtful, however, if the symbolic meaning of the ritual under discussion can be satisfactorily elucidated by relying exclusively on the few available ethnographic sources. Thus a thorough analysis of *appasunna'* in Kasepekang revealed that the performance of this rite of passage in particular is subject to extraordinary variation, depending on the respective initiators' religious orientations and social positions. An even greater degree of variation may consequently be expected within a larger number of communities.

The same holds true for the other phenomena hitherto discussed, even though a number of similarities as well as obvious differences between comparable phenomena in different Patuntung communities were to be found. Thus various differences between myths of origin and the relative significance of sacred heirlooms contrast with remarkable parallels in general focus between religious beliefs. The latter concern, apart from the recognition of sacred places, especially the consideration of specific locations as places of origin of mankind. The fact that the peak of Mt. Bawakaraeng is of comparatively marginal symbolic significance in Kajang is in agreement with a statement by Pelenkahu et al. (1971:9) that the 'Ancient Land' occupies the same symbolic position for the (coastal) *konjo pesisir*-speaking communities as the peaks of Mts Bawakaraeng/ Lompobattang for the groups which are linguistically classified as *konjo*

[17] Without citing his sources, Pelras mentions the former practice of subincision (1985:122). This seems to be at the least a very remarkable assertion.

[18] Although Cense (1979:312) suggests that *akkattang* may derive from the Arabic word *khatana*. This latter word, however, refers exclusively to circumcision.

[19] Cf. Pénard (1913:535-536). He remarks that this kind of education (which has parallels with the present Islamic education before the performance of *appasunna'*) was no longer common at the time of his research.

pegunungan, i.e. mountain Konjo. Despite some degree of variation, fundamental religious concepts and cosmological notions, as well as rituals, prove to be very similar all over the area. The exceptions again are the ideas focused upon sacred heirlooms and the relationship between religion and the political organization. Before further examining this latter feature, which, in fact, seems to be of great analytical value for a comparative discussion of cultural patterns in the eastern areas over against those of West Gowa, it is necessary first of all to take a look at some of the basic principles of social organization in Patuntung communities.

Aspects of social organization

Besides religious concepts and rituals, the belief system of the Patuntung pertains to many aspects of social organization. Before discussing some specific features of the social organization of the Patuntung, a few general remarks should be made concerning kinship relations and social ranking.

Village communities in highland Gowa today vary considerably in size. Settlements that are connected by recently built asphalt roads are often inhabited by more than a thousand people, but the majority of villages are considerably smaller, consisting on average of only some thirty houses. Whereas in small, distant villages there are usually ten to twenty people residing in one house, in those settlements which today are accessible by car most houses are inhabited by only one nuclear family, in some cases including individuals who for various reasons do not possess their own houses, as, for instance, a widowed mother-in-law, or a son-in-law. Each village is located within a traditional piece of territory (*pa'rasangeng*) comprising the settlement land, rice fields, gardens, and untilled land. Although the boundaries of each such piece of territory are regarded as being fixed by customary law, they are, in fact, subject to constant change. Differentiated patterns of land tenure are the result of particular principles of the kinship system and local rules of inheritance: in every village there is a number of people who possess fields and gardens in the territory of other villages.

Thanks mainly to the work of Chabot (1950), kinship groups (*verwantengroepen*), membership of which is reckoned bilaterally, have become widely known as the dominant feature of the Makassarese kinship system. Thus, from a theoretical point of view each village territory or cluster of neighbouring villages is inhabited by people belonging to a specific kinship group. Several such kinship groups live scattered throughout the territory; these include the group of the nobility (cf. Chabot 1950:17; Rössler 1987:56). In practice, however, considerable difficulties arise when one attempts to define the boundaries separating these groups. For, due to the fact that kinship is reckoned bilaterally, these overlap each other, so that each would, in fact, encompass countless individuals. The

criteria for the definition of who is a relative and who is not can only be discovered on the individual level. In East Gowa, the *pammanakang* is defined as encompassing any individual's consanguineal relatives, including their spouses, thereby constituting personal kindred, which is a variable category of persons, and not a corporate social entity (cf. Rössler 1987:57-60). The *pammanakang* — membership of which is dependent entirely upon genealogical knowledge — is of particular significance for marriage policy, since a variety of marriage taboos are connected with the distance, or, as the case may be, the proximity of the kinship relation between two given individuals, which in turn is defined with reference to each of these persons' *pammanakang*.

The same term is applied to the comparatively vague category of social relations which Chabot (1967:194) roughly described as the 'core' kinship group, which he supposed to reside in one village or small cluster of villages. The local expression *sikampung sipammanakang*, i.e., one village is one *pammanakang*, indicates that in practice there are closer kinship ties among the inhabitants of a given village than between the latter and the inhabitants of other villages, since marriage to a close relative, who for the most part lives in one's own village, is preferred.

Another important feature of the social organization are the bilateral descent groups (both of commoners and of nobles), which as a general rule are conceived of as social entities composed of the descendants of a particular, real or fictitious, ancestor (cf. Rössler 1987:64-67). Membership of some of these descent groups implies the right of succession to the title of ruler of the relevant principality as well as, on the village level, to the traditional *ada'* offices, i.e., membership of the village government, which in most instances consists of a council composed of three or four members. Special terms are only applied to descent groups which are connected with such a traditional office. So the term *pattola ada'* designates (in the collective sense) a group of individuals possessing the right of succession to an *ada'* office, literally meaning 'successor to *ada*", but being understood in the sense of 'the group of potential successors to one of the traditional offices'. Thus the members of the *pattola karaeng* group (successors to the highest office in the village government) claim to be descendants of the first ruler of the village, who in most cases is believed to be of divine origin (see below). Due to frequent intermarriage, all descent groups are mutually overlapping, so that many people belong to more than one *pattola ada'*, while for the same reason there are various 'degrees of membership' of one or more *pattola ada'* (which are to some extent ordered hierarchically). Therefore, the separation of commoners from the descent group of the local nobility, or the differentiation between descent groups as well as within each group, has resulted in a complex system of social ranks among the population of any particular village (see below). A person's degree of membership of one or more *pattola ada'* is usually only evaluated in specific situations, such as, for example, when

a decision has to be made about who will replace a deceased member of the *ada'* council.

All these aspects of the social system are found both in the stratum of the commoners and in that of the nobility. For centuries the former principality of Kasepekang was ruled by a noble *karaeng*, whose family is still regarded as dominating the political situation in the actual *desa* of Kasepekang. In contrast with other Makassarese areas, some of the traditional (commoner) village heads also hold the title of *karaeng*, while others in equivalent positions are called *gallarang*, *anrongguru*, or *to'do'*. Subordinate to the noble *karaeng* was, and symbolically still is, a council called *ada' sampulo anrua* ('the twelve *adat*'), meaning that it consisted of the twelve most influential village rulers. With respect to the following, it should be pointed out that the principles of kinship organization, social rank, and myths legitimating political authority are basically the same among both commoners and the nobility.

Communities of Patuntung that might be said to be 'integrated' social entities are relatively small in size, since the inhabitants of virtually every village, at least in East Gowa, regard their religious beliefs as well as their mode of social organization and *ada'* as being in several respects different from those of adjacent villages, though the differences may in practice be negligible. While for Kasepekang this phenomenon may again be explained from the prominent position of sacred heirlooms (which are in symbolic competition with each other; cf. Chabot 1950:68-70), the communities of Kajang provide an example of the basic premise that cultural identity among Patuntung is commonly confined to comparatively small social groups. Moreover, the aspect of territoriality accounts for the establishment of certain boundaries between religious systems of a slightly different orientation, to the extent that especially the influence of the ancestral souls is believed to be restricted to the territory that is inhabited by their descendants. Finally, the various kinds of sacred places mentioned above also possess distinctive characteristics in each different village territory. This also holds true for *kalompoang*, which even in communities of commoners not only are considered to be of differing rank, but also are distinguished in terms of their alleged origin. While this latter phenomenon is of only marginal significance in matters of religious belief, it is very important with respect to the establishment and legitimation of political leadership, as well as for the socio-political structure of each community.

Some of the myths concerning the origin of political leadership in Kasepekang closely resemble those of the great Makassarese and Buginese kingdoms. The basic idea is that a long time ago the relevant community was in a state of chaos and confusion because political authority was lacking. According to many oral traditions (there are no written historical accounts in East Gowa), the creation of governmental institutions in most villages, as well as in the principality as a whole, was the result of the appearance of a divine princess who descended from the peak of

Mount Bawakaraeng. She was installed as ruler, was married, and had children with her (human) husband, so that she became the female founder of the ruler's descent group, *pattola karaeng*. Needless to say, such traditions have obvious parallels with the well-known myths of *tumanurung* ('The descended') who are the supposed founding ancestors of the noble stratum in the Makassarese and Buginese kingdoms. On the other hand, however, the term *tumanurung* is not as a rule applied to such divine princesses in Kasepekang, nor are these oral traditions accepted as true by all parts of the community. Rather, there usually are several mutually contradictory versions of myths concerning the establishment of political leadership, most of which do not refer to a divine *tumanurung*, but instead to a 'secular' origin of governmental institutions. As I have demonstrated by reference to one village community in Kasepekang, such contradictory oral traditions correspond closely to membership of distinct bilateral descent groups. While myths about the divine origin of the first (mostly female) ruler are necessarily narrated by the members of the current ruler's descent group (*pattola karaeng*), emphasis on other myths or legends is frequently found among the members of other descent groups with a view to elevating their rank in the community.[20]

As a general rule, however, oral traditions relating to the origin of political leadership in East Gowa are nevertheless very similar to those from other regions inhabited by Patuntung. Ulaen (1978:21-23,37-39) mentions a *tomanurunga ri Onto* who once solved the social confusion prevailing in the relevant community. He at the same time emphasizes that this *tomanurung* should be distinguished from those of Gowa or Bone, not only because of the fact that the *tomanurung* of Onto was a male divine being, but also because, after handing over the *kalompoang* to his successor, he disappeared again without having married, so that there are no people in Onto who can claim direct descent from a divine ruler. A similar myth is reported from Kajang (Usop 1978:19-21). It emerges from the text, however, that these traditions were apparently influenced by myths from West Gowa.

Myths concerning the origin of political leadership in communities of Patuntung point to supernatural as well as secular aspects. Both of these are represented in the symbol of the *kalompoang*. These objects, which may be of various shapes, are handed down from ruler to ruler. They legitimate political authority, since they are believed to originate from *tumanurung* who left them on earth after ascending to heaven again, whereafter the latter's descendants took charge of the objects, regarding them as sacred heirlooms invested with supernatural power.

According to my data from Kasepekang, it is the spirit of the divine

[20] Cf. Rössler 1987:145,157,184-5. 'First rulers' are also represented as brave princes from adjacent principalities. Or rulers are said to have been lured from other villages with the promise of some rice fields. In other cases wise men or hermits are believed to have created the institution of government.

princess that is believed to dwell in the *kalompoang*, so that governing power is effectually exercised by a supernatural being. All descendants of a *tumanurung* who have in the course of history held the title of (commoner or noble) *karaeng*, were regarded as mere earthly agents of the institution of government. This is further underlined by the fact the '*karaeng*'s house' is not necessarily the house in which the actual ruler resides, but rather is the house in which the sacred heirloom is kept. Besides representing the institution of government, the spirit residing in the *kalompoang* — which is referred to as its 'essence' (*alusu'na kalompoanga*) — fulfils a mediating role between man and the supreme deity *karaeng kaminang kammaya*. This is the central concept underlying some of the most important rituals in Kasepekang, as was mentioned above. Therefore, the spirit of a *kalompoang* is of paramount importance in a twofold sense: it not only represents the institution of government, but also is the most powerful medium one may use to appeal to the highest deity.

Even though the *karaeng* is the executive agent of supernatural power — after all, he is believed to be the descendant of a divine being —, he may be replaced by another member of the *pattola karaeng* if it can be demonstrated that for various reasons he can no longer guarantee the welfare of the community. The traditional functions of the commoner village *karaeng* relate to all aspects of *ada'*: he is supposed to be the leading figure in village politics, litigation, and marriage negotiations (in particular with representatives of other villages), and further has a prominent role in community-wide rituals, which always involve the symbolization of the institution of government. In Kasepekang, a *karaeng* (according to *ada'*) is not allowed to speak in public. His arguments and decisions were put forward instead by the *gallarang*, representing a kind of executive body in the village government.

Since they are believed to originate from divine princesses, the political significance of *kalompoang* is confined to communities that recognize the former rulership of a *tumanurung*. There is no evidence as to a similar symbolic value of *kalompoang* in West Sinjai, even though Renre (1978:97) mentions certain sacred objects that are kept in quite a similar fashion to that in which *kalompoang* are kept in Kasepekang. In Onto, on the other hand, *kalompoang* seem to be as closely connected with political leadership as they are in Kasepekang or West Gowa (Ulaen 1978:38-40; cf. Chabot 1950:67-73). According to local traditions from Kasepekang, the title of *karaeng* originated fairly recently both among commoners and the nobility, while former leaders held such titles as *dampang* or *anrong-guru*. The origin of the title *karaeng* here is commonly attributed to early contacts between local rulers and the court of Gowa. That the political significance of sacred heirlooms in communities of Patuntung may also be attributable to Gowarese influence seems to be suggested by Usop's observations in Kajang. According to these, the local *ada'* leader (*amma toa*, see below) some centuries ago went to the king of Gowa to ask for

a *kalompoang* whereby political authority would be established, and henceforth legitimated, in Kajang (Usop 1978:21). The governmental structure which resulted from the advent of *kalompoang* in Kajang was necessarily quite similar to that of the Gowarese kingdom. Doubtless as a result of the introduction of *kalompoang*, the political organization which evolved in Kajang now was based upon a fusion of religious and social ideas. It showed a tendency towards greater complexity in that it now comprised a number of offices connected with both the religious and the social domain in community life.[21]

The most prominent leader of the Patuntung of Kajang is the 'old father' (*amma toa*)[22], who takes care of religious as well as political affairs, particularly in the so-called 'inner circle' of the community (Cense 1931:23-26; Usop 1978:56-57). His outstanding authority stems from the fact that, according to some local oral traditions, his original predecessor founded the community of Kajang. According to yet other versions of the myth, he appeared after some *nabi* and *sanro* had acted as political leaders (Usop 1978:17; Cense 1931:5,23). Cense further remarks that, although the actual extent of the *amma toa*'s authority before the arrival of the Dutch is very difficult to assess, his influence in the 'inner circle' was still considerable in his time. The latter statement is corroborated by Usop (1978:25), almost 50 years after Cense's analysis.

Among the traditional political institutions in Kajang, it is worth mentioning, besides the function of the *amma toa*, the two councils, namely that of the 'three rulers' (*karaeng tallua*) and that of the 'five *adat*' (*ada' limaya*). Each of these fulfilled specific functions within the total structure of the community. The *karaeng* of Kajang, who was in charge of the *kala'birang* (synonym of *kalompoang*), could be substituted by the other two *karaeng*, in spite of the fact that all three lived in different places.[23] The subordinate council, that of the 'five *adat*', consisted of five *gallarang* (see above), whose main political concerns at the time of Cense's observations (1931:27) were marriage and initiation rituals. The *ada' limaya* were headed by the *galla' pantama*, whose functions related in particular to jurisdiction, and who was regarded as the 'first-born of the *amma toa*, the

[21] Cense (1931) does not deal with the facet of *kalompoang* at all. He mentions, however, that the *amma towa* received a lance from the king of Gowa, 'die nog steeds als waardigheidsteeken van den Ammatoa wordt bewaard' (1931:31). This tradition is probably essentially identical with the one recorded by Usop (1978:21). Pénard (1913:522-523) presents a somewhat confusing legend concerning the *kalompoang* of Gowa, which here is said to be of major significance for 'the *patuntung*'. Apparently this legend, which is in addition fused with the history of Islam in South Sulawesi, has to be seen as an account of former contacts between Malakaji and Gowa.

[22] In all Makassarese dialects except Konjo and Bantaeng *amma* means 'mother'.

[23] Cf. Cense 1931:23-27; Usop 1978:21-23,46,100. Cense's and Usop's statements about the composition of the *ada' limaya* and the *karaeng tallua* differ, mainly as regards the names of their respective residences. In some cases, however, Cense himself gives different versions of these names, obviously as a result of divergent information.

right thigh of the *karaeng*' (Usop 1978:64, my translation). Obviously these councils have some structural features in common with the organization of noble *karaeng* and commoner village rulers respectively in Kasepekang. For the position of the *karaeng* is identical in both areas, while the *ada' limaya* (consisting of five *gallarang*) in Kajang corresponds to the *ada' sampulo anrua* (consisting of twelve functionaries holding a variety of titles) in Kasepekang.

Usop (1978:21) argues that this political structure closely corresponds in pattern to that of Gowa, and that it probably arose after the influence of that kingdom had extended towards Kajang. This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that the *kala'birang* which symbolically legitimates the authority of the *karaeng* of Kajang originated from the court of Gowa (Usop 1978:21,46,58). In contrast to its obviously marginal significance in the religious domain, the importance of the sacred heirloom of Kajang thus appears to be quite considerable as regards the definition of the area's political identity. In this connection it should be noted that the people of Kajang regard their territory as the centre of the world, which is (or was) believed to range from the 'inner' through the 'outer circle' to such distant regions as Bone, Luwu', Lombok, Sumbawa, and Ternate (Usop 1978: 56-58).

The *amma toa* of Kajang is acknowledged to be the highest local authority as regards matters of *ada'*, socio-religious leadership, and general morality. Being superior to the *karaeng* and *galla' pantama*, he is the protector and controller of the community, especially with respect to the moral and spiritual aspects of social life (Usop 1978:63-64,81). On the other hand, the functions of the *karaeng* here are confined to the political sphere: it is explicitly stated that the *karaeng* in Kajang not only is installed, but also is supported, controlled and guided by the *amma toa*, while his functions concern exclusively matters of 'secular leadership' (Usop 1978:46,81; Cense 1931:25).

Religious functionaries among the Patuntung are referred to as *sanro, guru patuntung* or *anrong pa'balle lompoa*. The office of *sanro*, which is also mentioned in the myth of origin from Kajang (Cense 1931:4-5), seems to occupy a marginal position here, since the *amma toa* himself exercises the supreme control over spiritual and moral affairs (cf. Cense 1931:28). The *sanro*'s functions, like those of the *karaeng tallua* and the *ada' limaya*, do not extend beyond the 'secular sphere' of the community's life (Usop 1978:81). Thus, all of these latter offices are regarded as being related to the earth, whereas only the *amma toa* is associated with heaven. In contrast to the *karaeng* and the *ada' limaya*, however, the *sanro* in Kajang was expected to establish communication with the deities in order to maintain or restore the balance of nature, at least before the decline of his authority as a result of the increasing influence of Islam. It was his task to ritually prevent droughts or heavy rains which could threaten the harvest (Usop 1978:46,80-81). The terms *anrong pa'balle* (*lompoa*) ('(great) mother of

healing') and *guru patuntung* seem to be common for the same type of functionary in Southeast Gowa and West Sinjai (Pénard 1913:528; Renre 1978:107; cf. Kruyt 1906:401). In Onto the term *pinati*, which is also mentioned by Pénard (1913:529) as designating a subordinate kind of priest, is used synonymously with the term *sanro* (Ulaen 1978:17). This may be a result of external influences, however, or again may be a further indication of basic differences between Onto and the other areas under discussion. For, according to all the other sources, including my own information, the designation of religious functionaries by the term *pinati* is not common among Patuntung, but is rather so in the western lowland communities (cf. Chabot 1950:62-63). Among the Patuntung of East Gowa, Malakaji, and West Sinjai, a *pinati* is not directly concerned with religion, but instead is a member of the *ada'* council who is responsible for the continuity of the community's existence through the exercise of control over all agricultural matters, such as the coordination of irrigation and the work in the fields, and the settling of disputes over land tenure (cf. Pénard 1913:530; Renre 1978:135). By contrast, religious functionaries in the villages of Kasepekang are referred to as *sanro*; they are at the same time considered as experts in the performance of rituals. In general, there is one *sanro* in each village. He guides the performance of the community-wide rituals of the agricultural cycle, *tompolo'*, mortuary rituals, and rituals connected with the *kalompoang*. With respect to these latter, however, a *sanro*'s powers are limited, in that he is not allowed to perform ritual acts in the room in which the sacred object is kept. Such rituals are carried out by special functionaries — sometimes women — charged with the task of looking after the symbol legitimating the *karaeng*'s leadership.[24] In contrast to the other *adä'* officials — such as *karaeng*, *gallarang* or *pinati* — *sanro* for the most part are not considered to be members of a distinct descent group (cf. Rössler 1987:64-67). They are rather installed as ritual experts because of their extraordinary qualities in the field of communication with the realm of the supernatural. This is notwithstanding the fact that such knowledge is frequently handed down from father to son, or from mother to daughter. *Sanro* may be immediately replaced if their powers are felt to be no longer effectual, in contrast to the functionaries who are in charge of a *kalompoang*, who as a general rule may not be replaced during their lifetime. In Kasepekang there is no traditional superior religious authority besides the religious officials who are exclusively concerned with *kalompoang* on the village level, who would correspond to the *amma toa* in Kajang. It seems at least possible that such a superior social and religious *ada'* authority disappeared as a result of the emergence of the institution of *kalompoang* some centuries ago. These latter became much more widespread and important in Kasepekang than in Kajang,

[24] There are also a number of female *sanro* in Kasepekang. According to my information, the sex of a religious official makes no difference to the local population.

since the former region was for centuries incorporated into the political structure of the kingdom of Gowa, which also centred around a *kalompoang*. In this context it should also be mentioned that, according to Cense (1931:14), the transvestite religious functionaries (*bissu*) who at the Buginese (and probably also Makassarese) courts were in charge of the sacred heirlooms, in Kajang were prohibited from entering the 'inner circle'. Although Cense unfortunately fails to indicate whether this may have been due to the *bissu*'s specific behaviour — which probably did not accord with the basic norms of morality prevailing in the 'inner circle' of Kajang —, this prohibition again may be explained by the marginal role played by sacred heirlooms in this area.[25]

It can nevertheless be concluded with regard to the general pattern of religious and political leadership in Kajang as compared with that prevailing in East Gowa that both are basically identical, notwithstanding the fact that in Kajang the *amma toa*'s influence traditionally far exceeded that of any functionary in East Gowa. In both regions, however, community structures are governed by a symbolic dualism between political authority on the one hand and religious leadership on the other. While in Kajang this dualism exists between the *amma toa* as the highest-ranking authority in matters of morality, religion and *ada'*, and the *karaeng* as the representative of political power, in Kasepekang it is found to exist between the *karaeng* and the religious officials in charge of the sacred heirlooms legitimating his authority. Among Patuntung, any kind of leadership — and thus also political leadership — is believed to be entirely dependent upon the will of the deities. The relationship between the members of the community, their political leader, and the supernatural world is one of mutual interdependence. For life *per se* as well as social and political institutions are considered as deriving from supernatural beings, with whom in turn frequent contacts must be maintained in order to safeguard the continuity of man's existence.

Even though the theoretical concept of balance or equilibrium has proved of dubious value for anthropological analysis, Patuntung constantly refer to a state of balance when talking about the 'ideal model' of their community. For this reason, oral traditions are especially concerned with acts and beliefs that might potentially 'offend', 'disturb', or 'confuse' the social and religious order. Norms and values as transmitted through oral traditions (*pasang*) are of paramount importance, and it may be concluded from the data presented by Usop (1978) that such *pasang* essentially refer to a complex, integrated whole of social morality, or to the 'ethos' and 'world view' of Patuntung (cf. Geertz 1975:126-127). Due to the specific situation in Kajang, oral traditions are held in particularly high esteem by the local Patuntung. Perhaps for this reason Usop has

[25] For a brilliant analysis of the phenomenon of *bissu* see Hamonic 1987. Chabot (1950:154) mentions that in 1939 an old *bissu* was in charge of the *kalompoang* of Gowa. It should be noted, however, that *bissu* are unknown in the eastern highlands of Gowa.

succeeded in collecting a number of traditions which in other Patuntung communities — including those of Kasepekang — no longer are explicitly told in this way, though their underlying principles may still be recognized as a 'message from the ancestors' (*pasang turiolo*), which reveals how Patuntung reflect on their own society and culture. According to some *pasang* in Kajang, a Patuntung is a person who *manuntungi-i kalambusanna na kamase-maseanna* (Indonesian: *yang menuntut kejujurannya dan kebersahajaannya*, Usop 1978:45), i.e., who strives after honesty and modesty, both of which qualities should be possessed particularly by political and religious functionaries. The pursuit of these ideal values is not to be regarded as a simple activity of limited duration, but rather as a continuous process throughout everyone's lifetime, so that it constitutes one of the most important cultural themes among Patuntung. It is a cognitive principle used to organize everyday behaviour, as well as to relate this to the realm of the supernatural (cf. Spradley 1979:186-188). Basic norms and values are considered as being laid down by the highest deity, *karaeng kaminang kammaya*. Social behaviour which is in accordance with these norms and values is a necessary prerequisite for every person's happy existence on earth, as well as for the welfare of his soul after death. Conversely, violations of norms or offences against the social order are believed to be subject to sanctions from the deities during one's lifetime. Moreover, they account for a miserable destiny for the soul in after-life, in that it will not be given access to the realm of the ancestors. How to lead a life in accordance with *ada'*, how to behave in a way that will be appreciated by *karaeng kaminang kammaya* — in other words, how to become a veritable Patuntung — is explicitly explained in various *pasang*. In Kajang, the true '*patuntung*-ness' (Usop 1978:80, *ke-patuntung-an*) of an individual who has lived in accordance with the precepts of tradition for a long time is officially confirmed ('*diresmikan*') by the *amma toa* within the framework of an initiation ritual. Since, besides the deities, the ancestral souls are supposed to exercise considerable influence upon their descendants' destiny, traditions inherited from the ancestors are regarded as guidelines for human behaviour. Norms and rules of conduct are expressed in such traditions as *a'lamba' leko' ampinawang tanrere'na*, i.e., '(always behave like) betel leaves that grow up by tightly twining around a bamboo cane'. These symbolically define the standard of behaviour as established by the ancestors, which thenceforth served as a basic, normative framework for the living.

Some of the normative rules concern taboos[26], which again are most explicitly formulated in Kajang, even though their recognition seems to be declining in that region, too. The same applies to Kasepekang, where I recorded a number of taboos that closely resemble those from Kajang, but

[26] According to Usop (1978:49) and Cense (1931:11), the word for this in Kajang is *kassipalli*, while in Kasepekang it is *a'līng*.

which were also said to be no longer observed today. In both areas there are various taboos in connection with the utterance of certain words designating living beings or material objects such as daggers or swords. While according to Cense (1931:11-13) and Usop (1978:34) these taboos concern mainly names deriving from the Islamic tradition — and therefore may be interpreted as a sign of disapproval of Islamic influences —, in Kasepekang paraphrasing of the words for objects is commonly confined within the framework of secret societies (*tareka'*), where the relevant skill is considered one of the major accomplishments of persons possessing secret knowledge (*pa'ngissengang*).[27] It seems possible, however, that part of the knowledge which today is preserved by secret societies formerly formed part of the shared knowledge of the wider society, as in the case of Kajang.

Another prominent characteristic of the community of Kajang, especially its 'inner circle', is the extraordinary austerity of the material culture, which corresponds with the general attitude on egalitarianism and conservatism here (cf. Usop 1978:66-70). Thus, there are a number of traditions prescribing the wearing of plain dress (which moreover should be black), while there are others prohibiting kerosene lamps, as well as gambling and music, spiced food, or other activities and objects attributable to 'external' or 'modern' influences.[28] While these taboos still seem to be observed to a certain degree in Kajang, they are no longer significant in Kasepekang. This is notwithstanding the fact that the extremely austere material culture and the almost complete absence of performing arts in the latter region again point to a close relationship with the culture of Kajang.

The basic values of simplicity and modesty are reflected in a general emphasis on social egalitarianism among Patuntung. This contrasts particularly with the rigid distinctions of social rank (and economic wealth) found in the lowland/West Gowarese communities, which are commonly cited as representing the principal characteristics of 'Makassar society'.

Differences in rank are especially marked between the members of the commoner stratum and those of various substrata of the nobility (cf. Friederici 1933). Moreover, there are various factors making for more or less subtle differences in social rank between commoners. As was indicated above, perhaps the most important criterion for measuring social inequality is genealogical descent. Members of one of the *pattola ada'*, for instance, are higher in rank than persons not related to such a descent group. While in Kasepekang the *pattola ada'* are hierarchically ordered among themselves to some extent (so that membership of the *pattola*

[27] Examples of this are given by Usop (1978:34). A wild boar, for instance, would be called *a'lampabangngi*, i.e. 'walks by night'. I could not obtain any comparable data, since it is almost impossible in Kasepekang to obtain even basic information about secret societies.

[28] Cf. Usop 1978:40,70; Cense 1931:11-13. Usop (1978:40) mentions the use of musical instruments which, according to Cense (1931:11-12), are held to be taboo in the 'inner circle'. This may perhaps again be attributable to recent changes.

karaeng, for example, is considered to confer higher rank than membership of the *pattola gallarang*), the 'degree of membership' of any particular group or groups (see above) accounts for further differences in rank. Thus — to give a very simple example — someone whose father and mother's father both possessed the title *karaeng* is considered to be of higher rank than somebody who has only distant kinship ties with former or present *karaeng*. People of very 'pure descent' — which is an important qualification for *karaeng*ship — occupy prominent positions in the community. This can be measured for instance by the degree of authority that is assigned to them in public discussions. Differences in rank are explicitly taken into account in appointments to certain offices, and in marriage policy, since a whole family's social position is believed to be lowered by a marriage of one of its members to someone of lower social rank.

Compared with social rank and esteem (*aanzien*, Chabot 1950:78-98), material wealth is of less importance in the evaluation of a person's social position. A rich man who owns twice as many fields and cattle as the majority of the population will not occupy a prominent position if his social rank and/or esteem are considered to be low. On the other hand, even poor individuals of high rank by descent are usually regarded as respectable members of the community.

In contradiction with these criteria accounting for differences in rank as well as in material wealth among Patuntung, many oral traditions suggest that such inequality is not in agreement with the ideal pattern of a Patuntung community. According to my information from Kasepekang, marked differences in material wealth were doubtless the result of recent developments (after 1950), such as the increase in trade contacts, the resettlement of villages, or the rise in paid work either in administrative functions or in agriculture. It seems likely that particularly the attitude of younger people towards working for wages will lead to a greater significance of material wealth in the evaluation of social position — a state of affairs which according to older people was completely unknown some thirty years ago. However, the contradiction between actual social rank differences on the one hand, and social equality as claimed by many traditions on the other, obviously requires a different explanation.

Viewed against the general characterization of South Sulawesi societies as being rigidly stratified, the fact that especially the political dominance of the nobility among the Patuntung of Kasepekang does not seem to have come about before the incorporation of the region into the kingdom of Gowa is noteworthy. Likewise in Kajang, the emergence of a (noble) political elite as well as the development of a marked social stratification in the 'outer circle', according to an oral tradition (Usop 1978:21,26-27), was the result of contacts with the kingdom of Gowa. Both in Kajang and in Kasepekang it is still considered an offence against *ada'* to address a commoner by the noble title *daeng* (Makassarese) or *puang* (Buginese) (cf. Cense 1931:12). Even though the formulation of this tradition might

equally be interpreted as representing an institutionalized delimitation of the commoner stratum vis-à-vis the nobility, my (commoner) informants constantly insisted that this *ada'* precept primarily referred to the egalitarianism of Patuntung village communities. According to another tradition in this connection, nobles from the court of Gowa should not be treated as superiors if they should enter the villages of Kasepekang, while even the king of Gowa (*Somba ri Gowa*) should not be allowed to enter any village in the region on horseback. The former political superiority of Gowa is fully acknowledged by Patuntung, but there is nevertheless a strong consciousness of Patuntung cultural autonomy, which could never be destroyed by external influences (cf. Usop 1978:58).

The introduction of sacred heirlooms into Patuntung village communities in Kasepekang necessarily resulted in the emergence of a nobility and, as far as the commoner stratum is concerned, the creation of new *ada'* offices, the recognition of certain descent groups the members of which are eligible for these offices, and, consequently, an increase in social differentiation, since especially the members of the *pattola karaeng* group came to occupy higher rank positions than the majority of the population. This is reflected in various features of the social life, such as the higher sums of money spent (*balanja*) on weddings, the privileged seating positions during rituals, the specific rules of linguistic etiquette, the privileges with regard to touching the *kalompoang*, and so on. To date, further differentiation has resulted from the fact that (in Kasepekang as well as in Kajang) formal offices such as that of village head (*kepala kampung*) are almost exclusively assigned to members of the *pattola karaeng*, while *kepala desa* and *camat* are expected to be members of the local nobility (cf. Usop 1978:24-26). Comparable privileges are granted to the members of other *pattola ada'*, though less so than to persons who can claim descent from the first *karaeng*. Before the appearance of this latter office, which in Kasepekang is closely connected with the introduction of *kalompoang*, village government was exercised by other leaders, such as *gallarang*, *dampang*, etc. (see above). It seems likely that the emergence of these offices, which neither in Kasepekang nor in Kajang were linked to sacred heirlooms, also resulted in social rank differentiation. However, doubtless the introduction of *kalompoang*, *karaeng*, and, in some villages, specific functionaries for tasks in connection with the sacred objects (cf. Friedericy 1929:367-369) brought about a considerable decline in social egalitarianism (cf. Usop 1978:21,46). Even though rank differences are in contradiction with the principle of equality as formulated by Patuntung oral traditions, this is not the case with the principles of modesty and honesty, since high social rank by no means implies a different mode of behaviour, or differences in the general belief system. Individuals occupying high social positions are expected even more to behave in a modest way and to observe an unpretentious life style than people of lower rank.

It was argued above that a soul which for various reasons could not gain

access to the realm of the ancestors near *karaeng kaminang kammaya* is not necessarily at the same time a thoroughly 'bad' soul, since its destiny is basically the same as that of the soul of an individual who has died a 'bad death'. By contrast, violations of taboos and offences against fundamental rules of conduct or against the social order are believed rather to be punished in this world. Most disturbances of the macrocosm, such as crop failures, severe illness, sudden deaths of young people, etc., are considered to be the result of offences against *ada'*, be these in the form of the 'wrong' performance of a ritual, a prohibited marriage alliance, or other errors in everyday life. The emphasis on punishment in this life rather than punishments or rewards after death corresponds with the ideas underlying the principle of the vow (*tinja'*): if a given individual does not redeem a vow during his lifetime, it is not his soul that will be condemned to a miserable existence after his death. Rather, his descendants will be constantly reminded of their ancestor's error in that they will be afflicted by calamities. Therefore the very principle of *manuntungi*, i.e., striving to achieve a mode of life which is in accordance with specific beliefs, norms and values, seems to focus upon a *do ut des* relationship, in which the fate of the soul after death seems to be of but secondary significance. To be a *patuntung* above all means to strive after values that are relevant for life within a social community, with every individual's fate being believed to be primarily dependent upon his or her personal conduct, and but indirectly upon the will of the deities. A young villager from Kasepekang told me: 'Muslims always have to act in accordance with the Islamic faith. But to be a *patuntung* actually has not much to do with religious belief; it is rather a fundamental attitude, a way of living'. What he was trying to say was that 'to be a *patuntung*' refers to a complex belief system as described above, which for the Patuntung themselves may not be divided into 'profane' beliefs on the one hand, and 'sacred' beliefs on the other. Ethos, world view, norms and values for a Patuntung are at the same time related to the social world he lives in and to the realm of the supernatural.

Other cultural features

When comparing the geographical dispersion of the Patuntung as sketched above with that of the Makassarese Konjo dialect as delineated by Pelenkahu et al. (1971:5), it becomes apparent that the two areas to a large extent coincide with one another. The linguistic hypothesis according to which the Konjo-speaking Makassar are the modern representatives of the 'Proto-Makassarese' culture (Pelenkahu et al. 1971:8) would therefore seem to suggest that the cultural phenomena found among the Patuntung constitute a kind of archaic substratum of the Makassar culture as a whole. In attempting to verify this hypothesis — disregarding for the moment the question of how misleading it may be — the main difficulty one encounters

is that, except perhaps for the 'inner circle' of Kajang, all Konjo-speaking Patuntung communities have for a long time been subject to numerous external influences, including those from the court of Gowa and from Islam. On the other hand, many features of the culture of the area under discussion are clearly distinct from those found in, for instance, West Gowa as the centre of the 'official' Makassar culture.[29] The latter statement is corroborated by sources on West Sinjai and Kajang, as well as by the data from East Gowa. Even today Patuntung conceive of many features of their own culture as being different from elements of the culture of West Gowa in various respects. Some of these are aspects of the material culture, which, as was indicated above, among the Patuntung is extremely austere. Until recently, houses (which are not decorated with the wood carvings that are so commonly found in West Gowa) in Kajang and East Gowa shared quite a number of similar features which could be recognized as forming a distinct pattern (for detailed descriptions see Usop 1978:30-31; Pelenkahu et al. 1971:8; Cense 1931:12). Thus, in contrast with the general mode of constructing houses in other Makassarese and Buginese areas, house posts in Kajang and Kasepekang originally were not erected upon stones, but rather were driven into the ground. Likewise, houses traditionally were provided neither with entrance platforms (*paladang*) nor with the composite gables (*sambulayang*) indicating differences in social rank in these areas — a further indication of the traditional emphasis on egalitarianism. While, according to Cense (1931:footnote p.12), the people of Kajang claim to have given up the latter privileges to the kingdoms of Gowa and Luwu' (whereupon they became taboo in Kajang!), the inhabitants of Kasepekang consider these and other features as being distinctive of their culture vis-à-vis the culture of West Gowa. Today very few old-style houses are to be found in Kasepekang, while the newer types of houses are usually built in the 'Gowa style'.[30]

After pointing out the general significance of oral traditions (*pasang*) repeatedly, I shall now make a few remarks about their general meaning for the Patuntung. Perhaps one of the most characteristic cultural features, and one contributing towards the basic distinction between the areas inhabited by Patuntung and the western (and Buginese) areas, is the emphasis on oral traditions in the former, as opposed to the value attached to various kinds of written sources (*lontara'*) in the latter. According to a statement by the *amma toa* of Kajang, the cultural significance of oral traditions among the Patuntung is equal to that of written traditions in other regions (*'...Lontara' ri Gowa, pasang ri Kajang, kitta' ri Luhu' (...) arennaji battuanna nata'bage, naiyya pada tujuanna, se're tujuang'* = *Lon-*

[29] Pelenkahu et al. (1971:6) mention certain physical differences between the population of the interior mountain region and other Makassar. They explain these in terms of the long period of the former's isolation.

[30] The new style of houses in Kasepekang is referred to as 'the Makassar style' (*ciri Makassar*), i.e., the architectural style that is prevalent in Ujung Pandang and surroundings.

tara' in Gowa, oral traditions in Kajang, holy book in Luwu' (...) — only the terms differ, but their meanings are identical, and there is only one shared meaning; cited in Pelenkahu et al. 1971:98/101, Usop 1978:43).

Therefore the virtual absence of written traditions in Kasepekang, Kajang and adjacent areas seems to constitute a common cultural feature among the Patuntung. In contrast with the rich heritage of written *lontara'* which in Gowa, and especially in the Buginese area, provide the means for detailed historical analysis, the presence of only oral traditions in those areas which have been subject to rapid change, as for example, Kasepekang, will lead to the history of this area being forgotten within a few generations. It should be added that, at least in Kajang, there is a taboo on the playing of the traditional Makassarese violin (*keso'-keso'*), which is a necessary prerequisite for the recitation of epic poems (*sinrili'*). While there is also a certain *sinrili'* tradition in Kasepekang, these poems do not deal with the local history, for which reason they, too, may be considered to be of West Gowarese origin. It will therefore not be possible to collect as many oral traditions in Kasepekang as Usop succeeded in recording in Kajang.[31] In any case, further research in the respective areas could perhaps bring more details to light not only of the mode of cultural transmission, but also of common cultural patterns among the Patuntung in general.

Conclusion

In the foregoing chapters Buginese influences on the culture of the people designating themselves Patuntung were excluded from the discussion, since they are but rarely referred to in the local oral traditions. On the other hand, it became obvious that the impact of the kingdom of Gowa on Patuntung communities has been considerable. This is true not only as regards political control — which in some areas was of only limited duration — but also in such areas as religion and socio-political organization in general. Ultimately, it is of course difficult, if not impossible, to draw any definite conclusions as regards the 'origin' or 'homeland' of the specific culture of the Patuntung, if this ever existed. On the other hand, oral traditions from three different regions, viz. Malakaji, West Sinjai and East Gowa, indicate that this culture may possibly have originated in the region of Manipi/Manimpahoi in West Sinjai (Pénard 1913:520; Renre 1978:24); Kajang is definitely not to be considered as the place of origin (Renre 1978:80). Likewise, I collected several oral traditions concerning the origin of certain *ada'* offices in East Gowa which explicitly refer to Manimpahoi in West Sinjai. Wherever the origin of their culture may have

[31] Despite the lack of written traditions, the use of the Makassarese *lontara'* script is fairly widespread among older people in Kasepekang. Today it is taught again at primary school.

been, it seems legitimate to treat Patuntung communities, if not as possessing a coherent 'culture', then at least as possessing a common basic structure in the fields of religion, socio-political organization, material culture, and a number of important cultural themes, which on the whole may be distinguished from the relevant phenomena in adjacent areas (Cense 1931:1; Usop 1978:33). While various syncretisms in religious belief and ritual, as well as the consequences of exogenous changes, especially as regards political leadership, pose many problems for a deeper investigation into the basic cultural principles of Patuntung communities, a number of common features of the communities hitherto investigated could be isolated, even though Onto in Bantaeng probably occupies a marginal position in several respects.

A comparative examination of different ideas regarding the 'Ancient Land' could be made by using linguistic data. For the speakers of the 'mountain Konjo' subdialect regard the peaks of Mt. Bawakaraeng/Lompobattang as the hub of the universe, whereas for the speakers of 'coastal Konjo', the most prominent among whom are the people of Kajang, the sacred grove occupies an important symbolical position (see Pelenkahu et al. 1971:9; Usop 1978:28, 33; Ulaen 1978:14). In contrast with this remarkable difference, basic similarities were discovered as regards religious concepts, cosmology, and ritual, despite many local variations even in a limited territorial framework. This latter phenomenon, however, may be connected directly with the idea of community identity, which is formulated very distinctly all over the area.

Further cultural similarities between Patuntung communities are displayed in the field of the material culture, the general austerity of the lifestyle, the variety of identical taboos, the specific punishments for offences against *ada'* and the significance of oral traditions (*pasang*). The latter point becomes especially interesting when one considers that the implications of the oral traditions are virtually identical in all the Patuntung communities hitherto investigated. As regards these *pasang*, the main problem of their study is provided by the fact that, except for those from Kajang, they have long been obscured by a variety of external influences. Especially further comparative research would be faced with grave problems.

In East Gowa, one of the most fascinating cultural phenomena is the interrelationship between myth and the political leadership. According to some oral traditions from this area (which correspond to those from Kajang), the institution of political leadership here followed a different course from that which resulted from the appearance of a *tumanurung*, which is so widespread in South Sulawesi. That there are at the same time myths which explicitly refer to a divine princess as the originator of the institution of government further corroborates the assumption that the practice of the legitimation of political leadership by claiming descent from a *tumanurung* was probably introduced from Gowa, as is also sug-

gested by a relevant tradition from Kajang. In addition, it should be remembered that in Kasepekang myths concerning divine princesses as originators of political leadership are by no means conceived of as being universally valid, but instead constitute only one category in a variety of related but mutually contradictory myths. At least, reference to a *tumanurung* in this area is closely connected with membership of the *karaeng*'s descent group (*pattola karaeng*). Since most other myths, which pertain directly to the history of adjacent villages, suggest different origins of leadership, by contrast, it may be assumed that the idea of assigning political authority to members of one particular descent group was the result of external influences. Through these historical developments, Patuntung religious beliefs and myths perhaps became ideologies which 'celestialize earthly realities, disguising their nature and ensuring their perpetuation' (Keesing 1982:245), thus contributing to the development of new socio-political structures. Moreover, according to oral traditions from Kasepekang the title *karaeng* also originated from the court of Gowa. In Kasepekang, where this highest-ranking *ada'* office was of major significance until about 1960, it is widely known that it was introduced to the area long after the installation by the king of Gowa of the traditional leader of one of the local villages as the — now noble — ruler of the principality as a whole. These accounts of local history are paralleled by traditions from Kajang, according to which the introduction of the three principal political offices (*karaeng tallua*) as well as of sacred heirlooms was the result of former contact with Gowa. The symbolic dualism between the *amma toa* as the superior authority in matters of religion, morality and *ada'* on the one hand, and the *karaeng* as the representative of political power on the other, has many structural features in common with the dualism between the *karaeng* and the keepers of *kalompoang* which is characteristic for East Gowa.

When it is furthermore taken into consideration that myths about *tumanurung* necessarily imply the introduction of sacred heirlooms, which after the disappearance of the divine princess symbolically legitimated political leadership, it becomes clear that generally speaking the kind of socio-political organization which developed in East Gowa was closely akin to the pattern found in the great Makassarese and Buginese kingdoms. A different type of political organization is to be found in Kajang, where sacred heirlooms obviously are of only minor significance. This is perhaps explained by the fact that Kasepekang was wholly integrated into the kingdom of Gowa for centuries, whereas the latter's influence on Kajang was of only limited duration. As was demonstrated above, Patuntung communities traditionally were governed to a great extent by the principle of egalitarianism, as opposed to the rigid social stratification that is commonly said to predominate in Bugis and Makassar societies. In this light, the phenomenon of members of distinct bilateral commoner descent groups being eligible for certain *ada'* offices (cf. Rössler 1987:64-67), and

thereby in general being considered to be of higher social rank than the majority of the other members of the community, seems to be in contradiction with the basic norms and values accounting for a disregard of differences in social rank and esteem. Especially in Kasepekang, the rise of a new kind of political authority which, as in Gowa or other kingdoms in South Sulawesi, was legitimated by sacred heirlooms, obviously resulted in a general increase in social differentiation, since it fostered the rise of a nobility as well as the development of bilateral descent groups among commoners, which not only are ranked, but also are internally differentiated as regards 'degrees' of descent. That these developments were stimulated by external influences is in the main corroborated by the fact that, aside from some rather vaguely worded legends about the alleged local origin of *kalompoang* and political leadership, there are many traditions indicating that both of these institutions were widespread in the highlands because of a close relationship between Kasepekang and Gowa.

In particular when one views the present situation in Kajang and Kasepekang against the background of history, it becomes apparent that, due to more or less direct influence from the kingdom of Gowa, in both areas a political system emerged which had close connections with local religious conceptions, but which nevertheless did not directly develop out of the indigenous socio-political organization. In other words, long before Islam provoked rapid changes in the religious sphere, basic structural features in Patuntung communities were subject to exogenous influences, in particular with regard to leadership patterns and the legitimation of leaders by reference to myths and sacred heirlooms.

While the communities of Onto show more similarities with those of Kasepekang than with those of Kajang[32], the latter appear to have retained more features of the original socio-political and religious structure, which might possibly be explained by their long isolation from other groups. Considering all the Patuntung communities hitherto investigated, we may conclude that they definitely share a common basic culture, which should be distinguished in several respects from what is commonly referred to as 'Bugis-Makassar culture'. Apparently this latter term is only applicable to a specific cultural pattern that was, and still is, closely linked with the outstanding position of the nobility in the western lowlands. As kingdoms expanded, many traits of their cultural heritage — whatever may have been their origin — were scattered across the peninsula, bringing about essential changes in the indigenous communities of the interior highlands long before Islam, colonialism and modernity entered the scene.

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