

Dimensions of Religious Practice
The Ammatoans of Sulawesi, Indonesia

by
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ABSTRACT

This thesis is an ethnographic account of the religious practices of the Ammatoa, a Konjo-speaking community of approximately 4600 people living in the southeast uplands of South Sulawesi, Indonesia. It examines aspects of Ammatoan rituals, cosmology, culture, economy, and politics that, from their point of view, are also considered religious. For the purpose of this dissertation, I understand religion to be ways of relationship between human beings and their fellow humans: the living and the dead, other beings, such as animals, plants, forests, mountains, rivers, and invisible entities such as gods and spirits. This conception of religion provides a better framework for understanding Ammatoan religion because for them religion includes many aspects of everyday life.

The Ammatoans divide their land into an inner and an outer territory. The former is the constrained domains for their indigenous religion and the latter is more open to interaction with the outside world. The politics of territorial division has enabled Ammatoans to preserve their indigenous religion and navigate pressures from outside powers (i.e., Islam and modernity). The politics is, in part, a religious manifestation of Ammatoan oral tradition, the *Pasang ri Kajang*, which is the authoritative reference for all elements of everyday life.

By following the tenets of the *Pasang*, Ammatoans seek to lead a life of *kamase-masea*, a life of simplicity. I explore how Ammatoans apply, challenge, and manipulate their understandings of the *Pasang*. Ammatoans demonstrate their religiosity and commitment to the *Pasang* through participation in rituals. This dissertation explores the diversity of Ammatoan rituals, and examines the

connections between these rituals and the values of the Pasang through an extended analysis of one particular large-scale ritual, *akkatterek* (haircut). This ritual serves to incorporate a child into the wider Ammatoan cosmos.

I also explore the encounters between Ammatoan indigenous religion, Islam, and modernity. I argue that the local manifestation of the concepts of Islam and modernity have both influenced and been influenced by Ammatoan indigenous religion. I conclude that despite their conversion to Islam and the intrusion of modernity, Ammatoan indigenous religion persists, albeit as an element of a hybrid cultural complex.

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NOTES ON TRANSLATION, TRANSCRIPTION, AND ORAL TEXTS

The Ammatoans of Sulawesi speak Konjo, one of the local languages of South Sulawesi. Although literacy has long been introduced in the community, Ammatoans up to now still strongly hold the notion that oral tradition is more valuable. For that reason, they do not allow any attempt to write down their oral tradition. No writing system is thus known among the community, except that of Makassarese and Buginese, called *lontarak* that has recently been introduced to, but not widely used by them.

I myself translate all Konjo terms and expressions into English, unless indicated. My transcription follows the orthographic conventions of modern Indonesian. Konjo syllables end in vowels, except ones with glottal stops that are here presented with “k.” Konjo nouns, like in Indonesian, are not marked with plural forms. Identifying foreign terms, I mark those used at the first time with (M.) for Makassarese, (B.) for Buginese, (I.) for Indonesian, (S.) for Sanskrit and (A.) for Arabic, and all unmarked words are Konjo. Few terms are Konjo, Makassarese, and Indonesian and they are marked with (K./M./I.).

The Pasang sayings in Appendix are copied from the works of other scholars. The numbering system used for the Pasang in Appendix A follows K.M.A. Usop’s (1978) system (the first work of Pasang collection). I adjust other Pasang sayings documented by other scholars by inserting them in Usop’s numbering system according to their theme. For example, Pasang 12a is from McKenzie’s collection, but is not included in Usop’s. The content/theme is however related to Pasang 12 of Usop’s collection. Needless to say, this

numbering system does not belong to Ammatoans. Ammatoans do not write and order their Pasang. I order the Pasang in this way to help readers navigate reference(s) made in text.

I have standardized my use of the terms Ammatoa and Ammatoan to avoid confusion. The term Ammatoa refers only to an individual: the leader of the community. For other usages, I use the term Ammatoan, such as the Ammatoans for the people, the Ammatoan tradition, community, territory, and so forth.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Background

This dissertation focuses on the religious practices of the Ammatoan community, one of the religious and cultural minorities on the Indonesian island of Sulawesi. It discusses aspects of Ammatoan rituals and cosmology and aspects of culture, economy and politics that are, from the Ammatoan point of view, also religious. Theoretically this dissertation is informed by what Skorupski (1976) terms a “literalist approach.” In this respect it also owes much to the theoretical insights of Evans Pritchard (1965), Hallowell (1960/1975), Bird-David (1999), and Morrison (2000). Here, religion is understood as ways of relating: how human beings relate to their fellow humans including the living and the dead, and other beings: animals, plants, forests, mountains, rivers, and invisible beings such as gods and spirits. From this perspective religion includes many aspects of everyday life. As an everyday practice, religion in which people relate with “others” encompasses elements of all parts of everyday life including politics, economics, agriculture, rituals, and so forth.

I have come to this understanding of religion for several reasons. First and foremost, it is the best way to make sense of religion as it is understood and practiced by the Ammatoans. I am aware of alternative theories and of debates concerning the definition of religion. Some define it as a belief in a spirit(s) of any kinds like the divine, Supreme Being (Tylor, 1871; James, 1902; Otto, 1958). Others conceptualize it as the sacred as opposed to the profane (Eliade, 1968).

Some others explain religion as a symbolic reflection of social order (Durkheim, 1965), economic inequalities (Marx and Engels, 1964) or the projection of neurotic illusion (Freud, 1961). These ways of defining religion are characteristic of classical nineteenth and early twentieth century social thought, and remain influential in the following century.

Talal Asad (1993) and Tomoko Masuzawa (2005) question the use of religion as an analytic category and argue that it is a particularly Western cultural category shared by scholars and the general public. Asad (1993) argues that a universal definition of religion is impossible, not only because its constituent elements and relationships are historically specific, but because such a definition is itself the historical product of discursive processes (p. 29). Masuzawa notes that when religion is mentioned, people seem to understand what it is (however they understand it). Masuzawa, however, argues that religion is a western invention, and the use of the concept should be suspect: by using it, we maybe imposing western-centric ways of thinking on nonwestern cultural “others.” Masuzawa argues that the discourse of world religions is based on a western desire to classify peoples and to distinguish themselves from others. The discourse has often been deployed to demonstrate western superiority (Masuzawa, 2005).¹ Masuzawa’s argument implies that the academic category religion can be used to provide legitimacy for political agendas.

Even though Masuzawa’s work focuses on the nineteenth century European context, her arguments on world religion discourse fits the Indonesian

¹See also N. Dirks (1995), *Colonialism and Culture*. Anne Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

context. There is an extensive literature concerning the category “religion” and its relation to “custom” (K./M./B./I./A., *adat*) and “culture” (I., *kebudayaan*) in Indonesian religious and political discourse and ideology (Kipp, 1996; Kipp & Rodgers, 1987; Aragon, 2000, Schrauwers, 2000; Maarif, 2003; Adams, 2006; Keane, 2007; Hidayah, 2007; and most recently Woodward, 2011; and Picard & Madinier 2011). There is a complex, politically motivated discourse about relationships between religion and custom (Hidayah, 2007). Religion, no matter how it is academically studied in Indonesia, offers legitimacy for one or more colonial and post-colonial political agendas. In Indonesia, religion is translated as *agama* (K./M./B./I./S.). Religion translated as *agama* and so specifically defined has been politically imposed by the Indonesian state to be the basis of public discourse and knowledge about religion in the academic sense of the term. As publically understood, it is a special set of doctrines concerning acceptance of a monotheistic conception of the divine, and the sacred and specifically formal ritual practices distinct from other kinds of everyday practice including politics, economy, and agriculture. The state has been concerned with the standardization of religion and allows only six; Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. Every citizen must profess one of these religions.

Another consequence of the standardization of religion is that other practices similar to those of *agama*, and that scholars would classify as religion, are not categorized as *agama*. These practices are called *adat* (custom) or *kepercayaan* (I., belief). Visiting graves, pilgrimages to mountains, life cycle rituals, prayer-chants on agriculture rituals, and many others are all called *adat*,

not *agama* because those kinds of practices are not systematically structured as set of doctrines and dogma and in most cases are not based directly on the sacred texts of official religions. This normative reason is, of course, not the only reason the state has chosen to categorizing these practices as *adat* rather than religion. There are also political reasons that are probably more important. By identifying and classifying its people with only six categories, the state has assumed that it could effectively control them, especially on issues of religion which has been historically and remains a source of communal conflict.

Academic theories of religion that distance it from social life and the official Indonesian concept of *agama*, which is, at least in part, derivation of these theories are of limited utility for the subject of this dissertation: the religious practices of Ammatoans. Using those concepts, I could observe several, not all, practices of a ritual. A funeral observed over a period of a hundred days, for example, consists of many kinds of practices including bathing and burying the deceased, reciting *tallaking* (funeral prayer-chants), marking the graves, mourning, taking off clothes, collecting wood, renovating houses, feeding people, giving and receiving rice and money, sacrificing animals, remarking the grave, and others. I could of course describe all the practices to explain the ritual, but these approaches would not help me to explain them partly because according to these theories, they are not actually religion. Collecting wood and renovating houses for example would not count for religion because they are just daily activities. Giving and receiving rice and money would count as an economic practice, especially if religion is defined in the way the state says it must be.

Because those funeral practices are outside of standardized *agama*, they are *adat*, not religion.

To make these concepts of religion helpful in understanding the subject of this dissertation is to reformulate them and extend their scopes. Ammatoans are familiar with the Indonesian terms *adat* and *agama* and use them both in descriptions of their practices. They are aware of the Indonesia discourse about religion and custom and sometimes articulate it especially in conversations with outsiders, but they also often declare that *adat* is *agama* and *agama* is *adat* rejecting the state's attempts to control this discourse. They are especially articulate when they understand their interlocutors to be supporters of the official position. When speaking to people who are not perceived to be supporters of the Indonesian ideology of religion they use the words *adat* and *agama* indiscriminately, if they use them at all. They call ways of doing their everyday activities like seating, eating, praying, planting, bargaining, exchanging, and so on *adat* but also often say: "It is what our *agama* teaches us." Their *adat* is then their *agama* or religion.

Because Ammatoans observe their *adat* and/or *agama* in everyday practices, their religious practices are of everyday practices. They practice their religion spontaneously and immediately. There is no need for them to ask questions about reasons behind a given ritual. Their view is that because people have been involved and participated in religious practices for their entire lives and collectively for many generations, they should know them. They practice politics, economics, agriculture, and many other things according to their *adat* or *agama*.

Those practices are said to be ways of practicing *adat* or *agama*. Politics, economy, agriculture, marriage, and so on are then dimensions of Ammatoan religion. To comprehend their religion is then to observe their everyday practices. I do not mean that everything is religious to Ammatoans, but religion is integral to everyday practices. Only by encountering everyday practices could I come to understand and explain Ammatoan religion.

A related point is that when Ammatoans mention their *agama*, they also usually refer to Islam. This is also a response to public and official discourse about *agama*. They profess to be Muslim. In a way, this dissertation supports the view that Ammatoans religious practices are Islamic. Because they understand and practice Islam based on *adat* and according to their *adat*, their Islam is unique. Ammatoans contribute to the multifaceted nature of Islam. It is important to understand that if *agama* (in the official sense) is trans-ethnic, *adat* is not. An *agama*, such as Islam or Christianity, belongs to many different ethnic groups across the archipelago and the world, but an *adat* belongs only to a single ethnic group. All ethnic groups have their own *adat*, even though some ethnic groups may share elements of *adat* in common. Ethnic groups in South Sulawesi, for instance, commonly share the concept of *tau manurung* (K./M./B.) (the divine being descended from the heaven to the earth and begat human beings).

Previous scholarship on Ammatoan religion have described their Islam as being syncretic and have therefore not fully explored the ways in which Ammatoans understand and practice Islamic elements of their *agama/adat*. Some Indonesian Muslims are equally dismissive of Ammatoan Islam, but for different

reasons. Many Muslims associated with Muhammadiyah (one of the two largest Muslim organizations in Indonesia) and Komite Pemberlakuan Syariat Islam (I., the Committee for Implementing Islamic Sharia), for example, have argued that the Islam of Ammatoans is syncretic, inauthentic, and invalid and that Ammatoans have not converted to Islam totally. Being perceived that way, the religious ideas and practices of Ammatoans have been targets of Muslims groups for intensive Islamization.

Rather than arguing that Ammatoan religious practices are Islamic or non-Islamic, I argue they are products of the interaction of *adat* and Islam. Among the Ammatoans Islam and *adat* are produced and reproduced in forms of everyday life that now necessarily include modernity and globalization. *Adat* and Islam, as well as modernity are sources for Ammatoan reformulations of collective identity. As an alternative to understanding *adat* as lacking religion, I argue that it is composed of religious practices. Understanding religion as ways of relating, this dissertation finds that *adat* elements or dimensions, which are all related to each other, are all religious.

Ammatoan religion can be said to be “indigenous,” though it is necessary to specify what is meant by this term. I use indigenous to denote ideas and practices that have been constructed over the course of generations and that are attached to territorial and ethnic specificity and locality. Ammatoans may bring their religion with them to other places, but their religion is always connected to their locality and to the Ammatoans. Many Ammatoans who have lived in other parts of Indonesia including southeast Sulawesi, Kalimantan, and even in

Malaysia observe rituals they bring from home. Transformation of rituals of course occurs, but theories regarding them remain connected to their place of origin, Tanah Toa. Ammatoan religion is also limited to Ammatoans. There are rituals that are for Ammatoans alone. Others may attend and even participate, but only as observers. Their rituals are “valid” religious practices only for members of the Ammatoan community. Others’ presences or absences are insignificant in terms of validation.

This conflicts with the Muslim view that Islam is trans-cultural. As a trans-cultural religion, Islam may be practiced by many different nationalities. An Indonesian Muslim may participate in Islamic practice in the US. He may become an imam in Saudi Arabia. There are practices that any Muslim could participate in Tanah Toa, such as the five daily prayers of Islam, Friday prayers, *Id* prayers (*idul fithr* and *idul adha*), and fasting during Ramadan. Any Muslim in theory may lead the prayers in Tanah Toa. These Islamic practices are all observed in Tanah Toa, but they are not the only ones observed in the village and described in this dissertation.

As was stated previously the religion of Ammatoans is the product of the intersection of *adat*, Islam, and modernity. This dissertation is concerned with Ammatoan encounters with Islam and modernity. It explains how Ammatoans respond to them in ways that have enabled them to maintain the indigenous character of their religion despite pressures to alter or abandon it in favor of a more scripturally oriented Islam from neighboring communities and the Indonesian government. Like other indigenous peoples of Indonesia, Ammatoans

are pressured to conform to Indonesian law that requires all citizens to practice one of the officially recognized religions. Because Ammatoans profess to be Muslim, they are pressured to observe more “orthodox” Muslim norms by some of Sulawesi’s Muslim groups. Despite these pressures, they continue to use locally defined religious and cultural constructs embodied in an oral tradition called *Pasang ri Kajang* (the messages of Kajang) to define their ethnic identity and modes of social and economic life that differ greatly from those of neighboring communities. Although Ammatoans have professed to be Muslim since the 17th century, indigenous practices have persisted alongside Islam to a much greater degree than among some other Indonesian ethnic communities.

Literature Review

My theoretical approach to studying religious practices of Ammatoans builds on scholarship about religious cultural encounters that has developed within Indonesian Studies. There are three general perspectives concerning the nature of religious change and encounters between indigenous and world religions in the scholarly literature concerning contemporary Indonesia. These are: conversion, syncretism, and resistance.

Shortly after the purported coup by the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) in 1965-66, conversion to world religions became one of the requirements for all Indonesian citizens (Woodward, 2011, Hidayah, 2007). After the coup, mass conversions to world religions, especially to Islam and Christianity, took place throughout the Indonesian archipelago. Many indigenous people felt at that time that they were faced with a choice between conversion and extermination. This is

one of the reasons that the theme of conversion to world religions then has become major focuses in the study of contemporary Indonesian religion. As reflected in this literature, conversion is not monolithic but is, rather, a multi-layered phenomenon. Theories explaining and accounting for it are equally diverse.

In discussing Islamic conversion in Besuki, East Java, Robert Hefner emphasizes the role of political, economic, and social institutions over individual evaluation in religious conversion (1987, p. 76). Hefner's (1993) account of Christian conversion among the Tengger of East Java, however, emphasizes moral commitments, more than political tendencies. Hefner argues that religious conversion requires a repudiation of old traditions and the reshaping of a new belief and moral mission for the self (1993, p. 118). In contrast, Rita Kipp argues that a commitment or a conviction does not have to precede conversion (1995, p. 878). She shows that initially the Karo people of northern Sumatra converted to Christianity to seek access to schools and jobs, but with their new identity and growing understanding of their new faith, they came to reinterpret their lives and experiences, which in some cases entailed newfound commitments and convictions (1995, p. 878).

Working with the Forest Tobelo of Halmahera, Christopher Duncan (2003), however, argues that if the reason for conversion is to access resources (for economic and political reasons), the Forest Tobelo would have converted to the Christianity of their neighbors, coastal villagers, but that was not the case (2003, p. 320). For Duncan, Forest Tobelo conversion involves both religious and

identity issues. Duncan categorizes the Forest Tobelo conversion to the Christianity of the American-based New Tribes Mission both as a renunciation of their old traditions in favor of Christianity (2003, p. 316) and as a kind of ‘dissent’ meant to maintain their distinct identity as opposed to their coastal villagers (2003, p. 308). Conversion as identity assertion is similarly shown by Shinji Yamashita (1994, p. 76-7). He argues that Torajan conversion to Christianity is a way for them to assert and distinguish their identity from their Muslim neighbors.

Besides conversion, the theory of syncretism has been used —and criticized— to describe religious cultural mixtures in Indonesia, most notably in the work of Clifford Geertz (1960, 1973). For Geertz, religious syncretism among the Javanese is a composite of two or more religious elements (1973, p. 147). This notion of syncretism, crafting or harmonizing different elements into a single entity, is shared by other scholars (Woodward, 1989; Cederroth, 1981; Tamney, 1980, p. 208; Anderson, 1990, p. 30). Woodward for example argues that Javanese Islam is syncretic in the sense that it is the product of harmonization of two different traditions, Islam and Hinduism, even though the former is much more dominant than the latter (1989, p. 234). The theory of syncretism has also been employed by scholars to describe the Ammatoan religious practices (Katu, 2000; Rössler, 1990; Aminah, 1989; Usop, 1985). For these scholars, Ammatoan religion consists of indigenous tradition and Islam, but the indigenous aspects are fading away. The notion of syncretism, however, has been revisited and criticized by Lynda Newland (2000; 2001). She argues that the notion of syncretism as

Geertz used it implies that a syncretic religion is less authentic, and consequently, Javanese Islam, as represented by Geertz is “not really Islam.” The notion of less authentic Islam is what most scholars working on the Ammatoan community advocate for Ammatoan Islam. Before Newland, other scholars have convincingly argued that Geertz’s representation of syncretic Javanese Islam as being inauthentic ignores the diverse practices and rich history of Islam, as well as the vast corpus of Islamic scholarship (cf. Roff, 1985, Woodward, 1989; Bowen, 1993; Hefner, 1997; Gibson, 2000). In contrast to Geertz, these scholars argue that both those Muslim practices which are claimed as “puritan” and those which are described as syncretic are variants of Islam that can be found in other places in the Muslim world. Being aware of critics of syncretism, Andrew Beatty (citing Stewart, 1999) reformulates the theory of syncretism not as a settled outcome (as Geertz would seem to argue) but rather as a concept that is open and always ready for processes of accommodation, contestation, appropriation, and indigenization. He sees syncretism as a dynamic intercultural process (Beatty, 1999, p. 3). Newland (2001), however, insists that Beatty’s reformulation still maintains the notion of authenticity, the tendency to evaluate ideas and practices as valid or invalid, Islamic or not.

As a theory of religious and cultural mixture, syncretism has several synonyms such as creolization, hybridity, and bricolage (Stewart, 1999). Unlike creolization and bricolage, the notion of hybridity has been introduced, applied, and criticized within Indonesian Studies. Chang-Yau Hoon (2006) explains that hybridity is an accommodation of cultures that has been intrinsic to the process of

migration and dislocation, and has been carried out by locals and migrants in their daily negotiations of their identity formation. Projecting a solution for cultural tension that divides Indonesian Chinese from native Indonesians, Hoon offers the politics of hybridity as the means for identity formation (p. 160-1). As a process of identity formation, Hoon advocates, hybridization is a continuing process and never complete. He suggests that since hybridity involves multiple cultural flows, the dominant groups should admit that the possible or desirable cultural product is many-fold (2006, p. 162). Similarly, after analyzing Javanese *campursari* (art performance) in the post-colonial era, Setiono (2003) argues that *campursari* is a hybrid cultural product (p. 234). He explains that Javanese old traditions are reenacted, asserted, and at the same time brought to invent a new tradition as a response to changing political and economic situations. For Setiono, identity in post-colonial *campursari* is presented through hybridization: loosely mixing various sources (2003, p. 234).

In contrast to those privileging hybridity, Iskandar and Ellen (2007) prefer synthesis over hybridity in their explanation of how the Baduy in West Java incorporate a new agricultural system brought by the government into their traditional system. Iskandar and Ellen argue that the incorporation might be seen as a hybridization (mixing) process, but more accurately, the case should be characterized as a synthesis of two sources: existing and new knowledge (2007, p. 113). They argue that it is a synthesis (as opposed to hybridity) because the incorporation occurs after the Baduy have evaluated the “outside” knowledge and been convinced that the new (agricultural) knowledge was not incompatible with

the existing knowledge (swidden agriculture) central to their culture (2007, p. 136-7).

Unlike creolization, which is alien to Indonesian studies, Levi-Strauss' theory of bricolage, which is the creation of new orders and forms by using tools and materials at hand and incorporating bits and pieces (Levi-Strauss, 1966) is used—though not elaborately—by Thomas Gibson (1994) in describing cultural flows in South Sulawesi. Drawing from Makassarese historical encounters with outsiders (Javanese, Arabs, Indians, and the Dutch), Gibson argues that the Makassarese have inherited and preserved diverse cultural models (such as ideas about kings as God's representative, popular pious figures, rebellious figures, and so on), and those models have produced diverse practices. He argues that these diverse practices should be seen as a result of bricolage (1994, p. 77).

The third theoretical category for religious cultural encounters in literature is resistance. If theories of conversion tend to see world religions as dominating indigenous ones, and theories of syncretism tend to see both world religions and indigenous religions as somehow coming and “playing together” within a singular phenomenon, the theory of resistance tends to emphasize the role of indigenous traditions in responding to world religions and modernity. Theories of resistance that can be discerned in the literature encompass a wide range of processes, such as negotiation, reinterpretation, challenge, rationalization, transformation, and so forth.

Since the colonial era, and especially during the New Order regime, most indigenous people have been forced to alter their indigenous traditions. However,

while the state and followers of world religions have imposed their agendas on people, many groups of indigenous people have challenged these forces and used various strategies to sustain their cultural norms and identities. Anna Tsing (1993) for example argues that the Dayak Meratus people of Kalimantan have constructed their knowledge and identity in opposition to their marginalized status in the nation and the province. The Meratus continually respond to the processes of marginalization by crafting a 'postmodern' marginality. Tsing explains that Meratus' postmodern marginality reveals a subject position that reconstructs hegemonies, transforms domination structures, and crafts agency from the fragments of the dominant discourses (such as how to be modern, educated, etc.) through subject-producing discursive practices (1993, p. 255) by, for example, reproducing the dominant's models of powers, mimicking and juxtaposing them wildly (p. 253). Tsing argues that the Meratus case demonstrates how the power of the state (and of the world religions) is both enacted and challenged through reinterpretation and misinterpretation (p. 287-8).

Other ethnographic reports reveal similar portraits. In the Sumba region of Nusa Tenggara, Keane (2007; 1996) reports that despite the gradual conversion to Christianity, many Sumbanese people still hold on to their local practices, and they even publicly challenge Christians on both theological and material issues (1996, p. 143). In challenging the Christians, the followers of Merapu often cite the Bible in their own defence. Keane then explains that the conflict between followers of Merapu and Christian converts lies not in being Christian or references to the Bible, but in interpretation and practices (1996, p. 152). In their

interpretation of the Bible, the Sumbanese consistently assess the superiority of their indigenous tradition over Christianity. Despite the increasing rates of conversion in Sumba, the Ankalang people, including Christian converts, still hold to their traditional cultural logic and practices. Hummel and Telaumbanua (2007) similarly advocate that despite the powerful and coercive pressures of Christianity during both the colonial and post-colonial era in Nias, the primal religion of Nias has never completely faded away. These scholars argue that the indigenous religion of Nias has transformed under the official cloak of Christianity. Religious and cultural transformation under the “watch” of dominant others (i.e. followers of world religions) is also depicted by Kenneth George (1996) for the case of Mappurondo people of South Sulawesi. Mappurondo people continue practicing their local tradition, even though they have to conceal it from the gaze of Muslims (George, 1996, p. 35).

Steedly (1993) accounts for indigenous tradition of the Karo people of Sumatera in terms of what Geertz, following Max Weber (1963), calls “rationalization.” Steedly explains that some Karo have sought to have their indigenous traditions recognized as Hinduism (1993, p. 69, compare with Hefner’s (1985) report on Tengger). In addition to Hindu affiliation, Kipp (1993) reports that other Karo people have also affiliated to both Christianity and Islam. The Karo case, as suggested by Steedly, is in line with Geertz’s account of Balinese. Geertz states that in order for the Balinese religion to be sustained, it had to undergo rationalization by systematizing, translating, interpreting, and publishing its doctrines or dogmas into modern Balinese and Indonesian

languages, and organizing its institutional structure (Geertz, 1973, p. 185-9) so that the state could examine, approve, and register it as an official religion. Unlike Balinese, the Karo's affiliation to Hinduism, Steedly (1993, p. 69) argues, has had little effect on Karo religious practices.

In Tana Toraja, South Sulawesi, Adams (2006) points out that Torajan tradition has survived along with Christianity and modernity.² Adams (1997) advocates that while the Torajanese have to deal with the tourist-oriented development program of the Indonesian state, the Torajanese have not accepted foreign representations such as "pagan," "primitive," and "backward," but actively engaged their indigenous strategies with those representations to adjust and enhance their own image through their public rituals (1997, p. 318). Adams argues that the Torajan large-scale rituals are now not only designed to enhance their local status, but also to amplify Torajan prestige on a national and international level (1997, p. 316). In Adams' account, despite the state's (modern) ongoing pressures, the Torajan tradition persists.

Along with Adams, Gibson (2000) points out phenomena relating to the Makassarese that can be viewed as parallel to that of Torajanese. Although the people of South Sulawesi have been appropriating discourses and practices from virtually the entire globe for the past several centuries, they have not, Gibson argues, given up their own local autonomy (p. 53). Gibson elucidates that his ethnographic reality is a kind of an articulation between global meaning and local

² For a different view see K. Buijs (2006) who argues that Toraja old traditions have been quickly diminished by Christianity

practices (p. 42) and of global flows of knowledge (p. 69). Gibson (2005) also argues that throughout their history of encounters with outsiders, the Makassarese of Sulawesi have adopted several different models for social interaction that have all enjoyed a dominant position at different times.

Projected Contributions

Working on the Ammatoans of Sulawesi, this dissertation is engaged in the scholarship on religious encounters of religions, mainly between the so-called world religions, in this case Islam, and local or indigenous religions. Theories having been proposed for the subject: resistance, conversion, and syncretism are helpful for some, but problematic for most of the religious practices of Ammatoans. It is true that the Ammatoans have professed to be Muslim, but their indigenous religion has been strongly attached to their minds and religious practices. Theories of conversion and syncretism do not help us understand such practices. Theories of resistance may be more applicable. They could for instance be applicable to both the Ammatoan collective profession to Islam and to individuals' everyday practices. Their cultural norms such as being simple may be seen as their indigenous strategies of resistance against outside pressures. What this dissertation observes is however that Ammatoans have valued Islam and modernity as much as their indigenous religion. Those three sources have been their references for their reproductions of ideas and practices. As observed, indigenous religion, Islam, and modernity have interacted to each other. They influence and are influenced by each other. This dissertation then deploys the theory of articulation as explained by Stuart Hall (1986) and James Clifford

(2001) to elaborate phenomena of encounters between Ammatoan indigenous religion, Islam, and modernity. Theory of articulation, for Hall, explains how ideological elements (Ammatoan indigenous religion, Islam, and modernity) cohere together within a discourse under certain circumstances but do not get articulated under other conditions to certain subjects (1986, p. 53). Clifford, following Hall, argues that every tradition is articulated, and an articulated tradition is a kind of a collective voice, but it is always in a contingent and constructed sense (2001, p. 478). The theory, for Clifford, elucidates that social and cultural formations will always be constructed, deconstructed, and reconstructed (2001, p. 479). The theory of articulation is thus helpful for me to understand the Ammatoan encounters with others as an ongoing process.

Another contribution this project makes is the ethnographic study on religious phenomena of both the inside and outside Ammatoan community. This is the first case of ethnographic fieldwork in both Ammatoan communities. Several scholars working on Ammatoans have confused Ammatoan territorial divisions (Penard, 1913; de Jong, 1996; Usop, 1978, Rössler, 1990). Some of the confusion has been due to methodological deficiencies. Cense's (1931) argument that the indigenous belief of the Ammatoa is a belief in High God and spirits is mainly based on outsiders' mainstream stories about Ammatoans. Usop's (1978) collection of *Pasang ri Kajang* (oral tradition) was based on two weeks of interviews, and it is therefore not surprising that some stories are explained out of context. Mackenzie (1994), who focuses on the Ammatoa's political resistance, is not clear about the inside and outside Ammatoans and, more importantly, does not

deal with religious issues. Samiang Katu (2000), Samsul Maarif (2003; 2005) and Syamsurijal Adhan (2005) are engaged with Ammatoan religious phenomena but unfortunately they view Ammatoan religion through the lens of Islam. They formulate the doctrine of Ammatoan religion in accordance with Islamic doctrine: belief in God, belief in the Hereafter, belief in *Pasang ri Kajang* (comparable to the Qur'an), and so forth. I, however, have changed my mind because I have found that viewing Ammatoan religion through the lens of Islam is misleading. Moreover, several authors (Aminah 1989; Sirajuddin 2002; Qayim 2004) have placed Ammatoan religion in the category of world religions, particularly Islam. Their view is that the “animistic” part of Ammatoan religion should be abandoned because it is culturally “backward” and “Islamically wrong.” This dissertation, in contrast, argues that Ammatoans have used indigenous reasoning to sustain and transform indigenous tradition —be it “animistic” or otherwise— despite external pressures.

Methods

This dissertation is primarily based on one year of fieldwork from March 2009 through February 2010. This prolonged period of fieldwork was preceded by a number of shorter visits to Tanah Toa. I made my first visit to Tanah Toa in 1998 as part of my undergraduate studies. This short visit was part of a field trip. The trip was designed to “encounter” the Ammatoans who preserve their indigenous tradition. After graduation, I worked with an NGO concerned with issues of indigenous peoples, and this work brought me to back to Tanah Toa. I

also conducted three months fieldwork on the community for my MA thesis early 2003.

Methods of collecting data about various religious practices of Ammatoans deployed in this fieldwork are primarily qualitative: participant observation, unstructured interviews, and group discussions. Participant-Observation, which requires attendance at and participation in community activities (Spradley, 1980; Bernard, 2006), was used to gather data on how Ammatoan religious ideas were being practiced, presented, cultivated, and negotiated through diverse stories and everyday activities.

Throughout my stay, I observed and participated in a range of rituals from the more elaborate to the rather simple. The elaborate rituals involved hundreds of participants and animal sacrifices, while the simpler ones involved only one household and without any animal sacrifice. Rituals that involved animal sacrifices such as horses and chickens are sponsored by different households, and so collectively performed almost every week. Such rituals take several days to complete. On many occasions, when a household is about to complete a ritual, another household is preparing to sponsor another one. Participants in turn attend one ritual after another. Rituals for Ammatoans are thus a matter of uninterrupted everyday concerns and practices. Sponsoring and participating in rituals are among issues that consume people's attention the most. Ritual performance is one of the determinants of the well-being and status of an individual. Rituals are so common that they are integral parts of everyday practice. Not all of everyday practice is ritual, but the two are intertwined in complex ways.

After I learned that ritual and other everyday practices are intertwined, my observation and participation extended to practices theoretically categorized as agricultural, economic, political, and all kinds of everyday practices. It is not an exaggeration to say that anything that appeared in view was potential data. I documented as many of them as I possibly could. Documenting them, I utilized basic instruments: pens, writing books, and a digital video and photo camera.

In addition, although written tradition has been introduced to the community, Ammatoans continue to value orality more than written texts and are suspicious of writing. I learned just how suspicious they are of the written word when I noticed that they were reluctant to talk to me when they knew that I was writing down or recording their words. I had to make certain that my informants approved before I used my instruments. Very few allowed me to record their words or write notes in front of them. I had no choice other than to rely on memory when other instruments were not available. To avoid losing information stored in my memories, I wrote my field notes almost every night before I slept. To assure the validities of my field notes, I re-raised and confirmed them with my informants, and re-wrote my field notes.

For information and data documented with my camera, I trained some people interested in using it. In most cases I taught them how to use the camera and did not tell them what to photograph. After knowing how to use a camera, they took video-photographs of whatever they pleased. A few of them were given instructions about what they should take. I was also somewhat fortunate that one of my informants was trained in video-photography. He was a student of Art

school of Makassar. I explained what I was interested in a general sense and he determined what to video-photograph.

These documents (field notes and video-photographs) were sources for me to have effective interviews with many of my informants. After sorting out and classifying those documents, I conceptualized certain issues that I wanted to pursue for elaboration through interviews. Having learnt in the fieldwork that structured and semi-structured interviews were not helpful, I deployed unstructured interviews. My informants were often reluctant to respond to my questions when I happened to try to deploy methods of structured and semi-structured interviews. Responses or answers they provided to my questions with the methods were mostly “Yes” and “No.” I found the structured interviews were ineffective. I then utilized the unstructured ones both to build initial rapport with the people and to gain deeper understanding about data collected and issues uncovered by the previous methods (Bernard, 2006, Spradley, 1979). I employed unstructured interviews with my informants of Ammatoans, non-Ammatoan Muslims, and state officials.

For Ammatoan informants, anyone in the community initially was potential informant, especially during my first two months in the field site because I was learning Konjo, the language of Ammatoans. Every Konjo speaker in the community was a potential teacher. Ammatoans that I unintentionally met were also my informants, regardless of their social and political status. Some provided interesting information, while others did not share any. This way of selecting informants is spontaneous. There are at least two reasons I found this

method of selecting informants applicable. The first was that I had enough time to do so. The second was that Ammatoans have concepts of a kind of esoteric knowledge, which belongs to individuals. Esoteric knowledge ranges from knowledge about the Pasang to knowledge about harvesting crops. Some Ammatoans are known to possess such knowledge. It is often not clear who they are. There are people who are known to possess some kind of esoteric knowledge, but exactly what kind is not clear.

Such esoteric knowledge belongs to individuals because it is gained through individual pursuits. It is not publically shared and distributed. Before accessing such knowledge (information), I learnt processes that included seeing a knowledge owner for at least three times. All *sanro* (traditional specialist) and *adat* holders are known to possess esoteric knowledge. Spontaneous selections helped me know individuals who were not *sanro* or *adat* holders, but held kinds of esoteric knowledge. They are mostly elders.

In addition to spontaneous selection, I chose my informants based on the issues being investigated. If for example I was interested in learning about a certain ritual, I interviewed practitioners (officials and participants, male and female) of that ritual. *Sanro*, *adat* holders, and some elders were selected this way.

The uses of video-photographs for interviews with my informants were effective. Again, after sorting those videos and photographs out and classifying them thematically, I easily selected which videos and photographs to show to selected informants. I showed them an album and asked them to make comments.

For some occasions, I chose a specific album for a specific person(s) to ask about details as appeared in videos and photographs. Photographs and video showings were also used for group discussions. Participants in group discussions were managed accordingly: Some discussions were only males; some were female only; and others were mixed. Data acquired through these methods supplemented my field notes. Through these methods and tools, I collaborated with Ammatoans to incorporate native interpretations of their events, performances, and activities.

The Structure of Thesis

This dissertation consists of seven chapters, this introduction (chapter one) and six others. Chapter two is an ethnographic sketch of the Ammatoan community, which includes the people, land, and language, their religion, politics, education, healthcare, and economy. These are among issues that Ammatoans are currently concerned with. This chapter elaborates on the theme of the Ammatoans as an “isolated community” and as such the target of the state’s development programs, and the ways the Ammatoans deal with state projects.

Chapter three elaborates the politics of territorial divisions. It includes three sections: 1) the history of the territorial divisions, which elaborates transformations of Ammatoan conceptualizations and constructions of territoriality; 2) the political structure of Ammatoans, which serves to explain Ammatoan political structures and practices as ways of implementing their territorial conceptualization as well as that of maintaining their territorial authority; and 3) the notion of *kamase-masea* (modesty) vs. *kalumanyang* (superfluous), which argues that territorial conceptualization and construction are

guided by religious ideas. As a whole, this chapter presents arguments that politics are inseparable from religion.

Chapter four discusses the Ammatoan oral tradition called *Pasang ri Kajang*. It discusses values and norms encoded in the *Pasang* as being exercised in politics, economy, agriculture, and other kinds of everyday practices. In chapter five, the focus is on Ammatoan ritual. This chapter interprets rituals as everyday practices because like the *Pasang*, rituals are everyday concerns. As everyday practices, rituals as elaborated in this chapter are about social, cultural, economic, and political practices.

Chapter six focuses on encounters and interactions between Ammatoans and other powers. I argue that these interactions are dialectical. *Adat* or indigenous religion of Ammatoans, Islam, and modernity are the subjects of this chapter. It shows how Ammatoans articulate those three sources for their religious practices to meet their everyday needs and interests. It also shows how other powers bringing Islam and modernity influence, and are influenced by Ammatoans. In relation to encounters, this chapter discusses the discourse of *adat* and *agama* (religion). The discussion of this discourse shows that *adat* and *agama* (religion) have been conceptualized not only for academic purposes but even more for political purposes. This chapter describes discourse about *agama* and *adat* during the colonial and the post-colonial periods chronologically. The presentation of the discourse is to argue that concepts of *adat* and *agama* have been politically and historically constructed. Being so, new conceptualization of *adat* and *agama* is always possible. Chapter seven is the conclusion. It argues that

Ammatoan *adat* is religious and because its characteristics are attached to locality and membership it can be understood as an indigenous religion.

Chapter 2

ETHNOGRAPHIC SKETCH OF THE AMMATOAN COMMUNITY

The People, the Language, and the Land.

The people referred to in this research are those who have been identified as *to Kajang lekleng* (K./M., the “Black” Kajang) (McKanzie, 1994), Black Konjo (Friberg, 1993), the people of Ammatoa (Usop, 1978; Salle, 1999; Katu, 2000; Akhmady, 2007), the Patuntung of Kajang (Cense, 1931; Syamsuddin, 1983/4; Rössler, 1990; Qoyim, 2004; Adhan, 2007), the *adat* community of Kajang (Syam, 2005; Parawansah, 2006), and the Kajang Dalam (the ‘inner circle’ of Kajang) as opposed to the Kajang Luar (the ‘outer circle’ of Kajang) (Tyson, 2009). McKanzie says that *To Kajang Lekleng* is not heard very frequently, and the name she uses in her work is a direct translation of the Indonesian expression, *Orang Kajang Hitam* (McKanzie, 1994, p. 55, fn.3). During my fieldwork I heard the expression of *To Kajang Lekleng* quite frequently but by other Kajang people as well as non-Kajang outsiders. The expression is usually meant to denote people possessing “black” magic (Friberg, 1993, p. 100, 102). In the case of the term Patuntung (M./K.), which means a state of being enlightened, Ammatoans accept it as a part of their tradition but not as the name of the community. They argue that their way of life is based on their oral tradition, the *Pasang ri Kajang*, and *patuntung* is one element of the *Pasang ri Kajang*.

The fact that scholars, researchers, activists, and outsiders deploy several different names is understandable because the people themselves have not consistently used one name to identify themselves. They sometimes identify

themselves as *tau Kajang* (the people of Kajang), *tau Konjo* (the people of Konjo), or Ammatoans. But those names are deployed contextually and are used to convey certain messages. When they said, “*Kitte nni tau Kajang*” (we are the people of Kajang), they meant that they shared an identity with other people who are ethnically categorized as Kajang, different from other ethnic groups in South Sulawesi such as the Makassarese, Buginese, Torajanese, or Mandarese. They usually associate the name Kajang with one of their origin myths. That myth recounts how in the beginning *tau mariolo* (the divine being) descended from the heaven to *tombolo*³ (coconut shell) shaped hill, later called Tanah Toa, in the middle of ocean with a big bird called *Koajang* (Katu, 2000, p. 59). *Tau mariolo* begat humankind and the name of the bird *Koajang* was taken to label humankind.

Similar purposes and meanings are conveyed when they say, “*Tau Konjo ngasek kunni*” (people here are all Konjo). The people speak Konjo, one of Sulawesi languages. Many of them speak Indonesian, the national language, Makassarese, or Buginese, but they also have their own language, Konjo. The name Konjo is sometimes also associated by Makassarese with its literal meaning, “over there.” Makassarese compare the word Konjo with a Makassarese word, *kunjo* (M./K.) which means “over there.” Makassarese initially used that word to designate people who lived in remote areas and in isolation.

The linguist Barbara Friberg (1993), Working with the people of Kajang, observes that lying between the dominant Buginese and Makassarese languages,

³This name is also used for a hamlet of Tanah Toa (see figure 1).

Konjo is spoken by some 200,000 people living in South Sulawesi (Friberg, 1995, p. 563, see also Gibson, 2005, p. 7). Friberg (1991; 1993; 1995) and Thomas Gibson (2000) identify two different types of Konjo speakers: Mountain and Coastal Konjo. The term Mountain Konjo is used to designate those who live in the mountains in the subdistrict of Tinggi Moncong in Gowa district and in the subdistrict of Sinjai Barat in Sinjai district, respectively. Coastal Konjo is used by those who live in the Bulukumba district (Friberg, 1993a, p. 99). In terms of intelligibility and lexicostatistics (75% similar), Mountain and Coastal Konjo should be considered separate languages. The factor which makes them distinct is their vocabularies (Friberg, 1995, p. 563).

Friberg observes that Coastal Konjo consists of a dialect chain running from north to south. The changes are small between adjacent communities. The whole chain represents a divergence of perhaps 10-15%. The most marked differences are at the northern and southern extremes. At the northern end lies the culturally distinct Tanah Toa area. It is not certain whether the differences are due to influence of the Bugis language or due to isolation and resistance to outside influences. In the south, Ara and Bira areas are distinct,⁴ showing an increasing affinity with Selayar (Friberg, 1995, p. 563).

For Ammatoans, all Konjo speakers are their fellow Konjo: they share the same history: “*Sekreji bohena Tau Konjo a*” (only one grandfather of Konjo people). To distinguish themselves from other Kajang groups or Konjo speakers, Ammatoans have used other names and expressions. This is due to the positions

⁴These were the subject of Thomas Gibson’s (2005) research.

of individuals being asked. Those who live in the inner territory often said, “*Kitte nni rilalang rambannaki amma, jari anakna ngasek ki Amma*” (we live inside the fence of the Amma (meaning the Ammatoa, the leader), and so we are the “children” of the Amma). Those who live in the outer territory consider themselves to be the “children” (or followers) of the Ammatoa, but some also sometimes said that those in the inner territory are the “real children.” An informant from the outer territory expressed, “We are the children of Amma, but we have been *madoraka* (“sinful”) to the Amma.” The informant elaborated that the extensive deployment of modern technology, such electricity, television, and cars, has led the people to “sinfulness.”

The Ammatoan *adat* community of Kajang has also been popularly deployed by those from the outer territory, especially those who have been actively involved in cultural conservation. This expression has most likely developed as a response to the discourse of *adat* revitalization that has been recently promoted by Indonesian NGOs (Davidson & Henley, 2007; Tyson 2009). Another expression worth noting is when Ammatoans, especially elders and those from the inner territory, say, “*Tau dongo ja borra kunni. Punna caraddeko lampako*” (Only the “stupid” people live here. If you are “smart,” you have to go away). Explaining the meaning of “stupid,” they said that the people do not write and read. The word “stupid” may then be interpreted as illiterate or more correctly oral. This expression implies that they live according to oral tradition, in particular the Pasang ri Kajang, which distinguishes them from other Konjo or Kajang (Cence, 1931; Rössler, 1990).

Lorraine Aragon (2000), an anthropologist working in Central Sulawesi, observed that the Dutch colonial administration, beginning their work in Sulawesi, formally identified their colonial subjects based on what they considered distinct languages and ethnic groups, and that the Indonesian state continued this colonial method by referring to linguists to help identify its people (p. 47). Thus Konjo is one of languages spoken in South Sulawesi and those who speak it have been categorized as the Konjo people. Furthermore, although the historical ties between Makassarese and Konjo people are not clearly defined (Friberg, 1993, p. 99, see also Cummings, 2001, p. 425), Konjo has been assumed to be the sub-language of Makassarese (Pelenkahu, Basang, Saeha, and Yatim, 1971; Salle, 1999, p. 41) or a member of the Makassarese chain of languages (Grimes & Grimes, 1987). Just as the Tobaku who were placed under the generic category of Torajanese, the Konjo people have been identified as a sub-ethnic group of the Makassarese, one of the dominant ethnic groups in South Sulawesi. F. David Bulbeck argues that in South Sulawesi, when a language is geographically circumscribed it equates to ethnic identity (Bulbeck, 2000). Friberg (1995, p. 563) argues that classifying Konjo a dialect of Makassarese is primarily done for socio-political reasons. It is to show the supremacy of Makassar over Kajang

In addition to language as the source for the mapping of ethnic groups in South Sulawesi, the chronicles of Gowa and Talloq, the powerful twin kingdoms of Makassar from the fourteenth to eighteenth centuries, offer additional help in locating Konjo. According to Cummings (2001), the chronicles mention that

Bulukumba was subdued by the twin kingdoms of Gowa and Talloq four different times. The first time was in the 1540s. The second conquest followed soon after, presumably reinforcing Bulukumba's subservience or perhaps in response to open defiance. The second conquest was done by Tunipalangga the ruler of Gowa from 1546 to 1565. The next period was in the early seventeenth century after a generation or two had passed. During this period, Karaeng Matoaya the ruler of Talloq from 1593 to 1623 conquered Bulukumba twice (2001, p. 425). Cummings argues, however, that the information in the chronicles seems to be stemming from an oral history first written down in the twentieth century (2001, p. 425). He argues that it was recorded for political purposes to demonstrate the power of the twin kingdoms over the other polities of Bulukumba, including the kingdom of Kajang. Cummings presents a previously unpublished chronicle, the "Story of Maturaga" (K./M., *Pau-Paua Maturaga*), which shows the independence of Bulukumba, especially the Ammatoans, from Gowa (2001, p. 426). The story was prohibited by Gowa's rulers. The chronicle suggests that the leader of the Ammatoans, Maturaga, deceived, cheated, and tricked the people of underworld and took over the *kalompoang* (K./M.), the source of authority and the potency of the land (2001, p. 429). Possessing *kalompoang* implies holding power.

These two sources, language and historical chronicles, show the reason why the Konjo or Kajang, and so the Ammatoans, have been categorized as a sub-ethnic group of the Makassarese. The presentation of the two also shows that the categorization is based on social and political reasons, as Friberg suggests, and thus historically constructed. This argument helps me to understand why today's

Konjo, especially the Ammatoans, strongly argue that they are distinct from the Makassarese and the Buginese despite many similarities.

In a gathering of May 2009, one informant stated, “I cannot understand why people identify us as a sub-ethnic group of the Makassarese. We do not understand each other when we are speaking our own languages.” In a ritual of *minro bajik*⁵ (restoration of status), an informant showed me examples of how they were different from the Makassarese. The ritual was sponsored by parents whose daughter married a Makassarese boy. Because they did not perform the traditional wedding when they married, the couple could not visit their relatives and stay in the community. The relatives of the Ammatoan girl, in turn, did not visit the couple who happened to live in Makassar. Their familial ties were cut off. Not until more than three years, did the couple restore their status (*minro bajik*). They reinstalled their familial ties and membership in the Ammatoan community.

The husband and his relatives had to learn what to prepare and do for the ritual of *minro bajik*, since they never observed the ritual before. After learning that everything was ready, the couple and the husband’s relatives came to see the wife’s parents in Tanah Toa. During the ritual, husband and his relatives seemed to be confused about what to do. They were always directed in performing all of

⁵*Minro bajik* comprising two words: *minro* means “coming back home” and *bajik* means “good” means coming back home to restore the status. *Minro bajik* is sponsored when someone wants to restore his status after he ruins it. Someone ruins his status when transgressing the tradition and for that reason he has to leave the community. Leaving the community means cutting off the ties with the community, including that of family. No contact and communication between the transgressor and the community is expected until the transgressor is ready to sponsor the ritual of *minro bajik*.

the activities. They obviously had no idea what they should properly do and expect.

When an *adat* holder gave a speech and explained the purpose and the meaning of *minro bajik*, that is, to restore the status of the couple, the husband and his relatives asked for translation and explanation from someone who spoke Konjo. My informant confirmed, “These Makassarese do not understand Konjo, let alone our culture or tradition. How could we be categorized as the same group or as sub-ethnic group?”

Both the Makassarese and the Konjo understood how they were different in this situation and in general. The Makassarese husband told me that he just did whatever he was told to do. His relatives did the same. Some of them said that it was the first time that they observed and were involved in such a ritual. For them, *minro bajik* was like a second wedding for the same couple, which they thought was strange. Meanwhile, some Ammatoans commented that it was always not easy to deal with non-Ammatoans in such a ritual. “It seems no one understands who we are and what we do,” one informant said.

To further elaborate their distinction from the Makassarese and others, Ammatoans profess that their land is the center of the world. The existence of their land determines that of all other lands. The role of their land in maintaining the world is central. Primordially ordered by the divine Being, Ammatoans must take care of the center, the land on which they live, otherwise the world will end. Ammatoans refer to their oral tradition, *Pasang ri Kajang*, to explain this subject.

Ammatoans are well-known for their success in preserving their forest. They are often held up by NGOs and outside observers as an example of how indigenous or traditional strategies can help forest preservation. Dozens of forestry students have explored Ammatoan ways of preserving their forest (Ahmad, 1989; Tawang, 1996; Salle, 1999; Fitriani, 2003; Sinohadji, 2004; Syam, 2005; Parawansah, 2006; Al-Rawali, 2008). These authors agree that the main reason Ammatoans can successfully preserve their forest is based on their understanding of, and commitment to, the rules of the forest as prescribed in the *Pasang ri Kajang*. Syamsurijal Adhan (2007) notes that *Pasang 49* of the *Pasang ri Kajang* leads the Ammatoans to perceive that communion, or solidarity, is not only between human beings, but also between human beings and other beings, including the forest (p. 263).

Ammatoans divide their forest containing 331.70 hectares into three different kind of forest: *borong karamak* (“powerful” forest), *borong battasayya* (demarcation forest), and *borong luarak* (outer (ordinary) forest). *Borong karamak*, the powerful forest, is the place of the ancestors where non-ritual activities are restricted. For example it is forbidden to fell trees, plant trees, or hunt. They could kill an animal from this part of the forest only if the animal came out from the *borong karamak* and did not run when approached. It meant the animal had submitted itself to humans (Adhan, 2007, p. 264). Hunting wild mushrooms in the *borong karamak* was, however, allowed. *Borong battasaya* is the forest in which it is allowable to take out timber as long as it is available and the Ammatoa has given his permission. It is permissible to take timber for the

benefit of the community or for individuals who are building a house and have nothing else to use. These individuals are required to take only the needed wood and to replant the same kind of trees. *Borong luara* is the part of the forest open to exploitation. People collect firewood from this type of forest, especially when sponsoring an extensive ritual. Its exploitation is still limited and people are not allowed to take more than what they need.

Ammatoans live in the village of Tanah Toa in the sub-district of Kajang in the district of Bulukumba. Based on the village profile of 2009, the population was 4625. This included 2073 men and 2552 women living in 959 households. It is located approximately six hours from Makassar, the capital city of South Sulawesi province, by car.

The district of Bulukumba, whose capital city is about 67 kilometers from Tanah Toa, consists of ten sub-districts, including Kajang where most Ammatoans reside (see Table 1).

Table 1

Names of the Sub-Districts and Area Distributions

Names of sub-district	Area size (km ²)	Percentage of area
Gantarang	173,51	15,03
Ujung Bulu	14,44	1,25
Ujung Loe	144,31	12,50
Bonto Bahari	108,60	9,40
Bonto Tiro	78,34	6,78
Herlang	68,79	5,96
Kajang	129,06	11,18
Bulukumpa	171,33	14,84
Rilau Ale	117,53	10,18
Kindang	148,76	12,88

Source: the profile of Kajang, Bulukumba, 2004.

The sub-district of Kajang consists of eleven villages: Batu Nilamung, Maleleng, Bonto Baji, Pattiorang, Tanah Toa, Mattoanging, Possi Tana, Tambang, Lembana, Bontorannu, and Lembang. Tanah Toa is surrounded by four villages which were actually parts of Tanah Toa until the 1970s. They are Batu Nilamung at the northeast, Maleleng at the southeast, Bonto Baji at the southwest, and Pattiroang at the northwest. For that reason, Parawansah (2006, p. 59) and Tyson (2009, p. 206) argue that the four villages surrounding Tanah Toa are part of the inner territory, and that the other villages of the Kajang sub-district are parts of the outer territory of Ammatoans. Tanah Toa is in the northern part of Kajang sub-district and consists of nine hamlets: Balagana, Jannayya, Pangi, Sobbu, Bongki, Tombolo, Benteng, Luraya, and Balambina (see figure 1).

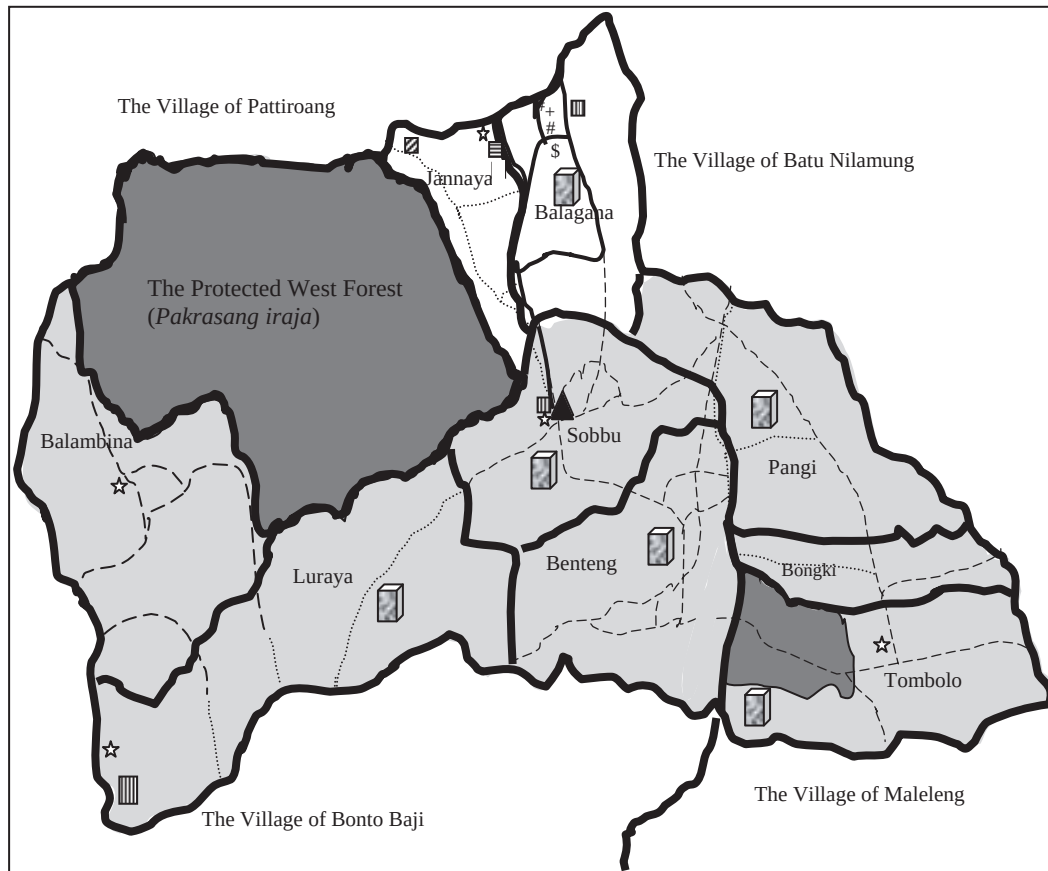
The area of Tanah Toa is 729 ha and the land is administratively divided into several categories based on its usage (see table 2).

Table 2

Area Distribution of Tanah Toa

No.	Name	Size
1.	Settlement	169 ha/m2
2.	Cultivated Rice fields	93 ha/m2
3.	Gardening	30 ha/m2
4.	Graveyard	5 ha/m2
5.	Yard area	95 ha/m2
6.	Offices	1 ha/m2
7.	Other public areas	95 ha/m2
8.	Forest	331 ha/m2

Source: The village profile of Tanah Toa, Kajang, Bulukumba, 2009.



- The outer territory
- The inner territory
- The forest
- ▲ The gate
- ☆ Mosque
- ▣ High school
- ▤ Junior high school
- ▥ Elementary school
- # The office of village administration
- + Clinic
- \$ Market
- ▣ graveyard
- Borders of hamlets/villages
- Asphalted road
- - Hardened road
- Footstep road

Figure 1. Map of the Village of Tanah Toa (modified from The village profile of Tanah Toa, Kajang, Bulukumba, 2009).

In Tanah Toa, there is a gate dividing the Ammatoan territory into two: *ilalang embaya* (the inner territory) and *ipantarang embaya* (the outer territory) (see figure 2). *Ilalang embaya* includes all the hamlets of Tanah Toa except Jannayya and Balagana. They are parts of *ipantarang embaya*. In addition to the two hamlets of Tanah Toa, *ipantarang embaya* includes hamlets of other villages, especially the four that were previously parts of Tanah Toa.



Figure 2. The Gate dividing the Ammatoan territories.

A paved road leads to the gate, and so any vehicles available such as cars, motor cycles, and bicycles may be used up to the gate. Vehicles must be parked at the gate should people continue their trips to the inner territory. The only transportation allowable in the inner territory is horses, but horses are not always available. People mostly walk. During this fieldwork, I never rode a horse. I saw

few Ammataons riding horses, only when they went to their rice-field and gardens.

On the way to the gate from outside the village, in addition to rubber plantation, forest, ricefields, gardens, and of course traditional houses as well as luxurious, modern houses, one office of village administration, schools, a clinic, a mosque, and a small market are in view. Next to the gate is a tourism site sign. All these constructions may show that the community, having been determined by the state as *masyarakat terasing* (I., isolated people) and targetted by the state's program of *pembinaan masyarakat terasing* (I., guiding isolated people) (Rachmadi, 1990; Koentjaraningrat, 1993; Department of Social Affairs, 1981, 1986, 1989, 1994; Persoon, 1998) has transformed to a point that the Indonesian state might expect.

Each building represents a discourse. In what follows, I shall elaborate the discursive issues in relation to those buildings, with the exception of the tourism site sign. The office of the village administration represents issues of politics, schools signify the situation of education in the community, a clinic characterizes how Ammatoans deal with healthcare, mosques stand for Islam in the Ammatoan community, and the small market marks signs of the modernized economic system of Ammatoans. I choose not to discuss the issue of tourism because although the local government has designated the village of Tanah Toa as a tourist site, tourism remains insignificant.

Politics

The office of the village administration demonstrates that the Ammatoans are actively involved in the state's political system. Like other Indonesian villages, the village head in Tanah Toa is directly elected every five years, and can run for two terms. The village head is assisted by a secretary who is appointed by the head of the sub-district. There is also a council of representatives that is elected. The council functions to monitor the work of the village head. Assisted by the secretary of the village and supervised by personnel of the sub-district, the members of this council are also in charge of managing the election of a village head.

Both men and women can run for office. During my fieldwork, in Pattiroang, one of the villages in the Ammatoan outer territory, a female candidate ran for the office of village head. Although she did not win, she did get the second-most votes. As a candidate, she attracted voters based on her experience and her knowledge about the position. In Tanah Toa, there were no female candidates running for the office, despite efforts by the election committee to encourage them to compete. One of the committee members clarified, "That all candidates are males does not mean our system discriminates against females. It is simply because no woman is interested in the position this time." Advocating anti-gender discrimination in the politics of the village, another informant pointed to a woman running for the office of local house of representatives during the general election of 2009. Like the female candidate from Pattiroang, she lost too.

Her failure to win the office, the informant emphasized, was not because she was discriminated against by the system. She simply failed to gain enough support.

I observed people's enthusiasm for elections during the 2009 elections, which included races for president, as well as for the house of representatives (both national and local), and the office of village head. For the presidential election, Ammatoans were engaged mostly in debating who should be the president. They often made arguments like whoever the president was it would not affect them. They, nonetheless, enthusiastically shared news about the subject with each other. They came to their relatives and neighbors who had televisions to update their information. Those who watched television shared information with those who did not. Many Ammatoans, mainly those who live in the inner territory, did not watch television because electricity was not available to them. That does not mean, however, that they did not enjoy following the news.

The people's enthusiasm was even stronger for the election of the village head and the house of representatives, although their concern for representatives was for the local Bulukumba district because candidates running for the offices were their relatives, friends, and people whom they knew. Those candidates competed with each other for the same position. For this reason the political reality produced enthusiasm as well as tension at the same time among the people. Conflicts were unavoidable. Although it was exciting to have relatives running for office, people were extremely confused about who to vote for. Cousins, nephews, uncles, and close friends had to campaign for their own election by talking about their strengths as well as the weaknesses of their competitors, who happened to be

their own relatives. Supporters were also in the same difficult situation. This caused tension and conflict every time they participated in an election.

Such a political reality invited comments both positive and negative among Ammatoans. Many of them declared, “Democracy has brought both advantages and disadvantages to our life.” They have noticed that democracy has in theory offered equal opportunities for everyone to compete for power, but at the same time has unfortunately ruined the ties of relatives. In every *pesta demokrasi* (i.e., general election), the people fall into serious tension. “Our cousins and uncles become our enemies,” they complained. Learning from their experiences in the democratic political system, many Ammatoans asserted that their traditional political system was more favorable than democracy. They thought that it was at least more effective for their political life. Their traditional political system is not based on voting, but on *sitrukeng* (collective agreement) administered through an extensive ritual. Ammatoan traditional political system is elaborated in the following chapter.

That being said, there are two different political systems operating in the Ammatoan community. The democratic system is deployed for the election of village head, while the election of the Ammatoa, the community leader, uses a more traditional system. These systems are not interchangeable. The democratic one cannot be applied for the election of the Ammatoa, and the traditional one is inapplicable for electing a village head. However, the systems are not incompatible. They comfortably exist side by side. As explained in the next

chapter, the village head of Tanah Toa and other head villages which are part of Ammatoan territories are among the cabinets of the Ammatoa.

Both political systems have been part of Ammatoan political life, although the democratic process is much newer. With those two practices the people have reproduced political ideas and values. An elder informant elaborated his idea by showing me his fingers:

A community is like our fingers. When you clench your hand, you have power in your hand and can do many things, including those that are hard and difficult. Each finger of the hand can do things as well, but are limited. The hand is a symbol of a community. The five fingers represent different positions. The thumb is the leader, the index finger is the administrator, the middle finger is the scholar, the ring finger is the rich man, and the little finger is the people. Each position has its own duties, and each has the potential to fulfill them, but its existence is not only for itself. It exists for the other positions. Thus, fulfilling its duties is to serve others. All positions are as a whole one, and must be one. They are integral. To say it in another way, those positions with their own duties serve one goal: the well-being of all. In this context, it is the well-being of the community.

When asked if this idea had something to do with democracy, the informant stated, “It is what we learn from it. The system should go that way. It should work for the well-being of the people, the community.” But he also said in his understanding was based on the Pasang. He did not provide a particular Pasang to

prove his argument, but his idea could be traced to Pasang sayings such as 51, 23, and 49.

Education

There are five educational institutions in Tanah Toa. There are three elementary schools in the inner territory in Balagana, Sobbu and Luraya. Students of those hamlets of the inner territory come from both the inner and outer territory. The one in Luraya has students from the village of Bonto Baji, and the one in Sobbu has some students from the village of Pattiroang. Two other schools, which are both in Balagana, are for junior high and senior high school. As shown in the table below, the schools have been effective.

Table 3

Educational Representation of Ammatoans in 2009

Illiterate	109
Kindergarden	50
Elementary school	429
Graduated	1584
Dropped out	1573
Junior high	143
Graduated	54
Dropped out	124
Senior high	53
Graduated	54
Dropped out	49
D3 (Diploma)	13
Graduated	11
Bachelor	32
Graduated	17
Master	1

Source: the village profile of Tanah Toa, Kajang, Bulukumba, 2009.

The state sees Ammatoans, especially those who live in the inner territory, as being strongly attached to their tradition and against the national ideologies of

modernity and progress. For that reason, an elementary school was established in 1991 to facilitate education for children of the inner territory. Since then, almost every child from the inner territory has gone to the school, although very few have continued their study to higher level: less than ten had gained their bachelor degrees by the end of 1990s. As of 2009, the statistic shows that there has been a great development in education, especially when compared to 2005 (see table 4).

Table 4

Educational Representation of Ammataons in 2005.

Elementary school	1.600
Junior high	93
Senior high	41
Bachelor	3

Source: the village profile of Tanah Toa, Kajang, Bulukumba, 2005 (quoted from Syam, 2005, p. 21).

As in politics, the people's enthusiasm for education is strong. Parents have been very enthusiastic about sending their children to school. Many parents proudly narrated their successes or their "sacrifices" in financing their children's educations. An informant said, "I frequently have to postpone my wish to buy something when my kids need money. I always prioritize my childrens' education more than my own life." Culturally, it has become shameful for parents if their children do not go to school. The higher the education their children have, the prouder they are. Children are the same. They feel like they are "someone" If they go to school. It is something to be proud of, and school children see themselves as a bit "better" than those who do not go to school. On some occasions, I observed that school children were reluctant to interact with kids who didn't go to school.

They argued that children who did not go to school liked to speak “dirty” words and they had “no manners.”

Enthusiasm for education was also forged by college students. Ammatoan college students studying in the capital cities of Bulukumba district and South Sulawesi province, Makassar, often created activities in Tanah Toa when they had semester breaks. These students founded a student organization through which they managed programs not only for themselves but also for villagers. They held several organizational trainings. The trainings included programs on how to be a moderator, how to found and manage an organization, and how to operate computers. Although these students were not directly involved in politics or village administration, their services were much needed, expected, and used. This may also be another way for the state to insert itself into the daily lives of Ammatoans; and in a sense, creates a “need” for the state that previously did not exist. The students were always consulted in many activities of the village. They are the intellectuals of the village. Their presence and service prove to people that education is vital, and parents should send their children to schools.

This phenomenon is quite common in villages of Indonesia. The interesting fact here is that the Ammatoan community has for so long been described and understood to be so traditional, with a strong oral culture, so much that the impression has been that they are against writing. The community is well known for their strong attachment to their oral tradition, *Pasang ri Kajang*. Scholars such as Usop, Katu, Salle, and others assumed that oral tradition was the major obstacle for educational development in the village. These scholars saw

oral tradition and education as mutually exclusive. They argued that education could only be developed in the village if the people detached themselves from their oral tradition.

It would seem, however, that schools and educational programs have not swept away oral traditions. Ammatoans have responded to educational programs in a similar way that they have responded to democracy. Educational programs and all that they bring have been adjusted to the people's lives. Ideas and values coming through the programs are interpreted to fit their everyday life. Students who invented a new "position" significant to the Ammatoan politico-cultural landscapes incorporated Ammatoan religio-cultural values to win that position. Their presence and services did not replace but were set up to, and were perceived as, strengthening traditional values. People understood, as the students presented, that a student organization was an exercise of Pasang values, especially the one referring to the Pasang 49, which is about communion or solidarity. Training activities were declared to be an implementation of Pasang 8, which is about seeking and teaching knowledge. Moreover, students and other Ammatoans understand that any knowledge produced through schools and student organizations with trainings should be aimed at the well-being of the whole community. One informant explained, "Schools, organizations, trainings, and so forth are all means deployable to learn and implement the religio-cultural values of the Pasang." He added, "Any means effectively employable for that purpose should be optimized. Otherwise, it would be rejected." This view, however, does not imply that educational programs do not have any influence on the life of

Ammatoans. They are accepted and admired, as well as questioned and challenged.

Healthcare

Modern medicine has been introduced to and utilized by Ammataons, even though traditional practices are still seen as more attractive (see table 5). Unlike democracy and education, modern medicine does not interest Ammatoans much. They show their minimal enthusiasm toward modern medicine, but, officials argued, it is in a process of developing. Ammatoans, as the officials claimed, will sooner or later, advance toward accepting modern medicine, as they have in education and democracy.

To explain why their lack of enthusiasm for modern medicine, people argued that the work of a *sanro*, especially for birthing is much more desired than that of doctors and nurses because a *sanro* does the job for their patients throughout pregnancy. A *sanro* starts working with a woman from the first month of pregnancy. A *sanro*-patient relationship is close and personal. The relationship is even beyond the question of trust. An informant explained, “You do not question whether you trust your *sanro* or not. Your *sanro* is part of your family, although they are not your relatives. S/he cares not only for you, but also for your whole family.” The *sanro*-patient relationship became a serious concern among the people when comparing it with the doctor/nurse-patient relationship. They argued that doctors and nurses are just concerned with taking babies out from wombs. They do not seem to care of how much mothers are suffering in giving birth, let alone the family. For them, not allowing family members to stay with a

patient in a hospital is a serious problem. Some people told their relatives, “If you go to a hospital (for giving birth), we will not see you.”

Table 5

Pregnancy and Birth, Nursing Places, and Birthing

Pregnancy and Birth	
Pregnant	98
Check up at posyandu*	37
Check-up at clinic	11
Check up at hospital in city	2
Check up at private doctor in city	2
Check up at private nurse	21
Check up at <i>sanro</i> (traditional specialist)	25
Birthing	93
Miscarriage	3
Death of 0-1 month	1
Death of 1-12 months	1
Nursing places	
Clinic	1
Hospital	-
The house of <i>sanro</i>	10
At house (doctors or <i>sanro</i> come over)	82
Birthing	
By doctor	1
By midwife	4
By nurse	13
By <i>sanro</i>	75

Source: The village profile of Tanah Toa, Kajang, Bulukumba, 2009

*Center for integrated services (monthly service).

People were not interested in visiting the clinic in the village, not because they were never sick, but for other reasons. First, the clinic was often closed. People tried to visit it, but found it closed, and were reluctant to visit again. An informant explained that the medic being appointed to work in the clinic did not like to live in the village. The medics were not Ammatoans, and as soon they got

the chance to move to a more desirable place, they left. This phenomenon is not uncommon in rural Indonesia.

Second, modern medicine is expensive. For some Ammatoans, five thousand Rupiah is more valuable than five kilograms of rice, whose price is probably twenty five to forty thousand Rupiahs. It is more valuable because people could exchange it for many things. Unlike rice, money could be used to buy cigarettes, phone credit, drinks, or snacks. The people understood that the amount of rice is economically more valuable than the amount of money. They know that rice is not hard to sell, and if they bring it to the market and sell it, they would gain more money. But the issue is that one has to bring it and sell it first. The work of gaining money is perceived to be extremely difficult, so that when one possesses money he seriously thinks of what to spend it on. An informant expressed, “If you can avoid spending money, save it. Money means possessing everything you like.” Paying for medication with money, no matter how cheap it is, is still viewed to be expensive. If someone had a headache or a stomachache, they dealt with it themselves or went to a *sanro* for the reason that he was better off saving his money than buying medicine.

Third, healthcare is a traditional issue that every Ammatoan has been engaged in from childhood. Ammatoans have a physical and socio-religio-cultural theory for every illness. If someone gets a cold, his body is lacking heat. This is a kind of physical disease that Ammatoans as well as other Indonesians experienced often. For many Ammatoans, to cure the cold is to consume things whose substances are of heat. Palm juice and certain leaves of trees from forest are

choices for heat. In addition, Ammatoans have a concept of social diseases. They are even much more concerned with such diseases. Being anti-social, such as acting stingy, rude, arrogant, or individualistic, is more dangerous than the physically contagious flu, and deserves more attention. Moreover, Ammatoans conceptualize that physical diseases like skin irritations are mostly caused by socio-religio-cultural diseases. When asked about *akkalomba*, a ritual done to ensure a safe life for a child, many of them explained that it is to avoid skin irritations.

Fourth, traditional medication is handy and efficacious. It is easily accessible because their medicines are around them growing in the wild in addition to what they grow. If they do not have those medicines, they can ask for them from their neighbors. “They are of course for free,” one informant stressed. Because they felt they had learned from experience, Ammatoans are convinced that traditional medication is efficacious. An elder said, “If I get cough at night, I just have my son bring me *ballok* (traditional “alcoholic” drink made of palm juice) in the morning. I drink it, and by noon I feel better.” Some informed me that pepper, honey, orange, ginger, tamarind, and others that they mixed were what they consumed for the same and other diseases. For that reason, the elder was convinced. “If I get better with *ballok*, why should I go to a clinic?”

What has been explained about healthcare so far is that two different medical systems are present in the Ammatoan community. They both are choices for Ammatoans. They choose what is valuable and accessible. They consume what is efficacious to them. Their first choice may be because they were told, but

they make the same choice again only if they find it efficacious. They would not do the same if otherwise, they argued. Because their choices are based on their knowledge and experiences, whatever they choose, modern or traditional, is a logical choice. In this way, the modern and the traditional are for Ammatoans to examine and evaluate.

Religion

Religion practiced by Ammatoans has been claimed to be animistic, *patuntung*, pre-Islamic, and syncretic: It is of Islam and animism (Usop, 1978; Rössler, 1990; Salle, 1999; Katu, 2000; Asnawi, 2009; Akib, 2003; and others). These scholars argue that Ammatoans claim to be Muslim, but especially those from the inner territory, do not practice Islam. Although mosques and *musalla* (small mosques) have been built in Tanah Toa, Ammatoans supposedly do not use them. Salle (1999, p. 191) reports that the people do not participate in the common Islamic rituals, such Friday prayers and *idul fithr* (the festival concluding the fasting at the end of Ramadan). For that reason, these scholars have argued that Ammatoans, especially those from the inner territory, have not “completely” converted to Islam. For these authors, observing the Sharia, the five pillars of Islam, and detaching from indigenous tradition are what adds up to be “fully” Muslim.

The above theory of Ammatoan Islam is similar to what Ernest Gellner (1992) understands as “Folk Islam.” Gellner, following Arab historian Ibn Khaldun, defines two kinds of Islam: High Islam and lower or Folk Islam. If High Islam is oriented towards textual learning or scripturalist, puritanical, and the

orderly observation of rules, Folk Islam, Gellner explains, is personality-addicted, and ritualistic. It focuses on Sufis, saints and the rituals associated with them.

Folk Islam, in contrast to High Islam, is not interested in textual scholarship. It is a religion for illiterate people (Gellner, 1991, p. 5; Lessnoff, 2007, p. 189).

Michael Lessnoff (2007), however, has argued that Gellner's dichotomous categorization of Islam is misleading. He argues that Gellner associates High Islam with modernity, specifically with science. Lessnoff argues that in Islamic history, Sufistic Islam has been pervasive in all levels of Muslim society (p. 190). He also observes, in contrast, to Gellner that the ulama, (A. scholar-jurists), who are seen as the guardians of High Islam, have no affinity with the scientific spirit or intellectual preconditions. He refers to al- Ghazzali, a great Sufi Muslim to demonstrate that many orthodox ulama are also Sufis. (p. 191).

Gellner argues that these two kinds of Islam have been in competition and that no definitive victory was achieved until the modern period. He argues that colonial and post-colonial powers successfully destroyed lower/Folk religion/Islam. Under modern conditions, Muslim society has favored High Islam over the other (1991, p. 5-6). Gellner's explanation of Muslim society is overstated and is does not work in the Indonesian context. Gellner's High Islam is not favored in Indonesia, and is not embraced by large parts of the Indonesian Islamic community. Thus in the Indonesian context Gellner's dichotomy is problematic. Along with Clifford Geertz (1971), who was also influenced by Max Weber, Gellner would argue that because Indonesian Islam is traditionally Sufi oriented, it is lower/Folk Islam.

To some extent, Gellner's theory may reflect the context of Ammatoan Islam in relation to its encounters with other Muslim groups and the Indonesian state. Scripturalist Muslims have long campaigned against Ammatoans, who they consider heterodox. Ammatoans, however, have professed to be Muslim since the seventeenth century, and already have long had contact with scripturalist and Sharia oriented Muslims. The first contact was in the late sixteenth century when three Muslim *da'i* (A./I., missionaries) arrived in the region. Two of them were known to be legalist-scripturalists. While those two both failed in spreading Islam in the area, the third *da'i* who was Sufi was well accepted. In the 1950s, another scripturalist Muslim movement, Darul-Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia (DI/TII) (I., Islamic Nation / Indonesian Muslim Military, reached the community. This movement also failed to spread its version of Islam in the community. During the New Order (1965-1998) several groups reintroduced scripturalist Islamic propaganda to the Ammatoan community. These groups have included campaigners from Muhammadiyah-affiliated Muslim groups, Muslim universities in Makassar, and from state sponsored groups. These groups continue to perpetuate their propaganda because they believe that Ammatoan "Folk" (animistic) Islam should be transformed into "High" (Sharia) Islam. Ammatoans, however, have responded to those campaigns in ways that allow them to maintain their Muslim uniqueness.

Encounters between Ammatoans and other Muslim groups will be extensively examined in chapter six. Here, I shall show that, in contrast to other scholars' problematic theory on Ammatoan religion (animistic or folk/lower

Islam), I argue that Ammatoans contribute to the multifaceted Islam. The presence of mosques as Islamic religious sites shows that the Ammatoan community is part of the Islamic *ummah*, the global Muslim community. There are five mosques in Tanah Toa: two big mosques (one in Jannaya and the other in Luraya) and three small mosques, usually called *musalla*, which are in Sobbu, Balambina, and Tombolok (See map in figure 1). Like other Muslims, Ammatoans understand that the mosque is the center for Islamic rituals and activities. Ammatoans come to the mosque every Friday at noon for Friday prayer, and as elsewhere, only male Ammatoans came to the mosque for the Friday prayer. The mosque in Jannaya is also visited five times every day for the five required daily prayers, but the *maghrib* prayer at sunset was the most frequently attended, and the noon and afternoon times were less frequently attended. Participants at *maghrib* ranged from five to twenty, and for after dark and dawn were mostly from three to five people. I sometimes found the mosque during noon and afternoon prayers only attended by one or two people, and sometimes it was empty. The explanation was that people were at work during those times.

During Ramadan in 2009 more people attended the mosque. For this period, the night prayer, *isha* (I./A./K.), was most attended both by male and female, adults and children. People came to the mosque at this period both to perform the *isha* prayer as well as other ritual activities. After performing *isha* prayer, they managed to have Quranic recitation by a *qori(ah)* (I./A., male/female reciter of the Qur'an) and a sermon by a preacher. Both reciters and preachers

were Ammatoans. An elder commented on the fact that Ammatoans have done those jobs by saying, “I am so proud and happy looking at those youths standing at the podium and reciting and preaching about the Qur’an. We no longer need a person from somewhere else to do the job.” After the sermon the people performed *taraweh* (I./A., night prayers of Ramadan) prayer. The *taraweh* prayer was eleven *rakaat* (I./A., prayer movement cycles)⁶: eight for *taraweh* and three for *witr*.⁷

People in Indonesia like to count the *rakaat* to identify association with the two main Muslim organizations of Indonesia: Nahdhatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah. NU Muslims are commonly known to observe *taraweh* with twenty three *rakaat* whereas Muhammadiyah Muslims are alleged to perform it with eleven *rakaat*. Finding Ammatoans observing *taraweh* with eleven *rakaat*, people might assume that Ammatoans are Muhammadiyah affiliated. People, however, would be confused about that assumption when observing that in prayers Ammatoans recite *bismillah* (a Qur’anic sentence recited before reciting verses and chapters of the Qur’an) loudly. The loudness of *bismillah* recitation is thought to be a NU tradition. Muhammadiyah Muslims allegedly recite *bismillah* quietly. In fact, Ammatoans are not definitively affiliated with either of the two Muslim groups. No branches of either group existed in the village, but several college students went to colleges and Muhammadiyah affiliated universities.

⁶*Rakaat* means movement. In Islam a *solat* (prayer, like that of the five daily prayers of Islam, Friday prayer, *taraweh*, and so forth) consists of movements (*rakaat*), and each *rakaat* consists of several movements: standing, prostration, bowing, and sitting.

⁷*Witr* (A.) is another kind of *solat*, observed to conclude *taraweh*.

Muhammadiyah is well known for its agenda and activities to purify Islamic practices. They strongly believe that Islam must be only based on the Qur'an and the Hadith (tradition) of the prophet, Muhammad. Outside those two sources, things like *adat* (customs, local tradition) are categorized as TBC, the acronym for *takhyul* (I./A., superstition), *bid'ah* (I./A., innovation), and *churafat* (I./A., myth, superstition), and thus forbidden. If Islam is mixed with *adat*, the practice becomes invalid. Most university students found the discourse of purification and TBC/*adat* to be strong in their schools. They were told that Ammatoan ritual practices or *adat* are TBC. They did not refuse the idea completely but nor did they wholly accept it. They fit the discussion into their own history and experiences. One of them said:

I was told that as a Muslim I should practice only Islam and leave the traditional rituals. In schools, I listen to and follow what my friends told me to do and not to do. They told me that going to a river, forest, graves, and other places for rituals are forbidden. The prophet never did such things, and so they are TBC. In school (university), I then do not practice any rituals but the Islamic ones. When I go back home, instead of telling my parents and my people what I was told in school, I participate in every single ritual I know being sponsored. My participation is the way I honor my parents, my people, and the way I see myself as part of the community I am identified by.

Responses on the subject of mixing local traditions with Islam among students varied. In addition to the above perspective, some agreed with Islamic

purification and thought of *adat* as invalidating Islam. However, they were not open about their approval of the idea of purifying Islamic practices. They did not talk about their position in public. In addition, they continued to attend *adat* rituals, but said that their attendance was for *silaturrahmi* (I./A., seeing relatives and friends and spreading goodwill) as recommended in Islam and not for the ritual. Some of them did the opposite. They heard about the discourse favoring Islamic purification and degrading *adat* in schools, but did not get bothered by it. In a group one of them said, “We hear but do not listen to them.” Another informant clarified, “We come to the school to study subjects that have nothing to do with the discourse. So we focus on our own subjects and do not pay attention to the purification issues.” Students who held this position were proud of their *adat* as signaling their identity. They then explained, “That does not mean that we are not Muslim or do not practice Islam. We see Islam as completely compatible with our *adat*.”

Students’ various responses to Islam and *adat* reflect a common picture of a religious phenomenon in the Ammatoan community. Ammatoans are all Muslim. The arrival of Islam in the seventeenth century has been one of the major sources for Ammatoan self-identification. An informant explained, “Someone is a Muslim even before he is born.” The informant implies that an Ammatoan self is inseparable from Islam. Islam is the self. Being a person is being a Muslim. Being Muslim is what makes someone an Ammatoan. Those who shared this idea could not understand when others portrayed them as less than-Muslim. Islam for them is a commitment and responsibility. It is what everyone has to carry out. If someone

is irresponsible, it does not mean that he is less Islamic or un-Islamic. He just does not carry out his responsibility well. The informant explained that commitment and responsibility are not only about performing rituals. They are about being human, which means to commit and be responsible for the well-being of humanity and all existence. For details about being responsible, the informant referred to their traditional values: resolute, honest, patient, and self-fulfilled (elaborated in chapter four). In short, Islam for Ammatoans is self-identity. Islam, however, is not the only source of identity. *Adat* has been as strong as Islam for self-identification.

Adat works for self-identification among Ammatoans. Like for Islam, Ammatoans live by and for *adat*. Unlike Islam, *adat* is what makes them different from others. Being Muslim justifies that Ammatoans are integral to the Muslim *ummah*. Islam connects them to other communities, especially their neighbors who are Muslim. *Adat* on the other hand demarcates them from others. Ammatoan *adat* belongs only to Ammatoans, and is not shared with others. *Adat* is imagined by the community to be original, primordial and thus precedes Islam. This would imply that when compared to Islam, *adat* has deeper roots and is thus stronger in terms of self-identification. However, as the discourse of religion and *adat* that has been around since the colonial period until the present (see chapter six), one might find that *adat* has been weakened, and so it might be weaker than Islam for self-identification.

Both theories could be right, but instead of arguing which one is stronger, it is theoretically more convincing to say that from the beginning of their

encounter, Islam and *adat* have articulated themselves in responses to one another. In some occasions like in mosque, especially during Ramadan, Islam may seem to be stronger. In other occasions, *adat* might appear to dominate Islam, like in ritual practices as explained in chapter five. When seeing Ammatoan religious phenomena as a whole, Islam and *adat* overlap. In Islamic rituals, such as the practice of Ramadan, *adat* is always present. The opposite works the same. In Ammatoans rituals, Islam is present in some way. Islam and *adat* may be even seen as one, not in syncretic sense, but as the way Ammatoans understand it. When asked about a certain ritual, an Ammatoan replied, “It’s our *adat*,” and when asked how they practice Islam, the same informant pointed to the same ritual he previously categorized as *adat*. The informant implied that the given ritual is both totally Islamic and totally *adat*.

Economy

The presence of a small market in Tanah Toa may indicate that economic life of Ammatoans is capitalistic, understanding that capitalist transactions are represented as a generalized commodity exchange through a market (Carnegie, 2008, p. 364). The economic life of Ammatoans cannot, however, be theorized by only looking at the existence of the market, for their economic practices and enterprises are diverse. They include communal, private, and non-market transactions and so all should be incorporated in an economic analysis (Carnegie, 2008, p. 357). This analysis incorporating all kinds of transactions enables us to cover both market/capitalist and non-market practices as contributing to the livelihoods of Ammatoans.

Lying close to the gate, the only market in Tanah Toa is visited by Ammatoans from both the inner and the outer territories, as well as by non-Ammatoans living nearby. The market operates three times a week: Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, from 06.00 to 08.00 am. Sellers at this market are mostly Ammatoans, but some are non-Ammatoans from other places. In the market, people mostly buy and sell household necessities. Like other Indonesian markets one can find basic necessities like rice, fish, vegetables, fruits, chicken, soap, detergent, shampoo as well as modern clothes, back packs, clocks, shoes, sandals, and so forth. These goods and services are governed by formal market transactions.⁸

In addition, there are few home-based kiosks in Tanah Toa, but all in the outer area. Some Ammatoans especially the owners of kiosks have understood that to be successful in economic life is to have lots of capital: money. Some of the kiosk owners work to collect money and use it to enlarge their kiosks. They also borrow from others for the purpose. They understand that the more capital they have the more profit they could potentially gain. The biggest kiosk in Tanah Toa provides almost all everyday necessities, including *pulsa* (i.e., credit minutes for cell phones). This kiosk also sells cooked food all day long. During this fieldwork, this kiosk was the most visited place, especially at night. It was a place for gathering. People came to the place, not necessarily to spend their money or buy things, but spend their evenings and gather with their fellows.

⁸Compare with the case of Oelua (Carnegie, 2008, p. 364)

The owner of the biggest kiosk is self-employed, but he has two wage employees. The employees are paid in cash on monthly basis. This wage labor and cash-payment arrangement is popular among Ammatoans. Many Ammatoans, mostly adult, go to cities like Makassar for wage labor and/or cash-payment. This includes waitressing, construction (for males), and housekeeping (for females). Among the wage laborers in Tanah Toa are the state employees like teachers, medics, government officers, and police officers. State employment is the most desired among Ammatoans, like most other Indonesians, for it is commonly understood that although the state does not pay a lot, it is a permanent position with the security of a pension after retirement. In contrast, private enterprises could terminate employment anytime and the terminated employees would have no recourse.

Another kind of wage laborer in the community is taxi driver. Taxi drivers rent cars from a private company on a daily, weekly, or monthly basis. For a daily basis, a driver for instance pays Rp. 100,000 to the company for a taxi car, and he would operate it from early morning until evening. Drivers take their wages from the profit they make, after paying the company and buying gasoline. Drivers make good income, but on occasion they have to pay the Rp. 100.000 to a company from their own pockets.

Multi level marketing (MLM) has been also introduced to Ammatoans. Company agents of MLM organizations have come to the community and initially attracted many Ammatoans. What attracted them was that by recruiting many members (down lines), someone would collect points. For a certain amount of

points collected, members would reach a “save” position by which they would regularly receive cash, from Rp. 100.000 to Rp.1.000.000, or even more, dependant on the “save” position they achieved. In addition, they would gain bonuses from selling materials commercialized by their companies. Finding membership recruitment too hard for them to achieve the “save” position, only very few keep the work. Many of them are no longer interested in any kinds of MLMs and even discourage anyone to be a member. They said, “All MLMs are just the same. You would get profit only if you are the first person of the membership and successful in deceiving others to be members. If you find no individual to recruit, you actually just donate to the company because being a member in MLM requires a registration fee.” Many of them are regret being members of MLM companies for they had paid registration fees but received nothing except an identification card with their membership.

The economist Michelle Carnegie (2008) observes that to secure income and to support their families, villagers of Oelua in Nusa Tenggara Timur work full time or on a seasonal basis for one or more enterprises (p. 360). Most of Ammatoan workers as mentioned above work for more than one enterprise, too. Some of the state employed like teachers, police officers, and government officers own kiosks and/or are also farmers. Teachers teach at schools during the work days, and work at their rice fields or gardens during the weekends or when they are off school. Some of them rent their lands to laborers and receive a half of the production. Taxi drivers and MLM workers are the same, or they earn wages from

sectors of agriculture and harvesting. Taxi drivers, who have the chance to earn wages from harvesting, pause driving in order to do so.

Ammatoans are mostly farmers; most of them work in the agricultural sector as their main source of incomes and those whose main income come from other sectors like teaching, offices and businesses work in agriculture, too. Many of them also keep livestock such as cattle, buffalo, horses, chickens, and goats. Many Ammatoans do both agriculture and animal husbandry. They bring their animals except chickens with them to their fields. They work and let their animals graze in the field. For this kind of work, Ammatoans are mostly self-employed.

Like in Oelua, wage labor in the Ammatoan community exists, but is not the only system operating. Like Carnegie (2008, p. 363) observes in Oelua, harvest laborers in the Ammatoan community may also be waged in three different ways. The first way is that they may be paid with cash for a set rate. This kind of wage includes the kinds of labor mentioned above, but is rare for harvesting. Most laborers prefer this way more, but they could not request for it if the wage offered is otherwise. After receiving a call from his son, who was working as harvest laborer, an informant told me that his son was asking for money. His son needed money to live on while being a harvest laborer because he worked not for money payment but would be paid with unhusked rice that he would bring home. He and other harvest laborers did not (and would not) sell their unhusked rice while working. They collected the rice at home first, and sold if they needed so. This was the second kind of wage payment and much more popular than the first one among Ammatoans. Harvest laborers of Ammatoans

with this kind of wage work not only in Tanah Toa, but also out of the district of Bulukumba, like in the districts of Bantaeng, Bone, Wajo, Sidrap, and others. Ammatoans usually do this work in groups. Some groups are family members, both male and female. Some school children are also involved in this work, but they are under the care of at least one adult.

The third kind of wage is unpaid labor. For this kind, labor is part of a reciprocal exchange that they would receive the same quality of labor in return at an appropriate time with no money. This arrangement tended to take place only if both parties were Ammatoans. While harvest laborers could choose between accepting and not accepting the first two types of wage arrangements, they must accept to do the labor of the third kind whenever proposed to them. It is so because this kind is a social/communal requirement. Because harvest time is busy, they might receive offers for different kinds of wage labor arrangements. The best way to deal with such that situation was to spread the labor throughout their family members if possible. Regardless, they prioritized the third kind.

Still like in Oelua as Carnegie (2008, p. 362) observes, the range of unpaid labor or reciprocal exchange labor includes housework and family care, family work, religious care and various types of voluntary gifting of labor between households and for community benefit. If someone sponsors a ritual, relatives, neighbors, and friends come and work for the sponsor without cash payment. It is common to ask neighbors for babysitting, which is not a wage labor in the community. Treatment by a doctor or a nurse requires a cash transaction, but treatment by *sanro* (traditional specialist) although not totally free, is perceived to

be volunteer or unpaid labor. *Situruk-turuk* (working together) for community benefit is also common. Ammatoans for instance choose to work in *situruk-turuk*, which is unpaid labor, to clean up a soccer field rather than paying laborers. For community benefit, Ammatoans value *situruk-turuk* or do it by themselves.

Reciprocal exchange labor is also practiced for agricultural work from weeding to harvesting. As farmers, Ammatoans cultivate dry-field crops of rice, irrigated rice, maize, peanuts, legumes, and other spices as well as many different fruits such as banana, rambutan, jackfruit, langsung, mango, and so on. These agricultural productions are for their own consumption as well as for sale. Again, these kinds of agricultural work from weeding to harvesting may, although not necessarily, involve reciprocal exchange labor.

Chapter 3

THE POLITICS OF TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS

This chapter begins discussion of Ammatoan indigenous religion as everyday ideas and practices. While some sociologists (Lefebvre, 1971; Elias, 1998; Galloway, 2004; Ammerman, 2007) define “everyday” as implying taken for granted activities that happen outside organized religious events and institutions, this study understands everyday activities as referring to conventional, common, customary, and normal practices. People observe them with no need to explain why, because they do as their ancestors did, and so everyone involved already knows why. No one needs to raise questions about them. Despite people’s different understandings, purposes, and interests attached to a given practice, the practice is commonly accepted and even desired for whatever reasons in a given community. Everyday practices are then spontaneous and immediate. When people find them necessary to be practiced, they immediately practice them. The “necessity” may be seen as conditional, but the condition is itself ordinary and spontaneous. People immediately recognize a certain condition for a given practice. Practices discussed and analyzed in this chapter are categorized as everyday practices because to Ammatoans they are of everyday concern.

Ammatoan politics of territorial divisions make up one part of their everyday practices. I will specifically focus on how Ammatoans conceptualize and construct their territorial divisions: *Ilalang emba* (the inner territory) and *ipantarang emba* (the outer territory). The territorial divisions of the inner and

outer territories are physical realizations of both the Ammatoan religio-cultural values of *kamase-kamasea* (modesty) and *kalumanyang* (excessiveness) respectively, the values through which they balance self, life, the cosmos, and which inform their political responses to salient outside others: Islam and the state. Due to their religious and political construction of the territorial divisions, Ammatoans have maintained and reproduced their indigenous religions despite a series of Muslim propaganda campaigns, extensive intrusions of modernity, and even the Indonesian state's banning of indigenous religions. Although Ammatoan geographical territory has been reduced significantly as the consequence of state policies, especially those on village regulation, Ammatoan core religio-cultural values remain as authoritative sources for everyday practices.

This chapter begins with an analysis of Ammatoan conceptions and construction of territoriality and its historical development. This presentation reflects Stanley Tambiah's (1977) insight regarding the "galactic polity" as the character of Southeast Asian traditional kingdoms. I argue that Tambiah's elaboration of the "galactic polity," which is based on the concept of the *mandala*, is the appropriate model for approaching Ammatoan religious, political, and cultural phenomena. Tambiah explains that a *mandala* is composed of two elements: the core or the center (*manda*) and the enclosing element (*la*) that surrounds the center and is arranged in accordance with the center (1997, p. 69). In other words, *mandala* stands for

"An arrangement of a center and its surrounding satellites and employed in multiple contexts to describe, for example: the structure of a pantheon

of gods; the deployment spatially of a capital region and its provinces; the arrangement socially of a ruler, princes, nobles and their respective retinues; and the devolution of graduated power on a scale of decreasing autonomies” (Tambiah, 1977, p. 73).

Having observed that Ammatoan conceptions and constructions of their territorial divisions fit well with this notion of the *mandala*, I employ Tambiah’s theory of “galactic polity” to elaborate the politics of these territorial divisions, including the development through which the conceptions are reproduced following encounters with other powers. In order to further nuance my approach, I incorporate Robert Heine-Geldern’s (1942) “cosmo-magic principle.” Heine-Geldern argues that the cosmo-magic principle originated from the Near East and reached Southeast Asia by way of India and China (Heine-Geldern, 1942, p. 15). He explains that the principle suggests bringing lives and activities, including structures of government, into harmony with the universe by organizing them as an image of the universe (Heine-Geldern, 1942, p. 15).

The History of the Territorial Divisions

Tambiah reminds us that the concept of the *mandala* as a geometrical, topographical, cosmological, and social blueprint does not belong only to complex kingdoms and polities. Simpler *mandala* also appears in agriculture and other fields. Similarly, Heine-Geldern says that the cosmo-magic principle is not limited to state structures, but applies to a wider complex reality, including the private lives of individuals (1942, p. 28). Referring to Cunningham’s work (1973) on the Atoni of Timur, Tambiah shows how Atoni ways of building their

houses—under a complex center-oriented design wherein concepts of inner and outer, right and left, four major mother posts, and twelve peripheral chicken posts, etc.—build up a scheme that simultaneously has cosmological, ritual, sexual, and practical ramifications (Tambiah, 1977, p. 69-70). This center-oriented design is also illustrated in Ammatoan territorial conceptions and constructions.

Ammatoan territorial conceptions are linked to the history of four ancestral siblings. In each generation, one of the siblings led the community. Catherine Mckanzie (1994, p. 56) writes Ammatoan history begins with the *tau tallua* (the Three persons), each of which had his own domain. One was the guardian of fish (or a fisherman), the second was a *uragi* (a house specialist), and the other was a *sanro* (a ritual specialist). The last one was known as Bohe Sanro, the community leader.⁹ The descendents of *tau tallua* constituted the noble social class of the Ammatoan community. They were known as the *tau kentarang* (“the people of full moon”).

In Mckanzie’s account, Bohe Sanro had four children who were called the *tau appa* (the Four). One of the four, whose name was Bohe Tomme, took over the leadership. Bohe Tomme, Mckanzie explains, was also known as Bohe Sallang (Muslim grandfather) for he was the one who first investigated and accepted Islam. Being Muslim, he was the first one buried in the community (1994, p. 56). I found confirmation of McKanzie’s explanation in Ammatoan performances of the annual ritual of grave visitation called *abbattasak jerak* (the

⁹Mckanzie assumed that Bohe Sanro was the first Ammatoa (or the first human being) who vanished by the end of his time. Her assumption, however, contradicts the people’s most popular story of the first Ammatoa that tells that the first Ammatoa had no siblings.

cleaning up of graves) a week before Ramadan ends. Before cleaning and visiting the graves of their families and relatives, Ammatoans visit a particular cluster of graves, which includes what Ammatoans are convinced is the first grave in the community. Ammatoans, however, challenge McKenzie's assumption that the first grave they visit belongs to the first Muslim in the community. For them, Bohe Tomme was buried not because he was the first person to accept Islam but rather because he was the first Ammatoa who did not vanish. That was the reason why he was buried. All other Ammatoa before him vanished without dying and so had no graves.

Bohe Tomme had six children. They were called *tau annang* (the Six persons) consisting of one male and five females. These six succeeded the Four. The Six were those who initially defined the boundaries of Tanah Toa. One female and one male sibling occupied two hamlets, Benteng and Sobbu, as the center of Tanah Toa, and the four other females dispersed to four sides, founded other hamlets, and created and guarded the boundaries. To the north-west was Balagana; to the south-west was Balambina; to the south-east was Teteaka and to the north-east was Tuli (See map in figure 3). These initial boundaries marked by four different rivers: The Bantalang, Tuli, Limba, and Sangkala Rivers were in the inner territory (the Pasang 40a), and remain so up to the present time in the minds of Ammatoans despite constraining processes that have taken place, as shall be shown later. The territory was constructed in a *mandala* design: the center (Sobbu and Benteng) is surrounded by four other hamlets marking the four cardinal points. Figure 4 reflecting figure 3 illustrates Tambiah's theory of center-oriented

galactic design. After *tau annang*, *tau lima* (the Five) appeared and continued the community. McKenzie wrote that the Five were the last to contribute to sayings of the Pasang, the oral tradition that regulate the community today (McKenzie, 1994, p. 56).

In contrast to McKenzie, Usop (1978) argues that Ammatoan ancestral generations started with the *tau limaya* (the Five), followed by the *tau annang* (the Six), who were then followed by the *tau tallu* (the Three). For Usop, the transition of ancestral generations was due to the political expansion of the Gowa kingdom (the biggest kingdom of South Sulawesi in the sixteenth to the eighteenth century) reaching Ammatoan territory. He explains that because of Goa's political intrusion, the Ammatoa's office changed to *tau tallua*. Since then *tau tallua* had held the title of *karaeng* (M./K., king), a title for an office holder in Goa's politico-cultural structure (1978, p. 58).

For Ammatoans, those persons mentioned above and stories about them are too *karrasak* ("powerful") to share. It is *kasipalli* (taboo) to discuss them (the Pasang 39a). When I tried to ask about them, an informant said, "It should be explained in a special moment (with ritual) and by certain people." The informant, however, told as follows:

In the beginning, those persons took care of all Ammatoan territory. They powerfully preserved the tradition and the physical territory. After the *tau limaya* (the Five), our tradition has been challenged, our territory has been narrowed, our people have changed, but these things are all because of our

own people. We, the grandsons, have ignored the Pasang and tradition.

We have wanted the changes.

Telling the story about the persons, the informant avoided mentioning their names for they are *karrasak* (“powerful”). The notion of *karrasak* in this sense also applies to some other persons, including Muslim prophets, such as Adam, Abraham, Moses, and Muhammad, and even God Allah. Ammatoans consider mentioning or discussing these names as *kasipalli* (taboo). The people know about those persons, but again if they improperly talk about them, unexpected consequences such as failure in businesses and harvest, diseases, and even death will befall on them.

As time went by, Ammatoan territory expanded. As recounted in the Pasang ri Kajang,¹⁰ in the past the “influence”¹¹ of the Ammatoa was widespread and reached out on four sides to four places in the east: Ambon, Ternate, and two parts of Sumbawa: Tambelu and Tambora; four in the west: Sape (on Lombok), Solo, Kaili (in the Palu region of Central Sulawesi), and Salaparang in Southern Sinjai; four areas to the east of Mt. Bawakarareng: Tanuntung, Tamatto, Sangkala-Lombo, and Buatana; and four areas to the west of Mt. Bawakaraeng:

¹⁰I found several people, mostly elders, reciting (or memorizing) the Pasang 38-40. While reciting the Pasang, they pointed to the directions indicated by each Pasang accordingly. The fact of several people memorizing the same Pasang amazed me, since no one other than these people would agree with the “historical” narration.

¹¹For this sense, the people usually said, “People from those places used to ask the Ammatoa for help on many things like curing diseases, successful harvest, moderate season (not too much dry/rainy seasons), and whatever people needed.” Stories like a king who had tried everything to solve a problem(s) of his people, but always failed, came to the Ammatoa for a successful solution that always ended up with recognition of the Ammatoa’s greater “knowledge” were popular to illustrate “the influence.” “The influence” then does not mean “to control” or “to govern.” In regard to Gowa, the influence means “friendship:” they both recognized and supported each other for their mutual well-being.

Baieng, Tasese, Kalimporo, Manimporong (See Mckanzie, 1994, p. 82; Usop, 1978, p. 57). All these areas were the spacious yards (*rambang luara*). They were the outer territory of the Ammatoans. The configuration of the outer territory signifies the inner territory as the center: the area where Ammatoans have been living up to the present time is conceived to be geographically and cosmologically central (compare with Mckanzie, 1994, p. 84). This center-periphery conception of Ammatoans is comparable with that of the ancient Burmese. Heine-Geldern explains that the king of Burma was supposed to have four different queens and four queens of secondary rank. These queens whose titles were based on their occupation corresponded to the four cardinal points and the four intermediary directions (1942, p. 20).

Usop (1978) observes that based on the Pasang 38-40 Ammatoans specify their territorial divisions as four (p. 57). The first is *lalang rambanna* (the confined yard), which is also called the land of *kamase-masea*. This refers to Tanah Toa, which literally means the old land. Ammatoans consider Tanah Toa to be the center of the cosmos (McKanzie, 1994, p. 82). The second is *rambang seppang* (the spacious yard) that reaches to Buatana (in Sinjai), Sangkala-Lombo', Tanuntung, and Tommato (in Ujungloe, Bulukumba). The third is *rambang ilalanganna* (the inner fence) that reaches to Bajeng, Tasese, Kalimporo, and Manimporong (or in other versions: Limba (of Lembanna or Anjuru), Tuli (of Tanah Toa), Banannu (of Possik Tana), Balukang and Lolisang, Tokka, Kalasa, Erasa and Manimpahoy (of Sinjai). The last boundary is *rambang luara* (the outer fence) that encloses Gowa and Bone, Sape (on Lombok), Solo, Kaili, or Kalili

village in Palu, Central Sulawesi, Salaparang (a village in Lombok), Tambelu-Tambora (on Sumbawa), Ambon, and Ternate.

Some of the hamlets are now unidentifiable. But, observing the identifiable ones, we find the Ammatoan territorial conceptualization as a galactic design (see figure 7 which is based from figure 5 and figure 6). While most Ammatoans were unable to locate most of these villages, their conceptualization nevertheless remained firm. Their conceptualization, which is the model of their territorial construction, is galactic. Ammatoans idealize the galactic design of territorial construction.

Tambiah's theory of galactic polity based on the *mandala* (1977, p. 70) works, though not so neatly, in describing Ammatoan territorial divisions. They conceptualize the territory as consisting of two divisions. The first is composed of three units: *rambang seppang*, *rambang ilalanganna*, and *rambang luara*. They are employed around the central one, *lalang rambanna* (the inner territory). The second is composed of the center, Tanah Toa (the old land), as the image for the others. This design may also be described as what Heine-Geldern calls the "cosmic-magic principle," which is, according to him, the character of state structures in Southeast Asia. He argues that based on this principle, Southeast Asian states were constructed and structured as cosmological manifestations. A state consists of a capital and a number of locations and provinces with governors occupying the provinces. The capital was architecturally constructed to mirror image of the universe (Heine-Geldern, 1942, p. 17). As shown above, Ammatoan territorial conceptualizations clearly mirror the image of the universe.

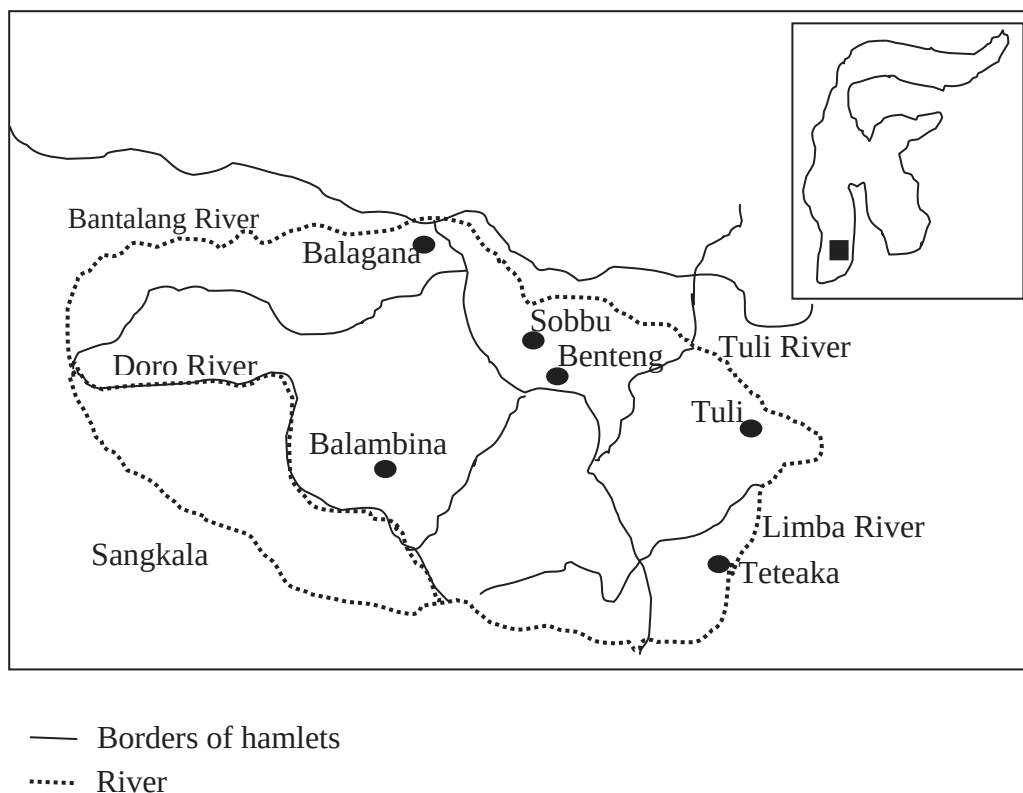


Figure 3. The Map of The Ammatoan Territory initially defined by *Tau Annang* (the Six) (modified from McKanzie, 1994, p. 80)

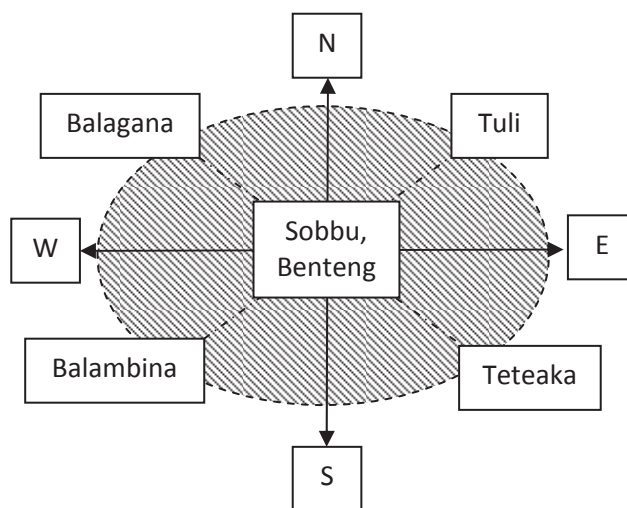


Figure 4. The center-oriented design of the Ammatoan territorial construction.

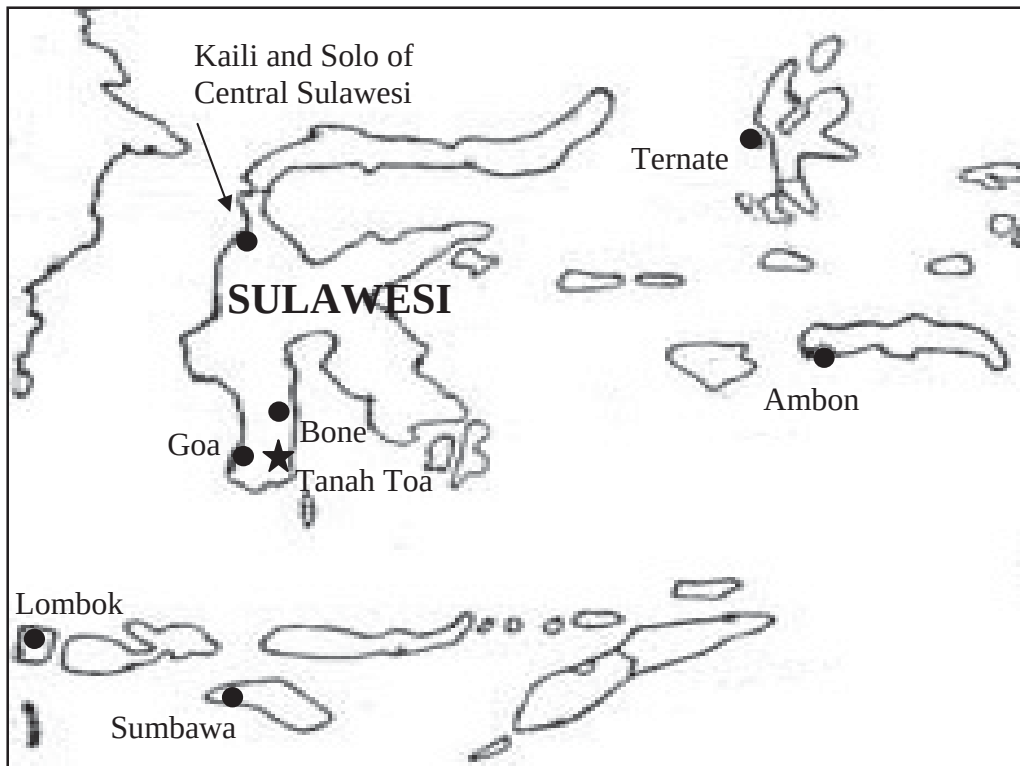


Figure 5. The Map of Areas of *rambang luara* (the outer fence) (google.com)

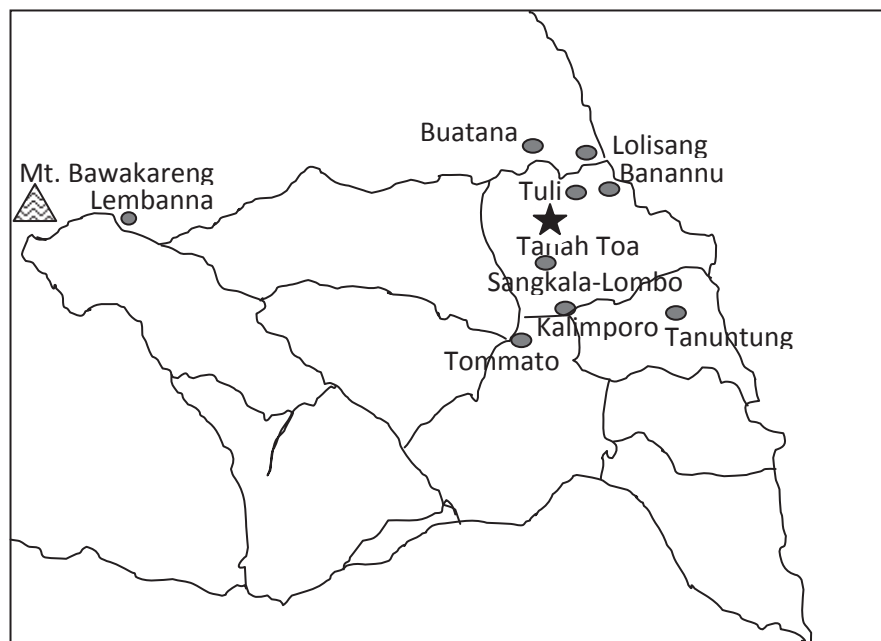


Figure 6. The Map of areas of *ilalang rembanna*, *rambang seppang*, and *rambang ilalanganna* (modified from McKenzie, 1994, p. 83).

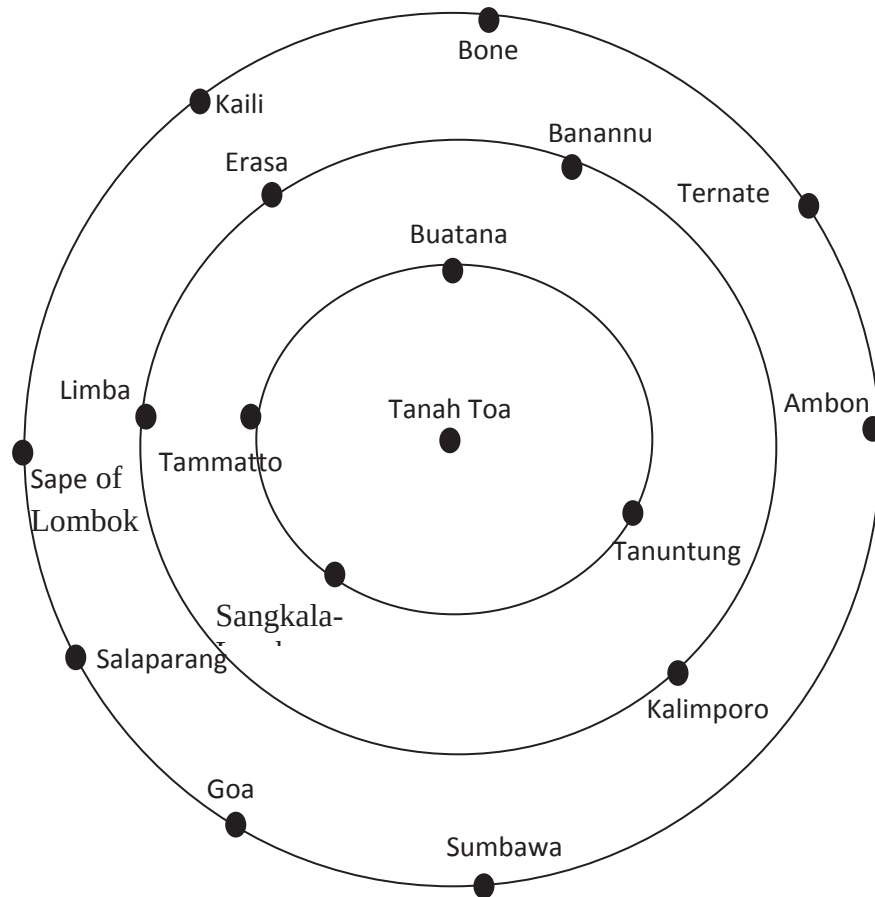


Figure 7. The Galactic Design of the Ammatoan Territory.

Tambiah also suggests that the *mandala* concept is manifested in various ways. The conceptualizations and constructions of territory are related to other concepts, including those of religion. The concept of *mandala* is reflected in several ways in the Pasang ri Kajang. It is represented in Ammatoan understandings of the nature of man, which consists of four elements from the mother—blood, muscle, nerve, and brain—and four from the father—hair, skin, nails, and bone—and five from Tau Riek Akrakna (TRA, the One Who Wills or the divine being)—eyes, ears, nose, mouth, and soul (the Pasang 13). According to Ammatoans, the well-being of those elements depends on the state of the soul.

If the soul is good, all the other elements will be good. The soul is thus perceived as the center.

The *mandala* concept also suggests the symbolism of four sides (*sulapak appa*) fundamental to worldview of Ammatoans (McKanzie, 1994, p. 58). This symbolism appears in the ethical concept of the Pasang: A person must protect themselves from four things from the tips of the toes to the top of the head: unfairness, anonymous accusations, false accusations, and the use of force (the Pasang 23a). The symbolism also appears in understandings of the preservation of the forest. Four things may not be done within the "powerful" forests (*borong karamak*). These include felling trees, collecting rattan, smoking out bees (to collect honey), and approaching (stepping on) powerful beings (the Pasang 23b). It is even more reflected in the structure of *adat* holders: The helpers of the Ammatoa are four kinds: Elders, kings, healers, teachers (the Pasang 37). These examples show that the cosmo-magic principle has an extremely strong hold in the people's minds (Heine-Geldern, 1942, p. 28). It is how Ammatoans think about the world and experience their everyday life. Applications of the *mandala* concept and the cosmo-magic principle are conventional, customary, and normal among Ammatoans.

From the history of the ancestral siblings and the development of Ammatoan territorial divisions, the notion of *rabbang* or *emba* ("fence"), signifies two different things: the first represents center-periphery relations and the second stands for demarcation between Ammatoans and outsiders. For the center-periphery relations, the notion of fence implies a center or center-oriented space.

As shown above, the first territorial construction by the six persons clearly illustrates the concept. Sobbu and Benteng were the center of the Ammatoan territory and they conceptually were the image for the four other areas: Balagana, Balambina, Teteaka, and Tuli. These four peripheries also functioned as the border of Ammatoan territory. In each periphery, a leader appointed by the Ammatoa (the leader who governed the center) governed her area in accordance with the center. This galactic scheme indicates that the five units, one of them in the center, show the Ammatoa as representing the whole, although the four peripheries held their own administrations autonomously on behalf of their own contexts. Tanah Toa as the center represents the totality and embodies the unity of the whole.

McKanzie's and Usop's accounts of Ammatoan territorial developments exemplify these center-peripheral relations. In McKanzie's account, the four spacious yards located Tanah Toa as the center (1994, p. 82). This territorial construction makes Tanah Toa administratively and cosmologically important to Ammatoans. In Usop's account, the confined yard was the center, surrounded by peripheries through the arrangements of three concentric circles (1978, p. 57). Tanah Toa or *tana kamase-masea* stood for a capital surrounded by other villages over which Tanah Toa exercised its power.¹² For Tambiah, this kind of territorial conception is integral to the schematic characterization of the traditional polity as a *mandala* composed of concentric circles (Tambiah, 1977, p. 74-5). In the

¹² Compare with the *muang* of the Sukhothai kingdom (Tambiah, 1977, p. 74)

Ammatoan case, the center (the confined yard) is the Ammatoa's direct control over Tanah Toa, which is surrounded by a circle of villages.

Tambiah also argued that in between the center and the peripheries lies a fundamental duality. The image of the center is faithfully reproduced by its outlying components, but the satellites pose a constant threat of fission and incorporation into another sphere of influence. Tambiah argues that if we scrutinize the expanding and shrinking character of the political constellations, we can capture the reality that although the constituent political units differ in size, each periphery was a reproduction and imitation of the center. We can then see a galactic picture of a central planet surrounded by differentiated satellites, which are more or less autonomous entities held in orbit and within the sphere of influence of the center. At the same time, if we introduce other similar competing central principalities and their satellites at the margin, we are able to appreciate the logic of a system that as a hierarchy of central points is continually subject to the dynamics of pulsation and changing spheres of influence (Tambiah, 1977, p. 75-76).

Tambiah's point offers an explanation of changes taking place in the Ammatoan community based on internal factors. Because of the duality, the center-image reproduction was always challenged by the exercise of peripheral autonomy. Being on the periphery, the villages of Balambina, Balagana, Tuli, and Teteaka underwent direct encounters with other polities or powers and then could pose challenges to the center. In terms of power relations, the peripheries had decreased their center-image reproduction, and their alignments to other powers

had become stronger. Leaders in villages on the periphery, traditionally appointed by the Ammatoa, have now been elected by the people through a direct election system newly adopted as a result of encounters with the Indonesian state. The elected leaders have no political responsibility toward the Ammatoa. People in the peripheries have had new orientations in politics, economics, religion, and culture. The peripheries have now even become powerful competing neighbors. As a result, the Ammatoan territory has shrunk. This fact may be seen as the decline of the Ammatoan cultural and political authority.

The Ammatoan physical boundaries, indicated by different markers, such as the four rivers (Doro, Limba, Tuli, and Sangkala) surrounding Tanah Toa (see map 2), or particularly large or peculiarly shaped rocks or trees, have been challenged by the Indonesian state which has rearranged the structures and geographical areas of villages. The Ammatoan experiences with the state on this issue were typical of indigenous peoples of Indonesia (see Kato, 1989). Despite the challenge, Ammatoans still perceive those markers as functioning as they did in the past.

Given the fact that the Ammatoan community is small, telling a story about how they were once great and powerful people might be perceived as fictional, as such inventions are not uncommon among people on the margins of power. The Ammatoan story resembles one told by the Kachin of Burma, who relate that like the Burmese and Chinese, they once had books but because, they say, they were very stupid people, they ate their books and did not have any until they received the Bible from the Christians (Mark Woodward, personal

communication). The Ammatoan story of the past does not seem to be historically accurate. For that reason, it is better to understand their story as a way of defining their status and position in a larger historical narrative and as an attempt to describe themselves as a great people with mytho-historical narratives in response to those of other people in the region, like the Makassarese and Buginese. Their story assures them that they, like Makassarese and Buginese, are an equally great and powerful people.

After a series of outsiders' intrusions, especially during the New Order, Ammatoan territory shrank. The four divisions of Ammatoan territory as described by Usop are now conceptualized by the people into two divisions: *ilalang embaya* (inside the fence) and *ipantarang embaya* (outside the fence). "Fence," is used here to demarcate Ammatoans from others. The idea of a fence conceptually separates the Ammatoan territory from other territories, their traditions from others', and their world from others'.

Some Ammatoans argued that outside intrusions began to shrink Ammatoan territory during the colonial period through the construction of asphalt roads into the area. Others argued that the construction of asphalt roads did not take place until the post-colonial period. Although the people disagreed about the exact time of road construction, they all understood that before the asphalt road reached Tanah Toa, there were three gates: one in Tuboga, another in Kassi, and a third one in Kalimporo (see Map in figure 8).

In the late 1970s, Tanah Toa was divided by the local government into two villages: Tanah Toa and Daulu. Daulu became the "freed" village from the

Ammatoan inner territory, and transformed to be part of the outer territory. At this time, an elementary school was also established in Tanah Toa. The gate in Kassi was destroyed, and the one in Tuboga was moved to Lajaya. In the 1980s, when local officials of the Department of Religious Affairs brought their campaign for family planning to the Ammatoans, the local government destroyed the gate in Kalimporo, and the other was moved—still in Lajaya, but close to the hamlet of Sobbu. Since then the people have only one gate. This gate lasted at that place until the end of 1990s.

Further development of the territory is illustrated through my field notes as follows:

In August 23rd, 2009, after the *subuh* (I./A./K., morning) prayer, I, with two people (who happened to be my informants), took a walk around Tanah Toa. We went far until reaching the gate of the territory. This walk was called JJS (*jalan-jalan subuh*: walking around after *subuh* prayer).

This is a common custom among Muslims in South Sulawesi during Ramadan (the month of Fasting).

The two people agreed about cases of the two previous village heads. The first was the one who was horrible in the people's mind. He was tyrannical. He could take over others' properties like rice fields, land, and houses, whenever he wanted them. If he wanted something, none could refuse him.

The head didn't respect the existence of the Ammatoa. He was just an absolute, authoritarian village head. Without considering possible refusal

of the Ammatoa and his people, he built an elementary school in the inner territory. He did whatever he wanted.

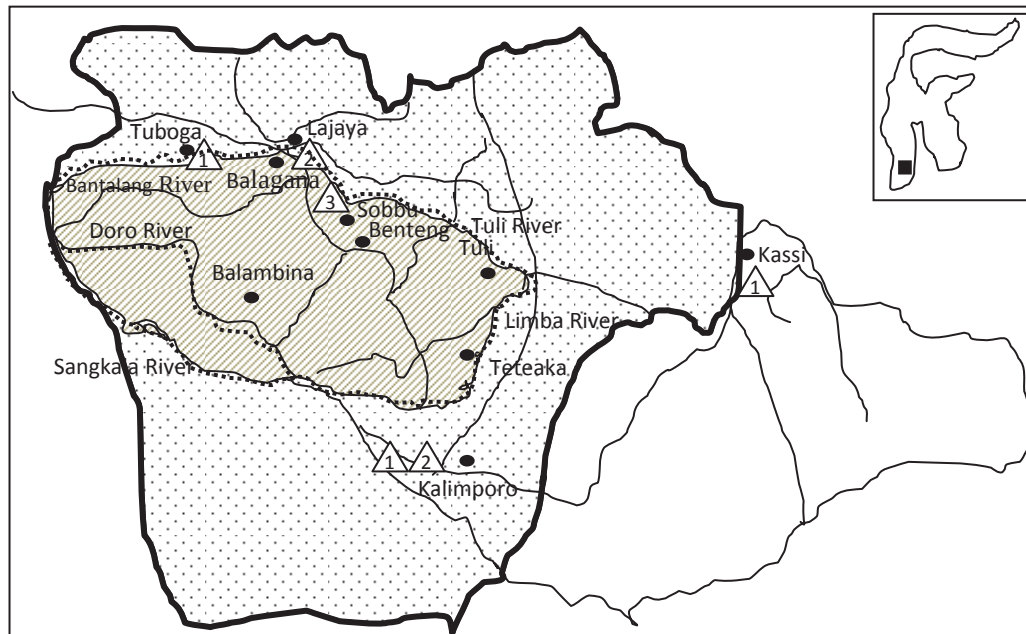
Then the second village head came. When he initially declared that he was running for village office, the first village head announced that his successor was not born yet. The second of course felt challenged. He was at a university of Makassar at that time. When he was in the second year or so at university, he dropped out. He then returned to his village and organized people to stand against the tyrannical leader. Many wanted to join the new candidate's movement but were afraid of being chased and killed by the incumbent. In fact, some who had joined the movement were threatened and had to flee from the village and find new places to live. Many of them went to Kendari, Southeast Sulawesi and to start a new life and succeeded.

When the term of the first village head was finished, the election was held. Both the men were confident of winning the election. The second won and from that time on, the situation changed. He was good to people and people liked him. According to these two informants, if the new village head didn't resign for another position, no one wanted to replace him. He held the leadership for two terms.

In his second term, the village head moved the *adat* gate into the inner territory, next to the school built by his predecessor. He re-established the territorial divisions. He did not believe that the school was appropriate for the inner territory, and he was supported by other Ammatoan *adat* holders.

It was against tradition. School belongs to the outer territory not to the inner territory. Rather than destroying the school in an attempt to keep the inner territory “uncontaminated”, the village head instructed the gate be moved to a point next to the school. That is the current gate. It’s about 1 kilometer where it was used to be.

Some of the people who were concerned about their *adat* argued that the moving of the gate was driven by both the external and internal powers. As shown above, the first village head of Tanah Toa who was expected to protect their territories did the opposite. He moved the gate and narrowed the inner territory. They realized that there was a constant attempt by many different powers to push the territory into smaller scale. They observed that the territorial reduction pushed their *adat* away. They also learned that in order to protect their territory and *adat* they needed to have a village head, who was good at governing and also cared about *adat*. For that reason, these people were involved in campaigning for a candidate who in their minds met the criteria. Preserving *adat* then became a political issue. One of the dominant concerns in the community during my fieldwork was the preservation of *adat*, and the current gate because it was the *adat* identification.



-  Tana Kamase-masea (The Inner territory)
-  Tana Kuasaya (The Outer territory)
-  Border of the Ammatoan territory
-  The initial gates
-  The second reconstruction of gates
-  The current gate
-  River

Figure 8. The Map of Areas of the inner and the outer territory (modified form McKanzie, 1994, p. 80)

The Political Structure of the Ammatoa

Ammatoan political structures and territorial conceptualization and construction are inseparable. Ammatoan political structure is organized in a way to manage and constitute their territorial divisions. Their territorial conceptualization and construction are the model for (and of) their political structure. Both the inner and the outer territories are tightly interdependent, and only by accounting for the political significances of the outer territories can the political significance of the Ammatoa as the leader, community, and tradition be meaningfully constituted. Understanding this integrality, I observe that politics as everyday practices is a religious practice.

Researchers have generally described the political structure of the Ammatoan community by saying that the Ammatoa is the leader, assisted by his helpers (or cabinet) consisting of two women (*anronta*), the council of the *tau annang* (six persons), the council of three *karaeng* (“kings”), and the council of five *adat* holders (*adak limaya*) and *five adat buttaya*, and several individual *adat* holders (see figure 9) (Syam, 2005; Salle, 2000; Ahmad, 1989; Akib, 2003). In addition to this cabinet, Mckanzie (1994, p. 112) claims that there are two different political systems operating in the Ammatoan community. She basis this on her close analysis of the hierarchy of offices in Tanah Toa and the kingdom of Kajang and through her analysis of the Pasang and narratives concerning political structure. One, which was in Tanah Toa, was headed by the Ammatoa, and the other, which was in Kajang, was headed by a *Karaeng* (king). These two political systems, although structured around a different original ancestor and legitimated

by different narratives, are united as a whole. In Tanah Toa, the Ammatoa was assisted by two *anronta* (our mothers), who were appointed by a council of elders, called *tau annang* (the Six). In Kajang, the kingdom consists of three offices: *Labbiriya* which is held by the district head of Kajang; *Sulehatan*, which is held by the village head of Tana Jaya; and *anak karaeng* of Tambangan or Moncong Buloa, which is held by the village head of Tambangan. These three individuals constitute the council of *karaeng tallua* (the three kings). This council is supported by two other councils: *adat limaya* (five *adat* holders) and *adat tanaya* (five *adat* of the land) (McKanzie, 1994, p. 117). When I presented the two different accounts to Ammatoans, the first one (figure 9) was affirmed: the people emphasized that the Ammatoa was the central figure and held the most powerful authority, that those others were all the helpers of the Ammatoa (the Pasang 37).

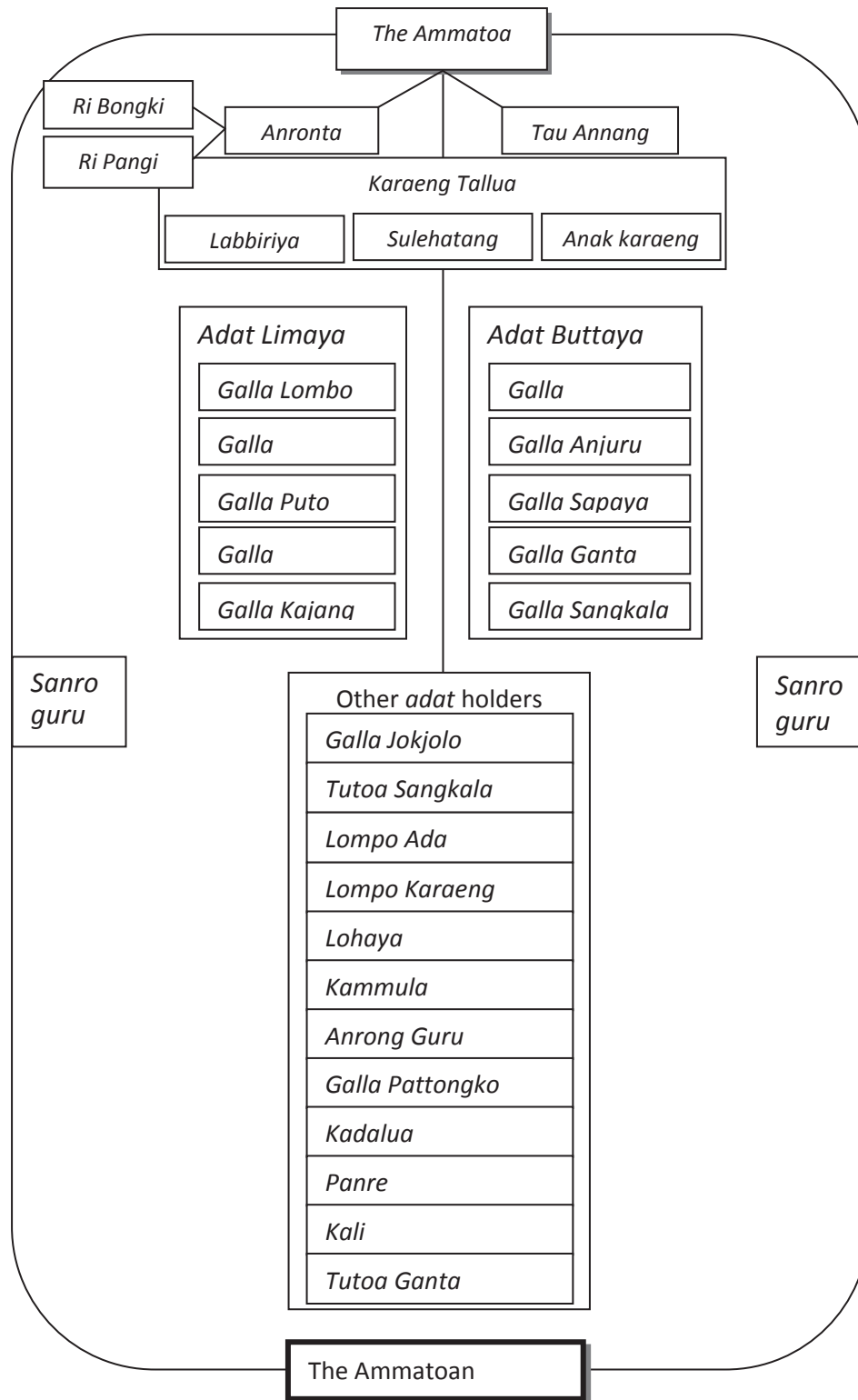


Figure 9. The Ammatoan Political Structure (modified from Hamudy, 2009, p.13)

In addition to his political status, the Ammatoa as the leader occupies the highest status in the community in the context of cosmology and ritual. His status is central to the cosmos: His role is to symbolically maintain not only the life of the community but also that of the world, and to take care not only of the life of human beings, but also that of the crops and the environment. In his cosmological status, the Ammatoa represents divine being, and so his office is a divine kingship.¹³ Being the direct descendents of the divine (as shall be shown), the

¹³In his review of the scholarship on divine kingship, Gillian Feeley-Harnik (1985) highlights three general issues commonly discussed by scholars: the administration of kingship, prosperity, and force. Divine kingship is sacredly administered through rituals from the moment a person is installed into the office. Scholars like Fortes (1968), Richard (1968), Beidelman (1966), and others then observe that rituals and socio-political relations are inseparable in the administration of divine kingship (Feeley-Harnik, 1985, p. 278). Politics is sacralized and centralized. In divine kingship systems, sacralization of power and political centralization are inseparable. A person who occupies a kingship and so holds the power is transformed through installation rites in order that he may use the office to control the cosmos. Being transformed through rituals, the king and the office he occupies become the center of the cosmos. The king and his office are then responsible not only for the well-being of the people but also for that of the cosmos. The status and function of the king and the office become divinely charged. Politics is thus religious, or, as scholars observe, politics is a branch of religion in divine kingship (Feeley-Harnik, 1985, p. 282).

The second issue in the scholarship is the relationship between kingship and ideas of prosperity. Feeley-Harnik shows that scholars (Frazer, Hocart, Richards, Fortes, Evans-Pritchard) have come to agree that “ritual and politics meet in food” (1985, p. 288). Life-giving rituals are part of the kingship administration. Theories about prosperity such as life, growth, wealth, food, and so on, are embodied in the human and other materials with which kings and kingships are created, represented, and destroyed (Hocart, 1970, p. 290). Kings hold the rights over the services of others, but to achieve the rights they have to feed their people. They must assure their people about prosperity. Power and prosperity are then like a two-sided coin (Richards, 1939, p. 425). A king has a dual responsibility: he is responsible for royal ancestral rituals to assure territorial administration and also responsible for land rituals to guarantee fertility and prosperity (Boston, 1968, p. 258).

The last issue in the scholarship of divine kingship elaborated by Feeley-Harnik is kingship and force. Feeley-Harnik elaborates this issue in two parts: the expression of dissent and regicide and revolution. For expression of dissent, Feeley Harnik elaborates that most studies on this issue focus on language as a form of political expression (1985, p. 295). It includes songs of “praise” and “dispraise” as a means to mobilize movements (Apter, 1983). Silence and secrecy are means of preserving and maintaining religious-political values (Elam, 1979; Rattray, 1923; Richard, 1939; and others). These phenomena are characteristically political expressions common in both colonial and post-colonial contexts. The second part of force is regicide and revolution. In this scholarship, the focus is mostly on the decline of monarchy (Feeley-Harnik, 1985). Feeley-Harnik observes that the causes of the decline might be both internal (regicide, tensions between rulers and ruled) and external (the presence of colonial and post-colonial states). The decline, however, does not mean total disappearance. Monarchy constantly or occasionally reemerges, through rituals and symbols (Feeley-Harnik, 1985).

Ammatoan personhood is perceived as the “incarnation” of the divine (Frazer, 1890/2009; Seligman, 1934). The Ammatoa plays a divine role in maintaining the order of the world. His office then functions as a divine kingship because it is the means by which the Ammatoa exercises his divine personhood to control the cosmos for order and the land for fertility (Feely-Harnik, 1985, p. 281). To assure fertility, the Ammatoa must ritually officiate at agricultural activities. To secure prosperity of the community and the cosmos, every activity in theory is directed to, and centered on, the office. In practice, the Ammatoa must be consulted on all rituals, because his divine personhood embodies the office. Discursively, everyday practices all must comply with values embodied in the office.

The office of the Ammatoa comes to be occupied through an extensive process of ritual. That is why Ammatoan politics is also ritualistic or religious in nature. Proper succession is a real concern. Not every member of the community can run for the office. Three individuals may become candidates, but only one can be the Ammatoa. Qualifications and evaluations of candidates to be the Ammatoa are a necessary part of the process. Competition among individuals to run for the office is, interestingly, not desirable, for the selection is understood as based on divine preferences. In this sense, people focus more on the office than the person who should occupy it. The office must be correctly occupied through correct ritualistic procedures. Some individuals might qualify for the office, but only the one who completely undergoes the procedures may occupy the office.

As said, the Ammatoa is ritualistic or religious because the office, the person, and all processes involved are all religious. The office is a divine one, and

every practice in relation to it is perceived to be ritualistic or religious: a manifestation of the creative human-divine relationship. As a person, the Ammatoa is under “contract” with the divine. He is the symbolic bridge between the world of human beings and that of the divine. All rituals of election and inauguration that take place in three years and three nights are meant to install and reinstall that “contract.” Moreover, any ritual performed has to be endorsed by him. Any business of the community has to be under the control of the Ammatoa. Without the approval of the Ammatoa, a ritual does not count. The first thing for a ritual sponsor to do is to ask the Ammatoa for advice and endorsement. The Ammatoa’s participation in extensive rituals such as *panganroang*, *pakdinging*, and *akkatterek* is necessary, but other rituals like *kalomba*, *minro bajik*, and *baca-baca* may be performed by his representatives or helpers. The office and all councils as well as individual *adat* holders have to be seen as a whole, as part of a single integrated religious administration of the Ammatoa. The Ammatoan political system then suggests that politics is a branch of religion (Feely-Hernik, 1985, p. 282).

Serving the divine kingship, the Ammatoa is also perceived to be responsible for the world of outsiders. All visitors who come to see the Ammatoa are perceived as a sign of the Ammatoa’s role in maintaining life outside of Tanah Toa. Both the Ammatoa and the people have been aware of who come to see them, such as researchers, activists, tourists, state officials, or politicians. When he was asked about these outsiders’ interests, the Ammatoa said that they asked many different questions in accordance with their purposes and positions, but they

always had a request for him to pray for a better life. For Ammatoans, making prayers or healing in an attempt to maintain and repair the life of both the community and the world has been the main role of the Ammatoa since his installment. That was the contract between Tau Riek Akrakna, the divine being and the first Ammatoa (the first human being) in the beginning of history. It is through this way that Ammatoans viewed the Ammatoa's "power" over other kingdoms of the past (see footnote 11) and over outsiders of the contemporary situation.

As the central figure, the Ammatoa must live in the inner territory, the central point of the world. If a person who lives in the outer territory is elected as the Ammatoa, he has to move into the inner territory. That was the case of the current Ammatoa elected in 2003. Being in charge of the inner territory, the Ammatoa is not supposed to travel outside except for exceptional reasons. The Ammatoa must remain in the inner territory in order to make certain of its order. For Ammatoans, the order of the inner territory is vital to balance the chaos of the outer territory. If his involvement is needed, any business should be brought to him. The mayor of Kajang, or any other politician, should come to the Ammatoa, and not the opposite, when a meeting between them is needed. Quoting Usop (1985, p. 132), McKenzie argues that exceptions may occur. The Ammatoa, for example, went out to Possik Tana when he inaugurated the *camat* (I. sub-district head) of Kajang in 1971. To illustrate the exceptional nature of this trip, McKenzie recounts the people's story that said that the Ammatoa was invited to come to Makassar to assist the king of Gowa when his palace was plagued by

black snakes (1994, p. 154, fn.20). Unlike McKanzie, the people used this story to constitute the “power” of the Ammatoa.

Such a story is continually retold because it is confirmed by contemporary cases. Invitations to Ammatoans to get involved in different events such as cultural festivals were cases the people related to their ancient story. They perceived that their involvement in such events paralleled the Ammatoa’s role in maintaining the life of the world. What was different from McKanzie’s account was that the contemporary cases showed that it was the Ammatoa’s representatives who responded to these invitations, and not the Ammatoa himself. Regardless of their involvement, whether it was performing traditional arts or *adat* customs, the purpose for Ammatoans, nonetheless, remained the same: making prayers to save people and the world.

The above story shows the way Ammatoans re-formulate their conceptions of power and the control of it. This reformulation legitimizes the political status. Ideas about power embodied in the Ammatoa are perceived, negotiated, and exercised by Ammatoans in response to social contexts, including outside powers hostile to them. Although the involvement of Ammatoans in such events was marginal for they were not the main actors, Ammatoans perceived themselves to be central and fundamental. In their involvements, they found ways of articulating their traditional ideas of power as responses to new socio-political contexts.

It is, however, worth mentioning that some Ammatoans complained about their involvement, for they felt they were being exploited. They thought attending

such events would be financially beneficial. They expected to make more money. Their expectations were never met. Two of them told a story that it was during the harvest season where they would make a lot of money that they attended an invitation to a cultural festival. They were not treated the way they expected and also came home with no money. They were disappointed because they missed the harvest season and brought no money with them from the cultural festival. For that reason, they claimed that they would no longer respond to such invitations because their services were not appropriately respected. They explained that in the community any traditional performance is highly valued because it is not only about entertainment, but also about religious-cultural practice. In contrast, at external events their performances were perceived as merely entertainment: people laughed when they found parts of it amusing.

Let us go back to Ammatoan political structure. As an office, the Ammatoa is a life-long position. It never occurs to them that the Ammatoa could be replaced while he is alive. Rebellion, moreover, is beyond the thought of the people. The life-long position of the Ammatoa shows the difference between the Ammatoa and other kingdoms, especially ones with regicide practices: a king cannot die in natural ways and so he has to be killed to retain the divine (Frazer 1890/2009). In the case of the Ammatoa, an elderly informant explained that the Ammatoa consists of two substances.¹⁴ The first is the human body that lives and dies, is hungry and full, wakes and sleeps, loves and hates, and so forth. In this sense, the Ammatoa is just like any other human being. The second is the

¹⁴This notion is comparable with that of Jukun of Nigeria (see Young, 1966, p. 149).

immortal aspect. He is not limited to human attributes. He never dies, and he is *Uru Taua* (the first human being). He mediates between Tau Riek Akrakna and human beings, as well as other beings. For this reason, the Ammatoa reigns for his life time.

Ammatoan perceptions of the Ammatoa's status are comparable with East African Shiite understandings of their imams. For them, God descended to earth in Ali. The divine embodied Ali. When Ali passed away, the divine moved on to his son, then his grandson, following the sacred blood, and now the divine was in their current imam, Aga Khan (Morris, 1958, p. 459). Like the Aga Khan, the Ammatoa is perceived to be the direct descendent of *Uru Taua*, the first divine being descended to the earth.

When an Ammatoa of a mortal human body passes away, it will take three years of preparation to identify a new one. According to McKanzie, the council of the Six (*tau annang*, the six living descendants of the illustrious ancestral siblings as described above) was responsible for electing a new Ammatoa (1994, p. 119). After three years, the council would come up with three candidates. Those candidates should be individuals with strong personal qualities embodying the community values of being firm, honest, patient, resolute, and self-fulfilled. The people knew these characteristics from observing the lives of candidates. McKanzie (1994) was informed that to become the Ammatoa someone had to be the descendant of *tau kentarang* (the people of the full moon) (p. 115).

Tau kentarang are the descendants of the sets of illustrious siblings (the Three, the Four, the Six, and the Five). The origin of these descendants and that of

the community could be traced back to *Uru Taua* (The First Person). *Uru Taua* was a divine being who descended from the sky to the forest of Tombolo in Tanah Toa (McKanzie, 1994, p. 55). *Uru Taua* begat the first human beings, built the first house, dug the first well, and established the first tradition that the community kept reproducing. *Uru Taua* disappeared after a while. He departed from the same forest, which signifies the land of origin, and went up back to the sky (McKanzie, 1994, p. 55).

McKanzie goes on to explain that *Uru Taua* was the first leader of the community, followed by series of eleven beings: five “Nabi”, three *Sanro Lohea* “Great Healers”, and three *Bohe Sanro* “Grandfather Healers.” Because these beings vanished rather than died at the end of their times, McKanzie concludes that they were divine (1994, p. 55). She, however, found that the three *Bohe Sanro* were the ones who began the history of the community. They were the first ancestors of *tau kentarang* (McKanzie, 1994, p. 56). As explained above, the Three were followed by the Four, the Six, and the Five, and these all were the ancestors of *tau kentarang*. The descendents of these serial ancestors are the ones who may qualify for being the Ammatoa. The Ammatoa is then considered to be the direct descendent of *Uru Taua*: He is of divine descent.

After identifying the candidates of *tau kentarang*, the council of the Six would perform a ritual over the course of three days. McKanzie recounts that this ritual is essentially seeking for divine preferences (1994, p. 115). At the end of the three days, during midnight of the full moon, when candidates, the councils and the people sit in circle in the middle of the forest of Tombolo, two *anronta*

(female elders), who are part of the Ammatoa's cabinet, would ask each candidate to stand up. It is believed that there would never be more than one who would be able to stand up. If none is able to stand, as has once happened, another three-year preparation and ritual would follow.

When a person is successfully elected to be the Ammatoa, an inauguration ritual follows, and an oath is administered (the Pasang 47 and 47a). Through the inauguration rite, the person is installed into office. The person is transformed into someone with capacities and capabilities for controlling the cosmos for prosperity (Feely-Harnik, 1985, p. 279). The ritual is a mutual commitment of the Ammatoa and the community for the well-being of the people, the crops, and the environment. This mutual commitment is also perceived to be part of primordial contract between the divine and the people. The Ammatoa's work is then to convey the divine power to his people (Geertz, 1980, p. 295).

There are other theories regarding to the election of the Ammatoa. One of them argues that if the Ammatoa passes away, people release a water buffalo and let it grow up feral in forest. In three years, they believed that the buffalo would come out from the forest and visit someone's house. The owner of that house would be the preferred candidate to become the Ammatoa. Another theory says that people raise a cock for that same divining purpose. On the last night of a three-day ritual, at the midnight of full moon, the council of the Six releases the cock in front of the candidates. The cock then flies to the candidate who will become be the Ammatoa. Yet another theory narrates that at that midnight they would burn incense, and see which direction the smoke moves. The direction

would determine which candidate should be elected. These are the means of seeing the divine signs and preferences for a candidate. Needless to say, these theories are hardly verifiable: no outsiders would be allowed to attend or participate in the ritual process of election. In explaining the theories, some said that the three methods are all deployed, and some others said that any of the three is sufficient. In recounting such theories, Ammatoans seemed to imply that the election always takes place peacefully for it is ritualistically managed and divinely charged: it is beyond human control.

The last election for an Ammatoa took place in 2003 and provides a different story. After observing all the traditional procedures, the people came to a moment where those in charge were going to call one of the three candidates. Based on the evaluation that included divine preferences, two of them were expected by most to go through the next stage of selection. The two candidates were actually relatives: uncle and nephew. The nephew was the son of the last Ammatoa. It is part of Ammatoan politico-cultural values that younger people must respect the elders: The nephew should give the chance to his uncle. Because of this, and several signs that the people had noticed, it was expected that the uncle was going to be the next Ammatoa. He was then called and requested to stand up. When requested, the uncle unexpectedly responded that he would rather offer the task to his nephew for he was too old already, his nephew was still young and energetic, and that for the sake of the community welfare, he would defer to the nephew.

Responding to the uncle's call, the council requested the nephew to stand and give a speech. The nephew said that with all the respects that went to the uncle, the council, all *adat* holders, and everyone in the community, he accepted the task. He then went through the remaining procedures. As the newly elected Ammatoa, he took the oath accepting full responsibility in front of everyone present that night. On the next night another ritual was conducted for inauguration. The new Ammatoa was inaugurated with a great feast. He completed all procedures and became the official Ammatoa.

The story of the last election did not end there. Some Ammatoan objected to the selection because they found that the process had been politicized. Two factions then emerged in the community. In fact, the factions had begun to emerge before the election process. One faction supported the uncle and the other his nephew. Elections were perceived as the way positions of power were filled in a democratic system. The elected should be the one who gains the majority votes, and the defeated might oppose the result or become the oppositional party.

Responding to the election process, those who supported the uncle claimed that the uncle withdrew because he was intimidated. He was forced to do so for some unstated reason. For them, the selection was unacceptable. Because the uncle was requested to stand up first, he must have been the most qualified. So the uncle was the Ammatoa for this faction. They did not accept the nephew, although he was the one who had completed all the procedures.

The other faction argued in contrast. For them, the true Ammatoa was the one who completed all the processes. Fulfilling the qualifications and completing

all procedures are a must for a person to become the Ammatoa. These people argued that an examination of candidates to see who hold the right personal qualities is important. But completing the entire election processes more determinative of who the Ammatoa is. Furthermore, they stressed that to elect a person to become the Ammatoa, the question is not who *should* be, the way people in democratic systems like to ask, but rather, who is able to go through the process. The Ammatoa's position is not based on human thinking and desires, but on divine preferences. According to this faction, the processes were where divine preferences were manifested.

As a result, the current political situation was divided. There were two leaders (Ammatoa) along with their own cabinets in the community. One faction claimed the uncle and the other claimed the nephew as the Ammatoa. Living with such a situation, both factions came to realize that, driven by external powers, they were trapped in the election process by which they had to admit one and dismiss the other as the Ammatoa. They learnt that the result benefitted external interests, and did nothing to benefit the community itself. They thought that in every national and local election they had been exploited for political agendas. Ammatoans were aware that politicians running for offices, national or local, found the community to be a convenient tool for realizing their political desires due to the fact that whomever the Ammatoa voted for, his people would follow. Its unity and solidarity made the community politically exploitable.

While tension among the factions occurred, daily activities continued. Both groups reported that they never had a problem of sponsoring a ritual due to

the political situation. They of course found some problems in sponsoring rituals, but such problems always occurred even without political division. In other words, the people were accustomed to handling problems. The political situation was not exceptional. In the early days after the election, the people who had no interest in the political debate felt uncertain as to whom they wanted to invite when sponsoring a ritual. Or, they needed to make sure which faction a ritual sponsor was affiliated before attending a ritual. If they found the ritual sponsor affiliated to a different faction from their own, they chose not to attend. People were constantly reminded of how they were segregated because of the politics.

As the time went by, the situation changed. Even though they still admitted the existence of two leaderships, social interaction was no longer segregated. People were not interested in arguing about the political issue. They no longer needed to question which faction a ritual sponsor was affiliated with in order to attend a ritual. After attending a ritual, they, however, sometimes talked about the sponsor's affiliation. I found families whose members were debating the issue. They debated because some found an *adat* holder officiating at a given ritual being affiliated with the uncle's faction, and the other also noticed some *adat* holders attending the same ritual who were part of the nephew's faction. Such a debate showed that the political issue occasionally appeared but social segregation was solved already. People affiliating with different factions had come to same rituals.

One final aspect of this the division of political leadership is worth noting. Ammatoans confessed that there was only one leader, regardless of the

political dualism. In their imagination, the position of the Ammatoa was so central, that there could be only one leader. As one informant explained, “Outsiders may see this community holding political dualism, but we here believe only one. If you believe that the uncle is the Ammatoa, you have to dismiss the nephew. The opposite goes the same.” It is based on this understanding that the people managed their daily activities in the context of the dualistic leadership.

Ammatoans have grown accustomed to such experiences. The second last election happened similarly, not resulting in dualism but driven by external powers for outsiders’ interests. McKanzie (1994, p. 115) notes that the 1988 election of the Ammatoa was the subject of enormous debate among Ammatoans. They thought that the election conducted was not through the traditional processes. The Ammatoa was pushed into office based on a request by the local government to maintain tourist interest in Tanah Toa. Due to this experience and other pressures from outsiders, the people have forced themselves to learn how to reproduce their ways of dealing with external powers, negotiating outsiders’ interests, and managing their own daily lives to a point suitable and comfortable for them.

After being elected and installed into the office, the Ammatoa, is assisted by two female figures in administering the office: the *anronta* of Bongki and the *anrota* of Pangi. Bongki and Pangi both are names of hamlets inside Tanah Toa. As illustrated in the Pasang 37, Usop was informed that the original *anronta* were the spouses of *Uru Taua* and they came out from Possik Tana (the navel of the earth), another hamlet inside Tanah Toa (Usop, 1978, p. 136, also quoted by

McKanzie, 1994, p. 118). Today's *anronta*, however, were not the spouses of the Ammatoa. According to McKanzie again, the *anronta* were appointed by the council of the Six and they played important roles in ritual of the election of the Ammatoa. They are the ones who call and invite candidates to stand up. Another role of *anronta* is to officiate with the Ammatoa at important collective rituals, like *panganroang*, *pakdinging*, and *akkatterek* (McKanzie, 1994, p. 119).

According to McKanzie the previous explanation was of the primary political system operating in the community. The second is the political system of the kingdom of Kajang. McKanzie (1994, p. 120) argues that the kingdom of Kajang represents a variation of the conventional state structure of South Sulawesi. The system is comprised of two councils: *karaeng tallua* (the three kings) and *adat limaya* (the five *adat* holders). The council of *karaeng tallua* consists of three offices: the king, his deputy, and the "child"¹⁵ of the king. McKanzie found three kings in one kingdom to be strange and unique in South Sulawesi, but Ammatoans, when consulted, insisted that the council of *karaeng tallua* should not be seen as a separate system from the one in Tanah Toa. The people argued that *karaeng tallua* were not the kind of kings like those in the kingdoms of Gowa and Bone who were at the apex of the state's structure. *Karaeng tallua* were instead helpers of the Ammatoa.

When asked about the current *karaeng*, the people pointed to the *camat* (sub-district head) of Kajang. McKanzie also recounts the same thing—that

¹⁵"Child" here may mean both the biological child of the king and someone appointed by the king to occupy the office in Tambangan or Moncongbulua (see figure 10).

whoever was appointed by the provincial governor to be the *camat* of Kajang is also considered to be the *karaeng*. McKenzie found that the two other offices of the council of *karaeng tallua* had been abolished by the Dutch. But again, the people argued to the contrary that the council never ceased, and will never cease. Somewhat imaginatively, the people contextualized their account of the council by saying that the governor of South Sulawesi, the district head of Bulukumba, and the sub-district head of Kajang are officials on the council of *karaeng tallua*. McKanize observes that the existence of the council is necessary, even just in their imaginations, to fill a symbolic need to retain three elements at the apex of leadership as appears in the system of Tanah Toa: the Ammatoa is assisted by two *anronta* (1994, p. 120, fn. 24). For the people the three powers are cosmologically, and politically, significant for maintaining the community and the world. *Karaeng tallua* is in theory the Ammatoa's political instrument, functioning both as revealing the Ammatoa's image in the territory where he reigns and governs (center-peripheral relation in cosmos-magic principle) and as protecting of the community from outsiders' intrusions.

Under the council of *karaeng tallua* is a council of *adat limaya* (five *adat* holders) (the Pasang 51). All held the title of *Gallak* and each sat at *adat* council in a given territory. Usop (1978, p. 56) observes that the council of the Five originated from the five children of the first Ammatoa who ascended to heaven after he begat them. The Ammatoa actually begat seven different children, but only five of them participated in the council because the other two were first, the ancestor of plants such as rice, corn, cotton plant, wood, and so forth and the

second was the person holding the office of the Ammatoa. The five who constituted the council, according to Usop, were *Gallak Pantama*, *Gallak Kajang*, *Gallak Puto*, *Gallak Lombok*, and *Gallak Anjuruk*. McKenzie (1994, p. 124, fn.36) finds disagreements among researchers on the members of the council. Bakkers' (1862, p. 367, quoted in McKenzie, 1994, p. 124) survey in 1860 when the Dutch took over the area, lists seven *Gallak*, but only five were *adat* holders: *Gallak Pantama*, *Gallak Kajang*, *Gallak Puto*, *Gallak Lombok*, and *Gallak Malleleng*. Cense's (1931, p. 26, also quoted in McKenzie, 1994, p. 124) account replaced the last two of Bakkers' with *Gallak Bantalang* and *Gallak Batu*. Usop (1978, p. 146) maintains the first four of Bakkers' and replaced the last one with *Gallak Anjuruk*. In addition to *adat limaya*, the system also includes *adat tanaya*, which is also called *adat buttaya* (the *adat* holders of land). This council consists of five territorial leaders in Kajang and *adat limaya* was the subset of these leaders who sat at the *adat* council (McKenzie, 1994, p. 124).

This system of ranked offices shares commonalities with the Jukun kingship of Wukari, Northern Nigeria. The anthropologist Michael W. Young (1966, p. 140) explains that there were two main categories of officials in Wukari. The first was those who held civil or state titles. These people functioned to administer the state, prosecute war, and counsel the king. These officials are similar to Ammatoans occupying the offices of *adat tanaya*. The second was those who held priestly and royal household titles. These people functioned to officiate at large rituals and ceremonies. These officials resemble those of *adat limaya* of the Ammatoa.

Based on the Pasang 37, which details about the helpers of the Ammatoa, there are other individuals, who, though not holding offices, play important roles in the community. They are *sanro* (healers) and *guru* (teachers). They are also *adat* holders, in addition to those in the councils. *Sanro* are ritual specialists. Any ritual specialist is a *sanro*. The Ammatoa and some who are in the councils are *sanro*, too, because they officiate at rituals. Rituals officiated by *adat* holders of the councils are mostly the extensive collective ones. Non-official *sanro* usually officiate at family or small rituals. The majority of *sanro* are hereditary. They inherited the knowledge and practice from their parents or grandparents. Being a *sanro*, however, is *dallek* (a gift) or *toto* (fate). As one *sanro* narrated:

My parents were both *sanro*, but I never expected to be one since I am female and the youngest of five siblings. The family expected my elder brothers to carry on our parents' roles, but it was not their *toto*. My brothers could not (still cannot) do it. I myself never learnt how to be a *sanro* because I never thought of it. But, when it came, it came. When I suddenly knew that I could do it, I started and have kept doing it up to now. Some *sanro*, however, could learn and do it, but others have learnt it but still can not do it. So, *sanro* is about *dalle* and *toto*.

There are many kinds of non-official *sanro*. *Sanro anak* is a female ritual specialist for a newborn. Each family has such a *sanro*. This *sanro* guards a mother from the moment she is pregnant. This type of *sanro* officiates rituals surrounding pregnancy, birth, and a baby's growth. Some families have only one *sanro* of this kind. For this case, the *sanro* continues her work for such families to

grandchildren. After the ritual of feeding a baby with food other than breast milk for the first time was conducted by a *sanro*, the mother of the baby told me, “She has been the *sanro* of our family. She is the *sanro* of my mother.” But, some families have two or more *sanro*. Choosing a *sanro* involves some concerns: Is her work efficacious or not? Is she demanding or not? And so forth.

Pakkalomba is another kind of female *sanro* for *akkalomba*. *Akkalomba* is a ritual that every family in the community sponsors for their kids. This ritual is somewhat extensive, and part of the ritual involves official *adat* holders. There are fewer *Pakkalomba* than *sanro anak*. One hamlet might have a single *pakkalomba*, and another hamlet might have none. For example, I met one *pakkalomba* who officiated as *akkalomba* in her hamlet, as well as in other hamlets that had no *pakkalomba*.

Sanro bola or *uragi* are the male ritual specialists of a house. This kind of *sanro* takes care of a family’s house from the moment it is built. They take care of the cosmological status of a house by officiating at different rituals. This *sanro* can also become a *sanro tuka* (a male ritual specialist of the ladder), though not every *sanro bola* is a *sanro tuka*, or vice versa. In addition to their knowledge about the cosmological status of a house and a ladder, both *sanro* are engineers. They are expert in Ammatoan traditional architecture. When people notice something positive, like the owner of a given house is prosperous, or negative, like several kids have fallen from a given ladder, they ask, “Who is the *sanro* of that house/ladder?”

As mentioned before, *gurus* are helpers of the Ammatoa. The term *guru* refers to Muslim imams. They lead prayers in mosques. Like *sanro*, they also make *baca-baca* or *baca doang* (prayer-chants). Unlike *sanro*, the imams make their prayers from the Quran and Hadith or *doa rasulung* (the prophet's prayers). But according to an imam whose father was a *sanro*, *baca-baca* of *sanro* and of imams are essentially the same. They have the same purpose: asking God's guidance and protection. The imam happened to consult his father about his position and what he was doing, and his father told him that he just did what his father did. The imam, however, thought that his prayers were different from his fathers, but did not feel it was an issue, for everyone might have different knowledge. The real concern for him was the purpose of such work. The imam admitted that he had learned a lot from his *sanro* father that helped him in his work as an imam because this work, just like that of all *sanro*, was for the community: he was a helper of the Ammatoa.

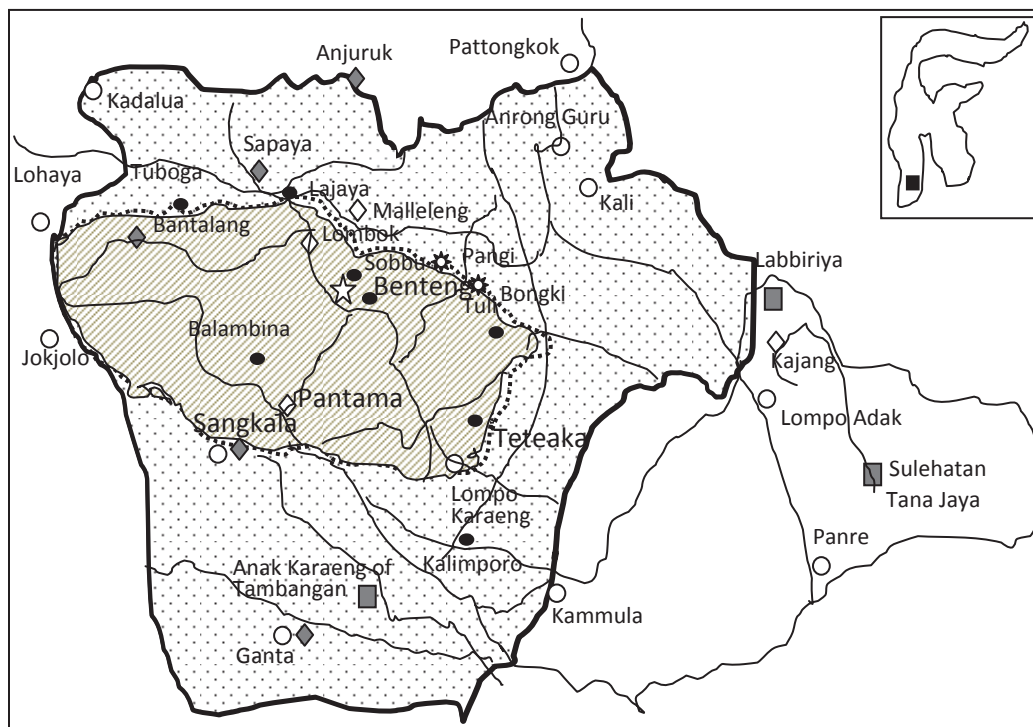
Ammatoan political structure, like their territorial conception and construction, clearly illustrates the *mandala* concept. The structure is galactic. It is so because their political structure is based on (or the basis for) their territorial conceptualization and construction. The Ammatoa as both person and office is the center. As the center, the Ammatoa is surrounded by ranked officials and offices conceptualized and established in accordance with territorial occupations (See Figure 11 and 12). Figure 12 reproduced from figure 11 is the Ammatoan galactic designed political structure following Tambiah's theory (1977). The Ammatoan galactic design is conceptually structured in response to their territorial

conceptualization and construction (see map in figure 10). Although many places are not located exactly on the map as they are conceptualized Ammatoan conceptualizations are firm. It is the ideal concept of territoriality.

The Notion of *Kamase-masea* (modesty) vs. *Kalumanynyang* (superfluous)

If the previous part focuses on the physical representation of the “fence,” this part focuses on the religio-cultural meaning of the “fence.” Mckanzie argues that the notion of fence creates conceptual dualities. *Ilalang embaya* (the inner territory) defines Tanah Toa, the old land, the territory of Ammatoans. This area is also called the *rambang seppang*, or “confined yard,” specifying its size and domesticating its space. It is also known as *tana kamase-masea*. *Ipantarang embaya* (the outer territory), demarcating the beginning of the *rambang luara*, the “spacious yard,” of the wider world (Mckanzie, 1994, p. 79). The other part of this duality, the outer territory, is known as *tana kuasaya* (see Mckanzie, 1994, p. 79) or *kalumannyang*.

Kamase-masea, which means modesty or simplicity, is a religious value and idea that Ammatoans are supposed to implement in their everyday practices. To be religious through the practice of *kamase-masea*, for Ammatoans, is to live in modesty, self-fulfillment, self-reliance, and sufficiency. *Kamase-masea* is the idea of not wishing beyond what one has. *Kalumanynyang*, in contrast, is a lifestyle that Ammatoans are supposed to avoid. It is a superfluous and extravagant life. It is an attitude of living driven by feeling of lack and without satisfaction. To live in *kalumanynyang* is to live with extra, unneeded materials. It



- ☆ Ammatoa
- ⚙ Anronta
- Kareang Tallua
- ◇ Adat Limaya, Gallo Puto is not based on territory.
- ◆ Adat Buttaya
- Other adat holders

Figure 10. The Map of Places of the Ammatoan Political Officials/Offices

(modified form McKanzie, 1994, p. 80)

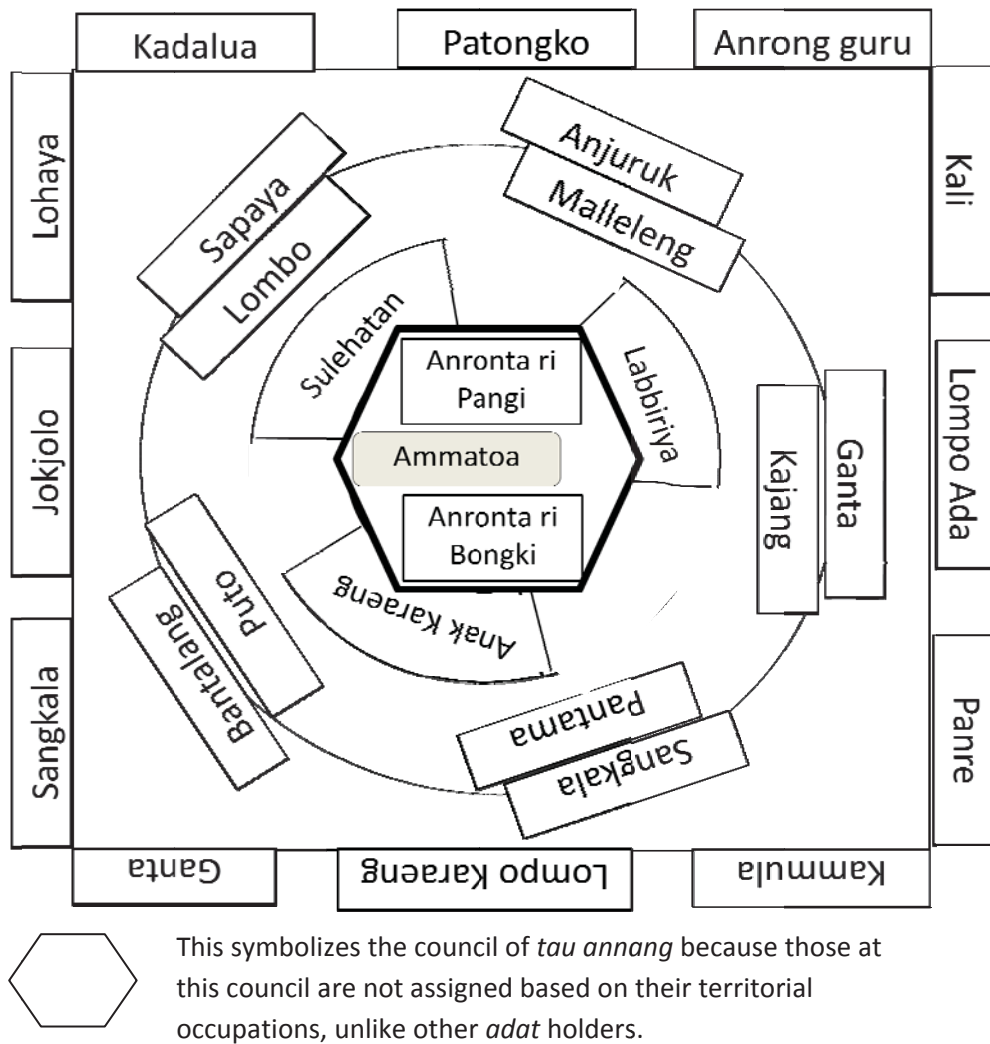


Figure 11. Titles of the Ammatoan *adat* holders: reproduced from figure 10

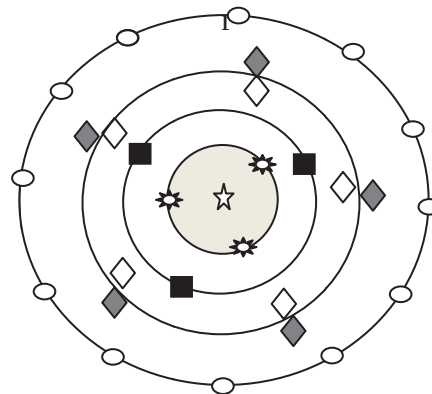


Figure 12: The *mandala*/galactic design of the Ammatoan political structure:

reproduced from figure 10 and figure 11

is to collect materials, money or wealth without limitation, often involving improper ways.

Nirwana Ningsih (2007) insightfully explains that *kamase-masea*, as the life principle of Ammatoans, does not mean that they have no livelihood or source of income as is commonly assumed by outsiders. She found that people living in the inner territory actually had large pieces of land for gardening and sometimes had more cattle than those living in the outer territory or even non-Kajang people. Regardless of those possessions, people of *kamase-masea* live their life in simplicity, wearing simple black-colored clothes, going bare foot, and living in bamboo houses. For Ningsih, *kamase-kamasea* ways of life are strongly held by Ammatoans because it is what the Pasang suggests (see the Pasang 28-32).

Unaware of the the principle of *kamase-kamasea*, outsiders often assume that the Ammatoans are extremely poor based on their simply clothes and lack of shoes. Ammatoans in contrast explained that the practice of not wearing shoes was based on an understanding that human beings and the soil are in principle one and so their relationship should not be interrupted by any means. They understand that human beings come from the soil and will eventually go back to it. The practice of going bare foot is an ethical behavior aimed at preserving this close relationship with the soil. The people understand that sandal and shoes would separate humans from the soil (Ningsih, 2007, p. 48) and ruin their relationship. It is important to emphasize that their understanding about the soil in relation to human beings is based on their concept of *tana kamase-masea* (the land of *kamase-masea*) or the inner territory within which no asphalt road is found. The

soil of the inner territory must not be offended. Digging, except for burials, is not even allowed in *tana kamase-masea*.

Ningsih implies that this value is not necessarily determined by how much one possesses. Someone poor does not automatically live in *kamase-masea*.

People might live without money and wealth, but they live their lives in *kalumanyang* ways. Such people always think that their life is not sufficient, and therefore do anything to collect wealth. The opposite also applies. People might be wealthy, have a car, a motorbike, a television, or a nice house, but they still observe *kamase-masea*. These people do their work, whatever it is, with an expectation that whatever they gain from their work will be sufficient. If they get less than what they expect, their commitment is to be patient (another religious-cultural value being implemented). They might travel to places for wealth but their hope is to live sufficiently. Self-fulfilled, sufficient, superfluous, and extravagant are therefore relative in a materialistic sense. It is very much dependent on a person undergoing a life.

As one informant explained, *Kamase-masea* could also mean:

I am a state employee. I live in Kalimantan and have a good salary. I have a good vehicle I conveniently use for my family. My house is good enough. It is in an elite housing complex in Kalimantan. But those things do not bring me to live in *kalumanyang* because I am always aware that those things might go away anytime. They come to me only temporarily. I own them not forever. Therefore if I find someone is in need of what I have, I give them away. I do not collect beyond what I need. I just fulfill

my basic needs. I need to have those things because I live in a place in which I am required to have them. This is also a kind of life of *kamase-masea*.

The explanation corresponds with many cases of the people living in the inner territory. Outsiders have mistakenly seen them as extremely poor because they thought that they could not afford to build good houses, or buy shoes and sandals, clothes or televisions. In reality many people living in the inner territory and choose to go without shoes or sandals, to build traditional houses made of wood and bamboo, and to shun electricity have large amounts of livestock and often sponsor extensive and expensive rituals that might cost 50 to 100 million Rupiahs. They could have built fancy houses and bought cars, but they have chosen not to. This kind of attitude illustrates the commitment of living in *kamase-masea*.

It is also false to think that those living in the inner territory automatically commit *kamase-masea* and those in the outer territory commit *kalumanyang*. Usop (1978, p. 50), for example, explains that the notion of *kamase-masea* is based on the Ammatoan religiosity. In the land of *kamase-masea*, argues Usop, people pursue the life of the hereafter only. The life of the mundane world, in contrast, is not desired. People in the inner territory are destined to be modest and simple. In the land of *kamase-masea*, simplicity is cultivated and material prosperity is avoided. Usop quotes the the Pasang that says that they have food to eat, clothes to wear, money to buy fishes, land, garden, field rice, and houses, to explain that living in *kamase-masea* means this life is

fulfilled. It is a commitment to strive for modesty in this world, for whatever one does not have in this world he will find it in the hereafter (Usop, 1978, p. 51).

Partly, Usop is right that *kamase-masea* as religio-cultural value is what the people strive for, but he misunderstands it when he claims that those who live in the inner territory all have to commit to *kamase-masea* ways.

Usop goes on explaining that in the outer territory, also called the land of *kalumanynyang* and *kuasaya*, people cultivate worldly prosperity. Usop recorded the Pasang 27 saying that prosperity might be reached if the leader desires it, because the leader is God's representative in the world. The leader knows better about good and bad, although Ammatoans believe that absolute prosperity belongs only to Tau Riek Akrakna. Usop argues that the *Kalumanynyang* has been managed by the government in such a way that it will be prosperous. Life at the outer territory is *kalumanynyang* as opposed to *kamase-mase*, which belongs to the inner territory (Usop, 1978, p. 50). Usop's account on this point is not entirely correct. My findings show that many Ammatoans who lived in the outer territory could also observe *kamase-masea*.

People living in the inner territory might observe *kalumanynyang* as much as those living in the outer territory. So there are also people living in the outer territory who might observe *kamase-masea* as much as those living in the inner territory. Each individual has similar kinds of opportunities and challenges to observe both *kamasea-masea* and *kalumanynyang*. The inner territory could effectively condition people living in it to observe *kamase-masea*, but *kamase-masea* is essentially a personal commitment. It is something to continually work

out. Living in the inner territory is already a commitment, but further commitments are still required. Achieving *kamase-masea* is about everyday practices, and so its challenges are everyday concerns.

In addition to living a modest life, *Kamase-masea* includes observing four other basic and fundamental values of Pasang: *lambusuk* (honesty), *gattang* (firmness), *sabbarak* (patience), and *appisona* (self-sufficiency). To observe these values, one has to be engaged in “seeking knowledge” (*manuntung*). Usop claims that *manuntung* is only observed by those who live in the inner territory (1978, p. 80). This perception would certainly upset those who live in the outer territory, for they are parts of the community sharing and engaged in observing the values. *Manuntungi* is a work of leading the self and others to good and preventing them from doing bad things. Someone who is *manuntungi* is called *patuntung*. *Patuntung* is a capacity that one attains from the processes of learning, understanding, and practicing the Pasang. It is the highest state of personhood, for he or she holds knowledge, wisdom, and commitment to implement the Pasang in everyday practices (see Usop, 1978, p. 80).

It is now clear that the two meanings of the “fence”: physicality and religiosity are parallel and inseparable. The territorial divisions are a physical manifestation of the Ammatoan religious-cultural value of *kamase-masea* and *kalumanyang*. With these territorial divisions, one is always reminded about value. No matter how fancy a car someone has, he has to leave it when entering the inner territory. An informant articulated, “Having a fancy car, you might potentially commit *kalumanyang* ways of life because once you already have

one, you usually desire to have another fancier one. But, when you have to leave it behind [referring to entering the gate], it reminds you that you actually do not belong to it.” Some outsiders who happened to visit this community, learned this value, too. Committing to *kamase-masea* by living in the inner territory does not prevent someone from seeing and enjoying a fancy car. I often saw some *passapu* (the ones who commit to wear black clothes and no sandals or shoes all the time) riding in a taxi when they needed one. *Kamase-masea* and *kalumananyang* are thus two opposing but integrated values. *Kamase-masea* could only be understood if we understand *kalumananyang*, and vice versa.

As presented above, scholars have thought of the Ammatoan territorial divisions (the inner and the outer territories) as the border and limit of the Ammatoa’s authority. They understand that the inner territory is where everything is traditional and where the Ammatoa’s political authority is fully exercised, and the outer territory is where modernity is exercised as much as possible, and so people living in it have no or lesser interest in the Ammatoan tradition. Those scholars have failed to consider how the people themselves perceive their territories.

Kaimuddin Salle (1999), for example, understands the outer territory as one in which the people mostly ignore the *adat* law and tradition. For Salle, people living in the outer territory do not observe the Pasang or Ammatoan tradition. Instead, they observed Islam and accepted modernity. Salle based his conclusions on his observations of people living in the outer territory and utilizing modern technological tools in their life. Observing three hamlets of the outer

territory where he found some traditional rituals being practiced and some not, Salle categorized the hamlets as *calabai* (K./B. “gay”) areas (1999, p. 169). Using the word *calabai*, Salle compared the statues of the hamlets with that of a man acting like a woman. Their identities were not clear. Salle could not understand that those hamlets were in the outer territory but people observed traditional practices in them.

In contrast to Salle and other scholars, I observe that the divisions are more about where versions of the Ammatoan religious, cultural, and political practices are exercised than the Ammatoa’s authorities and boundaries. The inner territory is the area where people avoid bringing new things, but that does not mean that people living in that area do not enjoy new things. It is true that in the inner territory there is no TV, but people could come out and watch a television at their relatives’ houses in the outer territory. The outer territory is open for people living in it to exercise any kinds of new things available, but that does not mean that the people violate and ignore the Pasang and tradition. There are many Ammatoans who live in the outer territory and commit *passapu* (wearing black clothes and bare feet all the time). As said before, being an Ammatoan is not determined by where someone lives. The authority of the Ammatoa then is not limited to the geographical boundary, but rather exercised through personal engagement.

In theory, in the outer territory any one is welcome. Any kind of Islam (not true for non-Islamic religions) may be taught, preached, and spread. New materials are not banned. Programs by the state and Muslim groups have been

accepted and even admired. Islamization and modernization have claimed this area as their own. Islam, present in the area from the beginning of the seventeenth century, has embedded in the territory. Modernity, introduced by the colonial power, and perpetuated by the Indonesian state, has also been accepted. Being open, this territory has offered a space for intensive encounters and interactions among agencies, including the ones affiliating to non-governmental organizations that advocate for the rights of indigenous peoples. In such encounters agencies are all active in influencing and being influenced by each others.

This chapter, in conclusion, has observed that Ammatoan politics are strongly attached to their indigenous religion. The Ammatoans manage their territories as a mirror image of their cosmological conceptualizations. The Ammatoan territorial construction, which they consider to be the model of and model for their political structure, is seen as the implementation of indigenous religious values. According the Ammatoan point of view, Politics is a dimension of religious practice. This chapter has also demonstrated that Ammatoan territorial divisions have enabled them to successfully manage transformations in their indigenous religion despite their conversion to Islam and the intrusion of modernity.

Chapter 4

PASANG RI KAJANG AND EVERYDAY PRACTICES

This chapter examines the Ammatoan oral tradition called Pasang ri Kajang. It explains the connection between the Pasang and everyday practices: the Pasang produces and is produced by everyday practices. If the last chapter showed Ammatoan politics as a religious dimension of everyday practices, this chapter elaborates on the Pasang ri Kajang through which other dimensions of Ammatoan religion are demonstrated. This chapter begins with the definition of the Pasang to explain its nature, character, and function. This is followed by an explanation of how idealized practices are reproduced in everyday practices.

Defining the Pasang ri Kajang

The Pasang ri Kajang literally means the messages of Kajang. It is a set of messages inherited from their ancestors of Kajang to which Ammatoans refer to for their everyday practices. It is an oral tradition transmitted from generation to generation. When asked about reasons and purposes of a certain practice, especially about a ritual, Ammatoans usually said that it is what the Pasang says. Pasang ri Kajang is thus a body of knowledge and reference for the conduct of everyday life encompassing all different kinds of ideas and practices: historical, political, socio-cultural, economic, and religious. Previous studies of Pasang have, however, referred specifically to collections of the Pasang sayings (see Appendix A). These sayings are typically short, metaphorical and many of them are poetic. They consist of key expressions of community ethos, prohibitions,

commandments, advice for community members, and admonition to officials (McKanzie, 1999, p.74).

There are three major works on the Pasang: Kenna Mohamad Aini Matseman Usop (1978), Catherine McKanzie (1994), and Samiang Katu (2000). All other works, including the last two, mostly depend on and refer to Usop's collection of Pasang when discussing Pasang. Being the first collection, Usop's work has been the authoritative reference to study the Pasang. Samiang Katu (2000) copies Usop's collection and rearranges them in accordance with his own thematic analysis. McKanzie quotes twenty-six sayings from Usop's, and includes some from three other works, in addition to her own finding for her collection of fifty Pasang sayings.

Usop was a researcher at the Training Center for Social Science Research at the Foundation for Social Sciences (I., Pusat Latihan Penelitian Ilmu Sosial, Yayasan Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial) in Jakarta in 1976, which also sponsored his research. He conducted fieldwork collecting Pasang ri Kajang of Ammatoans. For Usop, the Ammatoan community was one of the few indigenous communities in Indonesia that had preserved their pre-Islamic values and practices. Usop learned that the Pasang ri Kajang was the reason and means for Ammatoans to faithfully preserve their tradition. He argued that to make sense of Ammatoan cultural values and practices one had to study the Pasang, the Ammatoan oral tradition. Usop, as the first collector, searched for informants able and willing to tell him

about the Pasang and asked them to recite the Pasang so he could record them.¹⁶

He gathered his information from people living in both the inner and outer territory. Based on this research, one of Usop's conclusions was that no single Ammatoan could reveal a complete organized and ordered set of Pasang.

The three major studies on the Pasang differ in terms of issues they engage. Usop (1978) focused on collecting Pasang, rather than compiling them based on certain themes. As a result, his collection simply reflects what he was able to collect. In his collection after classifying sayings of the Pasang into several categorical themes, he assigns them numbers in order. The order goes as follows: 1) definition of the Pasang (4 Pasang: 1 to 4), religious dimensions of the Pasang (28 Pasang: 5 to 32), ritual system (3 Pasang: 33 to 35), social system (7 Pasang: 36 to 42), the Ammatoa's inauguration (2 Pasang: 43 to 44), government (17 Pasang: 45 to 61), communal life (13 Pasang: 62 to 74), and taboo and punishment (9 Pasang: 75 to 83). This numbering system is ordered by Usop and simply reflects his organizational system rather than any Ammatoan notion of relatedness or order among Pasang.

Katu (2000) uses Usop's collection to argue that the religio-cultural values of the Pasang are compatible with Islam, and so Islam should accommodate the Ammatoan tradition. His study focuses on the accommodative character of Islam. Thus his concern is with exploring the Pasang through the lens of Islamic theology and this concern overshadows his analysis of the Pasang. As shall be

¹⁶He transcribed these recordings without explaining whether he received permission from the people or not. Since then, his work has become a question because up to now Ammatoans still contend that it is taboo to transcribe the Pasang.

more clearly shown, Katu assumed that observing the Pasang as the words of God, Ammatoans were absolutely dependent on God; they were fatalistic.

McKanzie (1994), in contrast, looks at the Pasang as a lens through which Ammatoans express their identity and differentiate themselves from their neighbors. Her work focuses on Ammatoan collective asceticism as a strategy for resisting outside forces. Their faithful observance of the Pasang demonstrates their enclave as an oral community. Her focus seems to determine her collecting fifty sayings, fewer than Usop's.

When I discussed these academic works with Ammatoans, they argued that the collection of Pasang was itself an act of violating the Pasang. For them, it is *kasipalli* to collect, record, or transcribe the Pasang. They argue that when the Pasang is written down, it is no longer the Pasang. They imply that the Pasang can only be in orality. Due to such a strong belief, they would pause in their recitation of the Pasang if they noticed their recitation was being recorded. When they knew about the academic works, the people declared that the written sayings were not the Pasang ri Kajang. Nevertheless, when I quoted examples of the Pasang from these published works, they usually confirmed that they were the Pasang ri Kajang.

This chapter is not meant to document and write the Pasang sayings. To navigate the readings into the phenomenon of dialectical responses between the Pasang and everyday lives, I use the transcriptions collected by other scholars, as detailed in Appendix A. This chapter is thus the examination of the previous works on the Pasang. It examines how they interpret and explain the Pasang.

When asked about the origin of the Pasang, Ammatoans referred to their origin story. The first Ammatoa, the first human being received the Pasang from Tau Riek Akrakna in the middle of a forest. They still conduct the annual ritual of *panganroang* (invocation) for the well-being of all existence at the location where this exchange took place. According to the story, Tau Riek Akrakna came down from the sky to the earth, where he met the Ammatoa, inaugurated him as the leader, and offered him the Pasang. The Pasang was a “contract” governing the relationships of all beings: Tau Riek Akrakna, human being, and all other beings, including the earth and sky, forests and rivers, animals and plantings, and so forth. This story is the source of two other theories about the origin of Pasang: First, it is revelation from God, and second, it is the wisdom of elders handed down through generations. Some Ammatoans strongly believe that the Pasang was given by God (Tau Riek Akrakna) to the first Ammatoa, the first human being and then passed on to succeeding generations. These people usually describe the Pasang as *pappasang na puang* (divine words). When asked to compare the Pasang with the Qur’an and other written scriptures, they argued that as divine words, the Pasang is of a similar nature to the Qur’an. Many Ammatoans even contend that the Pasang is the origin of the Qur’an.

Most works on the Pasang argue that the Pasang comes from God (Allah or Tau Riek Akrakna) (Ahmad, 1989; Sirajuddin, 2002; Fitriani, 2003; Qoyim, 2004; Adhan, 2007; Ningsih, 2007). An exception is Kaimuddin Salle who remains unsure whether the Pasang is from Tau Riek Akrakna or from the elders (1999, p. 201). On one hand, he defines the Pasang ri Kajang as the words of

elders, but on the other hand, he accounts for it as the words of God. In defining the Pasang as the words of God, Salle compares Konjo with Makssarese, Buginese, and Indonesian. Pasang, according to Salle, literally means *pesan* (I., message). Quoting Laica Marzuki (1995), a professor of law at Hasanuddin University of Indonesia, Salle argues that *pasang* derives from *pappasang* (K./M.) and *pappaseng* (B.), which means a wise message orally delivered by elders. Salle furthermore elaborates that the word *pasang* may be understood from the word *pappaseng* (B.), which means a set of advice, orders, commands, and instructions from ancestors, especially from kings. A king who knew that he was about to conclude his life usually invited certain people, including other kings from other kingdoms, to listen to his words on issues usually related to his successor, governing the people, and so forth. The king's words were called *paseng*. The king's *pasang* then became *pappaseng* for later generation (Salle, 1999, p. 81).

On the other hand, Salle presents that Tau Riek Akrakna was the being who initially ascended from the heaven to the middle of the *karrasak/karamak* (powerful) forest, inaugurated the first Ammatoa to be in charge of preserving and protecting the earth, and gave him the Pasang (1999, p. 200-1). Pasang, in this context, is the guidance for life in this world to have a good life in the hereafter. That is why the Pasang is fully, sincerely, and consciously obeyed by Ammatoans (1999, p. 85). Salle fails to draw any final conclusions about the two different stories about the origin of Pasang.

The two theories of the origin do not seem to be contradictory. The first theory support of the divine nature of the Pasang, but it still accepts the Pasang as

being transmitted from generation to the next. The second theory, similarly, does not negate that the Pasang was given by God. My observations showed that the people used the two theories interchangeably according to who they were speaking to and what they were speaking about. I often heard people explain that the Pasang originated from the sayings of elders without referring to God. What is clear about the Pasang is that it is orally transmitted regardless of its origin. The Pasang ri Kajang is then constitutively an oral tradition.

To define Pasang ri Kajang as oral tradition, this dissertation draws insights from the works of several scholars. In his widely read and cited works, the historian Jan Vansina (2006, p. 1971) defines oral traditions as oral testimonies verbally transmitted from one generation to the next. There are three elements in Vansina's definition to account for oral tradition: testimony, transmission, and the time factor (1971, p. 444; 2006, p. 20). In contrast to testimony, Vansina explains, eyewitnesses and rumors as other kinds of oral data do not constitute oral traditions because they both are not transmitted through generations. Rumors in particular are soon to be forgotten. Only reported statements such as testimonies transmitted from one person to another or more through the medium of language do become oral traditions. Because eyewitness accounts and rumors are not reported statements, even though given orally, they are not parts of tradition. Vansina moreover elaborates that oral traditions are what one has learnt from hearsay accounts or verbal testimonies that narrate an event and not what has been witnessed and remembered (Vansina, 2006, p. 19-20).

Along with Vansina, two other historians, David Henige (1982) and Joseph C. Miller (1980), provide similar definitions of oral traditions. Henige defines oral traditions as what people in a given culture commonly know about the past. They are universally known recollections of the past. Miller (1980, p. 2) loosely defines oral tradition as "a narrative describing, or purporting to describe, eras before the time of the person who relates it." Vansina moreover elucidates that oral tradition is presented as the respected lore of the past; it has a tradition. If it tells about what happened in the past it is called historical traditions, and if it takes delight in the performance of oral wisdom of the past, it is called literary traditions. For this reason, lists of kings or royal chronicles are parallel to religious hymns, proverbs, and animal stories as oral tradition (Vansina, 1971, p. 444).

These three scholars share an emphasis that to constitute as an oral tradition, stories about the past must be transmitted. The emphasis makes sense for all three are historians and thus are primarily concerned with how to treat oral traditions as historical sources. Pasang ri Kajang could of course be studied historically, or treated as a source to construct the history of Ammatoans, but this dissertation is not concerned with that issue. The concern is, rather, how and why the Pasang is practiced. More specifically, how religion, which Vansina considers as a cultural element that undergoes unconscious gradual change (1971, p. 459), is practiced.

In addition to the seemingly normative definition of oral tradition as explained above, historians have noticed the practical and dynamic character of

oral traditions. C. A. Hamilton (1987) states that oral traditions are unfixed (at least until recorded). They are usually about daily practices in a society (1987, p. 77). Individuals, with their uniquely personal experiences, communicate oral traditions in an ongoing process of testimony over time (Hamilton 1987, p. 68). David William Cohen (1989, p. 11), another historian working with the Busoga of Africa, similarly argues that an oral tradition or knowledge of the past is subject to the engagement in arrays of social activities.

Hamilton, moreover, explains that the distinction between tradition and testimony is equal to that of public and personal history. Public history (tradition), usually the formal versions of history, belongs to professional historians within a society. What belongs to personal history is characteristically individual. Such a history is present in people's own memories (testimony). The personal history is always determined by individuals. Dealing with the public, the individuals inevitably deploy their memory, logic, and political commitment. The public does the same. The two domains are not separable but dynamically influence one another (1987, p. 69).

Along these lines, Cohen also observes that knowledge of the past among the Busoga people involves the everyday critical, lively intelligence which surrounds the status, activities, gestures, and speech of individuals throughout Busoga (Cohen, 1980). How the people construct and perceive offices, how they know and treat land, how they define inheritance, what and why they believe and observe ritual, how they deal with debts, and practice marriages, all rest on the active deployment of detailed knowledge of the past (1989, p. 12). Rather than

observing history based on given cultural designs, individuals are much more concerned with their complexities and subjectivities in accordance with their interests, objectives, recreation, and esteem in producing and holding historical knowledge. Cohen contends that the widely held notion that history in oral societies is encapsulated and sustained principally within special texts is questionable. For him, historical knowledge is fully engaged with broader social intelligence. It is known, experienced, and manipulated (1989, p. 16).

As shall be seen, the practice of Pasang ri Kajang illustrates both Hamilton's and Cohen's arguments. The sayings of the Pasang are recited by individuals according to their situations. Ammatoan individuals often have different interpretations and provide different meanings for certain sayings of the Pasang. Individuals' diverse interpretations, built up from their memories, logic, and interests, are also on collective practices which are based on the Pasang.

The works of two other historians discuss the issue of oral sources: Ruth Finnegan's (1970) and Dianne Dugaw's (2009). Finnegan suggests that oral sources are in many ways more open to negotiation than written ones. For while a written document is often taken to be permanent, though it is certainly subject to many influences especially when it is written down, oral forms are open to various influences, from the moment of the first formulation and delivery, to every single instance of transmission. Because they are oral, and exist only when they are rendered by word of mouth, they are affected by a number of additional factors that do not apply to documentary sources (1970, p. 200).

Finnegan argues that oral traditions are also more constantly subject to outside influences because they are closely connected with the current social situation. Each performance is a specific occasion, and each occasion is subject to changing social backgrounds. An individual involved in an oral performance is constantly engaged in interpretations and reinterpretations in response to the current situation (Finnegan 1970, p. 201). Finnegan strongly resists the idea that oral tradition is impervious to influence. Oral tradition is inherently variable and unfixed, and peculiarly susceptible to influence (Finnegan 1970, p. 201).

Following the insights of historians, I observe that an oral tradition consisting of testimonies transmitted through generations has undergone transformation because of its inherent involvement in socio-historical practices and dialectic interactions between the collective knowledge and individuals' pragmatic interests. Pasang ri Kajang as an oral tradition is thus subject to negotiations, diverse interpretations, and influences from other sources. As Paul Ricoeur (1974) argues for a tradition, Pasang ri Kajang is not a sealed package, but more like an open treasure that is continually replenished through the very act of being passed from one generation to the next (1974, p. 27).

This argument is a critique of Usop and Katu who both argue that Pasang ri Kajang is static. Their arguments are based on their interpretations of certain sayings of the Pasang that say that the Pasang cannot be added to or changed. Focusing on the Pasang they collected, they see the Pasang as a fixed corpus that holds permanent values and meanings that every faithful Ammatoan holds to. Usop and Katu, and Martin Rössler (1990) to a certain extent, treat the Pasang as

a “closed” tradition to which Ammatoans have to comply. They assume that individual reinterpretations of the Pasang are not possible. For them, ‘personal’ interpretations that differ from the ‘public’ ones are transgressions of the Pasang. This belief in the Pasang as a fixed and unchanging text is one reason these three scholars misleadingly observe that the “pure” Ammatoans are those who live in the inner territory.

Following Vansina’s (2006, p. 143) categorization of oral traditions: formulae, poetry, lists, tales, and commentaries, I argue that the Pasang ri Kajang as a body of reference for conducts in life encompassing the past, present, and the future, and consisting of not only sayings but also commentaries is dynamic and contextual. The Pasang encompasses issues of belief, messages, instructions, advice, orders, and stories about the first human being, about the history of the people, about *adat* structures, social norms, and ethical laws that regulate social and environmental life, as well as prognosis, and principles of relations with Tau Riek Akrakna, fellow humans, and environment (Ahmad, 1989; Salle. 1999, p.85).

The sayings of the Pasang fall into the type of didactic formulae. This type for Vansina includes sayings, proverbs, riddles, and epigrams and they are the storehouse of ancient wisdom (2006, p. 146). As ancient wisdom, the Pasang dictates the entire religious, ceremonial and social system of the Ammatoan community. It represents knowledge and experiences, aspects and vicissitudes of life (Usop, 1978, p. 119). Arifin Sallatan (1965 as cited in Salle, 1999, p. 82) argues that the Pasang ri Kajang is Ammatoan *adat* that the people follow from

birth to death. Ammatoan *adat* includes habit, belief, and taboo related to their environment.

The Content of the Pasang

This section refers to sayings of the Pasang as transcribed and translated in the Appendix A in order to elaborate the contents of the Pasang by making use of Ammatoan individuals' diverse interpretations. This section emphasizes that the Pasang not only consists of sayings, but also commentaries as said before. Individual knowledge and experiences that Ammatoans count to be part of the Pasang are significantly taken into account.

The Nature of Pasang.

In June 2009, I was involved with a group of Ammatoans making a new ladder to replace an old one. Making a new ladder in the community is a collective practice involving at least one traditional engineer (*tuka*) who is responsible for making the ladder and the associated rituals, a host, and people who both intentionally come to help and others who happen to pass by. At noon, the host invited everyone involved in the ladder construction to have lunch. One informant told me that the lunch was special because it included a chicken that had been ritually slaughtered for the new ladder. After every one had eaten, the host served *ballok* and discussion among the people began. Serving and drinking *ballok* usually involved intense discussion of the Pasang. Such a practice is common and Ammatoans always expect it to happen.

Several issues were discussed over the *ballok*. These included the essence, function, and meaning of *ballok*, the nature of man, the function of heart/mind,

and what it meant to be an Ammatoan, a Konjo, or a Muslim. Everyone who took part in that discussion was confident of their arguments which all referenced the Pasang. Any statement made was always justified by a reference(s) to the Pasang, even though no saying of the Pasang was quoted. One person, for example, made an argument, “*njo taua sekre ji*” (men are only one), and then said, “*pasang jo*” (that is the Pasang). Another case was a person stating, “*njo masigi ri ati i*” (the mosque is at the heart), and said, “*pakunjo nakua pasang*” (that is how the Pasang says). When someone referred to Pasang, the others nodded indicating their understanding and agreement, or at least that they had no dispute with what was said. Some of those who quietly listened to the discussion sometimes made a comment(s) behind, like “*cocok njo*” (that is correct), or “*sisalakak nakke*” (I disagree) without elaborating on their approval or disapproval.

When someone found a point of contention to argue, or found that he had a different understanding, he made another argument by also referring to the Pasang. For example, one person said, “The heart is what you have to listen to for whatever you need to do. It is the source of good things. It is the heart that talks to Tau Riek Akrakna,” and said, “*pasang jo* (that is pasang)!” In response, another person said, “This is what I got: the heart is also the source of bad things. It could also lead you to do wrong things. So you better watch out with your heart. That is what Pasang also says!” Anytime the Pasang was mentioned, everyone just nodded, and when such a situation occurred (it is normal), someone usually came up and said, “*tuju ngasek njo, ka silallo tessirapi taua. Pasang jo*” (all the

arguments are correct, that is what we call exceeding but not reaching. That is the Pasang)” (Pasang 10).

What has been just explained was one of the ways that the Pasang was practiced in daily discussions. The people held a collective perception of what the Pasang was, even though they admitted that their knowledge about the contents of the Pasang varied. The Pasang is their reference for knowledge, behavior, and action. It is the authoritative reference for people’s knowledge encompassing all realities: the past, present, and the future. Ideas or actions would not count to be ideal if no reference(s) to the Pasang is made.

These versions of individuals’ knowledge are a kind of phenomenon that the historian Dianne Dugaw would call the complex interplay of orality (2009, p. 418). Quoting Víctor Vich and Virginia Zavala (2004, p. 41), Dugaw observes that orality is a performance and a practice. To study it, one must always be aware of a particular type of social interaction, which is always situated in specific social contexts. She argues that oral performance often discloses the dynamic of identity formations and power relations (Dugaw 2009, p. 418). Analyzing the diaries of the eighteenth-century literary figure James Boswell as her case study in which he finds politically and socially resonating encounters between the singer and the audience, Dugaw points out that oral performances are situated within and negotiate differences of rank, power, prestige, and possibility (2009, p. 419).

Despite their diverse knowledge on contents of the Pasang, Ammatoans agree that the Pasang tells its own nature of being pure and original. It remains the same from the beginning to the present, and will never change. No one is allowed

to make changes to the Pasang for it would bring misfortunes, such as natural disaster or failure in agriculture in Kajang, where the Pasang is designated for, but also in other places such as Gowa and Luwu, or other places around the globe. These are the kinds of sanctions that come along with the Pasang. The Pasang has its own system of sanctions that ensure its transmission. Vansina suggests that a system of sanctions and rewards which make use of specialists for its application is an effective method of control for ensuring the persistence of oral tradition (Vansina, 2006, p. 33). Vansina specifically refers to verbal testimonies being instrumentally used in religious or magic practices, and therefore only certain individuals (specialists) are capable and responsible for the transmission. In the case of the Pasang, the emphasis for preservation is both on its sayings and its messages/values.

Rössler notes that Ammatoans contend that everyone is responsible for ensuring the preservation of the Pasang. Failure to comply with the Pasang and its values could result in all kinds of disasters. This point is shared by Ammatoans. These sanctions apply to both Ammatoans and others. When Ammatoans heard news about earthquakes, floods, or wars happening around the globe, they saw it as proof that people had changed and transgressed the Pasang. These calamities were evidence that people no longer lived their lives in accordance with the Pasang.

In September 2009, I joined in a group of Ammatoans. It was after the presidential election in Indonesia in which Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY),

the current Indonesian president, won the election with more than 60 % votes.

They were enthusiastically discussing the election results. One of them argued:

The state applying democracy will never be successful in managing the country because democracy is based on human's affairs, and so could only fulfill human's desires. Democracy is about money. People today are only concerned with those who would give them money for votes. They do not follow their inner heart, the voice of the nature, and that of God (B./K. *Puang*).

Democracy is really against nature (*alang*) and God. SBY has been elected as the president for the second term and that shows that people seem to strongly admire and trust him. But nature and God obviously do not.

Natural disasters follow one another. Tsunamis, erosion, floods, and floods of mud are the "tears" of nature. Nature is crying. Earthquakes are the cough of nature. It is sick. The Indonesian people do not understand that nature feels, sees, listens, and does things just like human beings.

Nature can even harm and hurt. If nature is angry after being irresponsibly treated, it destroys the life of human beings. It destroys any human beings without filtering the good and bad ones. It is just like an ant biting us, and we kill all the ants we find, as many as we can, including the innocent.

That is all because people do not follow the *Pasang*. They even change it because of their uncontrolled desires.

The above informant clearly implies that The *Pasang* applies universally. To account for its universality, Ammatoans argue that its messages and values have

the same purpose as the Lontarak of Gowa and the Kittak of Luwu.¹⁷ They might differ, but only in name or terminology (Pasang 1-4). Ammatoan knowledge about “books” of Gowa and Luwu suggests that the Pasang has interacted with outside sources. The Pasang thus should be seen as a dialectical response to oral traditions of others (Hamilton, 1987, p. 78). Showing the dialectical interactions, Katu (2000, p. 120-36) presents the concept of *pangngadereng* (*adat* system) common in three groups of sources: the Pasang ri Kajang, the chronicle of Makassar, and that of Luwu. The Pasang is not passive. It reflects not a culture but cultures in contact with each other. It sometimes even projects its superiority over others. Interpreting sayings of the Pasang 1-4, Ammatoans theorized that the Pasang is the original source for all kinds of holy books, including the Qur’an and the Bible. A common theme in regards to the issue was shared by one informant:

(Muhammad) was from Kajang. He was one of our great men. For his greatness, he went out and ended up in Arabia. In Arabia, Muhammad wrote down the Pasang, and that is why it is in Arabic. The Qur’an is the Pasang. The Bible is the same. It was the Pasang but then written down in languages according to where it was written. If you (referring to me) learn about the Pasang, you will find no differences in it from those books. They all have same messages and purposes. The difference is that the Pasang is

¹⁷Lontarak of Gowa and Kittak of Luwu are chronicles. To the knowledge of Ammatoans Makassarese and Buginese have “holy books” that they refer for their conducts of life. They assumed that Makassarese referred to Lontarak of Gowa if they told about themselves, their histories, *adat*, and so forth. So did people of Luwu, according to Ammatoans. Understanding so, Ammatoans argued that the people of Gowa (Makassarese) and the people of Luwu (Buginese) are just like them. Ammatoans argued that if both Makassarese and Buginese have (written) “messages,” they have (oral) “messages.”

oral and so beyond human control and all those books have been written down. They are human creations. They have been “bent,” to follow the desires of human beings.

I found strong narratives among Ammatoans regarding the contrast between oral and written traditions. The narratives suggested that the people were aware of being marginal in relation to outsiders, but demonstrated that they actually were more truthful and powerful. Ammatoans often made the argument that because they were destined to be part of an oral (they actually said *dongok* = “stupid”) culture, they therefore did not need to learn how to read and write. Those who were literate (they usually said *caraddek* = “smart”) should learn how to read and write, and when they were good at reading and writing, they better leave and live outside Ammatoan territory, especially the inner one, for the territory was designated for oral people. This idea usually referred to their popular story about the white and Chinese people as their siblings coming from the same ancestor as themselves. The story told that the ancestor of white people was a dog. One day *bohe* (the powerful grandfather) urinated, and his sperm also came out. A dog came and drank the sperm. The dog got pregnant and gave birth to a human baby. The baby was very white. The more he grew up, the whiter he became. He got married and all his children were white. They were the ancestors of the white people and the dog was the grandfather of the white people. When I happened to tell the people that people in the U.S. loved dogs, they spontaneously confirmed, “Dog is their *bohe*.” A similar story was shared for Chinese people. The difference was that the Chinese ancestor was a mouse. Both the white people and

the Chinese had to leave the Ammatoan territory for they all were so smart and good at reading and writing.

Stories around learning the Qur'an also contributed to such ambivalent narratives. I learned from some informants that one of the reasons that they could not learn to read or write the Qur'an was because, as they argued, when learning without completely mastering it, one would be in danger, his consciousness would be gone, and his *paddissengeng* (K./B., knowledge) would become harmful, like black magic. It would even be harmful to themselves. A person telling this kind of story usually pointed to individuals that had mental disorders as proof. Such a story shows that the Qur'an was perceived to be powerful, but too powerful for them, so they should avoid learning, reading, and writing it.

Another narrative was based on people's memories. People recalled when the local office of Religious Affairs came to the Ammatoan community, met the leader (the Ammatoa), and brought multiple copies of the Qur'an. The copies were for Ammatoans, but when offered, an Ammatoan representative replied, "We are 'stupid' (oral), we cannot read. So it is better if you take them to smart (literate) people." When the officials insisted that they keep the copies for themselves, they accepted them. They then distributed the copies to those who were interested. At that time, some kids in the outer territory went to school and studied the Qur'an. The copies were given to those kids. Again, this shows how the written tradition is challenged, or not desired.

The Divine and Man.

According to Usop (1978) and Katu (2000), the Pasang holds to the concept of monotheism. There is only one God, but to name Him is *kasipalli* (taboo). To designate God, the people refer to His attribute, Tau Riek Akrakna (the One Who Wills). He is the Supreme Being. He acts as He wills. No one knows where He is, so no one knows whether their *panganro* (invocations) are accepted or not by Him. One, however, would be with Him when he observes His commandments and avoids His prohibitions (Usop, 1978, p. 44: Pasang 5-7). Interpreting the Pasang 5-7, Katu emphasizes that Tau Riek Akrakna is the source and final destination of everything, including human beings. Before Tau Riek Akrakna, human beings had no ability or capacity to determine their future (Katu, 2000, p. 71-72).

The conclusion of these two scholars presumes the Islamic (and Christian) concept of God. Reading literally the Pasang 5-7, Katu equates the theological concept of the Pasang to *Jabariyah* (a school of Islamic theology that advocates the notion of absolute fatalism) (Katu, 2000, p. 156). This equation would therefore lead to an understanding that the concept of the God of Ammatoans is the same as or similar to that of Islam (and Christianity). It is true that many Ammatoans would explain their concept of God in such a way, for they have interacted with Islam for long time. But, another approach to the concept is worth exploring.

In September 2009 I had the chance to see and have an interview with a *sanro* and some elders. The special interview could take place because they had

noticed that I was an “ok” (*kulle*) person for it.¹⁸ My questions focused on the functions and significance of coconut, banana, rice, fire, special cakes, and so on being always involved in rituals. Before answering my questions, the *sanro* said, “*ku puangko nni, ka kau ntu tau baji-baji jako. Tala sambarang nakke ku puang nni paddissengeng*” (I tell you this because you are a “good” person.¹⁹ I don’t tell this knowledge to everyone). I noticed that the phrase “*ku puangko*” (I tell you) is always used by a speaker to transmit knowledge to an “ok” person. “*ku puangko*” implies a serious engagement in giving and receiving knowledge. In other words, certain knowledge is special and not all knowledge can simply be disseminated.

This kind of knowledge is for Vansina (2006, p. 34) a form of esoteric knowledge: special knowledge belonging to special individuals. For such knowledge, some Ammatoans often declared, “No one knows *this* here except me, him, and her!” or they said, “We do not know such a deep knowledge. Go to that person! He is the one who should know it.” Vansina explains that esoteric knowledge and traditions are often exclusive to certain classes of the population, especially to aristocrats and specialists. Esoteric traditions are thus the property of certain special groups (Vansina, 2006, p. 35) like *sanro*.

Esoteric knowledge for Vansina is more likely to be accurate in its transmission. The accuracy of esoteric knowledge is due partly to a special

¹⁸Here, I do not mean to say that I have established an ethnographic authority. The point being conveyed is that for Ammatoans there are certain kinds of knowledge that require certain conditions and qualifications to be fulfilled by a person who wishes to seek them. The word *kulle* means that “ability” in terms capacities and conditions.

¹⁹The perception of being “good” in this sense is subjective and self-evident. In this context, the perception belongs to the distributor of knowledge, the *sanro*. Being “good” exclusively implies as an “ok” situation for conditions and qualifications of seeking and accepting knowledge are already fulfilled.

method of preserving the tradition and knowledge deployed, as shown in the case of Ammatoan ways of giving-receiving knowledge. Vansina argues that where special methods and techniques exist, their purpose is to preserve the tradition as faithfully as possible and transmit it from one generation to the next (2006, p. 31). The knowledge is not randomly communicated, and once it is given, a receiver holds a burden to faithfully preserve it. Vansina adds that every esoteric tradition is necessary to be preserved and transmitted through individuals attached to institutions. Others who might be informed about such knowledge are not allowed to transmit them (Vansina, 2006, p. 34).

Returning to the discussion of the interview, after I nodded indicating my seriousness in accepting the knowledge, the *sanro* explained:

There is a story behind the *kalomba* ritual. In the past someone, named Mula, was seriously sick. He had tried to do everything to recover, but always failed until he made an offering of forty different *rupanna* (beings) such as leaves, fruits, spices, and animals. The forty different beings were literally what people knew around them. The offering was *ikalompoangngi* (to magnify) all involved. That's what people have done from generation to generation. The ritual is both for recovery and prevention for diseases. *Passau* (the incense) is to bring our vow, oath up *there* where *halusukna* (the inwards) assemble. All beings, be they humans and non-humans, consist of two dimensions: *halusukna* (inwardness) and *kassarakna* (outward). The smoke brings the *halusuk* of beings involved in the ritual

up there, a place where everything is in ordered, non-chaotic, and peaceful space together with the vow.

The fire is not to burn, because burning is *madoraka* (sinful). It functions to bring together all parties involved for a meet-up, the people, oath, and the forty beings. It is the role of the specialist to bring them together for a meeting, communion.

For *pare* (the rice plant), “*njo pare, iya tonji tu tau* (the rice and human are one). If you first plant rice, you bring four parties to know or introduce each other for intimate interaction: humans who plant, the rice, the soil, and the sky. At this moment, all parties make an oath or a vow to engage fruitful interaction so that they all become a better being. This oath implies that if one of the four beings breaks the oath he would ruin not only his but also others’ well-being. Before harvesting, another ritual is performed.

This ritual is to meet again, for what the four parties have vowed for.

The coconut is the head of God, the banana is the fingers of God; the palm sugar, made from the juice of *kaju indruk* (a type of palm), is the breast of God. The *dumpi* (a round shaped cake made of sticky rice and palm sugar) is the cheek of God, the *ruhu-ruhu* (square rice-flour cookies sweetened with coconut) is the forehead of God, and the *kampalo* (wrapped glutinous rice cooked in coconut fronds with coconut milk) is the body of God.

In contrast to the explanations on God by Usop and Katu, the explanation by the *sanro* shows that human beings are fully active and creative in determining

their lives and future. Human beings are fully aware of their roles and positions beside the positions of other beings. To carry out their roles and positions responsibly, human beings must ensure their well-being and that of others because one who contributes to others' well-being will receive the same. The *sanro*'s account in interpreting the Pasang 7, in contrast to Katu, implies that the invocation is an active effort, not passive or fatalistic, to recreate the well-being of human beings.

Man and Tau Riek Akrakna are very closely related for He or She manifests in man. A person has three potencies: one consists of four substances from his mother: blood, flesh, muscle, and brain, another contains four substances from his father: hair, skin, nail, and bones, and the last consists of five substances from TRA: eyes, ears, nose, mouth, and soul (Pasang 13). In daily speaking, the five substances from TRA were usually summarized with the terms "*nyaha*"²⁰ and *halusukna*. For Katu, those potencies are what one should wisely deploy in order to be a better person (2000, p. 79). The potency originating from TRA is to optimize its deployment because it is the human inward part. Being the inward part, it directs and controls the two other potencies originating from mother and father, the human outward parts (Pasang 14). In addition to the potencies, human beings have a heart on which one's deeds are dependent: good or bad (Pasang 15).

²⁰The word "*nyaha*" appears to be a cognate/loan word from the Malay *nyawa* for soul or *sumangek* in Sulawesi culture. I found the expression and understanding of *sumangek* of Ammatoa to be similar to that of other communities of Sulawesi (see Errington (1983, 1989) for *sumangek* of Buginese). *Nyaha* and *sumangek* were interchangeably used. They were the vital substance for life. Every living has *nyaha* or *sumangek*. They, however, could still be differentiated in a sense that *nyaha* might not leave a person's body behind unless he is dead, but *sumangek* might do so when for example someone sleeps or losses his consciousness.

One's deeds result in his fate after death: A corpse remaining in the grave after the 100th day is the lowest level of humanhood, and the highest level that everyone strives for is if "On the way to the grave, the body evaporates, leaving only the burial mat to bury" (Pasang 16). McKenzie was informed that bodies evaporating become venerated ancestors. They are the most perfect *patuntung* (1994, p. 109), who are also called *tau salama* (the safe/peaceful one).

When one passes away, those potencies from his mother and of father are buried. They are *kassarakna* (human outward part). The *halusukna* (the outward part) are of Tau Riek Akrakna, and will eventually return to the world of origin, Tau Riek Akarakna (Pasang 17-19), except for those who commit unlawful deeds during their lifetimes (Pasang 20, Usop 1978, p. 47-48). After death, those committing unlawful deeds will have no peaceful place anywhere, and they will become bad and dangerous people (ancestors). Everyone will avoid them and no one will offer them gifts or offerings (see Usop, 1978, p. 48).

When I asked one of my informants about what would be considered unlawful deeds, he mentioned two: disrespecting parents and being irresponsible to children. My interview with my informant was during the ritual practice of *minro bajik* (social restoration). This ritual was conducted for a person, who married an outsider, and did not perform the wedding ritual. Because the couple could not fulfill the requirements of the extensive and expensive wedding ritual, they married in Makassar. According to the Ammatoan tradition, it is an unlawful deed, because they see as disrespectful to one's parents. He should have postponed his marriage until his parents were capable of providing the

requirements. As a consequence, the couple stayed in Makassar and they were disassociated from their family, relatives, and the community for about three years. They were not allowed to come back to the community or to meet their family. They also never received any visits from their family during that period of time. They were alienated. That was the traditional sanction they deserved, and they suffered from it until they were ready to restore their status.

For about three years, they couple strived to restore their status. They worked hard to reinstall their status in the community. When they were ready, they began communicating with their parents about the *minro bajik* ritual. Understanding their child's serious effort, the parents accepted their child and in-law. Being responsible to children, the parents did everything they could for the ritual of *minro bajik*. They discussed the plan with their relatives, *adat* holders, and other community members. They prepared everything for sponsoring the ritual in cooperation with the couple. That was what the parents were supposed to do. Otherwise, they would be irresponsible. They would commit an unlawful deed.

Responding to Usop's accounts that bad people will be reincarnated, my field notes on death are worth mentioning. These field notes were based on my observation of the ritual of *abbatu* (marking a grave with a stone) and an explanation by a *passapu* (someone who committed to wear a black head cover throughout his life time), who lived in the outer territory. A ritual of *abbatu* is observed on the 100th day of death. During this ritual a wooden grave marker is replaced with a stone marker. In the community, when the deceased are buried,

the burial site is initially marked with a piece of wood and fenced with bamboo.

The initial marker is temporary and replaced with an upright headstone on the

100th day. A *passapu* explained:

The relationship between the living and the dead is endless. We used to have only three, five, or seven days of mourning but today it takes a hundred days. The purpose of the mourning is to create a situation where the encounter between the living family and the dead could take place. In the past, we just needed seven days maximum to meet our goal, the meeting-up. Nowadays, because we are accustomed to committing a lot of sin, the mourning requires a hundred days to achieve the goal. The sinful acts include transgression of *adat*, bad deeds toward humans and the environment, transgression of social solidarity, and so on.

For the concept of death, it is only the elements of our outward self that are buried and our *nyaha* that includes the five elements: listening, seeing, smelling, feeling, and breathing is always alive or immortal. After death, a grave is built for the dead but they actually live in the forest. The forest is therefore overwhelmingly occupied by our dead. That is one of the reasons why the forest is *karrasak* (powerful) and so it is not allowed to be disturbed in any ways, like cutting trees from it.

Once you die, you come to our *bohe* (grandparents) and our *bohe* decide whether they will accept or refuse you. If you are fortunate, they will accept you and you can live together with them and other good ancestors in the *karrasa* forest. If your deeds during your lifetime in this world were

bad, our *bohe* will refuse you and you can only live at the edges of the forest and will be unable to enter the forest. Once you are *panra* (bad), there is no way for you to get a better afterlife.

Encountering the dead in graves is possible through visions. The living might see the dead, although they do not talk to each other. In addition to graves, they could encounter each other in other places through dreams.

The encounter can only take place if you have *dallek* (giftedness). There is no media that could guarantee the encounter. *Baca-baca* (prayer-chants with meals) is only an attempt but it does not guarantee the encounter.

It is our *adat* here that if someone dies, his close relatives take off their clothes except their sarongs and underwear. It is our promise and shows our dead that we are sad, miss them much and seriously take care of them.

The *nyaha* of our dead would not leave the house until we do *abbatu* on the 100th day. Before our dead leave our house, we act like our dead does.

We do not wear our clothes for the dead is unclothed, too.

People are also grieving because we, the living, cannot live with and constantly see our dead, except if we are fortunate (*dallek*) and that is only on certain occasions. The dead leaves the living. This situation is just like someone who takes a long trip or someone who moves to another place and only comes back only at certain times. That is why we grieve. We no longer share our food and happiness except at certain times.

The month of Ramadan is the time we have the chance to share our food, happiness, and even meet with the dead. During Ramadan the dead all

come back to their graves, and so we should visit and meet them there. A week before *lappasak* (*idul fithr*) we, the living, go and clean the graves, the house of the dead. We do a lot of *baca-baca* to share our food.

In contrast to the *passapu*'s perception, an elder contended that after death, no meeting-up is possible. He went on to say that in the past, the living and the dead socialized regularly. When someone passed away, he or she just disappeared. No burial was needed. Only after the Karaeng Bolong (a cultural hero/broker) cut or broke the "bridge" (*leteng*) connecting the worlds of the living and the dead, burial was established. The elder, then, said that after the break of the bridge no encounter between the living and the dead was possible. He, however, explained:

We, people of Kajang, have an oath of *ukrangi* (remembering) to our dead in three periods of time. The first is during Ramadan. During this month, we have several *baca-baca*: On the eve of Ramadan that is the welcoming Ramadan, and during the second half of Ramadan, any days during this time. The second is during the time of *Barak* or the time of corn harvest. It is also the rainy season. After the corn is harvested, we take the corn, both the young corn and the old corn, and do *baca-baca* for it. The *baca-baca* is for our dead. The third is during the period of *Timo*, the time of harvesting rice. We cook our new rice and do *baca-baca* for it. As for the corn, this *baca-baca* is for our dead as well. Through the *baca-baca*, our dead also enjoy our harvest/food.

The explanation especially by the *passapu* challenges Usop's perception on the idea of incarnation. It does not however mean that the idea of incarnation is alien to Ammatoans. As explained in the last chapter, the Ammatoa, the leader is the incarnation of the divine. The second substance of the Ammatoa, which is immortal, also implies the idea of incarnation. Another account of the idea of incarnation was offered by an elder when we watched a television reporting news about terrorism. The news reported that the police officers were still struggling to find the most wanted terrorist of Indonesia, Nurdin M. Top. The elder commented that M. Top was the re-incarnation of a powerful person. He was the same person as Kahar Muzakkar, the commander of Darul-Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia (DI/TII) (Islamic Nation/Indonesian Muslim Military) of South Sulawesi, of Osama bin Laden, and of many powerful figures in history. Again, Ammatoans hold the idea of incarnation, but in contrast to Usop, they understand it to be the incarnation of powerful people, not of bad people.

Moreover, man, as accounted in the Pasang, is to strive to be *patuntung* (a state of being enlightened) and to *manuntungi* (to enlighten others) (Pasang 8) in his life. Following Usop, Martin Rössler defines *patuntung* as someone "who strives to attain a mode of living that is in accordance with specific beliefs, norms, and values laid down in their oral traditions" (1990, p. 293). Rössler even designates *patuntung* as a name for South Sulawesi communities observing pre-Islamic practices, including the Ammatoans. Ammatoans, however, challenge this designation for *patuntung* is only a part of the Pasang teaching. More specifically, Usop and Katu explain that to achieve *patuntung* is by observing four

values: *lambusuk* (honesty), *gattang* (resolute), *sabbarak* (patience), and *appisona* (self-sufficiency) (Pasang 9, 11, and 49). These four values are the principles and conditions for someone to become an *adat* holder (Pasang 12), though not limited to *adat* holders only. The four basic values apply to everyone (male and female), and ideally, everyone should strive to be *patuntung* by observing the four values in their everyday life (see Usop, 1978, p. 45).

In more detail, McKenzie (1994, p. 96-7) defines and elaborates on the four values. *Lambusuk* (honesty) also means straight, and straightness is symbolically illustrated in many occasions: ritual, architecture, weaving, and behavior. McKenzie was informed that *patakko*, a kind of wand, the long thin rod used to keep the warp thread straight on the loom during weaving, symbolizes honesty. In response to McKenzie's symbolic theory, the people usually pointed to some kind of big, tall, and straight trees in the forest as exemplars for humans' behavior. The trees stand up firmly in any situation. Blustery wind might shake them, but they soon come back and stand up steadfastly. Rather than being bent by shaking wind, the trees choose to be broken. For the people, the trees teach them the meaning of *lambusuk*. *Gattang* (resoluteness), continues McKenzie, is primarily about the obedience to traditions in any situation. Observing *gattang*, Ammatoans, especially *adat* holders, are not wavering in their decisions and judgment. *Sabbarak* (patience) and *appisona* (surrendering) relate to personal and community life. One must surrender (*appisona*) to Tau Riek Akrakna after making the best effort at something, and he should be patient in his struggle.

McKanzie's interpretation on *sabbarak* (patience) and *appisona* (surrendering) corresponds to Katu's theologically fatalistic concept of the Pasang, which is problematic. If the two values (*sabbarak* and *appisona*) are interpreted in relation to the first two (*lambusuk* and *gattang*) as the people understand and practice them, *appisona* should be better translated as "self-sufficiency." Self-sufficiency does not necessarily negate the existence of God and His role, but it emphasizes the self to be more active in playing its roles in life. In practice, if Ammatoans fail harvesting their crops, they perform *panganroang* (invocation) in the forest or make other efforts. They do not surrender or just accept what happens. Self-sufficiency emphasizes that what someone should desire is what they have. This value is then inseparably tied with *sabbarak* (patience), because desiring only what we have is a hard work, and only those who are *sabbarak*, *gattang*, and *lambusuk* can manage it. To understand and practice the four values, one cannot separate them.

The commitment to the four values is observed through the practice of *kamase-masea* (modesty) (Pasang 28, 30), as elaborated in a previous chapter. McKanzie explains, "To live *kamase-masea* is to live simply, denying worldly riches" (1994, p. 87). This is the idea from which she develops the concept of Ammatoan asceticism, "a subsistence ethic of self-reliance and autonomy," and not the kind of pursuit of spiritual enlightenment (1994, p. 87). Understanding *kamase-masea* as denying worldly riches, McKanzie essentializes the Ammatoan enclave as being segregated, proscribing relations with the outside, not consuming what they do not produce, and not using what their ancestors did not use (1994, p.

87). As elaborated in chapter three, I argue that relations with outsiders, the consumption of outside products, and the deployment of new materials have been part of Ammatoan life, both in the outer and the inner territory. They do not totally refuse or accept such things but rather examine them as a way of exercising *kamase-masea*.

Through the practice of *kamase-masea*, the idea of *gannak* (enough, fulfilled) is manifested. The Pasang suggests that it is already *gannak* (fulfilled enough) if one has food to eat, clothes to wear, money to buy fish, land (a garden and/or rice field), and a home in which to live. All these things should be simple, not exceeding what one needs (Pasang 31). The people constantly recalled an event when the local government offered free rice to them because they were considered to be extremely poor, and they told the officials that they were not in need, they had enough to live on, and the supplies should go to others, the real needy. The people's refusal to accept a water filtration plant intended for them in the inner territory during this fieldwork was also the practice of *gannak*. For them, the spring they have is more than enough for their clean water consumption and they deemed a water filtration plant as an unnecessary luxury. The practice of *kamase-masea* prevents someone from obtaining new things that might produce wishes beyond what he needs (Pasang 71). In addition, the practice would prevent someone from wishing for others' belongings. It also encourages people to engage in a friendly and strong community, where each individual cares for the others (Pasang 72).

Interpreting Pasang 31, McKanzie (1994, p. 87-9) elaborates on the notion of *gannak* but provides some questionable information. For her, the idea of *gannak* is a special kind of asceticism. It implies that the people should avoid consuming and using things from outside. In elaborating on the Pasang saying, “We have food,” McKanzie observes that the people have abundant, varied, and nutritious, but very plain food.²¹ This was one of the strong reasons why the people refused free rice supplies from the government. McKanzie incorrectly observed that Ammatoan staple food was *kanre baddok* (a mix of broken maize and rice). It is true that the people often claimed, “We, people here, consume *kanre baddok*,” but the consumption of the food was only during the period of rice shortage, which rarely happened. Like most Indonesians, the Ammatoan staple food is rice, and corn is the secondary food, but they both are ritually significant. The planting and harvest of both rice and corn are always accompanied by rituals.

Referring to the Pasang saying, “We have ragged clothes” implying the idea of *gannak* (being fulfilled with clothes), McKanzie pictures the simple clothing of Ammatoans, consisting of black sarongs (worn by both men and women), black or white shorts (for men), simple black short sleeved top (for women), and *passapu* (head covering) for men. In this, McKanzie also generalizes that every Ammatoan wears these black clothes. When finding many people wearing non-black clothes she misunderstood this as an abandonment of tradition

²¹In contrast to McKanzie, I found that the people’s food was tasty using different spices. Their food was similar to that of other Sulawesi peoples (especially Makassarese and Buginese).

(1994, p. 88, n.70). The observance of black clothing system is an individual commitment. Every Ammatoan is supposed to commit to the system as a way to reach *patuntung*, but it is believed that the commitment to it needs long process. In practice one always needs to exercise both *kamase-masea* and *kalumanyanyang* before he decides to commit *kamase-masea*, including the black clothing tradition.

Still regarding the Pasang 31, the practice of *kamase-masea* is observed through the practice of *passapu*. *Passapu* literally means a head covering, but it is also a title for someone who throughout his life time wears the head covering, goes bare foot, and wears traditional black shirts, a traditional sarong, and either white or black shorts. Not all Ammatoans are *passapu*. Most *passapu* lived in the inner territory, but some living in the outer territory are *passapu* as well. Like the practice of *kamase-masea*, to live in *passapu* is an individual commitment.

In August 2009 I attended an *akkatterek* ritual (comprehensively elaborated in the following chapter) where I observed most people (males), especially *adat* holders, wearing head covers. During this ritual I asked people the meaning of *passapu*. An informant explained:

Being *passapu* does not only mean to wear a head covers. You see!

Almost everyone, especially those sitting right there (pointing to *adat* holders), wears a head covering, but they are not necessarily *passapu* (I observed different styles of wearing head coverings, including a *songkok* (an Islamic cap) worn by an imam, who was included of the Ammatoan *adat* system). Some of them wear their head covers only in certain

occasions such as this (a ritual event). They take them off once they get home. You will find some of them without head covers on other occasions. Those are not *passapu*.

To be a *passapu*, someone does not have to occupy an office or be an *adat* holder. Everyone could be a *passapu*, be they in the inner or in the outer territory, be they in the Ammatoan territory or anywhere,²² but it is very hard. It requires a very strong personal commitment. You have to really seriously think about it before deciding on it. Once you decide to be a *passapu*, you have to stick with it without exception, in all circumstances. That is why you find that most *passapu* are elders because they have spent their lives thinking about it, although a very few young people have committed to it, too.

Being a personal commitment and so hard, the idea of *passapu* is not something to force on anyone, not even your children. It is a personal choice. You might find children of many *passapu* who seemingly go against their (*passapu*) fathers. That is not an issue at all for everyone should learn and seek the knowledge by themselves.

To be a *passapu* requires serious commitment. Once you become a *passapu*, you are truly self-fulfilled, self-reliant. This worldly life no longer bothers you. You may live with the world, but its presence (or absence) does not matter to you. Well, you should actually live with it because you need to survive, but it is only for your survival. This means

²² I knew a *passapu* who used to live in Kolaka, Southeast Sulawesi)

that your survival should depend on what you have and is available to you, and not on what you desire, or what others have. A *passapu* always feels *gannak* (fulfilled).

No one, however, would claim, “I am a *passapu*,” for being a *passapu* is a continual process of transformation. Wearing a black head cover, bare feet, and traditional black sarong and shirt is a physical self-discipline for the idea of being a *passapu*, which is an endless transformation leading to *patuntung*.

My observation of the daily lives of some *passapu* living in the outer territory provides another account on how being *passapu* is practiced. Living in the outer territory, it is more challenging to be a *passapu* since the outer territory has been an area for extensive exchanges of anything possible: many new things have been brought to the area. Those *passapu* lived in houses with electricity, tapes, and radios. One of them owned a small shop selling basic necessities, like soup, detergent, toothbrushes and toothpaste, and so on. He also had a motorbike. He didn’t ride the bike but had his children give him rides. When confronted with those concerns, the *passapu* responded:

Those things are basically all for the kids. Kids today have more needs than they used to have. They think that they go after anything that might make them happy. It is ok because they will learn what these things are all about. For now they think that all the things they have could make them happy. Through their personal life experiences, however, they will realize that there is something else beyond those things. It is not one’s job to tell

others what they should do, even your own children. If they, however, ask, you should tell the truth. If they seriously seek the knowledge, you then have to offer it to them.

I, myself, (one of the *passapu*) have no problem living with those things. Electricity is ok, but I am not dependent on it. Electricity sometimes helps me do work but without it my work does not cease. It is good to have electricity especially when we have someone visiting, but without it a visit should go on. I like to have a ride on a motorcycle, but I never cancel my plans without it. We sell sandals, but I myself do not wear them for they are beyond my needs. My son always recommended (somehow forced) me to wear sandals, I then wore them, but when I returned home I forgot where I left them. That means I do not belong to them, they are not part of my needs.

If the kids play music, I listen to it, too. I like music, too, or at least have no problem listening to it. But again, I do not need and never ask them to play it for me. I just do not know what it is for. I have seen some bands around. Some families here like to invite a band to their parties, especially wedding parties. I came to see them, looked at them singing and dancing, males and females, and females are usually sexy. But that's it! I do not join them. I like to see them but I do not want to have them for myself.

What I know from looking at such things is that it is what others have and I do not need to have the same. What I have is *gannak* (fulfilled enough).

In contrast to committing to the Pasang values, those who do not observe are individuals lacking of religion (Pasang 21) and hypocrites (Pasang 22). Being religious is firmly holding the commitment to do good deeds (referring to four basic values). Intention (the work of heart and mind) and profession (the work of tongue) are significant but have no meaning until they are *performed*. Performance in turn would mean to be religious only if it contributes to the well-being of all existence. That is what “good deeds” means. In this sense, the *solat* (the five daily prayers of Islam, one of the five pillars of Islam) is a performance that might (and might not) lead to being religious. In being religious, actions, behaviors, and speech all have to be constructive, and it is only so to avoid calamity (Pasang 25). Thus, social actions (observing the Pasang values) are much more emphasized than performances (like *solat*) in Pasang. Responding to Islamic orthodoxy standardizing the *solat* as one of the most fundamental pillars of Islam, the Pasang says *Jekne telluka, sembayang temmatappu* (ritual ablution is never void, *solat* is never paused) (Pasang 26). This saying of course does not mean that the people hold the *wudu* all the time,²³ and perform the actual *solat* continually. It basically means that the *solat* has to manifest itself through behaviors of being honest, resolute, patient, and self-fulfilled. In other words, the *solat* would mean nothing otherwise.

²³According to Islamic *fiqh* (jurisprudence), *wudu* (ritual ablution), which is to cleanse the body, is usually made when a Muslim is going to perform prayers and hold (recite) the Qur'an. A Muslim is recommended to maintain his *wudu* (clean body) all the time, but *wudu* may be void in several occasions, like when defecating, passing out, urinating, sleeping, touching different sexual (*non-muhrim*) fellows, and so forth (four schools of *fiqh* have different opinions on this issue).

As many Ammatoans explained, according to the Pasang if there are four values to observe, there are also four values to avoid: *hilu-kila* (spitefulness), *pakira-kira* (provocation), *pasikodi-kodi* (slandering), and *mappasikua* (dishonesty and corruptness) towards fellow humans (Pasang 23, 72). These values are specifically emphasized by the Pasang as reminder for *adat* holders (Pasang 50). Committing these acts leads to unhappiness in this world and disaster after death (Pasang 24).

In articulating these values, the people refer to some specific examples. They shared a story about someone who happened to be an *adat* holder in the past. He was authoritarian. He perceived himself to be the most powerful, the smartest, and most knowledgeable among other *adat* holders in the community. He wanted everyone to listen to him, but never considered what others might contribute. Any decision had to be made or approved by him. He was spiteful to everyone. If he disliked someone, he easily created a conspiracy to defame the person (*pakira-kira* and *pakodi-kodi*). Some people had to go away from the village because they were accused of being thieves without a trial. He often abused his power. He sometimes just took others' belongings and properties as he liked and very often during trials he took the side of his family (*mappasikua*).

This *adat* holder, as the story went on, created disaster for the whole community. Everyone was always insecure. Whatever one possessed might disappear, if the authoritarian *adat* holder willed it. People really hated him but people could not do much because he was an *adat* holder. People were afraid of him behaving harshly towards them. People accepted the destiny of having such

authoritarian *adat* holder, until someone who was brave enough came and challenged him. The person successfully replaced him. The people welcomed the new person for the great hope of a new communal life that he brought with him.

In addition, people referred to the Indonesian democratic system that involved campaigns during every election where people demonstrated the flaws of spitefulness, provocation, slandering, dishonesty and corruptness. In this system, those who run for offices (being president, governor, *bupati* (I., district head), house representatives, or even a village head) campaigned for themselves. They declared that they were the best. They spoke of their own greatness, which were most of the time actually lies. They promised a lot of things during their campaigns, but forgot their promises as soon as they got elected. To show their greatness, those who campaigned usually made slanderous remarks about their competitors. It was at this moment that people easily committed *passikodi-kodi*, *hilu-kila*, *pakira-kira*, and *mappasikua*.

As a result, whatever the outcome of the election, conflicts always followed. The winners abused their power for they had bad intentions from the beginning. Their intentions were nothing but to hold power in order to abuse the situation for their own benefit. They wanted the power to exercise their own personal interests. The defeated, in turn, were never willing to accept the results. They were never supportive. They, in contrast, always attempted to show the weaknesses of those who occupied the offices. Both the winners and the defeated continually showed signs of *passikodi-kodi*, *hilu-kila*, *pakira-kira*, and

mappasikua. In their understanding this system leads others to have these flaws, never provides a good and peaceful situation. It just produced disasters.

The people added that the current traditional leadership, in which there are two leaders, was an obvious product of the system. “We now have two Ammatoa (leaders),” an informant confirmed. Some theories were offered by different individuals on this issue, but they agreed that the reason for the current leadership was because people adopted the democratic system. Traditionally, people came to have their community leader (the Ammatoa) without thinking “who is the best.” They were only concerned about how to conduct the ritual of the election correctly.

As elaborated in the last chapter, the last election of the Ammatoa, however, was conducted differently. The alien democratic system was adopted and applied. People did not think “how” to conduct the ritual correctly. That was not their concern. Their concern was “who” could be the best Ammatoa. They then argued with each other because they had different opinions (actually interests) about two different individuals. People were divided into two groups. One supported the younger individual, and the other supported the older one. The supporters of the younger argued, “It is better to have a young leader, so that we can make progress.” The other challenged, “We traditionally choose the older for the older is always assumed to be wiser than the younger.” Debates occurred and they involved *passikodi-kodi*, *hilu-kila*, *pakira-kira*, and *mappasikua*. Although the election concluded with one leader, the result produced two leaders. Each

faction declared its own figure as the legitimate leader. “That is what the democratic system produces,” people complained.

Pasang as a Legal Corpus.

In June 2009, just after the conclusion of a ritual practice, an *adat* holder told me his own story about *lohok* (punishment for sexual harassment):

I am still single but was punished, “*lohok*.” In this community, women have more power than men do. If a woman complains to *adat* holders about being harassed by a man, the *adat* holders listen to the woman without question. What *adat* holders do is to call in the man’s family and discuss what punishment will befall the man. In such a case, two alternative punishments would apply: (1) the man marries the woman or (2) he pays *babbalak* (fine) to the woman. If the man agrees to marry the woman, he then follows the marriage procedure, which is very complicated and costs a lot of money, and takes times for preparation, but it has to be conducted almost immediately. If he refuses to marry her for whatever reasons, he and his family have to pay fine as defined.

Discussing with the man’s family, *adat* holders do not question whether a woman’s complaint is true or false, but rather which punishment the accused man should receive. The idea for this case is that a complaint would never occur without a cause (smoke comes after fire, a proverb of theirs says) and men are assumed to potentially deny what they have done. A man with such a case has the power to refuse the marriage but no power to refuse any fine being sanctioned. If not, the case might call for a killing

between two families because this is part of what Ammatoans call *sirik* (ashamed). The woman's family might initiate the killing of the man, and the man and his family will in turn defend him or take revenge.

If such a case involves actions like sexual intercourse, they have to marry, regardless of their situations. If they are married, they have to divorce their wife/husband first and then get married. There have been some cases where men who were required to marry women but refused to, and they went away.

My case was that I went somewhere out of the province for a month.

When I got back, my female friend whom I used to visit before my departure disappeared from her family. Her family had tried to find her but failed. They asked me about her and I told them that I knew nothing about her presence. After a while, the girl herself informed her family about where she was, but would not return home unless I picked up and brought her home. I, of course, refused to do so, not understanding what was going on.

Just three days after my arrival at home, the girl's family brought the complaint to *adat* holders. I was confused because the last time I saw her was before my departure. It had been quite long time. I never thought about it. What happened between us before my departure was that we usually visited one another. Many people knew this and they believed that there must be something going on between us. For me, it was just a kind of brother-sister relationship: nothing beyond it. But, that was obviously

not the case for the girl and her family. When the girl made the report to *adat* holders, I had no power to express my side of the story.

They demanded that I marry the girl. I was not prepared at all, and so I had to refuse the demand. As a result, I had to pay the fine, the highest fine (*pokok babbalak*). Not only that! Because I was an *adat* holder, I had to pay double, twice the highest fine.”

A different person told another story of *lohok*:

It was during a live musical performance sponsored by someone in this community that I met a girl. I thought she was an outsider, someone from somewhere. I flirted with and cajoled her. I did not know if she was Konjo. She told her family about what I said and did to her. Her family then said, “Oo...that’s *sirik* (shameful). We have to report this to *adat* holders.” I was then asked to be responsible for what I had done to her. I was offered two choices: marry the girl or pay a fine. I chose to pay the fine, which was the highest level, just because I never intended to marry her and was not ready to get married.

I felt bad because my parents and my family had to carry the financial burden. They had to pay the fine, which was too expensive for them. They had to borrow money from here and there. After that case, I made a vow to myself that I would no longer bother my parents and family. I would never marry until I was financially ready. Eventually, I fulfilled my vow. I collected the money by myself and used it for my marriage. All the costs

for my marriage were on my own. My parents and family are now so proud of me.

The last story in this regard was given by another informant. He was talking about someone else's situation:

He's so lucky and amazing. He is so much younger than me but he has been married four times already, and I haven't been married even once (then laughed).

His marriage experiences were actually rather unfortunate for him and his family. For his first marriage, he actually just wanted to buy milk (in this community, the word for milk is *susu*, which is the same word as for breast) from a young female seller in a small shop. He said to the seller, "Give me your two *susu* of the bra (meaning breast)." Someone heard what he said, and reported him to *adat* holders. Because of that report, he was sanctioned and accepted to marry the girl. For that case he had to pay Rp. 8.000.000 and one horse to the girl and her family. In addition, he and his family had to prepare lots of money for his own wedding reception, which was about Rp. 15.000.000. He truly spent his parents' wealth. He had to sell his parents' house and land to cover the cost of his wedding reception. This person and his parents then had to live in his grandparents' house because their house was sold.

Just a month or two after his first marriage, he had to remarry. With his friends, the man was actually just playing a kind of hide-and-seek game. When it was his turn to close his eyes and seek, he mistakenly embraced a

widow. The widow reported the accident to *adat* holders. At this time, he refused to marry the widow, and so had to pay the fine of Rp. 1.000.000. Because of this accident, he had to divorce his first wife. The man then became single until he went to another village and found a girl over there. He then married the girl and then after a while left the girl. His last wife was another girl from a different village. He married the girl who was 12 years older and now he still lives with her in Malaysia.

The above cases are examples of legal situations, or *lebbak* in Konjo term. *Lebbak* is the Ammatoan legal term that refers to a fixed regulation, a law, which is part of and based on the *Pasang*. In other words, applying *lebbak* is observing the *Pasang*, and ignoring *lebbak* is transgressing the *Pasang*. Certain cases consisting of speech and actions have been legally defined and when certain situations happen, they readily apply the law (*lebbak*). In addition to the above cases, other laws include conditions for sponsoring rituals, sanctions for destroying the forest, and sanctions for transgressing tradition. There are also cases that have no legal references, and when the people find them they scrutinize them by analyzing the nature and causes of the cases. *Lebbak* or any legal regulations are parts of the heritage of the Ammatoa, the five *adat*, and the three *karaeng*. The *lebbak* and all regulations are for all members of the community and they have to steadfastly follow the laws and are not allowed to revise and change them (*Pasang* 58, 59). *Lebbak* is the truth. It is to uphold in any condition and situation without negotiation (*Pasang* 62-64). Siblings or family would never be an excuse for negotiation. One who is found guilty has to be sanctioned, and

otherwise has to be freed, regardless of his position and status. Manipulation is never approved or accepted (Pasang 67). *Lebbak* applies to all members of the community, male and female, young and old, but *adat* holders carry the responsibility to uphold and follow this the most. Sanctions are doubled if they have to be applied to *adat* holders (Pasang 76).

Were any member of the community to disobey or change the law, they would get cursed by ancestors and TRA (Pasang 61) and be forced to move out. If they refuse to do so, they would benefit nothing from the community. They deserve no help and services. No one would accept them as guests, and if they for instance wish to sponsor a ritual, neither *adat* holders nor others would agree to officiate the ritual. Such people do not deserve proper treatment. They are like pigs or monkeys (Pasang 60, 79). Unlike many other kinds of animals such as buffalo, horse, goats, chickens, cats, and others, pigs and monkeys fall into the category of having no position and so are chased in the community. They are even “enemies” of humans. They often destroy people’s gardens, and so whenever people find these animals, they chase them away.

The rights of an individual under trial are protected. If one commits a crime and surrenders to the court by entering within the area of around 100 square meters of the court, the house of an *adat* holder, no one is allowed to hurt his body and intervene in his case. When surrendering, a criminal is fully under the control and protection of the court (Pasang 77). The criminal is released to go home as soon as his case is solved. The criminal is told by the court, and it is announced to the public, that his case is solved, his status is back to normal, but

should he commit the same crime for the second time, there would be no trial. Committing a crime for a second time is a violation of *adat*, tradition, and the government (Pasang 78), which is one of the biggest crimes according to the Pasang. Sanctions would come automatically.

There are three different levels of sanctions for criminals: *pokok bakbalak*, which literally means the handle of a whip) is the heaviest; *tangnga bakbalak* meaning the thong of a whip is the moderate sanction, and *cappak bakbalak* meaning the popper of a whip is the lightest.²⁴ The heavy criminals pay the fine of twelve Reals, the moderate ones pay eight Reals, and the light ones pay four Reals. The term Real is used by the community as part of their monetary system. The value of the Real fluctuates adjusting to the local economic situation. In 1978, Usop, for example, reported that one Real was worth Rp. 2.000 (1978, p. 72), but today one Real is worth Rp. 100.000. For *lohok* (sexual harassment), however, the fine is *pokok babbalak*, Rp. 5.000.000 and one buffalo; *tangnga babbalak* is Rp. 4.000.000 and one horse; and *cappak babbalak* is Rp. 2.000.000 and one horse.

If one is found guilty, the court discusses what the correct sanction should be. Once a sanction is decided, the guilty has to pay the fine accordingly. The fine is distributed to *adat* holders and all witnesses attending the trial. This is the basic trial. Were the criminal to refuse to pay the fine as obligated, a more serious sanction would apply. A process of this kind is called *passau-sau* (“to smoke”).

²⁴Whip here is metaphorical. *Babbalak* used to be commonly used to beat a naughty kid, but not anymore. If the handle of a whip is used to beat someone, it is assumed to be harder than the middle of it, and much harder than the popper of it.

Adat holders or the court would burn incense. What would actually happen is that the criminal refusing to pay the fine would be expelled from the community. His rights from and duties for the community are removed. He would become no longer a member of the community (Pasang 79).

Passau-sau also refers to another legal practice. This practice is conducted if for example someone does something such as felling a tree(s) in the forest, taking rattan out of the forest without permission from *adat* holders, but no one admits it. Once the information about such crimes comes to the court, the court would announce it publicly and give a period of time of a month or so for the doer to come forward. The period of time would be extended for a second and the third month if no one admits to the crime. By then, the court burns the spear and invites everyone, especially the suspected individuals to touch the burning spear. It is believed that only the guilty party would feel the burning spear. The court then would catch those who feel the burning spear and put them on trial. If a criminal is proven guilty through this trial, he would get cursed together with his/her descendents of seven generations: no services would be offered for them (Pasang 60, 79). For this kind of *passau-sau*, no one in the community could recall if it was ever conducted. The practice was never necessary for all cases were successfully resolved through the basic trial.

This chapter has examined how the Pasang ri Kajang is historically produced and contextually reproduced in everyday practice. Even though it remains the authoritative reference for the conduct of life, the Pasang is socially, religiously and culturally “unfixed.” Ammatoans continuously contextualize the

Pasang in accordance with their everyday concerns and practice. Examining how the Pasang is exercised in everyday practice, this chapter has also demonstrated the complexity of Ammatoan religious ideas and practices, as well as other dimensions of religious practice, such as cosmology and law. Other aspects of Ammatoan religion will be elaborated in the following chapter.

Chapter 5

RITUALS OF THE AMMATOANS

This chapter focuses on the Ammatoan rituals as practiced in everyday life. It begins with an explanation of how Ammatoan categorize their various rituals. I then move on to examine one of the most extensive Ammatoan rituals, the ritual of akkatterek (the cutting of a child's hair). Due to its extensive nature and complicated nature, this comprehensive explanation the akkatterek provides allows me to apply various theories of ritual to Ammatoan rituals in general. In this chapter I continue to note the ways in which Ammatoan religion encompasses many aspects of everyday practices, such as politics, economy, and agriculture.

Categorizing Ammatoan Ritual Practices

Barbara Friberg (1993a) has documented Konjo ceremonies in detail. The Konjo that Friberg covers in her article refer to those who lived in four sub-districts of Bulukumba: Bonto Bahari, Bonto Tiro, Herlang, and Kajang, which includes the Ammatoan community. She divides Konjo ceremonies into three categories: life-cycle, periodic, and crisis ceremonies. For life-cycle ceremonies, Friberg begins her list with marriage because as she argues it is basically the beginning of the ritual life of a person. After marriage, comes pregnancy and birth. There are four different ceremonies for child dedication or initiation rites (traditional child dedication, circumcision, teeth filing, and Quranic graduation). House building and two funeral or death ceremonies, grave fencing and death feast, complete the life cycle. Rituals that are categorized as periodic ceremonies include harvest rituals and Islamic holidays which consist of the month of

Ramadan (fasting) and feasting (*idul fithr*, *idul adha* and the Birthday of the prophet Muhammad). Other rituals are classified as crisis ceremonies that include the fulfilling of vows, Friday singing, house cooling, divination, healing, and encountering spirits.

Although Friberg's (1993a) observation focuses on what she calls modern Konjo, and is not well informed about Ammatoans, (what she calls Black Konjo), I found her description about the names, processes, ritual paraphernalia, and functionaries to be quite similar to that of the Ammatoans. To a certain extent, Friberg's account shows that ritual practices of Ammatoans were still common among non-Ammatoan Konjo, the modern ones. The next section of this chapter, however, challenges her interpretation that the underlying purposes of all Konjo rituals "is to placate or make restitution to the spirits" (Friberg, 1993a, p. 103). She contends that status, wealth, and connections are secondary purposes of these rituals (1993a, p. 103). The next section shows that the Ammatoan rituals are religio-cultural as much as political and economic.²⁵ The Ammatoan rituals are to relate with the dead and ancestors (or spirits in Friberg's argument) as much as to relate with fellow humans, and non-human beings such as animals and plants.

In addition to Friberg, Usop (1978, p. 51-2), who focused on Ammatoans, categorized five different types of Ammatoan rituals, but did not elaborate on them in detail. First were the rites of passage that included *tompolo* (the seventh

²⁵As explained in the first chapter, in this dissertation I understand religion as ways of relating, culture as ways of living, politics as ways of distributing powers (power relations), and economy as ways of distributing wealth. Those terms are analytical categories used to identify dimensions of ritual. This chapter nonetheless argues that those are all religious dimensions.

day of birth), *kalomba* (for the safe life of a child), *akkatterek* (haircut), which is what Usop misunderstood to be observed only in the inner territory, circumcision,²⁶ *pakbuntingan* (wedding), and funeral that consists of several different kinds: *tilapo*, *dampo*, *lajo-lajo*, and *pakdangangngang*. Second were house rituals, such as *naik ri bola* (moving into a new house) and *situruk-turuk* (mutual assistance) in building a new house led by an *uragi* (a house *sanro*). Third were rituals of belief that include *ukmattang* (ancestral veneration), *doangang* (invocation), *tinja* and *samaja* (vows), *tarabagoro mange ri tau salama'* (a visit to great ancestors), *addingingngi* (a placatory appeal in the forest), and *apparuntu panganro* (invocation in the forest). Fourth were agricultural rituals, especially before planting and after harvesting rice and corn. These rituals included *akborong gallung* (for land fertility), and *aknganro ri Sapo* (invocation in Sapo, a hamlet of Tanah Toa, when problems of agriculture are encountered). Fifth were inauguration rituals, especially for a new Ammatoa (the leader of the community).

Ammatoans have their own system of categorization for rituals. They categorize rituals into three types: *akdaga*, *aknganro*, and *baca doang*. *Akdaga* (feasts) include all rituals that involve feasts, animal sacrifices, *erang berasa* (gifts of rice), and *solok* (gifts of money). These feasts usually includes the

²⁶Usop misunderstood this to include only circumcision as the ritual of *passallangang* (Islamicizing or making someone Muslim). As it was usually indicated in their invitation cards, *passalangang* includes not only circumcision, but among them were *kalomba*, *akkatterek*, and *tarassa* (teeth filing). I found several invitation cards (in the outer territory) that said for example, “*akkalomoba (passalangang)*.” *Passalangang*, which was written in parenthesis, means Islamizing. The text then implies that the ritual of *akkalomoba* is the process of Islamizing, which is written in parenthesis.

consumption of the animal sacrifice, which can include horses, cows, and water buffalos. A horse is considered to be less valuable than a cow while a water buffalo is the highest one for sacrifice (see table 6). For an *akdaga*, a horse is the minimum for animal sacrifices. It does not count for an *akdaga* if animal sacrifices include chickens only. *Akkatterek* (haircut), which is type of *akdaga*, is always with a water buffalo(s), and for wedding and funeral feasts, people can choose to sacrifice any of the three animals. It depends on their financial situation and their preference for the ceremony. Some were financially able to sacrifice a water buffalo but they chose a cow or even a horse. Chickens are always sacrificed for *akdaga*, even if they sacrifice one of the three animals. The Ammatoan category of *akdaga* includes some life cycle rituals of Friberg's categorization such as *akkalomba* (life safe of a child), *akkattere* (haircut), *pakbottingang* (weddings), and *pamatengang* (funerals) and some others of different categories such as *minro baji* (status reparation) and *naik ri bola* (moving into a new house).

Table 6

Ranking Sacrificial Animals

Ranking	Sacrificial animals	Cost for each
I	Water buffalo	Rp. 12.000.000,00
II	Cow	Rp. 8.000.000,00
III	Horse	Rp. 4.000.000,00
IV	Chicken	Rp. 20.000,00

Aknganro (invocations) are communal rituals, like *akdaga*, but without animal sacrifice and resulting feast. These include rituals performed in the forest such as *addingingngi*, *apparuntu panganro*, *akborong gallung*, at certain hamlets such as *akngaro ri Sapo* and inauguration, at rivers like ritual of *tinja*, and at graves such as *tarabagoro mange ri tau salamak* and *abbattasa jerak*. These kinds of communal rituals are sponsored by the Ammatoa (the leader), except for *tinja* (vows), which is performed by individuals. Among these *aknganro*, *abbattasak jerak* (cleaning graves) is the biggest one. It involves community members of both genders and any age. *Addingingngi* (a placatory appeal) is the second largest. For this ritual, every male adult in the community is supposed to participate. Women are mostly involved in the preparation of the ritual only.

Baca doang (an act of prayer-chants) is a small and simple kind of ritual. As explained in chapter three, *baca doang* means two things. It first means an act of prayer-chants. Anyone officiating at a ritual performs *baca doang*. Thus almost every ritual involves *baca doang*. Second, it is a name of a certain type of ritual. Rituals of *naik ribola* (moving into a new house), *tuka* (making a new ladder), *sunnak* (circumcision), *angngisi* (teeth filing), *duppa ulang* (welcoming Ramadan) and *pallappasak ulang* (farewell of Ramadan), and *shukkuruk* (thanksgivings) are all classified as *baca doang*. If in the former sense *baca doang* refers to an act of prayer-chants, the latter denotes a ritual that involves sacrifice of chickens and service of meals. For this meaning, it is not unusual for someone to say, “Come over to my house tonight, I am hosting *baca doang*,” which implies that he will sacrifice a chicken for the meal. These kinds of rituals usually involve

only family members, relatives, neighbors, and close friends. Furthermore, since *baca doang* are small and simple rituals, they are the most frequently sponsored. Ammatoans sponsor *baca doang* whenever they find their business successful as an act of thanksgiving or when they recover from disease and illness. For this reason, almost every household in the community raises chickens.

In this section I use Ammatoan categorizations of rituals, but also call upon the findings of Friberg and Usop. Despite other scholars who have created their own arbitrary classification system for Ammatoan rituals, I will explore Ammatoan rituals through their own classificatory system since this is how they make sense of their ritual activity, and if we seek to make sense of their ritual activity it is best done through their classificatory schemes than arbitrary ones made up by others (See Appendix B).

My listing of the Ammatoan rituals in Appendix B is intended to show that Ammatoans engage in rituals daily. When I was newly settled in the field site, it was somewhat surprising for me to observe how people slaughtered a horse for *akdaga* almost every week. The significance of the categorization shall be shown in the following section.

***Akkatterek*: Interpreting the Ammatoan rituals**

For Ammatoans, rituals are inseparably related. To elaborate on *akkatterek* is at the same time to examine other rituals. It goes the other way around, too: many parts of *akkatterek* are explained and elaborated through the explanation of other rituals. I choose *akkatterek* to elaborate for several reasons. Firstly, Friberg does not include it in her discussion on Konjo ceremonies. She misunderstood

that it exclusively belongs to Ammatoans, not to other Konjo people. The presentation of *akkatterek* thus complements her documentation of Konjo ceremonies. Second, in term of performance, *akkatterek* is one of the most extensive Ammatoan rituals. It includes elements of other rituals such as sponsors, functionaries, participants, paraphernalia, processes, and purposes. In addition, several elements of *akkatterek* are unique to other rituals, but in terms of ideas they are all shared. Moreover, because of its extensiveness, this ritual provides a broader overview to see how Ammatoans engage their religious, cultural, social, economic, political ideas and practices in everyday life practices.

Seeing *akkatterek* this way, I extensively draw on Victor Turner's (1967) theory of ritual symbols in which he explains that any ritual has units and the smallest one is symbol. Ritual symbols, Turner elaborates, consist of three classes of data. First is the external form and observable characteristics. For this class, Turner gives an example of a tree being used in Ndembu's ritual of puberty. He refers to the tree as the "milk tree" for it exudes milky beads when its bark is scratched. Turner learnt that each Ndembu ritual has "senior" element, and his informants attribute the "milk tree" as the senior, and so he calls it as the "dominant" symbol. Dominant symbols, according to Turner, "are not merely a means to the fulfillment of the avowed purposes of a given ritual, but also and more importantly refer to values that are regarded as ends in themselves, that is, to axiomatic values" (1967, p. 20). In *akkatterek* alone, as shall be shown, there are eighteen "dominant" symbols.

The second class of data includes interpretations by specialists and laymen. Explaining this class, Turner refers to his informants' interpretations that the milk tree stands for human breast milk and the breasts supplying it as well: it symbolizes the act of breast feeding. The meaning also relates to the fact that a puberty ritual is performed when a girl's breasts begin to ripen (1967, p. 20). Those eighteen "dominant" symbols of *akkatterek* are interpreted in relation to this second class of data. In doing so, this study shows how Ammatoans understand any given "dominant" symbol of the ritual of *akkatterek*. Turner's final class of data is the context of rituals. This class of data refers to descriptions from Turner's informants about the milk tree as "the tree of mother and her child." For Turner, his informants' descriptions show a shift of reference and meaning from a biological act (breast feeding) to social ties both in domestic relations and in the widest structure of Ndembu community (1967, p. 21). Interpreting *akkatterek* this way, this dissertation is able to argue that Ammatoan ritual is about everyday ideas and practices.

For the category of *akdaga*, *akkatterek* is one of the two biggest rituals in the community. The other is *akdampok*. Both *akkatterek* and *akdampok* are, in theory, mandatory only for wealthy people. They both involve animal sacrifices of either cows or water buffalos, and sometimes both. The sacrifice constitutes a big feast. Unlike *akkatterek*, which is sponsored for the ritual of initiation, *akdampok* could be observed in different occasions. It may be sponsored on the 100th day after a burial, at an *akkalomba* moment, at rituals of *naik bola*, *pakbuntingang*, thanksgivings, and/or afflictions. Another point about the two is

that *akdampok* is sponsored by children for their parents, whereas *akkatterek* is sponsored by parents for their children. Last, but not least, once either of the ritual is initiated, they become *sussa* (“burden”) for a family. A family has to continue sponsoring it once they initiate it.

I learned that *akkatterek* is a “burden” when I attended the practice being sponsored by a family for three children at one time. One of the informants said that the parents were smart because they did not have to sponsor the same ritual for each of their children. The informant explained that *akkatterek* is the most extensive and expensive, therefore, it is the most difficult to sponsor. I asked why they felt obligated to sponsor it if it was so expensive and difficult to perform. Another informant replied that when their parents were young, their parents sponsored *akkatterek* for them. Being sponsored, the parents had two duties. The first was to perform *akdampok* for their parents at least when they passed away, and second to perform *akkatterek* for their children. Despite its greatness, sponsoring *akkatterek* creates a big burden. It would be a real shame if a family needed to sponsor the ritual but was unable to do so.

Some Ammatoans, as well as some of their neighbors, thought of the performance of *akkatterek* was a burden to be avoided or simply a waste of money. Critics argue that the practice of *akkatterek* exemplifies the backward and primitive nature of its practitioners. They burden themselves by preserving ancestral tradition. They argued that the exorbitant amount of money spent on *akkatterek* was wasteful and stupid. One non-Ammatoan Konjo commented:

Many Ammatoans are potentially wealthy, especially after their harvest. They remain poor because they do not know how to save their money. What they like to do is to waste their money on stupid feasts. They want to be known as rich by sponsoring expensive feasts. But the fact is that after they perform such feasts, they have nothing left. They waste all their money. If they wanted to be known as rich, they should have saved their money and used it to build a good house. They should have bought things like televisions, sofa, and so forth. That is how they should have perceived of being rich. They spend tens of millions Rupiahs for a feast, but wear no sandals, have no clothes, and live in a hut. Isn't that stupid?

Such comments were common among non-Ammatoans or outsiders. It was even common among some Ammatoans. For practitioners, however, *akkatterek* is a serious concern. It has religio-cultural, political and economic worth. The sponsor is considered to be a successful person. *Akkatterek* implies high working ethos. Only those who work hard could gain wealth and are able to sponsor *akkatterek*. Being successful in work moreover signifies *barakkak*.²⁷ One of the informants explained it as follows:

There are many people who work hard for a long time, but what they gain is nothing more than what they could eat. Many of them even get less than what they need. They do not gain any *barakkak* of their work.

²⁷Some of the people compare the term *barakkak* with Islamic concept of *barakah*, which means blessing of God.

When asked about *barakkak*, this individual replied that it was what makes someone happy, satisfied, and peaceful. Someone obtains it from a work that he does with good intention and shares it with others. To have *barakkak*, someone begins a work, whatever it is, with a good intention to contribute to the well-being of all beings: to himself and others. No *barakkak* will be attained from a work with such a bad intention to collect wealth for the self only. *Barakkak* comes from good intention and is seen through an act of sharing. An intention, however good it is, is the source but never enough to bring *barakkak*. Sharing with others of what one gains is the means of *barakkak* to come through.

Akkatterek as a practice of sharing is perceived to be full of *barakkak*. Ammatoans usually made comments on someone sponsoring *akkatterek*, “*Mabbarakkai jama-jamanna do*” (his work is full of *barakkak*). In contrast to those who see *akkatterek* as wasteful and stupid, the practitioners and supporters contend that it is a way of seeking and exercising happiness, satisfaction, and peacefulness. For them, wealth is merely a means to happiness and does not guarantee happiness or peacefulness. They stressed that using wealth just for oneself is without *barakkak* and so offers no peacefulness. The more someone collects wealth for himself, the more he is afraid of suffering a loss of it. Conversely, the more someone shares, the more he feels satisfactory because in practice if one shares his wealth with others, others will share theirs with him.

Along with this notion, *akkatterek* as a practice of sharing in which a sponsor of *akkatterek* invites and offers meals to all *adat* holders, relatives, friends, and neighbors, and the invitees, in turn, offer rice and money to the

sponsor, is a discipline of generosity. Because all, both the sponsor and the invitees, are engaged in acts of sharing, everyone involved in *akkatterek* is generous or learns to be generous. “Only the generous person who could share things with others,” an informant emphasized. A sponsor is the exemplary of a generous person for he is the one who shares the most, and the invitees emulate him as much as they could. Some of invitees have probably been generous persons for they have sponsored the same ritual, but some have just started learning how to be generous. The more one is involved in such a practice, the more he would potentially become generous. *Akkatterek* is again a discipline for the practitioners to become generous.

Some Ammatoans explained that the practice of *akkatterek* demonstrates personal responsibility and loyalty. One of them articulated the notion that everyone is responsible for something. A father has responsibilities to his wife, children, and to his parents. Parents are responsible to do good things to their children, and sponsoring *akkatterek* for children is one of the best things they could do. Someone whose parents sponsor *akkatterek* for him, would sponsor another *akkatterek* for his own children as well as *akdampok* for his parents. Given the fact of great cost and difficulties of the practice, only those who are responsible and loyal could sponsor it.

Furthermore, other Ammatoans elucidated that *akkatterek* is a practice of exercising *kalabbiriang* (the act of paying respect or showing dignity). *Kalabbiriang* means both respecting and being respected by others. In practice, when someone sponsors *akkatterek*, he hosts others of different statuses: from the

Ammatoa—the most respected person—to a person of no socio-politically recognized status. Hosting, which for Ammatoans means to serve others with best food—the meal of *akkatterek* is the best food because it is with sacrificed water buffalos—is the arena of exercising respects. One of the religio-cultural norms popular in the community, as well as among other Muslims, is as an informant said, “The best among you is the one who serves his guests the best.” I frequently found this norm in practice when I came over to houses of the people and they were always busy of preparing food. For a host to initiate interaction with guests, thinking of preparing food for guests always comes first before anything else. It is one of the reasons why the Ammatoan traditional houses are structured in a way that their kitchens are the first room one enters when they enter a house. With a kitchen in that position, a host can show the best they could do to serve their guests and guests in turn could witness their host’s work of offering the best service. A good host is expected to serve the best for their guests. In contrast, a bad host is the ones who offer bad food to their guests and save their best food for themselves.

Respecting others, moreover, is to get respect. Someone who is served by a host would do the same, or even more as their religio-cultural norms suggest it, to the host when he in turn is visited by the host. It is in this sense, among others, that sponsors of *akkatterek* are valued by Ammatoans. Because they respect others by hosting them with the best service of meal, the sponsors deserve dignity. They deserve the same or more respect they have given from others. Furthermore, one of the informants explained that *kalabbiriang* exercised through practices like

akkatterek is one of the key considerations when electing *adat* holders. Only those respected people could hold positions of *adat*, *karareng*, *sanro*, and *guru*. Those respected people are religiously virtuous, socially generous and politically powerful. If they need any help, others offer it. Their words are heard, their deeds are emulated, and their commands are followed. “Everyone wants to be respected, but remember, respect others first!” one of my informants stressed.

What has been elaborated so far is how the people articulate a practice by making references to diverse religio-cultural norms and values. Turner’s theory of ritual symbols works well here. A sponsor is an example of what Turner calls a “dominant” symbol when applied to *akkatterek*. Sponsoring *akkatterek* signifies *barakkak*, generosity, responsibility and loyalty, respect, and dignity. *Akkatterek* is a religious and cultural practice as much as an economic and political one. People exercise their religiosity and cultural identity while also considering their economic and political interests. Conversely values being forged in *akkatterek* are also exercised outside of it, in wider contexts: economic, political, cultural, agricultural, and so forth. These contexts can then be applied to what Turner classifies as the third structure of ritual symbols (the wider contexts of *akkatterek*). *Akkatterek* then reflects and is reflected by the wider context of the community life. Only through such observations can we understand *akkatterek* specific and other Ammatoan rituals in general.

Akkatterek is observed over the course of approximately seven days. It begins with *appissek*, an act of notifying: the second “dominant” symbol of *akkatterek*. A sponsor notifies the Ammatoa, other *adat* holders, and relatives

about his or her plan of sponsoring *akkatterek*. *Adat* holders, especially the Ammatoa, give the sponsor instructions on what to prepare and advice or lectures on issues in regard to the ritual. Sponsoring *akkatterek* is viewed as a process and commitment of personal transformation. The sponsor would elevate to a higher stage of personhood. He or she would become a better person—a person with special characters such as full of *barakkak*, generous, responsible and loyal, and so on. Besides he or she also carries out important religio-cultural responsibilities. Some Ammatoans compared a sponsor of *akkatterek* with a Hajj, a Muslim who has already performed the pilgrimage to Mecca. After performing the Hajj, one becomes a respected person. Being so, he or she carries out a burden of committing the Hajj responsibilities: religious and wise, rich and generous, powerful and merciful, hard worker and helpful, and so forth. If a Hajj disregards those responsibilities, he would be even more dishonorable. It is not uncommon among Muslim Hajj that they dishonor their own status by being irreligious, stingy, and pitiless. This issue is one of the contents of the Ammatoa's lecture to the sponsor. The Ammatoa emphasizes in his lecture that those responsibilities are supposedly attached to a sponsor of *akkatterek*. Because a person shows his commitment to those characteristics by sponsoring *akkatterek*, the Ammatoa and other *adat* holders also congratulate him during the *appissek*. As the second “dominant” symbol, *appissek* then stands for commitment and loyalty to the community.

Soon after *appissek* is endorsed by *adat* holders, relatives and neighbors come and help the sponsor to prepare anything in need. Like every other *akdaga*,

the initial preparation following *appissek* is *ngalle jukuk* (the collection of firewood). This is then the third “dominant” symbol. The people leave to forest²⁸ to collect firewood. A sponsor usually starts the work with help from a few, but later on, more people come and help. According to Usop (1978), this practice is called *situruk-turuk* (mutual assistance), similar to the practice of *gotong royong* as elaborated by John Bowen (1986). *Situruk-turuk* may be counted as either another “dominant” symbol or the second structure of ritual symbols signified by firewood as the Ammatoans interpret *ngalle jukuk*. I found the example of *situruk-turuk* in my participation on the collection of firewood during a ritual of *minro baji*. While not for the *akkatterek*, the similarities are striking.

The work of collection started from home. People prepared tools and an elder performed *baca-baca*. There were initially four of us leaving from the house to the forest. On the way to the forest, two people who previously planned to go to work joined us. On the way back home with firewood, two other people coming back from work took and carried some of the wood. On that day, we went back and forth to the forest three times, and our group ended up totaling eleven people. The next day, the collection continued, and more people joined. It was even more people in the following day when they came to cut and split the firewood. Cutting and splitting wood was only a day work. Most people who joined this work postponed their own work. Some did not anticipate the work and just found out about it when they passed by. They joined because it was

²⁸For categorization of forest, see chapter two.

obligatory to join such a work. Some, like the state employees, made it up later at that day because they could not leave their job.

For the phenomenon of people joining the work, or helping a ritual sponsor, the practice of collecting firewood is similar to the practice of making a new ladder, house renovation, or house building. The practice of *situruk-turuk*, moreover, is not confined to time-space limits. It goes beyond the limit of time and space. It is here the ritual context is found. A sponsor might tell or invite certain individuals, and so expect them to come for such a work, but most people who join come without invitation. By chance they know about such a work and then join. This is such everyday practices through which the people observe the Pasang. One of the informants explained that such work is based on the Pasang which implies the meaning of solidarity (see Pasang 49 and 72). For them, solidarity means helping, sharing with, and caring of each other. They share with others not necessarily material goods but “human energy” that a sponsor needs in order to do any work. This everyday practice of sharing pervades the whole economic life of the people. The practice of give-and-take is constant in social life (Mauss, 1967, p. 27). In such work, no matter how much one would contribute, his presence counts as exercising the Pasang values, even if one shows up and just smokes cigarettes, drinks *ballok*, and eats meal provided by a sponsor. For that sense, solidarity also means gathering. *Situruk-turuk* is the moment of gathering. People of different ages and sexes make their efforts to get involved. They do so both to practice Pasang values and to maintain social relationship in a gathering. Sharing for solidarity, nevertheless, should not be seen simply as an examination

of values enshrined in the Pasang as quoted by the informant. It is the way the people manage their everyday practices in response to religio-cultural values encoded in the Pasang. Individuals make their efforts to examine the norms according to what they perceive their efforts to be right. Different perceptions and expressions of individuals were then not unusual. Conversely, one informant added, it is a shame for someone seeing their relatives, neighbors, or fellow humans working, especially when they need a help, but he does not offer any help. One informant pointed to someone who was not reckoned as part of a community member for he was never involved in such work.

Through these kinds of practices alone, Pasang values are generated and reproduced. Children involved in the practice of *situruk-turuk*, no matter what they contribute, find their ways of ascribing tradition and learning knowledge. They were learning by doing it. Being always there, they are accustomed about their traditional practices. While working, people talk and raise different issues, ranging from humor to Pasang teachings. Those who have stories of different kinds share with others and in turn the others listen intently and laugh freely, but sometimes people did not pay attention. Some even argue against each other on certain issues. Moments of collecting firewood, making a new ladder, house renovation, and house building are arenas of everyday teaching and learning.

While the work of *ngalle jukuk* took place, renovation of the sponsor's house started. The house renovation is called *sambung bola*. This is the fourth "dominant" symbol, which like *ngalle jukuk* stands for *situruk-turuk* as well. Another interpretation of it is hosting and generosity. Finding *sambung bola*,

people would recognize that there is a hosting. The idea of hosting that leads to generosity and respect as already explained is re-contextualized. The people enlarged the house at the front and on both the left and right sides. The renovation was temporarily for the ritual event only. After the ritual, they changed the house back to the original. *Sambung bola* seems to always be necessary whenever *akdaga* is going to be performed because except for a few houses in the outer territory, most houses of Ammatoans houses are too small to host hundreds of people. The renovation is led by an *uragi* (house *sanro*) and involved more people than the collection of firewood. The *sanro* moved back and forth, made prayer-chants to pillars and other materials used for the temporary building. He instructed others what to do with the materials and the others followed. He did not do the work like the others did.

Again, this is a moment of gathering. If someone does not have things to do, or there are not enough tools available, they come close to someone who does have a tool. He may help by providing what is needed and talking with him. People then may take a break if they are tired and the work does not have to cease. The work keeps going on until the sponsor calls everyone for lunch, it is getting dark, or the work is finished.

As said before, at the moment of the work, it is also the moment of distributing, sharing, and seeking knowledge. During the house renovation for *akkatterek*, I found the people involved in discussing national politics. They shared their ideas and standpoints in response to political campaigns for the national election. For the national election of 2009, three candidates were running

for president: Susilo Bambang Yudoyono (SBY), who was Javanese and the incumbent running for the second term, Megawati Sukarno Putri, who was also Javanese and the former president of 2001-2004, and Jusuf Kalla, who was the former vice president of SBY's first term (2004-2009) and was from South Sulawesi. My fieldnotes described their discussion as follows:

A person came up with a question, "Who is best to be the Indonesian president?" A person argued that Megawati as the daughter of Sukarno, one of the founding fathers of the country and the first president of Indonesia should win the presidential election. The power is her heirloom. The country will never run well if the power does not go to the right person. Some advocated that SBY would win because he had a tough character. He is calm, but firm and tough. The characteristics of a leader are in him. The other argued that Jusuf Kalla would prove what *bohe* (the grandfathers) said, "The country will be full of conflicts until a figure from Sulawesi leads it."

Different arguments were offered to support different standpoints. Different Pasang were quoted to strengthen arguments. Different stories about mythic figures came along. Stories were retold, maybe created, reproduced, and questioned. Teaching and learning processes that involved people of different ages occurred at that moment. The saying of Pasang 10, *silallo tessirapi* (exceeding but not reaching) being the value of ethical dialogues nuanced the atmosphere. In spite of different opinions certain issues, like politics, the Ammatoan collective identity was reinvested along with individual identity. They

showed who they were and what they knew. Regardless of what happened in the election, ideas on ideal leadership and personality according to the Pasang was refreshed and strengthened, but also challenged. Discursively, what Ammatoans agreed upon was that the processes and results of the national election should not interfere with the Pasang values.

It is worth mentioning that both the collection of firewood and house renovation seemed to be dominated by men. They are male domains. The work, however, cannot be seen separately from other work where women are the main actors. This is because one could take place only if accompanied by the other work. Domains are sexually –though not strictly- designated, but they coexist. At the house renovation, for example, I saw women passing by and going in and out of the house. Some carried water from wells to the house, some brought with them stuff for food, and others cooked. If men work for the collection of firewood and for house renovation, women cook and provide drinks and food. Providing drink and food for the work of firewood collection and house renovation is necessary. Its absence causes the failure of the other work and therefore the roles of women in such work are of equal importance as that of men. Gender domination might exist, but if it did, it was unstable. Roles of Ammatoan women could be seen more at the next practice of *akkatterek*.

The next practice is called *erang berasa* (bringing uncooked rice to the sponsor), or gift of rice, which is the fifth “dominant” symbol of *akkatterek*. In order to explain this practice, I employ Marcel Mauss’ (1967) insight on gift giving. The gift of rice in the Ammatoan *akdaga* may be theorized with what

Mauss calls as the means for contracts of exchanging. Echoing Mauss (1967, p. 1), I argue that the gift of rice is in theory voluntarily, but in practice is obligatory. Ammatoans perceive it to be voluntarily because one may or may not give rice away. The amount of rice to be given is also not strictly determined. Social sanctions can be imposed on one if she does not participate in gift-giving, rice-gift in this case. She would be the object of public gossip. So, they are in fact under obligation to give and repay the gift of rice in *akdaga*. Seen that way, the gift of rice resembles the two elements of potlatch as explained by Mauss. They are honor and prestige, and the obligation to reciprocate as the means to preserve honor (Mauss, 1967, p. 6). Avoiding public gossip that would denigrate one's social status is a way to exercise and preserve one's honor.

Like the previous work, the practice of *erang berasa* began soon after *appissek* was performed and lasted until the last day before the ritual peak conducted at night. Those who did not receive information about an *akdaga* being sponsored could become aware by seeing women carrying rice on their heads. The practice of *Erang berasa* exclusively belongs to women. Among the women passing by and getting in and out of the house during the firewood collection and house renovation of *akkatterek* were those who performed *erang berasa*. They carried basins of uncooked rice covered with sarongs. They brought uncooked rice in a group of four, six, or eight people. The standard amount of rice that the women brought to the sponsor was ten kg. Few might bring 100 kg even more. One of the informants explained that *erang berasa* is gift-giving as well as an act of reciprocity. What the women brought was either to reciprocate what they had

previously received from the sponsor or to receive from the sponsor when they in turn sponsor *akdaga* in the future. The sponsor has to keep track of who brought what amount of uncooked rice because they would definitely need to reciprocate and pay them back at least with the same amount or more. Those who returned more had a plan to sponsor another *akdaga*. The extra amount from what they repaid was not interest but another investment that they would be repaid back when sponsoring another *akdaga*. Given such rules, it is unacceptable to bring a lesser amount or nothing.

I learned more about the exchange of rice when I happened to observe several *akkalomba* rituals. I did not have the chance to observe rice exchange during the *akkatterek* ritual because I was involved in the house renovation so I had to be outside the house. Being one of *akdaga* rituals, *akkalomba*, like *akkatterek*, involves the ritual exchange of rice as well. As the people explained that rice exchange is the same in all *akdaga*. Using my notes from *akkalomba* to explain cases in *akkatterek* is thus helpful. In *akkalomba* rituals, I observed inside houses, and so had more chance to directly observe the rice exchange. In order to analyze and explain the rice exchange, I incorporate other related practices taking place at the same time inside houses.

Inside the house where the *akkalomba* ritual took place, I observed different groups of women working on different things throughout the day. Among them was a group of women cooking (rice, fish, and vegetables); two different groups making two different cookies: *dumpi* (roundly shaped rice flour and brown sugar deep fried cookies) and *uhuk-uhuk* (triangular sweet rice flour

cookies with coconut)—these cookies, together with *kampalo* (wrapped glutinous rice cooked in coconut fronds with coconut milk) are always part of *akdaga* and *baca doang*; a female *sanro* at the corner of the house quietly made prayer-chants (in front of her were ingredients of cookies such as oil, coconut milk, water, and others); one group was washing dishes; and three or four women were in charge of writing down names of who brought what amount of rice. It was a busy day. At that house which happened to be in the outer territory, they also set up a television with a dvd player playing different music (Indonesian *dangdut* traditional music, Buginese-Makassarese, and popular music—they had no recorded Konjo music) and films. In front of the television, in addition to children, a group of women extracted a broken sack for ties. These were the materials used to make *kampalo*.

Women carrying rice came and went. Some of them stayed and joined any work in the house. They mostly came in groups, like four, six to eight people. Bringing rice from home, they put it into a basin, covered the basin with a sarong, and carried it on their heads. Few carried it in a sack especially those riding motorbikes and using cars because they lived far from the house or from different villages. These people stopped by at their relatives or people they knew, borrowed basins and sarongs, walked from their relatives' houses to the sponsor's, and carried them on their heads. They chose not to offer the rice to the sponsor within a sack. It was not the norm.

When they arrived, three women (happened to be teenagers) in charge took the rice and wrote names of rice givers and amount of the rice. They made prayer-chants before putting it in big sacks. Each sack consisted of around 500 kg.

Those big sacks were placed at the middle of the house and so viewable to everyone. If the sacks provided were not enough to accommodate all, rice could be placed into baskets, put them aside, but still viewable. Displaying the gifts of rice was not unintentional. It reveals messages and for Mauss is another remarkable form of exchanges (1967, p. 27). From those sacks, one informant explained, people evaluate a sponsor of *akdaga*. The sacks tell how generous and merciful a sponsor is. If the sponsor has small sacks and not filled up, it means he rarely gives his possessions away. The more full sacks the better the sponsor is perceived. A different informant similarly elaborated, “When you see a sponsor receiving a lot of rice, it means that he is a good person. The family is great. People like him. Only those who like you would bring you rice.” Another informant added, “If you do good things to people, they would do the same to you. If you plant corn, you will not harvest rice.” The other said, “It is a pride to receive lots of rice. Sponsors harvest what they have already planted. Everyone wants to be like that, but the only way you receive lots of rice is if you give your rice to others. Good is paid with good. Giving rice to a ritual sponsor is a must because everyone wants to be good.”

After offering their rice, the rice givers were seated and offered meals and cookies by the sponsor. When the rice givers were about to leave, the sponsor returned the basins and sarongs to them. Here those different practices in the house come to connect to each other. Each practice has multiple objectives. The cooking is for all who work on different things, including rice givers. Cookies are made for the ritual, offered to *adat* holders, and served to rice givers. The rice

givers who pay back what they have received in the past or invest for the future are offered food and cookies. They exist for others. As religio-cultural practices, these as a whole are ritual exchanges or sharing. At the same time they are economic practices as well.

Mauss is correct that gift-giving is present not only in marriage, but also in other practices (1967, p. 6). Things exchanged are not only material goods but also courtesies, entertainment, feast, and so forth (1967, p. 3). As just elaborated above, what the people were engaged in could clearly be accounted for as practices of sharing or gift-giving. The people engaged in such practices of sharing seem to be spontaneous and disinterested. The practices have become a part of their everyday life. It is the tradition that they have lived with since time immemorial. But looking at each practice as integral to others, we find that each one is full of intentional purposes. They are actually obligatory and interested (Mauss, 1967, p. 1). The form of sharing is ostensibly offered in informal ways, but the behaviors were formal. The guests come and bring rice with them while the sponsor represented by cooks and cookie makers ought to offer them meals and cookies. All involved function accordingly, and if not, it would be perceived to be a kind of social deception. A guest coming without rice and a sponsor not offering a guest with meals and cookies are, in theory, socio-culturally unacceptable.

Given the fact that different rituals of *akdaga* are frequently sponsored, *erang berasa* is a part of everyday practice because it is not only about bringing rice to a sponsor but also about preparing it. People prepare for rice exchanges

almost every day. Preparation includes drying *pare* (rice-plant) that would take time dependent on weather and bringing it to a rice mill. To dry up *pare*, people use different open spaces. Some do it at the edges of roads, including asphalt roads, soccer courts, or any possible open spaces. Drying and eventually bringing rice to the mill were of course not only for rice exchange, but for other purposes such as their own meals and to sell for cash. The rice mill appeared to be in use every day. The use of it was actually new to the people. An informant stated, “We used to pound our rice before the factory was built here. We used to prepare for *akdaga* for two months to one year. It depended on what kind of *akdaga*. The big ones could even take up to three years to collect enough rice. Now, things are easier.” Because *erang berasa* is a part of everyday practices, notions of sharing are inherent in the practice. It is one of daily issues that concern the people the most.

Back to the discussion on gender relations, the house renovation of *akkatterek* seemed to be the male space, though not so strictly designated. “It was just unusual to see a woman involved in that practice,” an informant said. As previously presented, however, the work of women inside the house was as extensive as that of men outside the house. They not only provide meals for the men working outside the house but also took care of the inside of the house. The women created differently assigned spaces for different processes of *akdaga* inside the house. For other work, such as carrying water from a well, picking up coconuts and other fruits, and bringing firewood up to the house, is sexless. For such work, those who got the chance, males or females, can do the job.

For more explanation about gender domain, the people have a concept of *pitu* (gender roles). I became aware of this concept when I observed a traditional market in the village. The market was always dominated by women. It was in the outer territory but close to the gate entering the inner territory. The traditional market operated three times a week: Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday. Those who sold their goods went to the market around 5.00 a.m. It began getting crowded at 6.00 a.m. until at 8.00 a.m. During the last week of Ramadan, however, the market stayed open until around 10.00 a.m. This was because people were preparing *idul fithr* for feasts. It was so crowded that people could hardly move.

Finding few other men, I myself was many times not comfortable going to the market. I had to find a friend who could accompany me. With the friend, I had nothing to be uncomfortable about because the friend told me not to worry. When asked why the market was overwhelmingly dominated by women, the friend said, “That is our tradition, here. It’s called *pitu*.” *Pitu* is a body of rules regulating gender relations. It implies that man and women have their own domains with assigned duties. Duties are not however strictly imposed. They always depend on the situation; they are contextually situated. Men, for example, are to go to their wet rice fields and gardens, but women often accompanying them, too. Men and women go out of the village together to harvest people’s rice for wages. They become laborers. Women are supposed to do domestic work like cooking and providing meals, but men could and occasionally happen to cook, too. The constrained rules of *pitu* would be the political positions, like the leader. The

Ammatoa as the leader of the community has to be a man. As described in chapter three, the Ammatoa's cabinet, however, includes *anronta* (two women from different hamlets). Besides the *anronta*, all other *adat* holders are men. Those positions are exclusively designated. But, their wives are all integral to them. Since the success of an *adat* holder is heavily dependent on his wife.

Two days before the peak moment, the sixth “dominant” symbol of *akkatterek*, animal sacrifice was observed. It was a water buffalo being sacrificed. A water buffalo for sacrifice may be bought from somewhere outside Kajang or raised by sponsors themselves. Like other animals such as horses and chicken for sacrifices, the water buffalo being sacrificed for *akkatterek* was treated in special ways. The people offered it good food, and made sure that it was perfectly healthy and peaceful. An informant said, “We ensure and convince the animal that it is going the *right* place.” According to a *sanro*, the sacrificed animals would go to a place, a world where they would live and unite with their *bohe* (grandfathers), and therefore they have to be slaughtered properly. Otherwise, they would sue the slaughterer and everyone involved in the slaughtering. Before slaughtering the buffalo, people tied its legs with rope and toppled it down. It took time because the animal seemed to resist. The informant explained, “The animals, like human beings, live in limbo about the next life, but we do our best to convince them and have to make sure that they are indeed going to the intended place, *right there*.”

Next, a *sanro* performed *jenneki* (cleansing the animal or helping the animal perform its ritual ablution). That is one way to deliver the animal to the *right* place in the next life. The animal was then made to lay down and face a dug

hole. Two other *sanro* took over the sacrifice. The first one came and touched the head, the back, rump, the two back legs, and the two front legs of the animal. Every touch was accompanied by prayer-chants for about one to two minutes. After finishing his job, the first *sanro* passed the job to the second one. The second *sanro* came with a long sharp knife. He moved the knife to the front of the animal's neck and then made prayer-chants before slaughtering the animal with his own hand. Those three *sanro* again all made sure that their work was done properly in order to deliver the animal to the *right* place.

A basin was put to collect the blood of the sacrificed buffalo. Two basins of five gallons each were used to save the blood for consumption. To consume the blood, they needed to congeal it for one or two days. The congealed blood was usually served with *ballok*. The consumption of the blood, together with *ballok* was not for the general public. It was not offered to everyone. They did not keep it in secret but told only certain people. When the blood was ready for consumption, they started telling the intended people. They consumed it at a specific time and place: still at the sponsor's house but unnoticed by everyone. Being an outsider participating in the tradition, I was thought to be interested in any of their traditional practices, including the non-public ones. I was often invited for blood consumption. When I happened to be involved in the consumption, they told me, "You're really becoming a Konjo person."²⁹ What they told me illustrates what

²⁹This expression does not mean that they would accept me as a member of the community. That would never happen. My participation would never lead me to point that Ammatoans would perceive me as the native. It nonetheless implies that participation may produce an assumption that people share something in common.

the anthropologist Claude Fischler (1988) calls “the principle of incorporation” in talking about food. One is known from what he eats. One makes himself to be someone by eating (Fischler, 1988, p. 282).

After being slaughtered, the dead buffalo was cleaned and appropriately butchered by many men, and then brought up to the house. Now, women took over. They washed and cooked it. At the house, a female *sanro* welcomed the buffalo. Her job was not any different from the previous three male *sanro*. To her knowledge, the inward of the animal was coming back to its origin and was now united with the *bohe* of all beings: human, animal, and any other non-human beings. The outward (meat) of the animal was to unite with human’s outward (flesh). By the next day, the buffalo would be ready for the the feast.

In regard to Ammatoan practice of sacrifice, *akkatterek* is the moment for unity or communion among beings: humans (the living and the dead) and animals. Here, the animal sacrifice of *akkatterek* as a “dominant” symbol comes to be apparent for what it stands for as well as its wider context. It is to re-establish the relationship among beings. Sacrifice is perceived to be the means for reestablishing of relationships or forging solidarity. To understand the meaning of sacrifice, Mark Woodward correctly reminds us to consider the system of cosmology within which rituals such as *akkatterek* and all related human actions are located (2000, p. 220). Ammatoans perceive that the cosmos is occupied by both human and non-human beings. Those beings should all play their own roles appropriately to bring the world into harmony. Humans could attain their well-being only through the work of ensuring the well-being of other beings.

Akkatterek, where animals are sacrificed, is a way to ensure the well-being of all involved. This perception of Ammatoans is comparable with that of the Naga of Burma and other indigenous peoples of Southeast Asia. For the case of the Naga people, Woodward observes that for the purpose of social and ritual action they do not distinguish clearly between living humans and other non-human persons (Woodward, 2000, p. 221).

Thus, the animal sacrifice of Ammatoans offers an alternative to theory of sacrifice as an exchange contract between men and gods or spirits (Tylor, 1871). This would be an action that includes the consecration of an offering to a deity (Hubert & Mauss, 1964; Baal, 1975; Valeri, 1985, p. 37; Tsintjilonis, 2000, p. 4) as part of the quest for spiritual potency and fertility (Woodward, 2000) and as means to escape from malevolent spirits (Forth, 1998). Furthermore, it can be seen as a vehicle to gain social status and to create and maintain ‘social’ solidarity (Durkheim, 1965). The animal sacrifice of the Ammatoans is for union and communion among beings. It is for solidarity, but not in Durkheimian sense that refers only to human beings. The sacrifice is for a meeting, union and solidarity. Bell (1997) categorizes this sacrificial ritual as communion. She explains that communion is a cosmic union of human and divine worlds: the recipient, the giver, and the offering are perceived to come together (1997, p. 112). Bell, however, still emphasizes the human-divine relation, and overlooks the human-animal (the sacrificed) relation. For solidarity and relational reestablishment, Ammatoans perceive that both animals and humans sacrifice themselves for a certain goal. Durkheim (1951) would interpret this practice as “altruistic suicide”:

One sacrifices himself for a good cause. The animal has to undergo the death process for union. The human has to sacrifice his love attached to the animal for the same aim. An Ammatoan kept crying because an animal he raised for long time had to be sacrificed. Another individual convinced him that he would meet his beloved animal in the next life.

The day before the peak was the busiest day, especially inside the house. It was the last day to prepare everything. Inside the house, four female *sanro* with their traditional black clothes were creating a special space at the center of the house. This space is called *campaniga* and I would categorize as the seventh “dominant” symbol. Barbara Friberg (1993a) calls it “the spirit canopy.” It was about two meter square. Due to its special and significant meaning and status (an act of creation), no photographs of it were allowed during the creation process. Afterword, it was allowed. Every single move of the *sanro* was under a certain pattern. Putting any ornaments on *campaniga*, like pillars and white fabrics, was with prayer-chants. Occasionally, the *sanro* asked for help from people, both men and women. They would ask them to do what they were unable to do by themselves, like putting ornaments in an upper position that they could not reach. Otherwise, none was supposed to be close to the special area. The *campaniga* was the specified space to seat children in whose interest *akkatterek* was sponsored. It was in this place that the ritual climax took place. Here, the children’s hair would be cut by *adat* holders. That was the place for *akkettere*, which literally means haircut.

When I sought more knowledge about *campaniga*, people argued that only those who created it could tell more. I really wanted to see one of the *sanro* and ask more questions, but the *sanro* told me that no more explanation about it beyond what is explained above. I, however, did learn more about it when observing *akkalomba* rituals. Now, the second and third structures of *campaniga* will be presented as “dominant” symbols of *akkatterek*. Like in *akkatterek*, *campaniga* is also created for *akkalomba* ritual. According to Friberg (1993), *campaniga* is always a part of the Konjo ceremonies of child-dedication such as birth, circumcision, teeth filing, and wedding. If *akkalomba campaniga* was created for *akkatterek* by four female *sanro*, it was done for *akkalomba* by one female *sanro*. She actually did her job with help from others, but all were under her instruction and control. Unlike the four female *sanro* working on *campaniga* for *akkattere*, the female *sanro*, who worked on *campaniga* for an *akkalomba* ritual that I happened to observe, had perceived me to be someone who was “seriously seeking knowledge” (*tuntuk i paddissengang*).³⁰ But, I had to come back to her later for more “knowledge” about *campaniga* because it was not an appropriate time during the creation process.

A few days later, I had a meeting with her at her place around 10 p.m. I was accompanied by a male elder who also perceived me as she did: I was

³⁰This kind of perception is of course subjective, self-evident. I was informed that those five female *sanro* held similar knowledge about *campaniga* for they were the “creator.” Only one of them was, however, willing to deliver (share) such knowledge to me for her perception on me was different from the four. Because of such a perception of hers, she was willing to share her knowledge to me, and the four were not. The expression then implies that certain information (knowledge) could be obtained and received only through certain conditions and qualifications. Needless to say that presenting the expression, I am not by any means trying to establish an ethnographic authority.

“seriously seeking knowledge.” Two other male elders came and joined us at the meeting. We actually discussed several issues at that meeting, but the focus at this point is *campaniga* for *akkalomba* and *akkatterek*.

To start “seeking knowledge,” the male elder who was accompanying me said to the female *sanro*, “This boy is seriously seeking knowledge.” As I said, the *sanro* already perceived me like the male did, and the male elder knew that but the word/sentence, “This boy was seriously seeking knowledge” was still stated. I observed that such a statement was necessary to signify a process of seeking knowledge. It is to initiate the process. If otherwise, the seeking would be invalid. The *sanro* smiled, stared at me, and said, “I know, I have seen ‘it’.” I have known this boy for quite a long time.” To my knowledge, that was not that long enough for us to observe one another, but the male elder told me later that the *sanro* could see the invisible. She went on, “Are we doing *tarekat*³¹ (making a commitment to teaching/learning and giving/receiving knowledge) now?” I just smiled not sure how to respond, but others nodded. “Are you ready?” she asked me. I replied, “You know better...” She smiled, nodded her head, and smoothly patted my shoulder. At this moment, we were all in an agreement that I could start my questions.

I presented pictures of *campaniga* and asked her about it. “It is called *nantang tabere* (constructing boundary),” she said. It was the specific space being separated from anything outside. It was the place people center on all purposes

³¹*Tarekak* is an Arabic word, *thoriqoh* which means path. It also means a Sufi group. For the Ammatoans, however, *tarekak* is a serious inquiry of knowledge.

they had for the rituals, both *akkalomba* and *akkattere*. It is in this space that a *sanro*(s) mediates a meeting of all actors of the cosmos including the living and dead human beings and forty different non-human beings that include rice plant, uncooked rice, bananas, coconuts, betel nut, animals, and others. The meeting at this space was both to introduce and reaffirm an already established relationship of different beings. Children were introduced and confirmed as part of the established cosmological membership. For others, human and non-human beings, it was reaffirmation of relational commitment.

In addition, *campaniga* stands for the inner territory of the Ammatoan territorial divisions. It is the realm of order as opposed to that of chaos represented by the outer territory. As observed during the creation of *campaniga*, while the four female *sanro* calm and their behaviors and actions seemed to be all under control, everyone outside the *campaniga* was busy. People appeared to be uncertain of what to do. Their activities were not defined. They sometimes just sit without any work, and then were suddenly assigned something to do. Some who were in the middle of doing something had to leave for other jobs. For Ammatoans, it was a phenomenon of uncertainty that the outer territory represents. The ritual context of *campaniga* is then the Ammatoan territorial divisions.

Back to *akkatterek* ritual, the house on the last day was overwhelmingly dominated by women. It was the climax day to serve female guests. In the Ammatoan community, men make visits during the night because they, in theory, are in their fields during the day, and women visit during the day. It was a busy

day because while the sponsor or the host was still preparing many things for the ritual climax that night, they also received and served female guests. Those female guests were all rice-givers. They all brought uncooked rice with them for the sponsor and were offered meals in return, as explained above.

In addition, *akrokok-rokok* (making traditional containers made of coconut and banana leaves to place different foods in) took place. This is the eighth “dominant” symbol of *akkatterek*. Again, this was done by women, but the materials were provided by men. Men took the coconut and banana leaves from somewhere in gardens and dried them for a half day. In the afternoon, females requested that the men bring the materials up to the house for the *akrokok-rokok*. Ten to twenty skilful women were involved. Exclusively handled by women, *akrokok-rokok* is perceived to symbolize women’s creativity and contributions to the community. Women’s roles, and related power, in the community are irreplaceable. While working, they sit in a rectangle. Should they need something, they would request or command people around them, including men.

At the time of doing *akrokok-rokok*, two or three young females (around twenty to twenty five years old) were asked to take part but they were reluctant because they did not know how to do it. Someone suddenly made a comment in a joke way, “Ah...the city people do not know such work.” While laughing at that joke, one insisted the two females and said, “This is something you need to learn. It’s not difficult.” The two then learned and they were finally good at it. At another time, one of the two told me that she was initially embarrassed of not knowing how to do the work. Because she did not live in the village, she knew

little about the Ammatoan tradition, even though she was a member of the community. But when she came back, she could easily learn what she needed to.

This fact, among many others, shows how knowledge is taught and acquired, how tradition is forgotten, practiced and reinvented and how ideas are shared and proposed. Knowledge is not only about ideas but also about practice. This single practice is again one of the means to disseminate ideas and practices. Someone could go and live in the city and dissociate with his or her communal identity, as having been the case for some, but when he or she comes back, negotiation occurs and articulation takes place. As the above fact shows, re-association, with personal interests attached, occurred.

At the end of that day, darkness fell. They lit their *sulo* (traditional lights made of bamboo) which is the ninth “dominant” symbol. The use of *sulo* at this time may appear insignificant. “We use it every night,” they said. When comparing it with the one used in Ramadan (Chapter three), people articulated that *sulo* stands for the “right path” of tradition. The *sulo* is not used because it was the only one available. They could have used other lamps such as ones installed by the local government if they would ever accept it. Even those who in the outer territory have used electricity still preserved the use of *sulo*.

The moment became hectic. Everyone seemed to be shouting to someone else. At around 8 p.m., *adat* holders arrived one by one. They were seated at areas accordingly designated. This is called *akcidong adat*. This practice is the tenth “dominant” symbol. *Akcidong adat* (seating of *adat* holders) is one of the features specifying *akdaga*. *Akcidong adat* is comparable to Mauss’ account of “the

obligation to give” by which people of the same culture are obliged to invite (Mauss, 1967, p. 38). A sponsor of *akdaga* must invite *adat* holders for *akcidong adat*. *Akcidong adat* in *akkatterek* and *akdampok* must include twenty eight *adat* holders at the minimum, and thirty two is the maximum of any *akcidong adat*. Those twenty eight were the Ammatoa and his cabinets (see chapter three). In addition, an *imam* or *guru* was among the twenty eight. Other *akdaga*, like *akkalomba* and *minro baji* may involve five to ten. It is obvious that this practice symbolizes the political structure of the community. As soon as they were seated they smoked cigarettes, but not all of them. Smoke started billowing. Other people, including teenagers and children, came at about the same time as *adat* holders. They also seated themselves on spots accordingly. Besides the children, many of them also smoked cigarettes provided by the sponsor or their own.

When the house began to fill up, people started yelling, “Let’s start it, let’s start it. What are we waiting for?” And when everyone, especially those who were in charge of a role, arrived, they started the ritual. They started with *passau* (burning incense), which is the eleventh “dominant” symbol of *akkatterek*. The incense, together with supplies of betel nut and leaves placed on a tray, was brought to all *adat* holders one by one. The *adat* holders in turn made prayer-chants and touched the betel nut and leaves, their foreheads, and chests, before passing the incense and the tray to next.

As soon as the incense chanting was done, music, identified as the twelfth “dominant” symbol, started. It began with *gandrang* (drumming) by two people, and followed by *kelong* (singing) by two different groups of people. The first

consisted of three or four people (they were the specialists), and the other was the crowd. The two groups were singing in pairs. The drumming and singing initially started with slow rhythm and then got faster and faster. The music took place for about thirty minutes. From the moment the music started, the sponsor provided *ballok*. *Ballok* was served about five minutes after the music started. They served *ballok* with bowls, instead of glasses. Each *adat* holder received one bowl, while the crowd shared the bowls provided to them. But, everyone could have more if they wanted it. It was the time when *ballok* was served the rhythm started getting faster and louder. The more they served *ballok* or the more the people drank *ballok*, the faster they hit the drums and the louder they sang. “At this moment, vitality of individuals increases drastically,” an informant explained. *Ballok* makes someone stronger and gives full of spirits or energy. *Ballok* in that context was perceived to be producing power, not only the physical one but also one that strengthens personhood of individuals as well as communality of the community. Drumming faster and singing louder, they demonstrated who they were as a single united community.

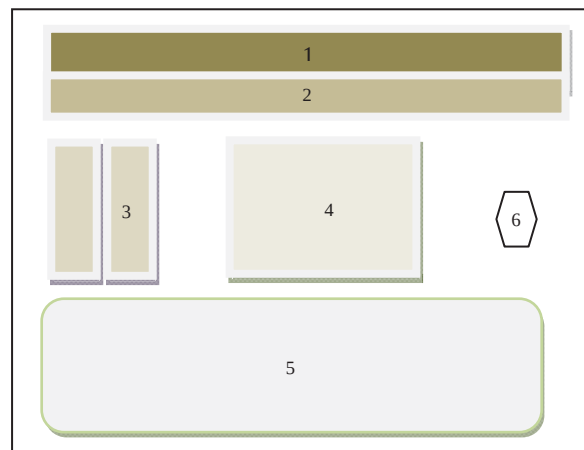
Although not imposed, most adult attending the ritual drank. Drinking *ballok*, someone might get drunk because *ballok* is indeed alcoholic in nature. Some people said that it is stronger than beer. In *akkatterek* ritual, as well as in other *akdaga* where *ballok* was served, no one got drunk, ever. The people convinced that none would ever get drunk in ritual, because the purpose was to strengthen individuals. When I picked up a bowl of *ballok* offered to me, they looked and laughed at me. They were surprised finding me finishing one bowl in

one shot. They said, “Look..! He is strong. He is becoming like a Konjo (sometimes they said a Kajang). He is going to be a real Konjo, now.” They offered me the second bowl, but I said to them that it was enough. They laughed at me and made fun of me by saying, “He’s getting drunk.” I pretended to be drunk and they laughed more and more.

After the music was finished, *ballok* service was done, too. A minute later, the food came out. They started *tuana* (serving meals) as the thirteenth “dominant” symbol of *akkatterek*. They brought meals to *adat* holders first and then to the crowd, but everyone ate at the same time. Due to the extreme crowd, it was hard for me to observe the food being served for the *adat* holders. My informants, however, explained that the structure of serving food to people at this time was similar to other *akdaga* such as *pabbuntingang* (wedding) and *akkalomba*. “*Pada ji*” (it is just the same), they said. To describe the structure, I use my observation from *pabbuntingang* ritual that looked as in figure 13.

At the wedding ritual, the first line was for *adat* holders, and only for them. At some *akkalomba* rituals, however, three or four people, who were not *adat* holders would fill up the line, but only on the edges. At *pabbuntingan*, they served each *adat* holder with a tray filled up with seven plates or bowls of different foods such as sticky rice, meat, fish, noodle, jackfruit, and brown bean. At some *akkalomba* rituals, non-*adat* holders who were seated at the first line were served with a tray the same as those who were seated at the second line. At the second line, people sat face to face with *adat* holders. Each person was also served a tray of food, but the tray was filled up with only five plates and bowls. In

addition to their trays, they were, however, served with big bowls of additional food, the same food that was offered to *adat* holders but not on their trays. They, however, shared them with others next to them. When *adat* holders found those in front of them finishing one plate of their food, they offered theirs to them. If *adat* holders were too full to finish the food served to them or preferred other types of food (which happened many times due to the abundance of meals served to them) they gave them to those in front of them (at the second area) or to those sitting in the third area. Even though the service of meals and that of *ballok* distinguished people based on their social status, everyone could consume the same amount of food. Hierarchy was apparent, but equality was facilitated. Power relations were exercised but caring was forged.



- 1 *Adat* holders.
- 2 Highly ranked people.
- 3 Highly ranked people, too, but little bit lower than the second.
- 4 Commoners.
- 5 Hosts, workers, servers, helpers.
- 6 A table of food.

Figure 13: The structure of tuana

Unlike the people in the first two areas who were served with single trays, people in the third area were served collectively. People sat in two lines facing each other the same way that the first two lines. One tray of food was served for three to five people, but the kind of trays were bigger than the ones served to the first and second lines. This again does not mean these people had less food than the first two ones. The trays were filled up with large plates and bowls. The hosts kept watching the trays to make sure that food was available. If it was almost finished, they quickly add and fill it up. In this area, people spoke louder and looked more relaxed compared to those in the first and second areas.

The fourth area was for young people, mostly unmarried people. Some actually had married but they still gathered with singles and teenagers. These people were served with *prasmanan* (I. food was put on the table) and they helped themselves. They took food on the table with one plate and took seats as they pleased at the fourth area. The area was designed in a way that anyone could choose any directions comfortable for them. They could have more as they wanted and the host constantly watched the table to make sure there was always food.

All the areas were assigned for certain people, although not strictly kept except for the first one, which was only for *adat* holders. The fourth area was more strictly designated than the second and the third ones. In my own case, the second and the third areas were always the ones offered to me. When attending a ritual, I tended to choose the fourth area, but people always asked me to move to either area of the two. When I insisted on staying at the fourth area, I was rarely

successful. There were a few times that I was asked to step up to the first area and could not refuse. But as explained before, my tray was always the same as those at the second area.

After food was served and everyone was full, the main process of *akkatterek* ritual was performed: *ikkatterek*³² (to cut hair of the children), the fourteenth “dominant” symbol. People called this the main agenda of *akkatterek* because it is for this reason (children’s haircut) that the ritual is sponsored. Being called so, *ikkatterek* may be theorized as the most “dominant” symbol of *akkatterek*. In practice, however, other “dominant” symbols are as equally important as *ikkatterek* in the sense that any “dominant” symbols are already described and the following must be included to validate the ritual. As the most “dominant” symbol, *ikkatterek* stands for all other “dominant” symbols. When *ikkatterek* was observed, other “dominant” symbols came into play or were represented as well.

The *akkatterek* ritual was for three children: one female and two males. They sat inside the *campaniga* surrounded by many different items including rice (the gift) and forty different items including rice plant, bananas, coconuts, several different fruits and leaves, the animals already sacrificed (chicken and water buffalo) and two torches. Basins of cookies and *kampalo* that were going to be distributed were also in view. The children were formally dressed up, wearing dresses like that of a Muslim Hajj. For Ammatoans, those children were

³²*Akkatterek* is the noun which means “haircut,” and *ikkatterek* is the verb which means “to cut hairs.”

essentially performing Hajj (pilgrimage) to Mecca, because *akkatterek* is parallel to Hajj. A *sanro* prepared and made prayer-chants to everything needed for the process. This included rice, oil, betel leaves, water, and fire placed on each of three trays. One tray was for each child. Incense was part of it. Among the objects on the tray was a sharp knife to be used to cut the hair of the children. Again, the *sanro* chanted with the knife before turning it to *adat* holders. Twenty eight *adat* holders were invited one by one to come up and cut a small section of the children's hair. All *adat* holders made their own prayer-chants both before they took the knife and before they cut hair of the three children.

The process of cutting hair took quite a long time. One by one of *adat* holders took their turns. *Adat* holders were called by their titles: Galla Pantama ..! Galla Patongko..! and so on. Due to the fact that some *adat* holders never showed up except for a ritual like *akkatterek*, which was rarely performed, the event was for many people designed to get to know *adat* holders. Many of them saw some *adat* holders for the first time. Seeing and knowing *adat* holders, who appeared to be traditionally dressed up, people would build a perception of how to be an ideal person. During the process of cutting hair, some commented, "Look at him, he is such a valiant person!" Life stories and personalities of *adat* holders were also told and disseminated. People listening to the stories might take them as examples to emulate.

After all *adat* holders took their turns, people shouted, "*akbokong*" (provision), the fifteenth "dominant" symbol of *akkatterek*. *Akbokong* was filling up *rokok-rokok* made by women during the day with food. They were offered to

adat holders. *Abbokong* was also performed by women. The *bokong*³³ (provision) consisted of *dumpi*, *uhuk-uhuk*, *kampalo*, sticky rice, bananas, meats, and some vegetables. Fourteen women took seats in line facing each other and the line was in front of the *adat* holders. Each woman was assigned to do two *bokong*, so that the total amount of *bokong* matched the amount of *adat* holders. The *Adat* holders and everyone else present, watched and witnessed the women's performance of *akbokong*. Men who sat at the spot before had to move away and give the space for the women doing the work. At this time, there were initially only twelve women ready to work. People started looking for two others. They came up with two names, but they could not be found. The work had to start and so it would be too late to wait for them. A guy then pointed to two of women washing dishes, "Hey you, two of you... please stand up and come here, do the work!" Having never done such work, the women pointed each other and tried to escape from it. Some guys continued, "Come on (mentioning two names of young women), please don't wait. The work has to be done and finished." The young women pointed responded, "I do not know how to do it. I have never done it before." Others said, "That's why you should do it, so you learn about it." One of the young women responded again, "I don't have a sarong." Doing the work, one should wear sarong, the traditional dark blue—almost or perceived to be black—sarong. All twelve wore traditional clothes, black shirts, and sarong. The two women then stood up. They were wearing modern clothes which was usually

³³*Bokong* is the noun, which means food (or any supplies) filled up in a container to bring with, and *akbokong* is the verb, which means to fill up food in a container.

unacceptable according to *adat*, but it was an emergency. The host gave them one traditional sarong each. They wore them and did the work.

After the work was finished, the *adat* holders left for home one by one. The sponsor managed the *bokong* to be brought to the *adat* holders' houses, *erang bokong*. There were twenty eight *bokong* offered to twenty eight *adat* holders. Two people were in charge for each *bokong* to be brought to the houses of the twenty eight *adat* holders. When *adat* holders started to leave for home, the other guests went away, too. Before leaving, all *adat* holders and guests shook hands with and gave *solok* (gift of money) to the sponsor. *Solok* is then the sixteenth "dominant" symbol. The sponsor looked at the money given to make sure that he knew who gave what amount of money, because he would do the same to them, just like the rice-gift.

Observing that everyone seemed to be giving money to the sponsor, I initiated to do the same (giving *solok*). Some realized what I wanted to do, and then a woman told me, "Hey... you do not need to give *solok*." After looking at her with smiles, I shook hand and gave money to the sponsor. After receiving my gift, the sponsor hugged and whispered me, "You, the good person, all the best for you!"³⁴ "You, too," I responded. I did not expect that what I did would become somewhat of a public rumor. It happened many times that when I appeared in gatherings people talked about me, "He gives *solok*, too." Some of my friends also told me that all people had known me as someone giving *solok*.

³⁴Again, here is *not* to show an ethnographic authority. The case should not be understood that I was going native. It is rather to present how my presence and participation produced such responses of the natives. My case was not unique. It could also apply to anyone.

One time in a gathering, someone whom I already knew came and told me, “If you go to an *akdaga*, don’t give your money away. Do not give *solok*!” When I asked why, she said in replay, “Because you do not receive *solok*. People do not give you *solok* back. You just waste your money.” I said back to her, “But I eat. They serve me meals.” She said, “You are a guest. Of course we feed you. We have no expectation of repayment from a guest.” “Even if I go to *akdaga* every night?” I insisted. Even so, a guest is not expected to give *solok*, the person implied. At that gathering, another person made a comment on the issue. He said:

It is true that *solok* should be repaid. That is the rule. When someone gives you *solok*, you should do the same to him/her. But the basic idea of giving *solok* is to help and being generous. Being generous is to give voluntarily and without expectation. Again, this is the basic idea as well as the essential purpose of it. In other words, the idea of giving is beyond any rules. They are grace and mercy.

He went on, “What this person (referring to me) is doing is acting with grace and mercy. He gives *solok* without expectation.” This kind of *solok* is what most Ammatoans do for *akdaga*. Unlike rice-gift (*erang berasa*), there are two kinds of *solok*: the first includes the obligation to give and repay while the second is voluntary. The former, which is mostly for relatives and close friends, is what a sponsor has to make sure about the amount because he would repay the exact amount or more. The latter needs no attention because it is collectively known about what amount it should be. If the former ranged from Rp. 50.000,00 to Rp. 1.000.000,00, even to Rp. 5.000.000,00, the latter was commonly Rp. 20.000,00.

For the latter, people, however, may give more or less than Rp. 20.000,00.

Someone could do so but there would be no expectation for repayment. The rule underlying this second kind of money-giving is that there is no expectation for repayment, but attending an *akdaga* is religio-socio-cultural obligation, and it is a real shame to not offer *solok*, even the voluntary kind.

In other *akdaga*, after guests left for homes, the sponsor made an announcement about money-gift he received to those who stayed. It was not done for this *akkatterek*. An informant explained that the sponsor was too busy and it was already too late, after midnight. The money-gift announced was the first kind: obligatory for gift and repayment. They loudly mentioned names of those who gave what amount of money. The givers of higher amount received louder applause. After names were mentioned, people congratulated, “May your work and life be full of *barakkak*.” It was such a source of pride for a person whose name was mentioned at that event. He could demonstrate his success in work to others, and everyone noticed and acknowledged it. It was an arena where people could reveal their success at which included such virtues as a strong work ethic and competitive characteristics.

An informant told me about someone who used to be underestimated by many because he had no a permanent job. He mostly stayed at home, and occasionally went somewhere that no one knew where and for what. People knew him as jobless. What appeared to people was that he liked to invite people for gatherings and discuss *adat*, politics, and culture. People did not think he earned any money. But when his name was frequently mentioned as the money-giver of

the higher amounts, people started thinking of him as extraordinary person. He mostly stayed at home and could make a lot of money. “What an easy life!” the informant admired.

For the sponsor, the money, like gifts of rice, received was either repayment of what he had given to givers before or a deposit that givers invested in him. Whatever it was, the more the sponsor received the more he attained honor from people. Wealth and honor come together. People congratulate a sponsor who receives a lot and feel pity towards one who receives less. As explained before, the amount received tells what kind of person the sponsor is: hard worker or not, respectful or not, social person or not, and so forth. For the giver, the money offered was also either a repayment of debt that he received before or his saving that he would gain back when sponsoring an *akdaga* in the future. Individuals, who plan to sponsor a ritual (of *akkalomba* or wedding) for their children, make efforts to give *solok* in *akdaga* that is being sponsored by others. They invest and save money by offering *solok* in *akdaga* sponsored by others, and cash them by sponsoring *akdaga*.

All money collected at *akdaga* went to the sponsor. The money belonged to the sponsor, and he could use it as he pleased. He could buy whatever he wanted with the money received. Those who live in the outer territory might buy televisions, motorcycles, cell phones, or anything else they desire. Those who live in the inner territory might buy land, buffalos, cows, or horses. A sponsor, however, has to make sure that he would have money in hand if one of the givers sponsors *akdaga*, unless the money he or she received was repayment and he or

she did not plan to sponsor another ritual in near future. Otherwise, he would have to find money to repay. If an individual has to repay but has no money in hand, he would go find a job of any kind to make money. Some of them had to go to cities to look for a job, temporary jobs, like coolies, porters, and laborers just for the repayment. Some perceived this situation to be unfortunate because the person could not manage his money when he had it. Some other perceived it as a way to cultivate work ethic. Those who have debt would work hard to pay off their debt.

Or, they would borrow money from others such as his relatives or friends. Friendship and relationship is also valued through the willingness to lend. Individuals who are engaged in borrowing/lending perceive themselves to be relatives, close relatives, whether or not they are biologically related. Through the engagement, they care for and trust each other. But, if someone is not trustful, he might even destroy familial ties. A hypocritical person who likes to borrow money, promises to return it at a certain date, but breaks his promise twice or three times is biologically recognized to be a family member, but socially treated as a non-relative.

The kind of person who cannot pay his debt may be forced to give his other properties, like land and house. If he has no property or not enough to repay, he might become a *suro-suro* or *ata* (“slave”). He would work for his lender without proper payment. He would remain a *suro-suro* until he pays his debt back. *Akdaga* could then turn a reckless person into a slave. Although this case is different from the practice of potlatch as theorized by Mauss, it is still theoretically comparable to that of potlatch in the sense that the failure to fulfill

the obligation of repaying gift would result in enslavement (Mauss, 1967, p. 41). Mauss referencing to practices of potlatch which are between clans, especially cases of Kwakiutl, Haida, and Tsimshian shows that a person who cannot repay a loan or potlatch loses his rank and even his status of a free man (1967, p. 41), which is equivalently similar to the case of Ammatoans. If the normal practice of potlatch is to return with interest, it is not so for the gift of rice and that of money in the Ammatoan community. Gift must be repaid equivalently. Interest, however, might apply in borrowing/lending, like the case just presented above because it is not considered to be gift, even though the money borrowed was to repay gift.

Returning back to the processes of *akkatterek*, the formal ritual that night was finished. Every one found a space to take rest and most children attending the ritual with their parents were already asleep. Most who still stayed at the house lied down to sleep, but a few stayed up still. They drank coffee and tea while eating cookies. That prolonged the practice of *akkatterek*, although informally. Those who stayed up retold stories about *adat* holders. They discussed the significance of *akkatterek*. What was explained in the beginning about *akkatterek* was re-elucidated. The cookies (*dumpi* and *uhuk-uhuk*) and *kampalo* they ate were again explained as special foods. They perceived the cookies and *kampalo* as full of *barakkak*. Eating them at that moment, one would transform to be someone. The moment after the formal ritual was, in short, seen to be a special time that only a few made effort to utilize.

At around 2 a.m., a few people woke up and joined the others who were still awake. This time was another special moment, or even more special because

the sponsor served the people with *ballok*. The *ballok* served was not the left-over from what was served before during the ritual. It was specifically provided for that specific moment. People taking part this kind of gathering were politically ordinary. They were elders, but none was an *adat* holder. One informant explained that at these kinds of moments that knowledge was discussed and passed on. The more they drank *ballok*, the more they would share or argue about knowledge. At this moment, someone might get drunk if he drinks too much, but as the people rationalized, as soon as he wakes up, he should be fine. An informant tried to convince me that unlike other alcoholic drinks as found in cities, *ballok* is not a dangerous drink: it does not kill and make someone sick. It even strengthens both the outward and the inward part of a person, especially when drinking it during these kinds of specific moments.

The gathering of drinking *ballok* lasted for about two hours. They stopped when *ballok* was finished. They said the provision of *ballok* at that kind of moment was never too much or too little. A sponsor should be able to calculate how much they should provide because they should have predicted how many people would be involved. Like the blood consumption, drinking *ballok* at this time was not for public. As a matter of fact, those who were awake were the only ones involved. Children were not expected. After they finished, some went to sleep, and other stayed up even later and waited for sun rise before going home. Before they left for home, the sponsor would provide them breakfast.

Akkatterek did not yet end here. Another ritual practice integral to *akkatterek* was called *pallappasak* (making and/or paying a vow(s)), which was

performed during the afternoon of that day. This is the seventeenth “dominant” symbol of *akkatterek*. It was performed at Bejo River of the Sinjai Regency, which was about one or two hours driving from the Ammatoan territory. To go to the river for *pallappasak*, the sponsor would provide six cars for anyone who wanted to join. Not to be limited, participants of *pallappasak* would include hundreds of males and females, old and young, as well as elders and children, including few outsiders, like me. The sponsor convinced everyone that if the cars were not enough, he would rent more in order to accommodate those still interested.

Some Ammatoans argue that outsiders have misunderstood the practice: they think it is against Islam and heretical. “They do not know the reasons behind it,” an informant argued. Explaining the reason, one of the informants narrated:

In the past, one had tried everything he could to have a proper life. He farmed but never harvested. He fished but was always afflicted with different kinds of catastrophes. He ran businesses but constantly suffered losses. He was really frustrated and did not know what else to do. He asked people around and did all what was suggested, but he still failed and failed again. One day of extreme frustration, he traveled without any destination. He kept travelling until he arrived and rested at the river. He bathed, relieved his thirst, and sat at one of the stones at the river. He observed all that was around him. He was startled with what was going on around him. Everything looked so peaceful. The river, the stream, the stones, the tree, everything there related harmoniously to each other. He

performed *tapakkorok* (contemplation) at one of the stones and then made a vow to the stones, the river and the stream, and the trees, “If I go home, start my business, and am successful with my business, I will come back here and testify the results of my business to all of you.” He went home. As soon he got home from the river, he started a business. No matter what business he did, the result was always abundance and satisfactory. Since then, he always came back to the river before he started and after finishing any businesses, whether he was successful or failed. He fulfilled his vow. Another informant added:

That kind of experience belongs not only to the person in the story. It belongs to many other people. Other people experience similar things with this river. And, anyone could have similar experience if he wants it and be able to maintain his relationship with the river and its surrounding.

The story explains to Ammatoans that in order to be successful in his life, an individual needs to establish relationships with non-human beings. For them, non-human beings, like human beings, are *tau* (person). Learning from their experiences, they understand that non-human beings such as their forest, the river, certain stones, certain trees, and so forth directly contribute to their successes as well as their failure. They said, “*parallu ipakatau njo tau karrasak a*” (it is necessary to “humanize” (honor) those powerful *persons*). We live for them as they live for us. In addition, certain plants and animals are a part of their kinship system. The *bohe* (grandfather) of those plants and animals are the *bohe* of human

beings, too. As explained before, they share their rice, goats, and chickens with their ancestors.

The theory of “personhood,” the way Ammatoans understand it, has been developed by scholars (Hallowell, 1975; Bird-David, 1999; Morrison, 2000). Learning from the Ojibwa worldview, the anthropologist Irving Hallowell (1975), for example, introduced a new paradigm in studying the cosmology of indigenous people. This included the inter-personal relationship in which human beings perceive other beings as their fellow beings in ways that constitute their social environment. Hallowell detects that the Ojibwa kinship term ‘grandfather’ designates both human and non-human beings such as animals, thunder, stones, and others (1975, p. 189). Those beings are perceived to be persons, though not essential. Not all stones are person, but some are. Working with the Nayaka of India, Nurit Bird-David (1999), another anthropologist, develops a new concept of animism as a relational epistemology. Through that concept, she elaborates the Nayaka perception of personhood as inter-personal relationship in character. According to her, in Nayaka perception, human beings and other beings such as lands, trees, and animals are social actors. Echoing Hallowell, Bird-David builds her theory by referring to the Nayaka sense of personhood that generally engages a sense of kinship (*nama sonta*: our relatives) that includes not only human beings but also other beings (1999, p. 73). Bird-David argues that Nayaka’s perception of personhood is the awareness of relatedness, either with human or other beings. A being is constitutive to be a person when engaging himself in relationship (1999, p. 72).

Along with Hallowell and Bird-David, Viveiros de Castro (1998) proposes the theory of “perspectivism,” elaborated by Pederson (2001) and Willerslev (2004), which implies that for animist cultures the world is inhabited by different sorts of subjects or persons, human and non human persons that include animals, plants, and objects. Through his “perspectivism” theory, de Castro argues that for Amerindians, humans see themselves as humans to the same extent that animals and spirits see themselves as humans and humans see animals and spirits as animals and spirits to the same extent animals and spirits see humans as animals (1998, p. 470). He goes on to argue that to perceive animals or non human beings as persons is to attribute to animals the capacity of conscious intentionality and agency which define the position of subject (de Castro, 1998, p. 476). In other words, de Castro characterizes the cosmology of Amerindians as an inter-personal relational system among humans and non humans (1998, p. 473).

I draw on this theory of personhood to understand what Ammatoans did and perceived in terms of the practice of *pallappasak*. This prevents me from having an understanding that would probably fall into what Ammatoans explained about how outsiders have misunderstood their practices. The understanding of “person” as a sub-category of human has been dominant in the western perspective, as Bird-David (1999) argues, and to impose it here with the Ammatoans would also be unjust. It does not fit, and so would mislead when applying it. Influenced by Islam, Muslim outsiders commonly understand that any relation made with non-human beings is “worship” relation. For them, this would include Ammatoans going to the river worship stones, trees, and the river.

Because God is the only being worth worshipping, what the Ammatoans do at the river is heretical. They “worship” many other beings in addition to God.

Ammatoans were right that outsiders misunderstood and misled when they impose mainstream Islamic perceptions.

At the river, I observed several activities. First was a group of people performing music: Two men played drums, one woman played with two bottles and one spoon, and another woman sang. They started performing the music as soon as they arrived at the river. One informant explained that the music was performed to initiate *pallappasak* and facilitate the encounter between the visitors and the visited non-human beings: the river, stones at the river, the stream, trees, and any being that was around the river. The music players conveyed that they came for certain good intentions and purposes. They came to make music as well as to pay vows as one of the ways of reestablishing a relationship.

Second, there were two groups of people at two different areas, but not far away from one another. These two groups of people surrounded those who threw two or three eggs away into the water. The first group was the family members who sponsored the *akkatterek*. Children for whom the *akkatterek* was sponsored concluded their “journey” in the *akkatterek* with *pallappasak*. With their special customs, they came to the river to make and pay their vows. They threw eggs into the water after a *sanro* chanted prayers in order to initiate the encounter between the children, eggs, water, stones, and any beings involved in the practice. The second group did the same. They also threw eggs into the water after a *sanro*

made his prayer-chants. Individuals in this group had to be in line to wait for their turns.

If the first group had collective intentions and purposes, i.e. to conclude *akkatterek*, to demonstrate to the visited that their family members, especially the children, had sponsored *akkatterek*, and to show that they committed to maintain relationship, the second group was individualistic. This group had their own purposes and interests that might not relate to each other. The *sanro* needed not to know purposes of someone whom he offered eggs to throw away. Purposes and intentions were all under responsibility of each individual. Some of them paid vows that they had made before. Vows of this kind included success in their business, abundant harvests, prosperity for their family, and resolution of problems. Others had no vows to pay and so made new vows. They came to the river for vows because they planned to run new businesses, they fell in love, or they were running for office. Others came to the river to practice their tradition. Because its individualist character, the second group might include purposes of *pallappasak* that number as many as individuals involved.

Third, there were individuals who sought, found, and *tafakkorok* (contemplated) at big stones. One of them was hanging ornaments such as palm fruits, *kampalo*, and others on her neck. The way those individuals sat at the big stones was different from one to another, but they all were silent without speaking and talking. They were in tranquility at the midst of noisiness by other visitors. Like the previous two groups, these individuals committed to the same thing, *pallappasak*. These individuals chose and selected certain stones. Among them,

they had known a certain stone for quite long, and so their communication was intended to reestablish relations. Some had not known any, and so they made the effort to initiate an encounter with certain stones. Ammatoans do not question whether or not an encounter is plausible because experiences of their ancestors and people of current time have proven that such encounters are real. This perception of Ammatoans toward a stone is again comparable with that of Naga people of Burma. Mark Woodward (2000, p. 224) explains that Naga tribes think of smooth round stones to be signs of their relationship with the underworld—a world alien to Ammatoans. Possessing such stones will result in prosperity.

Another comparison could be made with the Ojibwa as demonstrated by Hallowell (1975). Hallowell implies that to comprehend the Ojibwa perception on stones and other beings, one needs to understand their category of person, which is central to understanding the Ojibwa cosmos. He argues that the Ojibwa concept of personhood includes both human and non-human beings such as stones, lightning, and thunder. To support his argument, Hallowell closely examines the grammatical structure of Ojibwa language that formally expresses a distinction between “animate” and “inanimate” nouns and concludes that the substantives for some—but not all—stones, trees, sun and moon, thunder, and other material culture such as certain kettles and certain pipes are classified as animate (Hallowell, 1975, p. 146). Hallowell, however, argues that the Ojibwa are not Animists in the sense that they dogmatically attribute living souls to inanimate objects, such as stones (1975, p. 147). Learning from crucial tests through experiences and encounters, the Ojibwa recognize non-human beings, such as

stones, as constituting “animacy” (Hallowell, 1975, p. 148). The Ojibwa recognition of animacy, thus personhood of non-human beings, is based on interaction between them through the means of dreams and visions. Such recognition drives Ojibwa every day behaviors. Their behaviors toward certain plants and animals are culturally structured in ways that they deal with persons who understand what is being said to them and have volitional capacities as well (Hallowell, 1975, p. 160). In short, Hallowell contends that the Ojibwa live in a world transcending social relations, a world of interpersonal relations among many different beings (1975, p. 167).

Fourth, many of them performed *sikkok* (tying a rope) on branches of a big tree located above the river. There were many ropes tied on the branches from people who came before them. There were also many ropes that were already released and thrown down to the water. From this view, we could notice how many people who had come to tie and release ropes from the big tree. It was not only Ammatoans, but also other people who might share similar religio-cultural ideas and practices with Ammatoans. The practice of tying and releasing ropes is another kind of *pallappasak*. They came to tie ropes as a practice of making vows, and to release ropes as that of paying vows.

The fifth activity was *sajen* (offering). Two *sanro* were putting a *sajen* on a small stone above the stream. The *sajen* was in wrapped banana leaves consisting of banana, chicken, eggs, and sticky rice that were all ready to eat. The *sanro* opened up the *sajen* and both made prayer-chants. They were offering the *sajen* to all visited beings at the river. After the two *sanro* made the offering, two

small kids came over and ate some of the *sajen*. What remained was left there. An informant explained that the left over was *dallek* (benefit) of whoever ate it. Offering *sajen* was perceived as a way of sharing. Ammatoans shared their food with any beings living around the area. Explaining the *slametan* of the Javanese that is comparable to the Ammatoan *sajen*, Clifford Geertz argues that the heart of *slametan* is the food and not the prayer because it is what attracts the invisible beings to come. They come to eat the aroma of the food (Geertz, 1976, p. 11-15). The difference from *slametan* as Geertz explains it is that the two *sanro*'s prayer-chants were to initiate the offering. Consumption would be void without the prayer-chants. Another explanation was offered by an informant. Offering *sajen* is their commitment to live together with other beings harmoniously both "here" and "there." As explained before, Ammatoans understand that a being consists of two parts: *alusukna* (the inward) and *kassarakna* (the outward). What the two *sanro* were doing through their prayer-chants was to mediate the living together of both the outwards and the inwards of all beings involved. The inwards of the food, human beings, stones, the river, and other were to unite. Through consumption the outwards of those beings were also for the same aim. *Sajen* is for union or solidarity.

The gift of *sajen* is then to forge for solidarity. This notion resembles that of Native Americans as explained by the ethno-historian Kenneth Morrison (2000). Morrison contends that in order to achieve human well-being, the Ojibwa and other Native Americans should be engaged in gifting acts that ensure the well-being of other beings (2000, p. 85). Gift is for solidarity of human and non-

human beings. Morrison implies that it is by way of gifting that rituals are observed. For the Ojibwa as Morrison goes on to argue, rituals revolve around relational concerns. For that reason, he theorizes that a ritual contextualizes solidarity of human and non-human (2000, p. 85). He strongly holds that the religious life of Native Americans is concerned with moral behaviors exercised through mutual responsibility and interpersonal relationship among beings. *Pallappasak*, the way Ammatoans perceive and practice it, is then understandable when deploying Morrison's theory of ritual.

The last activity being described in the practice of *pallappasak* is *nrio* (bathing). It was mostly done by children and few adolescents. Some of the people commented that the river is a place not only for *pallappasak* but also for recreational. People also come for bathing, because the water is clean and refreshed, and streams fast from a mountain. Children accompanied by their parents and grandparents appeared to be happy and enjoyed the bathing. They were cheerful. In addition to other activities appearing to be solemn, the bathing was apparently recreational. The recreational situation, cheerfulness, happiness, and enjoyment were ways of the children to be acquainted with the water, the river, and the place. The result of the acquaintance, according to some informants, depended upon experiences of individuals. Some might take it very seriously for the experiences were impressive to them, while others might not gain anything.

The six different activities of *pallappasak* could all be theorized as the "dominant" symbols. Each might stand for something specifically, but what has been described is that they all stand for solidarity, unity or communion. This

includes not only among fellow humans, but also includes non-human beings as well. Vows, either paid or released, are for the purpose of solidarity. In wider contexts, solidarity appears almost in every single activity of Ammatoans. For this reason, Turner insists that to understand a ritual, we should study it in relation to other events because it is essentially involved in social processes (1967, p. 20).

In short, by deploying Turner's theory of ritual symbols on the Ammatoan rituals, especially *akkatterek*, this chapter makes already clear that rituals are everyday concerns and practices. The examination of rituals as everyday practice in this chapter has also shown how the Ammatoan indigenous religion is practiced in different dimensions, including politics and economics. The Ammatoans engage their political, economic, and agricultural activities in ritualistic and so religious ways.

Chapter 6

THE ENCOUNTER BETWEEN AMMATOANS AND OTHER POWERS

Indigenous peoples everywhere have come in contact with powerful others such as colonialist nations, nation-states and transnational religions, such as Christianity and Islam. The Ammatoan community, despite its isolated location and small numbers of members, is not an exception. As results of these encounters with powerful others, Ammatoans, like their fellow indigenous peoples around the world, have had their lives transformed. This does not mean that only because of such encounters have Ammatoans been transformed, but like cases of other indigenous groups, Ammatoan encounters with those aforementioned powerful others have had impacts on their way of life. Examples include conversions to modernity and transnational religions. In fact, many indigenous peoples of the world identify themselves as Christian, Muslim, Hindu, or Buddhist (Hefner, 1993; Demerath, 2001). It is true among Indonesians, Africans, Native Americans, Caribbean people, South Americans, and so forth. Most of them have converted to one of those transnational religions.

As presented in previous chapters, Ammatoans are clearly representative of this trend. They have been modernized and converted to Islam. This chapter, however, elaborates how Ammatoans underwent such processes: being modernized and converting to Islam. I contend that rather than replacing their indigenous religion as a result of their conversion, interactions between Ammatoans and other groups are “dialectical encounters.” This means that

Ammatoans and powerful others have influenced and been influenced by each other.

Dialectical Interactions between the Ammatoans and Other Powers

From a historical perspective, this section begins with a discussion of how Ammatoans encountered Islam. Islam has been part of the Ammatoan identity for approximately four centuries. From the beginning of their encounters, groups of Muslims have been active in spreading Islam in the area, and through the encounters they in turn have reproduced their understanding of Islam. There were several historical moments that demonstrated the intensive Islamization toward the peoples of South Sulawesi, including Ammatoans. The first began with the coming of three well-known Muslim *da'i* (missionaries) spreading Islam in the area: Datuk ri Bandang, Datuk Patimang, and Datuk di Tiro in the late sixteen century (Pelras, 1993, p. 144-5) and by the early seventeenth century Islam became the official religion of the kingdoms of South Sulawesi. Since then, Islam became an integral part of South Sulawesi peoples' self-identification. Islam, however, has not replaced pre-Islamic elements. Mattulada (1985), an Indonesian anthropologist, explains that when the Kingdom of Bone established Islam as the official religion, Islam was inserted into an established Buginese *pangngadereng* (*adat* system). Islam was a complementary part of Buginese *adat*. The historian William Cummings (2001) argues similarly that the Makassarese people's conversion to Islam in the seventeenth century was "a matter of text" being used and recited as charm, and not as an adopted doctrine of belief or a replacement of pre-Islamic beliefs and practices. In relation to Cummings' argument, some

Ammatoans shared that in the past they refused to touch, read, or learn the Quran. They were scared of doing so for they believed that learning the Quran without comprehensively mastering it would make them *gila* (crazy). Those people have now changed their perceptions about learning the Quran. Even though they are still not able to read the Quran, they like to listen to Quranic recitation and encourage their grandchildren to learn the Quran.

For the “first”³⁵ encounter between Ammatoans and Islam, there are two popular theories that have been proposed by scholars (Katu, 2000, p. 39-40). The first says that after the coming of Islam to South Sulawesi, especially when the kingdoms of Gowa and Luwu (Depag. RI., 1983/84) established Islam as their official religions, the Ammatoa sent his people to the two kingdoms to study Islam. Because the people learned only some parts of Islam, returned, and explained what they had learnt to the community, Islam has then been understood and practiced partially in the community. Their exposure had been incomplete. This theory is based on the idea that there is a standardized understanding of Islam. Because their religious practices do not fit this standard form, Ammatoans are considered less Islamic than others. Needless to say, the theory is held by outsiders (or scholars).

The second theory tells that Ammatoans learnt and understood Islam, but they accepted only a few components of the religion such as *talkin* (funeral prayers), *baca doang* (Islamic prayer-chants), and the wedding rituals (but only

³⁵I put quotation mark here because it is the historian perspective that is challenged by Ammatoans.

small parts of them: an imam marrying couples and reciting Islamic prayer-chants) (See McKanzie, 1994, p. 133). In 1931, A.A. Cence even observed that no version of the Quran may be brought into the area (Cense, 1931, p. 10). In the inner territory, the Ammatoans rejected all other components of the religion than those mentioned above, due to the incompatibility with their indigenous tradition. However, to avoid a clash between Islam as a new practice and the teaching of the Pasang which was already established, the Ammatoa welcomed all components Islam, to be practiced and taught in the outer territory. The Ammatoan indigenous tradition has thus persisted alongside Islam. This theory is parallel to Cummings's observation of the Makassarese in the seventeenth century that "Islamic practices and beliefs spread only gradually over the course of centuries even as many pre-Islamic beliefs persisted" (2001, p. 559).

Referring to the "initial" encounter, some scholars have argued that Ammatoan religious practices are *sufistic* Islam, and so problematic (see Katu, 2005; Katu, 2000; and Aminah, 1989). They captured and practiced the "core" (*sufistic*) Islam and leave the Sharia behind. Ammatoan religiosity focuses on the essence of Islam, which is an ascetic and simple life, as ways to establish a close relationship with God. Those scholars support their arguments by referring to a Pasang that states *jennek telluka sempajang temmatappu* (*wudhu* is never void and prayer never ceases). They misinterpret this Pasang by arguing that practices of *tafakkoro* (remembrance of God) are emphasized while ritual practices, such as the five daily prayers of Islam are disregarded. Based on their interpretation of this Pasang, the scholars incorrectly assume that most Ammatoans do not observe

the five daily prayers of Islam. They conclude that the Islamic practice of Ammatoans is thus inauthentic and unacceptable because Islam is based on the five pillars that have to be completely and consistently observed.

Along with those scholars' perceptions, the public Islamic discourse admits that Sufism is the core of Islam but Sufism must be built on the basis of Sharia. Sharia, the practices of Islamic rituals, is fundamental aspect of the religion that every Muslim must observe. Without Sharia, Sufism is invalid. This is the belief held by Muslim groups who create programs for the community. For most Muslims who are having these discussions, Ammatoans ought to learn and practice the mainstream Islamic practices which focus on Sharia as the cornerstone of the religion.

The two theories show that those who have encountered Ammatoans recognize a kind of Islamic understanding and practice (the *sufistic* character) of Ammatoans, in addition to their criticisms. They often even take the Ammatoan simple lifestyle as a model of how Islam should be practiced. A well-known Muslim scholar from Makassar who supports the inclusion of Sharia into the Indonesian constitution once said, "in terms of morality and ways of life, Ammatoans are advanced in Islam. The problem with them is only their neglect of Sharia." Simplicity and modesty -- well-known values of the Ammatoans -- are used as examples of Islamic moral practices that many Muslim preachers in mosques, including ones in the capital city of South Sulawesi province, Makassar, like to highlight. Many Muslims who come to this community for Islamization comment that they need to teach the people Sharia but learn Sufism from them.

The fact that Muslim outsiders learn something from Ammatoans implies that encounters between Ammatoans and other Muslims are dialectical. Such “dialectical encounters” are defined as those through which everyone involved alters and is altered by each other (Comaroffs, 1997). We see how outsiders learn lessons from the Ammatoans. Outsiders, who came to the community with an agenda of “teaching” the people, also learned something to add to their own religious practice. They were influenced by Ammatoans as much as they influenced Ammatoans.

For the “first” encounter, Ammatoans have their own theories. For them, such theories are a kind of *paddissengang* (knowledge). It is considered to be esoteric knowledge. Not many of them could share such knowledge, but almost all elders I met had their own understanding of these encounters, and whenever one narrated their version he or she always proclaimed that his or her version was taken from serious study of the matter. Such knowledge could only be shared with an appropriate person, and not everyone, because it is *karrasak* (powerful) knowledge.

One of informants explained that when the three *da’i* (Muslim missionaries) (Datuk Ditiro, Datuk Ribandang, and Datuk Patimang) arrived in South Sulawesi, they travelled immediately to the village of Tiro, around 15 kilometers from Tanah Toa. They then met and had a dialogue with the Ammatoa. From the dialogue, they came to agree that two of the *da’i* (Datuk Ribandang and Datuk Patimang) would go to Gowa and Luwu, accompanied by two Ammatoans. The Ammatoa let Datuk Ditiro stay in Tiro and spread his teaching in the area of

the Ammatoan community, but only in the outer territory and not in the inner territory. The Ammatoa's policy was based on mutual understanding between the Ammatoa and Datuk Ditiro that they both had equal levels of knowledge, significantly higher than the two *da'i* sent to Gowa and Luwu. Another reason was that Datuk Ditiro was perceived by the Ammatoa to have mystical teachings similar to, and equivalent with, that of the Ammatoa (Hamid, 1982, p. 75).

Another version tells that the three *da'i* were originally from Kajang. After they showed their knowledge and skills to the Ammatoans, the Ammatoans found that only Datuk Ditiro could equally compete with their leader (the Ammatoa). The Ammatoa then decided to command two of them (Datuk Patimang and Datuk Ribandang) to find another place to preach because in addition to their knowledge not being compatible with the Ammatoan, they were less skillful in many ways than the Ammatoa.

When the two *da'i* for example showed their knowledge of making a house with only one pillar, the Ammatoa took away the pillar and the house was still standing. When the two arranged ten eggs standing (on top of each other), the Ammatoa took the bottom egg away, and the other eggs maintained their position. These examples show that both two *da'i* and the Ammatoa held similar knowledge. The difference was that knowledge of the two was still ordinary for they needed a "foundation" to stand on. Their knowledge was conditional: without a pillar, a house cannot stand. Meanwhile, the Ammatoa's was already beyond the need for a foundation. The main concern of the Ammatoa's

knowledge was already on the essence, the core. In other words, the Ammatoa did not need to learn from them because it would be a backward if he did so.

When the two pointed to a coconut tree, all its fruit fell down. For the Ammatoa, that was powerful but wasteful because it took down all the fruit, including the very small ones that were still unedible. The Ammatoa then did the same, pointed to a coconut tree, and only those suitable to eat fell down. The Ammatoa revealed that knowledge was not for power, but for wisdom. Being powerful is good and many people could attain it, but being wise is more important and very few could be wise. Being wise for the Ammatoa is being considerate and thoughtful to all beings. Power is to be used for the well-being of all others.

When Datuk Ditiro was asked to show his knowledge, he jumped up and walked on the leaves of banana trees. It was like he was flying. He flew away to a very distant place from where he previously stood. What was surprising was that soon after Datuk Ditiro stepped back on soil, the Ammatoa was in front of him. They both shook hands indicating that they shared knowledge in common. Learning that Datuk Ditiro made no damage to the leaves he stepped on, the Ammatoa admitted that Datuk Ditiro's knowledge was compatible (skillful and wise) with his. Datuk Ditiro was then invited to stay and teach his knowledge in the community, but only in the outer territory. The inner territory exclusively belongs to the Ammatoa.

For a different but related narrative, an informant theorized:

The Quran and Islam came from Kajang. The Quran was placed in the hamlet of Sobbu, the name of a hamlet in the inner territory, which literally means “to hide.” That was the reason behind the naming of Sobbu. The Quran in the beginning was hidden in Sobbu and then sent out for outsiders because Ammatoans were not good at reading it. The Quran has, however, returned back in the Ammatoan community in three occasions: *baca talkin* (Islamic prayer-chants recited when a deceased is buried), marriage, and *baca doang*. Today, the Quran has come back because many Ammatoans are already good at reading it.

Islam (*sallang*) is a primordial oath for Ammatoans. Everyone makes the oath before s/he is born. Everyone in Kajang is therefore Muslim (*sallang*) from the moment he comes out to this world because no one would be born without the oath. *Sallang* is an integral part of the human person. It is in the body of all humans. It is not somewhere, and cannot be taken out from human beings. Whenever *sallang* is taken, that person is no longer a person anymore. *Sallang* is identical with personhood.

Those who held such a theory could hardly understand the coming of Islam to the community the way historians do. Responding to historical theories of the “first” encounter between the Ammatoan tradition and Islam as presented above, these people argued that what Datuk Ditiro brought was a variant of Islam. Datuk Ditiro did not bring a new thing alien to Ammatoans. Datuk Ditiro and the other two *da’i* had of course different knowledge from the Ammatoa, but the essence and

the objectives of their knowledge was the same. They all taught about the essence of humanity, and how humans should live their lives in this world in relation to all other beings.

Compared with theories of the “first” encounter held by outsiders, theories articulated by Ammatoans also suggest a series of dialectical encounters. The presence of Islam clearly shows how Ammatoans have been influenced. Ammatoans incorporated Islam into their cultural reproduction in a way that the Islam brought by Datuk Ditiro was spread freely in the outer territory. Ammatoans in the outer territory have had the opportunity to learn Islam as they wish, and their conversion to it, to whatever extent it has been, has not alienated them from the community. Furthermore, the presence of Islam in the outer territory allows those who live in the inner territory to also come and learn about Islam in the outer territory, if they want to.

If theories of the “first” encounter illustrate the acceptance of Islam, though through negotiation, the “second” historical moment tells a different story. This occurred during the Islamic movement of Darul-Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia (DI/TII) (Islamic Nation/Indonesian Muslim Military) in South Sulawesi from the 1950s to early 1960s. DI/TII was a rebellion against the new Indonesian Republic. This movement was initially driven by political disappointment toward the central government’s discriminatory treatment of Sulawesi guerillas in post-independence Indonesia. The members of this movement argued that if the government could recruit Javanese guerillas into the Indonesian military, it should do the same thing to guerillas from Sulawesi, but it

refused to do so. Because of that disappointment, this movement allied with Negara Islam Indonesia (NII) (I., the Indonesian Islamic State) of West Java. They struggled for the independence of South Sulawesi from the Indonesian Republic. After undergoing several dialogs with DI/TII, no agreement was reached, and the Indonesian military sent its troops to South Sulawesi to eliminate DI/TII. It took a decade for Indonesian military to defeat the movement.

DI/TII worked in support of Islamic Sharia becoming the state constitution as their political goal. They spoke in a way that appealed to the population of South Sulawesi being as they were a Muslim majority. In the beginning DI/TII successfully persuaded many Muslims to join their movement. Later on, many, including scholars who initially supported the movement, turned around to against the movement because they learnt that Islam being promoted was against their understanding of Islam. They learnt that the movement campaigned for purification of Islam from *bid'ah* (unlawful innovation) and used violence as their instrument. Scholars also found that the movement was more of a political movement than a religious one.

When this movement reached the Ammatoan territory, Ammatoans were seriously in trouble. Like other villagers of South Sulawesi during this struggle, Ammatoans had to serve the two military groups fighting one another: the Indonesian military and the DI/TII. Whenever one of these groups came to their community, Ammatoans had to slaughter chickens and provide meals for them. What made it even more difficult was that they had to keep their services to one group a secret from the other. Otherwise, the other group would do harsh things to

them, even kill them because of the services they offered. They often could not avoid such situations. It happened most of the time that while Ammatoans served one group, say the Indonesian military, the other group (DI/TII) came and attacked not only the Indonesian military but also the Ammatoans because of the support they provided for the Indonesian military.

In addition, whenever DI/TII members came across the Ammatoan traditional materials such as incense tools and traditional clothes they burnt them. DI/TII forbade Ammatoans from practicing their tradition or *adat*. *Adat* is *bid'ah*, something the prophet never observed. Some people still recalled that during this time they had to perform their wedding rituals in the middle of forest for they were afraid that DI/TII would come and attack them. The longer DI/TII stayed around, the more miserable the Ammatoans felt. Because of this intimidation, Ammatoans formed an army group called *Dompek*. The name refers to headcovers, which is also called *passapu*, that the army wore (Gibson, 2000). The purpose of this group was to fight against and dispel DI/TII from their territory. It was to fight against both the political and religious campaigns of DI/TII. This variant of Islam had no place in the territory.

The next historical moment was during the New Order regime (1965-1998). The initial encounter between Ammatoans and the New Order regime was through the Suharto's agenda of eliminating the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). The regime promoted religion as a counter ideology to communism in order to outlaw PKI. They also believed that the communist allies were mostly villagers, and so to exterminate communism, they attempted to alter villagers'

traditional beliefs and practices and convert them to one of the officially recognized religions. Ammatoans still recall that during the elimination of PKI they were prevented from performing their rituals in the forest, at rivers, and in the mountains. The Indonesian military blocked roads to their ritual sites.

In addition, like many other villages of Indonesia, Tanah Toa was a target for the regime's agenda of the state's development. The New Order regime classified the Ammatoan community as *masyarakat terasing* (I., an estranged community) that needed to be brought into the mainstream of Indonesian society with the long term goal of national progress. The state's policies in regard to *masyarakat terasing* were implemented through several programs that were aimed at developing these communities. One of the more notorious was *Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Sosial Masyarakat Terasing* (I., the Development of Social Prosperity of Estranged Communities). The program was renamed *Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Sosial Komunitas Adat Terpencil* (I., Program for the Development of Social Prosperity of Geographically Isolated Customary Law Communities) in 1999. This program sought to incorporate such groups into the nation-state through a five-year period of social engineering that attempted to change various aspects of indigenous traditions, such as agricultural techniques and religious beliefs, and included (often forced) resettlement (Duncan, 2007, p. 716).

The New Order government unilaterally classified about one million rural people as "estranged and isolated," including Ammatoans (Department of Social Affairs, 1994). Their *adat* practices, cultural distinctiveness, livelihood practices, and traditional attachment to the territories they inhabited were perceived as

problematic, evidence of closed minds and developmental deficits that a good government must help them to overcome. The government intended to narrow the distance (in time, space, and social mores) between *masyarakat terasing* and the “normal” average Indonesian citizen through resettlement (Koentjaraningrat, 1993). The Department of Social Affairs, the ministry that ran the program, specified that *masyarakat terasing* were those with lacking a world religion, strong commitment to their *adat*, and deficient housing, clothing, education, diet, health, and transportation facilities (Department of Social Affairs, 1994, quoted in Li 2000, p. 154)

Under such programs the state changed the village’s administrative system, attempted to rearrange housing system, built schools and clinics, put in electricity, asphalted roads, and made many other changes, which were successful in the outer territory but failed in the inner territory. In responding to the government, Ammatoans demonstrated their strategic resistance by accepting the state’s policies and programs only in the outer territory. Through these responses a series of dialectical encounters between Ammatoans and the state took place.

The presence of the government’s programs in Tanah Toa contributed to the Ammatoan religio-cultural transformation. Ammatoans reformulated their cultural values of dignity. Sending children to schools, being able to speak Indonesian, travelling and working in cities, becoming the state’s employees, building fancy houses, utilizing electricity and televisions, and so forth have also become criteria for dignity, and so desired by some Ammatoans. The presence of the government’s programs even caused some Ammatoans to disrespect their own

adat. Some of them attempted to disassociate themselves from their *adat* and align themselves with the national ideology of being progressive.

Along with these programs, the local department of religious affairs implemented Islamic education. They included Islamic education into the curriculum of the state elementary and high schools. They intentionally targeted youths for this education because they were convinced that the elders were impossible to change. They placed Islamic teachers as state employees in Tanah Toa. Besides being school teachers, those employees acted as imams leading prayers, giving sermons at mosques, and making Islamic prayer-chants (*baca doang*) during Ammatoan rituals. They became *guru* (see chapter three on the discussion of *guru*).

The placement of Islamic teachers in Tanah Toa marked a new wave of Islamization in the area. Teachers first came to Tanah Toa in 1987. An imam of Tanah Toa narrated a story behind the placement of the teachers in the village, which was related to his personal story.

I started my job as an imam in 1985. I was directly appointed by the village head of Tanah Toa for the position. The village head said to me, “You, be the imam.” At that time, I knew nothing about the Quran. I could not read it. I just had no power to argue with the village head, and so accepted the appointment.

Soon after being appointed, I started looking for a teacher to learn how to be a proper imam. I found a teacher in a neighboring community in the village of Sapanang. The teacher himself was an imam of the community.

From the imam of Sapanang, I obtained *doa rasulung* (the prophet's prayers) and some materials of the Quran to be read for *baca-doang*. I took the materials and studied them seriously.

I thought I could not study because I was a cattle rancher. I went to elementary school but that was only for one year and then dropped out. Because of the burden of being appointed as an imam, I have studied the Quran tirelessly up to the present time. I believe no matter what it is, if you study it, you will know it.

I was fortunate enough because my father was *passapu*. I of course could not learn the Quran from my father, but my father taught me how to perform *baca-baca*. I initially thought that it would be a big challenge and that my father might be disappointed with me and forbid me to do the job (of being the imam). I used to think that what an imam is doing is against *passapu*, or vice versa. I misunderstood the situation.

Having learnt from my father, I figured out that *passapu* and the Quranic tradition are not contradictory. They go together. They have different ways for sure but both pursue the same goal, to be close to God. Although I had the chance to study both *passapu* and the Quran, I chose the Quran because I found it more direct than *passapu*, which is more circular in addressing its objectives. With those initial lessons and in poor capacity, I began serving the people.

In 1987, which was my second year of service, five elementary school teachers of Islam were placed in Tanah Toa. The placement of the teachers

was very much because of me. I was giving a sermon during a Friday prayer and the sub-district head of Kajang attended the prayer, too. Many people were upset with my sermon because I addressed everyone with one term “*saudara-saudara*” (I., gentlemen, perceived impolite if addressed to nobles and honored people). I actually realized the fact and admitted my mistake but still defended myself because I just read a book of sermons provided for preachers. “If people should blame someone, it was the book to blame, not me.”

Anyway, the sub-district head asked about me, and the village head said to him in reply, “He’s the best in this village.” The sub-district head then said, “It’s good because he’s not shy showing his stupidity. Next year, five teachers are going to be placed in this village as the state’s employees.” That was why the five people gained *rizq* (gift or advantages) of being hired as the state’s employees. Those people also knew and thanked me for it every time they met me.

Before those people came in Tanah Toa in 1987, no one was knowledgeable about the Quran and since then people of Tanah Toa started learning it. So it used to be only outsiders who were good at reading and teaching the Quran, but they came and went. Those five teachers have moved out. Today, there have been several young people who are good at reading the Quran. Each night, the program of *taraweh* prayers always starts with a Quranic recitation. A Quranic recitation competition is also organized in the village every year.

In schools, children learn the Quran and Islamic teaching. They know how to read and write the Quran. Quranic study has even become a favorite subject among school children for every year the village organizes *musabaqah tilawat al-Quran* (A./I., MTQ, a Quranic recitation contest) during the month of fasting, Ramadan. Some Ammatoans commented that people's enthusiasm toward the competition has increased. More children participate, which means more children have studied the Quran, and more people came to watch the competition or to see their children, nephews, or relatives in the competition.

In Tanah Toa, the annual Quranic competition moves around to different neighborhoods, including those in the inner territory. Some people argue this movement was effective in introducing and teaching Islam to Ammatoans in the inner territory. Each participant in the competition represents a neighborhood and each neighborhood in Tanah Toa was asked to participate by sending their representatives. All neighborhoods of Tanah Toa, including those from the inner territory always sent their representatives for the competition. Sobbu has even won the championship. Its representatives won the most medals. People, however, noticed that the representatives of Sobbu came from somewhere in the outer territory. None of them came from the neighborhood that they were representing, but it was not an issue to anyone.

The presence of Islamic teachers in Tanah Toa clearly generated enthusiasm for learning about Islam, but when the teachers moved out, some people expected the situation to change. They thought the enthusiasm and interest in Islam would decrease. The people understood that those teachers accepted the

offer of being teachers from the government because they just wanted to be state employees. State employment in Indonesia is permanent. Someone employed by the state receives a pension after retirement. He or she even continues receiving a salary after his or her death. Such a salary goes to his or his family. What the teachers did was that they accepted the offer, taught for one or two years in the village, and then moved to where they wanted, either to cities or to their own villages. None of the teachers stayed for more than three years. For several years after those teachers moved out, no Islamic teacher was available for the village. Islamic enthusiasm, nonetheless, flourished. Ramadan and the annual Quranic competition were always lively.

Realizing the fact that state employees placed in Tanah Toa could not feel at home, the local government offered new positions for teachers of Islam but only to people of the village. This was difficult because they had to find a person whose background was Islamic studies. To fill the positions, they temporarily hired individuals with high school non-Islamic degrees to teach Islam. In addition, the government offered scholarship to school children of Tanah Toa for Islamic studies. Some students accepted the offer to study in *pesantren* (i.e., Islamic boarding schools) and in state schools for Islamic studies. When they graduated, they however did not become teachers of Islam but found other jobs, instead. Some of them chose to be police officers, and others became village administrators. There were also some who chose to run private businesses. None of them became a teacher of Islam, nor imam at the mosque, but they were among the people who gave sermons during Friday prayers and during Ramadan.

The phenomenon suggests that although Islam was taught with few resources, the impact in building (Islamic) enthusiasm was great. But, I also observe that encounters between *adat*, Islam, and nationality are dialectical. Let's take MTQ as an example. Some organizers explained that MTQ is a way of learning and practicing Islam. It is a medium of Islamizing the community. The MTQ has also been interpreted in many different ways by the people. Some participants were most interested in the presents. Others were more interested in coming together in a festive situation. Others valued the artistic performances.

Through their participation in MTQ, Ammatoans reference their *adat* norms. Those who were focused on rewards, for example, articulated that according to *adat* those who make serious effort towards something will get it. It is good for children to participate in such events because it is a practice for them to work for something. Viewing MTQ as a moment of being together like *akdaga*, some explained, "Our *adat* commands us to be in communion. When you gather, you might get help if you need it from others. If you have problems, your neighbors will assist you in solving them. That is what *abbulo sipappa* (as the bamboo, (many nodes, but) one stem, Pasang 49) means. As an artistic performance, MTQ was seen as entertainment. For those valuing this aspect, they found the participants with good voices to be entertaining. Some made effort to attend and watch participants' performances for *ballo i sakrakna* (their voices are great). These perceptions were however not meant to contest what the organizers said about MTQ. When confronted with what the organizers said about MTQ, none of them argued differently. Needless to say, arguments with one another is

not desired, but if it has to occur, it should be to facilitate the idea of *silallo tessirapi* (exceeding but not reaching).

Observing such experiences, I found that there are at least three discursive elements that Ammatoans articulate in the outer territory, much more than in the inner one: *adat* of Ammatoans: what it means to be an Ammatoan; Islam: what it means to be Muslim; and how to be an Indonesian. The encounters between Ammatoans and other powers have transformed the people's perception of who they are and how they should behave. It was obvious that Ammatoans, like anyone else, endlessly re-produced their cultural norms. It is in such processes of reproduction that Ammatoans have articulated *adat*, Islam and nationality. In that articulation, both Islam and a sense of nationalism are transformed as much as the Ammatoan *adat* is transformed.

To illustrate encounters and processes of articulation that reproduce the people's religio-cultural transformation, I examine the rituals of Ammatoans, Ramadan, and Indonesian Independence day. The last chapter discussed in depth the Ammatoan rituals, and so here I will only point out that every Ammatoan, those who live both in the inner and the outer territories, is (supposed to be) involved in collective rituals. I say "supposed to" because although many informants told me that if someone was not involved he or she must be in "trouble," I was not sure if everyone was really involved. What I observed during collective rituals made it appear as if everyone was involved, including some community members whom I had previously thought were not. I did not consider

these Ammatoans to be involved because they seemed to be embarrassed by and were keen on ridiculing *adat*. This derision is illustrated below:

During the first night of Ramadan in 2009, there were only three people who performed the *taraweh* prayers: me and two Ammatoans. *Taraweh* is the night prayers of Ramadan observed by Muslims. Realizing that I was a non-Ammataon, one of them came and told me, “At the first night of Ramadan, everyone is busy with *baca-doang* (prayer-chants)³⁶ and food. People in this community are still strongly attached to their old religion. They profess to be Muslim, but they are not willing to give up their *adat*. What does it mean to be Muslim, if you don’t give up your old *agama* (religion)? No point in being Muslim if you keep your old religion. It’s better you say that you are not Muslim if your old religion is what concerns you the most. Otherwise, you are a hypocrite.”

He went on to say, “I was born and grew up in this community, but I do not follow the old religion any longer. For me, the religion is wrong, and practicing it would make my Islam invalid. Once I proclaim I am Muslim, I only practice Islam: no other things, no old religion for sure.

Such embarrassment and derision toward the Ammatoan indigenous religion is not uncommon among Ammatoans. It is not even hidden. During the sermons given at every Friday prayer and during the nights of Ramadan, such derision and embarrassment were often heard. Despite their embarrassment, they attended and were involved in indigenous rituals, and so practiced the indigenous religion.

³⁶see Chapter five on this issue for more explanation.

Being curious about their participation in rituals, I approached one of those who usually spoke about being embarrassed at indigenous religion at a ritual event. Without even hearing my questions, the person said, “Look what they are doing! Is there anything that makes sense to you? What are they doing to the leaves, fruits, and cakes? What is all of that for? Did the prophet ever do such things? Never! These rituals are against Islam.” When asked about reasons for his attendance and participation, he said in reply, “I come because they invite me. I would feel bad if I didn’t come.” He then told me not to talk about what he said to me to anyone, and then laughed.

The point here is that the engagement of the people in ritual practices is what Stuart Hall explains about the articulation between ideology and social forces (Grossberg, 1986). The encounters between Ammatoan indigenous religion, Islam, and later on nationality could then be seen through Hall’s theory of articulation. Hall explains the theory as “Both a way of understanding how ideological elements come, under certain conditions, to cohere together within a discourse, and a way of asking how they do or do not become articulated, at specific conjunctures, to certain political subjects” (Grossberg, 1986, p. 53). He also defines articulation as “The form of the connection that *can* make a unity of two different elements, under certain conditions. It is a linkage which is not necessary, determined, absolute and essential for all time. You have to ask, under what circumstances *can* a connection be forged or made?” (Grossberg, 1986, p. 53).

Hall's theory of articulation is illustrated in the practice of Ramadan. The Ammatoans perceived the practice as one of their ways of exercising Islam. Ramadan for Ammatoans is very special. It is in this month the dead people come back to their graves. People are not sure where the dead people live but at Ramadan, especially a week before *idul fithr*, they are at their graves. It is at this time that people can meet their dead families and relatives. Ramadan is special because people fast, and the fasting will be part of their *bokong* (supplies) to the hereafter. In addition, it is during Ramadan that Ammatoans, like other Muslims, engage in humanitarian acts such as offering charity to those in need.

The discourse of Ramadan has been popular among Ammatoans. It is already a part of their consciousness. Through that consciousness the people have constructed narratives to connect their indigenous religion and Islam (see Grossberg, 1986, p. 54). One might find the above narration of Ramadan to be impoverished and impure, but that is how articulation works for Hall. For a more extreme example, Hall explains that Rastafarians in Jamaica borrowed a text from the Bible, Rasta, turned it upside down, and gave meaning to it that met their needs and experiences (Grossberg, 1986, p. 54). This is similar to the experiences of Ammatoans in many ways, including for instance celebrating Ramadan with karaoke. Hall describes this kind of phenomena as a process of cultural transformation. The Ammatoan narratives and practices of Ramadan are not totally new, but they are not a straight, fixed line of continuity from the past, either (Grossberg, 1986, p. 54). It is the work of articulation.

The practice of Ramadan is a month in duration. Welcoming Ramadan, Ammatoans sponsor *baca doang*. They slaughter chickens and provide traditional meals for the *baca doang*. They wait for their imam to lead *baca doang*. It takes long time for an imam to cover all of them. The main practice during this period of time is *baca-doang* at home. The imam comes and performs *baca-doang* in front of meals provided by the host. Afterward, everyone eats. In return, those who receive services of the imam brought meals to the imam's house. The meals the imam performs *baca doang* for are perceived to consist of two parts. The first is *halusukna* (the inward substance of the food), which is offered to the dead, and second is *kassarakna* (the outward substance of the food), which is for the living. In this way, *baca doang* and the meals are to connect the dead and the living.

As I observed on the first night of Ramadan, the people placed *sulo* (kerosene lights) in front of their houses, including the ones with electricity until they were about to sleep. That was a part of appreciating and welcoming Ramadan. The *sulo* were to show Ramadan the way to houses. They were also to indicate that owners of houses were ready to serve Ramadan. Electricity as a part of modernity was accepted and valued, but it did not wipe out indigenous religious ideas and practices. Not everyone, however, did light *sulo*. One of them said, "I don't need *sulo* because I already have an electric lamp. It is brighter and so Ramadan should know how to enter my brighter house." This last case shows that electricity has replaced *sulo*, but again, indigenous ideas of perceiving and practicing Ramadan are still in play. The modern tool is used as a means to transform their indigenous religion.

That night, too, I went to the house of a person who was running for village office. His celebration welcoming Ramadan was quite extensive. As soon I entered the house I was invited by the host to have dinner. Before saying anything, I was told that I had to eat because it is Ramadan. Ramadan is the time to fast during the day and to eat during the night. At this house, people were mostly talking about politics: how to govern, who should govern, what to be concerned with when governing, and so forth. It was obvious from their talk that Ramadan was not only significant for a political campaign because it was the moment for gathering, but also a part of a political discourse. Those who are thoughtful to tradition such as welcoming, celebrating, and practicing Ramadan are good people to govern. The village head should be pious and loyal to religion and *adat*. Being an arena of the community's consciousness, Ramadan, like *adat*, needs to be negotiated by political subjects in order to make their political agenda popular (see Grossberg, 1986, p. 54).

From the second to the fifteenth nights of Ramadan, the mosque in the village was crowded with people of different ages and sexes observing *taraweh* prayer every night, except at the first night. It was lively those nights. After the fifteenth night, the mosque became more and more quite. A preacher alluded to the situation one of the nights, "Ramadan with Muslims is like a coconut tree with its fruits. The older it grows, the more its fruits fall down. The older Ramadan becomes, the more Muslims disappear from mosques." *Taraweh* always started after *solat isha*. After *solat isha*, an MC stood in front of the group sharing information about the maintenance of the mosque and then invited a *qori* or

qoriah (A./I., male or female reader of the Quran) to recite the Quran. The Quranic recitation was followed by an Islamic sermon, and then *taraweh* of eleven *rakaat*³⁷ followed the sermon. At about 3.00 A.M. in the morning, people woke up for *sahur* (I., meal before starting to fast), and *subuh* prayer (the dawn prayer) followed. The mosque in the village was also quite crowded during *subuh* prayer taking place at around 4.30 A.M., but never as crowded as *taraweh* prayers. After *subuh* prayers, people, mostly the youth, male and female, took a walk around the village, which was called JJS (*jalan-jalan subuh*).

The fifteenth day of Ramadan marks a point that Ramadan is on its way out. For about fifteen days, starting from the fifteenth to the last day of Ramadan, people performed *baca doang* for farewell of Ramadan. Some performed *baca doang* during the dinner time, so the meals were for breaking the fast. Some others performed *baca doang* during lunch time, and so those people concluded their fasting of Ramadan at lunch. There are other understandings of fasting. Many observed the fasting every day for the whole month. Some observed it the first ten days of the month, others fasted the first fifteen days, and some others did only three days: the first, the fifteenth, and the last day. There were also those who understood that fasting was only obligated for one of the days of the first third of the month, one of the days of the second third, and one of the days during the third of the month. The other days were voluntary only. Another understanding I heard was that “You keep fasting until you break it. Once you break it, you stop it. So, if you break the fast in the seventh day, you do not fast

³⁷See footnote six of chapter three.

the rest of the month. That is it.” For the people, knowledge about fasting, like many other kinds of knowledge, is esoteric knowledge gained through an individual pursuit. Everyone observes a practice according to his or her own knowledge. Individuals were attached to their own knowledge and value others’. They did not invalidate other individuals’ knowledge because they were different. Those differences of observing the fasting were found not only between families, but even within a family.

The twenty-third day of Ramadan or a week before *idul fithr* is called the Day of *Abbattasa Jerak* (cleaning up graves, also called the ritual of grave visits). According to the tradition, the Day of *Abbattasa Jerak* is the day when all dead people come back to their graves. On this day, Ammatoans, including those staying somewhere outside Tanah Toa, come and clean up their families’ and relatives’ graves in the village. *Abbattasa jerak* is one of the biggest annual rituals, but this one is without a feast. The people poured into the graveyards.

A day before the Ammatoa and other *adat* holders had actually commenced the practice of *abbattasa jerak*. At this time, non *adat* holders were not allowed to come, let alone outsiders. The initiation was meant to open “doors of graves” in order for both the dead and the living to meet and interact with each other. The Ammatoa commenced this ritual to make sure that both the dead and the living were prepared for a meeting(s).

A day after the commencement, people may come to visit the graves at anytime. Some came for *abbattasa jera* very early in the morning, around 5.30 A.M, but some people came almost at noon. People involved in the practice of

abbattasa jerak take part in two activities: cleaning up graves and making prayer-chants (*baca-baca*). Those who came very early were just cleaning up the graves of their relatives at any of the six graveyards, and not doing any *baca-baca*. They waited for the commencing of the *baca-baca* (different from the one observed the day before) to be observed by the Ammatoa at Benteng (see map of figure 1 in chapter one). There were others who came two days, three days, even a week after the initiation. Some Ammatoans explained and I observed that *abbattasa jerak* lasted two weeks, a week before and a week after *idul fithr*. The long duration was for everyone to have time to perform the ritual. Many people were so busy that they could not make it for the first week. Especially those who lived outside Kajang, like those in Makassar and in Kolaka of Southeast Sulawesi, could only make it after *idul fithr*. Some, however, stated that the sooner the better. “The first day is the most desirable because the dead desire that period the most, too,” an informant argued.

As shown in map of figure 1, there are six graveyards in the village, but the one in Benteng is the center, where a cluster of graves consisting of the grave of the first buried (not vanishing) Ammatoa, Bohe Tomme, and that of *tau annang* (the Six) is laid. Those are the first graves of the community. As previously explained, before Bohe Tomme, all the Ammatoa vanished, and so were not buried. They had no graves. Of the other graveyards two were in the northwest: at Sobbu and Balagana, one was in the southwest at Luraya, one was in the southeast at Tombolo, and another was in the northeast at Panggi. The structure of the graveyards again illustrates the cosmological principle of *mandala* (See

chapter three). People initially gathered at the cluster of the first graves to observe *baca-baca* led by the Ammatoa. The cluster is about ten meters square. Around the cluster were very colorful flowers and trees, and about five meters from the graves were two giant trees. Some Ammatoans explained that the trees were the ladders that the dead utilized to ascend to the heaven and descend to the earth. There was a big crowd circling the graves. It was very crowded but quiet. The *baca-baca* led by the Ammatoa started around 6.30 A.M. The Ammatoa performed *baca-baca* and put special materials including betel nuts and leaves, incense, and so forth at those graves. People around him quietly joined the ritual, while others were smoking.

The ritual lasted about 30 minutes and during that ritual, almost all the *sanro* I knew were there joining in the ritual. After the Ammatoa concluded the ritual, people took turns to bow to, and touch the grave of Bohe Tomme and then that of *tau annang*. That was one of the ways they communicated with and praised their ancestors or *bohe*. The graves are structured in such a way that the grave of Bohe Tomme is surrounded by six graves of *tau annang*. The people's movement around the graves was apparently in an ordered pattern: a cosmological (galactic *mandala*) pattern. Understanding that the Six represented areas of Ammatoans in the past people who joined in the movement not only reinvented and renewed their cosmological imagination but also brought their cosmological imagination or conceptualization into practice.

Visiting the graves at the center is the beginning of *abbattasa jera*. People came to this center first and then went to the graves of their families, relatives,

and friends that might be in different graveyards. After the ritual led by the Ammatoa and collectively joined by his people was finished, everyone was to find and clean up their families' graves. It was not easy to find their families' graves because they were covered by grass and were similar in appearance except for few, which were fancily built. People helped each other to find the graves they intended to visit. This was also the moment where people learnt new things. Some of them found others to be their relatives that they did not know about before. People learnt about others' descendents. It was somewhat of a surprise for some when they found a family cleaning and performing *baca-baca* at a cluster of fancy graves. They were surprised because they knew that the graves belonged to a well-known landlord of the village and noticed that the family was somewhat poor. They said, "The world is like upside down."

Again, that day was a very busy day. People came and went from one graveyard to another. They passed each other. They all had a similar question to others when passing, "Did you find your *bohe*?" So the practice of *abbattasa jera* also means to see and meet *bohe* and family. As said, during this period of time was when the dead came back to their houses/graves, so the living could see and meet them. I also observed an interesting fact as recorded in my fieldnotes:

On my way to another graveyard, I stopped by where some youth gathered on the edge of a road. One of them asked me, "Have you seen your *bohe*?" I just smiled because I thought he was just joking, and then I asked him back the same question. He replied, "No...! I actually wanted to see grandchildren of *bohe*." I didn't understand what he meant at all. I asked,

“Whose *bohe*?” “Whoever *bohe*.” He responded. Finding me curious, he explained that he actually meant to find girls (grandchildren) of whoever *bohe*. Some of the group then explained that this time was also a time to find mates. Parents might introduce their children to their relatives. The introduction might continue to talk about marriage. Some people used this moment to observe different girls or boys and would get close to them if they were interested. They might ask for a date if they wanted to pursue the relationship.

On the last day of the month, people woke up very early, about 3 A.M. in the morning, to bathe at wells. At the well I went to, a female *sanro* was serving every one. Everyone started with three dippers of water that the *sanro* had in advance performed *baca-baca* on. As Muslims generally understand that the practice of Ramadan is to cleanse both physical and spiritual aspects of a person, Ammatoans perceive the bathing ritual as a conclusion of the cleansing of both the outward and inward aspects of a person. On the day of *idul fithr*, they believe, everyone who practices Ramadan, including the bathing ritual, becomes a new person, reborn.

On the day of *idul fithr*, Muslims perform the *Id* prayer (*solat*). The *Id* prayer consists of two parts, the same as the Friday prayer. The first is *solat* consisting of two *rakaat*, and the second is a sermon, called *katobba*. The difference between the *Id* and the Friday prayers is that the two parts are reversed. The sermons of the two prayers also consist of two parts: the first *katobba* and the second *katobba*. The participants of *Id* prayer observed at a yard next to the gate

were people from both in the outer and inner territories. There were two significantly different groups of participants of the *Id* prayer. The first was those who were in line performing *solat*, and the second was those who were not. The latter was about fifteen to twenty people, and the former was hundreds. The imam of Tanah Toa led the prayer. After leading *solat*, the first part of the *Id* prayer, the imam stood up at a podium and gave his sermon, the second part of the prayer. When the imam stood up to give the sermon after the prayer, people started smoking cigarettes. The smoking of cigarettes during the sermon surprised me because I had never seen such a thing in other places for the same ritual that I have taken part in every year. The first *katobba* was conveyed mostly in Konjo and sometimes in Indonesian. After he finished his first *katobba*, the imam sat for few seconds and then stood up for his second *katobba*, which was conveyed in Arabic. Needless to say, the imam actually read his written sermon. This way of giving the *Id* sermon is not unique to Ammatoans. It is common among Muslims of South Sulawesi, or even those of Indonesia. The difference would be on the use of local languages during the first *katobba*. As soon as the imam started his second *katobba*, participants flocked to the imam, including the second group. They touched the imam and put money in his pocket. Some explained that the money they gave to the imam was gratitude for the service of the imam. Others explained that it was their *bokong* to the next life.

What has been shown so far for the practice of Ramadan is to point out that Islam is as much followed as *adat*. Ammatoans with their own ways in which they rearticulated their *adat* valued Ramadan as much as any other Muslims.

Hall's theory works very well here in explaining that the way people lived their lives is to constantly articulate their "ideology" throughout their history. Encounters between Islam and *adat* as ideological concepts have even intensified the work of articulation by Ammatoans.

The last issue to discuss in this section is how Ammatoans exercise their identity as Indonesians. As already mentioned, the New Order significantly contributed to Ammatoan identity formulation. The Reformation era has also contributed to the reproduction of Ammatoan identity. Two subjects are worth presenting for this purpose: The case of a Muslim organization called KPPSI (the Committee for Implementing Islamic Sharia) of South Sulawesi and that of NGOs that were directly in contact with Ammatoans.

As soon as Indonesia entered the Reformation Era (1998-present), Islamicization in South Sulawesi was intensified by KPPSI. This organization was established following the fall of the New Order regime. Its agenda was to promote Islamic Sharia as an alternative to the state's secular constitution (the 1945 Constitution and Pancasila). Unlike the DI/TII movement, this organization carried out its agenda through the implementation of new local regulations (*Peraturan Daerah*, PERDA). Bulukumba regency, whose territory includes Tanah Toa, was one the first local governments of South Sulawesi to adopt the agenda of KPPSI. Local regulations included that female Muslims in offices and schools were required to wear *jilbab* and every Muslim employee and student was required to learn the Quran.

In state institutions, like schools, clinics, and village offices in Tanah Toa, all females were commanded to wear *jilbab*, and they did. In schools, all female teachers and students wore *jilbab*. They were obligated. Many students, however, took off their *jilbab* soon they left school for home. In addition, to be a state employee in whatever office or institution, Muslims were required to demonstrate their abilities to read and write the Quran. Otherwise, they would not be accepted. In schools, to pass on to a higher grade, one had to memorize certain verses and chapters of the Quran. No objection from Ammatoans on the local regulations was heard. They perceived that it was just a matter of choice. “If you choose to be a state employee, you choose to follow their regulations. If you don’t like their regulations, do not go to school,” an informant pointed out.

Up to that point, the people were fine with the local regulations. When the local government made a plan to extend the reach of the local regulations to every Muslim, some Ammatoans started to worry and make comments. The plan was shared through a seminar conducted jointly by KPPSI and the local government in Bulukumba. An Ammatoan activist attended the seminar. He stood up after all the speakers finished speaking and said:

We, people of Kajang, have been Muslim for long time. We have learnt how to be Muslim. We have been living in Islamic ways. We understand and practice Islam in our own way, like any other Muslims in their own way. We honor that you preach about Islam, but if you try to standardize Islam, or you want us to follow whatever ways you have, that would be impossible.

This response probably had no impact on the local government's plan, but the plan did not succeed. People in Bulukumba and Makassar who were supportive of the local Islamic regulations commented that the spirit of Islamization in Bulukumba had decreased since 2005, after the succession of leadership in Bulukumba. The current mayor and local representatives were not interested in KPPSI's agendas. When the political leadership changed, the process of Islamization weakened. The local Islamic regulations were, however, still being followed.

The courage that the Ammatoan activist had when he stood up in the seminar was impressive, not only to others, but to himself. He said that it was the first time that he was so brave in saying such a thing in public. When asked about his courage, he talked about his involvement in NGOs. As a matter of fact, he was the local representative of the national NGO, Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara (AMAN) (I., the Alliance of Indigenous Peoples of the Indonesian Archipelago), and had been actively involved in activities of the national NGO, Aliansi Nusantara Bhinneka Tunggal Ika (ANBTI) (I., the Alliance of the Archipelago for *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*³⁸). He was also affiliated with a local NGO in Makassar, Lembaga Advokasi dan Pendidikan Anak Rakyat (LAPAR, the institute of advocacy and education of children). These NGOs were all concerned with advocacy for the rights of indigenous people. He then said, "I have to stand up for myself and for my people. I and my people have to be proud of who we are and whatever we have and others should accept us."

³⁸*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* is the national motto which means diversity in unity.

In the literature on democracy (specifically on democratic decentralization), one of the themes that emerges is the roles of external actors who can empower poor and marginal groups in society (Crook and Manor, 1998; Tendler, 1997). One of these powerful external actors is NGOs. NGOs' roles of empowering marginalized groups are described in a number of ways (Bratton, 1990; Clark, 1991; White and Runge, 1995). They are able to connect poor and marginalized people with a wider circle of allies with whom they can build a more effective political network (Johnson, 2001, p. 528). The presence of AMAN, ANBTI, and LAPAR in the Ammatoan community offered political power to Ammatoans. These NGOs not only brought indigenous issues to the national discourse, but also linked indigenous communities of Indonesian, including Ammatoans, with international organizations.

AMAN and its supporters assert cultural distinctiveness as the grounds for securing rights to territories and resources threatened by forestry, plantation and mining interests backed up by local governments, police and military intimidations. That was what LAPAR did for the Ammatoans too in responding to the rubber plantation company operating in Kajang. Attempts of NGOs to place issues of indigenous people (*masyarakat adat*) on the political agenda have been considerably successful. Issues of indigenous people such as rights to land and forest and *adat* have been a popular discourse. These topics have been popular among activists, parliamentarians, media, and government officials (Li, 2001, p. 645).

Learning from the experiences of the Americas, AMAN encouraged its members to be more politically “literate” and be effectively involved in politics (Li, 2001, p. 661). This is another way that external actors like AMAN can empower people like the Ammatoans. AMAN not only encourages its members, who are representatives of indigenous people, to be involved in politics, but also absorbs some of costs of being engaged in politics such as transportation, communication, and so forth (Johnson, 2001, p. 528). According to AMAN, the 2004 Indonesian general election and some local elections between 2004 and 2009 showed that political practices were oligarchic and too expensive. This meant that indigenous peoples would not be able to participate (AMAN, 2009, p. 4). These elections were considered oligarchic because people voted for political parties, and political parties determined their representatives on a ranking system. If for instance a party gained votes that qualified three representatives, it would determine its representatives based on the ranking system: the first, the second, and the third. A representative candidate who attracted more votes than anyone else but was ranked below third would not make it. This political rule of the 2004 election made it difficult for AMAN members to be chosen because political parties were controlled by elites.

Based on new rules for the 2009 Indonesian legislative election, in which votes were cast directly for individuals of parties’ representatives, opportunities were open for AMAN to have its members and activists in parliament (AMAN, 2009, p. 5). This does not mean that the 2009 election was not expensive, but AMAN was able to organize and manage its members, and so participate in it. In

media campaigns, for example, AMAN combined two or three pictures of its candidates in a single photograph, even though they were affiliated with different parties. I was initially confused when finding a photograph of two Ammatoan figures running for legislative offices, but they represented different political parties.

The other way that external actors can empower marginal groups, like AMAN, ANBTI and LAPAR did for the Ammatoans, is that they can encourage the people to reformulate what Samuel Popkin (1979, 243) has described as ‘new conceptions of identity and self-worth’. They can do so by encouraging poor people to engage in collective action (White and Runge, p. 1995) or by transmitting information about constitutional rights, potential allies and other political opportunities (Johnson, 2001, p. 528). In general, the programs of AMAN and ANBTI were aimed at this goal. Since 2002, Political education organized by AMAN and other organizations has inspired indigenous people to participate in politics. Hundreds of AMAN members throughout the archipelago have been successfully elected as village heads in their *adat* territories and as local representatives (AMAN, 2009, p. 5), including the current village head of Tanah Toa and the former village head who is currently the member of the local representatives council of Bulukumba.

NGOs, like government and Muslim groups, brought “things” to Ammatoans. Ammatoans have taken those “things” not for granted but as “accounts” for re-articulating their cultural values. The aforementioned Ammatoan activist was not the only one who could stand for his *adat*. There were

several others, including ones who used to think of *adat* as against Islam and the state's ideology. Knowing that there were such NGOs concerned with the existence of *adat*, some Ammatoans re-declared their loyalties to *adat*. One of them said, "To me, being Indonesian means to wear black clothes." This person was one of the people who was once embarrassed *adat*.

During this research, such individuals established a social organization whose objective was to advocate for their *adat*. They came to that idea after having a series of informal discussions among themselves, and with me. One of their concerns was that besides their thankfulness to people who paid attention to *adat*, they thought that many people were interested in their *adat*, exploited, and gained benefit from it. Researchers like me were included. They said, "They, like Pak Samsul, come and stay here, study our *adat* as long as they like, and then go. They write books about us, sell them, and get a lot of money. They become rich because of us and we remain poor because we do not know what to do with our own." When asked about their expectation from researchers, they said that they needed help so that they could benefit from their own *adat*. I first thought that they were going to take over what the government had done to *adat*: "museumizing" it for tourism.

They eventually established an organization that they named Yayasan Masyarakat Ammatoa Kajang (the foundation for the Ammatoan community of Kajang). They established it after involving as many stakeholders as they could think of. Every component of the community was probably represented. The Ammatoa, *adat* holders, the village officials, the imam, elders and influential

figures, students, activists, youth, and so forth were all involved. I was even involved not only to conceptualize but also to be part of the organization. They positioned me together with four other activists and researchers as members of the advisory board. This process showed their enthusiasm for “re-popularizing” their *adat* at least to their own people, by not degrading Islam and their nationalism.

Let us now examine Ammatoan nationalism. I choose the Festival of the Indonesian Independence Day celebrated every August 17th for this purpose. The annual festival I observed included many different public games, such as soccer, volley ball, takraw, karaoke, and some other contests. Commemoration of the Independence Day lasted a week. It involved physical and emotional competitions and tension, friendship and rivalry, support and intimidation, and so forth. Physical conflicts were not unusual, and resolutions were sometimes easy and sometimes hard. The event culminated in the Day of the Independence where almost every school kid held an Indonesian flag. Flags were also found in front of houses. When asked about the flag, some said that it was what they had done for long time in order to be a good Indonesian citizen. Putting a flag in front of their houses was how they demonstrated their nationalism. With the flag, they showed that they were Indonesian. It showed that they were in line with other Indonesians. One of them said in response, “It is how you celebrate your independence and your freedom. Independence is ordering your own life and freedom to choose what is best for you without intimidation.” To this person, the flag meant to be free of intimidation. Ammatoans have also demonstrated their enthusiasm for Indonesian nationalism. The commemoration of Independence

Day was only one example of demonstrating nationalism. Another example is their loyalty to the government. Such loyalty is even perceived as a religio-cultural norm because it is normatively suggested by their Pasang (the Pasang 27 and 27a).

To reiterate Ammatoans show their loyalty to the three elements: *adat*, Islam, and nationalism. In other words, those three “ideologies” are all powerful, as well as historical. At certain times, they were also hegemonic and challenging. The three were all dialectical both with their historical conditions and with each other. Their encounters necessitated articulation, and so were dialectical. Due to such a phenomenon Comaroffs argues ““real” beginnings and endings are never very neat. Nor is “real” history ever respectful of clean epochal breaks” (1997, p. 405). To say more, the history of the Ammatoans is not finished.

The Discourse of *Adat* and *Agama* (religion)

***Adat* and Religion in the Colonial Discourse.**

The study of *adat* has been in practice since the colonial period. It was conducted mostly to serve the colonial administration. Dutch scholars who studied and described the rules of law of Indonesia invented and introduced the word "*adatrecht*" (*adat* law). *Adat* was then initially studied as a subject of law. A historian of colonial Indonesia, C. Fasseur (2007) argues that the discovery of *adat* started after 1880s. According to the *adat* expert Jan Prins, the term did not come into use until about 1900 (Prins, 1951, p. 283). The word *adat* was however adopted into Dutch legal language as *adatrecht* for the first time in 1910, and included in Dutch dictionaries in 1914 (Fasseur, 2007, p. 52). It was Christiaan

Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) who popularized it through his work with the Achenese (1909, originally in 1893), and this was then followed and extensively developed by other Dutch legal scholars, mainly by van Vollenhoven after his appointment to the Leiden chair of *adat* law of the Netherlands Indies in 1901. The works of Snouck Hurgronje, van Vollenhoven, and their followers were admittedly symptomatic of the discovery, acknowledgment, and appreciation of native customary law in Indonesia. Quoting F.D.E. van Ossenbruggen (1976, p. 59), one of van Vollenhoven's admirers, Fasseur (2007, p. 51) observed that van Vollenhoven was considered to be the man who elevated *adat* law to a science. In his introduction to the English version of van Vollenhoven's work, Holleman quoting van Vollenhoven observes that the objective of the *adatrecht* project was to create good government and a good administration of justice. For van Vollenhoven, the only way to achieve the objectives was through knowledge of indigenous law and indigenous conceptions (Holleman, 1981, p. xxxvi).

The study and exaltation of *adat* law began in the early twentieth century when the colonial administrators and Dutch legal scholars came into a debate about policy reform in regard to the colonial subjects. Those scholars advocated that previous policies, which were mainly for colonial exploitation, should be reformed in order to carry moral responsibility towards the governing of colonial subjects. Scholars and liberal officials proposed and won that the colonial administration held pluralistic legal system. The system acknowledged and legitimated natives' laws for the natives, in addition to the Dutch law for Europeans. To govern colonial subjects effectively, the proponents of legal

pluralism argued, the administration ought to institutionalize the laws of the natives that they had been living with. For the colonial interests, it would be unfair and contra-productive if European law was to be imposed on the natives. More importantly, a pluralistic legal system was necessary for a stable relationship between the colonizer and the colonized. The pluralists' idea seemed to be morally appealing for they carried responsibility for the well-being of the colonial subjects. Both historians of law in Indonesian, Peter Burns (1989, p. 4; 2007, p. 69) and Daniel S. Lev (1985, p. 64) however argue that the colonial construction of the discourse of *adat* law was without doubt in the colonial interests; it was for the effectiveness of the colonial administration. As a result, by the time the colonial administrators and Dutch scholars were involved in the business of *adat* law, many traditional centers of power such as courts of kings and sultans and palaces of port-city princes had ceased to function as seats of government and places of rule-enforcement (Burns, 1989, p. 94).

In addition to the debate on legal pluralism, the colonial administrators were engaged in what was called Ethical Policy. The Dutch legal scholars also advocated *adat* law be included as the content in the colonial's Ethical Policy. The Ethical Policy, officially inaugurated in 1901, highlighted the need to make native welfare the main concern. For the colonial administration, the Ethical Policy was a reform of previous policies that were mainly oriented toward colonial exploitation (Benda, 1958, p. 345). They argued for the need to show moral responsibility towards the material and spiritual welfare of the colonial subjects. Any communities of Indonesia, granted by Ethical Policy, could apply

their own (*adat*) laws if they had them, as long as they were not in conflict with the principles of equity and justice fundamental to colonial law (see Fasseur, 2007, p. 50). Being conditioned that way, the anthropologist Albert Schrauwens (2000, p. 45) then found the Ethical Policy to be another form of exploitation.

Along with Schrauwens, historian of colonial Indonesia, Harry Benda (1958, p. 344) observes that behind the colonial rhetoric of admitting and appreciating the natives' *adat* law was the enduring Dutch desire to stabilize the administration and to be free from rebellions by the natives. Responding to the colonial government's confusion and ineffective strategies of dealing with sporadic revolts by Muslim militants, Hurgronje, an advisor to the colonial administration in native affairs, especially Islam, insisted that the administration apply the twin policies of tolerance and vigilance. Having studied Islam in Mecca and observed the Achenese religious practices, Hurgronje proposed that Muslims should not be strictly limited from practicing their religion. For Hurgronje, Muslims should have the freedom to practice their religion, including performing Hajj (pilgrimage) to Mecca. He felt the colonial government should even appreciate and support them in their practice. That was one side of Hurgronje's tolerance proposal. Along with the tolerant treatment, controls on Muslims' religious practices, including their education, should however take place (Noer, 1973). Hurgronje furthermore proposed that the colonial administration should provide an alternative to Muslim programs, especially education.

Hurgronje's proposal was well accepted, but the administrators were aware that they lacked resources. According to Schrauwens, lacking human

resources, the colonial administration was forced to cooperate with Christian missionaries to implement education and health programs (2000, p. 42). In light of this fact, Deliar Noer (1973) argues that Christianization, despite its critics in the Dutch parliament, had been part of the colonial agenda. In addition to the tolerant approach stemming from Hurgronje's proposal, restriction on Muslim activities occurred at the same time. Muslim religiosity could not enter into the political arena. This was the other side, the vigilance, of Hurgronje's proposal. The government prohibited Muslims from being involved in politics. To restore colonial authority following the revolts, military force was necessary. Hurgronje, moreover, added that the twin policies should go hand in hand with the colonial support for and encouragement of *adat* chiefs and rulers of Outer Islands and traditional aristocracies in Java. He saw these as the social leaders least under the influence of Muslim propagation (Benda, 1958, p. 343). It was believed that the empowerment of *adat* institutions would prevent the spread of Islam (Lev, 1985, p. 66). Van Vollenhoven advocated, "The destruction of adat law will not pave the way for our codified law, but for social chaos and Islam." This support of local institutions, nonetheless, was only a short term goal. Van Vollenhoven observed that *adat* institutions were locally focused and so had no future of development. The long term target was to westernize Indonesians (Holleman, 1981, p. 122).

Hurgronje's twin policy proposal was obviously based on his study of the Achehnese (1906). He found that despite their conversion to Islam, the Achehnese strongly held their customary laws (*adat* law). He illustrates the fact that the

Achehnese military leaders were all *adat*-chiefs, and they were without any religious affiliation (Hurgronje, 1906, p. 85). For Hurgronje, empowering *adat* institutions would potentially be effective in limiting the Islamic movement. In his study, Hurgronje observes that Islam as religious law and *adat* or customs with legal consequences for which he coined the term *adatrecht* (*adat* law) were two distinct elements that compete to influence one another. What he observes seems to be problematic because he was informed by the Achehnese proverb that says, “*Hukum* (I., Islamic law) and *adat* are inseparable, even as God's essence and his attributes” (i. e. “*hukum* and *adat* are like the pupil and the white of the eyes; the *hukum* is Allah's *hukum* and the *adat* Allah's *adat*”) (Hurgronje, 1906, p. 72). This information, however, did not prevent him from looking at Islam as religious practice and *adat* as non-religious one.

Hurgronje learnt that in spite of being Muslim, Indonesian Muslims continued to be guided by their *adat*. Throughout the life of the Achehnese, Hurgronje argues, contacts between Islam and *adat* law were both in conflicts and agreement, adjustments and manipulations, resistances and adoptions. Neither Islam nor *adat* were stationary. They were contingent, and often times dependent on individuals’ pragmatism. Hurgronje again observes that Islam and *adat* are two separate powers, and that one could dominate over the other depending on the context (Hurgronje, 1906, p. 10-4, 95, 153, 344). Again, despite his observation on dialectical interactions between Islam and *adat*, Hurgronje contends that *adat* is about law and not religion.

Furthermore, the idea that *adat* is identical with law was strongly developed by van Vollenhoven. Early in his career Van Vollenhoven distinguished between *adatrecht* and *adat* (Josselin de Jong, 1948, p. 5), but Burns argues that in his later and better known work, the two concepts became interchangeable meanings for law (Burns, 2007, p. 70). For Van Vollenhoven, *adatrecht* are uncoded rules of conduct that have legal consequences (Hollamen, 1981, p. 5). He explains that rules of conduct are *adat* because they are *uncodified*, and they are laws because they carry sanctions (Hollamen, 1981, p. 7). In addition to his identification of *adat* with law, Van Vollenhoven, along with Hurgronje, defined *adat* as distinct from religion. He argued that in speaking of *adat*, the Indonesian language distinguishes those rooted in old laws of land as *adat* and religious laws as *agama* (Hollamen, 1981, p. 4).

The separation of *adat* and *agama* by the colonial administration can also be examined through the colonial policy of direct and indirect rule. Direct rule was directed at Muslims, whose activities had to be reported to the colonial administration, while indirect rule was aimed at aristocrats in Java and *adat* chiefs outside Java. To strengthen the effectiveness of the indirect rule, the colonial administration requested *adat* be codified. *Adat* was substantively defined as a category that could be administered as law. This substantive definition determined what department was in charge of administering *adat*. Van Vollenhoven's collection of *adat* contributed to the colonial administration, and so severed *adat* from religion. At the same time, religion was defined in a form that have a universal genus, and the definition of religion was for the colonial administration

as well. Being substantively defined and separately administered by the colonial administration, *adat* and *agama* had become two distinctive things (Schrauwers, 2000, p. 43).

Burns (1989, p. 109) thus correctly observes that the study of *adat* by Dutch scholars transformed customs into law. Or, it reduced customs to a meaning that comprised legal issues only. Jan Prins (1951, p. 284) elaborates that *adat*, which is an Arabic word meaning habit, has for centuries been a popular term in many languages of Indonesia and, as used, *adat* is about rule, custom, usage, and practice. Personal habits of individuals are also called *adat* for the most part. In Prins' explanation, *adat* is also about religious ideas and practices. What Dutch scholars defined as *adat* law is thus only a small part of the original complex understanding of *adat* (Prins, 1951, p. 284). Moreover, the legal historian of Indonesia, M.A. Jaspan (1965, p. 252-3) believes that before Van Vollenhoven and his companions began codifying what to Western jurists appeared to be the judicial aspects of native custom, *adat* law was not a separate and independent entity but was in most cases intertwined with the history, mythology, and institutional characters of ethnic or cultural units (quoted in Hollamen, 1981, p. lii). Burns even argues that Vollenhoven's identification of *adat*, the conventions of Indonesian community life, with *recht*, a word conventionally translated into English as law, was a Dutch invention replete with colonial interest and colonial sterility (Burns, 2007, p. 69).

As mentioned, Schrauwers (2000, p. 54) observes that to implement the Ethical Policy, the colonial administration worked together with missionaries,

despite their conflicting interests. The study of *adat* was then also the concern of missionaries. Schrauwens observes that it was Kruyt and Adriani who took on the missionary role of studying *adat*. Unlike colonial interests, mission interests of studying *adat* were to transform Indonesians from their inclination to *adat* to that of Christianity. Defining *adat* as a secular entity was necessary for missionaries to intervene and Christianize *adat*. Kruyt actually admitted that *adat* had religious elements separable from *adat* law. Being situated in an intellectual debate of the nineteenth century regarding the origin of religion, Kruyt defined the religious elements of *adat* as “animism,” a belief in soul. To “animists” like Torajanese, Kruyt promoted the conversion to Christianity as a form of evolutionary advancement (Schrauwens, 2000, p. 56). Kruyt popularized Tylor’s influential theory of “animism” in Indonesian studies. This influential theory is continually made use of by scholars, in addition to the state and public, to theoretically categorize *adat* practices such as those of Ammatoans as “animistic.”

It is now clear that the colonial discourse on *adat* suggests two points. First, *adat* is about law. It is a set of rules of conduct that have legal consequences. This colonial construction reduces the extensive meaning of *adat* by identifying it with legal systems, and non-religious. Second, the colonial administration was the first to distinguish *agama* (Islam and Christianity) from *adat*, pre-Islamic and pre-Christian practices. This distinction paved the way for post-colonial regimes understanding *adat* as a generic category to account for the practices of indigenous peoples of Indonesia lacking in religion.

Adat and Religion in the Post-Colonial Periods.

As a discourse, the two terms, *agama* (religion) and *adat* have become key terms in discussing both (imported) transnational religions and the indigenous ones of Indonesia. The colonial discourse as just described has persisted in the post-colonial period, especially when the Indonesian state decided what to recognize as official religions, and has lasted as political discourse up to the present time. Those terms are both foreign words: *agama* is Sanskrit and *adat* is an Arabic word. As foreign words, their Indonesian usages are not solely a linguistic but rather very much a political issue.

The word *agama* as a Sanskrit word has two meanings: “First, it refers to a traditional precept, doctrine, a body of precepts, collection of such doctrines. Second, it is a name given to the scriptures associated with the sectarian worship of Shiva, Sakti, and Vishnu” (Atkinson, 1983, p. 686). The Indonesian scholar, As’ad el Hafidy (1982, p. 87) defines *agama* as a set of beliefs, regulations, lessons and rituals that establish a relationship between human beings and God, the ultimate reality. Human beings in essence are in a relationship with God, and *agama* teaches human beings how to relate with God. The emphasis of this definition is on the belief in God. It is the most fundamental element of *agama* and without it *agama* does not exist. This definition has been the standard definition used by the Indonesian government to qualify which religions may be official. For the government, *agama* is given by God to humans through His prophets. It encompasses commandments, prohibitions, and guidelines for the welfare of all human beings both for worldly affairs and eschatological ones (el

Hafidy, 1982, p. 88). Furthermore, the government presumes *agama* to be monotheistic, to possess a written scripture, and to transcend ethnic boundaries. All these characteristics are necessary in order to be understood as *agama* (Atkinson, 1983, p. 686). This definition is obviously charged with Islamic and Christian views (Picard, 2011, p. 5). Being so, Islam and Christianity (Protestantism and Catholicism) were automatically admitted as official religions. Balinese Hindus had a difficult time in advocating that their religion be recognized as one of the official religions because Hinduism was assumed to be a polytheistic religion. The state did not approve Balinese Hinduism as an official religion until in 1962 (Hefner, 1985, p. 248). Buddhism, which is characteristically atheistic, has also undergone “rationalization” (in a Weberian sense) to get recognition from the state. Commonly speaking, both Balinese Hinduism and Indonesian Buddhism have “rationalized” their doctrines in order to comply with the requirement of monotheism (Howell, 2005; Suryadinata, 1998).

Adat discursively speaking is a set of social, political, and cultural structures separate from religion. Every Indonesian community or ethnic group has its own *adat* along side its religion: Javanese Muslims have their Javanese *adat*, Minahasan Christians have their Minahasan *adat*, Balinese Hindus have their Balinese *adat*, and so forth. Buginese Muslims, Christians, Hindus, and Buddhists share Buginese *adat*. As a discourse, *adat* and *agama* are two distinctive things, but not mutually exclusive. Any practice of *adat* should, nonetheless, cease when it contradicts religion. *Adat* in this sense is not binding.

Another understanding of *adat* is what indigenous people of Indonesia “preserve.” It includes legal conducts (*adat law*), distinct from the state’s laws, traditional (inherited through generations) ways of living, practices, and rituals. *Adat*, in this sense, is usually called “tribal,” “traditional,” or “primitive” religion in western academia (Atkinson, 1987). If *adat* in the first sense is not binding, according to the second definition, it is.

Adat in the second sense is what I refer in this dissertation as indigenous religion. It is what Robert Hefner (1985) refers to as the tradition of the Tengger community that includes three different ritual practices: the annual *kasada* festival at Mt. Bromo, *slametan*, and *entas-entas* purification. In discussing Tengger tradition or *adat*, Hefner presents Tengger cosmology and sets of rituals. Although Tengger, as Hefner notes, identify themselves as Javanese people, and this may imply that Tengger and other Javanese people share common Javanese culture (or *adat*), Hefner shows that Tengger *adat* or tradition is distinctive from other Javanese *adat* (Hefner, 1985, p. 6). He emphasizes that Tengger is the only Javanese community to have preserved non-Islamic, regional based traditions (Hefner, 1985:7). Similarly, Kenneth George (1996) uses the term *adat* as Hefner does in discussing *adat mappurondo* of Mambi community of Sulawesi. He, for instance, states that *adat mappurondo* is not specific to a single ethnic group but rather a distinct religious minority with ideological focus and identity as well as a set of claims about headwater religious tradition (George, 1996, p. 24). Gregory Forth (1998), along these lines, does not elaborate on the distinction of *agama* and *adat*, but his discussion about the religion of the Nage community on Flores in

eastern Indonesia, explicitly implies the same understanding of *adat* as Hefner and George. He, for example, writes that because of the Nage's encounter with Catholicism and the government's political pressure to have a religion, Nage regularly proclaim their ritual and cosmology as *adat* (custom) and not *agama* (religion) (1998, p. 19).

If the Nage's proclamation of their religious practices as *adat* and not *agama* illustrates a common phenomenon of indigenous peoples in Indonesia, it is not the case with Kayan of Malaysia who have undergone no politicization of religion (Rousseau, 1998). Jerome Rousseau notices that Kayan do not have a word for religion, but *adat* is an approximation. In Kayan thought, as Rousseau explains it, *adat* covers both religious rituals and non-religious forms of socio-culturally regulated behaviors (1998, p. 6). *Adat* has broader scope than *agama* does in Kayan thought. Rousseau furthermore explains that the contrast between *agama* and *adat* in Kayan thought does not exist (1998, p. 7). This comparative study shows that the discourse of *agama* and *adat* is mainly driven by political powers. As previously shown, it was true during the colonial period. As shall be shown, it is even more true during different regimes of the post-colonial period, and even up to the present time.

There are four interrelated fundamental issues for examining post-colonial policies on religion: the establishment of Religious Affairs Department, official and non-official religions, religious education, and religious proselytization. Although this section aims to specifically examine the state's policies on indigenous religions or policies that directly or indirectly affect indigenous

religions of Indonesia, these four fundamental issues are also the crucial points to discuss.

The establishment of Religious Affairs Department in 1946 was initially a controversial issue during Sukarno's Old Order (1945-1965). Deliar Noer (1973) observes that the department was a "concession" to Muslims, whose full support of the new state was essential, following the refusal of the Jakarta Charter.³⁹ It was a compromise between those who insisted on an Islamic state and those who insisted on a secular state. Muslims, who wanted to establish an Indonesian Islamic state, were nonetheless not satisfied at all because they saw the establishment of the department as a hindrance for their political agenda. Members of Muhammadiyah wanted to cleanse the Department in order to put an end to existing corruption, and Christians saw it as an infringement of the principle of separation between state and religion (Church). Christians additionally argued that if religious affairs must be administered by the state, the Minister of Justice should be able to handle them (Waardenburg, 1984, p. 43).

Regardless of the controversy, the Department was established on January 3rd 1946. In the government's eyes, the existence of Department is important in managing religious affairs, because as the Constitution declares, Indonesia is a God-believing country. In order to maintain social and political stability the government must be engaged in dealing with religious tension among different

³⁹It was the Indonesian Constitution preceding Pancasila. It was signed by founding fathers in June 1945 and then replaced with Pancasila in August 1945. The first article of The Jakarta Charter stated: belief in God, with the obligation for Muslims to abide by the Islamic laws. This article was changed and stated: belief in God. The change is what is now in Pancasila, the current state constitution and ideology.

religious followers, who have different political interests, including those struggling to establish an Islamic state. Through the department, the government can accommodate and at the same time control religious followers who have certain political agendas.

The mission of the department is to implement the government's programs related to religious affairs. There are three functions, missions or primary aims of the department. The first is to serve religious followers by providing religious facilities such as schools and places of worship, the second is to develop religious education, and the third is to manage religious harmony among different followers (Ismail, 2002, p. 191). In working on these goals the government decided on standardizing religion as the criteria for which religions it should serve. The definition works not only for what constitutes a religion, but also what is a "true" religion: the "true" Islam, "true" Christianity, "true" Hinduism and Buddhism.

In 1952, the Department of Religious Affairs formulated a definition of religion in order for the state to justify those religions that should be under administration or be understood to be official religions. The definition necessitated a religion to have a concept of one God, have a holy book, have a prophet, and be transnational (Sihombing, 2008). As said, Islam and Christianity were the main considerations in formulating the definition, and so they directly became the state's official religions. Buddhism and Hinduism had to undergo "rationalization" (Geertz, 1973:170-190) to fulfill the state's definition.

Another consideration in accepting a religion as official is if it complies with the Indonesian state goals of progress, education, cosmopolitanism,

sophistication, and modernization. Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Hinduism, and Buddhism were accepted as the official religions. The case of Confucianism confuses the state. Confucianism was officially acknowledged during the Sukarno's regime, and banned in the New Order era (1965-1998). Since the regime of Abdurrahman Wahid (1999-2001), Confucianism has been re-admitted. The official acknowledgement of Confucianism was not based on what applies to other official religions, but rather to apply non-discriminatory treatment toward Indonesians of Chinese descent. Judaism as one of the world religions has not been officially accepted because the Jewish community present in Surabaya, east Java is small and not politically significant. As a matter of fact, they have identified themselves as Muslims. Religious practices of indigenous groups existing throughout the archipelago are consequently not admitted as official religions because their religious practices do not qualify for the standard definition of *agama*. They have no concept of prophecy, no scripture, and are locally affiliated. Also, understanding indigenous people to be illiterate, backward, traditional, animist, and superstitious, and not speaking Indonesian well, the state contended that indigenous peoples were anti-nationalism (Kartapraja, 1985, p. 71).

Not qualifying for the standard definition of *agama* means lacking religion, and lacking religion necessitates conversion to one of the official religions (Atkinson, 1983, p. 687). Since the establishment of official religions, religion has been a fundamental factor in defining Indonesian citizenship. Being religious (converting to one of the official religions) is considered a sign of

progress or modernity. As said before, this was what Christian missionaries during the colonial period had advocated. Conversion was a way of modernizing the people. Indigenous people of Indonesia who have their own religious systems which are categorized as *adat* have become targets of missionization, mainly by Muslims and Christians but also by Hindus as well since the colonial period (See Howell, 1982, p. 513).

In 1953, the ministry of religion determined that there were hundreds of religion-like and new religious movements developing in Indonesia. Those included *Aliran Kepercayaan/Kebatinan* (I., schools of belief and asceticism) and sects of Islam and Christianity. The ministry observed that those movements would transform into religions if they were not controlled, and this, they assumed, would create chaos in society. This argument legitimated the establishment of *Pengawasan Aliran Kepercayaan di Masyarakat* (PAKEM) (I., the monitoring of schools of belief in society) by the ministry. The function of PAKEM was of course to monitor and control activities of those movements, and if they found sects of Islam or Christianity deviating from the mainstream and schools of belief to be transforming into a religion, those movements would be banned.

In 1961, the state produced regulation No.15/1961 on Basic Provisions of the Attorney of the Republic of Indonesia. Article 2, verse 3 of the regulation obligates the institution to monitor schools of belief that might endanger the revolutionary state (Sihombing, 2008, p. 26). With this article, PAKEM was then pulled under the administration of the Indonesian General Attorney. Being under this institution, PAKEM's legal status became stronger. Although it could only

offer recommendation (not penalty), its recommendations were legally binding. All PAKEM's recommendations were effectively responded to. Jehovah's Witness and some schools of belief in West Java were banned by the attorney general soon after PAKEM recommended it.

To make controls on religion more effective, the state produced regulation Law Number 1/PNPS/1965 concerning the prevention of religious abuse and/or defaming. Not until this regulation was produced, were official religions effectively administered by the state. This is the regulation that clearly states the six official religions. This was to respond the increased growth of schools of belief, and sects of official religions (Sihombing, 2008, p. 28). This regulation implies that the six official religions are the standards and the mainstream religions. Any interpretation that deviates the mainstream and any groups that declare to be members of a religion different from any of those six would be considered to be breaking the law. This regulation was recently brought to the Supreme Court for judicial review, but the review was refuted. Arguments provided for the refusal were again fears of new religious movements endangering political stability and producing chaos among the people.

The above description is a picture of Sukarno's regime on religious policy. Schools of belief that included *adat* practices were somehow admitted, but only as cultural practices lacking in religion. The state policy at this time strongly shaped the discourse on *adat* and religion, which was similar to the colonial discourse. The colonial and Sukarno policies on religion (and *adat*) were strengthened during the longest regime, Suharto's New Order. PAKEM continued to operate

during this period, and its power to monitor and control people's activities grew stronger.

Another historical fact in regard to the discourse during the New Order was that religious proselytization gained political support. After the rebellion of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), the state (the New Order) sought to eliminate the party through propaganda. Its agenda was to expunge communism from the country. In doing so, the state imposed regulations that people affiliate themselves with one of the country's official religions, and a failure to affiliate with one of the official religions meant that one would be considered as a communist supporter. The government utilized religion as a counter ideology to communism. The government put forward the idea that communism is atheistic and thus ideologically against the first principle of Pancasila, the state ideology. People who strongly held to their *adat* were specifically suspected of having Communist affiliations. To escape the state cleansing, these people had to declare their allegiance to one of the official religions. They had to (and still so) declare their religious affiliations on their ID. cards. Their *adat* was not good enough to count for being religious.

The Discourse of *Adat* in the Reformation Era.

To account for the discourse of *adat* during the Reformation era, we should take note of the roles of NGOs. The NGOs most relevant were described in the last section: AMAN, ANBTI, and LAPAR. AMAN, which held its first inaugural congress in Jakarta, 5-12 March 1999, is probably the national NGO most responsible for bringing *adat* into a new discourse after the fall of Suharto's

regime. At its first congress, AMAN declared “If the state does not acknowledge us, we will not acknowledge the state.” This declaration signified AMAN’s main struggle for acknowledgment of the sovereign existence of its members (indigenous peoples) from the new regime of Indonesian state. They argued that for long time the state, especially the New Order, had ignored indigenous peoples. AMAN considers its members indigenous people and its struggles for acknowledgment of existence from the state are sources, among others, for a new discourse of *adat*. *Adat* in this new discourse is political, economic, and socio-cultural. It is in such a discourse that AMAN has pushed for re-installation and recognition of *adat* communities or indigenous people from the state and the public.

In defining its members, for whom it would advocate, AMAN used the term *masyarakat adat* in referring to ‘communities which have ancestral lands in certain geographic locations and their own value systems, ideologies, economies, politics, cultures and societies in their respective homelands (Li, 2007, p. 647). Prior to AMAN’s usage of the term *masyarakat adat*, Wahana Lingkungan Hidup (WALHI) (I., the Indonesian Forum for the Environment), another influential NGO on the subject, popularized the phrase in 1993. During this year, the NGO holding its meeting in Toraja of South Sulawesi invented the term *masyarakat adat* as its target for advocacy. Its participants defined *masyarakat adat* as “a group that possesses historical ties to a specific geographical area, as well as a distinct system of values, ideology, politics, economy, culture and territory” (Sangaji, 2007, p. 329). Arianto Sangaji, a member of AMAN, labels the

definition as “the Torajan definition.” Sangaji observes that the term chosen by WALHI was an alternative to the government’s term *masyarakat terasing* (estranged communities). The latter is described by the government as groups which are geographically isolated from, socio-culturally separated from, and/or comparatively underdeveloped with respect to, the rest of Indonesian society (Sangaji, 2007, p. 329).

The definition of *masyarakat adat* given by the two NGOs obviously corresponds to the International Labour Organization (ILO) convention 169 on “indigenous and tribal populations.” As a matter of fact, AMAN translated *masyarakat adat* as indigenous people for international audiences. Translating *masyarakat adat* as indigenous people, AMAN has put itself in line with other indigenous movements around the world under the recognition of ILO. This international alignment offers AMAN discursive and material resources for mobilizing *masyarakat adat* in Indonesia. AMAN’s campaign for *masyarakat adat*, which is similar to that of indigenous people around the world, was that those communities have encountered unjust treatment from the state and other external forces. Their rights to land and territory has been ignored and usurped. AMAN’s main demand was that the state had to reassert the communities’ rights. The rights include access to land, territory, and other resources that they had depended on and the support of customary institutions in which they have grounded their social, cultural, and political life. Those rights have all been abrogated by the state through legal instruments such as the Basic Forest Law of 1967 and the Village Government Law of 1979. As part of the international

movements, AMAN's congresses were supported by international donors who uphold the ILO convention (Li, 2007, p. 658). Through this alignment, *masyarakat adat* gained political recognition from both national and international powers. In addition, they were freed from the stigma of being primitive (Li, 2007, p. 661).

The term *masyarakat adat* has been controversial since it was first coined, just like the term indigenous everywhere. AMAN had difficulties to clearly identify what communities to include or exclude in its membership. Arianto Sangaji (2007) finds the term to be problematic because the term *masyarakat adat*, when defined, ignores the dynamic historical developments that communities under discussion have undergone. More crucially, the definition seemingly intended to stress the exclusivity of and to reassert the feudalist characters of customary communities (Sangaji, 2007, p. 321). Instead of strictly defining it that way, Sangaji insisted that any category should be inclusive for alliances. He then provides cases from Central Sulawesi where members of *masyarakat adat* included not only those originally from the area but also those migrants from other regions such as the Buginese (Sangaji, 2007). In its later development, AMAN increasingly blurred its boundaries to include more alliances. It even did not clearly distinguish between *rakyat* (which refers to "the people" without discriminatory distinction) and *masyarakat adat*. Both groups are welcomed to be part of AMAN (Li, 2007, p. 648).

AMAN's second congress reflected this transformation. If the first congress focused on the insistence for recognition of *masyarakat adat*, the second

focused on gaining respect and legal protection for the rights of *masyarakat adat* (Acciaioli, 2007, p. 295). Objectives set at the second congress were to accelerate the movement, to formulate negotiations with national political interests, to consolidate *masyarakat adat* as part of civil society being pro-active in law enforcement, democratization, and natural conservation, establish a position of *masyarakat adat* in relation to the state that would guarantee their welfare and sovereignty toward their political, economic, socio-cultural, and religious aspects, and align with pro-democracy and human rights organizations at the national and international level to raise their aspiration (Acciaioli, 2007, p. 295-6).

These movements led by AMAN and other pro-democracy and human rights NGOs in Indonesia, along with significant changes of the state's policies during the Reformasi era, have paved the way for the construction of a new discourse of *adat*. The policy in question is based on Law 22/1999 on local autonomy and Law 25/1999 on financial balance between the local and the central government. In 2004, those laws were respectively replaced with Law 32/2004 and Law 33/2004. These policies of decentralization and regional autonomy offer spaces for local minorities, including *masyarakat adat* to take part in the democratization processes. Although the policy does not always lead to success in benefiting local minorities (Duncan, 2007, p. 714), decentralization and regional autonomy policies had offered chances for *masyarakat adat* to reinstate *adat* as an alternative source of meaning and legitimacy for local institutions (McCarthy, 2005, p. 57).

It is not an exaggeration to say that the era of Reformasi has also been the era of an *adat* revival; a revival that pushes *adat* into public discourse. The book, “The Revival of Tradition in Indonesian Politics...” edited by Jamie S. Davidson and David Henley reflects the phenomena. In their introduction, Davidson & Henley (2007, p. 3) describe the levels of meanings in the contemporary use of the term *adat*. The concrete meaning of *adat* refers to particular time-honored practices and institutions that communities inherit from their ancestors. Those practices and institutions are seen to be continuingly relevant to current political situations. The next is that *adat* is understood as a complex blend of rights and obligations which essentially ties together three things: history, land, and law. The laws and rights over lands are historical inheritance. The important domain of law is the control over land, and the historical control of land is the source of land rights (Davidson & Henley, 2007, p. 3; see also Bowen, 2003, p. 63). The other meaning of *adat* in contemporary use is that it implies a set of ideas or assumptions of an ideal society associated with the past. In this sense, *adat* implies authenticity, community, harmony, order, and justice. These are what movements of *masyarakat adat* have invoked in their campaigns for recognition, respect, protection, right to and control of resources, and so forth (Davidson & Henley, 2007, p. 3-4).

Furthermore, Maribeth Erb (2007), a sociologist working with the Manggarai on Flores, identifies three types of *adat* revival. First is what she calls museumization. Museumization, Erb explains, represents *adat* as “culture as art.” Material cultures are sorted for display, especially for tourism and important

occasions (2007, p. 248). Erb observes that *adat* as a museum display emerged in the late 1980s and early 1990s with a great number of tourist visit to Manggarai. This was not coincidentally aligned with the state's tourist programs of the time. That period was the historical mark of tourist development in Indonesia. To increase tourism, the state encouraged the people to revive *adat*. As highlighted in New Order's discourse, *adat* discursively was no more than a cultural object for display. For display, *adat* needs to catch up with 'modern' characters (be modernized) for broader tourist attraction. Also, it cannot be against *agama*, or leading to a new *agama*.

Adat as a cultural art for display continues to exist in the Reformasi era. After the fall of Suharto, Ammatoans, as already explained, were invited by both the central government and NGOs to go to Jakarta, Jogjakarta, Bali and other places to display their cultural arts/artifacts. Through this type of *adat* revival, Ammatoans had been involved in many cultural festivals. In February 2009, Ammatoans, together with other *masyarakat adat* of South Sulawesi, took part in the Cap Go Meh Carnival of The Chinese New Year 2009 in Makassar. About forty Ammatoans were involved, and they wore their traditional clothes at the Carnival. This performance grabbed other people's attention for they walked with bare feet on asphalted roads for hours (Tribun-Timur, 2009, February 9).

This type of *adat* revival seems to offer advantages as well as disadvantages to *masyarakat adat*. This is at least true in the case of Ammatoans. Some Ammatoans were proud of their involvement in the cultural festivals. They were able to travel to Java and other islands, and even abroad for free. They

visited major cities and stayed at hotels. They gained experience. Some kept asking about their turn to participate in such events. Some others, who had been involved in such activities many times said, “We’re already bored with such a thing.” Some of them shared, “We’re invited to take part in festivals and show what we have, but we didn’t know what they were for because we’re not informed.” Some even complained, “We knew that they (event organizers) benefitted from the occasion, and we got nothing. It was even disadvantageous for us because we had to leave our work at home for those events, and returned home and brought nothing.”

The second type of *adat* revival is the revival of rituals or religious ceremonies. Erb (2007, p. 248) argues that this type is partially for display, partially to emphasize a unique, modern, regional or cultural identity, and also partially because of issues of belief. During missionization, *adat* was often forbidden in Flores. Erb found that the situation has changed in Manggarai. *Adat* is being revived. The religious kind of *adat* revival receives momentum from the notion of *reformasi* (reform), which refers not only to political reformation but also religious reformation: the old perceptions and practices are being reformed. In the Reformation era, the people of Manggarai both in village and in cities have come to revitalize blood sacrifices, which in many areas of Manggarai disappeared during the New Order. The reappearance of blood sacrifice is perceived to be a form of religious reform. The practice of blood sacrifice is now easy to find, and even marked with the attendance of priests (Erb, 2007, p. 248).

Religious forms of *adat* revival in Manggarai, Flores as observed by Erb is comparable with the case of Ammatoans. Some Ammatoans once disassociated with their *adat*. One informant shared that he left *adat* behind because he perceived *adat* to be against Islam. He felt that *adat* was not only irreligious, but even heretical. The informant even encouraged his fellow Ammatoans to replace *adat* with (the orthodox) Islam. The informant then thanked the elders and other Ammatoans who remained loyal to *adat*, and because of them he returned to his former understanding that *adat* is not at odds with Islam. Instead he sees that *adat* itself is fully religious. He proclaimed, “I regret that I considered what my fellow Ammatoans have practiced to be irreligious. For that, I always make the effort to attend all rituals.”

The last type of *adat* revival described by Erb involves the institutionalization of *adat*. This type is mostly concerned with political authority and control over land (2007, p. 248). This revival became momentous following the implementation of the new regional autonomy laws in 2001. This type is probably the most characterized of *adat* revival in the Reformasi era. *Masyarakat adat*, supervised by NGOs, have insisted on reinventing and reviving their autonomous *adat* institutions along with their territories and lands.

As recognized by Erb, those three types of *adat* revival overlap. In cultural displays, religious aspects might revive. Kathleen Adams (2006) makes the case of Toraja clear in this sense. In re-formulating their identity, the Torajanese have articulated three different sources: derived from indigenous tradition, drawn from Christianity, and crafted from their engagement with the national and

international worlds, which are brought to them through tourism (2006, p. 8). These three elements are all reflected in their cultural objects like houses and sculptures. For Torajanese, cultural objects are arenas for assertion, articulation, and renegotiation of a variety of identities and relationships that include among them Torajanese, Buginese, Makassarese, tourists, artists, politicians, Indonesian villagers, and many others (Adams, 2006, p. 191). The assertion, articulation and navigation of these relationships include their religious ideas and practices. Along with Torajanese, in re-formulating their identity, Ammatoans, as explained above, have articulated three different sources: indigenous religion, Islam, and nationality.

In conclusion, I have argued that a series of encounters between Ammatoans, other Muslims groups, and the state illustrate a set of dialectical interactions. Those involved in these encounters have given "lessons" as significant as they those they have taken from their counterparts. Ammatoans, being a religious and cultural minority have influenced, and been influenced by, outsiders. They have actively articulated their indigenous religion with Islam, and modernity. Thus even though they profess to be mainstream Muslims and have aligned themselves with the state's nationalist and modernist ideals, they remain faithful to their indigenous religion.

Chapter 7

CONCLUSION

The discourse of *adat* and *agama* discussed in the last chapter shows that these concepts have been historically constructed for political purposes. These politically constructed categories have entered into Indonesian academic discourse. The current discourse about “*adat* revival” problematizes previously hegemonic discourse categories. Despite, and indeed because of the political construction of the concepts, it is imperative to re-conceptualize the categories and relationships between them. Re-conceptualization offers an alternative to the established understanding of “secularized” *adat* and “religionized” *agama*. This alternative understanding of the concepts of *adat* and *agama* should not only respond to current discourse but also incorporate native practices and understandings of the concepts. In addition to describing the various characteristics of Ammatoan *adat*, this dissertation argues that the Ammataon *adat* is religious in nature. From this it follows that *adat* may be re-conceptualized as indigenous religions and *agama* as world religion.

To study *adat* as a discourse of indigenous religions presents a number of challenges. As previously explained, no indigenous religion, politically speaking is currently recognized in Indonesia.⁴⁰ Since the establishment of the New Order, the Indonesian state has imposed a standardized definition of religion. As a result there are only six official religions in Indonesia. People who practice indigenous

⁴⁰One exception would be the way in which local governments on the island of Sumba have allowed some people to identify themselves as followers of Marapu, the indigenous religion of that island, and provide that as an option for religious identification on government identification cards (Chris Lundry, personal communication).

religions (or *adat*) including the Ammatoans, have been legally and politically judged as lacking religion because their religions do not correspond with the state definition that requires an *agama* to have a written holy book, a prophet, transnational followers, and a systemized set of dogmas and doctrines. The state has also attempted to monitor and control indigenous religions so that *adat* may not transform into *agama*. With these legal and political charges, followers of indigenous religions must convert to one of the official religions. After converting, they may keep their indigenous (religious) practices so long as those practices do not contradict those of the official religions. The state insists that followers of indigenous religions transform their *adat* (indigenous religions) so that they may be defined as “cultural” (secularized) practices as opposed to “religious” ones and only in this light may *adat* continue to be practiced. For tourist attractions, the state has even encouraged and exploited indigenous people to revitalize their indigenous religions, not as *agama* but as “culture as art” (Erb, 2007).

Following scholars who have addressed and challenged the discourse of *adat* and religion (Hidayah, 2007; Woodward, 2011; Picard, 2011), I have argued throughout this dissertation that the state political construction of the concept has been challenged by Ammatoans. As elaborated in chapter six, a new discourse about *adat* has emerged. Although Michel Picard (2011, p. 19) argues that the volume edited by Davidson & Henley (2007), which specifically discusses the revival of *adat*, omits the relationship between *adat* and *agama*, I observe that *adat* revival is basically the revival of indigenous religions. Davidson & Henley

(2007) for example show that *adat* revival is concerned with issues of holding power, rights over land, territory, and other resources. Those issues, as shown throughout this dissertation, are aspects of the Ammatoan indigenous religion.

The state's political policy on religion has also shaped popular opinion about definitions of religion. The state has even strengthened its political definition of religion after it rejected the judicial review of regulation PNPS 1/1965 regarding the defamation of religion in 2010. It is not surprising that when people across the archipelago are asked about their religion, they identify with one of the official religions. When asked about their rituals, people like Ammatoans usually say that they are *adat*, and not *agama*. The discourse of religion (*agama*) and *adat* as installed by states since the colonial period has powerfully permeated public opinion up to the present time. *Adat* (indigenous religions) have been essentially defined as secular and therefore not religious.

This fact offers a serious challenge for bringing the religion of Ammatoans into discussion. The people do not publicly categorize their practices as religious. As discussed in chapter five, while scholars may categorize Ammatoan rituals as "religious," to Ammatoans those are *adat* practices. Mark Woodward (2011) describes something similar among Javanese. Woodward observes that after the advent of modernist Islam, Javanese began to label their traditional practices as "cultural practices" as opposed to "religious" ones. Woodward argues that the logic of the label is that if such practices are not religious, they are not heresy (2011, p. 5). This appears to be the same logic that Ammatoans have employed in labeling their *adat* practices. What Ammatoans

publically categorize as “religious” are usually practices coming from Islamic sources. For example, the practice of fasting is Islamic but sponsoring *baca doang* during Ramadan is *adat*.

Ammatoans profess that they are Muslim and insist that they be identified as such. Yes, they are Muslim. If so, should *adat* of Ammatoans be discussed under the study of Islam? Most of studies on Ammatoans have done so. Many scholars have observed that Ammatoans are Muslim, but preserve their “animistic” practices (Usop, 1978; Salle, 1999; Katu, 2000; Asnawi, 2009; Akib, 2003). Their religion is then syncretic. What is obvious in works of these scholars is that Islam overwhelms their analysis. They even use an Islamic point of view to judge whether practices of the people are religiously acceptable or not. As explained in chapter two, the common description about the religion of Ammatoans is syncretic, inauthentic, and so in need for change, development, or more precisely Islamization.

In addition to the political challenge, the academic study of indigenous religions has been also problematic (Cox, 2007). The religious studies scholar from Edinburgh, James Cox (2007) observes that the study of indigenous religions has come to achieve its status independently from other world religions largely after 1970, but argues that the study has suffered from underlying assumption about the unity of humanity, which means the nature of humanity is the same everywhere, and each society has its universal capacity for moral improvement (Cox, 2007, p. 13, 16). Examining nineteenth century scholarship, Cox observes that reasons for such assumptions depended on who studied

indigenous religions. Some scholars who were pro missionary wanted to show the value and superiority of Christianity (Ridgeway, 1869; Wood, 1868, 1880). They described indigenous peoples as living in degraded social and moral situations but asserted that because indigenous peoples had the capacity to be uplifted from such depraved social and moral conditions, they should be able to accept Christianity. Those scholars advocated conversion to Christianity as a way of uplifting the moral conditions of indigenous peoples (Cox, 2007, p. 10).

The works of Ridgeway and Wood as examined by Cox are comparable with the works of Albertus C. Kruyt (1915) and the Dutch-born Jesuit J.W.M. Bakker S. J. (1972, 1981) in Indonesia. Kruyt whose work in Indonesia was mainly for missionary purposes studied indigenous religion of Torajanese of Sulawesi. After studying the people, their religion, and their resistance to Christianity, Kruyt argued that in order to successfully convert the Torajanese, missionaries needed to show the oneness of the human race. Different colors of different races are only because of climate, argued Kruyt (1915, p. 91). Kruyt contended that the notion of unity of humanity was necessarily to advocate for missionary purposes so that missionaries could transform the Torajanese who were extremely exclusive, isolated, and so narrowly minded. Conversion to Christianity would then bring them to learn many things beyond their circle and then to uplift their morality, Kruyt implied. Along these lines, J. W. M. Bakker S. J. who is also known as Rachmat Subagya, advocated human beings as *homo-religious*. In his work on indigenous religions of Indonesia, Bakker defined religion as “*ketergantungan manusia pada Wujud Tertinggi*” (I. the human

dependence on the Ultimate Being) (Subagya, 1981, p. 2). Based on his definition, Subagya defended traditional practices of Indonesian indigenous peoples as religious from the state and Muslim groups that misunderstood them as lacking religion. He then argued that no community exists without a religion and this argument was to support his advocacy of “universal salvation for all nations” (1981, p. 20). As he stated, the purpose of his work was to study indigenous religions of Indonesia, and then to observe how much *preparatia evangelica* existed in those indigenous religions. Observing that indigenous religions still survived, he then suggested that Christian missions were to “complete” indigenous religions.

Other scholars like E. B. Tylor (1871) and J. Frazer (1890/2009), who were anti-religion also studied indigenous religions, but their studies were to trace the root of Christianity to primitive thinking or to superstition (Cox, 2007, p. 9). Tylor (1871) contributed to the study of indigenous religions, but because of his modern perspectives, he, and those who have employed animism as the origin of religion, misunderstood indigenous religions as childish, simple religions and failed epistemologies (Bird-David, 1999, p. 67). In other words, theory of animism has been ethnocentrically deployed. Frazer’s theory of magic for indigenous religions offers a similar judgment. For Frazer, magic is fallacious in understanding the world, and so should be replaced by religion, and then science. Both Tylor’s and Frazer’s study of indigenous religions were motivated by the ideology that the true knowledge of the world is only yielded by science.

Comparing the two kinds of scholarship, Cox argues that the difference between the two is that if the former projected Christianity, the latter projected science for moral improvement (Cox, 2007, p. 15-6). Cox then concludes that the academic study of indigenous religions thus in one fundamental sense is rooted in the missionary movement. Its claim to academic credibility, again, can be traced to the influence of early anthropologists, like Frazer, who maintained that humans everywhere are the same, and that the study of contemporary forms of primitive beliefs leads to an understanding of religion in general (Cox, 2007, p. 16).

Such prejudices against indigenous peoples prevalent in the nineteenth century attitudes have been critically addressed by scholars. Cox observes such phenomena through several programs at university departments offering courses on indigenous religions such as at University of Ibadan, at the University of Aberdeen, and at the University of Edinburgh. These academic programs advocated the study of indigenous religions as a specific subject independent from world religions and so should be studied in their own right (Cox, 2007, p. 28). Cox, however, argues that in one way or another, those programs still perpetuated the assumption on the unity of humanity. At Ibadan, for example, the study of indigenous religions employed the term primal religions and the concept primal was presented as basic, foundational and elementary which clearly resembles to the Christian theological position towards other religions known as *preparation evangelica*: people are prepared to receive the Christian messages (Cox, 2007, p. 25-6).

Another problem in the study of indigenous religions according to Cox comes from the continual deployment of world religions paradigm. “The world religions paradigm,” Cox explains, “is the study of religion under classification commonly defined by western scholars as the major traditions of the world” (Cox, 2007, p. 33). The paradigm insists that major religions can be identified and classified according to a shared history, frequently presented in geographical terms, and organized according to common beliefs and practices (Cox, 2007, p. 87). Like the assumption on the unity of humanity, the world religions paradigm also came out of the nineteenth century academic contexts. Cox’s account on this issue is in line with Tomoko Masuzawa’s (2005). Cox, in fact, gives credits to Masuzawa, especially on her argument (2005, p. 2-3) that the western classification of religions was intended primarily to distinguish and show the superiority of the west over the rest (Cox, 2007, p. 33). Both Cox and Masuzawa observe that the nineteenth century system of classifying religions remains influential in today’s study of religion. Masuzawa argues that systems of classifying world religions, although as seeming to be scientific and neutral, have been actually associated with and justified by a racialized notion of ethnic difference (2005, p. 3).

Another critique by Masuzawa to the world religions paradigm is that religion has been described as an essential unity. Various expressions of religion around the world are thought to have based on a universal element (2005, p. 9). Cox, along the lines, observes the Christian theological notion of general revelation permeating the study of religion in which “God is thought to have

revealed himself in various worldly phenomena so that his nature can be recognized and acknowledged, in some measures at least, by all humanity” (Cox, 2007, p. 46). Masuzawa (2005, p. 9) and Cox (2007, p. 46) both contend that survey courses on the world’s religions commonly followed up to this day in North America and British universities are based on the assumption that all religions are everywhere the same in essence. Divergences and particularities are only in their ethnic, national or racial expressions. Cox then concludes that the study of indigenous religions developing in the twentieth century has been based on the theological notion that religion derives from a universal essence (Cox, 2007, p. 53).

As long as we do not escape ourselves from the assumption on the unity of humanity and world religions paradigm, we will never do justice in the study of indigenous religions, Cox implies. In other words, as Cox says, by fitting indigenous religions into the world religions paradigm and by assuming that each shares characteristics in common with the other, the authors commit the twin errors of perpetuating the world religions paradigm and of approaching the study of indigenous peoples under hidden essentialist assumptions (Cox, 2007, p. 53). For such reasons, scholars like J. Platvoet (1993) and Graham Harvey (2000, 2002) who have extensively worked on indigenous religions also fall into committing such errors, according to Cox.

Responding to the two challenges in the study of indigenous religions, Cox offers both an alternative definition of religion and then a definition of indigenous religions. His definition goes that “religion refers to (1) identifiable

communities that (2) base their beliefs and experiences of postulated non-falsifiable realities on (3) a tradition that is transmitted authoritatively from generation to generation” (Cox, 2007, p. 85). Through this definition, Cox challenges essentialist and theological definitions inherent within the world religions paradigm that conceive religions as discrete, self-contained systems that express a common or universal religious core. Cox is aware that the second element of the definition, referring to non-falsifiable realities, sounds similar to those who argue that for a religion to be defined as religion, it must direct its primary attention towards supernatural entities or divinities (Cox, 2007, p. 87). He then explains that such realities are not restricted to supernatural entities, but to experiences in time and space that clearly are distinguishable by adherents from their ordinary experiences in time and space (Cox, 2007, p. 87). For Cox, his definition decouples the category religion with surreptitious theological assumptions (Cox, 2007, p. 75).

In defining indigenous religions, Cox inserts two specific characteristics into his definition of religion: location and kinship. He then elucidates that indigenous religions refer to “those identifiable communities whose traditions relate to the place to which they belong and whose authority is derived from the chain of memory traceable to ancestors” (Cox, 2007, p. 89). To be indigenous religions, “beliefs and experiences of those identifiable communities refer to postulated non-falsifiable alternate realities, which are connected to the locality to which the people belong and are related integrally to ancestral traditions” (Cox,

2007, p. 89). Location and kinship are then the significant identifiers that distinguish indigenous religions from other religions, say world religions.

Cox's definition of indigenous religion, whose main purpose is to study indigenous religions in their own rights, helps me locate the religion of Ammatoans in the study of indigenous religions. As explained, the religion of Ammatoans is exclusive to themselves. Its exclusivity is due to its attachment to location (*tana kamase-masea* and *tana kuasaya*) and its membership. Any one may (in theory) participate in rituals of Ammatoans, but only Ammatoans hold the membership right. In other words, applying Cox's definition, I am theoretically able to justify the Ammatoan religion as an indigenous religion.

Furthermore, employing Cox's theory of religion, one can overcome tendencies of viewing indigenous religions through the lens of modernity and the discourse of world religions. Ammatoan indigenous religion is as dynamic and transformative as any other (world) religions. Its dynamism and transformations are necessary responses to everyday pragmatic interests of its practitioners. Many Ammatoans are not interested in learning how to write because they do not find the writing to be necessary in their life. "Why should I take and use this and that if I have things that make my life easier," an Ammatoan argued. Many of them have known how to write and found their abilities to be beneficial for living their life, but these people, except few, do not think that their oral tradition is void.

Like any other indigenous communities that have been exposed to the globalized world, Ammatoans have learnt different ways of living and events that have taken place around the world. They follow the news about the world. Many

of different news amaze them and others disappoint them. They have known how different peoples live their lives. They compare others' ways of living with their own, and sometimes think and wish that they could live their life as others do. Their comments like "May we live that way!," "If we were they...!" "How cool they are...!" "How easy their lives are...!" and so on imply that Ammatoans are amazed and wish to emulate. At other times, the same or different individuals make comments like "Look at them!... they have no manners," "That is what our *bohe* have predicted: morality, family/relatives, and community are no longer important," "Their lives are only about money...!" and so on. Ammatoans watch and analyze others. They evaluate and examine what may fit to their own everyday life. As shown in previous chapters, neither do they refuse things of outside, nor accept them for granted. That is how they transform their indigenous religion out, and transform outside sources in.

As discussed above and in previous chapters, as a result of the presence of Islam and modernity in Tanah Toa, the indigenous religion of the Ammatoans has interwoven with world religions and modernity since the beginning of their encounters. Ammatoans have transformed their indigenous religion partly because they have also articulated Islam and modernity in their religious transformation. They have even converted to and articulated Islam for their collective identity. Their conversion and articulation to Islam and modernity, nonetheless, does not have to mean that they leave their indigenous religion behind. Being Muslim as well as being modern does not have to replace indigenous religions or traditions.

Ammatoans have shown that they are devoutly Muslim and (some) progressively modern, but still persistently loyal to their indigenous religion.

These kinds of issues should be among the concerns of the study of indigenous religions. As having become global phenomena, their encounters with other powers –world religions, and colonial and post-colonial states–should not be assumed as catalysts to their extinction, but rather influences to their transformation. Their transformations are however their means to persist. The philosopher, Anthony K. Appiah (2006) argues that only a dead tradition does not change or transform.

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APPENDIX A

SAYINGS OF PASANG RI KAJANG

Pasang	Translation
Pasang 1 <i>Cobami ringkuanaki hojainjo</i> <i>Ripangkuaya sajarana ri olo,</i> <i>Kipasitappai konjo,</i> <i>Kituntui konjo,</i> <i>Kipasitappai konjo ripangkuaya ri</i> <i>bicara riolo,</i> <i>anrek kulle nasisalantu.</i> <i>Punna sisala, riek antu nnambai.</i> <i>mingka riek to tau doraka,</i> <i>punna batuanna riek tunnambaintu</i> <i>mange,</i> <i>iyaka anngurangi.</i> <i>Kunre anrek nakkulle nitambai</i> <i>pasangnga,</i> <i>nasabak iya nakua bicarayya:</i> <i>Lontara ri Goa,</i> <i>Pasang ri Kajang,</i> <i>Kittak ri Luhu.</i> <i>Mingka punna riek tunnambai,</i> <i>riek to tau doraka.</i> <i>Iyaka nariek tau ngurangngi,</i> <i>ampasisala konjo ri pangkuayanjo</i> <i>tallua passala ri kuayya</i> <i>Lontara ri Gowa,</i> <i>Pasang ri Kajang,</i> <i>Kitta a ri Luhu.</i> <i>ampasisalainjo ri sinna.</i> <i>Arennanji batuanna hatakbage,</i> <i>naiya pada tujuanna, sekre tujuanna.</i>	Find it out! What histories say, Compare (them of here with that of) there, verify (them of here with that of) there, compare histories of out there and that of here, There must be no contradictory. If there is, someone must extend them. Because there are some evil people, Who might extend them, or trim them down. Here, Pasang may not be appended, Because that is how it is said: Lontara of Gowa, Pasang of Kajang, Book of Luwu. If someone extend them, he must be evil Or, someone trim them down Changes made to what has been told, In the three sources, as said: Lontara of Gowa, Pasang of Kajang, Book of Luwu. Contents may differ, Names (of places) may be spread out, Their Objectives are only one, one goal. (Usop, 1978, p. 42-43; Katu, 2000, p. 75; compare with McKanzie, 1994, p. 76)
Pasang 1 a <i>Riek Lontarak ri Gowa</i> <i>Riek La Toa ri Bone</i> <i>Ri Kajang ia Pasangi</i> <i>Na Ri Luwu Galigo</i>	Lontarak in Gowa La Toa in Bone In Kajang, it is the Pasang And in Luwu is the Galigo. (Mckanzie, 1994, p. 77; Mattulada, 1964, p. 85)

Pasang 1 b <i>Napunna akrako angngissek i adat na taua ri Kajang,</i> <i>Akkutaknangko, nasabak anre ukiri kunre mae. Pasangji i bahang.</i>	If you want to know about the traditions of people in Kajang Then ask, because no writing is here, (Here is) Pasang (oral) only. (Mckanzie, 1994, p. 76; Sallatang, 1965, p. 127)
Pasang 2 <i>Punna taniya tau manak karaeng,</i> <i>agarringngi tanaya ri Kajang,</i> <i>akakgaringngngi ri Gowa,</i> <i>tenna kajariangtoi tinanang,</i> <i>nasabak lebba ri olo,</i> <i>anguaya sianak i Goa-Kajang,</i> <i>angkuaya</i> <i>Lontara ri Gowa,</i> <i>Pasang ri Kajang,</i> <i>Kittak ri Luwu.</i>	If (the leader) is not the descendent of “king,” The soil of Kajang will be sick barren), The soil of Gowa will be sick (barren), too, The crops would fail, For it is the traditional law. It is said, Goa-Kajang are the siblings It is said, Lontara of Gowa Pasang ri Kajang Book of Luwu (Usop, 1978, p. 43; Katu, 2000, p. 76)
Pasang 3 <i>Pasangnga ri Kajang</i> <i>Anre ankulle nitambai,</i> <i>Anre to nakulle nikurangngi.</i>	Pasang of Kajang Cannot be added to Cannot be trimmed down (Usop, 1978, p. 43; Katu, 2000, p. 70; and Mckanzie, 1994, p. 77)
Pasang 3 a <i>Talak kulle ambokoi pasang</i>	“The Pasang may not be turned around (changed)” (Mckanzie, 1994, p. 76)
Pasang 4 <i>Manna kodi, pasang tok ji</i> <i>Labbi-labbi hajikna nuhajia</i> <i>Mingka nukodia nipakpasangengngi</i> <i>Jako gaukangngi</i>	Even though (it is) bad, it is the Pasang Let alone (if it is) good. Bad things mentioned in the Pasang are, Not to commit to (Usop, 1978, p. 43; Katu, 2000, p. 70)
Pasang 5 <i>Tau Riek Akrakna (TRA)</i> <i>ammantangngi ri pangakrakangna</i>	The One Who wills Sits on His Will (Usop, 1978, p. 44; Katu, 2000, p. 71)

Pasang 6 <i>Gitte maki anjo punna nigaukangngi pasoroanna, na nililiangngi papisangkanna.</i>	We meet (TRA), If we observe his orders, And avoid his prohibitions. (Usop, 1978, p. 44; Katu, 2000, p. 71)
Pasang 7 <i>Anre nisei riekna anrekna Tau Rieka Akrakna Nakia palladoang. Padatokji pole, nitarimana panganrota, iya tojekna.</i>	We know nothing of TRA's presence and absense We nonetheless invoke. It is just the same, (whether) he accepts our invocation, Or refuse it. (Usop, 1978, p. 44; Katu, 2000, p. 71)
Pasang 8 <i>Patuntung manuntungngi</i>	The enlightened, (is) enlightening. (Usop, 1978, p. 45; Katu, 2000, p. 77)
Pasang 9 <i>Lambusuk, gattang, sakbara, apisona.</i>	Honest, resolute, patient, self- sufficient. (Usop, 1978, p. 45; Katu, 2000, p. 77; McKanzie, 1994, p. 96)
Pasang 10 <i>Silallo, Tessirapi, Pasang ri Kajang.</i>	Exceeding, but not reaching, Pasang of Kajang. (Usop, 1978, p. 45; Katu, 2000, p. 77)
Pasang 11 <i>Manuntung-i kalambusanna na kamase-maseanna</i>	(one is able to) enlighten for his honesty and his simplicity (Usop, 1978, p. 45; Katu, 2000, p. 78; Mckanzie, 1994, p. 96)
Pasang 12 <i>Lambusunuji nu karaeng Rigattanguji nu adat Riksabbaraknuji nu guru Apisonanuji nu sanro</i>	Because of your honesty you are the king Because of your resoluteness you are the <i>adat</i> Because of your patience you are the teacher Because of your self-sufficiency you are the healer (Usop, 1978, p. 45; Katu, 2000, p. 78; and McKanzie, 1994, p. 127)

Pasang 12 a <i>Angngarukrangngi mange ri TRA</i> <i>Sabbaraki kipisana</i> <i>Nililiang sikonto,papisangka tu</i> <i>mabuttaya</i> <i>Sallu ri ajoa</i> <i>Amulu ri adahang</i> <i>Lambusuki ki gattang</i> <i>Ninaguakang sikontu akrakna</i> <i>Passuroanna pamarenta</i>	“Be mindful of the One Who Wills Be patient, be surrendering Banish all that is prohibited Be obedient in the yoke Follow the plough furrow Be honest, be resolute Do all manner of bidding Orders of those in power” (McKanzie, 1994, p. 96)
Pasang 13 <i>Appai battu ri anrong:</i> <i>Rara, asi, gaha-gaha, otak</i> <i>Appa battu ri amma:</i> <i>Bulu-bulu, bukule, kanuku, buku</i> <i>Lima battu ri Tau Pareta:</i> <i>Mata, toli, kakmurung, baba, nyaha</i>	Four are from mother: Blood, muscle, nerve, and brain, Four are from father: Hair, skin, nails, and bone, Five from the Creator: Eyes, ears, nose, mouth, and soul. (Usop, 1978, p. 47; Katu, 2000, p. 79)
Pasang 14 <i>Lima ampangngisengngi ilalang</i> <i>batangkale:</i> <i>Ri ngitetta haji</i> <i>Ri malangngireta haji</i> <i>Ri mangaratta haji</i> <i>Ri pauta haji</i> <i>Ri papisanrinta haji</i>	Five substances of knowledge in the body: Sighting the good, Listening to the good, Smelling the good, Saying the good, Feeling the good. (Usop, 1978, p. 47; Katu, 2000, p. 79)
Pasang 15 <i>Battu tanning ri atiya</i> <i>Lunra battu ri atiya</i> <i>Paik battu ri atiya</i>	Sweetness comes from the heart, Decliciousness comes from the heart, Bitterness comes from the heart. (Usop, 1978, p. 47; Katu, 2000, p. 80)
Pasang 16 <i>Akkaleo i</i> <i>Allorungng i</i>	“After 100 days, the: body is still in the grave: After 100 days, hair and nails only remain,

<i>Allannyak i</i> <i>Allajangng i</i>	After 100 days, the body has disappeared, On the way to the grave, the body evaporates, leaving only the burial mat to bury.” (McKanzie, 1994, p. 109, see Usop, 1978, p. 48; Katu, 2000, p. 80)
Pasang 17 <i>Akmany-manyuki mange ri TRA</i>	Surrendering to TRA. (Usop, 1978, p. 48; Katu, 2000, p. 81)
Pasang 18 <i>Aklapassak mi naik ri Tau Paretta</i>	(He) vanishes and transcends to the creator. (Usop, 1978, p. 48; Katu, 2000, p. 81)
Pasang 19 <i>Inni-linoa pamariamarianji</i> <i>Allo ri boko pamantangang karakkang</i>	“This world is but a temporary place The hereafter is the permanent” (McKanzie, 1994, p. 109, see also Usop, 1978, p. 48; Katu, 2000, p. 81-2)
Pasang 20 <i>Akminro ri asalakna</i> <i>Akminro ri sipa-sipakna</i>	(He) returns to his origins (He) returns to his nature (Usop, 1978, p. 48; Katu, 2000, p. 82, McKanzie, 1994, p. 108)
Pasang 21 <i>Padatokji tau anre agamana</i>	Just like someone lacking of religion (Usop, 1978, p. 49; Katu, 2000, p. 82)
Pasang 22 <i>Ararengngana baca-baca doang</i> <i>Andelekang raungan sae bulu</i>	(He is) pretending in reciting prayings, And facing offerings. (Usop, 1978, p. 49; Katu, 2000, p. 82)
Pasang 23 <i>Anrek nahilu-kila</i> <i>Anrek nappakira~kira</i> <i>Anrek nappasikodi-kodi</i> <i>Tammappasikua ri paranna tau</i>	“Do not be jealous Do not be slanderous Do not incite other Do not take sides” (McKanzie, 1994, p. 85, see also Usop, 1978, p. 49; Katu, 2000, p. 83)
Pasang 23 a <i>Appa i rupanna nasimang riulu</i> <i>ribankeng nikuaya anakjangangang:</i>	“Four things which you must protest from the tips of your toes to the top of your head:

1. <i>Nirabbai lanjenna</i> 2. <i>Nipikatu kamateang</i> 3. <i>Nipitorakki gunturu ritangana bolanna</i> 4. <i>Nipasarokki tajitipa</i>	1. Fall over to one side (partiality in decision making) 2. To send someone death (anonymous accusations). 3. A thunder clap splits the house in two (false accusations) 4. A person made to retreat by force of arms (use of forces).” (McKanzie, 1994, p. 85-86)
Pasang 23 b <i>Appai rupanna anrek nakulle</i> <i>nigaukang ilalang boronna Ammatoa:</i> 1. <i>Tabangan kaju</i> 2. <i>Tattakang uhe</i> 3. <i>Tunuang bani</i> 4. <i>Lisa-lisa ri karassanna</i>	“Four things which may not be done within the forests of the Amma Toa: 1. Fell trees 2. Collect rattan 3. Smoke out bees (to collect boney) 4. Approach (step upon) the sacred things” (McKanzie, 1994, p. 86)
Pasang 24 <i>Anrek na salamak ri lino</i> <i>Tulussu mange ri alo ri bokonna</i> TRA	(He) will not be safe in this world, And will not be safe in the hereafter of TRA (Usop, 1978, p. 49; Katu, 2000, p. 72)
Pasang 25 <i>Pakabaji atekaknu</i> <i>Iyamintu agama</i> <i>Nayantu sembayangnga</i> <i>Jaman-jamanji (gaukji)</i> <i>Pakabajiki gaunnu</i> <i>Sara-sara makanaknu</i> <i>Nanuliliang lanatabaya</i>	Have good intention! For it is the religion The daily prayers Are just activities. Fix your (have good) behaviors, Manners and speeches, May you be away from calumny (Usop, 1978, p. 49; Katu, 2000, p. 83).
Pasang 26 <i>Jekne telluka</i> <i>Sembayang tammatappu</i>	Ablution is never void Islamic daily prayers are never ceased. (Usop, 1978, p. 50; Katu, 2000, p. 83)

Pasang 26 a <i>Appak hattuna akkulle imang antama rilalang embanna Amma Toa:</i> 1. <i>Dallek lambua</i> 2. <i>Dallek lassara</i> 3. <i>Baca-doa Rasulung</i> 4. <i>Sicidongang lakbiria</i>	“Four occasions when the <i>Kali</i> (Imam) may enter inside the fence of the Amma Toa: 1. Ritual of the rising sun (weddings), 2. Ritual of the sitting sun (funerals), 3. Koranic readings to ask for good fortune, 4. “Seating of the King.”” (McKanzie, 1994, p. 133)
Pasang 27 <i>Kalumanyang akullei niuppai, punna na akrakangngi pamarenta. Nasabak pamarenta samungannai Tua Rie AkRakNa. Nasabak pamarenta iya angngissei anu hajik anu kodi</i>	“Wealth may be attained, if it is wanted by the government, Because the government is an extension of the One Who Wills. Because the government knows better what is good and what is bad.” (McKanzie, 1994, p. 179, see also Usop, 1978, p. 50; Katu, 2000, p. 84)
Pasang 27 a <i>I kitte tau caddia Ammuluki ri adahang Suruki ri ajoka Nakimminahang ri hajo hajona pamarentaya Naiya pamarenta riek i ehanna Mingka anrei sauranna Naiya pamarenta iyamintu Anronta Ammanta</i>	“We, the little people Are obedient in the yoke Follow in the plough line And follow in the shadow of the government And there is no way to oppose the government For they are our mother and father.” (McKanzie, 1994, p. 179)
Pasang 28 <i>Tau dodong kamase-mase Turunganna angkua</i>	The weak and simple It is the destiny (Usop, 1978, p. 50; Katu, 2000, p. 84).
Pasang 29 <i>Punna na akrakangngi TRA Angupajaki pakalumanyang pakalupepeang</i>	“If it is the will of the One Who Wills We shall obtain rich prosperity.” (McKanzie, 1994, p. 178, see also Usop, 1978, p. 50; Katu, 2000, p. 72)
Pasang 30 <i>Anre kalumanyang-kalupepeang Rie kamase-masea</i>	“We don't have wealthy prosperity We have a pitied existence.” (McKanzie, 1994, p. 87, see also Usop, 1978, p. 51; Katu, 2000, p. 85).

Pasang 31 <i>Anganrekna riek</i> <i>Care-carekna riek</i> <i>Pammalli jukukna riek</i> <i>Tana, koko, galung, riek</i> <i>Bola situju-tuju</i>	“We have food We have ragged clothes We have the means to buy fish Land: we have fields and paddies A simple (just enough) house(s)” (McKanzie, 1994, p. 87, see also Usop, 1978, p. 51; Katu, 2000, p. 85).
Pasang 32 <i>Punna anre kusidupa ri lino</i> <i>Manna ri alo ri boko pi salo</i>	All that we do not meet in this world We will find in the hereafter (McKanzie, 1994, p. 178, see also Usop, 1978, p. 51; Katu, 2000, p. 7).
Pasang 33 <i>Petta kalennu, kamaseang kulantuknu</i>	love yourself, cherish your knees (descendants) (Usop, 1978, p. 53; Katu, 2000, p. 86).
Pasang 34 <i>Katutui nurienu</i> <i>Ri gentengang tambatuna palaraya</i>	Take care of (it) when you have (it), Before famine comes (Usop, 1978, p. 53; Katu, 2000, p. 86)
Pasang 35 <i>Tanrai-i kaju matea</i> <i>Batei raung kaju loloa</i> <i>nutangngamengoa</i> <i>Jako parenta bilasangngi bahenennu</i> <i>Bilasangnga jintu, nipepepi narie</i> <i>erekna</i> <i>Jako parenta depoki-i bahenennu</i> <i>Depo ajintu nituduppi na haji</i> <i>Ako laroi</i> <i>Punna mata kanrea</i> <i>Anu mata nipalu</i> <i>Mutungngi, ka anu api ritajanna</i> <i>Peccaikannu nilauk ere</i>	(For a husband) mark fallen woods (bring firewood to home) Mark young leaves free from poison Do not instruct your wife like a palm tree. A palm tree may produce sap if beaten. Do not instruct your wife like a dam, A dam could be fixed if trampled. Do get mad at her! If food is uncooked, (Because she) cooks raw thing, If overcooked, (it’s normal) because fire is beneath If mushy, because it is mixed with water (Usop, 1978, p. 54; Katu, 2000, p. 87)

Pasang 36 <i>Simemangana lino</i> <i>Amma riemo</i>	From the beginning of the world Amma toa already existed (Usop, 1978, p. 56; Katu, 2000, p. 73)
Pasang 37 <i>Naiya pangagehainna Amma Toa</i> <i>appa i:</i> <i>Iyamintu adat, karaenga, sanro, guru,</i> <i>Rapanginjo nikuaya anrong nikuai</i> <i>butta. Rapanginjo nikuaya Amma Toa</i> <i>langik.</i> <i>Na Anronta ninjo anghoja-hojai</i> <i>jamanna nanampa Napassamaturuki</i> <i>tugantarang angkua</i> <i>Iyaminjo akkulle anjari Amma.</i> <i>Naiya tulanjaria Amma Tu-Gantarang</i> <i>Lohei</i> <i>Tukmanak a tuanrea callana</i> <i>Tuanrea namaeng nataba hukkungang</i> <i>Tu pole memang todong ri-jama-</i> <i>jamang passauang .</i>	“Then the helpers of the Old Father are four: They are Elders, King, Healer, Teacher And Our Mother is called the earth And the Old Father is called the sky And Our Mothers’ work is to find the one that the People of the Full Moon agree can become the Old Father. A great Person of the Full Moon he must be, A person without blemish, A person who has never been punished, A person again who can really work to clear the way.” (McKanzie, 1994, p. 118, see also Usop, 1978, p. 56; Katu, 2000, p. 88; Sallatang 1965, p. 96)
Pasang 37 a <i>Appa pakgentunna tanaya</i> <i>Appa pattungkulukna langik</i> <i>Koraeng, adat, guru, sanro</i>	“Four slings of the earth; Four pillars of the sky King, elders, teachers, healers.” (McKanzie, 1994, p. 127)
Pasang 37 a <i>Tallui Karaeng, mingka sekreji</i>	“Three king but just one.” (McKanzie, 1994, p. 120, Maknun 1981, p. 62)
Pasang 38 <i>Riek sekre sakra battu ri TRA angkua:</i> <i>Ikaumi intu Ammo Toa</i> <i>Na Ikau tokmi intu appariek anu tallua</i> <i>Na Ikau tokmi inu angkammik i Tana</i> <i>Towaya</i> <i>Samba ri Gowa, Mangkau ri Bone,</i>	“A voice came from "The One Who Wills" saying: You are the Old Father And you will also create the three And you also will guard the Old Land Samba of Gowa, Mangkau of Bone,

<i>Payung ri Luhuk</i> <i>Na ikau tokmi intu singkamuak</i> <i>angsanroi</i> <i>Narihattu tappentenna Bocco-Tallua</i> <i>Akuamo pole Amma Toa</i> <i>Seppang-seppang iji tanaya.</i> <i>Appihalimi TRA:</i> <i>Gae butta kalau appa, iyamintu:</i> <i>Ambong, Ternate, Tambelu, Tambora.</i> <i>Nagae pole butta anrai appa:</i> <i>Sape, Solo, Kaili, Salaparang</i> <i>Na luaramo tanaya suarami lino</i>	Payung of Luwu And you will also be their healer.” (McKanzie, 1994, p. 152) When the three were established, The Old Father declared, This land is narrow. TRA replied: Expand the land, four to the east: Ambon, Ternate, Tambelu, Tambora, The land is expanded, four to the west: Sape, Solo, Kaili, Salaparang, The land is expanded, the world becomes crowded (Usop, 1978, p. 56; Katu, 2000, p. 73; Sallatang 1965, p. 46-47)
Pasang 39 <i>Amma Toa, iamintu tau kaminang</i> <i>riolo</i> <i>Baka abbali tanai Gowa, Bone, Luhu,</i> <i>Naia pakaramula nariek Amma</i> <i>Iamintu sanro ri Tallu·Boccoa</i> <i>Iamintu Gowa. Bone. Luhu</i> <i>Apa-apa mamo nakasimpungang</i> <i>Tallua Bocco</i> <i>Riekmo surona mange ri Amma Toa</i>	“The Amma Toa, the greatest ancestor Great alongside the lands of Gowa, Bone,Luhu In the beginning there was the Amma That is healer of the Three Kingdoms That is Gowa, Bone and Luwu Whatever troubles the Three Kingdoms They send an envoy to the Amma Toa” (McKanzie, 1994, p. 150; Usop, 1978, p. 57; Katu, 2000, p. 74)
Pasang 39 a <i>Jako caritai tau rioloa,</i> <i>Nasaba anre raramena</i>	“First divine ancestors may not be talked about, Because they have no mortal remains (they vanished)” (McKanzie1994, p. 134).
Pasang 40 <i>Naiya rambang luarakna Ammo Taa,</i> <i>Appa ilauk iyaaminru:</i> <i>Ambong, Taranate, Tambelu,</i> <i>Tambora</i>	“Then the spacious yard of the Amma Toa Four to the seaward, being: Ambon. Ternate, Tambelu, Tambora.

<i>Appa iraja lyamintu:</i> <i>Sape, Solo, Kaili, Salaparang</i> <i>Naiya rambanna ilaukang</i> <i>Bahokaraeng:</i> <i>Appa toi iyamtntu:</i> <i>Tanuntung, Tammato, sangkalalombo,</i> <i>Buatana</i> <i>Naiya rambanna irajangang</i> <i>Bahokaraeng:</i> <i>Appa toi iyamintu:</i> <i>Bajeng, tassese, Kalimporo,</i> <i>Manimporang</i>	Four towards the mountain, being: Sape, Solo, Kaili, Salaparang. Then the yard to the east of Bawakaraeng Four also, being: Tanuntung, Tammato, Sangkalalombo, Buatana. Then the yard to the west of Bawakaraeng Four also, being: Bajeng, tassese, Kalimporo, Manimporang” (McKanzie, 1994, p. 81-82; Usop, 1978, p. 57; Katu, 2000, p. 74)
Pasang 40 a <i>Doro panreikna</i> <i>Llmba pakalaukna</i> <i>Tuli pantalekna</i> <i>Sangkala panaukna</i>	“Doro inland Limba seaward Tuli over there Sangkala down there” (McKanzie, 1994, p. 79)
Pasang 41 <i>Anrekmi ri Amma</i> <i>Riekmi karaengnga</i>	It is no longer with the Amrna Now there is a King (McKanzie, 1994, p. 132; Usop, 1978, p. 58; Katu, 2000, p. 89)
Pasang 42 <i>Kajang tannapepelima ri Gowa</i> <i>Gowa tannapepelima ri Kajang</i> <i>Punna timbuburu ri pantarang</i> <i>Ramu-rammusu ri Kajang</i>	Kajang does not impede Gowa Gowa does not impede Kajang If the outer territory is cold (fever) Kajang is little sore only (Usop, 1978, p. 58; Katu, 2000, p. 89).
Pasang 43 <i>Naparanakang juku</i> <i>Napaloloiko raung kaju</i> <i>Nahambangiko allo</i> <i>Nabattuiko ere bosi</i> <i>Napaloklorang ere tuak</i> <i>Nakajariangko tinanang</i>	Fishes rise Trees flourish The sun shines Rain falls Palm juice runs Crops yield (Usop, 1978, p. 59; Katu, 2000, p. 89).

Pasang 44 <i>Kunni-kunni</i> <i>Allaklang ngase mako ri nakke,</i> <i>Nasabak innake, najojok pangelai ri</i> <i>Tau Riek Akrakna</i> <i>Nakua jarimo ngase nipaklalangngi</i>	Now, You all are under my protection, For I have been chosen by TRA It is said, you are all under my protection. (Usop, 1978, p. 61; Katu, 2000, p. 90)
Pasang 45 <i>Ikau karaengnga, siurang adat a,</i> <i>Pakahaji jari-jarinu</i> <i>Nasabak tuhusennu bajung karaeng,</i> <i>bajung adat</i> <i>Nasabak punna salak i jari-jarinnu</i> <i>Yareka riek pawuanna nanjari</i> <i>pamarenta,</i> <i>Ammanraki tau takbala,</i> <i>Tanna kajariang areng pole</i>	You, kings, and <i>adat</i> Take care of your fingers (descendents), Because your descendents are to be the king, the <i>adat</i> if your fingers (descendents) go wrong or have blemish, and they become officials, the people would suffer and all businesses would fail, too (Usop, 1978, p. 61; Katu, 2000, p. 90-91)
Pasang 45 a <i>Amma amanak karaeng</i> <i>Amma amanak adat</i>	“The Amma begat the King The Amma begat the Elders” (McKanzie, 1994, p. 154)
Pasang 46 <i>Ikau adat a, ikau karaengnga,</i> <i>Lambusu bukrungko</i> <i>Paklalangnganga angkuaya</i>	You the <i>adat</i>, you the king Be honest like the <i>bukrung</i> tree⁴¹ (upright without brances). Says the protector (Ammatoa). (Usop, 1978, p. 61; Katu, 2000, p. 91)
Pasang 47 <i>Langere, nasabak ikau naik amarenta</i> <i>maimako nilanti.</i> <i>Manna kamo a mamo, punna:</i> <i>Nakajariang jako tinanang</i> <i>Napanrakang jako juku</i> <i>Napamattikang jako tuak</i> <i>Napaloloang jaki raung kaju</i> <i>Napacalokang jako ere</i> <i>Akbayyi jako ri barumbung</i>	Listen, because you are governing You have been inaugurated Notheless, if: Crops yield Fishes swarm Palm juice drips Trees flourish Springs run You stay “white” (as an official governing)

⁴¹*Bukrung* is a name of a tree that grows upright without having any braches and stands firmly. This kind of trees symbolizes honesty, which is to tell the truth in any situation.

<i>Minka punna tanna kajarianko: Pettai kalennu, Kamaseang kulantuknu, Kabola-bola palettekang</i> <i>Another version Ikau mintu ambala barumbungang sa tuli-tuli Pakkekepa ampa seraingka tu tabbalaya Mingka punna: Toksallako rl boccia Lempekko ri pau tojenga Aklangerekko ri asu timoang</i> <i>Appa tajeko ri karambu tallang</i> <i>Petta kalenu, Kamaseang kaluntu</i>	But, if all of them do not happen: Love yourself Take care of your knees (descendants) Because house (symbolizing power) moves (Usop, 1978, p. 62; Katu, 2000, p. 91; McKanzie, 1994, p. 122) “You will ride the grey horse The grave-digger alone will separate you from the people But if: You stray from the straight string Run from true words (lie) Listen to the barking dog (listen to gossip) Believe the wild buffalo (take bad advice) Console yourself, Pity your descendants” (McKanzie, 1994, p. 122)
Pasang 47 a <i>Naija adat appatantanga pammarentang jarungi. Naija Adat Tanaya bannang panjak i. Mingka riek tok sekre hattu Na adat tanaya anjari jarung, Na adat apparentaya anjari banning pangai. Iyamintu tananang tampole.</i> <i>Jukuk tangnang rarak, Tannapak leleang raung kaju, Bambang lantama, Sukkama labattu</i>	“And <i>adat</i> that holds government is a needle And <i>Adat</i> Tana is the tailor's thread. But there is also a time when <i>Adat</i> Tana becomes the needle And <i>Adat</i> government becomes the tailor's thread, That is if plants don't produce, Fish don't rise, Trees don't flush with new leaves, Fever enters, Difficulties will arise” (McKanzie, 1994, p. 124; Sallalang 1965, p. 68)
Pasang 47 b <i>Amma Too. Paklalanganna ngasse</i>	“Amma Toa, umbrella over all” (McKanzie, 1994, p. 126, Maknun 1981, p. 54)
Pasang 48 <i>Punna danggamo tau maparenta Panra mintu lamu-lamunga</i>	Once officials do businesses, Plants would fail,

<i>Punna panra lamu-lamunga</i> <i>Bangkuruk mi tau niparentaya</i> <i>Punna bangkuruk mi tau niparentaya</i> <i>Rontak mi pakrasangnganga</i>	Once plants fail, The people would suffer, Once the people suffer, The world would be in chaos (Usop, 1978, p. 62; Katu, 2000, p. 92).
Pasang 49 <i>Nasikko pau</i> <i>Akbulo sipappa</i> <i>Aklemo sibatu</i> <i>Tallang sipahua</i> <i>Manyu siparampe</i> <i>Lingu sipaingak</i> <i>Mate siroko</i> <i>Bunting sipabasa</i>	“Then we are of one word As the bamboo, (many nodes, but) one stem As the lime, (many segments, but) one fruit Drowning, we lift one another up Swept away, we pull one another back Confused, we remind one another Dead, we enshroud one another Marrying, we bring one another gifts” (McKanzie, 1994, p. 84; Usop, 1978, p. 63; Katu, 2000, p. 93).
Pasang 50 <i>Punna Gallak Pantama angkira-kira</i> <i>karaengngiya, aklappok sakri</i> <i>Punna karaengngiya angkira kira</i> <i>Gallak Pantama, akmakrung kulu-</i> <i>kului</i> <i>Punna Gallak Pantama yareka</i> <i>Karaengngiya angkira-kira Ammo,</i> <i>Labbi-labbi pakacalanna</i>	“If Gallak Pantama tries to take the role of the King, the stomach (sides) will explode If the King tries to take the role of the Gallak Pantama, his head will vanish (his status/power) If Gallak Pantama or the King tries to take the role of the Amma (he is) even more accursed” (McKanzie, 1994, p. 128-9, see also Usop, 1978, p. 63; Katu, 2000, p. 94)
Pasang 51 <i>Toai ri Amma</i> <i>Bongga kanangngi ri karaengngiya</i> <i>Timbarokna buttaya</i> <i>Gallak Pantama, anrong lima</i> <i>Gallak Kajang, Pajjojjo</i> <i>Gallak Puto. datu</i> <i>Gallak Lombok pacingcingang</i> <i>Gallak Anjuruk, kaningking</i>	“First born of the Amma Right thigh of the King Throat of the earth Gallak Pantama, thumb Gallak Kajang, index finger Gallak puto, middle finger Gallak Lombok, ring finger Gallak Anjuruk, little finger” ⁴² (McKanzie, 1994, p. 148, see also Usop, 1978, p. 64; Katu, 2000, p. 95)

⁴²*Gallak* is a title for the Ammatoa’s council of the five. See chapter three on the Ammatoan political structures.

Pasang 52 <i>Punna baisolla pakaraengangnga,</i> <i>Tannakalabuangngi akmuru na</i> <i>Napakajariang tinanang, yareka</i> <i>Nukalabuangngi akmuru</i> <i>Tanna kajariangngi tinanang.</i> <i>Mingka, punna tau Kajang anjari</i> <i>karaeng,</i> <i>Abbarakka i</i> <i>Nakalabuangngi akmuru,</i> <i>Nakajariang tinanang</i>	If an outsider becomes the <i>karaeng</i> (king). It would not last Crops would fail, or It would last, but Crops would still fail. But, if a Kajang person becomes the <i>karaeng</i> Full of blessing It would long last And crops would yield. (Usop, 1978, p. 64; Katu, 2000, p. 95)
Pasang 53 <i>Punna riek garring lantama</i> <i>Bombang latatapassa</i> <i>Mangeko ri Ammo Toa</i> <i>Punna tinanang tampole</i> <i>Juku tanganrara,</i> <i>Tuak tangngamatti</i> <i>Erek tangngalokloro</i> <i>Tannapak loloanna raung kaju</i> <i>Mangeko ri Sapo</i>	“If there is sickness in the land If waves are going to break (an enemy threatens) Go to the Amma If crops fail Fish do not rise Palm juice does not run Water does not flow Trees do not flush Go to Sapo (Possi Tana, the Sanro Kajang)” (McKanzie, 1994, p. 127; Usop, 1978, p. 65; Katu, 2000, p. 95-6)
Pasang 53 a <i>Tallasak ri Amma Toa</i> <i>Batang ri Gallak Pantama</i> <i>Butere ri Sanro Kajang</i> <i>Assi ri Karaengiya</i>	“Life, to the Ammo Toa Stem to Gallak Pantama Inflorescence to the Healer of Kajang Meat (Contents, seed) to the king” (McKanzie, 1994, p. 128).
Pasang 54 <i>Allaklangko timbaho</i> <i>Asajengko ri timbaho</i>	Get protected under the sky Lean on the sky (Usop, 1978, p. 65; Katu, 2000, p. 96)

Pasang 55 <i>Aklaklang ri tana esoa (A klaklang rikaju lompoa)</i> <i>Akkambiang ri cinaguria</i>	“Shelter in the pure land (shelter at the great tree) Hold fast to the <i>cinaguria</i> ” ⁴³ (McKanzie, 1994, p. 75; Usop, 1978, p. 65; Katu, 2000, p. 96)
Pasang 56 <i>Punna mateko</i> <i>Namate ri dallekanna pamarenta</i> <i>Matena rook kucindenahak ba bannang buleang</i>	If you die, And you die before the government (being loyal), Your death (body) would be covered with gold strands (Usop, 1978, p. 65; Katu, 2000, p. 96)
Pasang 57 <i>Manna anak-anak,</i> <i>Punna iya tosse ammarenta</i> <i>Allaklangi tau toayya</i> <i>Punna rahangnganna raung cambaya</i> <i>Allaklangi raung tokaa</i>	Even though he is a child, If he is the official, Elders would receive protection from him, If <i>cambaya</i> (small kind of leaves) is upper The big leaves would receive protection from it (Usop, 1978, p. 65; Katu, 2000, p. 97)
Pasang 58 <i>Lebbak, na tak lebbak</i> <i>Pau-pau:</i> <i>Anre nakule nipinra-pinra</i> <i>Punna anu lebbak,</i> <i>Anre nakulle nigiling, nipinra</i> <i>(ni jaeki ja tannirokai)</i>	Fix, and unfixed (rules/regulations) Speeches (and actions): Changes are never allowable on things already fixed, reformulation, changes are never allowable (sewed –so stronger, or loosed –so weaker) (Usop, 1978, p. 66; Katu, 2000, p. 97)
Pasang 58a <i>Appai nimana, appa toi</i> <i>nipakpimanakang</i> 1. <i>Lebbak</i> 2. <i>Tak lebbak</i> 1. <i>Pau-pau</i> 4. <i>Kasipalli</i>	“Four bequests, four for our descendants: 1. That which has already been agreed 2. That which has not yet been agreed 3. Vigorous inquiry/debate 4. Prohibitions” (McKanzie, 1994, p. 75)

⁴³*Cinaguria* is a kind of plants very difficult to uproot. It stands for the Pasang. It suggests that one firmly holding the Pasang would go astray (see McKanzie, 1994, p.75).

Pasang 59 <i>Ankuay kalenna tau battu ri kentarang</i> <i>Akpatantangki ri paklongnganga</i> <i>Na anre nakulle apelego pento</i> <i>Akpahassi bacci ri pangkkuaya</i> <i>Lebbak Adak Karaeng na Paumana</i>	“Whoever claims to be Tau Kentarang Hold to the shelter (of the Amma Toa) And you may not waver Or attempt to change Decisions of Adat, Karaeng and Amma Toa” (McKanzie, 1994, p. 97; Usop, 1978, p. 66; Katu, 2000, p. 98)
Pasang 60 <i>Nai-nai tau kentarang</i> <i>Appatanre paklalongnganga</i> <i>Aluka lebbak adat</i> <i>Karaeng na paumana,</i> <i>Apalego pento,</i> <i>Apahassi bacci,</i> <i>Paraluyi</i> <i>Nipalului ahunna,</i> <i>Nipasalong dasirena,</i> <i>Naik i na turi</i> <i>Naungi na lombo bangngi</i>	“Whoever is descendent of Tau Kentarang And not obedient to the protection (Amma Toa) Tries to change decisions that have been agreed By <i>Adak</i> Karaeng and Amma Toa Inconsistent, Changeable, It must be that: Their hearth ashes be blown away Their floor be broken apart (They will be asked to leave and won't be bothered about) (As if) climbed up and become a monkey (As if) descended and become a wild pig” (McKanzie, 1994, p. 100; Usop, 1978, p. 66; Katu, 2000, p. 98).
Pasang 60 a <i>Ankuaya kalenna tau battu ri</i> <i>kentarang</i> <i>Akpatantangki ri paklongnganga</i> <i>Na anre nakulle apelego pento</i> <i>Akpahassl bacci ri pangkkuaya</i> <i>Lebbak Adat Karaeng na Paumana</i>	“Whoever claims to be Tau Kentarang Hold to the shelter (of the Amma Toa) And you may not waver Or attempt to change Decisions of Adat, Karaeng and Amma Toa” (McKanzie, 1994, p. 97).
Pasang 61 <i>Ikau tau patantangnga paumana:</i> <i>Teako taklessangngi ri</i> <i>patantangngannu</i> <i>Jako todok gaunkangng kasipallia</i> <i>Apanna-panna nugaukang</i>	“You who hold fast to the traditions (of the Amma Toa): Do not let go your grip Do not do what is prohibited If you do these things

<i>Nacalaka Bohennu, Napitabaiko pangelai Tau Riek Akrakna</i>	It will be disparaged by the ancestors And cursed by The One Who Wills” (McKanzie, 1994, p. 76; Usop, 1978, p. 66; Katu, 2000, p. 99)
Pasang 62 <i>Kalamanganna tumbang kalasappia Lalempea ri kanatojeng</i>	Even afloat, drifted, and collapsed, Hold fast to the truth (Usop, 1978, p. 67; Katu, 2000, p. 99)
Pasang 63 <i>Pucu-pucu bolok kossek Tengke-tangke sappe kossek Sasara baringang tukak ko Tumbang deppokko Akbohongko jala-jala Aknginungko pacerang Punna nugaukang nutanningayya Pinruang tuju lappisinu</i>	Sprouts fracturing Branches fracturing Like a ladder falling down Like a dike outpoured by water Tightly covered with net Like drinking waste If you do the prohibited Twice of your seven generations (cursed) (Usop, 1978, p. 67; Katu, 2000, p. 99)
Pasang 64 <i>Kalamanganna polong kalapelung Lataklesang a le pangatorang</i>	Even fractured and bent Hold fast to rules (Usop, 1978, p. 67; Katu, 2000, p. 100)
Pasang 65 <i>Iya haji-a hajipi ri gitte Nahaji todok ri tau takbalaya</i>	The good is if it is good to ourself And good to others (Usop, 1978, p. 67; Katu, 2000, p. 10)
Pasang 66 <i>Nakapiui rolo kalenta Nampa nikapiu paranta tau Punna pakrisik i nisakring Pakrisitoi ri paranta tau</i>	Pinch yourself first Before pinching others If you feel it painful It is also painful to others (Usop, 1978, p. 67; Katu, 2000, p. 100)
Pasang 67 <i>Jako anyik kiki manuk mate Jako anyanreki manuk polong</i>	Do not take a dead cock to win Do not lean on a broken legged cock. (In a cockfight, a broken/dead cock cannot be treated as if it is still alive and not defeated: follow the rules) (Usop, 1978, p. 67; Katu, 2000, p. 100)

Pasang 68 <i>Tak turai ri pekru putena</i>	Sit on one's own spit (Usop, 1978, p. 68; Katu, 2000, p. 101)
Pasang 69 <i>Guru, panritta,</i> <i>Karamulla tau kira-kira</i>	Before teachers, religious scholars come, There have been people with prejudices (Usop, 1978, p. 68; Katu, 2000, p. 101)
Pasang 70 <i>Naiya pasikolaya</i> <i>Tau panritaya</i> <i>Ri cappa kanukunnaji katallasanna</i> <i>Naiya pakraung kacangnga,</i> <i>Nakangkangpi nanampa auntulu duik</i>	To school people To scholars On their fingernails, lay their lives But, the farmers of peanut Must work hard to make money (Usop, 1978, p. 69-70; Katu, 2000, p. 101-2)
Pasang 71 <i>Dodongngi kamase-masea</i> <i>Hujui ri kalenna</i> <i>Anre nakikulle kaitte-itte</i> <i>Anre nakikulle kalumpa-lumpa</i> <i>Anre nakikulle katoli-toli</i> <i>Nasabak lebbak ri Gowa, ri Luwu,</i> <i>Kamoa tau pamangkaca ri Bone</i> <i>Ri uran paklalangnga ri Kajang</i> <i>Naiya lebbak na iyamintu</i> <i>Kasugikangnga anre nakulle antama</i> <i>Ri Butta Kamase-masea</i>	“Though feeble in pitied simplicity Rely on yourself You may not go looking at things outside You may not want to be outside You may not listen to things outside Because there is an agreement with Gowa and Luwu And all the people of Bone With their friend the Umbrella of Kajang That agreement is: Wealth may not enter Into the Pitied Land” (McKanzie, 1994, p. 101-2; Usop, 1978, p. 69; Katu, 2000, p. 102)
Pasang 71 a <i>Dodong makki dodong</i> <i>Tuna makki tuna</i> <i>Huikja kalengkalengku</i> <i>Inakke barambangri ikau</i> <i>Ikau barambang ri Inakke</i>	“Feebler ever feebler Meaner ever meaner Worthless, my being The supreme being then said: I pay respects to you You pay respects to me

<i>Mingka punna kulangnge-langngere, Kuitte-itteko Ri cinde takpangeng Ri caulu takrimba Ku poklettek o ri Baho Karaeng Nipaentenganko bola benteng basi bentenna Carameng atakna.</i>	But if I hear you, or I see you With fine cloths hung up to dry Or brocades blowing in the wind I will move you to Mt Bawakaraeog I will build you a house with posts of iron, with a roof of mirrors” (McKanzie, 1994, p. 100-1)
Pasang 72 <i>Jako alingkai batang</i> <i>Jako ngallei kaju tasanjeng</i> <i>Jako karesoyi apa-apa numaenga Naturunggi songok padannu tau Pakalere hilunyahaya napakrisi atia Aklamungko takbu ri biring ngusengnu Allakbui rurung Allakbaki ciddong</i>	Do not step over felled trees (do not take other’s wood, or do not flirt with a married person) Do not take leaned woods (do not flirt with an engaged person) Do not wish what others have perspired for (do not steal) Avoid hateful and spiteful Plant sugarcane on your lips (smiley and friendly) Extend the line Enlarge the seat (make friends) (Usop, 1978, p. 69; Katu, 2000, p. 103)
Pasang 72 a <i>Appa i anre nakulle, nigaukang ilalang embanna Amma Toa:</i> 1. Akkanai anrong 2. Akgau-gau ri tanaya 3. Akmela jari tau 4. Aklingkai batang	“Four things that may not be done inside the fence of the Amma Toa: 1. To scorn your mother 2. Have sexual intercourse on the ground 3. Disown your children 4. Have more than one husband” (McKanzie, 1994, p. 85)
Pasang 73 <i>Amuko embara naparua-ruangi</i> <i>Petta kalennu, Kamaseang kulantuknu</i>	Tomorrow or the next day, you practice polygamy Love yourself Take care of your knees (descendents) (Usop, 1978, p. 70; Katu, 2000, p. 104; McKanzie, 1994, p. 122)

Pasang 74 <i>Manna sekre ja</i> <i>Punna anak bajik gaunna</i> <i>Manna tau lohe punna pamanrakija</i>	One is fine If he behaves or does good things (is better than) many but they damage (Usop, 1978, p. 70; Katu, 2000, p. 104)
Pasang 75 <i>Punna nitakbangngi kajunna</i> <i>Nunipapirangnga ngurangi bosi</i> <i>Patanre tumbussu</i> <i>Nabicara Pasang ri tau mariolo</i>	“If the trees are cut down It is believed rain will decrease None will get through to the springs So say the pasang of the ancestors” (McKanzie, 1994, p. 180; Usop, 1978, p. 70)
Pasang 76 <i>Kunni-kunnia adat mako</i> <i>Ammuko embara</i> <i>Punna riek mai nulebbak i</i> <i>Na naluka anak janangannu</i> <i>Maka kati-katilangngi</i> <i>Bolo-boloangngi</i>	Now, you become the adat holder Tomorrow or the next day, If you have decided something But, your people transgress and change it Cut off the sprouts Clean the branches (Meaning: the official is obligated to punish any criminals as regulated) (Usop, 1978, p. 71; Katu, 2000, p. 104)
Pasang 77 <i>Sepanrembassang talantenna</i> <i>Ri bola adat a</i> <i>Tallasak i</i> <i>Tammate</i>	Its reach is a throw of a stone From the house of an adat official (If he is in the reach) he must be alive (protected) And not dead (unprotected) (Usop, 1978, p. 71; Katu, 2000, p. 105)
Pasang 78 <i>Ey....</i> <i>langere:</i> <i>Limang bangi mako akbola adat</i> <i>Nanarapi mako inne aloa</i> <i>Kamoa todok haji mako,</i> <i>Tangnga kodi</i> <i>Talassa, tammate,</i> <i>Naapanna-apannya nugaukangiya</i> <i>pinruang</i>	Hei (mention the person’s name), listen: It’s been five nights you are in the adat house You hold up until today You are now fine No longer criminal Alive (protected), not dead (insecure), But, whenever you do the same thing (the second one)

<i>Makatanaola mi pau</i> <i>Silappa pamarenta mami balinnu</i> <i>Lebbak maintoi</i>	No trial is needed (automatically guilty) You are against the government (<i>adat</i> or tradition) That has been fixed (regulated) (Usop, 1978, p. 71; Katu, 2000, p. 105)
Pasang 79 <i>Naungko nu lombo bangngi</i> <i>Naikko nu turi</i>	Climbing up, you become a monkey Descending, you become a wild pig (Usop, 1978, p. 72; Katu, 2000, p. 106; McKanize 1994, p. 100)
Pasang 80 <i>Langere ngasengi kek nang</i> <i>Angkuaya,</i> <i>inne attaya, riek mi batuangngana</i> <i>Natapansuluk mi kalenna ata</i> <i>Hari taliamo ata</i> <i>Kamoa todo rekenna lembarang</i> <i>Tatarok mi ri salangngana</i> <i>Kamua sohongang</i> <i>Tatarokmi sohongngana ri ulunna</i>	All you attend, listen It is said, This slave re-owns him/herself He is freed from slavery He is not a slave anymore If it is a carried load (on shoulder, refers to males) He carries it by himself If it is a carried load (on head, refers to females) She carries it on her own head (Usop, 1978, p. 73; Katu, 2000, p. 107-8)
Pasang 81 <i>Ankuaya langere kek nang ikau ngase</i> <i>nuriek a rate ri bolaya, iyatopa nuriek</i> <i>a pantarangngang bola</i> <i>Kunni-kunni sikua malinna...</i> <i>Tantontong ri matea</i> <i>Amahoja-hoja ri kalibingnga</i> <i>Na inne alloa (bangngia)</i> <i>Riek mi nahaung ulunna</i> <i>Na tatontong tau talassaya</i> <i>Anremo nasambangngi kaliling</i> <i>Natijo katinting</i> <i>Nasabak riek mi napalisere</i> <i>Ri pangkuayya pangarengngi</i> <i>Naiya pangarengnginna andeko mi</i> <i>naung ri dallekanna adat a</i> <i>Nanusabbi ngase ri tampe bahine si</i>	You all attending inside and outside the house, listen: Now, it's been quite long that (the person) (He is) reaching closely the death Facing nearly the grave Today (or tonight) His head rises up Getting stronger to be alive No more rope tying him (preventing) No more thorn staving in him Because s/he has done things What is said to be <i>pangngerangang</i> (things brought). The <i>Pangngerangang</i> is brought before <i>adat</i> You are all, males and females, are the

<i>urang ri tampe burukne na hajikmi,</i> <i>Tangnga kodi.</i> <i>Lebbak mintoi</i> <i>Aju batang mako bija patapangannu</i>	witnesses that s/he is praised. No longer defamed That is already fixed (regulated) Stand up and shake hands with your family members and all attending (while bringing a tray filled with palm leaves, cigarettes, others) (Usop, 1978, p. 74; Katu, 2000, p. 108-9)
Pasang 82 <i>Gau ri alonna tannarapi bangi</i> <i>Gau ri banginna tannarapi alo</i>	Work for days is not done during the nights Work for nights is not done during the days (Usop, 1978, p. 74; Katu, 2000, p. 110).
Pasang 83 <i>Hajik, tamakodi</i> <i>Tallasama, tannamate</i>	(I am) re-famed, not defamed anymore I am alive, and not dead (Usop, 1978, p. 75; Katu, 2000, p. 111)

APPENDIX B
AMMATOAN RITUALS

Akdaga rituals (feasts)

Ritual Name	Ritual Timing
<i>Kalomba</i> (initiation)	Sponsored for a child of three to seven years old. It depends on when parents are ready because this ritual involves at least one horse and several chickens for sacrifice. This kind of <i>akdaga</i> is one of <i>akdaga</i> the most frequently sponsored. It usually takes place for three to five days (Friberg, 1993, p. 110).
<i>Akkatterek</i> (haircut).	Sponsored for children of five to fifteen years old. This is another initiation, but much more extensive. It is only for wealthy people, and so rarely sponsored when compared to <i>akkalomba</i> . This ritual usually lasts week.
<i>Pakbuntingang</i> (wedding).	This usually takes place longer than the previous ones. Compared with <i>akkatterek</i> , <i>pakbuntingang</i> is more frequent. Some are more extensive than <i>akkatterek</i> , but some are not (Friberg, 1993, p. 104-6).
<i>Tampung</i> (funeral). <i>Pakkallikang</i> (grave fencing). <i>Abbatu</i> (marking a grave with a stone).	Sponsored from the first day to the hundredth day of death. It is a one hundred day period of mourning. During these days, the female relatives only wear sarongs, and the males wear no shirt. From the first to seventh day, the relatives performed <i>baca-baca</i> every night, and re-perform it every tenth day until the hundredth day. From the moment of the burial to third day. This temporary fence is made of wood or bamboo. It is replaced on the hundredth day. On the hundredth day of burial. It is a replacement of the temporary fence with a stone one.

<i>Minro bajik</i> (status restoration).	When someone comes back from being away because of transgressing <i>adat</i> , like someone who marries an outsider without his/her parents' approval and without observing the traditional wedding ritual. If this is the case, the ritual is similar to wedding. This ritual is rarely sponsored for such cases are not common.
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Aknganro rituals (invocations)

<i>Tarabagoro mange ri tau salama'</i> (a visit to graves of great ancestors), or <i>ukmattang</i> (ancestral veneration).	From a week before to a week after Ramadan. The collective visit is the first day, the day of <i>abbattasak jerak</i> . It is also sometimes collectively sponsored following the ritual of <i>akkalomba</i> and <i>akkatterek</i> . Another way of sponsoring it is individualistic. Individuals perform it anytime they want it.
<i>Abbattasa jerak</i> (cleaning graves)	Performed a week before Ramadan ends. It is an annual ritual.
<i>Addingingngi</i> (a placatory appeal performed in the forest)	Performed before planting rice and corn, or when agricultural and social problems are encountered.
<i>Apparuntu panganro</i> (a visit to the forest for invocation).	Observed annually, but might be performed following <i>addingingi</i> .
<i>Pakkalapika</i> (ritual of first fruits)	Performed when rice, corn, and other plants are tender and ready to harvest.
<i>Akborong gallung</i> .	Performed when crops are attacked by insects, or when it is too much drought or rain.
<i>Aknganro ri Sapo</i> (invocations in Sapo, the center of the Ammatoan territory).	Observed annually according to the agricultural calendar. It usually follows <i>apparuntuk panganro</i> .
Inauguration.	When the new Ammatoa and new village head are elected.

<i>Pangngurukang</i> (massaging ceremony)	Sponsored during the sixth or seventh month of pregnancy (Friberg, 1993, p. 106).
<i>Ammanak</i> (birthing)	Performed when at the birth of a child that includes cleaning the baby, bathing the mother (Friberg, 1993, p. 107-8).
<i>Tompolo</i> (baby bathing).	Observed at the seventh day of birth (Friberg, 1993, p. 108).
<i>Pammula nganre</i> (first feeding)	Observed for first feeding of a baby in addition to breast milk. Sponsored at the sixth month of birth.
<i>Sunnak</i> (circumcision for boys and girls)	Observed when a child is seven to ten years old (Friberg, 1993, p. 110).
<i>Terasa</i> (teeth filing)	Usually follows circumcision (Friberg, 1993, p. 110).
<i>Pammantang bola</i> (House building)	When someone, who is usually a newlywed, or who comes back from travelling, builds a house.
<i>Naik ri bola</i> (moving into a new house)	Sponsored after the building house is finished.
<i>Paddingingi bola</i> (house cooling)	When a member(s) of a family is sick for a long time, the family perceives that their house is getting “heat.” This is a kind of ritual affliction.
<i>Tuka</i> (making a new ladder and replacing the old one).	When the old ladder is getting frail, or kids always fall down at that ladder.
<i>Shukkuruk</i> (thanksgiving) ⁴⁴	When someone succeeds. It is mostly sponsored by those who come back from a journey for work, have just been elected for political positions, like the

⁴⁴The idea of *shukkuruk* is similar to that of Javanese *slametan* (Woodward, 2010). Unlike *slametan*, *shukkuruk* does not have *ujub* (a welcoming speech by a host). If *slametan* is the core of Javanese culture, *syukkuruk* is not so much so for Ammatoans.

	village head, house representative, and just get accepted to be employee, especially by the state. This ritual is not observed in the inner territory.
<i>Abbura</i> (Healing)	When someone is sick and cured by a <i>sanro</i> .
<i>Tinja</i> (making and fulfilling vows).	Perfromed before starting or after completing a business. This is done at different places like at a river, forest, and grave. Some are communal and others are individualistic.
<i>Duppa ramallang</i> (Welcoming Ramadan, the ninth month of Islamic calendar)	Observed at Ramadan Eve. This is individually sponsored at one's own house but collectively done at the same time.
<i>Palappasak ramallang</i> (Ramadan Farewell).	Performed on any day of the last fifteen days of Ramadan. It is a "farwell to Ramadan" ritual.
<i>Pabuka</i> (sponsoring the the breaking of the fast).	Performed on any day of Ramadan.
<i>Idul fithr</i>	The end of Ramadan
<i>Idul adha</i>	The tenth day of the twelfth month of Islamic calendar.

APPENDIX C

IRB/HUMAN SUBJECT APPROVAL

Office of Research Integrity and Assurance

To: Christopher Duncan
ENGINEERIN

From: Mark Roosa, Chair
Soc Beh IRB

Date: 01/20/2009

Committee Action: **Exemption Granted**

IRB Action Date: 01/20/2009

IRB Protocol #: 0812003581

Study Title: Indigenous Strategies for Religious Cultural Survival: The Ammatoa of Sulawesi, Indonesia

The above-referenced protocol is considered exempt after review by the Institutional Review Board pursuant to Federal regulations, 45 CFR Part 46.101(b)(2) .

This part of the federal regulations requires that the information be recorded by investigators in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects. It is necessary that the information obtained not be such that if disclosed outside the research, it could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability, or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

You should retain a copy of this letter for your records.