

South Sulawesi, Its Ethnicity and Way of Life

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I Introduction

South Sulawesi is one of the 27 provinces within the Republic of Indonesia. It has a population of 6,053,633¹⁾ living in 21 regencies and two municipalities (Makassar and Pare-Pare). Makassar²⁾ is the capital of the province and has a population of 700,000. The population of the city is made up of natives of Sulawesi and immigrants from other Indonesian ethnic groups who have lived in the capital for many generations and call themselves Makassarians.

Four major ethnic groups make up what may be called the original population of South Sulawesi: they are the Buginese (ca. 3.5 million), the Makassarese (ca. 1.5 million), the Torajanese (ca. 700,000) and the Mandarese (ca. 300,000). Each of these ethnic groups has its own language, Buginese, Makassarese, Torajanese and Mandarese respectively. Living amongst these major ethnic groups there are also several ethnic sub-groups which appear to display

a mixture of the characteristics of two or three of the major ethnic groups. They might, therefore, be called "marginal" ethnic sub-groups. An example is the Duri ethnic sub-group which has characteristics between those of the Buginese and Torajanese. However, because of their more intense and longer contact with the Buginese, this group feel more Buginese than Torajanese. The local vernacular of the Duri-Enrekang people is a dialect derived from both Buginese and Torajanese. Another ethnic sub-group is the Mamuju group whose way of life has both Buginese-Makassarese and Mandar elements.

In border areas, such as the Maros and Pangkep regencies to the north of Makassar and Bulukumba regency south of Makassar, the inhabitants think of themselves as both Buginese and Makassarese. Most people in these areas are bilingual and use both Makassarese and Buginese in everyday life.

This paper will concentrate on the integration of the different ethnic groups into the unified social and cultural life of South Sulawesi.³⁾ In addition, the migration and dispersal of people from South Sulawesi to other parts of Indonesia will be discussed briefly. The discussion will

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1) 1980 census.

2) This city is now called Ujung Pandang. The change was decreed by Government Regulation No. 51, 1971. The change in name has caused a lot of discussion among people of culture in South Sulawesi. It is generally considered that the change is detrimental to South Sulawesi and national history.

3) Since, in actual fact, South Sulawesi has been a socio-cultural unity for a long time, the ethnic groups mentioned in this study are also called the South Sulawesi ethnic group.

include the traditional socio-cultural activities and way of life of the Buginese and Makassarese.

The origins of the ethnic groups of Sulawesi, in particular those of South Sulawesi, remain conjectural and need further investigation. Koentjaraningrat [1975: 8-9], using archaeological data, gives the following information: Mongoloid traits are found in several parts of Indonesia including Sulawesi. It is suggested that Paleo-Mongoloid traits came from the continent of Asia but how these traits entered the Archipelago is still uncertain. One suggestion is that the Austro-Melanesoids moved to the north and west and in so doing mixed with people with Mongoloid traits. Similarly the spread of Bascon-Hoabin may have been the result of movements of peoples from the islands to the continent of Asia or vice-versa. Another possibility is that the Mongoloid traits in the ancient Indonesian archipelago came originally from East Asia, possibly Japan, and later spread to the south by way of the Riukyu Islands, Taiwan, the Philippines, Sangir and finally to Sulawesi. In the caves of Leang Cadang in South Sulawesi human fossils with Paleo-Mongoloid traits (mostly teeth and parts of jaw bones) have been found. These fossils were discovered together with remnants of prehistoric tools, mainly from the early phases, which are marked with small arrow heads made of stone (serrated stone arrow heads). These tools are called Toala⁴⁾ tools and are also found in prehistoric caves in Japan⁵⁾ but this does not mean that the Toala tools are originally from Japan [Teuku Jacob 1967:

115-127].

Cultural objects are not necessarily moved from one place to another by migration. Diffusion or spread of influence can also be responsible. In the same way it might be that people with Paleo-Mongoloid physical traits who migrated from Japan reached South Sulawesi several generations later. They then developed hunting techniques using bows and arrows with Toala characteristics. The making of Toala arrow heads later spread to the north thus explaining why remnants of these arrow heads are also found in Japan. South Sulawesi can thus be said to have been influenced by various cultures and races who come from the east, north and south. Using C¹⁴ dating of prehistoric data A. T. Buhler *et al.* [1960: 20] estimates that the Austro-Melanesoids began to disperse throughout the continent around 11,000 B.C. We can thus put their dispersal from Irian westwards through Java and then northwards as far as Vietnam between 10,000 B.C. and 2,000 B.C. The same is true for the migration of

4) The appellation Toala is originally from South Sulawesi. *Toala'* means bush people or people who live in the forest. Until the end of the 19th century there were still survivals of the population's mode of life which showed Vedoid racial characteristics. These people lived in the jungles and Western scholars called them Toala. When the remnants of prehistoric tools called *abris sous roches* were discovered in South Sulawesi, scholars first thought they had found survivals of the prehistoric ancestors of the Toala. At present, these scholars know that there is no relation between the prehistoric tools and the Toala, but this appellation has been used as a common term in prehistoric science. See also the work of H. R. van Heekeren [1958: 229-237].

5) See J. Maringer [1958].

people from Japan via Riukyu, Taiwan and the Philippines and the subsequent intermingling of races and cultures in South Sulawesi. The formation of Bugis, Makassar, Toraja and Mandar ethnic groups may thus have started from the latter date.

Because South Sulawesi is located in the centre of the Indonesian archipelago, its population have been greatly influenced by maritime life. Of the 21 regencies (*kabupaten*) and two municipalities (*kotamadya*) of South Sulawesi (a peninsula), 19 have sea borders. Of the four *kabupaten* which have no sea border two have lakes which provide fish. Thus, in addition to farming, the inhabitants also became fishermen or seamen who sailed their trading ships throughout the archipelago.

In agricultural areas which are far from the coast the people often export their crops. This has made the people of South Sulawesi very mobile, willing to move in search of better jobs and a better life.

The areas chosen for settlement in the past, "*negeri tua*" (old country), have the following characteristics: (1) waterways (rivers or sea) (2) arable land and forest (3) meeting places such as markets or places which are considered holy or sacred.

Before the advent of Islam (1605) which has become the general religion of the people of South Sulawesi, the people believed in animism and dynamism and in mysterious forces of natural phenomena. These beliefs still exist and are known as *Aluk Tulodo* among the Torajanese and *Patuntung* among the Makassarrese in the areas of Kajang, Onto and Camba. We should

also mention *Tolotang*, belief in a single supreme deity called *dewata seuae* which is associated with the myth of I La Galigo which tells of Sawerigading the founder of the first Bugis Kingdom in Luwu. *Tolotang* belief is still found among the Bugis such as those in Amparita (Sidrap).

Aluk Tulodo among the Torajanese and *Patuntung* among the Makassarrese consist of orally transmitted guidelines for performing rituals. But *Tolotang* and Sawerigading belief have a written mythology called *Sure' Galigo*⁶⁾ which is regarded as the "sacred book" by believers. In the sixties the department of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia classified these religions as part of the *Hindu-Tolotang* religion. Although they are now small in number, they can still provide information on the past (pre-Islam) in South Sulawesi [Mattulada 1978: 120]. The recorded history of Sulawesi begins in the 14th century (the *lontara* period). Before that time orally transmitted mythological tales provided the only source of historical information. Some of these were later written down and make up the famous I La Galigo collection. Other tales, passed down orally are also significant. Each ethnic group has its own collection of lore and mythological tales and although these cannot be used as a source of historical facts they do provide clues concerning the

6) According to R. A. Kern, *Sure' Galigo* or I La Galigo belongs to the greatest world literature of its time. It is said by Matthes that he has collected around 2,840 folio pages of known *Sure' Galigo*. If this amount is added to that collected later, by, among others Prof. Dr. J. C. C. Jongker, the number becomes 7,000 pages.

historical way of life of the groups we now know as the Buginese, the Makassarese, the Torajanese and the Mandarese.

In discussing factors which have influenced the way of life of the kinship and ethnic groups an attempt will be made to discover those which have brought about the current socio-cultural unity of South Sulawesi.

II Nature and the Life of Man

Although nature is not a decisive factor in determining community and culture, it certainly has an influence.

As a tropical country South Sulawesi has only two seasons, the wet season and the dry season. The temperature and pressure do not fluctuate much. Since the people of South Sulawesi earn their living mainly through agriculture and seafaring, rain and winds are of great importance. The average annual temperature is 26°C to 27°C, with a maximum of 32°C and a minimum of 18°C. The temperature in the mountains depends on altitude. For every 100 meters above sea level the temperature drops by 0.6°C.

The topography of South Sulawesi, which features lowland plains and upland plains, or coastal and mountain areas has divided the population into two groups. Those living in the upland plains, in the mountains or forest areas, are known by various names such as the *to ale*; *to riaja*; *tu raya* and *pamoncong*. Because of their way of life these people are called *pallaong-ruma* which means farmers. Those who live in the lowland plains are also known by

several names such as the *to lappa'*; the *tu pabbiring*; *to pasissiri'* *to lau'* or *to lu'*, and because of their way of life are called *pakkaja* (fishermen). People who live in the mountains and upland plains are called *to riaja* by the Buginese, whereas the Makassarese call them *tu raya*. Originally *to riaja* or *tu raya* or *toraja* did not necessarily mean an ethnic group called Toraja or Toale' as it does now. It is possible that this group, whose orientation is agricultural (*pallaong ruma*), are called Toraja because they live in the highlands.

The population of the lowland plains on the coast of Bone bay, from the northern to the southern part of the South Sulawesi peninsula, are called *To lu' pabbugi'* (sea people who catch fish) by both the Torajanese and Buginese. This may be the reason why people from this area are called Luwu' or Ugi' (Bugis).

The population of the lowland plains along the coast of the Makassar straits from the Mamuju region in the north to the Bantaeng area in the south are called *Tu pabbiring*. To the north of the country is the population called *To menre'* by the Buginese. This means people who climb up (from the water). On the Makassar coastline to the south live the people who are called *To Makkasa'* (*To Mangkasa'*), which means people clothed in white, designating a people who ride the waves or sea wanderers. This may be the origin of the name of the Makassar and Mandar ethnic groups who live in the coastal areas of the straits of Makassar and who have a history of seafaring involving both piracy and commerce.

Thus geography has influenced the social and cultural life of South Sulawesi by determining that each of the main ethnic groups, faced with a different environment, would emphasize different ways of life. For instance, the Buginese who are accustomed to living near the coast, combine agriculture and fishing and have the tendency to settle down in places they spread out and migrate to. The Torajanese who settle in the upland plains and mountains live in groups bound by kinship and kinship agricultural land. They are thus essentially bound by the environment and are less inclined to spread and develop into larger groups. Conversely the Makassarese and Mandarese, because of their natural environment, have become seafarers and are less inclined to settle in places they visit. It may not be fitting to call them *perantau* since, though they love adventure, they soon return to their base with its familiar environment once they feel their wandering has achieved its goals.

Owing to these characteristics, in the long history of their adventurous journeys, the Buginese finally occupied a very large expanse of South Sulawesi and planted their pattern of socio-cultural life in the new settlements both in and outside Sulawesi. On the other hand the Torajanese are less mobile. Growing population density in their area caused group movements to places outside Tana Toraja, but migrants still maintain close kinship ties and make great efforts not to break their link with the *tongkonan* from which they originally came. The Makassarese and Mandarese, on the other hand, have always been highly

mobile. They sailed throughout the archipelago as wanderers, merchants or pirates but they did not have the ability to subject the people and settle in the areas they conquered. They would soon return to their place of origin and once again resume their old way of life at least for the time being. They seem to have had difficulty in applying the new elements they discovered in their wanderings to their own culture. It is believed that the haughty Makassarese and Mandarese feel "superior to other people," an attitude which often put them in a disadvantageous position when coming into contact with other people and even caused difficulties among themselves by encouraging rivalry and disputes which planted the seed of long standing hatred. Since the seventeenth century, especially after Aruppallaka, with the aid of the V.O.C. (Dutch East Indies Company), won the war against the Kingdom of Makassar (Gowa) leadership in South Sulawesi has, practically, been in the hands of the Buginese. Their territory became larger and their numbers increased to a greater extent than other ethnic groups.

Inter-ethnic marriage was practised, especially in an effort to expand kinship networks for political and economic purposes. It later became obvious that the Buginese gained advantage from this intermarriage. Every person from South Sulawesi feels that he/she is a Buginese when he/she is outside South Sulawesi. They would call themselves Bugis-Makassar, Bugis-Mandar or Bugis-Toraja.

III Socio-cultural Life

In olden times the people of South Sulawesi lived in kin groups. These groups lived in small settlements called *kampung*, usually located on the riverside or coast and consisting of platform-houses or houses on stilts along the waterfront. Their houses formed circular rows and in the centre of the circle was a relatively large open field containing an old *banyan* tree, which was the place of worship (*saukang*, *punna tana*) and was held to be sacred. It was believed that the founder of the *kampung* was born or incarnated here. Further inland were farm lands (*sawah* or *kebun*) where the inhabitants of the *kampung* grew their food. The *kampung* was an apparently closed living environment with no contact with the outside world but this was not actually the case since, because of its proximity to waterways, either rivers or the sea, it was possible for the *kampung* to make contact with the outside world and thus develop.

Besides contact via waterways, the place of worship in each *kampung* was always connected with those in other *kampung*. The people from one village would visit the places of worship in other villages in order to maintain the kinship relations of their ancestors.

It is believed that in olden times the villages were far apart and separated by forests, mountains and valleys. Several villages, increasingly linked by kinship formed a *wanua*, *bori*⁷⁾ or *lembang* in which several *kampung* joined to form a *negeri*. One of the *kampung* became the capital of

the *negeri*. In the beginning, the *kampung* and *wanua* were each ruled by a member of the kin group who was believed to have descended from the oldest clan in the group. The ruler or leader was usually called *matoa* or *matua* meaning chairman or a person who is considered wise and old (not necessarily in age).

In this manner the concept of ethnicity spread throughout larger and larger areas. Buginese, Makassarese, Torajanese and Mandarese settlements developed their own distinctive atmospheres. Control and leadership involved more complex power relationships than in the villages and so a leadership concept known as *Tomanurung*⁷⁾ developed. Various explanations, such as the following, are given.

1. When life on earth was still void, the gods living on top of the sky sent their descendant down to earth to become the ancestor (*cakal bakal*) of the rulers of the earth and to lay down the foundations of society and culture. This is known as the Luwu' version and comes from the La Galigo Myth which says that Batara Guru sent Sawerigading, who descended from the *Tomanurung* gods, to earth to become the first ruler of the world. This myth, in several varieties, is generally known among the Buginese, Makassarese, Torajanese and Mandarese and is

7) The lexical meaning of *Tomanurung* is a man who descended (from heaven), or from a high place, undergoing an extraordinary reincarnation. The Bugis Wajo King from the beginning of its establishment continued to organize the leadership of the kinship groups who merged and appointed one of the leaders as the main-chairman (*Arung Matoa*).

also known in Southeast Sulawesi, Central Sulawesi and North Sulawesi.

2. When life among the kin groups became chaotic, that is, after the power of the kings who were the descendants of god (Sawerigading) had deserted the world, leaving it without rulers for centuries, the concept of *Tomanurung* emerged in a way that was not explained. Various *lontara*' mention it thus: ...“it was reported that, by common consensus, the ruler was to be called *Tomanurung*” [Mattulada 1975: 320]. The advent of *Tomanurung* was described as an extraordinary event and the titleholder was considered a special human being. His magic power and great learning were accepted as appropriate for a leader capable of uniting the kin groups and bringing them prosperity. This *Tomanurung* concept was used in developing the kingdoms of the Buginese and Makassarese, such as Tana Bone and Butta Gowa. Butta Gowa (the principal kingdom of the Makassarese) used this concept from the arrival of a *Tumanurung* (a woman) in the 13th century and Tana Bone (the principal kingdom of the Buginese) did the same in the 14th century. It was these kingdoms which experienced important world events beginning in the 16th century, such as the advent of Islam and the arrival of Western colonialism.
3. *Tomanurung* came to a particular kin group and taught them various guidelines for life called *adat-istiadat*. After the *Tomanurung* had completed his mission and appointed a leader from

among the kin group who was to implement his teaching, he vanished and returned to his unknown place of origin [Hasan Walinono 1977].

The use of the concept of *Tomanurung* in the organization of states or local kingdoms occurred in both the Bone Kingdom (Bugis) and the Gowa Kingdom (Makassar). Although both recognized that it was the *Tomanurung* who initiated the power of the Bugis and Makassar kings, subsequently basic cultural-political differences developed.

In short, the differences are as follows:

1. In the Kingdom of Bone, *Tomanurung* and his descendants (the royal family), intermarried with the kin-group leaders (aristocracy), and in this way were able to occupy all levels of the bureaucracy up to the leadership of the kingdom. In other words, the lowest functionaries (heads of villages) were related to the central King (King of Bone). In this manner the power of the central King over remote areas was ensured by kinship solidarity and fidelity.
2. In the Kingdom of Gowa, the descendants of *Tumanurung*, as royal family, only occupied positions in the central government or in the bureaucracy. In subordinate areas power and leadership was still in the hands of *Kepala Negeri* (Chieftain of a subordinate area) called *Bate Salapang*.⁸⁾ The *Bate Salapang* would not think of

8) Nine kinship groups who merged and became the original Gowa Kingdom, accepted *Tumanurung* as their leader or King (King of Gowa) whose command was commonly obeyed.

aspiring to positions reserved for nobles descended from the *Tumanurung*, and, conversely, the latter were not allowed to occupy positions which were traditionally the right and responsibility of the *Bate Salapang*, the aristocrats of Gowa. Thus from olden times there were autonomous areas which were respected by the central authorities, especially by the King of Gowa who bore the title of *Sombaya ri Gowa* (The one who was worshipped). When expansion of the area under the jurisdiction of Gowa occurred, the principle of autonomy was encouraged by retaining the original authority in the annexed area. Though, if said area so desired it could be given the status of *bate ana'-karaeng*, an area under the direct rule of a *Tumanurung* descendant [Mattulada 1975: 370].

The political structures described above affected later events. The Kingdom of Gowa was more expansion minded, but had less capacity to impose strong central control over the areas it annexed. The loyalty of subjected areas was determined only by the ability of the central government to protect them from attack from other areas. When the central government showed weakness in the face of troubles from outside, the loyalty of the subjected areas weakened. Since the royal-family, *ana'karaeng ri Gowa*, were placed at the top of a pyramid of glory they were, so to speak, trapped in their glory, and became a noble people excluded from the dynamics of life. They have remained so until modern times.

In the case of the Bone Kingdom, which was dominated by the *Tomanurung* nobility (royal family), the loyalty of annexed areas was ensured by the existence of blood relations between the officials at all levels. Since the resilience of the kingdom was supported by kinship, there was consensus in all activities within the kingdom. The absence of the above phenomenon seems to have been the cause of lack of offensive on the part of the Bone Kingdom as against the expansive drive of the Gowa Kingdom. However, because of the strong kinship ties among the Buginese, a great number of them migrated and settled in other areas throughout the archipelago for reasons not connected with the political expansion of the Bone Kingdom, or any other Bugis kingdoms. These migrations, which took place from times of old, were undertaken in an effort to attain a better life. In the new settlements the Buginese maintained their kinship solidarity. At present, many Bugis-Makassar settlements are found throughout the archipelago. The people live as fishermen, farmers and merchants, still maintaining their old ways of life.

Since the 17th century a number of events have caused changes in the socio-cultural life of the people in South Sulawesi. The events can be outlined as follows:

1. *The Coming of Islam*

Islam as a religion was accepted and embraced by the local kingdoms of South Sulawesi early in the 17th century (1605-1615) and has become the major religion of the Buginese, Makassarese and Mandar-

ese. It was the Gowa Kingdom which initiated conversion to Islam throughout South Sulawesi.

In the 16th century when the Portuguese established friendly relations with the Gowa Kingdom and they cooperated in the spice trade, some of the nobility were converted to Catholicism. Shortly afterwards, however, the Roman Catholic mission somehow ceased its activity and Catholicism (Christianity) did not increase its number of followers. Later the Portuguese were driven out of South Sulawesi by the Dutch East Indies Company, which gradually gained control over spice production in the Moluccas.

After Islam had been declared the official religion of each of the local kingdoms *syariah* (Islamic Law) became one of the bases of social and political life.

The people of South Sulawesi have adat-laws which are considered sacred. These are called *panngaderreng* (Bugis); *panngadakkang* (Makassar); *aluk* (Toraja). The norms and rules of *adat* had four main foundations: (1) *ade'*, (2) *bicara*, (3) *rapang*, and (4) *wari'*. When Islam became the official religion of the Bugis, Makassar and Mandar kingdoms, another foundation was added; (5) *sara'* (*syariah*). The augmented *panngaderreng*, gave the populace social solidarity, social identity, prestige, and self-respect, all of which are embodied in the concept of *siri'*.

Let us now take a closer look at the other four elements of the *panngaderreng*. The first *ade'* includes the following: (1) *ade'sikalabineng*, norms related to marriage and kinship relations, i.e., marriage norms;

the rights and duties of family members, marriage ethics, and good manners in kinship intercourse. (2) *ade'tana*, or norms for affairs of state and government in the form of state law, interstate law and the ethics of cultivating the political being. The supervision and cultivation of *ade'* in society was usually carried out by several *adat* authorities called *pakkatenni ade'*, *puang ade'*, *pampawa ade'*, etc.

Bicara is concerned with all activities and concepts related to justice. These involve *hukum acara* covering both criminal and civil law. *Bicara* determines the procedure to be followed by and the rights and duties of, a person who brings his case to court or one who had lodged an accusation.

Rapang, ensures the power and continuity of unwritten legal decisions from the past by making analogies between past cases and current ones. *Rapang* can also be a parable which advocates the ideal conduct and ethical behaviour in various areas of life such as kinship relations, political life, government, etc. In addition, *rapang* includes a view of the supernatural which prevents actions against property and threats to the safety of members of the community.

Wari', classifies all things, events and social activities into categories,⁹⁾ for example, to maintain the relative positions of objects in community life; to maintain the lines of descent which shaped social stratification; to maintain the kinship relations

9) Friedericy translated *wari'* as *indeling in standen*. This is true, but besides that *wari'* also covers many other things.

between the king of one state and the kings of other states in order to determine their order of seniority as illustrated in seating arrangements at a state ceremony.

As we have said, the addition of *sara'* (Islamic Law) to the *panngaderreng* resulted in the official and institutional development of Islam and enabled Islam to become a social regulator throughout South Sulawesi. As a result ethnic groups mixed more freely, having, for the first time a feeling of unity.

It can be said that socio-cultural unity in South Sulawesi was established by the adoption of *sara'* (Islamic Law).

2. *The Coming of Western Power*

In 1511, when Malacca fell to the Portuguese, the Spice Trade route to the eastern part of Indonesia became the focus of a struggle between European and Indonesian traders. The Portuguese managed to establish friendly relations with the Kingdom of Makassar (Gowa), which had control over the Straits of Makassar, a route to the spice islands of the Moluccas. Other Europeans, especially the Dutch disapproved of the friendly relations between the Portuguese and the Makassarese. Widespread battles ended in the ousting of the Portuguese. This did not, however, weaken the trade between the Makassarese and the eastern islands, since the Straits of Makassar were still under the control of the navy and merchant marine of the Kingdom of Gowa. The Makassarese armed forces helped the Moluccans in their attempts to free themselves from Dutch oppression and eventually there was

an open war between the Kingdom of Gowa (Makassar) and the armed forces of the East Indies Company in the waters of Eastern Indonesia, which reached its peak when the strongholds on the coast of the Gowa Kingdom were attacked by the Dutch by land and sea. The war ended with the signing of the Treaty of Bungaya (Bongai-che Tractaat) in 1685 by which the Dutch established trade offices. They subsequently launched a divide-and-rule campaign among the kings and nobility of South Sulawesi and gradually succeeded in establishing their influence and power in several areas of South Sulawesi.

Arung Palakka (Aruppalakka), a noble from Bone Bugis, who later became King of Bone, allied with the Dutch and together they fought the Gowa Kingdom and its local allies. After the Treaty of Bungaya, the influence of Aruppalakka, the strongest leader in South Sulawesi at the time, led the Buginese into decisive roles in political, social and cultural life. Finally Aruppalakka, aided by the Dutch, unified South Sulawesi, and social and cultural life was organized according to the view of life based on *panngaderreng*, including *sara'* (Islamic Law).

After the death of Aruppalakka the influence of the Dutch via local puppet kings, increased. But organized opposition, including uprisings staged by the leaders of social groups, continued for about two centuries in almost every part of South Sulawesi making government and control difficult for the Dutch. Finally, at the beginning of the 20th century war broke out between the government of the Dutch

East Indies and the Kingdom of Bone and Gowa resulting in the defeat of the latter. From 1905 until the Japanese occupation of Indonesia, South Sulawesi was under the direct control of the Dutch East Indies Government.

IV Social Structure and Leadership

The strict social stratification of the past is still clearly evident today and the drive towards higher social status continues to influence social life. In the past, throughout South Sulawesi, there was a social pyramid with the king, his council and his kinsfolk at the top and the common people at the bottom. Between these two layers were the clan chiefs and prominent merchants who, with their widely distributed relatives, formed a separate *adat* community.

The members of the top social strata generally encouraged rigid inter-strata boundaries whilst the common people (*to sama'*=*to samara'*), mainly free farmers, regarded members of the upper stratum (*anakarung*=*ana' karaeng*) as belonging to a different world and deserving of esteem. However, upward movement through bravery in war, scholarship, merit and service to the state was possible.

The members of the nobility maintained close kinship relations by intermarriage. This occurred mostly among the clan chiefs who headed a particular *adat* area. Among the common people the tendency was to marry within their own kinship groups, although no prohibition was made on intermarriage among people of different social status. Though social stratification

is less rigid nowadays the old pattern and symbols are still in evidence.

Information concerning the pattern of social structure and leadership followed since olden times can be arranged as follows:

1. *According to the Sure' Galigo*

The general theme of the *Sure' Galigo* [*ibid.*: 358–365], which is the oldest written history concerning South Sulawesi, is as follows: The gods who ruled in heaven were led by *To Palanroe* (The Creator), together with his kinsfolk who lived in *Botinglangi'* (roof of heaven) and *Urilliu'* (the world beneath the earth). They agreed to send their offspring down to earth to become the rulers of the world and so the oldest son of the god, *Batara Guru*, was sent to earth. He married his cousin, *We Nyili' Timo*, who was originally from *Urilliu'* or *Toddang Tojang*, the world beneath the earth. Their first child was a girl called *We Oddang-Riu'* who lived for only seven days. From her grave grew a rice plant (a reincarnation of the princess) called *Sangiang Serri'* (the god of grass).

The *Sure' Galigo* was commonly referred to in the search for the origins of social stratification among the Buginese and Makassarese. Friedericy [1933] for example, analysed the kinship relations among the figures who featured in the *Sure' Galigo* and concluded that the Buginese-Makassarese had lived in a society with the following structure.

- 1) The Buginese-Makassarese were composed of two exogamous groups.
- 2) The kinship relations between the two

groups were based on matrilineal descent though their marriage system was patrilineal in nature.

- 3) The relationship between the two groups was based on the assumption that one group was higher in status than the other group because the former had descended from heaven whereas the latter had ascended from the underworld.
- 4) All natural phenomena, plants, animals, etc. were considered to be of heavenly aspect or lowly aspect and were thus considered good or bad respectively.

Belief in these two groups created social stratification consisting of two main strata, namely: (1). *anakarung* (nobility) and (2). *maradeka* (freemen). Another stratum, *ata* (slave), was a secondary layer which emerged later in societal development, that is, after the groups made war against each other. Those who were defeated in war were treated as *ata* (slaves) by the victor.

The kingdoms directly influenced by the *Sure' Galigo* were the countries of Tana Ware' and Tana Luwu', which now include Kabupaten Luwu', Tana Toraya, Wajo' and Bone. In administering their Kingdoms the kings, commonly called *opu* or *arung*, were assisted by the heads of subordinate countries who were usually related to the king by kinship. The family (children) of the king were called *anakarung* (noblemen) and believed to be the descendants of the gods who traced their origin to Batara Guru. The Buginese Kingdoms of Tana Ware' and Tana Luwu' are said in the *Sure' Galigo* to have enjoyed a golden age during the reign of Sawerigading but

this came to an end after the kings who descended from gods left the earth and returned to the top of heaven or descended to the world below. It was reported that afterwards there was chaos on earth; there was no order and each group made wars against the others.

2. *According to Pre-Tomanurung Folktales*

Every old country had its own creation story. These countries, actually kinship-group settlements, consisted of several earlier "countries" which had merged. Each of these settlements, *wanua*, *bori'* or *lembang*, was a self-contained unity with its own social institutions (*pranata*) in the form of *adat* norms which were universally observed. Chabot [1967: 189-209] calls them *daerah adat*, adat-community. A *wanua*, a combination of several villages, came into existence because of common inherited property called *arajang* (Bgs) or *gaukang* (Mks) [Brink 1943: 27]. These were mostly stone objects, or other natural objects which were discovered in an extraordinary situation. The place where the objects were first discovered was believed to be the place where the ancestors had first built their country and was usually called *possi'tana* (centre of the earth).

Near the *possi'tana* was an old *banyan* tree which was believed to have magical power. Under the tree was a small house of worship called a *saukang* in which it was believed the *punna tana* (the possessor of the country), that is the spirit of the ancestors, dwelled and observed the deeds of his descendants. The inherited objects

such as *gaukang* and *possi'tana* became the unifying force of the kin groups. The primeval supernatural power associated with the inherited objects and *possi'tana* brought about the belief that every thing else owed its existence to these sacred objects. It was a common practice to build a house for these objects. This was considered a holy place, to which ceremonial offerings were usually brought. Members of the kin groups believed that the *saukang* had protective power and the power to bring luck and so this was also the place to make requests and express gratitude to the ancestors. The sacred objects were treated as a most venerated human being. The person in charge of the sacred objects and articles of worship of the *saukang* was called *pinati*.

The *pinati* was thought to interpret the wishes of the ancestors which were communicated to the kin groups through the sacred objects. In most cases he was an unmarried male with female characteristics (*bissu*) but sometimes, because of signs from the ancestors, the role was performed by the kin-group leader, the oldest male member of the group.

Kinship is an essential element in the social-structure of the people of South Sulawesi. Kin groups, generally bilateral, lived in an area or country inherited from their ancestors. Within a kin-group territory, *wanua*, *bori* or *lembang*, although there was a strong assumption that all the inhabitants were descended from a common ancestor, there was always rivalry among group leaders for influence in, or power over, all the kin groups. Tension amongst

the kin groups was lessened by the practice of kin-group endogamy and the ceremonial worship of common ancestors. This is where the role of the commonly inherited sacred objects came into play: their war machines, ornaments, *possi'tana*, etc., would immediately remind the people of their kinship links and their social unity which was built upon the spirit of solidarity within the kin groups and embodied in the concepts of *siri'* (personal dignity) and *pacce* (group solidarity).

Intra kin-group relationships shed light both on relationships within such groups and on those within the society as a whole. Chabot [1967] emphasizes two such relationships, first, that between father and son or older brother and younger brother and second that between brother and sister. In the first the dominant feature was the great power of the father. In conversation with his father it was considered improper and impolite for a son to contradict his father. Often a son avoided any conversation with his father unless called upon to listen or to answer a question. If the son had something important to say to his father he would communicate via his mother or an uncle (mother's or father's brother). The approval or disapproval of his father would be relayed to him through the same persons.

Chabot says that in the relationship between older brother and younger brother, though it was less critical, the possibility of hostility is great because of the rivalry caused by the men's efforts to improve their status and to achieve power, an important element in their lives. This pattern of

rivalry extended far beyond the borders of the nuclear family and the bilateral kin group and constituted the basis of relationships between individuals in rural communities [*ibid.*: 195].

In my experience rivalry between brothers is not very common. I observed older brothers "giving in" to their juniors for the sake of family harmony. An older brother who behaves in this way is considered to be upholding the honour and authority of his father and thus wins the respect of his juniors. In the same way, what Chabot called "the pattern of rivalry among older and younger men," should be seen as the result of rivalry between a brother and his sister's husband. This occurs when the brother feels that his sister's honour has been offended, or that his brother in law has made a conspicuous attempt to achieve influence and power within the family. This is a result of the relationship between brothers and sisters. The brother has strong feelings towards his sister, that is, he feels called upon to protect her in any situation. This attitude is based upon the notion that the sister is the living representation of his mother, the highest symbol of honour within the family connected with *siri'* (dignity). In addition we must consider the relationship between father and daughter. Daughters are usually favoured more by the father than by the mother who, similarly, favours her sons more. Not less important is the relationship between husband and wife in a nuclear family, which extends far into the larger kin group. The husband must look upon his wife as a representative of her extended family, who

are rivals of his own extended family. Hostility in a nuclear family could thus create hostility between the kin groups which are united by the marriage. The kinship community which was built upon bilateral family relationships as a model for *adat* alliance which had its own government. Leaders of the *adat*-alliances or *adat* communities were elected or chosen by deliberation among the kin groups belonging to it. This *adat* community could be called a kind of *village republic* and was the forerunner of the Buginese-Makassarese kingdoms with *Tumanurung* as their symbol of genesis. Inter kin-group rivalry occurred frequently and often led to war and conquest.

In the kin-group countries of the Makassarese (Gowa) called *bori'*, each country had its own *bate* (banner). The possibility of rivalry and war among them was minimized by appointing a person called *paccalla* (arbitrator) from among them. The *paccalla* would only act as arbitrator in reconciling the differences which arose between the *bate* (the holder of the kin-group banner). He was not the leader of all the *bori*. Each *bate* maintained the sovereignty of their own *bori'*. This situation continued until the arrival of *Tumanurung* who unified all the *bate* into a kingdom called Butta-Gowa (The Kingdom of Gowa) in the 13th century.

Amongst the kin groups of Tana Ugi' (the land of the Buginese), commonly called *anang*, especially in Bone prior to the advent of *Tomanurung*, great upheavals occurred because of quarrels between *anang*. Every *wanua* (country)

where an *anang* existed had to be constantly on the alert against attacks by neighbouring *anang*. At the peak of chaos and desperation the *Tomanurung* made his appearance and all the *anang* agreed to subject themselves to him in order to bring about peace, order and prosperity. In the countries where the *Tomanurung* did not appear, the *wanua*, *bori'* or *lembang* continued to exist in isolation. This was the case in most of the *lembang* in Tana Toraja.

There were *wanua* which peacefully agreed to form a kingdom by combining several *wanua*. The leaders of the *wanua* agreed to appoint from among them a chairman who led the government of the combined *wanua*. This was the experience of the Buginese in Wajo' who established Tana Wajo' with its highest leader called *Matoa*, or *Arung Matoa* (Chairman) of Tana Wajo'.

3. *The Lontara' Version of Tomanurung*

There are several kinds of Buginese-Makassarese *lontara'* (manuscript) which are called *lontara' attoriolong* by the Buginese and *lontara' patturioloang* by the Makassarese. These are the *lontara'* which tell us about the genealogy of the kings of the kingdom which began with the arrival of *Tomanurung*. The manner in which the *Tomanurung* arrived is described as miraculous or extraordinary. To him the heads of the kin groups surrendered their power to govern. *Tomanurung* leadership was realized in the lands of the Buginese-Makassarese in a number of varieties such as those men-

tioned above. Riekerk [1959: 3] says that the *lontara'* chronicles which give the arrival of *Tumanurung* as the reason for the establishment of the kingdoms of the Buginese-Makassarese in ancient times are very interesting since they describe the process by which power was transferred from the *Matoa* to the *Tomanurung*. This constitutes a change towards more extensive power being centralized in the hands of an individual without the use of conquest, physical coercion or the oppression of a group or class of the society.

Between the king (*Tomanurung*) and *Matoa*, "acting on behalf of his people" an agreement or an oath containing the basic rights and duties of the king in carrying out the administration was arrived at. This agreement or oath was repeated by succeeding kings and called a "governmental contract." It had to be remembered well by both the ruler and the ruled since it was concerned with the rights and duties of each party in political life.

The genealogy of the later kings who descended from *Tomanurung* shows that there was an attempt to connect the past and the figures mentioned in the *Sure' Galigo*. The Gowa people for example associated their *Tumanurung* with Karaeng Bayo and Lakipadada who are found in Toraja mythology. The Wajo people connected the genealogy of their kings (chairman) with the kings from the three countries from which Tana Wajo developed. These kings were descendants of the kings of Luwu' who, in turn, were descendants of Sawerigading. The Bone also sought to connect themselves with characters from

the *Sure' Galigo*. This was done in an effort to obtain a leadership model which had enough charisma to appeal to the populace. Thus we have: *Tumanurung* in Gowa, a *Tomanurung* in Bone who was called Matasilompo'e; *Tomanurung* in Soppeng who, reincarnated in Sekkanyili', was called Temmamala' and other *Tomanurung* in various places. All this was recounted in the *lontara' attoriolong* which gave the genealogies of the kings concerned. This was the beginning of the *lontara'* period in which relations between the ethnic groups in South Sulawesi and the outside world began to develop, increasing cultural exchange. Although there was an attempt to revive charismatic leadership during the Galigo period the influence of *anang* leadership, which had also survived brought about a new kind of leadership which was more democratic. This *anang* leadership made it possible for the common people to play a part in deciding the policy of the government. The agreement on the transfer of power given above guaranteed limits to the rights and duties of the king towards the people and vice-versa. The principles of such a transfer of governmental power can be considered to constitute a simple constitution. The establishment of the power structure and social stratification of every country in South Sulawesi was based on this agreement.

In the case of Tana Wajo' where there was no *Tomanurung*, an *anakarung* (nobility) existed but was certainly not based on the *Tomanurung* concept. The *anakarung* were the hereditary official class. There were 40 major officials in

the Wajo Kingdom: one *Arung Matoa*, three *Bate Lompo*, 30 *Arung Mabbicara* and three *Suro ri bateng*¹⁰⁾ proportionally representing the three original *wanua*. The forty royal officials were called the holders of the sovereignty of Tana Wajo'. The common people were called *to mara-deka*.

V Religious Life

It is generally believed that the people of South Sulawesi are deeply religious. At present the four major religions of the world, namely Islam, Buddha-Hindu, Protestant and Roman Catholic have their followers in South Sulawesi. Before the people of South Sulawesi embraced these religions, they had their original beliefs such as *Aluk Tudolo* among the Torajanese, *Tolotang* among the Buginese and *Patuntung* among the Makassarrese. These still have their followers, though they are small in number and live in remote, relatively isolated places. The indigenous "religions" or beliefs are in no way connected with the major religions; yet, in the present practices of their respective religions (Islam, Buddha-Hindu, Protestant and Roman Catholic) there are obvious influences and elements from their former indigenous beliefs. It may be that the indigenous beliefs generally had a concept of the unity of what the people

10) The titles of the Key officials of Wajo Kingdom (Tana Wajo') numbered 40, can be translated as follows: 1. *Arung Matoa* (The Chairman King), 2. *Ranreng* (Assistant to the King), 3. *Bate Lompo* (Head of a Subordinate country), 4. *Arung Mabbicara* (Legislator), 5. *Suro ri bateng* (Ambassador).

believed to be a god. This concept of "Ur-monotheism" is believed to have made it easier for the people of South Sulawesi to accept the monotheistic concepts in Islam and Christianity.

A broad outline of religion and beliefs in South Sulawesi before the coming of Islam and Christianity can be given as follows:

1. *Belief in Aluk Tudolo among the Torajanese*

They believed in the existence of a great creator, called Puang Matua, who ruled the universe. The world was managed in two ways: First, according to *Aluk Matallo* and second according to *Aluk Matampu*. *Aluk Matallo* was followed by the people of eastern Tana Toraja and had a religious and social aristocracy. *Aluk Matampu* was followed by the Torajanese who occupied the western part of the country whose religion and social life were more democratic. These *aluk* contributed to the spiritual life, behaviour and physique of the Torajanese.

The *Aluk Tudolo* religious leader was called *burako*. The two *aluk* were led by their respective *burako*, that is *Burako Matallo* and *Burako Matampu*. In ancient times there were 40 federations of kin groups in Tana Toraja called *Arruan Patangpulo*, whose areas, called *Lepongan Bulan*, covered Tana Toraja and its surroundings. It is conjectured that it was this federation of kin groups which was the original federation of South Sulawesi communities prior to the system mentioned in the Galigo and *lontara*' periods which had adopted various religious and cultural elements from outside

South Sulawesi.

Aluk Tudolo is still embraced by many Torajanese who form kinship alliances and live in family clusters called *Tongkonan* which still show characteristics dating back to a period that cannot be satisfactorily explained. The *tomena* (wise old people) in Tana Toraja who hand down certain parts of the *Aluk Tudolo* from generation to generation can be a source for the explanation of the dark past. The tentative answer resulting from a survey is that *Aluk Tudolo* is monotheistic and does not have a hierarchy of gods. *Puang Matua* as the creator of all things created various *aluk* to bring order to the world. The manifestation of *Puang Matua* can only be comprehended through the arrangement of various kinds of *aluk* ceremonies conducted by living people who have regular contacts with the world of spirits called *Puya* which exist in this world.

2. *Belief in Patuntung*

Beliefs similar to *Aluk Tudolo* in Tana Toraja survive in various parts of South Sulawesi such as *Tana Toa* (Kajang-Bulukumba), Onto on the slope of Mt. Lompobatang, Bantaeng and in remote villages in Camba and Barru.

Followers of *Patuntung* believe that there exists an all powerful, single being having various names. Some people call it *Turie A'ra'na* (the one who wishes), others *Tomapancajie* (the creator), etc. *Patuntung* means "one who leads" and it is embraced and maintained by kinship alliances under a leader who is believed to receive instruction from *Turie A'ra'na*

through special songs or extraordinary behaviour. The leader of the kin group, who is at the same time the religious leader, is regarded as a holy being whose wishes are obeyed. The people who believe in *Patuntung* live in isolation, in villages difficult to reach from the outside. However, outside cultural influence has managed to penetrate into these communities so that, in fact, their rituals reflect a synthesis of various beliefs which came later such as beliefs similar to Hinduism-Buddhism and Islam.

Like the Torajanese who believe in *Aluk Tudolo*, adherents of the *Patuntung* belief generally wear dark coloured garments (black or dark blue). It does not have a "holy script" or the like, but its adherents practise good deeds toward all living beings or objects in nature by handing down instructions to posterity through their leaders called *Ammatoa*, or *Tautoa*, which means "wise old father." These instructions are called *pasang*, which means the true guidelines of life. Generally speaking adherents of *Patuntung* are people who speak a Makassarese dialect called the *Konjo* dialect.

3. *Tolotang* Belief

Is found in the interior of Sidenreng-Rappang. Believers are also called *Tolotang* people. They believe in the existence of a supreme natural power which they call *To Palanroe* (The man who creates) or *Dewata Seuae* (the single god). In the hierarchy of names with godly aspects we find the names of Sawerigading, Galigo, etc. The Galigo mythology is a holy epic

for them and they believe it to be the route to the highest truth. Believers in the *Tolotang* community have their own order in community life and rules concerning marriage and religious ceremonies are very strictly observed, all being based on Galigo mythology.

In ancient times the Buginese did not bury their dead but cremated them and then put them into a jar. It would seem that there was a connection between cremation and the religious belief whose survivals are now called *Tolotang* or *To Ani* and which is believed to have originated in Ware' in Luwu', the origin of the Galigo mythology.

Since the acceptance of Islam as the official religion of the major areas in South Sulawesi, it has become the general religion of the people in South Sulawesi. Later, when Dutch colonialism penetrated into the interior, many Torajanese were converted to the religion of the Dutch, that is Protestant or Roman Catholic. The peaceful coexistence of the people of South Sulawesi who embrace different religions has proceeded well, thanks to the integration of the religions into a common *adat* atmosphere.

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The great attention paid to agriculture in the last few years within the framework of national development has made South Sulawesi "The National Granary." Production of rice and secondary crops has been given top priority in order to meet national needs. Quite recently the mecha-

nization of agriculture has begun.

The Buginese-Makassarese, a seafaring people who use sailing boats, still ride the waves throughout the archipelago. They can be found in all the seaports of Indonesia. Buginese and Makassarese fishermen have settled in coastal places throughout the country. They live in Buginese-Makassarese settlements to which they have brought their traditional way of life, especially in Sumatra, Java and the Moluccas and are usually called "voluntary migrants." In these places they are known to be industrious, active workers who face the problems of life in high spirits and with courage.

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