

Household and Religion : The Problem of Identity in a Bugis Community

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I Introduction : Amparita and the Tolotang

This paper examines whether variant forms or styles of domestic groupings might be observed according to differences in religious affinities, and explores the relationship between religion and household in a Bugis community in South Sulawesi. Amparita, the community under discussion, has residents of three religious categories: Muslims and two groups of the what is termed "Tolotang."¹⁾ The Tolotang regard themselves as different from the majority of Muslim population, claiming that they follow the more traditional, authentic beliefs and practices of the Bugis (see Maeda [1976; 1984 a]).

Desa (or recently, Kelurahan) Amparita is one of three villages in Kecamatan Tellu Limpoe, Kabupaten Sidenreng-Rappang (or Sidrap), Sulawesi Selatan.²⁾ The present *kecamatan* was formed in

1960, the administrative center being Amparita, together with Massepe and Teteaji. The total population of the *kecamatan* is 17,232 in 1980 of which Amparita accounts for 54.5%. Massepe and Teteaji, renowned for having once been either the seat of Addatuang (king of Sidenreng) or the port in the Lake of Sidenreng, do not have a Tolotang population (see Maeda [1976]). According to the statistics at the *kelurahan* office, "Hindu" followers, i.e., the Tolotang according to the official terminology then, in Amparita amount

Table 1 Population by Religion in Amparita

	Division of the Desa			
	I	II	III	Total (%)
Muslim	1,875	159	1,856	3,890 (40.64)
Christian	0	3	0	3 (0.03)
Hindu	157	3,225	2,297	5,679 (59.33)
Total	2,032	3,387	4,153	9,572 (100.00)

Source : Kantor Kelurahan Amparita, as of 31 Oct. 1982.

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1) The word *tolotang* is a shortened form of *tau lautang*. *Tau* means the people, and *lautang* the south. See Maeda [1984 a: 111] and [1976: 411] for other interpretations.

2) *Desa* means "village." Some *desa* have been changed into the status of *kelurahan* if its budget is not autonomous and its head "*lurah*" is salaried and appointed by a distinct head since 1979. Amparita and Massepe are *kelurahan* in this *kecamatan* (subdistrict). *Kabupaten* is a district under a *propinsi* (province).

to nearly 60% of the total population (see Table 1). However, these village statistics do not include the Tolotang who do not associate themselves with Hindus. The Tolotang have been historically divided into two categories: the Toani Tolotang (or Wawanna Uwa Sameng) and the Tolotang Benteng (or Tolotang Islam or Wawanna Uwa Ponreng).³⁾ Then the Toani Tolotang asserted that their religion was a sect of Hindu/Buda Bali, sometimes called "Hindu Tolotang," in conjunction with the political support of Golkar (a government party of civil servants and technocrats) (see Kip and Rodgers [1987] for the politics of agama). The Tolotang Benteng take sides with Islam and would say they are Muslims when formally questioned, although most of them don't attend Friday prayers at a mosque in Amparita. The Tolotang Benteng probably amount to 10% of the total population in Amparita, although there are no official statistics enumerating them [Maeda 1976: 413].

3) *Wawang* means a group, derived from a verb *wawa* which means "to bring." Uwa Sameng and Uwa Ponreng were the leaders of the Tolotang after World War II until their demise in the 1960s. Toani is a compound made up of *tau* and *wani*, and means the people of (village) Wani from whence they are believed to have originated. *Benteng* is a fortress, and Tolotang Benteng means the people who reside in the south of the ramparts.

The distribution of the Toani Tolotang in other areas can be estimated by examining "Hindus" in the 1980 Census. Hindus, of course, include Balinese immigrants, especially in Luwu where the 15,872 Hindus are probably mostly Balinese. The Hindu population in Sidrap, Pinrang, Wajo and Parepare may also be considered Toani Tolotang. The number in Sidrap is shown in Table 2 by *kecamatan*. Tellu Limpoe has the biggest population of Hindus who, as mentioned above, concentrate in Amparita. Arawa and Lainungang are two villages of concentration in Watang Pulu. In Maritengngae there are some Hindus at Kadidi (north of Pangkajene) and Kanyuara (Watang Sidenreng, east of Pangkajene), as well as in Kota Pangkajene and Mojong. In Dua Pitue Hindus are found in Tanru-teddong and Otting.

Table 2 Number of Followers of the "Agama Hindu" in Sidrap

Kecamatan	Agama Hindu	Total Population
Panca Lautang	16	20,163
Tellu Limpoe	5,608	17,232
Watang Pulu	4,211	16,473
Baranti	304	25,202
Panca Rijang	73	32,254
Maritengngae	3,962	42,460
Dua Pitue	2,921	55,566
Total	17,095	209,350

Source: 1980 Census.

Outside Sidrap there are Hindus in Ujung Pandang (perhaps a good many of 2,130 Hindu population in the Census), 980 in Wajo (chiefly in Kecamatan Maniang Pajo and Tempe), 240

in Parepare and 566 in Pinrang. The total is some 21,000 or fewer according to the Census. Even counting the scattered Hindu population in Tator, Polmas, Soppeng, Pangkep, Maros, Bone, Gowa, etc., the total does not amount to 30,000 (see Maeda [1976: 412] for other estimations).

Regarding the Tolotang Benteng outside Amparita there is no available information. According to members of the sect there are other members in Sawito in Pinrang, Parepare and Kanyuara. Atho Mudzhar [1977: 113] estimates the Tolotang Benteng outside Amparita number over 5,000. Some of them outside Amparita attend Friday prayers and have made pilgrimages to Mecca, and it is difficult to tell whether or not they are genuine practitioners of the religion.

The Tolotang population has concentrated or increased in Amparita because this village is the site of annual gatherings for both the Toani Tolotang and the Tolotang Benteng. The Toani Tolotang meet at a cemetery Perrinyameng where the ancestors who brought them down from Wajo have been buried.⁴⁾ The Tolotang Benteng celebrate their annual ceremony around the sacred well dug by the founder of their belief and other monuments in the village.

4) Perrinyameng is situated two kilometers northwest from Amparita. It is said that the Tolotang people formerly lived there.

Although some quarters are more densely settled by one group, no demarcation of domicile areas is evident with reference to social categories. Outside the concentrated areas of Amparita, Kanyuara, Arawa and so on, the Tolotang's settlement pattern is mixed with Muslims, too, especially in Ujung Pandang and Parepare, where there are areas of migrants from Sidenreng, though.

In Amparita the settlement pattern has changed since World War II. During the rebellion period of Kahar Muzakkar,⁵⁾ many people moved to safer places like Amparita, deserting small isolated hamlets or escaping from dangerous places like Kanyuara. Thus Amparita expanded southward, changing wet-rice fields into residential areas. The village experienced a great fire in 1966; most of the houses in the west and south, together with *lontara'* (palm-leaf) documents, were burned. The construction of the irrigation canal from Saddang in the mid 1970s also attracted housebuilding and house-moving to the western part of Amparita. There is a slight tendency to move back to the hamlets deserted during the rebellion time, but this last movement is not so conspicuous in comparison with the expansion of the residential area and the concentration of population.

5) The rebellion was led by Kahar (1950-65) after the Independence struggle. The aftereffects of turbulence remained until the latter part of the 1960s.

Amparita is administratively divided into three sections: Kampung (or *Lingkungan*) I consisting of Arateng, Panrenge and Turungeng (these are old hamlets or clusters of houses with fields), Kampung II including Amparita Wattang, Amparita Timureng and Labukku, and Kampung III with Baula and Wattalowa. The change in population by *kampung* is shown in Table 3. The growth of Kampung III is noticeable from the figures.

Table 3 Population of Amparita by Kampung

Year	Kampung I	Kampung II	Kampung III	Total
1970	2,171	2,791	2,790	7,752
1973	2,184	2,671	3,060	7,915
1977	2,173	2,932	3,474	8,579
1982	2,032	3,387	4,153	9,572
1987	2,212	3,589	4,411	10,212

Source: Kantor Kecamatan Tellu Limpoe.

The occupational structure in Amparita is rather diversified. Most residents depend on wet-rice cultivation: The statistics of the *kelurahan* office in 1982 indicate that 87.4% of the total households are agriculturists. Other categories include military personnel, government officials, pensionists, fishermen, artisans, and big, small and petty traders. The percentage of peasants is 77.7% in Kampung I, 88.4% in Kampung II, and 90.2% in Kampung III. Kampung I, with highest concentration of Muslims, has the largest number of government officials, amounting to 12.4% of its total households, compared to only 2.2% in Kampung II and explained in terms of its vicinity

to upland fields, there could be some correlation with religious affinity, most people in Kampung II and III being Tolotang.

In 1982/83 and 1984 I administered basic questionnaires for all of Kampung II and part of Kampung I, 612 households with 3,397 people. The Toani Tolotang numbered 71% which is some 35% out of the total households of Amparita, the Tolotang Benteng 11% and Muslims 18%. There are included some important persons of the Toani Tolotang and Tolotang Benteng in the surveyed area. Although there are the village congregation mosque and a religious school in Kampung II, the Muslims largely live in Arateng in Kampung I where it is said there was a *possi' tana* (center of the land) of Amparita. My survey, therefore, does not necessarily reflect the village-wide proportion of religious categories.

According to my survey data, occupational diversification is slightly more salient than settlement pattern, showing less emphasis on agriculture. Many agriculturists pursue side businesses like rice-milling, trading, fishing, crafts, poultry and so on. If agriculturists with side businesses are included, the proportion in each religious category is as follows: 62% in Toani Tolotang, 61.3% in Tolotang Benteng and 64.6% in Muslims. However, the proportion of those without side jobs is: 41.4%, 21%, and 24.8% respectively. Thus, the ratios of having a side business are 35.8%, 65.8% and 64.4%.

The ratio of government officials and teachers is high among Muslims (23.7%) in comparison with Toani's 1.6% and Benteng's 8.1%. Otherwise, it is difficult to detect a difference in occupational structures among the three categories.

Outside the village some richer folk own wet-rice fields, upland fields or *cengkeh* (clove) estates, *empang* (fish pond), houses, shops, rice-mills and so on. Perhaps, Toani-Tolotang's leaders dominate ownership in terms of their numbers, but, if we take into account ex-nobles or government officers outside my survey, the phenomena becomes a problem of social stratification in general.

In summary there are no major visible distinctions observed among the three religious categories in Amparita in terms of settlement pattern or occupation, nor, needless to say, of appearance, dress or housings. What distinguishes these peoples is attendance to religious duties and, to a certain extent, the range of social intercourse in daily life. Economic characteristics salient to the Tolotang are their system of contribution to their leaders and their recourse to cooperative help within their own groupings. The former takes the form of *mappenre inanre* (holding up or offering the food) in various prescribed occasions which the leaders claim is a way of redistribution. Followers bring in necessities which are then redistributed by a leader. He often sponsors ceremonies

necessary to the security of community with his own resources, and with the help of followers. He gives moral and religious advice to them so that they may live a correct life to enter the afterlife. This system is firmly based in households which we shall examine in turn.

II Household and Kinship

Co-residents in a house are collectively called *sibola*, while relatives are termed *siajing*, *sianang*, *siwija*, *silessureng*, or *assiajingeng* (see Maeda [1986a]). The extension of relatives may be categorically shown by their kinship terminology [Maeda 1986 b : 100; Pelras 1977 : 71 for Wajo]. Essentially, the terminological system is similar to the Malay type, except the former has additional sibling terms related more to an Oceanic type [Marshall 1984], i.e., the differentiation of siblings by sex and by the sex of the speaker (*ana' dara* is used for sisters by a brother; *padaoroane* brother by a brother; *ana' burane* brothers by a sister; *pada' kunrai* sisters by a sister).

Tables 4 and 5 show the household composition classified according to the stage of family development, i.e., one's life course from marriage through post-parental stage. The model composition means that there are no extra recruitments from other categories and no diminution in their ideal composition. For example Stage VI's model composition may consist of wife, unmarried

Table 4 Household Composition by Religious Affiliation

Family Stage	Toani Tolotang (%)	Tolotang Benteng (%)	Muslim (%)	Total (%)
I	12 (2.7)	4 (6.5)	3 (2.7)	19 (3.1)
II	25 (5.7)	3 (4.8)	1 (0.9)	29 (4.8)
III	176 (40.3)	30 (48.4)	39 (34.5)	245 (40.0)
IV	38 (8.7)	2 (3.2)	11 (9.7)	51 (8.3)
V	91 (20.8)	15 (24.2)	37 (32.7)	143 (23.4)
VI	52 (11.9)	3 (4.8)	10 (8.8)	65 (10.6)
VII	12 (2.8)	1 (1.6)	3 (2.7)	16 (2.6)
VIII	31 (7.1)	4 (6.5)	9 (8.0)	44 (7.2)
Total	437 (100.0)	62 (100.0)	113 (100.0)	612 (100.0)

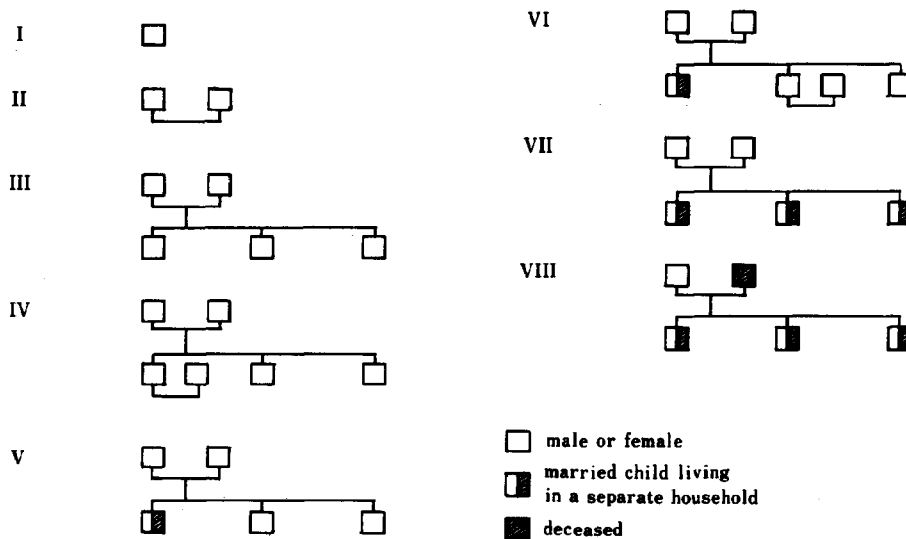


Table 5 Percentage of Model Composition

Family Stage	Toani Tolotang	Tolotang Benteng	Muslim	Total
I	16.7 (2/12)	50.0 (2/4)	0 (0/3)	21.1 (4/19)
II	48.0 (12/25)	0 (0/3)	100.0 (1/1)	44.8 (13/29)
III	48.9 (86/176)	33.3 (10/30)	38.5 (15/39)	45.3 (111/245)
IV	52.6 (20/38)	0 (0/2)	54.5 (6/11)	51.0 (26/51)
V	50.5 (46/91)	46.7 (7/15)	54.1 (20/37)	51.0 (73/143)
VI	61.5 (32/52)	66.7 (2/3)	50.0 (5/10)	60.0 (39/65)
VII	58.3 (7/12)	100.0 (1/1)	33.3 (1/3)	56.3 (9/16)
VIII	25.6 (7/31)	25.0 (1/4)	66.7 (6/9)	31.8 (14/44)
Total	48.5 (212/437)	37.1 (23/62)	47.8 (54/113)	47.2 (289/612)

children, and a married child or children with spouse and their own unmarried children, one or more married children living separately in other house-

holds. Variants are either with missing members like spouse (7 cases lacking husband, 2 lacking wife) or with additional members like a spouse's par-

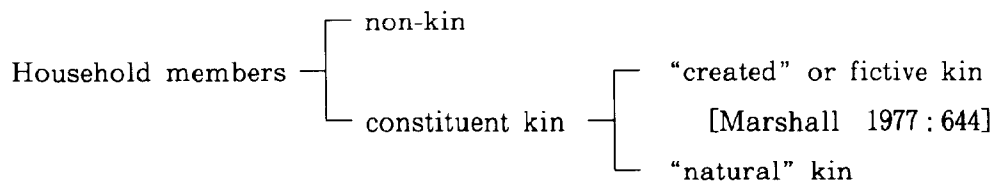


Fig. 1

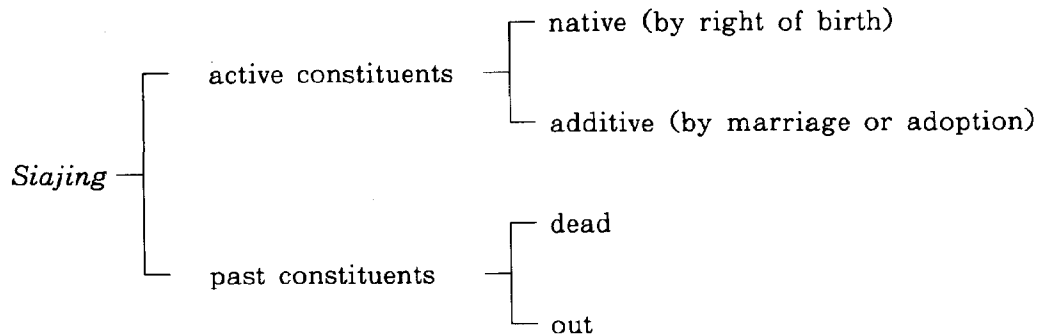


Fig. 2

ents (7 cases), divorced children (3 cases with daughters, one case with a son), grandchildren or collateral kin.

Overall, the ratio of model composition is 47.2% (Table 5), but the proportion increases toward Stage VI (60.0%) and then decreases in VII and VIII, the post-parental stages. The smaller percentage of the Tolotang Benteng may be due to the small sample which embraces a number of big households of leaders.

Household composition may be generalized as in Fig. 1 (adopted from Shimizu [1987: 79]). Unrelated additional members are only found in Stages II through VI (8 cases). There are also three cases of fosterage (in Stage II). There is little problem about spouse as created kin. Thus household members are mostly recruited from the kinship circle,⁶⁾ although sometimes including wife's dis-

tant (untraceable) relatives (in Stage VI) or wife's father's brother's wife (in Stage V) or wife's mother's second cousin (in Stage III).

There is no salient correlation of either model compositions or patterns of variation with religious affinities. Also I did not find any differences in ratios of nuclear-family type households among them: Toani Tolotang 36.6%, Tolotang Benteng 33.9%, and Muslims 38.1% for the ratio of the sum of model compositions I, II, III, V, VII and VIII against the total.

Siajing may symbolically contain the memory of past members, although residual categories merge on the boundary between active and past constituents (modified from Shimizu [1987: 205]). (See Fig. 2)

6) A circle is not a finite and bounded group but a flexible network with adjustable boundaries (see Maeda [1978: 40]).

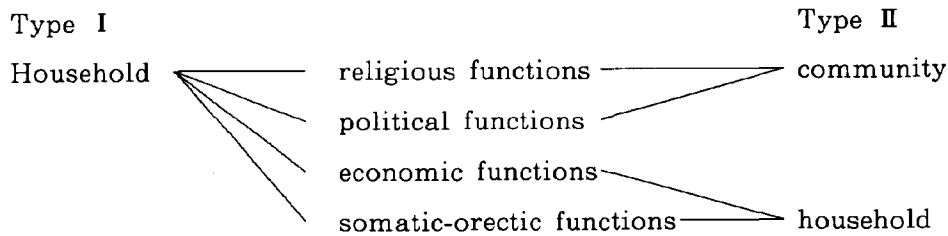


Fig. 3

Recently deceased members are remembered whether they are important or not, at least until the completion of necessary rituals after death. The ceremony of erecting a tombstone (*mattampung*) is a good occasion to refresh the memory; the tombstone visibly fixes the memory on the ground. Some kin are regarded as memorable ancestors and, in due time, receive proper worship from descendants. The Toani Tolotang claim that their leaders (*uwatta* and *uwa*) are direct descendants of the leader who took their ancestors from Wajo to Sidenreng, while the Tolotang Benteng argue their present top leader is the 18th in line from the founder of the religion La Pan-aungi. Their tombs are the most important objects of worship for them.

The extent of *siajing*, however, may differ according to status. Usually, the commoner's depth of genealogy is quite shallow, remembering just parents or grandparents. Some do not even know spouse's parents' names. The critical point for the *siajing* extension is the treatment of past constituents, who are out owing to marriage or migration, and of their descendants. If disregarded, then *siajing* nearly reduces to

an actual household and the close relatives surrounding it. If incorporated, there may emerge a symbolic household like a royal house or a Tolotang's leaders' house whose relations with other similar houses may be reinforced by a succession of near kin marriages.

From the viewpoint of a wider society, households may be placed on two extremes depending on function (cf. Shimizu [1987: 61]). (see Fig. 3) If this scheme is applied to the Tolotang case, Type I may correspond to a "symbolic household" and Type II "actual household." The leaders construct symbolic households based on the loyalty of actual households of commoners, and eventually the symbolic household becomes the Tolotang community.⁷⁾

III Household and Ritual

Various religious activities are observed in Amparita: daily prayer,

7) When I used the concept of household, or rather "house-hold," in this paper, it is implicitly referring to the concept of "house societies" (See Macdonald *et al.* [1987], Errington [1987]).

Friday service, rites de passage such as marriage, funeral, circumcision, etc., rites of agriculture, occasional rites such as spirit invocations, house-building purification, etc., annual festivals like *Aidilfitri*, *Maulid*, pilgrimages, etc. Most agricultural rites and rites de passage, with minor exceptions like the sacrifice of the seventh day of birth or the completion of reading the Quran, are more or less similar for all religious categories.⁸⁾ The differences seem to be more individualistic than collective, although the Tolotang are regarded, and regard themselves, as more attached to the traditional ways and/or paraphernalia of rites. Annual festivals, however, and, to a certain extent, occasional rites are different for each religious category, as they serve as identity symbols [Maeda 1984 a]. Most of the life cycle rites are performed within the kinship circle centering on a concerned household, except funerals and marriages which may be of larger scale. For example, a girl's circumcision may be conducted quietly in a household circle, while, other rites may generate wider kin participation. For the Tolotang the presence of *uwa* or his representative is requisite to officiate most life cycle rites. Muslims may invite *imam* or religiously-versed men for prayer-giving.

I shall randomly select some rituals

8) The rituals described below, thus, share a lot of common elements with the Bugis in general (see Pelras [1985 b]).

to exemplify the role of household participation in religious performances.

There is a space between the ceiling and the roof of a Bugis house called the *rakkeang* where padi, especially rice bundles with ears, are stored. Among other things, the first harvest of rice (*mappamula*) and the offerings (*ance'*) for the dead weaved from palm leaves are carefully kept in the *rakkeang*. *Mappamula* is only brought down from the *rakkeang* on such big occasions as the building of a new house. *Ance'* is replaced annually or every three or four years. This first example is drawn from a *mappano* (lit., taking down) ritual I witnessed in July, 1984.

The householder was a commoner Toani Tolotang, but his maternal grandmother was one of wives of a leading *uwa*. He serves as a head of Kampung II. His wife is a school teacher. Her father, as well as sisters living in Pinrang, are followers of Tolotang Benteng. Her maternal grandfather was a Muslim, and her maternal grandmother was a sister of her husband's maternal grandmother, thus a Toani Tolotang. She abides by her husband's sect. Their two sons were schooling at Ujung Pandang. A simplified plan of genealogy is shown in Fig. 4.

On the first day, all household members of I, II and VI gathered but husbands of b and d did not show up. V came alone. His wife is a Makassarese Muslim. III and IV returned from Wajo where they worked for a *cengkeh*

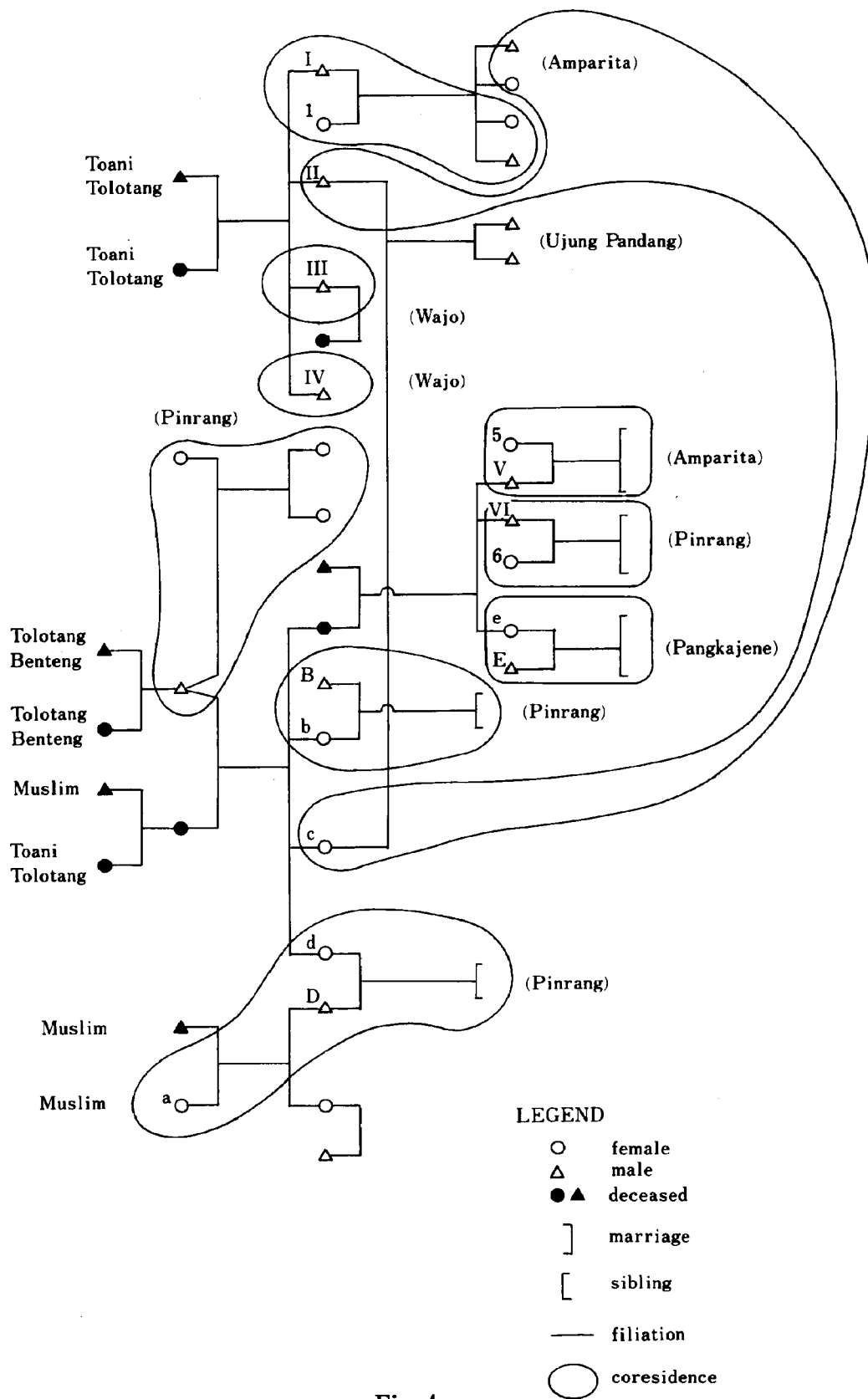


Fig. 4

estate. At three o'clock all of them, fully dressed, congregated in the kitchen. After having given proper offerings for the corners of the house and on the path leading off the village, they climbed up the mountain near Amparita, Bulu Lowa. At a tomb at the middle of the mountain, b, c, d, and l, excluding 6 who is a *Toraja*, prayed, offering two fowls. Others then followed them. They made their rounds to other tombs around the mountain. Without any common meal there, they went back home before sunset. In the evening all of them assembled at the hall of II's house. In addition to ordinary ritual implements such as candles (*pesse' pelleng*) and an incense burner (*addupaddupang*), they prepared seven sets of a pair of rattan plates on which they put two tufts of banana on one and *sokko'* (cooked glutinous rice) and so on on the others. The seven sets represented the seven households, i.e., I, II, III, IV, VI, b, and d. A *sanro* (officiant) and his assistant sat in front of an unglazed pot full of water near the front door. First he scattered *benno'* (popped rice-grains), pouring oil (*minya' bau*) in the water. He placed the *sokko'* plate on the edge of the pot and floated the banana plate on the water. According to tradition, if the plate sinks, something unlucky will happen to the offering-giver. The *sanro* then whispered to the client the result of his diagnosis which appeared on the water. After the third and sixth time, he had a cock perch on the

edge so that it pecked the *sokko'* he had set afloat. One of banana tufts was then taken away and the other was submerged. After the completion of offerings, everybody washed their face with this water. They gathered again in the kitchen where seven big plates were ready : two kinds of banana, round *sokko'* of white, yellow, red and black colors, boiled eggs and so on. The *sanro* passed the candle to everyone who then rotated it right and left in front of them. Then all of them partook in their share.

This part of the ceremony demonstrated reverence for the mountain. Usually after ascending Bulu Lowa, another part of the ceremony for the river follows immediately, but in that year, II explained, as there emerged some discrepancy between him and the *sanro* on the number of offerings, he decided to perform the latter a week later. He explicated that the first part of the ceremony was for c's family line and the following for his mother's line. A ceremony for his father's side may require more formalities because it involves the Tolotang's leaders' descent. The night before the ritual, a different *sanro*, and some of participants did not sleep (*maddoja*), playing cards or chatting. The next morning the *sanro* cut the throat of a hen and collected the blood in a small plate where a leaf of *waru* (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*) was placed. He smeared the blood (*maccera*) on the middle of a piece of bamboo with three fingers, whispering a mantra.

Then they pulled down the former *walla suji* (a bamboo frame for offerings) from the *rakkeang*. The *sanro*, with the help of I and III, made a new bigger *walla suji* modelled after the former which had been made three years before. A metal plate was placed on the floor of the frame. On it a *sokko'*-made crocodile in four colors was laid lengthwise. It had five finger-toes on its legs. II's maternal grandmother is said to have given birth to a crocodile. Then, covered with banana leaves, the frame was filled with the following: various rice offerings, betel-pepper leaves, betel nuts, banana, sugar cane, jack-fruits, papayas, coconuts (one of which was hollowed on the top), and two sets of *ance'* with four-colored *sokko'* with eggs, black and white rice and betel-pepper leaves. Bamboo tubes of palm-wine (*tua'*) were put at the four corners of the frame. The four sides of the *walla suji* were doubly wrapped with a batik cloth, the top with *tapi* (a white cloth with red rims) and, above it, by a tablecloth canopy supported by four poles. They put small offerings on *waru* leaves (a slice of banana, a little of four-colored *sokko'*, black and white rice, pieces of betel nuts) and placed them at the four corners of the house, along the stairs, in the toilet cum water place and at the gate of the compound. Messengers were sent to put others in proper places outside the house. II's son was sent to draw water from the Amparita river. Then,

everybody went into the kitchen.

The *sanro* placed an unglazed pot near the pole of the front door, and poured the water of the Amparita River, adding ordinary water. Ladies came out from the kitchen in procession, bringing offerings and paraphernalia. Coconut juice from one of the coconuts in the *walla suji* was poured into the pot. In processes similar to the previous ceremony, *minya' bau, benno', addupaddupang, pesse' pelleng*, mantra, and floating banana, *sokko'* and betel-pepper leaves on the water, were repeated with slightly different paraphernalia like miniature flags, three cocks instead of two. Some parts of the ritual were performed in a different sequence. This time nine sets of offerings were prepared, presumably V and e had additionally contributed. At the end of this water ritual the rest of coconut juice was poured into the water.

The canopy of the *walla suji* removed, four men carried it toward the pot and put the head part above it. The *sanro* whispered a mantra. The men put the *walla suji* down and upheld it again. Then, after the *sanro* left, it was hung above the place where he had been. All those present then made obeisance to it. They washed their faces thrice with the water from the pot. The *sanro* afterwards received the three cocks plus another one and the entire contents of the *walla suji*.

[According to a note taken by a *sanro*, the following are needed to per-

form the *mappano* : 11 *wakkang ota* (bundles of betel-pepper leaves), 3 *baunna kaluku lolo* (pieces of young coconut), 8 *ekor manu birang* (a kind of fowl), 11 *sainina loka barangang* (bunch of a kind of banana), 11 *sainina loka ulereng* (another kind of banana), 23 *sainina loka panasa* (another kind of banana), 12 *tello manu manata* (raw eggs), 32 *tello manu marang* (boiled eggs), 1 *panasa* (jack-fruit), 1 *tebbu* (sugar cane), and 1 *pandang* (pineapple).]

Both parts of the ceremonies were chiefly arranged by II-c and their siblings (I, III, IV and b, d) and nephews and nieces (V, VI and partly e) joined together with their children. However, c's father, B, D and his mother a, 5 and E did not participate, partly because of the pressure of work and partly owing to a reluctance to associate with traditional rituals. It must be noted that both ceremonies were presided over by *sanro*, not by *uwa*. As explained by II, the ceremonies are purely for the well-being of households which take part.

A month later, there was another ceremony held at the II's house. This time the leading part was expected to be played by D (a Muslim) who lived in Pinrang, but the setting was Bulu Lowa and II's house. D and d completed their pilgrimage to Mecca in the 1960s and they have a clothes shop on a busy street in Pinrang. He had suffered a headache for a decade or so,

and one of traditional healers (*sanro*) he had consulted diagnosed that it was caused by the neglect to fulfill his mother's vow to sacrifice a goat if everything had gone well, when she had taken him to Bulu Lowa. She, also a *hajah* (a female who completed the pilgrimage to Mecca), admitted it was true although she insisted that she had forgotten it. Reluctant or not, his wife d, with the consultation of c and II, made every arrangement to perform the promised ritual. It was whispered that D was getting better several days after his decision to do this. A Muslim lady in Amparita was asked to be *sanro*. The atmosphere was merrier than the former *mappano* ritual. This occasion proved to be a kind of picnic for small children. They sacrificed a goat and fowls, and ate together on the top of the mountain.

Not only D's mother a but also his sister and cousins with their children from Pinrang joined mountaineering, while D and V were waiting at the II's house. III and e-E did not show up on this occasion. III went to the *cengkeh* field in Wajo, and e-E were busy in a shop. Otherwise the same members as the *mappano* participated, with even more additions from the II's side. Like the last occasion, c's sisters and II's brothers were principal promoters, flanked by children but not necessarily by spouses. Perhaps ceremonial participation may be considered as either kinship or household obligation. More situational or personal considerations,

however, determine actual participation. Among other things, an economic factor becomes more conspicuous when a kinship circle disperses and its members engage in various occupations, although a person who knows the details of rituals may prescribe proper or admissible methods. Then, the ceremony itself actually becomes a problem of the domestic domain, although the ideology of kinship pretends to dominate.

In 1982 the rain belatedly started in December. On the 7th of December, Desa Amparita held an agricultural harvest rite called *mappadendang*. People started to sow corn in dry fields. On the 27th of that month, the Toani Tolotang made an anniversary visit to the cemetery of Perrinyameng. On the 8th of January 1983 the delayed *Maulid* which fell on the 28th of December was held by the Village Cooperative (KUD).

In this festive atmosphere, the Toani Tolotang launched a series of ancestral grave-visits in succession: to Ajjak-kang, west of Amparita on the 30th, to Bacukiki near Parepare on the 2nd and 3rd of January with 14 trucks, more than 35 minibuses and pick-ups, 20 to 30 horses, many motor-bicycles and a few cars; to Otting in Kecamatan Dua Pitue, west of Pangkajene from the 9th to 12th; to Wajo from the 23rd to 25th of January. The last destination in Wajo was Kampung Toani about ten kilometers northeast from Sengkang. You can overlook the

Tempe Lake and Bulu Lowa from a hill there, and some local horse-owners migrate seasonally to Amparita to transport the harvest. A householder, with whom some of us stayed, was very enthusiastic about the *I La Galigo* lore, though not a Toani Tolotang himself (see Pelras [1985a: 126] for the peculiarity of Wajo). The party brought their food and utensils with them to cook on the spot, dividing themselves into groups centered around a camp of a leader. Utensils were marked with owner's name so that they would not get lost. It was the duty of followers to feed and take care of the leaders. Visits to graves were also done in a group led by one of leaders. Followers sit surrounding the leader who occasionally gave them lessons or messages. One of the reasons for there being no codification of teachings among the Tolotang is said to be because, according to an ex-teacher Toani Tolotang, people do not get together to listen to lessons once they can find them in writings.

A household of a more influential leader attracts more number of followers. This fact is demonstrated in the size and style of big houses of leaders. The leaders have their particular followers who regularly contribute to them (*mappenre inanre*). The followers inherit their duty of contributions by descent (*wija*) and they may live in one area. Thus Uwatta Batoae commands contributions from Amparita, Kanyuara, Buloe, Lokae and Suppa ;

Uwatta Bedde from Bacukiki; Uwatta Galunge from Lajokka and Wajo; and Uwatta Wawedding from Parepare, Ser-eang and Bacukiki. They form a smaller grouping (*wawang*) of leaders and followers. But the grouping is not bound and fixed in membership, because in daily life a follower may contribute to several leaders, the relation of which might be inherited from a maternal grandfather, a paternal grandmother, a father and so on. Though he can be loyal to several leaders, he has to identify himself to one of them on such occasions as above. *Siajing* members of a follower may disperse in different groupings there, but usually household members follow one leader. Although it is assumed that leaders and followers do not have any blood connections, a vestige of such relations like II's paternal grandfather in the above example may be decisive to affiliate oneself with a particular leader.

On the 4th of February 1983, a first fruit rite for maize was performed in a field northwest of the settlement. The officiant was a Tolotang Benteng leader, but those who participated were cultivators around the field regardless of religious affiliation although, as usual, core members of each religious category would not attend rituals officiated by others, unless formally invited. The ceremony was performed on a platform constructed in the field and beside a well. Fourteen plates of steamed maize were offered, i.e., fourteen households

contributed. He gave blessings to each of the offerings in turn, praying, he said, to Allah and Dewata Seuae (God) embracing all deities of land, plants and water. Some twenty-eight men and women gathered and ate corn porridge prepared by his household at the field. Sanctified *rekko ota* (broken pieces of betel nut folded in a betel-pepper leaf) and a portion of water drawn from the well were taken back home; it is said they were put at the four corners of and/or in the middle of one's field. Then they could start harvesting. There was no reference to a kinship circle in this case.

IV Conclusion

Throughout these rituals, it seems to me that the basic unit of operation is a household which may be connected with other households through kinship network, notwithstanding an individualistic orientation of affiliation to religious leaders. The household always has to make some choices among many kinship ties, ties through mother, father, maternal grandfather, spouse's parental ancestors, and so on. This selection is not only in the domain of kinship cooperation in rituals, but also in religious affiliations themselves. An example can be seen in the occasion of the Wajo pilgrimage within a religious category, and in the case of intermarriage of II and c in deciding one of conflicting categories. Usually kinship ties go together with religious ties.

Thus one leader of the Toani Tolotang definitively asserted that the Tolotang is family stock. Conversion to Tolotang is regarded as difficult without marriage.

Leading kinship circles are tightly woven together through near kin marriages. On the other hand, followers only inherit the original relations of ancestors, i.e., they take over their parental or ancestral relation to leaders as followers. They are followers exactly as their ancestors had been. But the followers are not related to each other and, moreover, the division between them and the leaders is clearly demarcated, or rather it is the basis of the belief of the Toani Tolotang and the Tolotang Benteng. Leaders and followers belong to their own social statuses and social status is a part of the Tolotang. Tolotang can be seen as kin from the outside, but it also is local ancestor worship, or a community religion in the proper sense (cf. Baaren [1975] for the term of community-religion; Pelras [1977] and Errington [1983] for the importance of the place). The resolution of this dilemma lies not in arguing over the co-domain of religion and kinship, but in re-examining the fact that the household is a mediator of identity between kinship and religion in the sense that it mediates between centrifugal descent and centripetal locality. The leader's kinship forms a symbolic household composed of unrelated followers.

Through the household, Tolotang

becomes a symbol against identity crisis inside, securing a promised other world life; it also serves to prevent an identity ambiguity outside, being neither nameless, nor *agama*-less. The boundary between inside and outside is always flexible and mutable but the household, being also protean, symbolically plays an important role in articulating and defining it. Identity, sharing the essence of reality, is secured through the medium of the household within a larger kinship circle, but ideologically it must rely on symbols, local or universal, i.e., a religion, to contest against infringement.

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