

[Type text]

LOCAL ISLAM IN INDONESIA: RELIGION “PATUNTUNG” IN KAJANG

Samiang Katu

Professor in Comparative Religion of The Faculty of Theology,
Alauddin State Islamic University

Abstract. South Sulawesi community, in pra-Islamic society, believed in local believes (creeds) which were so called, the *Aluk To Dolo* in Tana Toraja, *Tolotang* in Sidenreng Rappang and *Patuntung* in Kajang Bulukumba. The *Aluk To Dolo* in Tana Toraja, since 1972, has been claimed to be an integral part of Hinduism and called Toraja Hindu, while Tolotang has been claimed to be part of the Hindu religion as Hindu To Wani. While adherents of *Patuntung* under the leadership of traditional leaders *Amma Towa* (the Elder Father), still strongly claim that they are adherents of Islam, and are willing to die for the sake of their faith and trust. However, *Amma Towa*'s belief is somewhat different from Muslim's in general due to the reference and source of life values of Amma Towa is not Qur'an and al-Sunnah (al-hadith) but *Pasang ri Kajang*.

Keynotes: *Patuntung*, local believes, adherents of Islam

Introduction

South Sulawesi, consists of four tribes, namely: Bugis, Makassar, Mandar and Toraja. From the fourth tribes, Bugis-Makassar society mostly adhred Islam since it was recognized as the religion of the kingdom by King of Gowa in 1605,¹. There is an adage that sounds: Bugis - Makassar is very identical with

¹Samiang Katu, *Pasang ri Kajang (Kajian Tentang Akomodasi Islam Dengan Budaya Lokal di Sulawesi Selatan)*, (Ujungpandang, Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat (PPIM) IAIN Alauddin, 2000), p. 6. For more information, see Samiang Katu, *Pasang ri Kajang*h. 5.

[Type text]

Islam, even they are willing to die if they are judged as non Muslims. However, it is also undeniable that there are some of them who are non-moslems.

The *Aluk To Dolo* in Tana Toraja, since 1972, has been claimed to be an integral part of Hinduism and called Toraja Hindu, while Tolotang has been claimed to be part of the Hindu religion as Hindu To Wani. While adherents of *Patuntung* under the leadership of traditional leaders *Amma Towa* (the Elder Father), still strongly claim that they are adherents of Islam, and are willing to die for the sake of their faith and trust. However, *Amma Towa's* belief is somewhat different from Muslim's in general due to the reference and source of life values of Amma Towa is not Qur'an and al-Sunnah (al-hadith) but *Pasang ri Kajang*.

Pasang ri Kajang, as they believe was the sacred messages from ancestors that was inherited through words of mouth (orally) from generation to generation. These messages, in the *Amma Towa* community which was called *Pasang ri Kajang*, became reference for their life and the adherents of religion Patuntung. Naming the *Patuntung* religion, referred to *Pasang ri Kajang: "Patuntung manuntungi"*. (*The search for, demanding, live, and practice*). The Messages indicated the essence of Patuntung religion which means looking for, demanding, appreciating and practicing the values recorded in the *Pasang ri Kajang*. Thus, *Pasang ri Kajang*, constituted holy *Scripture* for Patuntung followers.

Pasang (in Makassar) or *Paseng* (in Bugis) literally means the message. In a cultural treasures of Bugis-Makassar in South Sulawesi, *Pasang/paseng* is one of the important material contained in *lontara*.² *Pasang* is a mandate collection of

²Lontara is a term in the cultural repertoire of Bugis-Makassar society which implies a collection of writings that includes admonished/advice and community discourse of elderly Bugis Makassar

families or wisemen who had been mandated and going on from generation to generation through oral utterances that were memorized.³ One of the *Pasang* that is still used as a way of life by Muslim communities in South Sulawesi and becomes core value of life is *Pasang ri Kajang*, under the traditional leaders called Amma Towa. *Pasang ri Kajang*, now becomes the object of researchers to conduct cultural research.

Pasang ri Kajang, which was summarized from various records and reports study by researchers,⁴, consists of 83 chapters and 18 *Kelong* (literature/prose), contains the concept of **divinity, human relations, and the concept of the relationship between humans and the natural environment**. God is called *Tau Riek Akrakna* (*The all determining*). Prophet Adam is called *Tau Mariolo*, (the first human) while the Prophet Muhammad is called *sempe sironto* (clashing Spoon) or *Tau Nikamaseang* (someone loved or affected).

written on Lontar leaves using *kalam* /pen. Strongly suspected that the name associated with palm leaves, then pronounced in the Bugis-Makassar dialect became Lontara.

³For more information about *lontara* and *paseng*, see Mattulada, *Latoa Suatu Lukisan Analisis Terhadap Antropologi Politik Orang Bugis* (UjungPandang: Hasanuddin University Press, 1995), p. 16.

⁴In 1964, Mattulada conducted a research on the Amma Towa community, in order to complete his bachelor's degree at the Literature Faculty, the University of Hasanuddin Makassar. In 1974 RidwanSharif also conducted a research on the Amma Towa society to accomplish his study (undergraduate) at Tarbiyah Faculty of IAIN Alauddin Makassar ; KMA Usop in 1978 focused his research on aspects of the value system. Chaeruddin B., 1988 investigated Amma Towa community entitled "Amma Towa dan Pelaksanaan Ajaran Islam". 1998, I thoroughly conducted a research on aspects of Islam and local culture of Amma Towa. For further information, see Samiang Katu, *Pasang ri Kajang*, p. 8.

Based on the description above, it is concluded that there was a social reality in the socio-religious affairs in the 21st century that become the fundamental problem of this paper, why did *Amma Towa* community in Kajang, claim to be Muslims, and will to die if they are judged as non Moslems, while the source of their life values is neither al-Quran nor al-Hadith, but *Pasang ri Kajang*? From the main problem, sub questions related to the topic can be broken down into the following;

1. Are there the concepts of God in *Pasang ri Kajang* which are relevant to the concept Islamic theology?
2. Is the simple attitude of *Amma Towa* (*kamase-mase*) as reflected in the *Pasang ri Kajang* relevant to the concept of Sufism in Islam ?

Amma Towa and Pasang ri Kajang

Geography and Tana Towa Kajang

Tana Towa is a village in the administrative territory of Kajang District, Bulukumba South Sulawesi Province. The village is located between 5 degrees to 6 degrees of latitude and encircling meridian 120 degrees to the East with the oblique position- to Northwest.⁵ The village is administratively divided into nine hamlets. Seven hamlets are customary area and two other hamlets are transitional hamlets. It means that, the two hamlets applied two systems of values, the values derived from *Pasang ri Kajang* itself and from outside. The nine villages respectively are: Sobbu, Dagali, Baraya, Fortress, Luraya, Balambina, Balagana, and Jannaya. The last two hamlets are

⁵Data source from Tana Towa Village Head Office, August 11, 1998; see also Samiang Katu, *Pasang ri Kajang (Kajian Pemikiran dari Sudut Toelogis)* Tesis Program Pascasarjana IAIN Ar-Raniry Darussalam Banda Aceh tahun 1996, p. 33.

called by community leaders Tana Towa, Abdul Kahar Muslim as a *hamlet* or village *calabayi* transition. The word "calabayi" in Bugis language means someone who has male or female genitals, but his/her performance contradicted the real sex.⁶

The area of Tana Towa village about 7.1 km² is located in an altitude of 155 m above sea level. Temperature with rainfall ranging from 2,000 to 3,000 mm. The village of Tana Towa is quite fertile, so that the plant population such as chocolate, coffee, cloves, pepper and other crops flourish and provide adequate results for the people who are dwelling in this area. Agricultural land located in the village of Tana Towa is recorded 280 ha, 0.60 ha of land ponds, gardens and housing area was recorded 1429.40 ha and as much as 110 ha of protected forest.⁷ In this village, there are two rivers namely Raowa and Lolisan rivers. Both origin from Gulf of Bone. Both of these rivers are very beneficial for the agriculture in Kajang community, especially for Amma Towa.

The climate and weather in this area is influenced by two seasons, the East and West season. East season lasts from April to September. In these month, there are a lot of rainfall, especially in June. The West season lasts from October to March. West season is actually the dry season. It started raining usually in January or February. Rainfall at these months is used by people to plant maize and pulses, while East season is used

⁶Abdul Kahar Muslim and Abd. Salam, the village head and village secretary of Tana Towa *Interview*, August 11, 1998 in the village of Tana Towa Balagana Hamlet, District of Kajang.

⁷In the village of Tana Towa monograph, August 11, 1998, the forest existing in this land is recorded 317.4 ha. It shows that the protected forest herein is the indigenous forest, which is included in the authority of Indigenous leadership in Amma Towa community. For community of Amma Towa the forests are believed to be sanctity and sacred. AA. Cence called it *holy forest*. further information, see AA. Cence, *The Patuntungs in the Mountains of Kajang*, Makassar, December 11, 1931, p.7.

to go down in field. The farmers usually start to plant rice in April. Climatic conditions such as these are used by Amma Towa community to cultivate the fields and farm lands. Planting corn in this season is recognized as outseason planting. They named it *batta alla*, that is planting corn in between the seasons. The real planting season is at the West season that is in November or when the wind is still blowing from the West.

Tana Towa village, a place in which Amma towa and community of Amma Towa live can be reached through the road. The distance between Makassar the capital of South Sulawesi) to the village is approximately 200 km towards the south, or approximately 50 miles from Bulukumba, with Tanete across town - the capital of Bulukumpa District - towards the East through the rubber plantation area. It has smooth and asphalted roads to the front gate of the customs area. Another road is through the port Kassi Bone Bay in the East, the capital of Kajang district to westward about 10 miles and turn right to Kalim poro, then pass the protected forest which is sacred by Towa Amma community.

The process of Islamization in Tana Towa Kajang

To understand the religious atmosphere of the community Amma Towa as pointed out above, it is necessary to discuss the process of growth and development of Islam spreading out in the area as a series of Islamic mission in South Sulawesi since the early seventeenth century AD. A. Rahman Rahim stated that if we successfully found the content of the past, we can get the key to open the knowledge of the present. On the other hand, the past has a causal relationship

with the present time.⁸ In order to describe and understand the past of a society, Cohen and Negal introduced two ways; (1) Through historian's recollection that arise at any given time; (2) through the interpretation of the events in the past, both in written form such as chronicles and in the form of oral traditions such as singing and stories.⁹ Hence, the religion and culture of the people who live in Amma Towa village of Tana can be learnt.

According Mattulada,¹⁰ when Islam was officially accepted by the kingdom of Gowa (Makassar) and Bone (Bugis) as the religion of the kingdom in the early seventeenth century AD, Amma Towa, *Karaeng Tallua* and *Ada Limaya* had held special meetings to talk about Islam. As a result, they sent some people to study Islam, respectively:

1. **Janggo Toa**, Amma Toa's child was sent to Luwu to study Islam at Datuk ri Pattimang. At that time, Kajang was under the influence of Luwu kingdom. From Datuk ri Pattimang, he obtained: **creed** (shahada), **kallung tedong** (buffalo slaughtering), **marriage** (munakahat) prayers-devotion, (special prayer for the death), **charity** and **circumcision**. However the teachings of prayer, alms, pilgrimage and fasting had not been obtained.

⁸For more information see A.Rahman Rahim *Nilai-nilai Utama Kebudayaan Bugis* (Ujung Pandang: Hasanuddin University Press, 1992), p. 38.

⁹See the Morris R. Cohen and Ernest Nagel, *An introduction to Logic and scientific Method* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ruotledge, 1996), p. 324, see also A. Rahman Rahim, *Nilai*, p. 39.

¹⁰ Mattulada, Mattulada, *Majalah Bingkisan* (Ujungpandang, Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan, 1977), p. 21.

2. **Janggo Tojarra**, derived from **tana kuasayya** (the outside territory of Amma Towa) was sent to Wajo, when Kajang was under the influence of Wajo kingdom. There he studied the pillars of Islam to enhance his understanding of Islamic teachings.
3. **To Asara Daeng Mallipa**,¹¹ was sent to Gowa, when Kajang was under the influence of the Gowa kingdom. He learnt from **Teachers Lompoa** in Bontoala. He has learnt to enhance the teaching of Islam for three years.

Islamic teachings brought by **Janggo Tojarra** and **To Asara Daeng Mallipa**, were rejected by Amma Towa in order to keep the sanctity of **Tana Embaya**. According to Mattulada,¹² if the teachings of Islam were taught by **Janggo Tojarra** and **Tu Asara Mallipa Daeng**, there would be a lot of things of Amma Towa's belief and rituals that had been purified, become no longer sacred in the eyes of Islam, even regarded as *musyrik*. It is very essential in Islam, thus, the teachings he brought was only allowed to spread outside the customs territory. The only teaching received by Amma Towa was **Janggo Toa's** teachings and Amma Toa has mandated him as Qadi (officials of religious affairs) in indigenous territories. Since that time, it was known what the so called **Appa 'pa'gentunna tanaya na pa' tukulu'na rainbow** (four hangers supporting the earth and sky), namely: (1) **Karaeng** who upholds honesty (**lambusu**) (2) **Ada'** is assertive (**gattang**); (3) **Sanro** (someone who traditonally heals)

¹¹According to Mohammed Ishak, he was called *Toa, Towa Sara*, a great people who is respected for his elderly and knowledge in *sara (Shari'a)*. *Interview*, August 12, 1998 in Tanete Bulukumba.

¹² Mattulada, professor of anthropology Ujung Pandang Hasanuddin University, *Interview*, August 12, 1998 in Ujung Pandang.

who **surrenders** (apisona); and (4) **Teachers** who must be patient (**sa'bara**).¹³

Another source telling the history of the process of Islamization in Kajang was reported by A.A. Cence. This source noted, after Kajang community contact with the Islam brought Datuk Ri Bandang and Datuk ri Tiro, **Karaeng Matoa**, who was often called **Janggo Toa Kajang**, was sent to Bulo- Bulo to study the teachings of Islam. In this place, **Karaeng Matoa**, got four materials about the teachings of Islam, namely: (1) **sikir** (dhikr); **kalatting** (talkin); (3) **sambayang** (prayer); and (4) **takkang jeko**, the stick held by a preacher when he was preaching.¹⁴

Furthermore, AA Cence reported, when Janggo Toa has returned to Kajang, Kajang Karaeng conducted a hair cutting ceremony for his child who was just born. Except Janggo Toa Kajang, who was requested to lead the ceremony, all indigenous members have attended. Since Janggo Toa Kajang still did not attend yet, Karaeng Kajang sent someone to pick him up. From the messenger, Karaeng Kajang was informed that Janggo did not come to the ceremony, because he was still peeling **a pig's head**. Therefore Karaeng Kajang look for the alternative way to call teacher *Patuntung* to lead the ceremony.

For the incident, thereby according to Galla Amma, spokesman of Amma Towa and confirmed by Mohammed Ishak, a member of the indigenous in Kajang, Amma Towa consulted with members of other customary to talk about the teachings of Islam which has been accepted as an official religion in Kajang. The result, again it was agreed to send some envoys to study the teachings of Islam in Gowa, considering that, Islam understood by Janggo Toa Kajang was

¹³ Usop, *Pasang*, p. 22-23.

¹⁴ A.A. Cence, *The Patungtungs...* 1931, p. 2. For more information, see A.A. Cence, *Patungtungs*.

still imperfect, because he himself still eat pigs that was strongly prohibited in Islam.¹⁵

A.A. Cence also reported that there was a conversation between **Ada 'Limaya** with Amma Towa that decided to send people from Kajang to study Islam. Therefore, Amma Towa that was held by Bohe Kato sent three residents of Kajang from Lembang to learn about the teachings of Islam in Bontolangkasa-Gowa, they were Toa Sara, Tomi'di, and Tonasiba.

After studying at Bontolangkasa, they got a lesson relating to the religion of Islam, including: (1) **nikka** (marriage); (2) **kallatting** (talkin); (3) **sambayang** (prayer); (4) **sikiri** (dhikr); (5) **korang** (Qur'an); (6) **katuba** (sermon); (7) **poke Pangka** (branchig javelin); (8) **sakka** (alm); (9) **Pitara** (fitrah); (10) **kallong karambu** (buffalo neck); and (11) **fasting**.

A.A. Cence explained further that after they returned, Amma Towa's son was born. After hearing the reports about Islamic teachings, Amma Towa said: "Do not go back to your house first, but you have to recite *azan* and *qamat* before my son. With this expression, Amma Towa community understand that Islam has been accepted as an official religion in Kajang.¹⁶ Amma Galla, explained that Amma Towa, *Amma* Bohe Kato was the first who adhered Islam. Thus, it is also often referred to as Bohe Sallang.¹⁷

¹⁵Amma Galla or Puto Beceng (88 th), *interview*, Ausgut, 11, 1998 at Sobbu Subvillage

¹⁶ A.A. Cence, *Patungtungs*, p. 2.

¹⁷Puto Beceng or Amma Galla (88 th) and Muhammad Ishak (60 th) Headmaster of SMU Negeri Tanete, member of adat Kecamatan Kajang, *interview*, 11 August 1998 at Benteng subvillage, Tana Towa.

A.A. Cence further reported that after the event organized by Amma Towa Bohe Kato has already finished, he said: "Now you can go home to your own houses. Your duty is to convey to the public about the teachings of Islam, that **bang** (adhan) and **qamat** must be implemented as a concrete manifestation of the implementation of Islamic teachings." Then Amma Towa Bohe Kato confirmed that his son who was just born has already been recited with *azan* and *iqamat* as well as named *Isallang (Islam)*

Islam and Cultural Accomodation in South Sulawesi

The Growth and development of Islam in South Sulawesi is closely related to the role of three muballig (preachers) coming from Kuto Tangah-West Sumatra, in the early seventeenth century AD. The success of Abdul Makmur Khatib Tunggal, Datuk ri Bandang, Sulaiman Khatib Sulung, Datuk Pattimang and Abdul Jawal Khatib Bungu Datuk ri Tiro, were recorded in *lontara Bilang* Gowa Kingdom. The coming of Islam officially in South Sulawesi was in Friday night, September 22, 1605 AD, in coincide with 9 Jumadil Awwal 1014 H, signed by Syahadat statement declared by King Tallo/Mangkubumi Kingdom Gowa called I Mallingkaang Daeng Manyonri, then had title *Sultan Anwalul Islam*, then followed by the king of Gowa I Mangarrangi Daeng Manrabbia, who got the arabic title *Sultan Alauddin..* His name is now perpetuated to be one of Islamic universities name that is "UIN Alauddin Makassar."

Based on the principle of *region eius religio eocius*, on November 9, 1607 AD, in coincide with 19 Rajab 1016 AH, all the people of the kingdom of Gowa and Tallo who have adhered Islam, conducted the first Friday prayer in Tallo as a sign of Islamic implementation. Since then, the kingdom of Gowa-Tallo that was often called *rua Karaeng sekre ata* (two kings

and one servant) appeared to be leaders in South Sulawesi as the spearhead implementation of Islamic mission.

The agreement between the kings in South Sulawesi who pledged that if there is someone among the kingdom of Gowa or Bone or otherwise that finds the true light, he was obliged to continue spreading out to the others. It became a rationale for Islamic Kingdom Gowa to spread Islam in the Bugis kings, especially in the Kingdom of Bone, the Kingdom of Wajo and Soppeng. However, the good intentions of the Gowa Kingdom was responded negatively by the kings of Bugis, that finally led to the war, which lasted from 1605 until the War of 1611, that was commonly called *Musse sellengE* or *Islamic War* in term of Christian Pelras. After the battle ended and Gowa Kingdom win the war, all the people who were under the rule of the kings in the land of the Bugis and Makassar, adhered Islam. This situation, later raised impression that the Bugis-Makassar society is identical with Islam. However, amidst the community there were still many religious practices (combination between the teachings of Islam and pre-Islamic belief system) that gave birth to Islamic syncretic. One of them, was adherent of religious groups under the leadership of Amma Towa, settled in the village of Tana Towa, Kajang District, Bulukumba, South Sulawesi.

Syncretic Islam in South Sulawesi, is actually a bias from the process of implementing the Islamic mission coming from "the palace door" and is wrapped with the sufistic language by preachers who have very fundamental base of Sufism, especially in term of relationship between *Pasang ri Kajang*, the sacred messages consist of 83 chapters and is believed by Amma Towa community as revelation of God and Al-Quran and prophetic teachings. Therefore, the relationship between the two was quite accommodative. It can not be separated from the social conditions of the Amma Towa community with its preachers

who penetrated the region in the early advent of Islam in Kajang, early seventeenth century AD. Historical sources that provide information about the process of Islamization in Kajang, especially in communities of Amma Towa, can be found through the oral tradition. One of oral tradition characteristics that is easily recognized is the presence of myths and legends in it.

In the map of Islamization in South Sulawesi in early seventeenth century AD, which was sponsored by the kings, Islam was also welcomed by traditional leaders in Amma Towa Kajang. Some messengers were sent to study Islam. Some were sent to Luwu, to Bontoala-Gowa, and some were sent to Tosora-Wajo. After returning to Kajang, only the teachings received by Janggo Towa, children of Amma Towa was justified in indigenous territories which consists of syahadat, slaughtering procedures, and procedures of marriage and prayer of talkin. While the teachings in the form of prayer, pilgrimage, and charity, according to Amma Towa, was only justified to be developed outside *embaya* (outside the customs area or *tana kuasayya*).

However, in the subsequent development to the present, it looks that Amma Towa consistently hold the teachings of Islam as taught by Janggo Towa, particularly with regard to the implementation of a marriage party. Amma Towa community, in implementing wedding party, based on the teachings of Islam. Therefore, their daily characteristic indicates that they have implemented Islamic law. However, a pillar that has not been fully implemented is only daily prayers.

Such this characteristic in the view of anthropology, indicates that in the struggle of Towa Amma community, there is a close relationship between the local culture and the teachings of Islam. It is said so, because in the human life, there are three items considered sacred, namely: birth, marriage, and

death. These three things seem to be interrelated and intertwined in Amma Towa community.

Why did Amma Towa reject the dimension of Islamic Shari'ah (praying implementation)? Sources recorded from oral tradition stated that when Janggo Towa was back from Luwu after having learnt about Islam, the teachings he received have not touched syariah yet. Teachings that were disseminated in community were the material he has already achieved, excluding syariah aspect, because syariah would make high "tension" in the community. Amma Towa as charismatic traditional leaders should be able to reduce to a minimum turbulence in the community. He must keep the "feeling" of Janggo Towa who has been already assigned as a Qadi in Indigenous territories of Amma Towa. In addition, the teachings of which were developed by Janggo Towa, that was *tauhidan* in two statement (syahadat), was somewhat similar with the teaching of the concept of *Pasang ri Kajang*, which based on the belief that there is only the omnipotence of the *Tau Riek Akrakna*. Only Tau Riek Akrakna who has the ability and the absolute omnipotence. He does not have any allies in implementing his desire. Human being only has the ability to pray, but the final arbiter is under His authority. *Tau Riek Akrakna* is the almighty and the only One. For Amma Towa, Tau Riek Akrakna is symbolic sentence to mention the name of the almighty God. The name of the God, for society of Amma Towa is not freely mentioned. The name must be respected and upheld, because the name has blessings. Let the God, Prophet or Apostle, even the name of the village or Indigenous leaders, are never called directly because it is a *hussung* (damned). That is why, the names of prophets such as Adam Called *Tau Mariolo* (the previous man); Prophet Muhammad is called *tau nikamaseangor sempe sironto* (or a loved one or colliding spoon that gives a loud noise and makes man jump and say

: *Muhammad!*). Such these beliefs indicate the influence of Sufism in people's religious attitudes of Amma Towa. This theory is accepted that one of the methods the preachers used in developing Islam is through the teachings of Sufism.

The essence of *Pasang ri Kajang's* teaching pointing out a close relationship with *Tau Riek Akrakna* (God Almighty) with humans and humans with each other, as well as the environment, suggests the existence of an intensive communication and influence of the attitudes and behavior of religious communities; Towa Amma. This fact shows that Amma Towa religious life is guided by the teachings *Pasang ri Kajang* and teachings of Islam which emphasize the power of the Absolute substance, which is called God. In the context of religion (Islam), it is parallel with the teachings of Islam that is called *hablun min Allah* and *hablun min al-nas*. This fact shows the influence of Sufism developed by *da'i* who spread Islam in the Kajang area in the early seventeenth century AD. It seems the relationship with the Almighty is not just a regular relationship, but it has increased to the deep understanding of the Supreme. This indicates that Sufism is very inherent in Amma Towa society and has been at the level *makrifat*.

The description above indicates that the process of development and growth of Islam in Amma Towa society took quite intense between local cultures derived from the teachings of *Pasang ri Kajang* with Islamic Sufism teachings conveyed by *muballig*. This statement suggests that the teachings *Pasang ri Kajang* which is still used as a way of life by Amma Towa society, and a form of dissemination of Islamic teachings carried out by *da'i* with his Sufism insight.

On this side, it seems that G.E. Von Grunebaum's theory is still accurate to be used as an analytic tool in understanding the religious attitudes and behavior of Towa Amma. Intense relationship between Islam and local culture

which is the essence of the teachings of society *Pasang ri Kajang* Amma Towa, indicated that the Islam absorbed and modified Amma Towa's local culture.

The parallelism between the teachings of Islam and the teachings of *Pasang ri Kajang*, in the form of great respect to the substance of God and the prophets, is the concrete evidence of Islamic accommodation to local culture. The accommodation between Islamic teachings and local culture contained in *Pasang ri Kajang* is also seen in the concept of *Pasang ri Kajang* called *Appa paggentunna tanaya na pattukulu'na langi'*, four things as the hanger of earth and sky that are summarized in the phrase *lambusu* (honest), *gattang* (firm), *sabbara* (patient), and *apisona* (surrender) in line with the concept of Islamic teachings called *constancy*, *patient*, *honest*, and *fair*.

Lambusu concept or honest, which is in the Bugis culture called *lempu* or *beccik* (aligners) is very relevant with the concept of *constancy* in Islam, that emphasizes the firmness to hold the mandate which is based on truth and justice. People who is *lambusu-lempu* or honest in the teachings of Islam and *Pasang ri Kajang* is he who is willing to sacrifice for the sake of truth and justice, even he has to die for it.

Honesty is implemented consistently in various fields of life, hand in hand with the concept of assertiveness, in the teachings of *Pasang ri Kajang* that is called *gattang*. If *gattang* and *lambusu* are simultaneously realized, it would establish the law enforcement in the society. Justice is everyone's dream. Therefore, in Islam, the concept of fair gets serious attention in Al-Quran, so the command to do justice is addressed to every individual, including the command to do justice to himself and to others. That is why, the honesty in *Pasang ri Kajang* government is addressed to government as the owner *kala'birang* of (glory) and *gattang* played by members of the indigenous, have substantially been relevant with the

teachings of Islam. Therefore, when muballig who spread the teachings of Islam to the region in the early seventeenth century AD, disseminating Islamic teachings based on the local culture, it brought about the creation of a harmonious accomodation between Islam and the teachings of *Pasang ri Kajang*.

Pillars of patience (*sabbara*) in the teachings *Pasang ri Kajang*, characterized by the teacher as a spearhead in the field of public education, is also relevant with the teachings of Islam. Without patience, someone will have trouble in this world. Just to be patient, someone will be awarded by the Almighty. Such teachings, are not only found in the teachings of Islam, but also found in the teachings of *Pasang ri Kajang*. This fact shows that the concepts of Islamic teachings are universal. Islamic teachings was going smoothly with the local culture without conflict whatever Islam is associated with sufism that emphazes inner capacity.

The attitude of resignation (*apisona*) characterized by *Sanro* (shaman), indicated that whatever is implemented by humans, the last determinant is the almighty God. This suggests that humans when dealing with the creator, must be humble and avoid themselves from being arrogant. In Amma Towa society, such attitudes are manifested in the form of a simple life (*qanaah*) that is accepting what it is. It appears through the word *ganna'mi* (it is enough). The concept of life called *ganna'mi* is when homes, and fields are available, and everyday needs are simply fulfilled. Such a concept, in Islam is called *qanaah*, attitude that rises from the bottom of one's heart to be always grateful for all the blessings and gifts from Almighty God.

If the four things contained in the concept of *Appa paggentunna tanaya na pa'tukulu'na rainbow 'langi* are done perfectly, these leads human beings to be spiritual oriented, pursuing the afterlife (*allo boko ri*) as the most pleasant place. Such these

people in the teachings of *Pasang ri Kajang* are called *patuntung manungtungi*. These characters are believed by the people of Amma Towa as the essence of religion, because people who have such attitudes are awarded by God for the sincere and purified heart. The heart is the central goodness.

Closing

Living in harmony among humans as a priority as reflected in the teachings of *Pasang ri Kajang*, will lead someone to have accommodative character, and be tolerant to anybody who disagree with him. Thus, the teachings of Islam with its Sufism approach looks more accommodative to the local religious practices that seem to be contrary with the teachings of Islam viewed from the Islamic law formalities (fikih). Therefore, observing the atmosphere of the people “Amma Towa Kajang” with their teachings *Pasang ri Kajang*, suggested us that the process of Islamic growth and development in Kajang, has close links with the mission of Islam muballig in South Sulawesi in the early seventeenth century AD, who highlighted their Islamic teachings with the philosophy of Sufism.

Bibliography

Al-Qur'an al-Karim

AA Cence, *The Patuntungs in the mountains of Kajang*, Makassar, December 11, 1931.

A.Rahman Rahim, *Core Values Culture Bugis*, cet.III, Ujung Pandang: Publishing Institute University of Hasanuddin, 1992.

Annemarie Shimmel, *Die Person Muhammads*, translated by Hasan Rahmani Astuti and Ilyas entitled " *And Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah* ", Bandung: Mizan; In 1993.

Bahrein T. Sugihen, *Rural Sociology (An Introduction)*, Jakarta: PT. King Grafindo Persada, 1996.

- Chaeruddin B., *Amma Society Tova and Implementation of Islamic teachings*. Ujung Pandang: Tarbiyah Faculty of IAIN Alauddin, 1988.
- GEvon Graunebaum, *Islam Essays in the Nature and Growth of a Cultural Tradition*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1969.
- Hasan Muarif Ambary, *Finding Traces Archaeological and Historical Civilization Islam Indonesia*, Jakarta: Logos Discourse Studies, 1988.
- Mattulada, *Latoa Painting An Analysis of Political Anthropology Bugis*, Ujung Pandang: Hasanuddin University Press, 1995.
- Mattulada, *Parcel Magazine*, Ujung Pandang, South Sulawesi Cultural Foundation, 1977.
- Morris R. Cohen and Ernest Nagel, *An introduction to Logic and scientific Method*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ruotledge, 1996.
- OL Philip Tobias, *The Structure the Batak Belief in the High God*, Jacob van Carpem, Amsterdam, 1956;
- RA Kern, *LA Galigo* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1989.
- Samiang Katu, *Put ri Kajang (Study of Theological Thought of Angle) Thesis* Graduate Program IAIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh Darussalam in 1996.
- Samiang Katu, *Put ri Kajang (Studies on Islam accommodation with Local Culture in South Sulawesi)*, Makassar: Center for the Study of Islam and Society IAIN Alauddin, 2000.
- Syed Hussein Alatas, *We're With Islam*, Singapore, PTDE, t.th.
- Usop, *"Put ri Kajang Study on Value System in Tana Toa"* in writing Mukhlis Robinson (ed.), *Religion and Social Reality*, Ujung Pandang: Publishing Institute Unhas, t, th.