

Negotiation Between *Patuntung* and Islam in Kajang, South Sulawesi, Indonesia

Muhammad Takbir Malliongi¹, Dwi Septiwiharti², Andi Nurbaety³,
Imamul Hak⁴, Ibrahim Ibrahim⁵

^{1,3,5}Departement of Islamic Theology and Philosophy, Universitas Islam Negeri Alauddin Makassar, Makassar, Indonesia; ²Department of Social Science Education, Universitas Tadulako, Palu, Sulawesi Tengah, Indonesia; ⁴Department of Sociology of Religion, Universitas Islam Negeri Alauddin Makassar, Makassar, Indonesia

Email: ¹muhammad.takbir@uin-alauddin.ac.id; ²dwi_septiwiharti@untad.ac.id;
³etysyam@yahoo.com; ⁴imamul.elhaq@gmail.com; ⁵drsibrahim@rocketmail.com

Abstract: This research examines the relationship between Islam as a world religion and Patuntung as a traditional religion adhered to by the Ammatoa indigenous community in Kajang, South Sulawesi. The relationship between these two religions is not only oppositional or harmonious but also dynamic and negotiating. This research uses a qualitative method with a 'New Ethnography' approach, which pays attention to three aspects: self-reflection, polyvocality, and testimony. The findings of this research show that the meeting between Islam and Patuntung produces a hybrid reality, namely Sallang, which is basically a different Islam and another Patuntung. Sallang is a new reality that emerged from the meeting between Islam and Patuntung. This is clearly seen from Ammatoa's belief that the Koran is 40 juz, 10 juz revealed in Kajang, and 30 juz revealed in Mecca. This research provides a new contribution to the study of the relationship between world religions and indigenous religions, especially in Indonesia.

Keywords: Ammatoa indigenous people; Islam and Patuntung; negotiation; traditional religion; Sallang's hybrid reality

A. Introduction

Negotiation involves both cooperation and conflict between parties. Although the parties involved may have different aims, they must also have some common goals for the negotiation to be successful.¹ Even though negotiation implies that two parties are in disagreement, they cannot be completely opposed

¹ Simon Cabulae May, "Compromise in Negotiation," *Nomos* 59, No. 1 (2018): 150-66, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/26786038>.

if the negotiation is to succeed. Different cultures share a similar approach to negotiation, which involves both cooperative and competitive phases.²

This study builds upon a fieldwork, The *Ammatoa Kajang* Indigenous People/*Masyarakat Adat Ammatoa Kajang* (hereinafter MAAK), who live in Tanatoa Village, Kajang District, Bulukumba Regency, South Sulawesi. They are administratively recorded as adherents of Islam. This can be proven by their National Identity Card (KTP, which all include Islam in the religion column. However, some actors, especially Islamic institutions or organizations, such as the Regional Office of the Ministry of Religious Affairs of South Sulawesi, IAIN Alauddin (currently Universitas Islam Negeri Alauddin), Indonesian Muslim University (UMI), religious organizations, are not sufficient to be called Islam³ and tend to associate them with some negative stigmas such as animism and dynamism, old-fashioned society, isolated community and so forth.

Ahmad (1991) said that although the *Ammatoa* community claims to be Muslim, they do not practice obligatory worship in Islam such as fasting, *zakah*, and *haji*.⁴ Therefore, although they highly respect nature based on ancient beliefs, the motivation of which must be replaced with Islamic spirit, it is not surprising then that this community is often being targeted for Islamization by Islamic organizations and institutions in this region.

In contrast, some scholars explicitly refer to MAAK as adherents of Islam. However, Islam refers to another interpretation. Katu calls it the “locality of Islam”, while Maarif calls it “being Muslims in an animist way”. Although both recognize MAAK as adherents of Islam, both Maarif and Katu agree that the influence of the traditional belief, *Patuntung*, in the Kajang community, is still strongly rooted. *Patuntung* itself refers to the traditional system of belief from the pre-Islamization era, exactly before Islamization by the 17th century Gowa kingdom in this region.⁵

² Wendi L. Adair and Jeanne M. Brett, “The Negotiation Dance: Time, Culture, and Behavioral Sequences in Negotiation,” *Organization Science* 16, no. 1 (2005): 33–51, <https://doi.org/10.1287/orsc.1040.0102>.

³ Syamsurijal Syamsurijal, “Islam Patuntung: Temu-Tengkar Islam Dan Tradisi Lokal Di Tanah Toa Kajang,” *Al-Qalam* 20, no. 2 (2014): 171–78, <https://doi.org/10.31969/alq.v20i2.197>.

⁴ A.K. Ahmad, “Komunitas Ammatoa Di Kajang Bulukumba (Studi Tentang Peranan Kepercayaan Terhadap Pelestarian Lingkungan Hidup)” (Universitas Hasanuddin, 1991).

⁵ A.A. Canse, “The Patuntung in the Mountain of Kajang,” *KITLV*, No. C. 170 (1931); Samsul Maarif, “The Encounter between Indigenous Religions, World Religions and Modernity,” *Journal of Islamic Civilization in Southeast Asia (JICSA)* 1, no. 1 (2012): 1–11,

This belief is similar to *Aluk Todolo* in Toraja, *Samin* in Blora, Central Java, *Sunda Wiwitan* in West Java, and *Kaharingan* (Dayak Meratus) in Kalimantan.

The debate regarding *Patuntung* whether it is a religion or a system of belief has been on for a long time in Indonesia. This debate is not only experienced by the Kajang community. According to Maarif, this has existed since the Ministry of Religious Affairs strived to define religion in the 1950s until it was enacted in Law (UU) No.1/PNPS 1965 (the rule was issued to avoid traditional beliefs to be called religion, or even used as a tool to silence them). This issue was finally raised again in 2017 when adherents of the indigenous religions, including Nggay Mehan Tana, Pagar Demanra Sirait, Arnol Purba and Carlim, submitted a judicial review to the Constitutional Court (MK) regarding articles 61 paragraphs (1) and (2), and Article 64 paragraphs (1) and (5) of Law (UU) Number 24 of 2013 concerning Population Administration regarding religion in the National Identity card column.⁶ The disputed articles then required followers of indigenous faiths to leave the religion column in their ID cards blank or fill it with “faith of native believer”.

However, instead of being a solution that can remove discrimination, this decision has sparked intense debate from various parties, one of which is Faisal Islam, a Professor of Islamic Studies at the Indonesian Islamic University (UII) Yogyakarta. He argues that indigenous religion is only a practice of animism and dynamism within ancient communities which is essentially rooted in local customs, traditions, and culture. “Local belief cannot be called religion, local belief is not religion”.⁷

In the context of MAAK, instead of accepting the labeling as a Patuntung adherent, *Ammatoa*, the leader of MAAK, explicitly stated that their religion is *Sallang* (in both Bugis and Makassar dialects the term *Sallang* refers to Islam).

<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.24252/jicsa.v1i1.711>; A. Renre, *Patuntung Di Kecamatan Sinjai Barat* (Makassar: Alauddin University Press, 2012); Martin Rössler, “Striving for Modesty; Fundamentals of the Religion and Social Organization of the Makassarese Patuntung,” *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 146, No. 2 (1990): 289–324, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-90003220>.

⁶ Samsul Maarif, *Pasang Surut Rekognisi Agama Leluhur dalam Politik Agama Di Indonesia*, 1st ed. (Yogyakarta: Center for Religious and Cross-Cultural Studies (CRCS), 2017).

⁷ Ismail, “Agama, Kepercayaan Dan KTP,” *Sindo*, 2017, <https://nasional.sindonews.com/berita/1257816/18/agama-kepercayaan-dan-ktp>.

However, *Sallang* is not Islam as it is generally understood, but rather it is a system of belief that emphasizes traditional beliefs on the one hand and Islam on the other. This can be seen from the belief in a supernatural being which he calls *Tu Riek Akrana* (The Almighty) rather than calling Him Allah. For MAAK, mentioning directly the name of God, Allah, is something taboo (*kasipalli*). However, *sharia* (Islamic rituals) for them are only seen as something symbolic and artificial because it is always temporal. Meanwhile, belief for them must be based on a pure soul. Holiness must be manifested in *tallasa' kamase-mase* (living a simple life). In Pasang, this is clearly stated in the principle of "*Sambayang tangnga tappu', je'ne' tang luka*" (a prayer that never breaks, and ablution or purification that never vanishes)⁸.

Sallang tenets, if examined more closely, are the result of negotiations between the tenets of MAAK's ancestor, *Patuntung*, and Islam. In short, *Sallang* is a form of hybridization between Islam and the teachings of *Patuntung*. Bhabha calls this reality an ambiguous reality, positioning in between *Patuntung* and Islam so that it looks like *Patuntung* and like Islam - "almost the same, but not quite".⁹ This phenomenon shows that there are two agendas at once, namely mimicry on the one hand and mockery on the other. Both *Patuntung* and Islam are placed on a margin line, confronting a new kind of reality, neither *Patuntung* nor Islam.

Building upon this context, We argue that the encounter between *Patuntung* and Islam was not conflict and mutually defeating, but negotiated and affirmative. The negotiation takes place dynamically "in-between space", and subsequently creates a new reality, a hybrid reality, mutually affirming each other; it is called *Sallang*. As explained by Bhabha culture is always dynamic and never fixed. This is a perspective in contrast with some views of cultural essentialism, which assume the indignity of local beliefs, and view cultural societies as ahistorically¹⁰ - negligent to the role of community agency in articulating its temporal and socio-political contexts¹¹. Therefore this research aims to reveal the hybrid dimension

⁸ Interview with Ammatoa, the leader of MAAK, 29 January 2023).

⁹ H. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London & New York: Routledge, 1994).

¹⁰ A Budiman, "Ilmu Sosial Indonesia Ahistoris," *Prisma* (Jakarta, 1983).

¹¹ Syed Alatas Farid, *Diskursus Alternatif Dalam Ilmu Sosial Asia: Tanggapan Terhadap Eurosentrisme*, terj. (Bandung: Mizan, 2010); J.S. Kahn, "Culturalising the Indonesian Uplands," in

or 'intermediate space' as the result of negotiation by both of them in the specific context and history.

B. Literatur Review

In academic literature, the *Patuntung* was initially mentioned by Benjamin Frederick Matthes, a Dutch missionary, in Matthes's Dictionary published in 1875. Matthes defined *Patuntung* as a 'short van sanro' (traditional religious functionary) who can heal others only by using drinking water (*die uitstend met water geneest*).¹² Kruyt (1906), a few years later, in his article, *Het Animisme in der Indischen Archipel*, mentioned *Patuntung* as a figure of a pagan teacher followed by the Makassar people.¹³

W.A. Penard (1913) was the first to pay serious attention to *Patuntung*. In his research in the upland of the districts of Gowa, Malakaji, and Tompobulu, he called *Patuntung* a pre-Islamic belief of Makassar people but had been dominantly influenced by Islam. However, Penard has no specific attention to *Patuntung* in Kajang. Research on *Patuntung* in Kajang was initially carried out by Canse (1931) two decades later. Similar to Penard, Canse mentioned *Patuntung* as a system of belief of the pre-Islamic Kajang community. Canse argued that MAAK is an isolated community, yet can maintain its beliefs and social organization¹⁴.

The spread of *Patuntung* adherents became a puzzle for Rössler (1990) to track back such belief in five different places, namely: Malakaji and Kasepeang (Gowa), Onto (Banteang), West Sinjai (Sinjai), and Kajang (Bulukumba). This includes a study from Renre (2012) in West Sinjai which was published recently. Renee (2012) argues, as previously mentioned, that *Patuntung* in Kajang can be labeled to deviate because of its belief regarding '*Tanatoa*', the residential area of the *Ammatoa* community, as the place of the origin or the birthplace of mankind. Nevertheless, the teachings of *Patuntung*, both in practice and in rituals, in each place have received the influence of Islam, the religion embraced by the majority

Transforming the Indonesian Uplands, ed. T.M. Li, 2nd ed. (Amsterdam: the Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2005), 81-106, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203986127>.

¹² Rössler, "Striving for Modesty; Fundamentals of the Religion and Social Organization of the Makassarese *Patuntung*."

¹³ Rössler.

¹⁴ Canse, "The *Patuntung* in the Mountain of Kajang."

of the people of South Sulawesi, except in two ritual respects; marriage rituals and death rituals.¹⁵

Although the discourse has been going on for a long time, it has regained prominence in the last three decades. This was roughly initiated after Convention 169, the International Labor Organization (ILO) conference in Geneva, Switzerland in 1989, which ratified the rights of indigenous people (hereinafter IP). Among the ratified rights are economic, social, cultural, political, and religious rights. For religion, it is called indigenous religion (IR) (in Indonesia it is called *Agama leluhur* or *agama lokal*)¹⁶. This convention assumes IP as a group with its traditional way of life and ancient social system.¹⁷ The World Bank calls these groups ethnic minorities, tribal communities, and scheduled tribes.¹⁸

Since then, *Patuntung* has often been referred to as the traditional religion or local religion, although previously this label was taboo. The rising concern to this term is supported by at least two elements; non-governmental organizations on one hand and academic space on the other. In the context of non-governmental organizations, it is at least supported by *Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara* (AMAN) – Alliance of Indigenous People of the Archipelago. This organization was founded in 1999 to advocate the rights of indigenous peoples in Indonesia. As for the academic space, it was popularized by Samsul Maarif, Head of the Department of Cross Religion and Cultural Studies (CRCS) Universitas Gadjah Mada. This is evident in some of Maarif's works, such as; *Ammatoa Indigenous Religion and Forests Conservation; A Critical Study of Local Religion*;¹⁹ *The Ups and Downs of Ancestral Religion Recognition in Religious Politics in Indonesia; Reviewing Religion*

¹⁵ Rössler, "Striving for Modesty; Fundamentals of the Religion and Social Organization of the Makassarese Patuntung."

¹⁶ Samsul Maarif, "Meninjau Ulang Definisi Agama, Agama Dunia, Dan Agama Leluher," in *Kebebasan, Toleransi Dan Terorisme: Riset Dan Kebijakan Agama Di Inonesia* (Jakarta: Yayasan Paramadina, 2017), 13–47.

¹⁷ Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, Second Edition (London & New York: Zed Books, 2012), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315700779-29>.

¹⁸ A. Sangadji, "Kritik Terhadap Gerakan Masyarakat Adat di Indonesia," in *Adat Dalam Politik Indonesia*, ed. J.S. Davidson, D. Henley, and S. Moniaga, Terj. (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia & KITLV-Jakarta, 2010), 347–66.

¹⁹ Samsul Maarif, "Ammatoan Indigenous Religion and Forest Conservation," *Worldviews* 19, no. 2 (2015): 144–60, <https://doi.org/10.1163/15685357-0190200>.

*Definitions of Religion, World Religion and Ancestral Religion*²⁰, and more. According to Maarif (2015), Patuntung is:

One of few indigenous communities in Indonesia that has successfully preserved its indigenous traditions, despite spiteful intrusion of modernity and Islam. Ammatoas have professed to be Muslim since the seventeenth century. They, however, have managed their profession in ways that they can accept Islam alongside their indigenous tradition.²¹

In contrast to Maarif, Katu (2014) perceives *Patuntung* as a form of Islamic indigenization at the local level. *Patuntung*, according to him, comes from the word *tuntung* (to guide) in Konjo language. When the prefix 'Pa' is added, the word then refers to the person who leads. According to him, even though *Patuntung* is an ancient belief of the Kajang community, it has accommodated Islamic values, especially from the Sufism dimension.²² This is evident in the manifestation of *tallasa kamase-mase* from the teachings of *Pantuntung*, which is in line with the concept of *zuhud* in Islamic values.²³

Sylviah & Muslim said that the encounter of Islam with Patuntung arrived harmoniously.²⁴ Instead of negating each other, Islam and Patuntung accommodated each other. Like Katu, according to Sylviah & Muslim, MAAK negotiates Islam with local beliefs so that it creates the image of Islam with the spirit of locality.

²⁰ Samsul Maarif, "Meninjau Ulang Definisi Agama, Agama Dunia, Dan Agama Leluhur."

²¹ Samsul Maarif, "Ammatoan Indigenous Religion and Forest Conservation." P.145.

²² Samiang Katu, *Pasang Ri Kajang: Kajian Tentang Akomodasi Islam Dengan Budaya Lokal Di Sulawesi Selatan* (Makassar: Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat, 2000); Samiang Katu, "Local Islam in Indonesia : Religion ' Patuntung ' in Kajang," *Journal of Islamic Civilization in Southeast Asia (JICSA)* 3, no. 2 (2014): 1-19.

²³ Sitti Jamilah Amin, "Talassa Kamase-Mase Dan Zuhud: Titik Temu Kedekatan Pada Tuhan Dalam Bingkai Pasang Ri Kajang Dan Ilmu Tasawuf," *KURIOSITAS: Media Komunikasi Sosial Dan Keagamaan* 12, no. 1 (2020): 61-75, <https://doi.org/10.35905/kur.v12i1.1199>.

²⁴ Sylviah and M. Muslim, "Mengilhami Kreativitas Keberagamaan Masyarakat Melalui Perjumpaan Islam Dan Patuntung Di Tanah Toa Kajang," *Jurnal Khazanah Keagamaan* 8, no. 2 (2020): 145-64, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.31969/pusaka.v8i2.414>.

In contrast, Syamsurijal proposes the opposite view. For him, the encounter between Islam and Patuntung does not always run harmoniously. At certain points, the two may negate each other. This can be seen from the relocation and repositioning, which in turn created the division of territory between the people of *ilalang embaya* and *ipantarang embaya*.²⁵

Based on the explanation above, it can be said that *Patuntung* is an ancient belief of pre-Islamic MAAK, in which labeling it as a religion is a new categorization within the discursive space. *Patuntung*, in Thompson's view, is a discovery of claims to new rights and predicates²⁶. *Patuntung* is far from the category of religion, but rather a contestation arena and transformation wherein each conflicting interest claims its legitimacy. *Patuntung* as a system of knowledge and belief originated from complex interactions between individual authorities, institutions, and scientific discourse. Although Maarif and Syamsurijal tried to show this, they did not explicitly reveal some dimensions of the existing tension. In summary, this study complements the previous studies regarding the dynamic of contestation toward *Patuntung*.

According to Homi K. Bhabha, when two entities contest, especially where one is more dominant over the other, then there is a creation of negotiation regarding cultural meaning. This negotiation takes place 'in-between'. Both the dominant and dominated groups actively negotiate their respective meanings and symbolic systems. Although Bhabha always associates the dominant group with the western colonizer and the dominated group with the colonized²⁷, this relationship is also relevant to examining the position of Islam as the dominant religion of the Indonesian people, and in South Sulawesi in particular. This applies not only in the context of modern Indonesia but also in the context of the ancient imperium when the Gowa kingdom was carrying out a mission of Islamization in this region. To explain the negotiation, Bhabha initially indicates how the discourse of the dominant (colonial) group reproduces stereotypes, and then the

²⁵ Syamsurijal, "Islam Patuntung: Temu-Tengkar Islam Dan Tradisi Lokal Di Tanah Toa Kajang."

²⁶ E.P. Thompson, *Costums in Common: Studies in Traditional Popular Culture*, 2nd ed. (London & New York: The New Press, 1993).

²⁷ D. Huddrant, *Homi K. Bhabha, Creating Postcolonial Literature: African Writers and British Publishers*, 1st ed. (London & New York: Routledge, 2006), <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137328380>.

dominated party responds using a mimicry mechanism aimed at destroying stereotypes. As Richard Wagner (1813-1883), a German artist, who performed in his opera, said, "Only the spear that struck you heals the wound."²⁸

Firstly, stereotypical discourse is one of the important aspects of asymmetric social relations produced in a cultural structure. Asserting Fanon²⁹ and Said³⁰ that it is a tool by the dominant group to distinguish itself from the dominant group. The aim is to ensure logical coherence in the practice of economic and political exploitations. Culture becomes a mode that functions to justify the domination of different (colonized) communities. Therefore, it can be argued that the interests of the colonial political economy are always in line with the interests of cultural reproduction. Stereotypes about laziness and ignorance towards different groups of people (colonized) are produced through racist jokes, cinematic images, and various forms of representation.³¹ In contrast with him, Bhabha argues that this stereotypical discourse is never durable and permanent. According to him, Fanon's view of stereotypes and racism works on the assumption of cultural essentialism. Fanon seems to accept the pejorative predicate of the colonized society formed by the colonial and confirms the dominant position of the colonizer (master's place). He argues, "The fantasy of the native is precisely to occupy the master's place while keeping his place in the slave's avenging anger".³²

Secondly, mimicry is a form of imitation by the subject being imitated, it shows the opposite, camouflage and false obedience. It is not only difficult to understand, but also often misunderstood, because it always shows ambivalence, and looks like imitation on the one hand, but mockery or resistance on the other. Instead of the Quoting Lacan, Bhabha writes,

Mimicry reveals something in so far as it is distinct from what might be called itself that is behind. The effect of mimicry is camouflage [...] It is not a question of harmonizing with the background, but against a mottled

²⁸ Slavoj Žižek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology*, Verso (London & New York: Verso, 2008), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ocmed/2.4.140>.

²⁹ F. Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, 1st ed. (London: Pluto Press, 1986).

³⁰ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, 2nd ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), <https://doi.org/10.2307/2536347>.

³¹ Huddrant, *Homi K. Bhabha*.

³² Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, p.44.

background, of becoming mottled – exactly like the technique of camouflage practiced in human warfare.³³

The negotiation takes place in the area of ‘in-between’. This space is a buffer for the ongoing process of imitation on the one hand and resistance on the other. In other words, mimicry is a sign of a double articulation - between mimicry and mockery; submission and resistance. In turn, this creates a different identity (subject), “that is almost the same, but not quite”.³⁴ It is an effective and complex strategy for the dominant subject to disturb and challenge the hegemony and power of the dominant group (colonizers). “A complex strategy of reformed regulation and discipline, which ‘appropriates’ the Other(s) as it visualizes power”.³⁵ In addition, mimicry in this context also works to neutralize or normalize hegemonic discourse and disciplinary power.

The mimicry conceptualized by Bhabha has similarities to the ‘everyday form of resistance’ by James Scott (1989). Scott argues that such resistance is driven by the inability of the subject to openly resist. Moreover, the dominant group is supported by elites and social scientists³⁶. Accordingly, Bell Hooks says that marginality is resistance itself on the one hand - on the other hand is repression. However, Hooks’ concept of resistance is more directed to the dimension of silence. “The margins are [...] “we” who inhabit marginal space that is not a site of domination but a place of resistance”.³⁷

C. Methods

This study applies a qualitative method with a new ethnographic approach that refers to the model of ‘the New Ethnography and Understanding the Other’.³⁸ According to Saukko (2003), this research method aims to understand the truth based on the life experiences of people which are different from their collective

³³ Bhabha, p. 85.

³⁴ Bhabha, *ibid*.

³⁵ Bhabha, p. 86.

³⁶ James C. Scott, “Everyday Forms of Resistance,” *The Copenhagen Journal of Asian Studies* 4, no. (1989): 4–89, <https://doi.org/10.22439/cjas.v4i1.1765>.

³⁷ B. Hooks, “Marginality as Site of Resistance,” in *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures*, ed. at al. Ferguson, Russell, 1990, 341–43.

³⁸ Hooks, p. 342.

way of life. Therefore, this research was conducted by living in MAAK for a month, from January to March 2023.

This study builds upon fieldwork in Tanatoa Village, Kajang District, Bulukumba Regency, South Sulawesi. The place is widely known as the traditional territory of *Ammatoa Kajang*. The people within the Kajang area are well-known not only for preserving their indigenous traditions but also for practicing a simple life principle called *Tallasa Kamase-mase* (living a simple life). In everyday life, they work as peasants and interact with people outside their community. The most prominent characteristic of them is that they wear all-black outfits.

There are three focuses of this research model. *First*, is self-reflection, which emphasizes the perception of the researcher toward the dynamic of social realities. Self-reflection in the new ethnography approach is not in the context of determining novelty, but rather an attempt to understand and accept the MAAK perspective, to avoid bias in interpreting the realities. *Second*, polyvocality which could avoid the tendency to be correct than others. In this context, the researcher could explore the perspective toward reliability based on the MAAK experience, as different experiences generate a different sense. In other words, the voices of people's life experiences are various and subjective. Therefore, the role of the researcher is to provide a more balanced explanation of the MAAK, rather than simply constructing it based on the subjective understanding of the researcher. *Third*, this study also uses testimony as a strategy to reveal the historical dimension of MAAK so that it could bring the sense of the past into today's reality. In other words, this approach emphasizes the historical sensitivity of the researcher in order to explain the experience of MAAK's repression and silence.

D. Findings and Discussion

1. *Patuntung* construction as a part of Animism

In this part, We will show how the construction of *Patuntung* as part of animism is the result of the process of colonization on the one side, and marginalization carried out by the Gowa kingdom on the other side towards the Ammatoan indigenous people (MAAK) in South Sulawesi. As mentioned before, the construction of *Patuntung* as a part of animism was invited in the several writing of Dutch missionaries such as Kruyt, W.A. Penard, A.A. Canse came to the land of Sulawesi, as previously explained, in fact it has basically existed since the

era of the Gowa kingdom. Although not explicitly stated, the mechanism of differentiation and stereotypes against MAAK has been going on since the Gowa kingdom expanded its territory to the eastern, especially in Kajang region. Moreover, the expansion then coincided with Islamization. Whatever the power against this mission would be challenged by Gowa - the mission was well-known as *Bundu Sallang* (war for islamization).

The expansion of the Gowa Kingdom over Kajang was at least marked by the establishment of Kajang kingdom by Gowa. In the MAAK oral narrative, it begins with *Karaeng Tappau* (King without a name), a man who came from Gowa was appointed by the King of Gowa to establish the Kajang kingdom – almost all oral narratives mention that the Kajang kingdom was formed by Gowa. This kingdom eventually transformed the ancient structure, the “*Adat Keammatoaan*” – although it never completely replaced it. *Karaeng Tappau* is reported to have married the daughter of Ammatoa, named as *Bohe' Sallang* (Islamic Ammatoa).³⁹ Although this story came from the oral narrative of MAAK, it should be examined in more detail, because the Islamization of Gowa occurred later, around the beginning of the 17th century, while its expansion has been going on since the mid of the 17th, even the beginning of the 16th century. However, it needs to be emphasized that this paper is not centering on this narrative.

In order to support the expansion of the region, the kingdom of Gowa built upon rationalization and justification through the practice of ‘othering’ within society. It is represented in the construction of “Konjo” – although this construction does not only refer to MAAK, but to the entire southern of eastern peninsula as well, in which MAAK’s influence extends to the eastern peninsula in the southern part (currently called East Bulukumba)⁴⁰.

The term Konjo originates from Makassar language, *kunjo*; *kunjoeng* or *konjoeng* which means “there”, opposite to *kunni* or “here”. Although there is no narration, written or oral, that explains the origin of the use of this term, we argue that labeling emerged with the rise of influence of Gowa, around the 16th century until the middle of the 17th century. This argument departs from three

³⁹ Abdul Haris Sambu, *Sejarah Kajang* (Makassar: Lentera Kresindo, 2016).

⁴⁰ Interview with Mansur Embas, who is Vice Chairman of the South Sulawesi Customary Council and the representation of Ammatoa outside indigenous territory, 12 January 2023.

assumptions; (1) the term *Konjo* itself is the language of 'Makassar'; (2) *Konjo* as referring to "there" - this is certainly labeled by the dominant and superior group with the aim of 'othering' between the "here" and "there". Another speculation is that it refers to the area remaining from the explanation of the 9th king of Gowa in the South; and (3) as a project of the hegemony of the Gowa kingdom towards the 'periphery' areas in order to absorb them into the dominant culture and power, because after all this mechanism always goes hand in hand with hegemony

The labeling of *Konjo* also strengthened the Islamization project of the Gowa kingdom. The project has two implications, 'civilizing' through religion and introducing textualization (enlightenment). To ensure the convergence of Islamic values, it is necessary to establish certain categories of ancient beliefs such as *Patuntung*. As a result, *Patuntung* was categorized as a less relevant system of belief in the current context, and classified deviates from the truth of God. This is the reason for the appointment of Abdul Jawab or Datuk di Tiro to Islamize this region⁴¹. Datuk di Tiro was one of three *ulamas* who played significant role in the Islamization of South Sulawesi (the other two are Abdul Makmur, known as *Datuk ri Bandang* and Sulaiman, known as *Datuk Patimang*). In addition to Islamization, the Gowa kingdom at that time was also undergoing a transformation towards promoting literacy.⁴² Moreover, Islam itself is strongly textual oriented (literacy tradition). This contestation posits literacy as superior and authoritative over oral tradition.⁴³ This orientation further determines the process of 'othering' MAAK as a different community group, for its embeddedness to oral tradition.

The enormous influence of Islamization eventually transformed Kajang. The throne was pinned to Ammatoa at that time, then changed from *bohe' Tomi* to *Bohe' Sallang* (Kaharu- an Ammatoan member, 30 Jan. 2023). But instead of accepting Islam, bohe 'Tomi negotiated it with Patuntung. This resulted in the

⁴¹ Ahmad M. Sewang, *Islamisasi Kerajaan Gowa: Abad XVI Sampai Abad XVII*, 1st ed. (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2005), https://www.google.co.id/books/edition/Islamisasi_Kerajaan_Gowa_Abad_XVI_sampai/HOcUtQAtl00C?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=PA172&printsecr.

⁴² William Cummings, *Making Blood White: Historical Transformations in Early Modern Makassar* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002).

⁴³ T. Gibson, *Kekuasaan Raja, Syeikh Dan Ambtenar: Pengetahuan Simbolik & Kekuasaan Tradisional Makasar 1300-2000*, Terj. (Makassar: Inninawa, 2009).

emergence of *Sallang*, as the interpretation to Islam that is different from the others. Therefore, MAAK acknowledges as Muslim, without exhibiting in different expression from Islam in general.

Although in the current context, *Konjo* is categorized as a part of dialects (Makassar) and even a language entity (ethnic), it seems that this identification only obscure the real problem. This is because *Konjo* as a dialect from the beginning was identified and constructed as proto Makassar, or part of a sub-language of the Makassar. In fact, the concept of proto itself is problematic as the term proto associates Makassar language as an 'ancient'/first language, meanwhile the spread of language is never singular but plural. In fact, the so-called Makassar language departs from one particular dialect, namely the Lakiung dialect which was formalized or institutionalized and standardized as the official language of the Gowa kingdom in the 16th century.⁴⁴

In the current dynamic, this stereotype mechanism was practiced extensively by colonialism. The arrival of Dutch missionaries did not merely come for the purpose of an enlightenment agenda (Christianization), but also being colonial scholars who worked observing socio-cultural dynamics of people in the colonized region. Through research, they depicted, defined and categorized them based on their own framework of understanding⁴⁵, based on the understanding of world religions, especially Christianity. People in colonized society, such as MAAK, were labeled based on pejorative categories, such as barbaric, ignorance, underdeveloped and so forth. From abstract categorization then it was later legitimized as knowledge. According to⁴⁶ the indigenous people are analogous to the stupid Goliath, while the colonial side is the clever David. For him, indigenous culture is seen as misguided; they are lost and mired souls that need to be saved.

When examined further, this idea departs from the paradigm of world religion which was formed in the 19th century in Europe which embarked always on the Christian concept. In fact, Europe itself is associated with Christianity. Therefore, a religion can be recognized as a world religion if it follows the criteria

⁴⁴ Pelenkahu, R.A., et.al. "Dialek Kondjo Di Sulawesi Selatan" (Ujung Pandang, 1971).

⁴⁵ Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*.

⁴⁶ F. Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas: Colonial Practice in the Netherlands Indies, 1900-1942*, 4th ed. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996).

and standards of Christianity. This is then reinforced in the study of anthropology, from which religious theories were developed, which is reductionist and apologetic. The reductionist views, for example, represented by E.B. Tylor, Frazer, Karl Marx, Emile Durheim, Sigmund Freud, while the apologists are represented by Mircea Eliade, William James, Rudolf Otto, and others. All religions of society are seen as primitive, and subsequently included and categorized as animism. This can be seen in the view of Tylor, who sees religion as a belief in spirit or animism. They believe in a supreme reality that contradicts rationality. Tylor's simplistic and reductionist views then influenced many missionaries and later some modern Indonesian scholars in determining the categories of religion and belief, as has been discussed above. Even in the Indonesian context, this concept is used as the basis for the division between Islam and system of beliefs.

This process is referred to by Li as the "exclusion"⁴⁷ or as 'marginalization' by Tsing⁴⁸. This starts from social construction through a process of simplification in a certain space, which is then contrasted and compared. Instead, the dominant group establishes certain criteria and categories. They in turn provide pejorative labeling that allows for regulatory and controlling missions, including 'civilization'. This is done in the context of a particular cultural/historical time and space, and then conceptualized as something natural.⁴⁹

2. *Sallang*: The Negotiation Between Islam and *Patuntung*

Instead of entirely accepting the stereotypes, MAAK negotiates and re-articulates pejorative labeling. However, in order to figure out the negotiation process it is important to understand the role of *Pasang ri Kajang*. *Pasang* serves not only as a way of life, but also as the words of *Tu Riek Akrakna* (God). For MAAK, *Pasang* functioned as the Koran for Muslim.⁵⁰ In fact, according to Ammatoa, *Pasang* was first revealed by *Tu Riek Akrakna* in Kajang, and then in Mecca. The

⁴⁷ Tania Murray Li, "Marginality, Power and Production: Analysing Upland Transformations," in *Transforming the Indonesian Uplands*, ed. Tania Murray Li, 1st ed. (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 2005), 1–46.

⁴⁸ Anna L. Tsing, *Di Bawah Bayang-Bayang Ratu Intan: Proses Marjinalisasi Pada Masyarakat Terasing* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 1998).

⁴⁹ Tania Murray Li, "Marginality, Power and Production: Analysing Upland Transformations."

⁵⁰ Interview with Ammatoa, 29 January 2023.

Ammatoa, Puto Palasa, said that one of the *Pasang* articles says that “*Injo Qorangnga sitojek-tojekna patampuloi ajuzu, sampulo ajuzu ammentang ri Kajang, tallumpulona ri Makkah*” (the Quran is basically 40 *juz*, 10 *juz* was revealed in Kajang and 30 *juz* was revealed in Mecca). Of these 10 *juz* were later identified as *Pasang ri Kajang*, while the other 30 *juz* were textually written as the Qur'an. Apart from being comprised in the *Pasang*, it also has embodiment in humans, like the “*kauniyah*” (natural) verses in this universe. *Pasang* is a guide for the Kajang community to understand the *kauniyah* verses. However, *Pasang* has properties like the Koran, it cannot be added nor can it be reduced. For people who add or subtract from it, including writing it down, according to *Ammatoa*, they will experience what is called *kasipalli*’ (retention).⁵¹ This is because *Pasang* is a discourse mechanism that ensures the negotiation process.

With the widespread of Islamization to MAAK, *Ammatoa*, *Bohe Sallang*, negotiated the territorial borders of the *Keammatoaan* (customary institution) by marking the boundaries which are the *ilallang rambang* (inner area) and *rambang seppang* (outer area). He then placed his four daughters in each of the places designated as borders, namely: Dalonjo in the Northwest (Balaga), Damangasalang in the Southwest (Balambina), Dakodo in the Southeast (Teteaka), Dangempa in the Northeast (Tuli), and *So’bu* as the center⁵², although the whole area was recognized as the area of Kajang kingdom based on the arrangement from Gowa kingdom. This area was then reaffirmed when mobility increased in the eastern region during the colonial era - a highway was made that runs from West to East, connecting Kajang with Bulukumpa (Tanete)⁵³. This was later legitimized by *Pasang* that said; *Seppa’ Pajika’na, Doro Panrai’na, Limba Panta’lena, Tuli pantama’na* (Seppa’ River in the East, Doro River in the West, Limba River in the South, and Tuli River in the North)⁵⁴. Although the *Rambang Seppang* is still preserved and under control, the area has been shrinking from year to year.

⁵¹ Interview with Ammatoa, 29 January 2023.

⁵² Interview with Pudding, Head of Pannololo Village, 28 January 2023.

⁵³ B. Madiong et al, “Strengthening Traditional Institutions ‘Pabbatang’ As An Alternative Conflict Resolution In The Karampuang Community In Sinjai Regency, South Sulawesi Province, Indonesia,” *Res Militaris* 13, no. 3 (2023): 1194–1202, <https://resmilitaris.net/menu-script/index.php/resmilitaris/article/view/3525>.

⁵⁴ Interview with Topo, an Ammatoan member, 28 March 2023.

Furthermore, this area is then transformed when it is designated as the land of *kamase-mase* (an unpretentious area), the people who inhabit this area live a simple life, or in other terms live in asceticism⁵⁵. One article of *Pasang*, for example, reveals that “*kamase-masemaki inni, pinruang kamase-mase, lalangmaki inni rikambuanna kamase-masea*” (we currently live in asceticism, to be more ascetic, in the deepest asceticism). This ascetic life is regarded as an order from *Tu Riek Akrakna*. This is articulated in the daily practice of the Ammatoa community as described in *Pasang* as “*Angganre na rie', care-care na rie, pammalli juku na rie', balla situju-tuju*” (to consume wisely, to wear plain clothing, to buy fish as necessary, and to live in simple adequate housing)⁵⁶. Many scholars, such as Ahmad⁵⁷, Usop⁵⁸, Hijang⁵⁹, and others - including AMAN, regarded it as a model of subsistence life.

Among the most noticeable identities of the Kajang community is the all-black clothing, including the head covering (*passapu*), and walking barefoot. The reason behind this is explained in *Pasang* that “*anre' lekleng toa, anre' lekleng lolo, lekleng siju-tuju, lekleng kabusuji*” (no black is aged, no black is youthful, black is neutral, black is only black). On the other hand, black is interpreted as darkness and nothingness, which he calls the source of human existence. All humans originate from nothing (darkness) and then are born and “exist”.⁶⁰ Here, black then becomes identity. It appears that the formation of this identity was established simultaneously with the determination of the territory of *Rambang Seppang*.⁶¹ Therefore, the black identity and *Rambang Seppang* are two entities that are interconnected. This is an identity formation for the Kajang community

⁵⁵ Muhammad Takbir Malliongi, “Kebahagiaan Menurut Masyarakat Kajang di Sulawesi Selatan,” in *Nyanyian Sunyi Dari Pelosok Negeri*, ed. Muhammad Soehadha, Maulana Rezza, and Siti Khuzaimah, 1st ed. (Yogyakarta: aboratorium Religi dan Budaya Lokal (LAbEL) UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2016).

⁵⁶ Interview with Kaharu, an Ammatoa member, 22 January 2023.

⁵⁷ Ahmad, “Komunitas Ammatoa Di Kajang Bulukumba (Studi Tentang Peranan Kepercayaan Terhadap Pelestarian Lingkungan Hidup).”

⁵⁸ K.M.A. Usop, “Pasang Ri Kajang (Kajian Sistem Nilai Di ‘Benteng Hitam’ Amma Toa)” (Ujung Pandang, 1978).

⁵⁹ P. Hijang, M. Basir, and A. Ismail, “Indigenous People’s Environmental Conservation System: Case Study of Kajang Society, Indonesia,” *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science* 343, no. 1 (2019), <https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/343/1/012090>.

⁶⁰ Malliongi, “Kebahagiaan Menurut Masyarakat Kajang di Sulawesi Selatan.”

⁶¹ Interview with Ammatoa, 29 March 2023.

to distinguish themselves from other groups, as well as a way to identify their own ideological symbols that are in line with the practice of resistance.

Asceticism at this point is a mechanism for neutralizing and filtering the Ammatoa community from asymmetrical relations with 'others'. In other words, asceticism is a form of resistance. Meanwhile, *Pasang* put reinterpretation on articulation of culture and identity and produces discourse on the practice of articulation carried out by the Ammatoa community. It should be borne in mind here that Gowa's dominance in this region goes hand in hand with the mission of Islamization on the one hand and literacy hegemony on the other. Therefore, Ammatoa, known as *Bohe Sallang*, instead of accepting symbolic Islam, the Islamic *Shari'a*, he filters based on the 'interests' of his community. *Pasang* at least recorded the process of Islamization in three episodes, each of which was personified by three people, namely; Janggo Toayya, Janggo' Tu Jarra', and To Asara daeng Mallipa'. Islamization was intensified after Indonesia's independence, as explained in the previous chapter.

However, the practice of asceticism in the Ammatoa community has actually been recognized by Islamic theosophy or Sufism – one of the sects in Islam that also recognizes ascetic practices. Likewise, the concept of monotheism, the term and the name of God – the naming of God itself is something unfamiliar to them. Instead of mentioning it, they prefer anonymizing it, by calling it *Tu Riek Akrakna* (this is like the old term in the South Sulawesi community which calls God *Detawa Seuwae*). Therefore, instead of calling themselves followers of Islam, they claim to be *Sallang*, which is Patuntung that is Islam and Islam that is Patuntung. This is what is explained by Bhabha (1994) as “almost the same, but not quite” – a form of double articulation in the mimicry.

In the colonial era, asceticism was an attempt to determine a distance, to be resistant, to Dutch colonialism. It is the reason the Ammatoa community rejects various consumer goods produced by industry (machinery). They associate this commodity as *pare 'tau kebo'* (made by white people or Dutch colonial), and clashed with ancient values. They presumably realize that the consumption of industrial goods can lead to dependence, which in turn can bring the Ammatoa community into a consumptive society. In this context, they distinguish between need and demand; needs are what is required to survive – such as the need for food, drink, clothing, and so forth, while demands are what are desired for

satisfaction, which Lacan calls a "bottomless pit", that is always infinite⁶². Therefore, all MAAK needs are produced by themselves, such as clothing, and are processed manually. Such is also the case of the agricultural production equipment, all of which are still simple and manual, although the yields are sold outside the *Rambang Seppang*.

From this context, no such commodity or product from industrial machinery is allowed to circulate within the *Rambang Seppang*. This is because this area is part of *kamase-mase*, the place where the life of community is not based on material desires, or in local terms *anre' bakka' tek'na* (not having a great desire). Palasa argues that happiness does not lie in desire but in compassion. One of the narratives in Pasang confirms that "*tanning battu ri atiyya, lunra battu ri atiyya, pai' battu ri atiyya*" (peaceful is originated from the heart, happiness depends on the heart, so bitterness comes from the heart).⁶³

Unfortunately, the examples of good practice of life from the Ammatoa community, for some scholars such as J.H. Boeke and Koentjaraningrat, are considered as cultural deposits of the pre-capitalist economic system or prehistoric community. In fact, contrary to the argument, according to Michael Taussig (1980), this is a critical response to the pressure of modernity that raises cultural awareness.⁶⁴ Furthermore, Taussig adds that people who live in rural areas, on the periphery of the capitalist economic system, have a critical view that questions something from outside their origins, such as capitalism and colonialism.

These responses are further articulated through cultural expressions. Therefore, asceticism here cannot be understood as merely the innocence of the Ammatoa community, but rather it was a critical response towards various interests brought about by colonialism. Black, for example, is associated as a plain color, from which various interests and desires want to dominate. Other colors presuppose diverse desires and interests.

⁶² Bruce Fink, *The Lacanian Subject: Between Language and Jouissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

⁶³ Interview with Ammatoa, 29 January 2023.

⁶⁴ Stanley Khu, "Michael Taussig: Fetis, Mimitis dan Keliyanan," in *Pengantar Tokoh-Tokoh Antropologi Marxis*, ed. Dede Mulayanto and Stanley Khu (Tangerang Selatan: Marjin Kiri, 2014), 137-57.

Simultaneously, the reproduction of discourse regarding Ammatoa's leadership continues to persist in *Rambang Seppang*. As pointed out in the previous chapter, the political leadership influence of Ammatoa has shifted and transformed into *Karaeng*. This was in line with the appointment of Kareang Tappau as Karaeng Kajang. The political system that was originally customary has shifted to *kekaraengan*. The role of Ammatoa is reduced to a healer or *sanro*, and the organizer of religious rituals (*Sallang*). Nevertheless, Ammatoa's leadership authority in *Rambang Seppang* is continually reproduced with the argument that *adat* (*indigenous institution*) and *kekaraengan* are one entity. *Adat* is an integral part of *kekaraengan*, hereinafter referred to as *Karaeng Tallua-Adat Limayya* (the three *Karaeng*- the five *Adat*). In this structure, Ammatoa is then claimed to have authority at the top leadership position. Initially, this claim only took place in the *Rambang Seppang*, but in the current dynamics, because it was reproduced continuously, the Ammatoa leadership was finally recognized although only as a symbolic leadership. In the case of Tanatoa village itself, for example, administrative and political leadership was under the control of the head of the village.

The leadership authority of Ammatoa and the traditional structure of the *Kemmatooan* still exist and are reproduced continually by *Pasang*. However, it is rearticulated based on the existing political context and system. In the Dutch colonial era, for example, *kekaraengan* was assumed to be Kajang regent (the regent as *karaeng*), while in the post-colonial era, Indonesia, *kekaraengan* was assumed to be sub-district (the sub-district head as *karaeng*). This claim is also, in many ways, confirmed by the prevailing political system. Therefore, those who served as regents as well as later sub-district heads, to obtain their *kekaraengan* authority, are subsequently sworn through a traditional procession and are organized directly by Ammatoa.

It should be noted here that in the *Pasang* discourse, the relationship between Amattoa and *Patuntung*, as well as *Karaeng* and Islam is closely associated with each other. Ammatoa is associated with the teachings of Patuntung through the representation of *sanro*, while *Kareang* is associated with Islamic teachings through the representation of religious teachers (*qadi*). This is clear in the article of *Pasang*, "*Appa pa'gentunna tanayya pa'tunglu'na langi'a; lambu'su'na karaeng'a, gattangna ada'a, sa'bara'na gurua, appisonana sanroa*" (there are four pillars that support heaven and earth; honest *karaeng*, fair

customs, patient *qadi*, and submissive *Patuntung*) (Palasa-Ammatoa, 29 Mar. 2021). Furthermore, it is also explained in *Pasang* that, “*guru Sara' talatappa ri Patuntung tala assai kaguruanna, sanro talatappa ri sara' tala assai patuntunganna*” (a religious teacher (*qadi*) who does not believe in *Patuntung* is not legitimate, while *Patuntung* who does not believe in *qadi* will not be legitimate). These relationships then produce a new synthesis ‘in-between’, a hybrid; in the context of religion it becomes “the *Sallang* religion” while in the political and cultural structure it becomes “custom”.

E. Conclusion

Based on the explanation above, it is notably clear how the negotiation of Islam and *Patuntung* in MAAK takes pattern. *Sallang* as mimicry is not merely an imitation in the sense of subjugation, but also in the form of mockery, and even plays a role in neutralizing various practices of domination and of the existing knowledge hegemony. Meanwhile, *Pasang* sheds light on arguments and discourses on the practice of mimicry. *Sallang* in context is a redirection to the margin line, which Bhabha calls “hymen” or “in-between”. It is the articulation practice of hegemonic discourse. It reflects “The recognition of an anxious contradictory place between sense and non-sense [...] between unconscious and conscious motives, between indigenous categories and conscious rationalizations, between little acts and grand traditions”. []

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