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Jurnal Al-Qalam untuk tahun 2011 melakukan sedikit perubahan dengan menambah jumlah tulisan, yang semula hanya sembilan tulisan menjadi 16 tulisan. Ini dimaksudkan untuk merespon banyaknya tulisan yang masuk ke mej redaksi, baik tulisan yang berasal dari kalangan internal peneliti Balai Litbang Agama Makassar, maupun dari kalangan eksternal terutama dosen perguruan tinggi, baik yang ada di Sulawesi Selatan maupun dari luar Provinsi. Ini menunjukkan bahwa minat penulis untuk mengabadikan karya tulisnya di Jurnal Al-Qalam semakin hari semakin tinggi.

Jurnal Al-Qalam edisi kali ini memuat 16 tulisan hasil penelitian dengan tema yang berbeda. Meski bervariasi, tetapi tema-tema yang diterbitkan ini tetap berada dalam kerangka tiga tema besar Balai Litbang Agama Makassar, yaitu kehidupan sosial keagamaan, pendidikan keagamaan, dan lektur keagamaan. Tulisan-tulisan yang tidak sesuai dengan tema ini tidak diterbitkan.

Akhirnya, redaksi berterima kasih semua pihak yang terkait dengan penerbitan edisi kali ini, yaitu Kepala LIPI yang telah memberikan pengesahan akreditasi, kepala Balai Litbang Agama selaku penanggungjawab, mitra bestari (Prof. Dr. H. Muh. Arfah Siddiq, MA., Prof. Dr. Phil. H. Kamaruddin Amin, MA., dan Prof. Dr. Hj. Nurhayati Muttammeng), para penulis (Idham, Badruzzaman, Rosdiana, Abdul Rahman, Ramlah Hakim, Sabara, Muhammad Zubair, Muh. Irfan Syuhudi, Ruslan Daeng Materu, Rahmatunnair, Mursyid, Basrah Gising, Kurniati Abidin, Abu Muslim, La Sakka dan Mappeaty Nyorong).

Selamat Membaca!

Drs. H. Abd. Shadiq Kawu, M.Pd
Pimpinan Redaksi
THE BELIEF SYSTEM OF THE PEOPLE OF KAJANG:
A PERSPECTIVE IN RELIGION ANTHROPOLOGY

Sistem Kepercayaan orang Kajang dalam
Perspektif Antropologi Agama

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Abstract

Indigenous peoples of Kajang is an indigenous community that inhabit Kajang subdistrict in Butukumbi regency in South Sulawesi province. They adopt a belief system that called Jenne Taluku’a and Sambajang Tattappu. Jenne talluka means ablution water that never canceled, while sambajang tattappu means always remembering the God Almighty one.

Kajang Indigenous peoples, especially those inhabited inside kajang (inside Embayya) still embrace and keep up the belief system as mention above until now. Almost all of them do not carry out and shari’a and the pillars of the Islam: uttering syahadat (confession) words, establishing prayer five times and the Sunnah, fasting in Ramadan month, contribute to zakat, and fulfilling hajj worship.

I use the Anthropology of Religion approach to study the belief system of such Kajang community. Through this approach, I will be focusing on a system of worship and religious behavior of Kajang indigenous peoples.

Key Words: Belief System

Abstrak


Masyarakat adat Kajang, khususnya yang berdomisili di kajang Dalam (Iliang Embayya) masih mengadakan dan memegang teguh sistem kepercayaan di atas hingga saat ini. Hampir keseluruhan dari mereka tidak ada yang menjalankan syariat dan rukun Islam: mengucapkan kalimat syahadat, mendirikan sholat lima waktu dan sunnah; berpuasa di bulan Ramadhan, mengelurakan zakat, dan menunaikan ibadah haji.

Saya menggunakan pendekatan Antropologi Agama untuk mengkaji sistem kepercayaan orang Kajang tersebut. Melalui pendekatan seperti ini, saya akan menfokuskan diri pada sistem penyembahan dan perilaku keagamaan masyarakat adat Kajang.

Kata Kunci: Sistem Kepercayaan

The Myth of Tu’ Manurung in Kajang

A mythology of Tu’ Manurung, as well as in other ethnic group in South Sulawesi is also well known in the myth epoch of Kajang. According to Ammatowata (the customary leader of Kajang), that the first human being in Kajang called Bohe Amma (the first Ammatowata in Kajang) came down to the earth of kamase-masaya (a full simplicity country) and lived in Tanatowa (the customary forest). This forest region, at the first time is just alike an appeared land (tombolo) as wide as the leaf of umbrella (siraka’ dohong). This small land is surrounded by the sea water and widened time by time match with the development of human on it. Even in the myth epoch of Kajang is stated that the development of Kajang region (rambang lura’nai Kajang) widened to the four wind direction, ie.: 1) North are Sape, Solo, Kaili and Salaparang, 2) East are Tambelu, Tambora, Ternate and Ambon, 3) South are Tanuntung, Tanumatto, Bua Tana, Sangkala and Lombo, dan 4) West are Bajeng, Tassese, Kalimporo’ and Manimporong.

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The places where the firsts human appear in the myth epoch of pasang ri Kajang called Pa’rasangng (resident or village). The first place wherein is believed as the domicile of the first human being is the West resident (Pa’rasangng Iraja or Borong Iraja) opposite with East resident (Pa’rasangng Ilau or Borong Ilau). The first place is considered equal with Madinah Almukarrmah in Saudi Arabia. Therefore the man who has conducted a customary ritual Akattere’ (back to the holy spirit) take this place for pilgrimage. The second place is considered equal with Padang Arafah (Arafah Plain) in Saudi Arabia. It becomes as the second place for pilgrimage by the people of Kajang after conducted Akattere’ and Addjing-djing (the funeral or sorrow ritual).

Not longer after Tu’ Manurung arrival, he was then back to the heaven or disappear (Assajang). He borned, before five children include of one girl and four boys. His five children named Dolonjo ri Balagana (the leader of Balagana region), Dangempu ri Tuli (the leader of Tuli region), Damangussalam ri Balambina (the leader of Balambina region), Dakodo ri Titaka (the leader of Titaka region), and Tu’ Mutang ri Sabil (the leader of Sabil region). The five children of Bohe Amma have each social function and own region. They accept responsible to wispsread their ancestor belief Pasang ri Kajang to all their followers as we can see untill now in the inner and external Kajang region.

After Bohe Amma disappare, the people of Kajang live in two customary regions and two ways of live. The people of inner Kajang live with fully simple way (kanusa-maseyya). They are not matreerials, individualism and far from greedy life. The people of inner Kajang is not allowed to live in the lap of luxury, include the amazing tools such as handphone, guitar, TV, radio, music instrument and so on. On the other hand, the people of external Kajang live with luxurious style, fully matreerialism and individualism as well as the people of Bulukumba and surrounding region. Both areas are influenced by the three current of Islam that are brought by the delegates who studied Islam in other place. Inner Kajang, for example, is more influenced by Janggo’ Tojarra’s Islam comprehension who studied Islam from the Kingdom of Luwu by Datuk Patimang Sulaiman. He studied the creed sentences (Kalimat Syahadat) or God wishes to the prophet of Muhammad (doang rasulung). This comprehension of Islam is focused to the ritual of the life cycle as; birth day, circumcision, wedding, death ritual, move to new home, give obligatory alms, grand opening of trade, slaughter etc. Other comprehension of Islam was brought by Janggo Towa (The son of Bohe Amma) widespread in inner Kajang. He studied mysticism version from Datuk ri Tiro nicknamed Abdul Jawad Khatib Bungku in Bulukumba Kingdom. Other comprehension of Islam was brought by Janggo Panrita nicknamed Toasara Daeng Mallipa widespread in external Kajang only. He studied the rules of Islam (Syariat Islam) in Gowa Kindom from Datuk ri Bandang nicknamed Khatib Tunggul Abdul Makmur.

The three above Islam comprehensions characterize the daily life of the people of Kajang (inner and external). The people of inner Kajang is not allowed to live with luxurious style, because one of the rule of Islam (led by Moehammad prophet) encourage the simplicity life of his follower. The people of inner Kajang are influenced by the Suji and Tusaf that advocate the direct and closely relationship with God (Transcendental) and a simply live. The most important in Kajang belief is remember to the God forever (A’ngurangi Tu’ Rie’ A’ra’na).

The Religion and The Belief System in Anthropology

a. Some Studies of Religion And Belief System

Anthropology, after knowledge revolution be happened, is fully developed in vary studies. The Anthropologist’s attention for the religy system grew up quickly, especially for the religious ritual in a certain ethnic group. Even if this ritual at the beginning is just considered as an unique thing only, but at the end they formulate this characteristic religion as it tobe (emic) and try to built a theory of the lineage of religion.

Far before anthropology became as a body of knowledge, some ethnographer tried to write some characteristic of the local tradition which was too different with their own (European tradition). They used generally the ethocritirish paradigm (seen other culture is worse than his own) brought religy and belief system as centre of their study.

The religion or the belief system study in Anthropology is focused to the religious behavior related to the daily live of its followers. Anthropology of religion, in principle, will not study over the dogmatism of religion and belief system. This means that the anthropology of religion, for instance, will have never studied how moslem do worship but why they do it.
A big question will be appear herein why the human belief to the misterious thing as the most high level of status than the human being? Why human try to communicate and looking for connection with that misterious thing? To anwer this question Anthropology of religion must conduct a study for religy and knowledge system. According to anthropologist that the human religious activities is always based on trembles of soul (mood) or religious emotion that is mirrored in their religious activities or behavior. They believe that even someone in is absolutely atheis but he must has ever had a secondly feeling with this religious emotion. It will urging the human to conduct his religious activities. The high frequency of mood can appear the unusually value form (sacred), whereas the low one can appear the usually value (profane) only.

The religion follower in certain culture must try to keep his own religious emotion. It is more important than the three other thing, i.e.: 1) convincing, b) religious rituals, and 3) the follower of a certain religion. Anthropolog are generally pay their attention to the angels (good or bad) in cosmogony comprehension, the gos, the high level angel and the creator of nature in cosmology comprehension, and the live, the death and the spirit of the world and the hereafter in the faith comprehension.

The religious ritual consist of the places of religious ritual (temple, castle, church, mosque etc., the time of religious rituals (time for worship, sacred days, holy days etc.), the tools of religious rituals (holy statues, holy bells, holy flutes, holy drums etc.) and the chief of religious ritual (pastor, bishop, priest, shaman and medical man or woman etc.). The ritual or religious ceremony has also many froms: prayer, song for prophet of Muhammad, slachtich animal, meal together, dancing, singing, procession, drama platform, fasting, trance, Yoga, and mediatiation. These activities are expected to set themselves closely to their God and get the God bless.

b. The Symbol in Religion And Belief System

According to Clifford Geertz (1992: 5) religion is a symbol system to appear mood and encourage strong motivations to achieve the human goals. It would be applied in all their religious behavior. Paul Tillich (1955) is adopted by Geertz’s in his analysis about the relationship between the meaning and the religion. Both of them (Geertz and Tillich) take the meaning as a concept of their analysis over the absolute meaning, the unity of meaning and Impori. Impori is sometimes called as the absolutely of meaning, the unity of deeply meaning or the meaning of the meaning (Paul Tillich (1955).

Geertz himself trend to equalize between religion and culture, because culture can be considered as an abstraction of religion. According to him culture is a pattern of the meanings that historically is transferred to the symbols whereby human can communicate, sustain their world view, knowledge and attitude of life. It is very clear, by this concept that religion is a symbol and culture is as a pattern of meaning wherein are accumulated the representative and the absolutely relationship between abstract thing (culture) and concrete thing (religious behavior). So, religion is a realization of certain culture. Therefore religion without culture as the meaning giver is impossible and the culture without religion or belief system as symbolizer is also absolutely impossible.

McGuire (1992: 11-14) found two religious comprehensions called substantive and functionalism. The concepts of substantive is the supernatural reality, the superempris reality, the transcendence reality and the sacred cosmos. On the other hand, the concept of functionalism is the relation between religion and culture. That concept found by Sapiro (1966) as an institution, the cultural pattern and the cultural postulate. This concept can be improved to be superhuman being which is powerfully than human being.

c. The Religion, Belief System and Culture

The closely relation between religion and culture encourage anthropolog to conduct a great study in his own specification or discipline. E. B. Tylor (1913) and G. J. Frazer (1976), for example, promote his concept over supernatural of some primitive societies. The belief system in form of spiritualism show how the first step in the evolution of human brain had been happened. That’s why Tylor saw religion is alike as magic, because both are built by unempirical ideas or dogmatism.

Frazer, on the other hand, is different with Tylor who trend to saw religion is different from magy. The magy is always concern with magic power (bad spirit), otherwise religion is concern with supernatural (angles). Therefore, the improving of religion (dogmatism, dynamics and transcendental) is better than the magic (impersonality, statics and universalism). The well conducted of magic ritual for rainy requesting, for example, accomplish with the slachtich animals may cause the rain fall. But when a pastor or other
expert in religion, on the other side, prayer for the rainy request is not a guarantee for the rain fall, because its basic is just an expecting only.

Emile Durkheim (1964) and Mirea Eliade (1959) claim the above dogmatism supernatural concept by Tylor dan Frazer. Both of them consider religion as a sacred thing and not at all it must be concern with supernature. Eventhough both experts have the same concept and paradigm about sacred and profane, but in their application is still contradict each other. Durkheim as well as Tylor, Freud and Frazer seek religion as functionalism thing, whereas Eliade see religion as a phenomenon (phenomenalism). Durkheim see religion as sacred thing in relation with society and his needs. Therefore the sacred means a social matters and profan is an individual matters. On the other hand, Eliade has never found the relationship between sacred thing and social phenomenon, except the supernatural only, because it is always equal with the spirit or God.

E. E. Evans-Pritchard (1956) showed how the religious concept of Nuer tribe influence the whole of their way of live. He found an absolutely dogmatism concept Kwoth Nhial (absolute God) as in supernatural comprehension. He lives on the heaven, but he is not alike as heaven. He is alike wind, but he is not wind. He represents all things, but he is abstract. He is considered as the leader of the angels Bu (women angel), Wu (clan angel), Deng (the son of God), Mani (war commander) and Colwi (holly spirit) but he is not an angel. Pritchard then show how Nuer tribe devise his cosmology view in three stages: upper world where Kwoth Nhial and Kwoth stay, middle world is the place where the human life and under world wherein the sacred animal or the totem of human life.

Sigmund Freud (1953 and 1978) in his phsicoanalysis said, that the activities of the religious men is alike as the neurosis (terrance, mad or stress men) behavior. Therefore, someone will be feel wrong if he unperfectly follow the ritual worship. He also claim that the religion is an unempirical and is not given by God, because no scientific method be proved it. The religion is also not less just as the strongly, powerfull and the old expectation of the human needs. Therefore, the secret power of religion is just lay in the power of human expectation (illution) and not on their belief system. Ludwig Feurbach (1957) support it and said, that the religion is just as physichological tool to reinforce the expecting, the goodness, and the idea to achieve supermature comprehension called God. By this way, the human just try to put himself in the lowest status than it.

C. Jung (1938 dan 1972) refused the two concepts above and said, that religion is a collective human idea and is embeded in the mythology, folklore, philosophy and arts. The religion is appeared from collective unconnessness and it is not as neurosis behavior like Freud and Ludwig see. It is appeared as healthfully, deeply and sustainable expression from human being and not appear from the neurosis statement of frustation. Max Weber (1951 and 1958) as well as Jung also refuse the neurosis concept of psychology and said that the supernatural belief is an universal fact that can be found in all primeval society. The religious behavior has never been lost from human daily activities to achieve his certain economic goal and needs. He conclude that the men involve magic expert (shaman) to seek the individual, sacred and dominant thing, otherwise use the priests (pastor, magical man/women, pastor, bishop, etc.) to look for the cooperative, profane, full authority, and fully religious etics.

The Belief System of Customary People of Kajang

The people of Kajang, especially inner Kajang still hold their ancestor belief called Jemme 'Talukka and Sambajang Tattappu. Both religious concepts are put in an oral tradition called Pasang ri Kajang (the message of ancestor) to the follower for applying in their daily life. The basic message of Pasang ri Kajang is the faith to Tu 'Rie A'ra'na (the creator) who give a guidance (tuntungan) in the social interaction between the followers. The role and occupation of Tu 'Rie A'ra'na is alike as Kwoth Nhial in Nuer tribe belief, Puang Matowa in Tator belief, Dewata Sewa' e in Buginese-Macassares belief and many other kinds of believes in Indonesia.

Every house, especially inner Kajang has a small fully earth water butt in the left side of the ladder. This water is used by the guest to wash their leg, mouth, hand and face (ritual washing) before come upstairs the house. A house for Kajang people is believed as a sacred thing', so that everyone who wants to come upstairs in it must clean his body and spirit before. There are four meaning of the activites in ritual washing, ie: First, abbisa lina yaminu appabajiki pahlampi linayaya nuanre kaalle-alle means wash your hand for not stolen. Second, abbisa muka yaminu appabajiki bua matayya nuanre kitte-kitte means wash your face include your eyes for not seeing bad thing. Third, abbisa tuwu yaminu appabajiki passulu sa'ranu nuanre kabica-bicara means wash or clean your mouth for not saying uncorrect thing (laying).
Fourth, abbisā bangkeng yamintu, appabajiki angka’bangkeng na nu sare ka’lampa-lampa means wash your leg for not going anywhere to do bad thing (sin). This four matters must always keep and do it after urinated, stinkly wind and lost feces for not breaking their ritual washing such as the rules of the treatment of ritual washing in Islam. The body and spirit clean is the most important in the people Kajang’s worship.

The comprehension for Sambajang Tattappu realize in their transcendental activities to Tu’ Rie’A’ra’na in every time. The God reminding is very important for the people of Kajang’s life to himself close to the holy God by the five ways: First, punna a’lingkako sompol Karaeng Alla Taalanu means take your God to your shouder when you are walking. Second, punna cidongko rihai Karaeng Alla Taalanu means hold your God in your lap when you are sitting down. Third, punna timroko raka barambangi Karaeng Alla Taalanu means embrace your God when you are sleeping.

The belief system of the people of Kajang set Tu’ Rie’A’ra’na(God) as a form of macrocosmos from other cosmoses. There are some hierarchies of cosmos in the people of Kajang’s belief. They believe that Pasang ri Kajang is as medium of the guidance (ammantung) to all people of Kajang. It is as a microcosmos from the high cosmos of God and macrocosmos from low cosmoses such as Amanatow ri Kajang, Tu’ Mutang (the agent of Amanatowa), the nature and Tu’ Mabbutaiyya (the people of Kajang). Amanatowa is microcosmos of the above cosmoses and the macrocosmos of the low cosmoses and so on as can be seen in below diagram:

The diagram show the transcosmic pattern from the lowest cosmos of the people of Kajang (Tu’Mabbutaiyya) to the highest cosmic of the creator(Tu’Rie’A’ra’na). The small green cycle symbolize the centre point of cosmic consist of four matters: fire (api) is symbolized by small red cycle, water (erw) by small blue cycle, wind (angjing) by small yellow cycle, and earth (butta) by small black cycle. The four angles symbolize the cosmology of the people of Kajang for this world. They consider that this world is platly such as the four angle (sulapa’appa’na linowa). The four angles of the world, according to the people of Kajang’s perception, representer for the important matters (fire, wind, water and earth) in human and nature creation process. This conception is actually different from Colombus who found this arrounded wold.

The Cosmology of Kajang People

The way of life of the people of Kajang, especially inner Kajang is reflected in his daily and simplicity of life (kamane-maray) pattern. This simply principles is more accumulated in their cultural knowledge (what people know), their cultural artifact (what people create) and cultural behavior (how people react), as below:

a. The Perception of Color

The simply living of the people of Kajang give a color to the whole of aspects of their live, include their daily cloth which is color (black), materials (nature) and its process (traditional) very simple one.

The black color is the favorite color, either in inner Kajang or external Kajang. The black color has special meaning as a collected of some basic color. It symbolize calmful, peaceful, pleasure, silent, safety and great motivation to face the problems of live. It is also considered as the oldest color that symbolize the mature of thingking and all at once symbolize the simplicty of life.

The black color is drawn in Pasang ri Kajang, that Anre le’long tua, anre le’long lolo, anre tongi le’long situju-tuju, mingka le’long lamhuus’ji means that the black color can not be devided into strong black, weak black and bright black but dark black only. It is different from others color (yellow, blue, red) that can be devided into strong yellow (didi towa), weak yellow (didi lolo), strong blue (moncombolo towa), weak blue (moncombolo lolo), strong red (oji towa) and weak red (oji lolo). The black color is concern with the earth color whereby the first human being (Adam) was built.
The appearance of the black color to be a favorite one in Kajang's customary territory is more concerned with their way of life. According to their perception that the first and last color that we meet in our live is black. The black color met when we were in our mother's lap and also will meet in our death later. As long as nine month in our mother's lap just met the darkness, before we born to look the world breathness (anggatite tajang ri linowa). To proof it someone request me to close my eye and ask what I can see? By this way I can see nothing, except the darkness. It proof that black is a basic color of all deviations. The perception of Kajang people draw that nikuara ngintu balo iyamintu le 'lenga bajanganna bangngiya nakebo' bajanganna tajanga iyarega allowa means there are just two kind of color the black is a repensation of the night darkness and white is replica of the day brightness. The Black color is also a symbol of a simply life of inner Kajang people and white is a symbol of luxurious life of the external Kajang people. Even though the people of Kajang do not refuse other two color except balck and white. The red and yellow are always present in the cone of the boiled rice (kukkusu'). The two color of cone rice (kukkusu' ruutupuya) present black as a symbol of the earth and white as a symbol of water, whereas the four color of cone rice (kukkusu' patanrupuya) present additing color yellow as a symbol of air and red as a symbol of fire.

b. The Meaning of House Construction

The house as a cultural artifacts is built based on the cosmology of Kajang people. All processing of the raw materials preparing, the house construction, the rooms order and the time of building a house must be based on the manners and the rules in Pasang ri Kajang. None can built a house without consultation with the expert (uragi bola) who has magic power and many experiences in a house building.

The using of nails and other metals, especially in customary house of Anmaatowa is strongly forbidden kastipali, talama ring or karrasa'. This prohibition is concern with their perception over the plant right. All of the wood materials in a house building is considered has the right and still life as well as the tries in the forest. Therefore the using of metal goods believe can hurt the wood materials, because the nail or other metal goods is believed can hurt it. This draws that the people of Kajang respect to the rights of other organism, include the plant right.

The roof is made from palm leaf which is knitted on a small lath of bamboo (paninting). The usage of zinc roof or other artificial roof is strongly forbidden in inner Kajang. According to the mythology of Kajang that rie’ serre hattu nabaiiltai bolamu nakhambangi kalemnu means in one time your house is beautiful but you will be feel very hot. This message consist of a forbidden to use zinc or other kinds of roof. It is believed can polute the air and increase the pressure of the surrounding atmosphere. Other people said that the other consequences of the using of unnaturally zinc roof is make the wild frighten and go away from the forest.

The floor and wall is made from a small lath of bamboo (salimara) that is plaited on a basic frame. It must be verticallity plaited, because bamboo is considered already die sotmts that it can not stand anymore. The space of the floor is bordered by the wood block (koko') to stand the small beam of floor (hallusa') wherein the lath of bamboo of floor (dassere') is fastened with rattan. No chair, table, spring bed and so on be allowed on this floor, except the palm leaf and the ratta mat for seating and sleeping. There is a strong of this lanaiki mai ro bola anre jalli na tappere sangkamai mase-maseya means come upstairs the house please. There is nothing at all we are very poor.

The ladder is commonly shoot out and stand in the right side of the house, where the door (anna') is placed opposite with the kitchen and the small toilet. This position of ladder concern with the head posisition of someone when lie down or sleep in the house. The head must be always positioned in South and is strongly forbidden in North, East and West position. This position concern with the sacred customary forest which is spreaded out in East and West of the village. Both places must be uphold (nijungang) and forbidden to trample down under foot (nilisa') when someone sleep with his head in the North, forbidden to put in back side (nihokogang) and to embrance (miraka' barambang) when someone sleep with his head in the East or West.

The position of the kitchen in the front part of the house concern with the conception of the simplification of life of Kajang. The another reason of this kitchen posistion is the reality of principle of the people of Kajang who always want to realize everything what it must be. So, there is no distinction between the owner and the guest, because what they eat is also offered to their guest.

Every house in inner Kajang usually use the prow (onjong) to connect (the upper world (iangis') as a
macrocosmos and the under world (lino) as microcosmos. This prow is commonly represent the dragon that is believed by the people of Kajang as the heaven kipper. When the moon eclipse (allingo buliinga) happened, for example, the people of Kajang’s belief that the moon has been swallowed by the big dragon. The prow is sometimes made from the buffalo’s horn to symbolize their economic capability. This symbolize the capacity of owner when he conduct a customary ritual wherein a buffalo was slaughtered.

The division of house into three spaces to be upper balcony (para bola), the body of house (kale bola) and beneath of house (siring) is also concerned with the cosmology of the Kajang people. These rooms order are connected with the three prats of the world: the heaven, the world and the under world. The upper balcony is believed as representation of the heaven (boting langi), so this place must be a private and a sacred space and forbidden haphazardly to enter. The upper balcony — as well as the upper world wherein the angles and Tu’ Rie’ A’ra’ na stay — is also believed as the place for the queen of rice (sangiasser). None is allowed to enter it, except in the ritual for putting rice (appanai pare) in it. Even sometimes draw that there is a cannibal grand mother life there to frighten somebody or children to enter it.

The body of house (kale bola) is considered as a representation of the world where social interaction can be happened. It is divided into three spaces: 1) the front space of house (latta’ riolo) opposite with the kitchen and is used as guest room. They are not allowed to enter the centre space of house without permission of the owner. This mistake is considered as an unacceptable action, because this can only be done by unpolite man (tu’ anre pangadakanna). At the last time the house owner could condemn or killed someone without prosecution (mate nilisakki tedonga) who has broken the rule, 2) the centre of house (latta’ ritengga) is functioned as sleep room for the owner with their marriage son or daughter (neolokal). In opposite stand a small food stock and kitchen toll stock, and 3) the back space (latta’ riboko or tila-tila) has a special value and is used as a sleep room for the girls and the old women (grandma mother). This space is believed as private room, so that the possition must be little bit higher than the other spaces. It is sometimes limited by the wood or bambu wall to keep its privatization.

In the middle row of the pillar stand a special pillar as benteng tangga (the centre point of house). This pillar is believed as medium to connect the under world and the upper world. Therefore many of the customary rituals for feeding the house spirit (a’ noro and appangaru kacuca bola) use this pillar as a center of activities. To add its sacred value, this pillar is sometimes carved and wrapped with black cloth. It must be a perfect wood (kaju gama’ saka’ na), because straight, no stinky wood eyes, no hole, stink wood nucleus, form eight sides and old enough. This means that it has a mana’ bola haji sisis’ na and can give a good inspiration to the owner. The imperfect house (bola kodi or bola patula) is believed can give calamities to the owner, because the pillar is considered unperfect.

Outside in the right, left and behind position, exactly on the top of wall side is built the bamboo bench (para para) for the household storage on the left side of house for the bad room equipment storage on the right side of house, and for the heritage of the owner storage on behind side of the house.

The top roof of the house (timba laja’ra) is almost has no meaning as well as Bunginese and Macassar, because there is no social stratifications in the customary of Kajang territory. That means that there is no stratification because no slave (Anre’ Ato) and no arististic (Anre’ Karang) in Kajang. It is made from palm leaf and is supressed by the knitting of some bamboo laths. This symbolize the structure of Kajang customary institutions i.e.: Anmatowa ri Kajang is one person symbolized with one knitted lath, Karang Tallua are three persons with three knitted lath, and Ada’ Limaiyaa are five persons with five knitted lath.

The crossing of bamboo laths connects the four corners of the four angel as the symbol of the brotherhood and the unity of Kajang’s people (Assikajang). The four corners symbolize the four corners of the world (sulapa’ appa na linowa) and the four elements such as water, earth, air and fire that used to create the world and human being are connected in one centre point called life (Katalliasmung).

Religious Behavior in Customary Rituals

Almost all religious behavior is paralleled with the conducting of the customary rituals. According to Koentjaraningrat (1992: 252) that sometime the human faces his magic world with various feelings: not
just love, respectation, and loyalty, but also fear, shudder and so on. This feeling encourage the human to do some religious activities (religious behavior) for seeking the connecting with that magic world. The interest of the people to conduct a religious ritual is urged by the mood (ritual emotions) which is appeared from the various feelings. These are then realized in a form of religious ceremonies or rites. The appearing of the process of feeling symptom become a form of emotional spread which then tobe a thanks giving or request by the religious rituals.

There are some important elements in the ritual conducting are ritual place, ritual time, medium of ritual and ritual conductor. All these elements represent or symbolize the purpose and the goals of the customary ritual.

The customary ritual in Kajang is generally take three places: 1) in the customary house of Anmatowa ri Kajang called a ritual for worship and hilt request (A’nganro), 2) in the house of the people of Kajang called back to the purity of spirit (Akkatere’), the realisation of vot (appanamro kacucu bola), the protection request to the God (addingi-dinging), the thank God ritual (abogoro), the birth day ritual (atompolo), the tooth grind ritual (akkolomba), deth ritual for the low class people (a’datamp lajo–loja), deth ritual for high class people (a’dogang), and 3) in the sacred customary forest (borong karana’).

The customary ritual is generally conducted based on the value of the symbol, the sacred thing value, the ceremonial value, and the thank God value. The ritual of Akkatere’, for example, is more concerned with a ceremony based on the value of the symbols. The men who can conduct it is considered has a capability to conduct one of the Islam orders called black pilgrimage (aji be’long). This term is connected with the daily baleg cloth as their uniform. The place for hair cutting is conducted the four angels bamboos fence (badi’). It look alike Qa’bah in the mosque of Maccah Al-Mukarramah. The ritual of akkatere can increase the economical status of the owner and leveled with the man who has been to Maccah to do pilgrimage.

One of the customary rituals is the ritual of the election of Anmatowa ri Kajang (pa’nganro amnvur borong). It is considered as holy ritual because Tu’ Rie’ A’ra’huu believed attend it. All people of Kajang collect together in Borong Balagana (Balagana forest) to attend and to watch directly the processing of Anmatowa election.

The thank God ritual which is conducted after paddy harvest in the ricefield. This ritual look alike as the mappoliti (walk around the ricefield) ritual by Barru and Soppeng people and Mapamula the beginning of paddy harvest) in Karampaung customary people (Gising, 2005: 122) or panen perdana in Indonesian language. It take places in the customary house of Anmatowa and in the ricefield. It is commonly conducted when the sun is coming up (langkasa’ni allowa) or about 10.00 am.

The memorial ritual is a customary ritual to remember their deth family. It is generally conducted in the night (A’ngalle Bumgeng) at the sorrow house and based on the day of the deth. It will be accounted from the first , the third , the fifth , the seventh , the fifteenth , fortyth , fiftieth , seventieth , eightieth , ninetieth and hundredth . This counting is related with the journey of the deth men. At the first night is believed that the spirit of the deth is still stay at home. The third and the seventh night is consider the deth man start to the journey to another world (allo riboko). The fifteenth up to hundredth night is believed that the deth men is to far from this world and almost finish his journey to paradise for the good men (tu’ kintarang) and to the hell for the bad men (tu’ kodi).

The cultural artifact (ornament) that is used in customary ritual consist of: a) the primary are absolutely needed in a customary ritual, b) the additional are used to add the sacred of a customary ritual, and c) The usual are unimportent things. The cultural ornaments such as the censer (sauk), the sacrifice (pa’nganro), and the pipe betle (pa’ manang gullang) are absolutely presented in centrain customary ritual. The ornament such as drum (garrang), flute (pu’ pui’), and small trumpet (baxing) in the deth ritual (a’lajo–loja) are also obsoltely.

To add the sacred of the cultural ornament need old coin (dui’ rioo) as prize (a’huang-huang) in appangamro ritual, one bounded paddy and some fruits (bua rapoo) as a symbol of the popyerity, the coconut shell kettle (sibo’bo’), the coconut shell mug (cimbokang or sai bulu), kemiri candel (ra’rasa’), the brass tray (kappura’) or rattan tray (kalit) as symbol of the simply live of the Kajang people.

Some cultural artefacts are considered unimportant in a ritual are the food (rice, side dish, banana, coffee etc.), bamboes lamp (sulu saju), small palm basket (ide or bantaiang), the coconut leaf basket (kamboti), bitter palm wine (pakkacci), cooked flesh
(lahara'), the white cooked nut (utiang bue), black sticky rice (kukus') and so on. These all just used as adhesive ornament in a customary ritual.

Conclusion

The people of Kajang set tu'rie 'Ara'na as the highest level of cosmoss in their colosmosogy. He consider the creator of this world and herited Pasang ri Kajang as the only one guidance for him to solve his live problem.

The people of Kajang still believes their ancestor belief system called sambabang tatiapau and jenne' talka (no ending worship and useless ritual washing). The important thing in this belief is the 'cleaness', either the body or the spirit. The body cleanliness can be done by ritual worship whereas the spirit clean is constantly remain to the God. There are three way to remember God: remember when you are walking, are sitting and you are going to sleep.

The customary ritual is the other way to worship his God. All of his customary ritual conduct just to honour his ancestors who are considered still live in surrounding environement, include in Tamatowa (the customary forest in Kajang).

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