Cultural Models and Socio-Religious Change: An Example From South Sulawesi

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Abstrak


Penulis menguji tentang prinsip organisasi sosial dan keagamaan setempat, serta berbagai perubahan sosial pada tingkat makro dan mikro. Struktur normatif yang fundamental dari masyarakat setempat dapat dipahami sebagai model abstrak yang didasarkan atas beragam hubungan simbolis antara organisasi sosial dan dunia gaib (supernatural). Model apa pun dari suatu komunitas sosial — apakah diperlukan oleh antropolog atau informan lokal — dalam kenyataan merupakan suatu konstruksi yang didasarkan atas pengamatan dan penafsiran serta diekspresikan dalam bentuk verbal atau tulisan. Model budaya seperti itu dapat tidak sesuai dengan realitas sosial karena kelidupan sosial untuk sebagian besar ditentukan oleh norma-norma yang berbeda, konflik kepentingan dan kelakuan umum sebagai yang dimiliki anggota masyarakat. Penulis berpendapat perluannya menggantikan model yang diberlakukan oleh anggota-anggota masyarakat dengan suatu model yang lebih terbuka sebagai istilah analisis bagi etnografer, yaitu apa yang disebutnya "open cultural model".

Doubtlessly, the Makassar as one of the main ethnic groups in the Indonesian province of South Sulawesi have been neglected by anthropological research for the last forty years. The last scholar who conducted fieldwork among the Makassar was Hendrik Th. Chabot, who studied a lowland community in Borong-lowe, situated in the present kabupaten Gowa. The results of his investigation, published in 1950, are still of outstanding importance as regards the scientific study of South Sulawesi cultures in general, and of Makassar culture in particular. Aside from its lack of information on the religious domain, however, a most significant feature of Chabot's pioneering work is its focus on the population of the lowlands, which in several respects has to be clearly distinguished from those Makassars who live in the highlands east of the provincial capital Ujung Pandang. Due to the fact that in this region the major part of the population speaks the Konjo-variety of the Makassar language, these people are commonly referred to as "Konjo-Makassar" or, in Indonesian masyarakat Konjo. When preparing my fieldwork in highland Gowa in 1984/85, I intended to examine not only some general features of the local society, but also the
peculiarities of the interrelationship between social change on the one hand, and religious change on the other.

South Sulawesi has always been conceived of as one of the principal centers of Islam in Indonesia, and after the arrival of Islam on the peninsula in 1605, the Makassar very soon became renowned for their strict adherence to the Islamic faith. While historical and political aspects of Islam in South Sulawesi have meanwhile been analyzed in great detail, the actual position of Islam especially among the peasant communities of the remote mountainous region has not been studied so far. Doing fieldwork in highland Gowa seemed especially suited for an investigation of the actual processes of the social and religious change, since in contrast to the situation in lowlands, Islamic institutions got access to the highlands fairly recently, that is to say not before the turn of the century.

During the last few decades, the inhabitants of the villages under investigation, encompassing some 800 individuals and situated in the eastern mountain region of kabupaten Gowa, have been confronted with four important events, each of which called forth radical changes. Political change in particular arose from the impacts of the Dutch colonial government from about 1910 until 1949, as well as from administrative reform in 1960/61. On the other hand, religious life in the village changed after 1910, when Islam got access to the region. Further changes with in this domain were brought about in the sixties, when a man from the village was installed as iman kampung. Finally, a most important event affecting many aspects of social as well as of religious life was the resettlement of the entire village from a river to a main road, which was started around 1970.

Besides focusing my attention on the general principles of the local social and religious organization, which for the area under discussion had never been elucidated before, I concentrated on the evaluation of various aspects of culture change on a macro as well as on a micro-level. Gaining a vivid picture of social reality and the characteristics of the process of change required investigating on how individual roles were acted out during ritual performances, most of which turned out to be mainly based upon a syncretism of traditional belief and Islam.

Lack of space in this paper does not allow for detailed description of religious and social organization in the village under discussion. It should be stressed in this context, however, that the fundamental normative structure of a local community may be conceived of as an abstract model which is principally based upon various symbolic relations between social organization and the real of the supernatural. Hence, villagers consider their social community a microcosm reflecting the macrocosm, the center of which is a sacred mountain, Mt. Bawakaraeng. The peak of this mountain is not only regarded as the very origin of life, but also as the place of origin of traditional political leadership. Safeguarding the community's existence, and maintaining its political organization requires regular performances of the various rituals, most of which refer to the deities and ancestor souls living on Mt. Bawakaraeng. Another feature relating to the establishment of close links between the supernatural and the living members of a village community is the demand

1) This article summarizes some of the results of my fieldwork in South Sulawesi, which are discussed at length in Rößler (1987). Fieldwork was carried through in collaboration with Birgit Rößler under the auspices of Lembaga Ilmu Pergajihan Indonesia, and was sponsored by Universitas Hasanuddin, Ujung Pandang. I would like to thank both institutions again for their support.

for continuous communication between the latter and the souls of their ancestors. Both the living and their ancestors are considered members of a single community.

Any model of a social community, whether it be formulated by an anthropologist or a native informant, is in fact a construction that is based upon observation and interpretation, and expressed in verbal or written form. Such models do of course not correspond with a social reality from a philosophical point of view. For the problems under investigation, however, it suffices to focus on that sort of incompatibility of cultural models with reality which is caused by the fact that social life is to a great extent determined by divergent norms, conflicting interests, and unequally shared knowledge within a community. It seems necessary, then, to replace the cultural models as formulated by the members of the society, thought it is still conceived of as valid, by a different kind of model which implies divergent norms, conflicting interests, and unequally shared knowledge. Establishing such a model as the starting point for analysis enables the ethnographer to take into account cognitive variation and variable choices in accordance with personal interests.

Such a model, which I shall henceforth call an "open cultural model", will however be changed drastically as soon as the community to which it refers is confronted with normative concepts or aspects of cultural knowledge originating from external sources, which are fundamentally opposed to formerly prevailing values, norms, and cultural knowledge. In such a situation, conflicts between divergent norms and values will be considerably extended. In the course of the rapid exogenous changes as outlined above, the inhabitants of the village under investigation have been confronted with various new norms and values — an entire complex of cultural knowledge hitherto unknown — which exceeded the rate of the divergence and contradictions that were inherent in the open cultural model as traditionally formulated by the villagers. Even though this open model could neither be called well-balanced or excluding conflict, the new norms and values were so different from the traditional ones that the villagers have hardly been able to deal with all the problems that were called forth by exogenous changes up to the present.

Traditional knowledge and patterns of socio-religious organization could often not be applied for a solution of these problems.

A rural Makassar community is considered a social unit with a distinct cultural identity. Traditionally, the village government was headed by a chief (though not of noble descent, he is called Karang in the area under investigation), who by all must be a member of a bilateral descent group (ramah) that could be traced back to a divine female ancestor originating from Mt. Bawakaraeng. The karang was and still is assisted by a council of functionaries who are considered the main representatives of ada' (= Indonesian adat) in the village. As elsewhere in South Sulawesi, political leadership is traditionally legitimated by sacred heirlooms (kalemopoang), which are regarded as the virtual source of political power because they are also believed to be of supernatural origin. In addition to their political function, kalemopoang are one of the most striking features of traditional religion, which in highland Gowa is referred to as the religion of the patunung. Finally, sacred heirlooms may be considered the primary symbolic mediators between individuals, social groups and traditional governmental institutions on the one hand, and the realm of the supernatural on the other.

3). In South Sulawesi, such divine princesses are commonly referred to as iwunakara. Concerning their significance for political leadership see Ie. Muthia, 1977-78.
on the other.

A crucial point as regards the definition of the identity of any local village community is various meanings of the term *ada*. This concept refers to all customs and rules of conduct that every individual must observe in order to maintain the balance of the macrocosm. In addition, *ada* is defined in terms of territoriosity, in that each village territory (*pu rasaungg*) is considered a distinct *ada*. Furthermore, there is a close connection between *ada* and the factor of kinship, since all inhabitants of a village claim to belong to a single kinship (*pammanakaeng*), membership in which is reckoned bilaterally, even though in practice the boundaries between all such kinship groups are necessarily subject to individual manipulation, and may not be arbitrarily established by an external observer.

Accordingly, every individual considers all village territories other than the one he lives in as having a different *ada*, even if he possesses kin relations to some of these territories, as is usually the case. On the other hand, everybody who is not a member of one's own *pammanakaeng* is considered as belonging to a different *ada*, even if he or she lives in one's own village. Finally, *ada* also covers a religious dimension, because the influence of the ancestor souls is believed to be restricted to the territory or village, or *ada*, they lived in during their lifetimes. Whatever aspect or dimension of *ada* is stressed always depends on situational context, though there is no village who would not immediately quote a number of features that account for the uniqueness and identity of his own *ada* as opposed to those of neighboring villages.

4) For detailed accounts of *kalompong* see Badge, 1957:63-5; Friedelty 1933: 491-501; Chaboe, 1950: 61-77.

5) Details are given in Röster 1987:32f.

1. Religion and Ritual

During my fieldwork I observed performances of some 35 kinds of rituals, the underlying concepts of which differed considerably from each other, though a few categories of rituals could nevertheless be distinguished. Rituals referring to the agricultural cycle are entirely based upon the concepts of traditional religion. Up to the present, Islam could not exercise any influence upon these rituals, and it was apparent that the basic principles of the old belief system, at least as regards the agricultural domain, are still significant among the village population. Although even the local Imam's family still performs small private rituals relating to the agricultural cycle, internal and external propaganda against the performance of community-wide rituals brought about a general decline of their significance. In particular with regard to this category of rituals, there seems to be a tendency towards individualization, involving a shift from participation in community-wide rituals towards the performance of small ceremonies that are confined to the framework of the family. Aside from the fact that participation in community-wide rituals would inevitably provoke criticism by Islamic and administrative functionaries, the changes of the settlement pattern resulting from the resettlement project mentioned above have called forth various problems as regards communication within the village, thereby leading to a drastic decline of common participation in rituals. This last topic refers in particular to the ritual that is traditionally performed after the first annual harvest (*angkatite asle welo*). In general, the formal village head (*kepala dusun*) does not take part in such rituals, whereas the traditional leader (*karaeng*) occupies a prominent position during all agricultural rituals, which he regards as an important means of maintaining some influence in the village. Conflicts arising from latent tensions between
parts of the village community and their karasang have meanwhile resulted in a sort of "politicizing" of the agricultural rituals, which in turn has brought about a declining interest in common participation. While until sixties these rituals had the purpose of safeguarding the community's existence, so that everybody was afraid of not taking part, today only a few people are engaged in the performance of agricultural rituals, namely those who have either specific personal motivations or occupy prominent positions within the traditional government.

In contrast to the agricultural rituals, those which are performed in order to protect persons or material objects from the influence of malevolent spirits were traditionally carried through within the framework of the family, involving only close relatives. Such rituals, as for example the anynyongka bala are also mainly based upon the concept of pre-Islamic religion, even though Islamization has already led to the modification of some ritual sequences in so far as today commonly Arabic texts such as the book of Barasanji are recited. Due to the restricted number of participants, who for the most part are members of the initiator's close kin, only his religious attitude seems to govern the use of symbols during the rituals performance. Concerning these protective rituals it becomes apparent that in fact no strict categorization of the village population in terms of basic religious orientations may be established. Hence, individuals who possess strong kin ties to leading representatives of ada commonly integrate Islamic elements such as the recitation of the book of Barasanji into rituals of the old religion. On the other hand, the local Imam frequently joins such ritual performances, too. Carrying through syncretistic rituals which do not evoke conflict over religious matters among the participants is usually restricted to such individuals, so that potential dispute over matters of belief is prevented beforehand.

A phenomenon that is still of outstanding significance among the Makassar of highland Gowa is the individual vow, which in the local language is called tanja. Due to the growing influence of Islam, many variations as regards the contents put forward by these vows have meanwhile emerged, though most of them are structurally identical.6 Vows may refer either to symbolic manifestations such as sacred heirlooms or to Islamic institutions, as for example the tomb of the local saint Shiek Yusup in Sungguminasa. The most striking feature of these rituals, however, is that many inhabitants of Ujung Pandang or other places providing the opportunity for modern education (including Islamic education) commonly go back to their villages of origin in order to make or to redeem a vow in the presence of the local kalempong. In addition, it is evident that vows which obviously refer Islamic concepts are in fact based upon symbolic structures and cultural knowledge underlying the pre-Islamic religion, which from the local point of view generally provides every individual with the opportunity to determine his fate in a certain degree, mainly in the shape of various offerings or sacrifices for supernatural beings. An analysis of the tanja — rituals reveal that there is no rigid correlation between social affiliation to the offices of ada on the one hand, and religious orientation on the other. Accordingly, many holders of important positions of ada will usually appeal, for instance, to the Prophet Muhammad or to Shiek Yusup when making or redeeming a vow. In the same way as could be shown

6) The principles underlying the vow in Makassar culture are discussed in Roseler 1987:86-7, 113-4 and in Retting-Roseler (in press).
for the protective rituals, however, alternative reference to the concepts of Islam or traditional religion is only possible if the framework of the participants in the ritual is restricted. If certain circumstances do not allow for such a restriction, as for example in the case of community-wide rituals centering on the redemption of a vow, previously existing social conflicts will usually be acted out during the performance of the ritual. In this case, the basis of argumentation commonly refers to differences in religious attitudes, despite of the fact that the conflict originated from social tensions exclusively. The strategies of dealing with conflict in the performance of ritual as just described could best be observed during the performance of the accera kahompoang, the most significant ritual in Makassar culture, which involves the sacrifice of water buffalo to the sacred heirloom. Due to several consequences resulting from recent changes in the social-political domain, the symbolic contents of this rituals have meanwhile been reduced to a mere reflection of social tensions within the community. Instead of symbolizing the structure of ada in various dimensions (which was one of the most important traditional intentions of this ritual), it has turned out to be an expression of the actual contradictions between traditional cultural knowledge and present social reality.

Except for the ritual that is performed some weeks before a woman gives birth to a child for the first time in her life (tanyapud), all other rites of passage such as, for instance, circumcision are more or less influenced by Islam, at least according to their "official" definition. However, it could also be shown that in most cases Islamic elements in these rituals are in fact rather superficial, and that instead traditional belief concepts still form the basis of ritual action. Hence, most rituals of this category reveal a remarkable range of variation as regards their underlying orientations. In general, concepts deriving from traditional religion as well as Islamic elements are referred to simultaneously, without any dispute about matters of belief arising among the participants. It must therefore be assumed that in these cases the transformation of syncretisms into ritual action is mainly based upon the fact that rites of passage primarily refer to single individuals, and do not necessarily require the participation of non-relatives. Again, restricting the range of participants to close relatives results in the absence of conflict over matters of belief. If conflict does emerge in certain (rare) situations, the argumentation is again mainly based upon differences in individual belief, even though the very origin of the conflict usually lies outside the religious domain.

The rich complex of the wedding rituals implies but one single sequence originating from Islam, namely the nikah, which according to the local point of view is of only marginal significance compared to other sequences of the wedding ritual, at least in regard to the temporal dimension. It has nevertheless to be stressed that today many parts of the wedding ritual are no longer performed in accordance with ada, while some of them have even entirely disappeared. Doubtlessly these modifications of the wedding rituals were called forth by rapid changes within the domain of gender relations in rural Makassar society during the last 20 years. Due to the fact that communication between young unmarried people has become much easier ever since, especially those sequences of the wedding ritual that refer to a symbolic transgression of the strict boundaries between the male and the female worlds have lost much of their original meaning. If they are still performed at all, their symbolic implications, that is, to say their virtual meanings are no longer recognized especially by younger people. In addition, there are various kinds of conflict emerging during the performance.
of most wedding rituals. Such conflicts not only refer to the usual (merely symbolic) confrontation between the families of the bride and that of the bridegroom, but also to tensions between the representatives of ada' and those of Islam. Since now any marriage is an official procedure which has to be attended by the kepala dusun as well as by the Imam, and since most of the ritual sequences are still based upon ada' and traditional religion, considerable public pressure usually exercises an influence on the behavior of all participants. This holds also true if the representatives of Islam frequently take sides with the representatives of ada' when both parties, as members of one and the same village community, stand in at least a symbolic opposition to the family, village, and ada' of the bridegroom.

Concerning the death rituals, the Imam has various duties before as well as after the burial, although many ritual sequences relating to the safeguarding of the deceased person's soul derive from traditional religion. However, a comparative analysis of several death rituals reveals that alternative reference to either Islamic or traditional concepts mainly depends on the social position of the deceased during his or her lifetime. Accordingly, the rituals that were performed after the death of a prominent female representative of ada' were characterized by considerable religious tolerance, despite of latent conflict that had for years been dominating the relationship between her family and the Imam. On the contrary, the performances of rituals that were carried through after the death of villagers of low social rank often resulted in severe conflict among the participants.

Islamic rituals in the village under discussion must be considered the results of exogenous change, since they had not been carried through in the region until some decades, or, in some cases, even years ago. It may generally be stated that all Islamic rituals are rarely performed in accordance with the precepts of Islam, even though it should be remembered that Islam did not get access to the area under investigation before the turn of the century. Rituals that do in no way allow for the integration of elements deriving from traditional religion are commonly attended by rather few participants, whereas on the other hand the maulid-rituals, which commonly include a recitation of dhikr, are very popular among the villagers. However in particular these last mentioned rituals provide the opportunity for the incorporation of offerings to the ancestor souls, although they are officially designated as exclusively referring to the Prophet. The great Islamic ceremonies of id ul-fitr and id ul-qurban are also very important for religious life in the village, even though many principles of the traditional social organization still govern in the villagers' ritual behavior on these occasions. Thus, for example, the strategies underlying the visits to other households during lebaran are usually based upon traditional social networks and upon the norms of ada' that regulate intra-village communication.

A comparative evaluation of all rituals that are performed in the village under investigation reveals that — in contrast to widespread theories of socio-religious change — no well-defined boundaries between social groups with distinct religious attitudes or orientations can be established. Instead, every individual may decide as to integrate into a ritual performance. Aside from personal motivations or idiosyncratic belief patterns, increasing official argumentation against the performance of rituals that are based upon pre-Islamic belief undoubtedly constitute a factor that accounts for the great variability in ritual action. In addition, it must be stressed that I did not come across any dispute about fundamental differences in religious orientation, so that "religious conflict" in the
very sense of the world seems to be entirely absent. Instead, religious tolerance among the village inhabitants dominates in everyday life, even though tolerance may turn into serious dispute if social conflict between the participant in a ritual emerges. On the other hand, it also became evident that any external influence on the religious situation in the village might provoke further conflict or even the emergence of the factionalism. Disputes about matters of personal belief do not occur but on the basis of previously existing social conflict, and, as a general rule, only between individuals who are not linked by more or less close kin ties. In these cases, arguments referring to strictly defined religious attitudes are mainly used as a means of preserving one's own social rank and esteem within the community. Due to the growing influence of Islam, the range of religious concepts has considerably been extended, so that everybody may now choose among various alternative orientations within the performance of rituals, without necessarily provoking dispute about the purity of faith.

Accordingly, we may draw the conclusion that with regard to its religious dimension in general, the unity of the village community can be considered unaffected. Even though the scope of religious orientation has been extended, and concepts and symbols from contradictory belief systems and ritual patterns now exist side by side, no fundamentally new modes of conflict over these matters have emerged.

2. Social Relations and Political Leadership

As mentioned above, the open model of the village community that served as a starting point for the analysis of change may not be regarded as constituting a static social or cultural equilibrium, but instead must be conceived of as implying various divergent norms, contradictory values, and a complex of cultural knowledge that is not shared equally among the villagers. Accordingly, a number of contradictory principles which did not result from recent changes can still be observed especially within the domain of socio-political organization. In addition to the ideal model as formulated by the villagers, for example, according to which political leadership originated from a divine princess, three other mythical figures are equally said to have founded the institution of village government. Contradictory argumentation referring to these different founders of government immediately emerges when in certain situations the members of different descent groups stress their "virtual leading position" within the community by claiming that the mythical founder of the village government had in fact been a member of their own descent group. However, such contradictory views do not call forth any conflict, but instead are always tacitly accepted by the whole community. There are various other tensions and strains which are not based upon external changes but rather upon discrepancies within the normative order ada' is self. On the other hand, however, many of the conflicts that today govern everyday life in the village do in fact result from exogenous changes, such as for example the confrontation between the kepala dusun and the karaeng, that is to say between formal and informal/traditional leadership. The karaeng can no longer meet all requirements of his office as defined by tradition. After the succession to this office had several

7) The rise of factionalism is discussed in Rossler (in press). Factionalism as prevailing in the village under investigation might best be characterized as "pervasive factionalism", in contrast to such phenomena as "schismatic" or "party factionalism" (see Lewellen, 1983:109; Schurzky, 1973:130).
times been manipulated by the Dutch colonial government soon after the turn of the century, the administrative reform in 1960/61 brought about further changes and problems, because ever since several formal village heads (ketua rukan kampung) have been installed, whose political authority was not legitimated by ada', or, more precisely, by one of their forebearers' divine descent, but who in some instances were not even members of the major village kin group. Even though the kepala dusun in 1984/85 was member of the karaeng's descent group, it is said that his descent rank would even increase the problems resulting from the bipartition of leadership, not with standing the fact that the karaeng's present role is merely symbolic. Both men usually tried to avoid direct confrontation, while during the performances of rituals, their competences and tasks were carefully separated. Since the formal authority of the kepala dusun is in no way related to ada', and because the karaeng's function today is entirely confined to the ritual domain, other persons is given the opportunity to strive for political power on their own, even if they are not genealogically linked to the community.  

Nevertheless, the lack of such kin ties is still considered an insurmountable barrier against achieving authority and political influence within the community. Hence, while fundamental principles of social organization obviously still compensate for certain consequences resulting from exogenous changes, basic patterns of traditional political leadership have already been abolished, thereby provoking not only latent tensions among the members of the ada'-council, but also an increasing neglect of significant rules of conduct as defined by ada'. Nowadays, offenses against the norms of ada' are rarely subject to sanctions, since the karaeng lost most of his former authority in this domain, too, and also because the agents of administration on the regional level are for the most part not interested in a maintenance of ada'. On the other hand, tensions among the representative of ada', as well as conflicts between the latter and Islamic functionaries are seemingly settled as soon as the ada' of their community enters into a confrontation with external institutions, be they associated with government, Islam, or the ada' of another village community as in the case of inter-village marriage alliances. 

A crucial position within the present political organization is occupied by the local Imam. An analysis of his genealogy reveals that his present social isolation has not resulted from religious conflict (which, as has repeatedly been demonstrated, is of only marginal significance), but rather from the fact that his family possesses only weak genealogical ties to the descent groups focusing on the offices of ada'. Lack of kin ties to such descent groups, however, in any case accounts for low social rank. If conflicts arise between the Imam and other villagers, in particular the important representatives of ada', the Imam is inevitably forced to dispute by referring to the duties of his office if he wants to maintain at least his social esteem within the village community. It goes without saying that in these cases fundamental questions as regards the purity of Islamic faith become the very basis of argumentation. The general patterns of conflict within the community may not be regarded as a stereotyped confrontation between the representative of ada' or tradition on the one hand, and those of Islam on the other. Instead, conflicts are acted out in a very differentiated fashion. 

In contrast to popular models or theories of socio-religious conflict, many individuals
who usually claim to preserve tradition in every respect do not generally reject the precepts of Islam, or the impacts of urban culture which has increasingly affected the village during the last years. Aside from a few persons who on many occasions feel being isolated from the majority of the community because of their strict adherence to a reformist kind of Islam, there is still another group of individuals who many neither be formally associated with the agents of Islam nor with those of ada’ and traditional religion, since they adjust their everyday behavior as well as their behavior on ritual occasions to what they suppose to be the most advantageous strategy for maintaining or even increasing their social rank and esteem. In fact it is only these people who frequently and deliberately provoke conflict within the local community. It is important to stress in this respect that all individuals belonging to this social category are either not genealogically linked to the village kin group, or even socially isolated because of previous conflicts which, in some cases, might have taken place some decades ago. Hence, there is a number of people who try to compensate for their marginal social position by constantly emphasizing their interest in innovation and radical shift to modernity.

3. Conclusion

With regard to the changes that have affected the social as well as the religious domain in the village under investigation it is evident that both complexes are interrelated aspects of cultural dynamics. The impact of Islam on traditional belief patterns has not resulted in fundamentally new models of religious conflict — as often seems to be the cases in other regions — since Islamic concepts have carefully been adjusted to the basic principles of the old belief system, as well as been integrated into the symbolic structure of many pre-Islamic rituals. Religious life in the village under investigation is therefore not governed by a confrontation between social groups that bear distinct religious attitudes, but instead by variable individual action which is based upon personal interests and adjusted to specific situations.

On the other hand, however, the study revealed a remarkable decline of social integration within the community. It became apparent that many of the present social tensions among the village population derive from new patterns of cultural knowledge and normative contradictions that differ from those which formed an integrated part of the open model of the village community which served as a starting point for our analysis. In addition, some of the actual principles of socio-religious organization have obviously been brought about by exogenous change, such as for example the formal offices of the kepala dusun and the Imam, whose holders occupy crucial positions with regard to those new norms and values which are not related in any respect to traditional religion or social organization. Since both the village head and the Imam are supported by the regional government in their efforts to spread the ideas of progress and of Islam, their position exercise a considerable influence upon most aspects everyday life in the village. It might be considered a consequence of their public activities that an increasing number of the people now strive for ideals they are in accordance with the arguments brought forward by the new formal leaders of the community.

The actual pattern of tolerance, co-existence and shared authority between the formal leaders on the one hand, and the representatives of ada’ on the other is to a large extent based upon the fact that the present structure of regional administration — in particular on the levels of the desa and the kecamatan — does not fundamentally differ from the traditional hierarchy of leadership in rural Makassar.
society, even though some typical features of the former structure have meanwhile given way to modernity. Hence, the emergence of new offices brought about a demand for better education — including, among other features, literacy — but nevertheless the present principal structures of authority may be considered mere modifications of the traditional political system.

Official argumentation against a kind of religious syncretism that does not correspond to the purity of Islamic faith as postulated by reformist organizations nevertheless results in a declining significance of the traditional belief system. It may therefore be concluded that drastic changes have taken place as regards the symbolic relationship between social organization and the realm of supernatural, which had once been a prominent feature of all local village communities. Even though the offices of ada’i, most traditional rituals as well as their underlying symbolic structures are still significant in a number of respects, it may be doubted whether many features of ancient rituals and traditional organization will survive in the nearer future. The recent lack of interest among younger people to be installed as functionaries of ada’i is but one aspect of the ever increasing attitude of rejecting the norms and values of ada’i and traditional knowledge in general. All these features are now considered representing the remnants of the “old-fashioned” social order that restricted the autonomy of the individual. Accordingly, many symbols used in ritual performances have now lost any reference to social reality, since the actual organizational and structural principles of social life do no longer correspond to those which prevailed some decades ago. While a number of norms and values concerning the unity of ada’i are still adhered to, such as for example the regulation of marriage rank-price (sunrang), or the making of vows in the presence of sacred heirlooms, it can at the same time not be overlooked that the very essence of most ritual performances is no longer related to social reality.

A prominent feature that must also be stressed in this context is that the principles of traditional kinship organization are still significant with regard to many aspects of social life, as has been exemplified, for instance, by the increasing tendency to consciously restrict the range of participants in ritual performances, which is definitely based upon an evaluation of kin ties. From another point of view, one might say that these strategies aim at a compensation for various consequences of exogenous change, in that for example individuals who are supposed to principally disagree with one’s own religious attitude are deliberately excluded from certain ritual performances. The general effort to avoid open conflict about matters of ada’i versus modernity, or of old religion versus Islam can only be maintained if neither external strains nor the requirements of the formal offices enter the scene. As soon as such confrontations become influenced by external institutions, the contradictory norms are articulated, thereby provoking severe conflict. It can be expected that these tendencies will become much more obvious in the near future, since an increasing number of individuals will soon be able to gain advantages from new institutions such as formal offices. The positions of both ada’i and the old religion will necessarily decline when more and more people will define their personal goals in terms of employment, material wealth, or individual autonomy as opposed to being the traditional social network.

Various exogenous changes have brought about a considerable extension of normative orientations. Value patterns and cultural know-

9) These aspects are of course closely to the domain of rank and esteem. For a detailed analysis see Ruhmer-Roessler (1989).

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ledge, but, at the same time, also an extension of potential sources of conflict. These tendencies have meanwhile given rise to the formation of factions centering around persons who compete for political power. Pervasive factionalism leads to a decline of community-wide social interaction and common participation in rituals. The ties binding followers to their leaders are still mainly based upon the recognition of kin ties, so that factionalism has not yet resulted in lasting cleavages within the village community. However, since the significance of common descent, genealogical relationship, and the identity of village ada is also rapidly declining today, it may be supposed that traditional social relations will soon become less important for the formation and definition of factions. Such developments could result in the establishment of strict boundaries between those people who still adhere to a culture they consider their ancestral heritage, and those who reject every aspect of tradition as not corresponding to modernity and progress. It goes without saying that such tendencies are not in accordance the goals of the regional government, which up to the present has succeeded in preserving the cultural identity of Makassar highland communities.

Although there is probably no society in this world which would not be seriously affected by such rapid cultural change as the community under investigation has experienced, it should be reminded that the local consequences of rapid change may cause a number of problems, which at present neither the rural population nor the administrative institutions are prepared for. As has one sensible direction in national development, namely the one which takes is into account both the ideas of progress and the preservation of the cultural heritage. It is precisely the combination of these two factors which enables the definition of the national cultural (kebudayaan nasional) of Indonesia.

The outstanding cultural tradition of the Makassar people has since long been recognized by the Indonesian nation, and that the famous Makassar ruler Sultan Hasanuddin was declared a pahlawan nasional may be considered underlying this statement. The rich Cultural heritage of the Makassar is definitely well-suited for the incorporation of new ideas, as well as for its integration in a prosperous national society.

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