

**PASANG RI KAJANG**  
**Guidance Ammatoa Community Forest Resource Management**  
**In South Sulawesi**

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**ABSTRACT**

This paper to analyze the village of forest in *Tana Toa*, the locality of South Sulawesi that is headed by the *Ammatowa*. The *Keammatoan*, the term describing the society whose members live in the area of *Tana Toa*, is divided into the *Ilalang embaya*, who have maintained their exclusiveness and sharp borders, and the *Ipantarang embaya*, who have mixed with other members of the surrounding society. Among the *Ilalang embaya* there is a set of *adat* regulations based on *Pasang* that demands obedience to is detailed. Prescriptions in such contexts as shape, *zise*, and orientation of housing that must be built. The force of *adat* allows possibilities of empowering local institutions for managing forest resources in the context of the future scenario of regional autonomy. This paper considers the question of the extent to which the institution of *Ammatoa* leadership and is associates *adat* constitute an institution that has fully been used for the village forest in this locality of South Sulawesi. It especially considers the question of how these institutions can be updated and contextualized though a process of reflective mutual understanding to cope with the context of regional autonomy. The paper concludes by investigating the reality of changes in the *Ammatoa* system as it responds not only to the expansion of the forest resource management requirements, but also the imperatives to transform into an open community.

Keywords: *pasang*, *ammatoa*, *kamase-masea*, forest resource management.

**INTRODUCTION**

South Sulawesi is one of the provinces in Indonesia which possesses unique and at the same time diverse social phenomena and cultures. Just to cite some examples, in south Sulawesi Province, there are three main ethnic groups or tribes (Buginese, Makassarese, and Torajanese) with four groups of local languages, namely Buginese language, Makassarese language, Torajanese language, and Massenrempulu language; besides, there are twenty-four (24) sub-groups of local languages (Gising and Hijjang, 2007; 89; Hijjang, 2012; 19) each sub-group of language has its own dialects. As for physical culture, South Sulawesi also shows diversities. Some of them have already been known by external societies, among others, the Vernacular Architecture of Toraja, of Buginese-Makassarese as well as the famous Phinisi Boats. Among the above-mentioned diverse cultures, there is a unique social phenomenon which, up to the present time, has not been well-known by outside communities. This social phenomenon is the social and cultural life of the Ammatoa community, further on will be identified as Ammatoa Community. This community lives exclusively in the area of Kecamatan Kajang, Bulukumba Regency, and the area is known as the Ammatoa traditional area.

For centuries this community has lived and tried to maintain traditional and simple life (Kajang: Kamase-masea). These people believe that was the way of life their ancestors had

lived and ordered (Kajang: Boheta); hence their descendants have the obligation to observe it. Thus, this way of life can still be seen now in the Kawasan Adat Ammatoa.

Outside communities tend to consider the Ammatoa community as a mysterious, conservative, and mystical social phenomenon. Their opinion is based on the fact that the Ammatoa people tend to behave exclusively and to avoid any contact with the outside world. Nevertheless, the Ammatoa community cannot be categorized as an isolated community as defined by the Department of Social Affairs.

According to the definition by the Department of Social Affairs, an isolated community is a community whose location of residence is remote and isolated, hence such community possesses limited communication with other communities, receives limited services from the government, which results in the underdevelopment and causes the communities fall behind in the process of the development religious, ideological, political, economical and socio-cultural life (Sukman, 1993; 68; Gising and Hijang, 2007; 99).

Historical evidences showed that for centuries Ammatoa community have had contact with outside world, especially with the communities as well as the kings of the important kingdoms in South Sulawesi such as the kingdoms of Luwu, Gowa and Bone. In fact, both communication and interaction with outside communities have recently been extended and intensified, especially because various development programs have been introduced by the government, through extension programs in the fields of health, religion, education, arrangement of residence, and tourism.

As a matter of fact, some writers have done researches on the Ammatoa community, like A.A. Cense (Sukman, 1993; 114) in a report entitled "The Patoentoengs In Het Bergland Van Kajang". Some local writers and related departments have also carried out researches in this cultural area, such as Mattulada (1964), Sallatang (1987), Usop (1978), Aminah (1989), Ahmad (1991), Salle (1999), Sakka (1994), and Gising (2010).

In the above-mentioned researches, the main idea which are discussed concerns the local knowledge used by the Ammatoa community in order to preserve the forest they have. Such knowledge is called Pasang ri Kajang and has collectively been observed ever since both by the Ammatoa community and by the outside communities. This local knowledge then becomes the main theoretical issue in the researches related to the environment management. This research is also concerned with the issue related to the development which disregards the knowledge of the local people and the local wisdom (Hobart, 1993), Gardner and Lewis, 1996; also see Orlove, B. S. 1980; Vayda, A.P and B.J. McCay, 1975). Though various technology and information entered the local community, not all are accepted, adopted and practiced by the local people. As an actor who knows best the conditions of his environment, where he lives and farms. A farmer has certain local knowledge how to manage natural resources. This kind of knowledge becomes the basis of adopting information and technology, and later provides the local people with the local knowledge (Sinclair and Walker, 1998b). In line with the above- mentioned idea, in order to conserve the natural resources, man will develop a certain system of knowledge leading to the formation of a land management pattern accompanied by various conservation efforts (Joshi et al., 2004; Schalenbourg, 2002; Chapman, 2002).

## **RESULTS**

### **The Meaning and the Function of Pasang**

Literally, Pasang means "message". However, for the Ammatoa community, Pasang has a broader meaning than a message. It is a sacred mandate. In fact, Pasang is to be observed, obeyed and implemented, and when it is not implemented, it will result in something undesirable, such as the unbalance of both the social and ecological systems (Kajang: Ba'bara) in the form of certain disease (Kajang: Natabai Passau) suffered by either an individual or the whole community. Thus, Pasang as something that must be obeyed, has made its value equal to the revelation and/or sunnah in monotheistic religions. Every violation against Pasang will bring bad consequences to the person concerned. He or she will not only be expelled and/or suffer from disease in this world but also be punished in the hereafter where he/she will miss

the opportunity to meet his/her ancestors in peace and safe. Even his/her spirit will not be accepted by God and has to assume a form of a creature/an animal who behaves exactly the same as himself/herself when he/she was still alive (Usop 1978; 115).

Pasang as a mandate of the ancestors, which is orally inherited from one generation to another (oral tradition) teaches the community the knowledge about the essence of life, both in this world and in the hereafter. Therefore, Pasang covers everything about how to live communally and culturally. Pasang then means a mandate, an instruction, advice, guidance, warning, and reminder to the community. Pasang ri Kajang is the total of knowledge about life aspects, both worldly life aspects and hereafter life aspects, including myths, legends and genealogies. For the Ammatoa community, Pasang is a system of knowledge which is recognized not only by the Ammatoa community but also by outside communities. In some Pasang, especially in historical Pasang, there is some information which are also known outside areas; for example, found in Lontara in Gowa, and Kitta in Luwu in the kingdom era. Hence, any historical events that happened in Kajang became parts of the historical heritage in the above-mentioned kingdoms. Then there is a saying: "Lontara ri Gowa, Kitta ri Luwu, na Pasang ri Kajang, arenaji nattuanna hata'bage, naiya pada tujuanna, se're tuang" (Lontara in Gowa, Book in Luwu, and Pasang in Kajang, only the names are different yet they are the same and their purpose is only one).

With this meaning and its limitation, Pasang is a system of knowledge, though it may be static, it also contains some dynamic aspects. The static contents of Pasang can be seen in the saying that "Pasang ri Kajang anre nakulle nitambai, anre nakulle nikurangi" (Pasang in Kajang cannot be added nor be reduced). While the dynamic characteristics of Pasang is revealed by the saying that: "Manna kodi Pasang tonji, punna baji' la'bi-la'bi baina, mingka nukodia nipa' Pasangngi jako gaukangi" (Though bad it is, it is sill Pasang, and when it is good make it even better, but when it bad, never implement it). Therefore, Ammatoa justifies that when a person does "better things" (in accordance to the tradition of the Ammatoa) than his ancestors, his deeds will become part of Pasang which has to be preserved.

Pasang in Kajang in its ideal form of the Ammatoa culture can be seen in the following Pasang: The obligation to believe and to give oneself only to the Almighty God (Kajang: Tau Rie' A'ra'na, or TRA)

*TRA, ammantangngi ri pa'ngarakanna, anre' Nisei rie'ne anre'na TRA nakiappala doang, Padato'ji pole nitarimana pangrota iya toje'na, gitte makianjo punna nigaukangi passuroanna, nanililiang pappisangkan.*

Meaning: The Almighty will act and does something He wants. We do not know where He is and where He is not, we can only pray, but TRA will tell us if our prayers are accepted, we surely meet Him when we obey His orders.

"Anne linoa pamari-marianji, Allo riboko pa'man-tangang kara'kang" Meaning: the life in this temporary, the eternal life is hereafter. Therefore, everybody should yield to TRA (A'manyu manyuki mange ri TRA) in order to prepare for the eternal life in hereafter. Further it said that:

*Appa' battu ri amma: rara, assi, gaha-gaha na ota', appa' battu ri anrong: bulu-bulu, bukule, kanuku, buku, lima battu ri TRA: mata, toil, ka'murung, baba', nyaha.*

Meaning: four come from the mother: blood, flesh, vein, brain, and four come from the father: hair, skin, nails, and bones, and five come from TRA: eyes, ears, nose, mouth and soul.

In the communal life man is required to do good things. The concept of "good" is called "lima ampangngissengi ilalang batangkale" namely:

*Lima ampangngissengi ilalang batangkale: ri ngitetta baji', ri mallangiretta baji', ri mangarattu ri pautta baji', ri pappisa'rinta baji'.*

Meaning: The five senses in our body must be used properly: we must see properly, hear properly, smell properly, speak properly and feel properly.

In order to do good things man is provided with hearth for the source of sweet and bile is the hearth and even goodness comes from the hearth. From some Pasang already presented above, it is understood that the Ammatoa community has known the concept of monotheistic God, and that human beings will come close to TRA if they have the sublime moral by implementing his orders and avoiding his prohibitions.

One of His orders which has become the objective of Kajang people is to become "Patuntungan" and "Manuntungi" human beings (pious human beings who have mastered, fully comprehended and put Pasang into practice in his life). Every member of the Ammatoa community competes to reach the "manuntungi" level, which is actually a certain quality in man's life stage which is reflected in his honest, clear, patient and submissive attitude and behavior in order to live in the simple way. In this case, Pasang teaches:

*Patuntung manuntungi, manuntungi kalambusna na kamase-maseanna, lambusu',  
Gattang, sa'bara napisso'na.*

Meaning: Those who have comprehended and implemented what is demanded in the Traditional area, that is demanding honesty and simplicity, clarity, patience and Submission in one's life.

Having a religion is identical with doing good things, that is taking care of and using five "senses" on good things within the four basic attitudes (honest, clear, patient and submissive). The primary requirement to reach a happy life in the hereafter is to avoid doing bad things to other human beings. According to Ammatoa, in kamase-masea Land human beings will only live in order to look for a happy life in the hereafter world. Living a life which is only for the worldly prosperity (Kajang: Kalumanynyang kalupepeang) is foud and common outside the traditional area.

"Anre kalumanynyang kalupepeang, Rie Kamase-masea" (in this area there is no prosperity, only simplicity). Kamase-masea physical and spiritual life is an ideal and self-sufficient life (Kajang: Ganna'). They are sincere and submissive to live that kind of life because they believe that it has been predetermined by the Almighty. They always pray that that descendants will live the same kind of life, because it is said in Pasang that only by living such life, in the hereafter world they will be able to come together with their ancestors in a situation full of happiness. The concrete form of kamase-masea life is stated as follows:

*Angganre na rie', care-care na rie', pammalli juku' na rie', tan koko na galung rie',  
Balla situju-tuju.*

Meaning: self-sufficient life is when food is available, dress is available, money to buy side dish is available, rice-fields and gardens and simple homes are owned.

In daily life, the concept of simplicity is also realized in traditional and daily costumes which are simple and black in color. The Ammatoa community believe that indeed the world is colorful and this reflects the cultural dynamics of the communal life.

Hence, they choose only the black color as a symbol of their simplicity and honesty. Black symbolizes the earth or soil. And soil is considered as the component of the nature which possesses the simple and honest characteristics, fire (red in color) symbolizes man's temperamental characteristics, wind (yellow in color) symbolizes man's characteristics of having no opinions, and water (blue in color) symbolizes man's cunning and bootlicker characteristics.

In order to make sure that the contents of Pasang remain intact and lasting, a periodical evaluation (after every three or seven years) which involves several members of the

community is conducted to see that they still master and practice Pasang. The ceremony of the mastery of Kajang language is called *mange ri tausalama* (conducted in traditional forests). It is even called the ceremony of “*naik haji*” which by some members of Kajang community is interpreted as visiting the holy land. This ceremony is conducted by Ammatoa as the traditional leader and as the messenger of TRA on earth. Those who pass the process of evaluation are given the title *Puto’* for men and *Jaja’* for women. During affirmation ceremony, the Ammatoa is communicating the TRA, and asking for His guidance. Thus, the function and the role of the Ammatoa is very significant in the Ammatoa community: as His envoy to preserve and conduct the practice of Pasang in the Ammatoa traditional area.

### **Pasang and the Leadership of the Ammatoa**

The important position of the Ammatoa in preserving and implementing Pasang, as well as his function which is not just as a worldly function but far more than that, can be understood by looking at the his existence and his appointment process. As already been discussed above, the first Ammatoa was Tau-Manurung (one who came down from Heavens), and was sent by TRA to the world in a certain place of customary Tupalo Forest. Therefore, since then that forest has been considered as the most sacred and holy place in Kajang area, because they believe that their ancestors landed for the first time there. In fact, this place has been considered as the beginning of earth creation; thus is also called *Tana Toa* (Old Land). Tau- Manurung was the first in the family-tree of the Tu-Kentarang in Kajang, and the current Ammatoa, *Puto Nyonyok* (73), is Ammatoa XX.

The position of the Ammatoa is a life-time position, and when the Ammatoa dies, his position will be taken over by a person entitled “*Puto*” (a pious man). A *Puto* is a man who in his life shows no defects, and devotes himself for the policy and interest of his community. Before he dies, the Ammatoa will appoint a “*Puto*” whom he considered the most suitable to replace him, and the new “*Puto*” will be given the title “*Amma-Lolo*” (an Temporary Ammatoa). Since then, the *Amma-Lolo* will have to undergo a stage of evaluation process, before he is installed as the Ammatoa; this stage of evaluation process lasts for about 3 years. During this period, the *Amma-Lolo* is not allowed to leave the customary area, and he has to work hard in order to master Pasang under the guidance of the *Amma’ Galla’* or *Galla’ Puto*. In the meantime, some natural signs will appear, such as:

*Napparanakkang juku, napaloloiko ruang kayu, nahambangiko allo, nabattuiko ere’  
bosi, napalo’lorangko ere’ tua, nakajariangko tinanang.*

Meaning: The plants, and fish begin to multiply, palm wine keeps dripping, dry and wet seasons are balanced, and all food crops give good yields.

When the said natural signs prove to be true during this first stage, this means that the candidate is a pious and pure man (Kajang: *Manuntungi*), and therefore he has the right to continue the next process, that is to prepare all the necessary things for the ceremony of installment which takes five weeks. In this second stage, the *Amma-Lolo* begins to carry out various rituals; so all other members of the Ammatoa are involved in the preparation of the installment ceremony.

In the three-day third stage ceremony, the whole ceremony is carried out in Tupalo traditional forest. A platform for the ceremony is built (Kajang: *Barung-barung*) as the center of activities which are followed by the customs leaders and the *Puto’s* (the pious men). On the third day, which is the peak of the ceremony. *Amma-Lolo* together with forty (40) people gather in a field (which is believed as the place where their ancestors first time stepped on earth); they are all sitting while praying without saying a word, waiting to hear the voice of TRA. When TRA’s voice is heard, it is interpreted that *Amma-Lolo* has been approved by TRA. A moment later, a black chicken and a black buffalo which have been prepared will approach the *Amma-Lolo* while performing certain movements as signals for the audience that the *Amma-Lolo* is legally installed as the Ammatoa. At the same time, the full moon shines through the gaps of the trees on the Ammatoa’s face as the sign that TRA has given His final approval.

Finally, the installment of the Ammatoa closed with the prayers and thanks to TRA for His approval and blessings. Hence the existence of the Ammatoa is respected by the community not just a worldly position because it has to pass through a long process, and the most important thing is that an Ammatoa has to be directly approved by TRA.

In everyday life, the existence of the Ammatoa is awed and respected not only by the Ammatoa community but also by the outside community, especially in the kingdom era. This can be seen when residential and provincial officials often visit and ask for blessings of the Ammatoa, either at the beginning of their tenures or at the end. In one of Pasang, it is stated that:

*Ammatoa iyamintu tau kaminang ri olo, bakka abbali tana Gowa, Bone na Luhu. Apa-apa mammo nakasimpuang tallu boccoa, riemo surona mange ri Ammatoa.*

Meaning: The Ammatoa is the person given the precedence, great as the lands of Gowa, Bone, and Luwu. Whatever makes them depressed the three kingdoms will send envoys to Tana-toa.

Even in some other Pasang it is stated that the influence of the Ammatoa spreads to other area outside Sulawesi island, like Sapa and salaparang in Lombok island, Tambelu and Tambora in Sumbawa island, and in some other areas in Ambon and Ternate.

Pasang and Ammatoa are two very important and determining in the life of the Ammato community. Their existence is analogous to the holy books and the disciples in monotheistic religions. Therefore, in order to understand the existence of the Ammatoa community and culture, we have to understand adequately about the communal concept about the existence of both the Pasang and the Ammatoa.

### **Patuntung Belief in the Forest Preservation**

The ability of the Ammatoa community to preserve their forests while the forest in other parts of the world ( including in South Sulawesi) experience serious degradation has become their unique characteristics. Such a condition is interesting if we want to further trace why the forest conservation in Ammatoa traditional area until now. Technically, a forest is a wide area where trees are grown. The forests in Ammatoa traditional area are different from those in other places, because the forests in Ammatoa traditional area are traditionally stated and not stated by the government. The forest area in the Ammatoa traditional region is 110 ha, in it there are four locations where flow four rivers, namely Tuli, Sangkal, Limba and Doro rivers. These four rivers form the boundaries between Ilalang Embaya region or the traditional area and Ipanbarang Embaya or the region outside the traditional area (Hijjang, 2012; 55).

Within the Ammatoa traditional area there grow several kinds of trees, among others, na'nasa (bitti trees), balangngireng ola' balatung (Nephelium trees), inru' (coconut trees), and raukang (rattan trees); the balangngireng ola', balatung, and raukang woods are used as housing raw materials, while na'nasa woods are used as housing raw materials and as raw materials for boats (particularly for phinisi boats) by the fishermen in Bulukumba regency. Aside from the different trees, in that forest there live various types of fauna, such as deers, mongkeys, cuscuses, pigs and many kinds of birds.

The maintenance of the stable and lasting forest in the Ammatoa traditional area has been the result of the obedience and loyalty of the Ammatoa community members to implement the teaching and belief of Patuntung they embrace, particularly the principles of the maintenance and conservation of the forest ecosystem.

### **The Teaching and belief of "Patuntung" about the Functions of Forest**

The Ammatoa community who believes in the teaching of "Patuntung" try to conserve their forest ecosystem, because they believe that the forest ecosystem itself is an integral part of their belief structure. Thus, their faith in Patuntung plays the key roles in their attempt to maintain and conserve the forest in the Ammatoa traditional area. As already known, faith as part of the cultural system, is the most important guidance to direct and at the same time provide meanings to the actions as well as behavior of the human beings as its followers.

Hence, in the ecosystem model of approach in the Ammatoa traditional area the belief in Patuntung holds the regulatory key among the population of the Ammatoa community.

The forest ecosystem as part of the belief structure of the Ammatoa community, is believed to be the stairs for the human souls to descend from heavens to the earth and to ascend from the earth to heavens. Such faith is related to the legend of how the first man (Tau Manurung) had descended from heavens to the earth in the forest area, so did He in the same forest when He returned to heavens from the earth. Another thing which is related to the forest holiness is that it was there the earth was first created by TRA. That is the reason why the area is called Tana Toa, meaning the oldest land.

Also, the Ammatoa community believe that Ilalang Embaya area (traditional region) is as sacred as the Islam view of "tanah haram" in Mekah, the location of Ka'bah as the first home the man had built, while Ipantarang Embaya is considered as the profane or dirty region. Therefore, special actions are performed by the Ammatoa community in the region which they believe is sacred. One of them is that it is prohibited to cut down trees, to hunt animals, and even to pull out the grass.

The belief in the holiness of the forest in this region then penetrates their social system. Such belief regulate the pattern of their actions and treatment of the environment as a norm which they must obey. The extent, to which the change of the ecosystem has undergone, it depends on the extent to which the change process has occurred in the faith of the Ammatoa community itself.

One of the interesting case is that the Ammatoa people have opened themselves to the outside influences, though the influences are still very limited. The basic concept about the environment and forest ecosystem is that there has been some worries that the influence from the outside world has brought about some degradation. Nobody knows when they will start reformulating their views by not relating everything to their basic belief but instead start rationalizing the functions of the forest ecosystem as known today. Nevertheless, such worry has not been apparent now. Basically, the belief in Patuntung views the forest ecosystem is still in line with the function of the forest ecosystem at present, beside its ritual functions. The correlation is expressed in the following Pasang:

*Punna nitabbangngi kayua, nippapirang-ngangngi angngurangi bosi, appatanre' tumbusu, napau turiolowa.*

Meaning: when a tree (in the forest) is cut down, it will lessen the rain, it will make the spring disappear, according to our ancestors' message.

This Pasang proves that the belief of Patuntung sees the function of the forest ecosystem is in line with the modern view, that the forest is the source of both the rain and the spring (tumbusu'). In other words, forests are the lungs of the earth. Therefore, the treatment given by the Ammatoa community members to the forest is not only in order to take care of its ritualistic function but also to take care of its ecological function. In relation to this fact, the vice Ammatoa (Galla Puto) says the following:

*Anjo borongngaiya kontaki bosiya, nasaba konre mae anre' pangairang, iyaminjo borongnga selaku pangairang, nasaba iya nakabuttui bosi.*

Meaning: It is the forest which calls for the rain, because here there is no irrigation (technical irrigation), the forest functions as irrigation, that is it causes the rain.

The above statement shows that in Patuntungan belief there is a knowledge about the forest hydrological functions which is actually an indigenous knowledge, very conducive in managing the ecology. It is for this purpose that the Ammatoa community correlates the conservation of the forest with tumbusu' (the spring), and this is in itself an ecological wisdom. Without tumbusu', they cannot work on their rice fields. They cannot accept the technical irrigation because beside it is considered kasipalli (taboo), technical irrigation is difficult to build in this area due to the natural condition of the area. Although they have the knowledge of the

practical function of the forest, the dominant factor which influences them in keeping the forest conservation is their strong belief that the forest is sacred. Such a belief clearly influences their daily behavior and actions, both their relationship with the Almighty, their relationship with each other, and their relationship with the environment.

In short it can be concluded that the functions of the forest are as follows:

- a) Ritualistic function, that is a link in the Patuntung belief system, which views the forest as a sacred place. Hence different rituals are performed as the consequence of that belief, like for example, the inauguration of the traditional leader (Ammatoa), attunu Passau (a curse ceremony for those who have violated the customs), a vow ceremony, and an annganro ceremony (individually or collectively praying to TRA for good intention).
- b) Ecological function, that is the Patuntung belief which considers the forest as the water regulator (appari'e bosi, appari'e tumbusu), or as the cause of the falling of rain and the emerging of the spring. If viewed from its ecological function and from the way the Ammatoa community treats it, the forest in the Ammatoa traditional area functions more as a protection compared to other practical functions.

## DISCUSSION

Generally it can be said that resources are anything human being can find in the nature, which can support man's life. Based on this definition, several indicators show the understanding and relationship of the Ammatoa community with the functions of the natural resources which can be directly utilized or because of the importance of its position in the ecosystem. In relation to this, an expression of Pasang is often expressed in a loyalty vow to the Ammatoa or others as follows:

Punna napararakkang juku', napaloloiko raung kayu, napabannangiko riallo, Napaturungiko ere bosi, napalo'lorang ere tua', nakajariangko tinanang.

Meaning: (we will remain loyal to you) if (during the period of your tenure) the fish will Multiply, the leaves of the trees will continue to sprout, the sun will go on shining, the Rain will continue to fall, the palm wine will still drop, and the plants will still grow well.

This Pasang presents a description that the Ammatoa community understands the natural resources or the physical environment which includes materials or elements which can directly be used to satisfy the life needs, like fish (juku'), plants (tinanan), the sun (mata allo), rain water (ere' bosi), the leaves of the trees (raung kayu), or forests (borong). These elements possess functions in the ecological system.

The relationship between the Ammatoa community and the natural resources becomes the logical consequence of their life which depends on agriculture. Besides, it is also a reflection of their indigenous knowledge about the image of the environment and generally about the ecological system. The relationship between the sun, the forest and the water shows the wisdom of the environment itself. According to the principles of ecological science, the environmental elements prove to possess functional relationship with each other.

The basic thing in the management of the resources and the ecology is the total involvement of human beings as part of the elements of the physical and living environment in the kamase- masea ecosystem. Consequently, the functional relationship between the components of physical, living and socio-cultural environment and human beings themselves must be tied together in such a way that the ecological balance can be realized. The way the Ammatoa community see human beings in one system or natural ecology, is symbolically realized through juku' (fish), tinanang (plants), mata allo the sun), ere bosi (rain water), raung kayu (leaves of trees), or borong (forest) in Pasang is a very conducive and even determining way of looking at the conservation of forest in Ammatoa traditional area. The damage of the forest ecosystem in modern communities at present is caused by the view that the nature is only an object which is located outside the system and not within the same system as human beings. The former brings about a persuasive and harmonious pattern of relationship with natural environment, while the latter results in an exploitive pattern of relationship. In maintaining the conservation of the ecological balance and the forest care, the Ammatoa community consistently and voluntarily exerts efforts to save the energy and resources by trying to live a kamase-masea (simple/concerned) and self-sufficient pattern of life. They have to do this saving effort because it has been strongly recommended in Pasang, as follows:



“katutui ririe’na rigentengng tabattuna palaraya” (take care while it is still available, before the critical/femine time comes).

The natural resource, especially the forest, for the Ammatoa community is not only something that is useful for living but it is also the only heritage left by tutuwa mariolo (the ancestors) to their descendants. In Ammatoa expression, it is called “iyaminjo borong-nga kinne pusakanayya” (that forest is our inheritance here).

In managing and preserving the natural resources, the Ammatoa community implements land zoning by dividing the region into rabbang seppang (narrow boundary) and rabbang laura (wide boundary). Rabbang seppang is allocated for traditional area in which there exists the traditional forest with its contents which cannot be touched in order to preserve it as required in Pasang and for preserving the hydrological system. Thus, rabbang seppang is categorized as protection area. Rabbang laura, on the other hand, covers the regions which are used for different purposes, as residential area, farm area, and pasture area. This region includes the entire area outside rabbang seppang. When viewed from the point of the managing system of the natural resources, the land zoning in fact signals the ecological wisdom which is still relevant with the ideal land zoning system in the present modern era.

Because of the territorial concept which states clearly the boundary between butta kamase- masea (a concerned region) and butta kuasaya (a power-based region), the members of the Ammatoa community can protect the stability of their forest ecosystem and can easily control various harmful actions caused by either internal or external forces. The strict system of cultural values help the Ammatoa community to maintain themselves and live their life in kamase- masea situation or in ada’ butta kamase-masea (a relatively closed region), while outside their area, other communities are developing dynamically. Hence, the Ammatoa community looks like a community within communities (Redfield, 1973; 117). The characteristics of this community are: (1) the residents are able to live according to their ancestors’ way of life; (2) the population remains small; (3) the residents are so homogenous that any individual can represent the community as a whole; and (4) they live in the self-sufficient manner.

The frame of the self-sufficient life in a semi-closed and relatively limited region forces the individual residents of the Ammatoa community to adopt kamase-masea way of life (sub-system), to preserve their environment and forest ecosystem as well as the management of their natural resources for agriculture.

Indeed, the way of life, the demand for agricultural lands, and the ecological balance, have become classical problems in developing countries, which are dependent on the agrarian sector. Cases, such as shifting cultivation, and people illegally clear forests are often difficult to avoid.

Nevertheless, for the Ammatoa community, these cases can never occur, not only because it is considered as kasipalli or not allowed by Pasang, but also because the traditional pattern of permanent cultivation has already been practiced by generation to generation. For example, because the land is limited, they take turn to work on their land. To illustrate this situation, Galla Puto state the following:

*Anjo kkoa gilirang, punna lima anakna iyamma nasilibbo’ja kokonna limai gilirang, tasitauangna, taruangtauangna iyareka talimangtauangna. Punna anre nakkoko attesangi arengna.*

Meaning: We take turn to work on the land; for instance, if the Ammatoa has five children but only one piece of garden, his five children must take turn to work on the garden, for one year or for two or five years. If one of them does not get a turn during that season, he can work on other garden and shares the yield with the garden owner.

According to the territorial concept of the Ammatoa community, the responsibility for the conservation of the environment is coordinated effectively by the Ammatoa and supported by all residents. This kind of management eliminates the possibility damaging the forest conservation which may be brought about by the dualism of management. As we know, the problem of the environment management in Indonesia today is that it uses a holistic approach

and it is difficult to implement because each institution uses a sectorial strategy , so that each sector tends to put emphasis on achieving the target of its program at a certain period.

## CONCLUSION

The rationale of the management of the environment in Indonesia is that the suitable and balanced ecological conservation aims at increasing the the human prosperity through a continuum development. Based on this rationale, the forest resources need to be preserved, not just for the sake of conservation itself, but more for improving the prosperity of the Ammatoa community. Thus, from this point of view, the system of the forest management and conservation by the Ammatoa community is very good, since they have conserved their forest, beside for the sake of rituals, is also for increasing the prosperity of its community members as prescribed in Pasang.

The strong belief of the Ammatoa community to preserve their forest and everything that lives in that forest while the people live in simplicity (*kamase-masea*) is something very expensive at present. This is possible because the Ammatoa people in managing or preserving their forest keep paying attention to the ritual function of their forest (to fulfill their spiritual needs) and the protection function of their forest (to regulate the water use), and to make use of the forest resources wisely in order to improve their prosperity.

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