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ISLAMIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT BY TRADITIONAL MUSLIM  
SCHOLARS DURING THE 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY: THE CASE OF THE BUGIS-  
MAKASSAR COMMUNITY OF SOUTH SULAWESI IN INDONESIA

*Mustari Bosra*

Department of History of Education, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial, Universitas Negeri Makassar,  
South Sulawesi, Indonesia

Email: mustari.bosra@unm.co.id /mustalibosra@gmail.com

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**ABSTRACT**

This study aims at revealing the role of traditional Muslim scholars in the development of South Sulawesi in Indonesia. To answer the research questions concerning Islamization and the role of Muslim scholars, the concept of a mediator is developed. Mediators are individuals or groups of individuals that hold the position of mediating or connecting the community members with the larger system of society. In this study, the position of a mediator refers to the traditional or local Muslim scholars. To complete the implementation of the concept, the study also uses the concept of social agency, i.e.: individual or autonomous groups that exist in or belong to the society with power, authority, and influence to serve as actors that manage and control change and transformation in the society. The data used in this study is secondary data. The findings show that the Islamization process that occurred in the Bugis-Makassar community can be categorised into six stages: 1. The arrival of *Sayid al-Husaini* as the moment of the initial to the introduction of Islam; 2. Introduction of Islam through Muslim merchants and the wanderers of the Bugis from Makassar; 3. Islamization of the kingdom of Gowa and other local kingdoms; 4. The development of socio-cultural tradition, i.e.: integration of *sarak* into *pangadereng*; 5. The development of socio-political tradition, i.e.: integration of *parewa sarak* within the power structure; and 6. The development of scientific tradition, i.e.: *appatareka'* and *mangngaji kitta*. This leads to an interpretation and a conclusion that Islam, as a perfect religion, offers guidance to rules required in all aspects of human life.

**Introduction**

Islam as a religion, provides rules for all aspects of life referred to as sharia (Ansari and Nawwab, 2016). The perfection and comprehensiveness of Islamic rules require anyone who states that his religion is Islam to be a faithful Muslim (Rahman, 2017). Being faithful or obedient in obeying the rules of Islam is an indicator of the

perfection of his belief. A Muslim is required to state that "My prayer, and my sacrifice, and my life, and my death are all for Allah, the Lord of the world." This indicates that every Muslim accepts to do everything in his life under the direction of Islam, including one's social interaction regarding the economy, politics, and cultural fields (Weichselbaumer, 2020). This is the kind of teaching that preachers or Muslim scholars delivered when they first spread Islam in Indonesia. Everyone is invited and urged to believe in Islam.

The process of preaching (da'wah) is carried out in a good manner, not in such a way that involves war or violence (Thaib, 2018). The persistence of Muslim scholars in preaching Islam led to great results, i.e.: the establishment of Islamic kingdoms and Muslim societies. The development of a Muslim society indicated that Islam had been accepted as an official religion in the area. In its development, most scholars agreed that Islamic teaching helps to regulate the social interaction (called muamalat) is generally not qath in nature (Nasution, 1975; Haris, 2019). It means that the implementation of muamalat may be different from one place to another, depending on the socio-cultural experience of each area. Therefore, from a historical perspective, the social interaction in one community differs from the social interaction in other communities.

Islam only requires that all activities involved in social interaction (muamalat) follow the basic principles of Islamic teachings. This practice follows historical invents, which are based on the Islamic teachings, shaped by historical experiences found within the community (Graham, 1993). The extent to which historical Islam conforms to Qur'anic Islam is the main concern in the development of Islamic tradition in society (AFZAAL, 2003). The historical and cultural differences of societies lead to the unique implementation of Islam in each area (Bassiouni, 2012). According to Abdullah (1996) the tradition of Javanese Islam is dialogue. It involves the integration process of Islam into society, in which Islam faces a non-Islam culture of society (Hanafi, Murtadho, Hassan, Ikhsan, and Diyana, 2020). In this situation, Movements of Muslim scholars emerged, i.e.: as individuals or in groups of individual Muslim scholars who took a non-bureaucratic position which led to the building of a culture of Islamic study through students commonly known as *santri*.

Geertz (1960) recognizes this reality, which leads him to formulate a theory that categorizes the Javanese Islam society into three variances. The first is called the *Islam santri*, i.e. those who, in their daily life, tend to always conform to and implement the holistic teaching of Islam (Geertz, 1960). The second dichotomy is *Islam abangan*, i.e. those who conceptually and culturally claim to be Muslim, but in daily life tend to be oriented towards the practices of pre-Islam life (Geertz, Clifford, 1968). The third variance is *Islam priyayi*: it is the last dichotomy where a group of Muslims whose orientation in life focuses on the culture of Javanese *priyayi* (royal family/noblemen) (Geertz, 1960; Clifford, 1968).

The culture of Javanese Islam is different from the tradition of Islam in South Sulawesi that, according to Abdullah (1996) is formed through an integrative process. In such a process, Islam undergoes an orthogenetic process or conceptual and structural integration. After Islam had been accepted by the communities, it became an integral and inseparable part of the community's cultural system (Rees, 2017). Islam became a cultural foundation and the personal life of the people (Dhami and Sheikh, 2000). In other words, Islam became a dominant element in the minds of the community being integrated also in the political life of communities.

Within the 20<sup>th</sup> century, for Sulawesi region Muslim scholars became a pillar of development and greatly influenced people's life and played a central role in government (Fogg, 2019). Although they did not hold government positions, community members were required to follow their words, particularly in terms of implementing Islamic rules (Mubarak, 2009). Muslim scholars are believed to comprehensively understand the content and implementation of Islamic law. They help people by guiding them to a positive direction in life. This paper sought to examine the ways Muslim scholars in Sulawesi implemented in the process of Islamization and the development of the Islamic tradition in the Bugis-Makassar community in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

### **Methodology**

To explain the movement of traditionalist Muslim scholars in South Sulawesi, which affected the social changes there, this study implements a structural historical approach. Theoretically, this approach views individuals and /or group of individuals (society) from their social status and roles, the interaction between the roles, and thought and values that regulate their life (Lloyd, 1996). To describe the position and roles of traditional Muslim scholars, as an elite group in Islamic society in South Sulawesi, the study utilizes the concept of a mediator. The same concept was used by Horikoshi in his study on the leadership of *kyai* (Islamic teachers) in West Java. He argues that the concept of mediator is highly useful to analyze changes in society (Horikoshi, 1987).

The group of mediators in this context is individuals or groups that hold the position of intermediary or that of connecting people within the community and a wider system of society around it (Curtin, 1996). In this study, the position of a mediator is held by traditional Muslim scholars, and the community that is connected to a wider system of society is a traditional Muslim society. According to Horikoshi (1987) the role of a mediator can also be played by traditionalist leaders that defend the vulnerable points in the network that connects a local system with a whole wider system. In this case, a mediator acts as an intermediary between conflicting groups and as the promoter of a dynamic process. A mediator also maintains a balance among people in the society.

To accompany the concept of a mediator, the study also uses the concept of social agency proposed by Lloyd (1996). In a society, there is always social agency, i.e. individual or autonomous group that exists in and belongs to the society and have some power, authority, and influence to serve as an actor that regulates and controls the changes in that society. In this study, data was obtained from both primary and secondary sources. Both data have been used in the analysis, but the allocation of each kind of data differs. For the analysis and discussion that are closely related to and aimed to answer the research question, the primary data was used. It is important to note that since the written source of primary data is not sufficient, primary data from oral source (interviews) was used.

Based on observation and a preliminary study in the field, the written primary data used originated from: *first*, the works of traditional Muslim scholars in the form of books, lectures, notes, brochures, etc.; *second*, organizational documents, such as organizational statutes and bylaws, decisions of the board of directors, decisions of meetings, and reports; *third*, official letters of organization, including decrees, letters of assignment, routine letters, etc.; *fourth*, other letters and documents from external sources that the authors interacted with directly with the organization, including letters to the organization, to the Islamic teachers, to the *santri*, government and private reports, and news. Other primary data was obtained from the National Archives of

Makassar, particularly concerning the socio-political condition at the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when they were under the colonization of Netherland.

The sources of oral primary data included gradual and well-planned interviews. Since the beginning to the end of the study, not less than 50 respondents were interviewed. They were categorized as Muslim scholars, government officials, and the general public (common people) who are considered directly involved or, at the very least, witnessed with their senses the historical events studied. As a consequence of the implementation of sociology and anthropology approach in the study, and to support the written and oral primary data, participative observation was conducted through socialization with Muslim scholars and visitation to various sites.

As an academic study, this study also used secondary sources of data—in this case, all secondary data are written, both published as books and magazines and unpublished documents and papers—which were prioritized in the order: first, the report of historians' and other social scientists' investigation; and second, the academic writing of those who possess academic competence on this matter.

### **Findings and Discussion**

The process of changes in social, political, and cultural systems is a long process that takes a lot of time (Curtin,1996). The social, political, and cultural changes in Bugis-Makassar society took a relatively long time and occurred in several stages. The stages of Islamization in Bugis-Makassar society, from the introduction of Islam to the development of Islamic society, are described in this report. The Islamization in Bugis-Makassar community began with the arrival of a Muslim scholars, namely Sayid Al-Husaini, and ended with the creation of a social, political, and cultural system based on Islamic teaching. The changes in Bugis-Makassar society's system of life indicate that the Islamization process and the development of the tradition in the 20<sup>th</sup> century Bugis-Makassar community were successful.

#### **The Arrival of Sayid Al-Husaini: First Introduction to Islam**

Noerduyn (1964) categorizes the Islamization process into three stages: the arrival, the acceptance, and the spreading of Islam. Conforming to these conceptual categories, the arrival of Islam in South Sulawesi occurred at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Islam was accepted there at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century until the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Meanwhile, the spreading of Islam happened in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when Dato Ri Bandang and his two companions converted the King of Tallo and the King of Gowa into Islam.

Before the development of Muslim community in Somba Opu, Gowa and in Siang Pangkajene Islands, several Moslems, led by Sayid Imam S. Jamaluddin Akbar Al-Husaini (or Sayid Al-Husaini, for short), had arrived in South Sulawesi and settled in Tosora Wajo. Assagaf describes that Al-Husaini arrived at Tosora Wajo, South Sulawesi from Aceh and Majapahit during the ruling of Prabuwijaya (1293-1309). From Majapahit, Al-Husaini and his group of 15 people continued their journey to South Sulawesi and went ashore at Bojo Nepo beach, Barru regency. Since the kingdom of Bugis at that time was centred at Tosora Wajo, Al-Husaini's group continued to Wajo. They settled there until their demise. Assuming that Assagaf description is true, then there are two possibilities of why Islam was not widely-spread during that period. The first possibility is that Al-Husaini and his companions had passed away before they succeeded in converting the local people to Islam. The second possibility is that Islam had been accepted by the people of Tosora, but the acceptance was only in the most basic level, i.e. the acknowledgement that there is no God but Allah.

The latter possibility can be traced in *lontara sukkukna* Wajo that mentions that the king of Tallo, I Mallingkaan Daeng Nyonri once studied under the tutelage of Arung Matoa Wajo named La Mungkace Toddamang before the former accepted Islam. It can be proved by analyzing the dialogue between Daeng Nyonri and Dato Ri Bandang. According to Abidin (1982) when the king of Tallo was about to accept Islam from Dato Ri Bandang, the following dialogue occurred between them:

I Mallingkaan Daeng Nyonri asked Dato Ri Bandang, “Is Islam the name of your religion?” Dato Ri Bandang answered, “Yes, it is”. The king of Tallo then asked, “How can one implement the teaching of Islam?” Dato Ri Bandang said, “I wish Your Majesty could explain first about the religion that Your Majesty follow.” Daeng Nyonri then explained his religion, as taught by Toddameng. “When I asked La Mungkace Toddamang, ‘What to recite to make rice grow and what to recite so that rain falls?’ La Mungkace Toddamang answered, ‘Have faith in God, the One and Only.’ I then asked, ‘Why should I have faith in God?’ Toddamang answered, ‘Because He creates and He destroys.’ Then, I asked, ‘Why is God said to be the One and Only?’ Toddamang answered, ‘Because God neither begets nor is born.’

### **Introduction of Islam through the Muslim Merchants and Bugis-Makassar Wanderers**

At the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, a new development emerged in the western part of Indonesia. Malaka, which previously had been under the influence of Moslem merchants, fell into the power of Portuguese in 1511. Consequently, the Moslem merchants brought their trading activities to other cities. One of the new cities—besides Aceh that was located at the entrance of Malaka Strait and Banten that was located at the western end of Java Island—was Somba Opu, which was more commonly known as Makassar. At that time, Gowa was a developing maritime kingdom. It was geographically strategic because it was located on the sailing route that connected the western and eastern parts of Indonesia.

As a developing kingdom, Gowa needed the existence of merchants. On the other hand, the Moslem merchants felt lucky because they found a strategic place far away from the influence of European traders who tended to monopolize the market. Therefore, the symbiotic relationship of needing and benefiting each other was formed between Gowa and the Moslem merchants. To make the merchants live more comfortably in Somba Opu, the king of Gowa, Tumapa'risi Kallonna built them a mosque.

Considering the great number of Muslim merchants who had settled in Somba Opu, it is not impossible that the people of Makassar began to convert to Islam, even though they might do so quietly because their king had not expressively accepted Islam as his religion. It also explains why there was not a written source describing the conversion of Makassar people of that period to Islam. It was a custom that *lontara* only mentioned events and occurrences that were closely related to the kingdom or the royal family. The testimony of Antonio De Vaifa, who visited Pangkajene Islands in 1554, the Malay community, whose members were Moslem, had settled there for approximately 60 years before his arrival. It means that the community had lived there since 1494. In other words, Moslem society had settled in the area since the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Assuming that their arrival in the area was gradual, as is common in other migrating groups, Moslems had been living in the region even far before 1494.

It is an obligation for a Muslim, whenever and wherever he is, to spread the teaching of his religion. Based on this belief, the Malay people (who were Muslims) living in

Pangkajene Islands had to have spread their religion. It is impossible that no local people converted to Islam if the individuals or groups of Malay people had spread the teaching for dozens of years. This argument convinced me to believe that at the time, there were at least some people of Pangkajene Islands who converted to Islam.

After Tu Nipalangga, the king of Gowa, passed away, he was replaced by his successor, Tu Nijallo (1565-1590). The latter was the king who built a mosque for the newly-settled Muslim merchants, led by Anak Koda Bonang. The provision of such a facility indicates that the king has a close relationship with the Muslim merchants. The king of Gowa trusted the Muslim merchants from Malay so that he appointed one of their descendants, namely I Daeng Ri Mangngalekana as Gowa's Harbormaster. He held the office until Gowa was defeated by VOC in 1669. Another position that was trusted to Malay descendant was the royal clerk. One of the most prominent of them is Ince Amin, who composed the poetry on the war of Makassar that still can be found today.

Some local sources mention the roles of Malay people, both in trading and in the spreading of Islam. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the economy around Makassar ports was controlled by Malay people, who were mostly Muslim merchants. Rice, as the primary commodity of South Sulawesi, was exported to Malaka via Makassar ports by these people. Based on these historical facts, it can be assumed that far before Islam was accepted as the official religion of the kingdom, many people of Makassar had converted to Islam. The granting of special rights to Moslem merchants from Malay may be due to the increasing influence of Islam in the capital city of the kingdom. Therefore, the existence of Muslim merchants in the area, besides being the primary cause of Somba Opu's development, was also a contributing factor that the king of Gowa accepted Islam and converted his kingdom into Islamic kingdom.

The involvement of South Sulawesi people in developing the trading at that time is inseparable from the development of the twin kingdoms of Gowa-Tallo, the greatest maritime kingdoms in Eastern Indonesia. According to *Lontara Tallo*, Tunipasukurrang, the king of Tallo who ruled at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, had sailed in trading expeditions to Malaka and Johor. In line with that, Tome Pires, a Spanish sailor who had visited Malaka in 1513, stated in his journey log that the people of Makassar had sailed to Malaka, Java, Borneo, Siam, and all ports between Pahang and Siam to trade.

In 1580, Babullah, the Sultan of Ternate, visited the kingdom of Gowa. In that visit, Babullah made a political agreement with the Gowa king Manggorai Daeng Mammeta Karaeng Bonto Langkasa Tunijallo. One of the points in that agreement was that Sultan Babullah delivered Selayar island, which previously was the vessel of Ternate kingdom, to Gowa. On his journey to several places, when he returned from Gowa, Sultan Babulla used the opportunity to spread Islam.

### **Islamization of Gowa and Other Local Kingdoms**

According to Tome Pires, as cited in Abdullah (1996) the Islamization process in Indonesia occurred in three ways. Firstly, Moslem merchants built a local centre of authority. Secondly, Muslim merchants succeeded in converting local rulers to Islam. Thirdly, Muslim people managed to seize power in an area.

Concerning the Islamization process in South Sulawesi, the second way suits it the most. The traditional historiography, *Lontara Bilanga ri Tugowaya*, described that *karaenga ri Tallo* and *sombaya ri Gowa* were converted to Islam by Khatib Tunggal Abdul Makmur Dato Ri Bandang. The event that would change the course of the

history of South Sulawesi occurred at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, specifically in 1605.

This event is important because of the historical events that followed it. Two years after the Islamization of the kings, the king of Gowa, I Mallingkaan Daeng Manyonri announced that Islam was the official religion of the kingdom. Therefore, all people of Gowa, who had sworn loyalty to the king, followed suit to accept Islam. This invitation, besides being grounded on the responsibility to spread the religion, was also based on the agreement of the kings in South Sulawesi area, called *paseng* (Bugis) or *pasang* (Makassar), which stated that “whoever among them finds a better way; he is obligated to share it to others.” The invitation is readily-accepted by the small kingdoms around Gowa; however, the great kingdoms of Bone, Wajo, Soppeng, and Sidenreng rejected it because they thought it was a new strategy of Gowa to be more dominating in South Sulawesi. As a reaction to the rejection, the kingdom of Gowa then waged a war against the kingdoms that defied the sacred *paseng/pasang*.

The four-year war is called *bundu as Selene* (the war of Islamization). In the war, Gowa succeeded to conquer and Islamize, in order, Sidenreng (1609), Soppeng (1609), Wajo (1610), and Bone (1611). With the four kingdoms being conquered and Islamized, all areas of South Sulawesi with an exception for the isolated rural areas that were inhabited by the Toraja tribes were considered to be fully Islamized, which ended the beginning stage of Islamization process.

#### **The Development of Socio-Cultural Tradition: Integration of *Sarak* to *Pangadereng***

Following the acceptance of Islam by the kingdoms of Bugis-Makassar, a problem emerged—a problem commonly faced by Islam community anywhere; which was how to solve and settle the people's behaviours using Islamic doctrine and teaching. According to Al-Qur'an, no one can be forced to accept Islam into their heart (Al-Quran, Surah Al-Baqarah). However, when someone has accepted Islam, he must obey all the rules of Islam.

In the history of Islam development, there are at least two types of implementation of Islamic teachings in a converted community. The first is what is called the radical implementation type. This type of implementation usually occurs in a community or society that is converted to Islam after being conquered in a war. When a war is over, the people of the conquered region commonly convert, voluntarily, and consciously change their belief and religious practice from their ancestor's religion to Islam. The second type occurs through a process of adaptation (the accommodative implementation). Islam is accepted gradually in a region through integration of its teachings to local culture.

In the historical perspective of South Sulawesi, the continuous dialogue between the internal and external realities had given birth to a cultural paradigm known as *pangadereng* (Bugis) or *pangadakkang* (Makassar). The cultural paradigm then provided a taken-for-granted foundation of thinking, which was commonly accepted by the Muslim community settled in South Sulawesi.

In *lontara latoa*, it is mentioned that before Islam was accepted, *pangadereng* had only consisted of four elements. The fifth element of that cultural paradigm, called *sarak*, was absorbed after Islam had entered the region. According to the historical facts that had been recorded in the traditional historiography, the development of Islamic tradition in the form of *pangadereng* had occurred since the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The development of *pangadereng* was the peak of social interaction between the Muslim and the non-Muslim community in the area, which had begun since the arrival of

Sayid Jalaludin Al-Husaini at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, continued by the Malay merchants settling in Siang Panjakene Islands and Somba Opu, and reached the peak when three Muslim scholars from Minangkabau arrived.

The three Muslim scholars were the ones that continued the development of Islam and the Islamic community in South Sulawesi after the first stage of Islamization. The peak of Islamic community development occurred after Islam had been integrated into *pangadereng*. As a social institution that served as the guide and reference in social interaction, pre-Islam *pangadereng* only consisted of four elements; *ade'*, *rapang'*, *wari* and *bicara*. After the integration of Islam, *pangadereng* had the fifth element called *sarak'*. To get a clear picture of what *pangadereng* is and how it functions in the society, the following analysis based on the information in *lontara* and interpretation of historians and cultural experts is provided.

As has been mentioned, there are four elements of *pangadereng*. 1. *Ade'*- there are several versions of the origin of this word. Mattulada believes that *ade'* originates from the Bugis word *ade'* (Bugis) or *ada'* (Makassar). He argues that the term *ade'* has been used as a cultural terminology in society far before Islam came (Mattulada, 1985). Abidin (1982) believes that the word *ade'* originates from the Arabic word. This opinion is supported by A. Rahman Rahim who adds that the word *ada'* is synonymous with the Arabic word *urf* which means actions or behaviours that indicate wisdom and conform to reason and law. *Ade'* means the whole system of normative laws and regulations that serves as reference and guide in the social life of a community; 2, *Rapang* - as a terminology, *rapang* means metaphor or comparison with something past. As an element of *pangadereng*, *rapang* is the jurisprudence referred to in deciding on a matter. Therefore, someone who wishes to decide about a matter of *ade'*, cannot take a new foundation if the case had been found before. Rasdiyanah describes that the function of *rapang* is an as stabilizing agent, comparison, protection, and an assurance of the continuity of life (Rasdiyanah, 1995). 3. *Bicara*- in *pangadereng* is everything related to the issue of justice or law court proceedings. Thus, *bicara* is the aspect *pangadereng* that questions the rights and obligations of each individual or institution or their interaction in social life. It contains normative aspects that regulate the behaviour of each legal subject in their reciprocal interaction. 4. *Wari*- as the fourth element of *pangadereng*, *wari* is a concept that distinguishes something from the other. Thus, it serves to organize the life of society. It is in charge of determining the rights and obligations of each individual in their social life, including the organization of hierarchy and levels of descendants as well as the kinship relationships. It also serves as a governing protocol. 5. *Sarak* is all the rules derived from the teachings of Islam, including the teachings in the field of jurisprudence, theology, and Sufism and morals. In *pangadereng*, such pattern of Islamic view belongs to the rules of *Sarak'*. *Sarak'* is integrated into the actions and decisions of *pangadereng*; to, at least, give guidance based on the teachings of Islam (Hamid, 1981).

As is the case of other areas in Indonesia, South Sulawesi also had embraced certain belief before the arrival of Islam. The experts identified such belief as animism and dynamism. Animism is the belief that the spirits of ancestors who have died are still being around the living. They still need respect and prayer from their descendants. They still need things as when they were alive. Meanwhile, dynamism is the belief that everything that surrounds man has supernatural powers. From something unique like a jewel or cow to creepy places like a banyan tree, big boulders of rock, mountains, stars, moon and sun. All creatures were thought to have supernatural powers called *magi*. It should be noted that although the people of South Sulawesi

embraced animism and dynamism, they also had recognized the existence of the Almighty God, whose majesty, power and authority can overcome other supernatural forces. They called God Almighty as *Dewata Sewwae* (Bugis) or *Batara Se'rea* (Makassar).

Upon their faith in *Dewata Sewwae* and the animism and dynamism belief, the people of South Sulawesi built the social behaviour patterns called *pangadereng*. As a consequence of the accommodative implementation of Islam, the Islamization process went through the rules of *pangadereng*. Since the advocates of Islam understood that such deep root of social structure could not be changed easily, they focused more on the sincerity of the people to accept Islam rather than on the strict implementation of Islamic values in their actions (Parrott, 2018). The recognition and acceptance of Islam were more important than anything. And such acceptance would occur naturally as Islam developed in the region. Therefore, they integrate Islam into the rules of social behaviour known as *pangadereng*. This way, the new elements that came from the new religion would be fully absorbed and integrated into the existing structure, so that Islam became a part of a settled system.

### **The Development of Socio-Political Tradition: The Integration of *Parewa Sarak* into the Structure of Power**

The period ranging from the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, when the kingdom of Samudera Pasai stood, to the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when the Palace of Gowa-Tallo officially embraced Islam, there were at least three patterns of cultural development in the process of building the centres of Islamic political power (Ubaedillah, 2017). The three patterns of development are: firstly, the development of political power that begins with the development of the political centre in a supra-village which later develops into a kingdom. In this case, Islam plays a determining role in the development process. The second pattern is the development of power through conquering process, from the lesser kingdom to the greater kingdom, in which the smaller kingdoms are the connecting bridge to their surrounding areas. Thirdly, the development of power by converting the palace or royal family of the kingdom. In this pattern, a kingdom is converted to Islamic kingdom, either peacefully or forcefully. This is what occurred in Ternate and Gowa. The kingdoms were converted to Islam by the merchant groups, the number and political role of which kept growing.

Before the kingdom of Gowa was converted to Islam, its structure of power contained an institution in charge of issues related to beliefs and rituals. The institution was led by a figure called *daengta alakaya*. This institution was later changed into *parewa sarak* institution when the kingdom converted to Islam. As *parewa sarak*, it needs a new institution called *qadhi*, led by a figure called *daengta kaliya*. In performing his duties, *daengta kaliya* was aided by some officials: 1. *Daeng Imang*, in charge of religious matters in his region and answer to *daengta kaliya*. These officers were assigned to every *gallarang* in Gowa kingdom; 2. *Daeng Guru*. In a *gallarang* area, there were several *guru*. The number depends on the number of the mosque in that area. *Guru* was in charge of teaching religious knowledge and leading the local people in performing daily worship. He served as the frontline in socializing Islam to the grass root community; 3. *Katte*, in charge of delivering information of religious nature to the people in the mosque every Friday. To hold this position, one had to have a wide extent of knowledge concerning religious and social matters. 4. *Bidala*, in charge of reciting *adhan* to indicate the time of prayer every day. 5. *Doja* or *Jannang Masigi* was the official in charge of keeping and maintaining the mosque.

The implementation of religious rituals and activities, such as *maulid Nabi*, the beginning of fasting, Eid, and other holidays, could not be done without permission

from *sombayya*. Therefore, each activity that *parewa sarak* proposed had to be informed to *sombayya* through *daengta kaliya*, first. This rule also applied to other kingdoms in South Sulawesi; as implemented in Balanipa, for instance, *imang* and *parewa sarakk* were also in charge of the continuity of *mangngaji kitta*. They prepared *mangngaji kitta* at homes or mosque. *Parewa sarak* whose knowledge was limited usually only taught the people how to recite Al Quran, how to perform shalat, and other basic rituals. Those who were more able usually became teachers of a higher level of knowledge.

### **The Development of Scientific Tradition: *Appatareka'* and *Mangngaji Kitta***

To ensure the preservation and continuity of Islam, coaching and guidance were provided immediately after the completion of initial stages of the Islamization process. The most important issue at the time was the creation of Moslem scholars who would guide the people. For this purpose, the King of Gowa, Sultan Alauddin, along with Dato Ri Bandang, initiated an educational institution—a kind of boarding school, nowadays—located in Bontoala. From this educational institution, local *Moslem* scholars were born; for instance, I Daeng Ri Tasammeng who, according to *lontara*, was the teacher of Syekh Yusuf Tajul Halwaty (Hamid, 1981). The cadres of Moslem scholar were taught directly by Dato Ri Bandang and then were delivered to teach in various regions of South Sulawesi.

As the education of Moslem scholar cadres getting more intensive, the relationship with other regions in Indonesia and with the centre of Islam in the Middle East was also intensified. One of the results of the relationships with the Islamic world outside was the arrival of Muslim scholars from those regions. One of the Moslem scholars from outside South Sulawesi, who lived at the same time with Syekh Yusuf, was Dato Ri Panggentungang. The collective memory of the community, inherited by oral stories from generation to generation, Dato Ri Panggentungang came from Minangkabau. He came in the second wave of the visit from Minangkabau Moslem scholars, after Dato Ri Bandang. The third wave of Muslim scholars visited South Sulawesi in the 1660s. Syekh Jalaludin, one of the third-wave Muslim scholars, arrived in Gowa in 1662. He was an Arab. He married I Acara Daeng Tamami, a noble from Gowa, and lived in Cikoang with his wife. There, he spread and developed Islam. The books that he left behind indicated that he originated from Aceh. Some of those books were written by Nuruddin Ar-Raniri. Among those Ar-Raniri's books which were still kept and used by the descendants of Sayid Jalaluddin were *Asshiratal Mustaqim* and *al-Akhbar al-Akhirah* (Daudy, 1984). The later had been translated into Makassar language.

The relationship with the centre of Islam in Mecca and Medina was realized in the form of Hajj ritual. The departure of Syekh Yusuf and his group to Mecca is one of the historical evidences that since the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, South Sulawesi had had a relationship with the Middle East. Syekh Yusuf was of course not the only one who went to Mecca. Many others went there to perform Hajj ritual or to stay there and learn Islam. The dynamics of South Sulawesi Moslems had been going on since the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, until the arrival of the foreigner in the middle of the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The intervention of foreigners in their life dragged South Sulawesi Muslims into 'civil war'. The war between Arung Palakka, aided by VOC, on one side and Sultan Hasanuddin on the other side was strategically bad for the Moslems. Based on Islamic rules, neither party won the war. The only one who gained benefit from the war was VOC. Under the terms of the 1667 Bungaya Accord, VOC occupied the regions that once were under the protection of Gowa. In that way, VOC colonized

over Muslims in South Sulawesi, either directly or through the local rulers who sided with it.

The structure of power in local kingdoms of South Sulawesi was a pyramidal hierarchy. The top of the power was in the hand of the king, called *Sombaya*, *Mangkaue*, *Payunge*, *Datu*, *Arung*, or *Karaeng*. Those kings were descendants of *To Manurung/Tu Manurung*. A kingdom developed into a great one when the smaller kingdoms around it recognize and acknowledge its superiority, either voluntarily or through conquering war. The lesser kingdoms that lose the war became subordinate kingdoms, each with their subordinate regions. Therefore, the tax or tribute was paid from the bottom to the top of the structure, while the protection/wisdom/ flowed from the top to the bottom.

This structure accelerated and facilitated the acceptance of Islam because, as a policy, Islam flowed from the top to the bottom of the structure. At the time the kingdom of Gowa accepted Islam, it was the holder of hegemony in South Sulawesi. This kingdom had a tradition of agreement with its lesser subordinate kingdoms. The agreement was “Akkanama nummiyo” (I instruct and you perform my instruction). In Makassar kingdoms, all of which were under the influence of Gowa, Islamization process did not face any problems. However, it was not so in Bugis kingdoms, which had the same position as Gowa. The lesser kingdoms of Bone, Soppeng, and Wajo did not consider themselves subordinate of Gowa; therefore, when Gowa provided instruction “makkana”, Bugis kingdoms did not accept “ammiyo.”

As a consequence of the integration of *sarak* into *pangadereng*, an institution to handle it in the governmental structure was created. The positions of *kali*, *katte*, *imang*, and others were founded. Those who held the position were called *parewa sarak*. *Parewa sarak* were initially concentrated at the centre of the kingdom; however, they soon were installed in the lesser kingdoms and even small villages. In the beginning, the position of *parewa sarak* was held by noble descendants. As time developed, anyone could fill the position as long as he was skillful and possess sufficient knowledge concerning Islam. With such commitment, a vertical mobilization occurred in the social structure because *parewa sarak* was of the same rank with *parewa ade*. The officer of *kali* position, for example, was also called *petta*, as the king. Informal meetings, *kali* always sits next to the king, along with other important cultural figures. Concerning the mobilization in social structure, Hamid (1984) stated that the groups of Muslim scholars, both those in the position of *parewa sarak* and common Muslim scholars, belong to the category of tupanrita; the second rank under *anakarung* (the king and his descendants) (Hamid, 1984).

At that time, the aspects integrated to *pangadereng* only included the matter of crime, while the civil matters, such as a family dispute, marriage, divorce, or inheritance, were decided by a judge. Another aspect that was integrated was the implementation of compulsory worship, such as shalat, fast, etc. *Pangadereng* attempted to harmonize the two aspects. Thus, a mosque was built in each region and an official was placed in each region. A village had to have a mosque, and there should be *parewa sarak* official, whose rank and influence were similar with those of *parewa ada*. On one hand, there should be an *imang* as the holder of religious authority. Different from *arung*, which was the cultural authority and passed from generation to generation, *imang* also needs intellectuals. On one hand, they were satisfied to hold a position in the social structure; but on the other hand, their freedom was limited. Based on *pangadereng* there was the Traditional Council. A marriage was considered void if the Traditional Council was not represented.

## Conclusion

The process of Islamization in the Bugis-Makassar community is carried out in six stages. Each stage involves a sophisticated process. The six stages are the arrival of Sayid al-Husaini as the moment of initial introduction to Islam, introduction to Islam through Moslem merchants and Bugis-Makassar wanderers, Islamization of the kingdom of Gowa and other local kingdoms, the development of socio-cultural tradition: integration *sarak* into *pangadereng*, the development of socio-political tradition: integration of *parewa sarak* to the structure of power, and the development of scientific tradition: *appatareka* and *mangngaji kitta*.

The arrival of Sayyid Al-Husaini is the beginning of the Bugis-Makassar community's introduction to Islam. At this stage, the people of Bugis-Makassar have not been completely open to Islam. Although Al-Husaini spread Islam teaching to the community, it did not result in a real Moslem community in that area. Until the time that Al-Husaini passed away, the Islamic identity of Bugis-Makassar people was still nearly completely unformed.

The Islamization of Gowa Kingdom and other local kingdoms were realized through the Islamization of the local rulers by Moslem merchants. Since Islam became the official religion of Gowa, the people of the kingdom were required to share the faith. Furthermore, the King of Gowa spread the teaching to the surrounding small kingdoms. Therefore, Islam was spread to other kingdoms and a wider community.

The great number of Muslims brought certain problem, i.e. how to take care of those who had converted to Islam. To solve this problem, the fourth stage of Islamization occurred. It involved the development of socio-cultural tradition by integrating *sarak* into *pangadereng*. Such integration is important because before they converted to Islam, the local people had their own culture which could not be so easily dismissed. In this stage, the Muslim scholars served the role of directing the existing culture to fit the rules of Islam. The fifth stage was in the development of socio-political tradition through the integration of *parewa sarak* into the governmental structure. In this new structure, the Moslem scholars held important positions in the social and political systems; including *daeng imang*, *daeng guru*, *katte*, *bidala* and *doja* or *jannang masigi*.

The final stage of Islamization of the Bugis-Makassar community is the development of academic/scientific tradition: *appatareka* and *mangngaji kitta*. At this stage, the educational institutions such as Islamic schools were built to guide those who had just converted to Islam and to produce a new generation of Moslem scholar.

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