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## Malay Emigrants and Their Islamic Mission in South Sulawesi in 16<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> Century

**ABSTRACT:** *The presence of Malay people in South Sulawesi indicated the beginning of its civilization development. They played an important role in economy, politics, and religion. The trade navigation grew, connecting South Sulawesi with other parts of the archipelago. Gowa kingdom, then Makassar, was for the first time agrarian community and eventually developed to be maritime area when Malay people were appointed as harbor masters. In sixteenth century, South Sulawesi had changed drastically and led to its culmination in seventeenth century. At this time, South Sulawesi was very dominant in political role in the archipelago and even it took over the roles which were previously played by the Western part of Indonesia. In this process, the role of Malay emigrants was very important, especially in developing civilization. Their strategies started in cultural development. In search of the early Islamization in South Sulawesi, it is not adequate to study the local condition only since Islam had developed in all over big civilized countries, such as Europe, Middle East, and Asia, included China. The navigation activities network had become global. The Islamic leaders' authority at this time had been beyond the boundaries of the nations and even the continents. In addition to primary sources, this study also used mostly historiographical sources relating with Islamization in South Sulawesi.*

**KEY WORDS:** *Malay people, emigrants, process of Islamization, Gowa kingdom, political role, developing civilization, and South Sulawesi.*

### INTRODUCTION

The presence of Malay people in South Sulawesi indicated the beginning of its civilization development. They played an important role in economy, politics, and religion. The trade navigation grew, connecting South Sulawesi with other parts of the archipelago. Gowa kingdom (then Makassar) was for the first time agrarian community and eventually developed to be maritime area, when Malay people were appointed as harbor master. It was the Malay people who converted South Sulawesi, *Nusa Tenggara* (little Sunda's islands), and East Kalimantan to Islam. So, they played an important role not only in controlling the mission of Islam, but in expanding the influence of Islam as well. They occupied the vital positions in religious kingdoms.

The Malay people were militant strugglers against the Dutch, i.e. VOC (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* or Dutch East-India Company). They involved themselves in Makassar war, which was a very violent war in the history. *Sultan* Hasanuddin, King of Gowa, however, lastly surrendered and signed the Bongaya Treaty in 1669. Nevertheless, the war was still undergone and made alliance with Trunojoyo of Madura in Central and East Java and *Karaeng* (noblemen of Makassar) Galesong to battle against the alliance of Mataram kingdom and the VOC. They even fought against the VOC in Banten, Western Java island.

This paper is aimed at describing the role of Malay people in the process of Islamization, particularly in South Sulawesi. For the purpose of this study, the given historical literatures

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about Islamization in South Sulawesi would be reviewed. The Islamic mission in the global context will also be analyzed.

### MALAY MOSLEMS IN SOUTH SULAWESI

Formerly, the Malay people were not originated from merely Malaka peninsula. At the first time, the Javanese traders were regarded as Malay people and played an important role in Islamic mission. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century (it is assumed even earlier), just about at Jeneberang river estuary, there had been few colonies of Moslem merchants came from Gresik, so that this river was named *Sungai Garrasik* (Garrasik River). According to Bugisnese and Makassarese people, *Gresik* is pronounced as *Garrasik*. Gresik had been the centre of Islamic mission since the Madjapahit era in East Java (Olthof, 2002).

Maulana Malik Ibrahim, a famous *Syech* and merchants lived in Gresik, who was known as *Sunan Gresik*. As *Syech*, he is a descendant of Prophet Muhammad SAW (*Salallahu 'Alaihi Wassalam* or peace be upon him). Another Javanese colony was in Sorobaya, just near Takalar in South Sulawesi. It is called "Sorobaya" since many of its inhabitants came from Surabaya in East Java. There was Sunan Gresik's pupil called Raden Rahmat who was a smart noble from Madjapahit kingdom in East Java and he was known as *Sunan Ampel* as well.

The great charisma of *Sunan Ampel* was not only for Javanese Moslems, but Chinese Moslems as well. He adopted Chinese architecture to build mosque. According to Chinese Moslems, *Sunan Ampel* is a descendant of Chinese. Gresik and Surabaya are located closely one to another at the East part of Java. They were port cities and at the same time became the centre of Islamic mission in the archipelago. In addition, Takalar, which is the Southern of Makassar, was existed the villages, namely: *Patani*, *Jipang*, *Cilalang*, and *Soreang*.

In these villages, there consecutively existed colonies from Patani, a kingdom in Melaka peninsula; Jipang, a town in Northern coast of the Eastern Central Java; Cilalang and Soreang are two small towns in South Jakarta. In Takalar, it was even found the grave of *Datu Pangaruyung*, the name of a place in West

Sumatra. At this time, Jipang was as a town equal as Demak (1475-1546). Jipang ruler defied to rebel against *Sultan* Trenggono, the last *Sultan* of Demak in Central Java.

The decline of Demak discouraged the war commanders to participate in civil war. They intensified the Islamic mission, instead *Raden Mas Suryo Adilogo* and *Syech Zakaria al-Maghribi*, whose came from Java via Kalimantan, domiciled in Kapuang Jawa, Pamboang, North Mandar in South Sulawesi. The words of *Raden Mas* means the position in high nobility in Java; *Suryo* means sun (planet star); *Adi* means prime (first); and *Logo* means war (battle). So, *Raden Mas Suryo Adi Logo* means a noble who acted as war commander. Meanwhile, *Syech* is a title given to a senior *ulema*; and *Maghribi* used to mention the word of Marocco in North Africa. So, it was said that *Syeh Zakaria al-Maghribi* came from Marocco, a country which is located in the West of Egypt and Algeria in North Africa. Islam, however, was not spread extensively to all over Mandar area in South Sulawesi, since it was not supported by the King.

The Gowa chronicle mentioned that *I Lagalasi*, a Javanese, came to see *Karaeng* (noblemen of Makassar) Tumaparisi Kallona (dead in 1547). *Karaeng* Tallo, Tunipasuru, was said to be keen on travelling. He had been to Malaka and Johor, where they had debts. The successor of *Karaeng* Tumaparisi Kallona was Tunipalangga Ulaweng (1546-1565). In Goa lived a Javanese called *Anakodha* or *Nakhoda* (ship's captain) Bonang, together with his followers, consisting people from Pahang, Patani, Campa, Minangkabau, and Johor. They were given privileges to live in Somba Opu. Their place was called *Mangalekana*.

The special welcome, that was given to *Nakhoda* Bonang, indicated that he was honoured. *Anakhoda* derived from the word of *nakoda*, means the ship's captain. This word is used for the crew who steer the ship. If it is analyzed through traditional Javanese literatures, it may be concluded that *Nakhoda* Bonang, who was an *ulema* from Java, is Sunan Bonang. He is one of the *Wali Sanga* (the nine pious leaders who spread Islam in Java), whose his father-in-law is the chief

commander of Demak kingdom. In his effort to undergo Islamic mission, he managed to conquer a *bandit* (gangster) called *Sunan Kalijaga* to become *Wali* (Moslem saint). The presence of *Sunan Bonang* was in the era of Demak sultanate, 1475-1546.<sup>1</sup>

According to Mattulada (2011), there is the relationship between the presence of *Nakhoda* Bonang and the development of Islam in Gowa kingdom. *Nakhoda* Bonang was offering the traditional guns, 80<sup>th</sup> *belo* (an ornament) *tote*, a wood *sekelat*, a roll of *beledru* cloth, and a half score of flowered sash (*cindai*). He also requested to the King of Gowa, as follows:

"I hope nobody enters our home without permission. I hope nobody enters our home arbitrarily. I hope there is no regulation enforced to us if we make mistakes".

His Majesty, the king of Gowa, replied: "If my buffalo has descended into the water, if it has heavy burden, never you do commit murder in my kingdom without my knowledge?"

*Anakhoda* Bonang said: "To whom do you ask for this request?". Bonang also answered: "All who wear *sarong* such as Pahang, Patani, Campa, Menangkabau, and Johor" (cited in Mattulada, 2011:30-31).

Based on the response of *Nakhoda* Bonang, it is clear that at the meantime the tribal integration had happened extensively across the archipelago. The integration started from Pahang, Johor, dan Patani which are all located in Malay peninsula, to Campa (then Vietnam and Cambodia), and lastly in Minangkabau at the West coast of Sumatra. Malay people not only lived in Gowa, but also in Siang whose origin was Johor and Patani.

According to the chronicle report, written by Antonio de Paiva, a Portuguese, they (Malay people) had lived in these areas since 50 years before 1542 (cited in Cortesao ed., 1944). However, there is no data whether they had become Islam followers as it had been in Arab country, namely Mecca and Madinah (Mappangara & Abbas, 2003:8). Moslem in Malaka believed that their king was a descendant of *Maharaja Sang Perta Dewa in Keinderaan*, who lived in *Suralaya* (superior

world). His son, *Sang Sapurba*, appointed as king in *Siguntang Mahabiru*, near Palembang, South Sumatera, which is also lived in above world, the place of God (Ahmad, 1997:1 and 9-10).

It is assumed that *Nakhoda* Bonang existed after the fall of Malaka in 1511; and even after the fall of Demak in 1546, the Javanese *ulema* (Moslem scholars) played an important role in Islamic mission, because Demak had been twice attacking Portuguese who controlled Malaka, and at the same time failed to manage the war on land. The Demak troops had been twice destroyed by the Portuguese troops, as its technology was inferior to Portuguese. The Demak ships were too big compared to Portuguese ships, so they sailed very slowly. The consequently, they were fired and sunk easily down the sea (Kartodirdjo, 1988).

Few years later, civil war was happened in Demak. Sultan Trenggono was killed, so it led to vacuum in authority. *Pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) Giri in East Java, then, developed and took over the role of Demak in religious activities in particular. It is likely that *Sunan* Bonang lived in Makassar. As Moslem saint, he was a legendary figure. His grave is in Tuban and Bawean island, an insland which is located between Madura island and Sulawesi island (Arif, 2000:160).

The 10<sup>th</sup> King of Gowa, Tunipalangga, is a descendant of Malay, I Daeng ri Mangalekana, who was the second harbor master of Somba Opu. And as a famous *ulema*, *Nakhoda* Bonang was known to execute the Islamic mission. Moslem Malay at Mangalekana in South Sulawesi continuously increased. They became merchants and businessmen. They were protected by the king and be the main contributor to the kingdom revenues.<sup>2</sup>

Malay communities had developed sharply as the impact of continuously decreased in Javanese trading to Moluccas since the fall of Majapahit, Malaka, and Demak kingdoms (Nugroho, 2010; and Dunn, 2011). This situation gave chance to Pahang, Patani, and Johor in Malay Peninsula to fulfill the trading

<sup>1</sup>In 1546, Sultan Trenggono was killed. Demak kingdom got involved on civil war which lasted by its fall. Finally, the authority moved to the hinterland in Java, to Pajang and, then, to Mataram in Surakarta and Yogyakarta, now Central Java area.

<sup>2</sup>In fact, the King of Gowa was not allowed to take his people's properties based on social agreement, when was appointed as *To Manurung* by Bate Salapang. In this case, the king's income depended upon Malay Moslem merchants. See, for further information, Mattulada (2011).

network to China and Moluccas. They bought rice to Makassar and exchanged it with spices, such as nutmeg, mace, and cloves (Reid, 2004:176). As excellent merchants, one of them was appointed as harbor master at Goa who was responsible for economy and harbor management. Because of his great dedication, the king built a mosque at Mangalekana.

The existence of Malay Moslems in Gowa brought about the kingdom become more developed. The religious activities of Malay people at Mangalekana, their achievements in trading and in economy, and the respect of Gowa and Tallo kings by giving them vital positions made Makassar people being motivated. It is assumed that many Makassar people converted to Islam. This phenomena were regarded interesting by King of Gowa.

However, *Lontara Sukkukna ri Wajo* (traditional historiography of Wajo) stated that activity to spread Islam by *Nakhoda Bonang* was not effective, because he mostly spoke about terrible prohibitions in Islam (Poelinggomang, 2004:82). It seems that *Nakhoda Bonang* conveyed about threat on revenge day and sins with torture in grave and hell to motivate people converted to Islam. In addition, he also conveyed about doomsday, the day when the dead would be resurrected from grave if he or she passed on *siratal mustakim* (a path as big as hair) to heaven, to whom is not pious and sins against Islam would fall and sink into the raging hell fire. So, *Nakhoda Bonang* doctrines had not yet officially succeeded in Islamizing the Makassar (Poelinggomang, 2004).

In 1580, when Tunibata (King of Gowa) was killed by Bone soldiers; at the meantime, Sultan Ternate, who governed Selayar, offered himself to be an ally to oppose against all enemies of Gowa if they are ready to convert to Islam. However, Tunijallo was afraid if Ternate would made religion as his political supreme over Gowa. Tunijallo (1565-1590) had a good friendship with *Karaeng Java* from Johor, Malaka, Pahang, Blambangan, Patani, Banjar, and Moluccas islands who are all Moslems. At the end, Islamic doctrine influenced the belief of nobilities of Gowa and Tallo. *Karaeng Tallo*, who was familiar with Malay Moslem traders, was interested in converting to Islam although

he also understood Christian professed by Portugues people.

Lastly, Makassar developed as an international trade harbor. Various nations, whose countries waged war one another, came to Makassar and forced to make peace by the time they arrived in Makassar. It was why at Somba Opu not only lived Malay people, but also the chambers of commerce of British, Portugal, the Dutch, France, and Denmark, who most of them were enemies and they were Christian. Meanwhile, more Malay people, including Javanese, came to Makassar as well (Reid, 2004:26).

Various cultures and religions influenced Makassar community, including Christian. This caused *Karaeng Matoaya* and other kings in South Sulawesi argued one another to decide which religion is the most reasonable for them. Wajo manuscript recorded the dialogue between *Karaeng Matoaya* of Gowa and the older *Arung Matowa* of Wajo, La Mangketje, as follows:

Matoaya: "Dear Sir, you look sick. Could you please explain to me, how many Gods are there actually?"

Matowa: "There is only one God, but there are great amount of God's messengers".

Matoaya: "Doesn't this God have mother and father?"

Matowa: "That is the reason why there is no God but one. He doesn't have mother and father" (cited in Noorduynd, 1972:26).

Indeed, this dialogue had not yet totally answered the religious problems that were ideally accepted by them. *I Lagaligo* epic, which was a reference of traditional Bugis religion, stated that the religious life begun when a couple of God in *Boti Langie* (above world) and a couple of God in *Urie Liu* (down world). Under the advice of their guards, the God in *Boti Langie* inisiated to create middle world in order to make ceremony for paying tribute to them in the world. The *Boti Langie* God couple, then, married of their son to a daughter of God couple of *Urie Liu*. Obviously, God couple, neither from above world nor down world was said to have mother and father, but this was not an indication that there was only one God (Mappangara & Abbas, 2003).



Both Christian and Islamic God are Allah. The only difference is in the interpretation about Prophet Isa AS (*'Alaihi Salam* or peace be upon him) as the son of Maria or Maryam. According to Christian, Prophet Isa AS is called *Jesus*, the son of Allah; whereas for Moslem, Prophet Isa AS was common people who was appointed as Prophet and a messenger of God. Nevertheless, the above dialogue didn't discuss whether God had not son. Instead, the dialogue gave signals that the nobles of Tallo, Gowa, and Wajo were opened to accept Islam.

At that era, Aceh authorized area, included Minangkabau.<sup>3</sup> Aceh, as an Islamic kingdom, was in hostility against Portuguese whose religion was Catholic. The military of Aceh kingdom in Northern Sumatera and military of Turkey Ustmani empires in Middle East united to oppose Portuguese. According to Mendez Pinto, a Portuguese vagabond, reported that *Sultan* Ala al-Din Riayat Syah al-Qahhar of Aceh kingdom asked Sulayman (Turkey Ustmani *Sultan*) to be an ally. Under the support of Egyptian Pasha, he (*Sultan* Ala al-Din Riayat Syah al-Qahhar) got 150 Turkish soldiers and some amount of Abessinian (Ethiopia) and Gujarat together with 200 hired soldiers from Malabar in India. They were elite troops of Aceh kingdom (cited in Azra, 2007:42-43).

At this time, there had been globalization. These relationships between Aceh kingdom and Turkey Ustmani empires continued until the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Alfian, 1978). Jorge de Lemos, the Secretary of the Portugues Prince, reported that *Khalifah* (Caliph) of Turkey Utsmani sent a military decoration to *Sultan* Ala al-Din Riayat Syah al-Qahhar (1588-1604) and allowed the Aceh ships to put out Turkish flag (Azra, 2007:49).

In his bewildering of choosing Islam or Catholic, *Karaeng* Matoaya asked the Portuguese governor in Malaka to send him a pastor. Meanwhile, he also asked Aceh *Sultan* to send *ulema* to Makassar (Reid, 2004:398).

<sup>3</sup>According to Azyumardi Azra (2007:39), Aceh seamen not only sailed in the archipelago, but also sailed across Indian ocean. The Portuguese reported that in 1526, an Aceh ship which carried spices was seized on its way to Jeddah in Arabian sea. In the next few years, Portuguese again committed piracy to Aceh ships in Arabian sea. Aceh played an important role in trading navigation in the East – West world.

In fact, only Aceh *Sultan* sent his ulema, namely: Khatib Tunggal, Dato di Tiro, and Dato Patimang (Poelinggomang, 2004:83).

Khatib Tunggal, alias Abdul Makmur Chatib Tunggal, was an *ulema* born at Koto Tangah, West Sumatra. He is a relative of *Sunan* Giri (Giri prince) from East Java. He came along with Dato Sulaiman, Khatib Sulung alias Dato Patimang, and Abdul Jawab Khatib Bungsu who is known as Dato di Tiro who was also a pupil of Sunan Giri from Gresik, East Java.

According to Javanese sources, Dato Ri Bandang was one of *Sunan* Giri pupils who had been a chief commander of Demak kingdom and was meritorious to subjugate the Majapahit.<sup>4</sup> After the fall of Demak sultanate, caused by Pati rebellion, *Pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) of Giri developed to be the centre of religious mission and succeeded Demak kingdom to play the political role not only in Java, but also in the archipelago as well. Khatib Tunggal was certain to be honored for the position of *Pesantren* Giri delegation.

At this time, the kingdoms of Demak and Pajang in Central Java had ended and Java changed generally to be agrarian country. The Prince of Senopati established Mataram kingdom at the Southeast of Yogyakarta.<sup>5</sup> This situation made Giri developed as the centre of Islamic mission in the archipelago with its networks, included the Islamic kingdoms across the archipelago. Khatib Tunggal was actively conveying Islam doctrines not only in Java, but also in Aceh, Johor, and Palembang (Noorduyn, 1972:33).

Similar to Javanese chronicle is Lombok chronicle. Dato Ri Bandang is a pupil of Sunan Giri, at the Northern coast of East Java. At that time, Sunan Giri got support from princes in East Java and Palembang in South Sumatera. He instructed all of his students to spread Islam to the whole archipelago. Lembu Mangkurat was sent to Banjar; Khatib Tunggal to Makassar (South Sulawesi), Timor, Seram,

<sup>4</sup>According to H.J. de Graaf (1954:61), Dato Ri Bandang also Islamized the Kutai Kertanegara in East Kalimantan preceded supranatural power match against Raja Mahkota and he won that match. Therefore, the king embraced Islam. After that, he also Islamized the Bima in West Nusa Tenggara.

<sup>5</sup>According to Anthony Reid (2004:112), Mataram kingdom resurrected as maritime monarchy just at the reign of Sultan Agung (1613-1646).

and Selayar; while Prince of Prapen went to Lombok, Bali, and Sumbawa. Obviously, Khatib Tunggal converted not only Makassar (Gowa and Tallo) to Islam, but also Luwu, Bantaeng, and even the West little Sunda's islands (*Nusa Tenggara Barat*) and Kutai in East Kalimantan.

Due to the different information about the origin of Khatib Tunggal, it is believed that at that time, Islam was not inhibited by politics and power. The religious and social network reached beyond the boundaries of states. Islamic solidarity was not only limited to the archipelago, but also extended to Middle East. The dispersion of Islamic mission, thus, was endowed by the competition between Christian brought by Portuguese and Islam brought by Moslems in Asia and Africa. In this period, Catholic and Christian religions were successful in Moluccas and North Sulawesi led by *Santo* (Saint) Francis Xavier and De Brito.

### PROCESS OF ISLAMIZATION

As it has been mentioned before that since then, the three preachers wished to convert South Sulawesi to Islam. They came to Selayar via Buton (Ambary, 1997:24; and Sewang, 2005:73). In their opinion, the process of Islamization would be more successful if it firstly Islamized Luwu since the belief of *Lagaligo* was for the first time established at Luwu. Khatib Tunggal and his companions were successful in making an agreement with *Datu* Luwu, La Patiware Daeng Parabung. He agreed to convert to Islam if *Sawerigading* was acknowledged as divine, similar to angel in Islam. As angel, he was a subordinate of Prophet Muhammad SAW (*Salallahu 'Alaihi Wassalam* or peace be upon him). The three preachers agreed as a beginning to be the real Moslem. On 4<sup>th</sup> February 1603, *Datu* Luwu declared to convert to Islam (Poelinggomang, 2004:77; and Sewang, 2005:91).

From Luwu, they went to Gowa; but on the way to Gowa, they stopped for a moment at Tiro (Bulukumba regency). *Datu* Di Tiro then died here. Khatib Bungsu used sufism or Islamic mysticism approach for his Islamic mission, whereas Khatib Tunggal taught the requirements to convert to Islam. Sufism emphasizes the belief that human life in

this world is on the way back to God. About the sufism as one of the doctrines in Islam, Sukmono (1973) explained as follows:

That is the reason why we have to know God perfectly in order our soul returns to integrate with God. There are four ways to God namely: Islamic law (*syariat*), mystical order (*tariqat*), the highest knowledge (*ma'rifat*), and the essence (*hakikat*). All these stages could be achieved if the human being loves his/her God. Islamic law (*syariat*) contains norms and laws that must be absolutely obeyed religious service. Mystical order (*tarekat*) is a stage in religious service after Islamic law is satisfied as to get holiness and a profound love to Allah. Highest knowledge (*ma'rifat*) is a stage in religious service which is only realized in the intense belief, longing, love, and meditation of someone all are directed to know Allah perfectly. Essence (*hakikat*) is a stage when human being would be able to give up the five senses activities and his thought, even forget himself in order to be united with Allah. If someone could achieve the essence (*hakikat*), then he/she is said as *insan kamil* means the perfect human (Sukmono, 1973:40-41).

The disagreement between Khatib Bungsu and Khatib Tunggal was assumed concerning to the religious service on the highest knowledge (*ma'rifat*) level, that is the knowledge of God through spiritual experience by meditation. According to Khatib Tunggal, religious services should be based on *Sunnah* (proper conduct of Prophet Muhammad) and *Hadist* (recorded sayings of Prophet Muhammad) instead of just individual experiences since these individual experiences may lead astray. Yet, for Khatib Bungsu, Islamic mysticism or sufism or *tasawuf* may prevent black magician power from being developed in Tiro (Sewang, 2005:144).

Khatib Bungsu chose to Islamize the Tiro. He was warmly welcome since Islam had been known some years before, when *ulema* of Aceh, Syech Ahmad, had conveyed Islam in Tiro community, where he lived and married the noble in Sinjai. In 1604, Launru Daeng Biyasa, *Karaeng* of Tiro, together his people were ready to be converted to Islam by Khatib Bungsu. The *Santris* (students of Islamic boarding school) from Tiro proceeded to spread Islam to Kindang and Tombolo.

From Tiro, Khatib Tunggal sailed to Gowa. On Thursday, 22<sup>nd</sup> September 1605, Khatib

Tunggal Islamized *Karaeng Tallo*, called *I Malingkang Daeng Manyori* and entitling *Sultan Abdullah Awallul Islam*, who received Islam as his religion along with the king of Gowa I, *Daeng Manrabia* entitled *Sultan Alauddin* in the age of 19 years along with his sister. The Islamization ceremony of *Karaeng Matoaya*, the King of Tallo, was held using the Holy Al-Qur'an and *Sudanga* sword, as a symbol of the integration between Islam and custom. The *Sudanga* sword was the property of *Karaeng Bayo*, *To Manurung* (the descender from heaven), the brother of *Lakipadada*, who came down from *Boti Langi* (the sky). Khatib Tunggal taught those three nobles to utter two sentences of confession (*syahadat*), as committed to convert to Islam. The meaning of the confession is the acknowledgment that there is no God but Allah, and Prophet Muhammad is God messenger (Suwirta, 2002; and Sulistiono, 2009).

The Governor (*Mangkubumi*) and *Sultan Gowa* were obliged to fulfill the requirements to be Moslem by believing six principles of faith in Islam (*Rukun Iman*), namely: (1) the belief that there is Allah, the great creator and very glorious, who has the power of the world, including on human being, and all human are obliged to worship Allah and go back to Allah; (2) Belief in Angels, who were created from light, who do the jobs given by Allah; (3) Believe in Prophets and Allah's messengers, who are selected human obliged to convey the decrees of Allah; (4) Believe in the existence of Holy Books, mainly the holy book of Al-Qur'an which contains a compilation of Allah's decree, sent down to Prophet Muhammad; (5) Believe in Predestination of Allah that the paths of human life has been determined by Allah; and (6), lastly, believe in the Day Hereafter and the Doomsday, that is the day when the human will be revived and account for all his/her conducts during his/her life in the real world. If he/she made more charities and devoted to Allah, he/she will enter the Heaven. In the contrary, if he/she was mostly in conflict with Allah's decree, then, he/she would get torture in Hell (Suwirta, 2002; and Sulistiono, 2009).

According to Moslem, the human is obliged to acknowledge that there is only one God (Allah) by uttering two sentences of confession

(*syahadat*), to pray (*shalat*), to fast (*puasa*) in Ramadhan month, to pay the *zakat* (Islamic tax) for the poor, and to go for pilgrimage to Mecca (*naik haji*). This is the *Rukun Islam* or five basic principles in Islam; and, then, the holy Al-Qur'an and *Al-Hadith* of Prophet Muhammad become reference and guidance for Moslem conduct (Suwirta, 2002; and Sulistiono, 2009).

Furthermore, Khatib Tunggal was appointed as Moslem judge at Somba Opu. Two years later, the whole people of Gowa and Tallo declared to convert to Islam, when on 9<sup>th</sup> November 1607, held Friday praying (*shalat Jum'at*) at Tallo. This indicated that Islam had officially become the religion of Gowa and Tallo kingdoms. The *Sultan* appointed Khatib Tunggal as a religion officer, who was given a highest authority to handle the religious affairs with the title of *Daeng Ta Kaliya*, a Malay Moslem judge in Somba Opu (Sewang, 2005:144).

As a religion officer, Khatib Tunggal functioned as the king's advisor. Obviously, the influence of Islam from Aceh in the period of Iskandar Muda existed with the acceptance of mystical order (*tarekat*) of *wahdatul wujud* (union doctrine in Islamic mysticism between God and human) and the mysticism doctrines of Syech Abdul Qadir Jaelani, Al-Hallaj, and Al-Ghazali (Suwirta, 2002).

This mystical order (*tarekat*) was clearly stated in the *Makassar War Poetry*, written by Enci Amin, fifty years later after Gowa and Tallo had embraced Islam. Enci Amin was a clerk of the palace quoted Hamzah Fansuri's poet who lived at this period. Nevertheless, the entrance of *wahdatul wujud* might be through *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) of Giri. Since then Gowa developed to be the centre of Islamic mission in Eastern Indonesia. Just after *Mangkubumi* (Governor) and the King of Gowa were converted to Islam, the whole countries were instructed, including their subordinates, to be converted to Islam. This is a historical phenomenon, according to Taufik Abdullah (1987), as the "top down model" in Islamizing Indonesia.

About this historical fact, *Lontarak* (chronicle) of Tallo stated also that "All who were defeated and pay homage to him must be converted to Islam, and their countries

would become the conquered territories" (cited in Mone & Gani, 1988:209-210; and Sewang, 2005:122). Islam, thus, dispersed to the whole West coast of South Sulawesi until the Southeast Sulawesi, which had been conquered by Tunipalangga Ulaweng (1546-1565), including Mandar, Suppa, Sidenreng, Duri, Bacukiki, Lamuru, Lamatti, Siang, Barru, Panaikang, Bajeng, Polombangkeng, Lengkesa, Binamu, Bantaeng, and Bulukumba (Mahmud *et al.*, 2002; and Poelinggomang, 2004).

The three charismatic *ulemas* involved the Malay Moslem in political activities in Makassar. The military operation got a new powerful support inspired by the holy war in the efforts to maintain Islam. Gowa became one of Islamic kingdoms network that was powerful in the archipelago. Anyhow, Gowa and other kingdoms in South Sulawesi didn't take the position, as it had been done by Demak in Java, Aceh in Sumatera, and Johor in Malay Peninsula, preferred to fight against Portuguese. Gowa and Tallo guaranteed to bring peace between the two religions in their countries. It is clear that if there had been role played in political and military matters by Sultan Iskandar Muda of Aceh, Sunan Giri of Java, and Johor kingdom in Malay Peninsula; the Gowa and Tallo kingdoms, its role, were only limited to religious mission (Poelinggomang, 2004; and Sewang, 2005).

Because of that, various agreements had been made to cooperate in political affairs to fight against the Islamic enemies. Aceh and Mataram insisted Gowa in order not to make trade relationship with VOC (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* or Dutch East-India Company) in Indonesia. The evidences were the attendance of Mataram delegation, Ngabehi Suradulla on 27 January 1633;<sup>6</sup> and Aceh delegation who insisted Gowa not to make trade cooperation with VOC (Basang *ed.*, 1986:94 and 98).

The entrance of Islamic civilization was two years after the acceptance of Islam. A Dutch visitor reported that eating pork, drinking liquor in the party, magician role of *shaman* either woman or *bissu* (transvestites),

breastless clothes both man and woman, attaching small ball at male penis all were not found anymore. The female had worn clothes covering their breast (cited in Reid, 2004:183).

Some years later, Khatib Tunggal and his associates Islamized Kutai in East Kalimantan and Bima in West Nusa Tenggara (Little Sundanese Islands). The *Kutai Tale* stated that the two preachers, i.e. Khatib Tunggal and Tunggang Parangan, after Islamizing the Makassar proceeded to Islamize Kutai and Bima (cited in Reid, 2004). Meanwhile, Cikoang had been previously converted to Islam by Sayyid Jalaluddin al-Aiddid, who came from Aceh on the way to Banjarmasin and, at the end, arrived at Cikoang, Laikang, and Turatea. He confessed the *Syiah* (Shi'it) doctrines in Islam. He was successful in converting a noble of Binamu to be Islam and married his daughter. He was rejected at Gowa, so he domiciled at Cikoang (Mappangara & Abbas, 2003:77).

## EXPANSION AND ISLAMIZATION

The Islamization of Gowa and Tallo kingdoms had made Makassar as an economic and political network of Moslem. This position replaced Demak kingdom in Java which had been fallen by rebellion. The support of Malay Moslem to the King of Gowa was firstly given in economic sector and continued to religious solidarity. Malay people were involved in various expansion of Islamic mission by Gowa and Tallo kingdoms. They participated in war with the spirit of *Fi Sabilillah* (holy war on the name of Allah). In addition, to *Hadat* Council, the King was assisted by Moslem judge (*qadi*) who played role as religious advisor for the King. Moslem judge has occupied the position as high as *Tumailalang* in Gowa kingdom and *Tomarilalaeng* in Bone kingdom.

In Islam, there is a belief that spreading Islamic religion is an obligation if it is necessary by force. This belief was also acknowledged by *Karaeng* Matoaya and the king of Gowa (Andaya, 2004:1). The delegation of Gowa was sent to Soppeng. The King of Soppeng, however, responded by sending a piece of cotton cloth and a loom. Such response indicated the rejections, even it was humiliation because at that time, weaving

<sup>6</sup>As we know that in the period of Sultan Agung as King of Mataram in Java, he attacked the VOC in Batavia in 1928 and 1929. See, for further information, M.C. Ricklefs *et al.* (2013).



activities were houseworks done by women. Thus, this response could be interpreted as a warning to Gowa, in order not to interfere in the affairs of another country, instead just took care of her own household. Finally, Gowa held *bunddu kassaallanga* (Islamic war) by attacking Soppeng via Sawitto in 1608. However, Gowa's attack was repelled by the combined forces of Bone, Soppeng, and Wajo (Andaya, 2004).

In the next three months, with a greater force of Gowa since it allied with Luwu, Gowa became stronger. Furthermore, Gowa won the fight for the subordinate kingdoms namely: Paneki, Akkotengeng, Kera, Sakuli, Sidenreng, and Soppeng. Finally, these whole countries accepted Islam. *Karaeng* Matoaya, as Governor of Gowa (*Mangkubumi*), prohibited all his soldiers to seize property, took the loot of war, not even demanded compensation and tributes on the conquered land. Instead, he gave the prize of cloth about 300 *kati* (a unit of weight 625 gr) to make Muslim clothing and porcelain gifts. This policy was different from the previous wars. The winner kingdom seized the properties of the conquered kingdoms, imposed losses due to war, even arrested the inhabitants into slavery. The increase of military power of Gowa, *Karaeng* Matoaya policies got sympathy from his people who hoped no more war (Basang ed., 1986).

This condition caused the weakness of *Telumpocoe* (confederation of three kingdoms) solidarity, resulting in several battles in 1610 that defeated Wajo (Mappangara, 2014:43-54). After winning the war, *Karaeng* Matoaya respectfully said, according to *Chronic of Wajo*, as follows:

"Would all of you please grant my small request, that you would follow Gowa converted to Islam and you all worship only one God".

*Appamole* (leader of Wajo) replied to the King Matoaya, "Your Honor, we have it and we pick confidence all to worship to one God. I request not to gouge my rice, not to open my mats, and not to kill the rats in the folds of my *sarong*. Of course, I would follow Gowa; if Gowa goes for war, I will come on behalf of Gowa and I will bring supplies of food in my sleeves, one for trips away, and one for the return trip. If Gowa wins the war, it means Wajo also wins. If you go with ships, I will not participate, because I cannot sail. So, I

will stay at home, praying that you win; and if Gowa wins, it means Wajo wins as well. Only in this part, Goa and Wajo is divided away, because God has divided them".

King of Gowa said, "I agree you have tried to worship Allah *Ta'ala* and follow the Prophet Muhammad, then I grant your request" (cited in Noorduy, 1972:266-267; and Reid, 2004:187).

*Karaeng* Matoaya put on clothes for praying, and granted the request to hold the last massive party to finish off their pigs. King of Wajo was finally converted to Islam with entitled *Sultan* Abdulrahman. *Sultan* Alauddin sent spiritual teacher (*anreguru*) to teach Islamic religion, then, the King of Gowa appointed *Datu* Solomon to become Moslem judge (*qadhi*) in Wajo.

The King of Wajo, *Sultan* Abdul Rahman, further ordered that all of his people embraced Islam. His people obeyed and embraced Islam, except for a small group of people lived in the Wani village. They were consequently expelled. *I Lagaligo* led Wani population to go to Bacukiki (Pare-Pare), a part of them were led by *I Pabbere* along the north edge of Sidenreng lake, settled in the North Amparita, Sidenreng region.

The King of Sidenreng, Addatuan VII in Massepe, allowed them to stay on after they approved *Ade Amparita Mappurana Onrong Sidenreng* that is the promise to respect the customs of Sidenreng and promised to run Islamic law, such as prayer and fasting. Yet, they were allowed to run in the marital and death ceremony based on the belief of *Towani Tolotang* led by officials called *Uwatta* and *Uwa-uwa*. The followers of *Towani Tolotang* believe one God called *SeuwaE* and the existence of legendary figures, such as *Batara Guru*, *Batara Lattu*, *I La Galigo*, and *Sawerigading* are all extraordinary human, whose their souls still exist everlasting. Similarly, in Amparita and Bacukiki, traditional faith continued to grow, despite they acknowledged Islam as religion.

Islamization in Bone led to conflict between the king and his people. *Hadat* Council argued that obeying order to embrace Islam was a mistake, because Bone had several times won the war against Gowa; even Tuipasulu, King of Gowa, was killed. Although the defeat of

war was only a coincidence in the last few battles, therefore, by learning from Wadjo and Soppeng experiences, the *Mangkau* of Bone Kingdom, La Tenri Ruwa, received the appeal of the Gowa King, but then a new problem arose. *Hadat* Council namely *Ade Pitue Bone* refused Bone King to convert to Islam. *Hadat* Council protested that the appeal of Gowa was actually aimed at putting Bone as subordinate of Gowa. Consequently, Bone King was deposed. La Tenri Ruwa refuted in Gowa, while the *Hadat* Council appointed La Tenri Pale Arung Timurung, son of La Ica Matinroe ri Addena.

Yet the statement of Bone King, namely La Tenri Rua, was protested by his people. Bone tribal council, *Ade Pitua*, appointed new king Arung Timurung La Tenripale, which in turn led the fight against Gowa. Bone could be defeated, but La Tenri Rua was not re-appointed as the King of Bone (Mappangara & Abbas, 2003:90).

Meanwhile, *Arung Matowa Wajo*, *Sultan Abdul Rahman*, was worried about the reformation made by *Datu Sulaiman*. *Datu Sulaiman* established and appointed new officials whose authorities dealt with religious affairs. Many Malay Moslems were appointed on these posts, while their social status was deemed inappropriate. The nobles felt displaced from its position. The new officials often made policies that contradicted with Wajo tradition. La Sangkuru reported the nobles' anxiety to *Sultan Alauddin*, so *Datu Sulaiman* was succeeded by Khatib Tunggal. He made an agreement with *Arung Matowa Wajo* which reads as the following:

Agreement between *Hadat* (custom) and *Sarak* (law).  
*Sarak* (law) respects the customs.  
*Hadat* (customs) glorify *Sarak* (law).  
*Hadat* (customs) and *Sarak* (law) does not mutually resign one another's verdict.  
If customs can not decide a case,  
*Hadat* (customs) indigenous asks *Sarak* (law).  
If *Sarak* (law) can not decide a case,  
*Sarak* (law) asks customs.  
Both would not make mistakes in verdict  
(Mappangara & Abbas, 2003).

Khatib Tunggal appointed law official from the king's descendant. This decision was taken to eliminate the anxiety and the resistance

of the nobles against Gowa, otherwise accelerated the spread of Islam. With this policy of Khatib Tunggal, Islamization had united Wajo with Gowa. Important reasons, according to Khatib Tunggal, are as follows:

In my opinion, it is good to appoint a descendant of the king to be law officer of Wajo, because the king's descendant recognize and know the customs. This was approved by Arung Matoa, Bate Lopoe, and Arung Mabbicara, which was later justified by Wajo community (cited in Sewang, 2005:146).

Since then, Wajo was a staunch supporter of Gowa. The role of the nobles as *Sarak* (law) officials and the agreements that *Hadat* (customs) and *Sarak* do not contradict one another resulted that Islamization made no significant changes in the Bugis community, except for the recognition of the one God. *Adat Pangadereng* consisted of aspects of *adak* (habit), *wari* (rights and obligations of the individual corresponding status in society), *rapang* (statute or law), and *bicara* (the court).

The conflicts between Moslems and Christians, as it did between Aceh with Portuguese in Malacca, did not affect the relationship between Gowa with Western nations whose religion is Christians; even in Makassar, the intermarriage occurred between the followers of different religions. This was a typical symptom of Makassar since such intermarriage prohibited by religion. New conflict occurred with VOC (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* or Dutch East-India Company), because applying the trade monopoly in Ambon and Banda islands.

The role of Gowa as a Moslem leader was confirmed in 1625, when the arrival of the 18<sup>th</sup> descendant of the Prophet Mohammed, namely Assayid Ba'alwi bin Abdullah al-Allamah al-Thair, an Arab who had a Moslem traditional school. He was welcomed by *I Mangarangi Daeng Manrabia* (Sultan Alauddin) who has supported excitement to marry his daughter, Siti Fatimah Daeng Nipati or *Karaeng Katangka*, with Assayid Ba'alwi bin Abdullah al-Allamah al-Thair. They, then, settled in Bontoala, which later developed as the center of the symbols of Islam. The people of Soppeng, Wajo, Bone, Pangkep, Takalar,

Bantaeng, and Jeneponto mostly learned Islam here. Assayid Ba'alwi bin Abdullah al-Allamah al-Thair not only taught religion, but also trade and self-defence, called *langkara ara*. Among of these students of Assayid Ba'alwi bin Abdullah al-Allamah al-Thair became *To Barani* (brave man), which became protectors of Gowa in various battles.

Eventually, Islam in the kingdoms of Gowa and Tallo developed in most of South Sulawesi Peninsula. The acceptance of Gowa King on Islam indicated the influence of the *Syiah* (Shi'ite) Moslem sect who believed that the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad SAW (*Salallahu 'Alaihi Wassalam* or peace beupon him) functioned as the source of knowledge, the teacher, the reliable guardian of Islam, and the best teacher (Azra, 2007).

But at that time, Islam in Gowa was not exclusive. The King of Gowa respected *ulema* (the Moslem scholars) for their excellent ideas to be the basis for his political policy. Muhammad Yusuf, who was according to oral sources born in 1627 in Moncong Loe, 15 km to the inland area from Gowa, because of his scientific achievement, was given the title *Tuanta Samalaka* (meaning lord for salvation) Shaykh Muhammad Yusuf Abu al-Mahassin bin Abdullah al-Taj al-Khalwati al-Maqasari. His achievement started with learning the Al-Qur'an from Daeng ri Tammasang, after that he studied Arabic language, *fiqh* (Islamic law), *tawhid* (God's oneness), and *tasawuf* (Islamic mysticism) from Assayid Ba'alwi bin Abdullah al-Allamah al-Thair, an Arab missionary in Bonto Ala. At the age of 15 years, he went to study to Al-Jalal Aydid, an itinerant teacher and an *ulema* who came from Kutai in East Kalimantan, and the founder of the *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) in Cikoang. After graduation in Cikoang, he married the daughter of Sultan Al-Malik al-Said, namely the Ala al-Din whose other name is *Mangarangi Daeng Manrabiya*, 1591-1636 (Lubis, 1996:16; and Azra, 2007:262).

At the age of 18 years, on 22<sup>nd</sup> September 1645, Shaykh Muhammad Yusuf Abu al-Mahassin bin Abdullah al-Taj al-Khalwati al-Maqasari went to the holy land, Mecca. In his trip, he stopped in Banten (Western Java), Aceh (Northern Sumatera), and

Yaman (Southern Arab) kingdoms that the relationship was very good with Goa kingdom. In Banten, he was warmly welcomed by Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa (1651-1692). In Aceh, he was also greeted by the Queen Taj al-Din Shah Alam al-Safiyat, the daughter of Sultan Iskandar Muda and the widow of Sultan Iskandar Thani. In Aceh, he met with Nuruddin al-Raniri, the author of *Bustan as-Salatin*. He learned from Nuruddin al-Raniri, so he got the title as a follower of the *tarekat* (congregation) Qadiriyyah. When he was in Yaman, he received a diploma in the *tarekat* Naqshbandiyyah from Shaykh Abdullah Muhammad ibn Abd al-Baqi. He also received a diploma of Assadah al-Ba'alwiyyah from Sayid Ali al-Zabidi (Lubis, 1996; and Azra, 2007).

About Shaykh Muhammad Yusuf Abu al-Mahassin bin Abdullah al-Taj al-Khalwati al-Maqasari's trip, there was the view that a Moslem or person has not completed his/her knowledge and appreciation of religion if he/she has not yet studied in Banten (Western Java), Aceh (Northern Sumatera), Sri Lanka (Southern India), Yemen (Southern Arab), and Mecca in Arab. Gowa be part of Muslims throughout the world that is spiritually integrated with Islamic kingdoms in Turkish, Moghul in India, and Aceh in Western Indonesia. Islam developed not as a separator, but as a unifier, not only accumulating various forms of innovation but also the integration of various religious spiritual experiences. But, when Shaykh Muhammad Yusuf Abu al-Mahassin bin Abdullah al-Taj al-Khalwati al-Maqasari returned to Makassar, he was disappointed that the Kingdom of Gowa and Tallo has been under the control of VOC. He, then, migrated to Banten in Western Java.

In 1643, King of Bone IX, namely La Madaremeng, decided to liberate all slaves in his territory, except for hereditary slaves and should be treated with humanity. This king's attitude was clearly under the influence of the Islamic conception of Mammluk dynasty in Egypt or Islam which grew among the Tartars (Seljuk Turkey and Mongols), who reached the peak of their greatness in the early 15<sup>th</sup> century under King Timur Leng (Man, 2006; and Marozzi, 2013).

La Madaremeng's policy was protested by



the nobles of Bone, including the king's mother namely Tenri Soloring Datu Pati-ro. Bone nobles complained that policy to the King of Gowa, who then warned La Madaremeng to withdraw his decision. Sidenreng and Wajo attacked Bone. Bone's soldiers were defeated and the king was captured in Larompong, Luwu. The King of Gowa, Sultan Malikussaid, then appointed his own uncle, *Karaeng* Sumana, as the executor of governmental affairs (*Jannang*) in Bone. Islamic sect originated from Mammeluk dynasty in Egypt, but the Islamic Umayyad and Abbasid dynasties' influences were the most dominant.

The role of Malay people, in historical fact, was evident in Makassar War in 1666-1669. As it was narrated by Enci Amin, the clerk of Sultan Hasanuddin, that Malay people was led by *Datu* Maharajalela, a Patani noble who helped Gowa. The relationship between Javanese and Gowa people apparently established after Bongaya Agreement. Makassar and Malay troops moved to Java, although Mataram, after the death of Sultan Agung of Mataram, had undergone political changes radically. The first changes were under Amangkura I who hostiled the beach towns that were deemed not to be loyal; and the subsequent changes were when Amangkura II turned to side with VOC. These changes did not prevent the troops of Bugis-Makassar to settle in Malay and continued to fight against the Dutch in Java (Kartodirdjo, 1988; and Ricklefs ed., 2013).

Social system and social stratification consisting of *Anak Arung* (noble), *To Maradeka* (free men), and *Ata* (slave) in Bone, South Sulawesi was consistently retained. Offerings to the myth of *I Lagaligo* that was tolerated by the Islamic scholars (*ulema*) in honoring of the ancestors of the kings in South Sulawesi. The kingdoms still believed in sacral objects or *Arajang Kalompoang* which was considered to have magical powers and which was considered as the source of sovereignty. These objects included, such as wood, tubers, weapons, dagger, spear, and others.

#### ADAPTATION AND SYNCRETISM

Islamic influence in South Sulawesi was not just from the Persian *sufism* (Islamic

mysticism). Just as it happened in Aceh, after the reign of Iskandar Tsani, *sufism* of Hamzah Fansuri was declared heretical. After accepting the belief in Islamic *sufism* in South Sulawesi as well as elsewhere in the archipelago developed the view that the king is, thus, believed to be a perfect human, so he is regarded as the shadow of God on earth (Suwirta, 2002). The king is even as a representative of God to lead religion, so it seems to exceed the authority of the Prophet Muhammad SAW (*Salallahu 'Alaihi Wassalam* or peace be upon him).

Many kings in South Sulawesi practiced polygamous marriages, and even Sultan Allaudin of Gowa had 18 wives. Enci Amin adored Sultan Hasanuddin as perfect man (*insan al-kamil*); as envisaged by Hamzah Fansuri of Aceh, the man who is in *sufism's* point of view is a man who has done the level of nature worship essence. Though of Hamzah Fansuri's *sufism* was prohibited in Aceh during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Tsani (Jhons, 1989:101).

In 1640, Arumpone La Madaremeng of Bone, the successor of La Tenripalle in 1630, wanted to implement strictly Islamic tenet. He prohibited to keep and to employ the slaves in the country. He ordered to release the slaves and if they were employed, they had to be given salaries. But, the people refused and resisted. His mother, namely Datu Pattiro Tenrisoloreng, only approved the type of Islam practiced in the palace of Gowa and Tallo, i.e. the *sufism* or Islamic mysticism. Arumpone La Madaremeng eventually spread his teaching to Wajo, Soppeng, Massepe, Sawitto, and Bacukiki by military expansion.

Anyhow, Gowa was worried about the progress of Bone authority. Finally in 1643, Gowa that was helped by Soppeng and Wajo attacked Bone. Arumpone La Madaremeng and his brother, La Tenriaji Tosennima, were pushed by the battle to Pasempe and eventually fled to Luwu. By embracing *sufism*, Islam in South Sulawesi was aware of the need to adjust the level of understanding of the Islamic doctrine with the local community (Jhons, 1989; and Suwirta, 2002).

Islam in South Sulawesi continued to evolve according to its own characteristics after Gowa



was defeated by the alliance led by the VOC (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* or Dutch East-India Company) and Bone. Gowa was forced to sign the Bungaya Agreement in 1666 and updated in 1669. This defeat resulted in Muslim communities lost their political leadership. The kingdoms in South Sulawesi developed Islamic customs and beliefs. The local myths belief grew flourish, especially *I Lagaligo* mythology; therefore, the rumour that *Sawerigading* wandered to Arab countries to match his supernatural power and made an agreement with the Prophet Muhammad (Sinrang, 1980).

The pre-Islamic officials, in the form of traditional belief based on *I Lagaligo* mythology, revived. *Bissu* (monk of Buddha) was found in Bone, Soppeng, Wajo, and Barru. The role of *Bissu* could be seen at the inauguration of the king, the marital and dead ceremony of the nobles, because it was believed that such ceremony would be able to connect the king with gods. Marriage was done for political purposes, instead of undertaking religious law. Arung Pallaka's nephew, La Patau, married the daughter of all the kings of Bugis and Makassar. The objective was to unite the entire South Sulawesi in fraternal relations. *Sawerigading*, *I Lagaligo*, and other figures synchronized with the Angels, who can go into the world of upper and lower (interview with Ridwan Zaidi, 9/10/2007).

Kajang community of Bulukumba, at the southern tip of South Sulawesi peninsula, also accepted Islam. However, they developed the concept of belief that is the highest levels or named as *Pasang ri Kajang* (depth of conviction that is seen as the absolute truth or mysticism). Kajang tribe in Bulukumba has Islamic belief called *Patuntung*, which is believed that the holy Al-Qur'an was originally derived in Tombolo, Kajang, Bulukumba regency. The book consists of 40 chapters, 30 of them were taken to the Arab country, and the 10 chapters remained in Kajang. The entirely chapters were compiled to make *Pasang ri Kajang* that is used as a holy book of *Tana Towa* community. The book of *Pasang ri Kajang* contains teachings about human inter-relationships with the natural environment and God (Katu, 2005).

Kajang (*Amma Towa* with his *Adat Limaya*) sent their representative, *Janggo Tuwa*, to *Datu Luwu* to study from *Datu Pattimang*. He got knowledge of creed sentence, namely *Kalong Todong*, *Doangang Nikka*, and the *Sunnah*. They also sent the *Janggo Tu Jarra* to *Tosora Wajo*. He got knowledge about the pillars of Islam and a number of traditional parties, like *Akkattere*, *Annompollo*, and others. They also sent a messenger *Daeng Malippa* to *Guru Lompoo* at Bontoala to learn Islamic services, such as prayer, circumcision, fasting, handling the dead, and a number of *shari'a* (Islamic law). But, *Amma Towa* only accepted marital matters, circumcision, and care of the dead. *Daeng Malliya* only allowed to enter the ground (Katu, 2005).

## CONCLUSION

Malay people played a very strategic role in guarding civilization, especially the mission of Islam in South Sulawesi. Obviously, Islam came to South Sulawesi just in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century and in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. On the other hand, Islam has evolved in the mid-seventh century by global influence. The spread of Islam, during over nine centuries, inspires us to understand Islam in the context of the archipelago and even the world. Why Islam was just received in Gowa and Tallo in South Sulawesi, in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, had been certainly due to the achievements of the Muslims, as Mamluk dynasty in Egypt, the reality of the Mongols as conqueror of Baghdad who eventually accepted Islam as their religion, the unbeatable achievement of Timur Leng, and admiration on Zheng Ho's fleet (Yuanzhi, 2001). In addition, it is unforgettable that with the fall of Majapahit kingdom by Demak's attacks in Java, it was being an evidence that the truth of Islam was over the Hinduism.

However, the process of Islamization in South Sulawesi, as well as in other areas in Indonesia, was, in fact, not supported by an integrated preaching organization, which integrated with politics. On the other hand, the political interests fused with Islam; and consequently, there were syncretism with local beliefs. This syncretism occurred since Islamic religion was not socialized effectively,

because of Arabic language's barrier and the shortage of *ulemas* (Islamic scholars). Islam was further developed by local innovations which enabled the *sufic* faith or Islamic mysticism.

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