
KING OF GOWA XIV THROUGH ISLAMIZATION IN BONE DURING 17TH CENTURY

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Abstract: Kingdom of Gowa – built approximately in 14th century, as well as officially to be an Islamic Kingdom on November, 09 1607 – Islamized many kingdoms in Sulawesi, Kalimantan, and Nusa Tenggara Islands. It had great military, especially in Sultan Hasanuddin era. This empire was able some times to conquer VOC offense. Unfortunately, Gowa fell by divide et impere, a strategy of VOC collaborated with Arung Palakka, king of Bone. Eventually, Sultan Hasanuddin signed a letter of agreement called Bongayya agreement. It said Sultan Hasanuddin must give Gowa up to VOC. Then, since signing the agreement in Batavia on 18th November 1667, the empire of Gowa officially fell to VOC. Indeed, that was the last of triumph of the greatest and strongest kingdom ever in Sulawesi called Gowa.

INTRODUCTION

Islamization is the most important process in Indonesian history. There are a number of paradigms to be a reference talking about history, chronology, and ways how Indonesian people started to convert to Islam. Based on many scholar arguments of that, the most relevant argument for this research comes from Arnold . He claims that Islam was introduced by muballighs or Islamic converter to Indonesia since 7th century. Afterwards, Islam spread continuously in this region. In sixteenth to seventeenth century, most islands, in nowadays called Indonesian region, officially converted to Islam. In that era, spread of Islam in each area underwent different time process.

This time difference of each kingdom in nusantara officially to islamize was caused by difference of both social-culture and politics point of their situation. For example, welcoming Islam in South-Sulawesi was later than in any other east-Indonesian kingdoms. Historical facts prove that Ternate welcomed Islam as official religion earlier than other Indonesian eastern kingdoms (fiveteenth century). Buton as a kingdom, furthermore, converted to Islam in 1542. Then in South-Sulawesi welcoming Islam as an official religion of kingdom especially Gowa was in 1605. It is caused that Gowa was well known as one of great empire in nusantara in the end of sixteenth to beginning seventeenth century. In that glory time Muslim traders from many kingdoms and places in nusantara visit to South-Sulawesi and active to spread Islam thought. Existence of Muslim traders in that era, according to Mattulada, has eased spread of Islam continuously.

After Islam-spreading period by muslim merchants, islamization in South-Sulawesi was enlarged by three preachers from Koto Tengah Minangkabau well known as Datu Tallua (Macassarese), or Datu Tallue (Buginese). They are Abdul Makmur Khatib Tunggal claimed Dato' ri Bandang, Sulaiman Khatib Sulung claimed Dato' Patimang, and Khatib Bungsu claimed Dato' Itiro. Those are considered as messengers and preachers of Islam to South-Sulawesi.

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In discussing about the beginning of Islam in kingdom of Bone, it essentially isn't far different from history of introducing Islam in many other regions in Nusantara of which it generally was started from role of merchants. They had built Muslim community, especially in coast areas. Process of developing Muslim communities then had moved to be a great Islamic empire which needed very long time, around five to six century.

If its reference into history of Bugis-Makassar clan, those who were well known as a experienced sailors since ancient time, however probably had made relation with Muslim merchants. Even in this beginning era, there was any assimilation of culture each other since kingdom of Malaka had been central of international trading (thirteenth century). This point is strengthened by narrative of Bugis-Makassar sailors who did expedition to Burma, Thailand, Saigon of Cambodia, Macao of China and many others.

THEORITIAL STUDIES

A. Role of Kingdom of Gowa in Islamization process of Kingdom of Bone

In the triumph of I Manga'rangi, Islam has officially been claimed as kingdom's religion, then this twin Makassar kingdom of Gowa-Tallo became central of Islam spreading, into all kingdoms in South Sulawesi. Gowa ever made some agreement with other kingdoms including Bugis kingdoms. It said whoever finds better way, he would tell (about the way) to other kings.

Bugis kingdoms such as Bone, Soppeng, Wajo, and Sidenreng hard refused invitation of Gowa. They considered that is just deception of Gowa to spy any strategy of kings Bugis then conquer them, considering expansive politic of Gowa and continuous war between Bugis kingdoms and Gowa.

King Tallo 5 I Mallingkang Daeng Manyonri well known Sultan Awwalul Islam, besides as a king of Tallo, he too handled a position as Tumabicara Butta (Mangkubumi) of Gowa. When promoted as a king of Gowa, Im Mangarangi Daeng Manra'bia then is named Sultan Alauddin after converting to Islam in 7 years old. Based on Adat if there is a king who doesn't fulfill requirement to lead Gowa, then Tumabbicara Butta can handle its top position. At the time I Malingka Daeng Nyonri, uncle of Sultan Alauddin, well known as Karaeng Matoaya is a Tumabicara Buttaya. Islam – through Dakwah done by king Gowa accompanied with Karaeng Matoaya – is well accepted by little kingdoms in South Sulawesi, such as Tanete, Bantaeng, Tiro (bulukumba), Gantarang (Selayar) and some other kingdoms. Acceptation of Islam can

be done in peace.

Different from some others, Bugis kingdoms such as Sidenreng, Soppeng, Wajo, and Bone accepted Islam by pressure or war well known *musu'asselengeng* (war to Islamize). As told above Bugis kingdoms because of suspecting as deception to spy them hard refused so that it caused war between Gowa and alliance of Bugis kingdoms. Bugis alliance got stronger after making some agreement called *LamunpatuE ri Timurung* (Planting stone in Timurung) as attempting to push the army of Gowa representation of Makassar.

In the next development, Bone enlarged his region by conquering some other little kingdoms around Bone. The little kingdoms in a willing stated to join; some others have to be conquered first. They were called *Palili*, region conquered in the war time. To strengthen and enlarge region of To Manurunge triumph, central ruler send their prince and princess to little kingdoms. Generally, they were married to local patriarch. It makes lower kingdoms have strong relation with central Empire.

The first political diplomacy between Gowa and Bone is in the middle of sixteenth century written within agreement called *Ulukanaya ri Tamalate* or *Sitetongengna Su'danga La teariduni*. In *Lontara Sukku na Wajo*, Process of agreement, as written, happened if King Gowa 9 Daeng Matanre Kareng Mangnguntungi Tuma Pa'risi Kallonna (1510-1546) and King Bone 6 La Ulio Bote'e (1543-1558) neighbored each other.

Statement of *Ulukanaya ri Tamalate* is a bilateral diplomacy in military and security between both of Empires. One of dictum is following below:

If there is disaster coming to Bone, Gowa will sail the ocean to help and if there is disaster coming Gowa, Bone will soon pass through mountain to help. To give any good spirit each other, It is not corrected Bone's army and Gowa to face in war. Being respect the right each other. Agreement will be dealt by both of kingdom till their grandchildren. Whoever does not obey this aagreement, he will get curse and ruin for his kingdom.

Ulukanaya ri Tamalate told above did not longer stand. It can be seen in chronic of Gowa which told that in the King of Gowa 10 era, I Manriwagau Daeng Bonto Karaeng Lakiung, called *Tunipallangga Ulaweng* (1546-1565) together with his advisor, *Nappakata'tana Daeng Padulung* (King of Tallo), decided expansion politic or to enlarge region by conquering neighbor kingdoms. Related to that, he built some fortresses by changing fort *Somba Opu* as main fort. Other fortresses strengthened by roundi fence are *Barombong* fort and *Anak Gowa* fort. Expansive politic indeed well worked if he can conquer inlands and water of Bone. This reesistant kingdom was considered as a rival to conquer. Hence, He returned to destroy Bone which is ruled by King 7 of Bone, *La Tenrirawe Bongkae Matinroe ri Gucina*.

After *Tunipalangga* died, I Taji Barani Daeng Marompa Karaeng "Tunibatta" (1565) then changed him to be a king as King of Gowa 11. Just 23 days after king ceremony, Taji Barani leaded expansion to Bone and continued war against. Then in the fight, Taji Barani was killed in beheaded, that is reason why he is named "tunibatta" (man cut off his head). That happened approximately in 1565. Through permission of King of Bone 7, *La Tenrirawe* and his man *Kajao La Liddong* as a main advisor of kingdom, *Arung Tekko* with *Arung Billa*, and *Arung Lamoncong* with *Arung Sanrego* (noblemen of Bone) returned the body of King of Gowa to Gowa.

Kajao La Liddong is kingdom's advisor who suggests returning body of *Tunibatta*. This probably is caused by his motivation to end the war between Gowa and Bone. Actually after

funeral ceremony in Gowa, then Gowa asked to continue negotiation frontier between both of kingdoms. Caleppa village is still Bone's region. Both between King Bone La Tenritawe Bongkange with his man Kajao La Liddong and Gowa side, advisor I mappakatana Daeng Padulung "Tumenanga ri Makkoyang." In that negotiation Kajao La Liddong used diplomacy strategy to deliver demand, such as asking glory, i.e Gowa must give lands around Walanae River in east and Ulaweng in north. Tangka River in which is located between Bone and Sinjai became frontier between Gowa and Bone. Region Gowa covered north and south land of Bone. In order that Cenrana can be included to Bone, because historically it had been robbed by King Bone VI, La Tenri Sukki Mapajunge, Kajao La Liddong asked glorious demand from King of Luwu called King Dewa who had long time occupied Cenrana After Caleppa agreement was finished, Advisor of Gowa I Mappakatana Daeng Padulung with I Manggorai Daeng Mammata Karaeng Bontolangkasa (son of Karaeng Tunibatta) to Gowa.

Declaration of this alliance probably happened because the king, Karaeng Tunijallo knew well the Bone kingdom. He ever lived for some years in Bone's palace. Peace situation of both kingdoms silently tried to plant his power to little Bugis kingdoms Agreement. Letter of alliance between Bone Gowa states:

Enemy of one between Gowa and Bone is enemy of two kingdoms. People of Gowa who come to Bone are served and serve themselves like their own home. And people of Bone who come to Gowa too are served and works like their own home.

That is the point of alliance between Gowa and Bone for the second time. As agreement Ulukanaya ri Tamalate, position of two kingdom is equal, which is symbolized within "sitettongenna su'danga lateariduni" (upholding together of Su'dana, noble sword of Bone, when agreement states). The alliance happened in 1565, and resulted peace in two side at least approximately one decade.

B. Rejection from King of Bone About Islamization.

For his attempting to spread Islam, king of Gowa 14, Sultan Alauddin, sent his man to king of Bone to invite him and accept Islam. The essential point which Sultan Alauddin referred is agreement of previous kings between King of Gowa 9 Karaeng Manguntungi Tumapa'risi Kalonna (1512-1446) and King of Bone 6, La Uliyo Bote'e (1517-1542). Agreement is well known "Sitettonganna Sudanga Lateya Riduni." This letter is same with what is written in Lontarak, including which stated "Nigi-nigi lolongan deceng mita tajang iyana mappaita". It means whoever finds goodness, sees truth he must tell to others.

Agreement to state by King of Gowa 14, Sultan Alauddin to King of Bone to spread Islam to lands of Bone actually was not well accepted. Bone considered that religion to tell by Gowa was not pure about uluada between Bone and Gowa in the past time. The refusal and hard resistance from Bugis kings actually are considered normal because they see the increase and greatness of Gowa. Besides not understanding about Islam itself, he worried and thought it would disturb rule of adat. The worries was shown by refusing to join and making it sure that Gowa could not force his decision, considering the power of three Bugis-Kingdoms alliance. As one of the greatest kingdoms in South Sulawesi, the rejection does not only means threat in developing Gowa later.

By the refusal, then Kingdom of Gowa mobilized amount war expedition to force alliance Tellumpocoe and some other kingdom in South Sulawesi to accept Islam. As written in Lontara Tallo, expedition of war lands of Tellumpocoe was leaded by King Tallo at once

holding as Tumailalang or Advisor of Gowa, I Malingkaan Daeng Manyonri' Karaeng Katangka, Karaeng Matoaya Tumenanga ri Agamana well known as Sultan Abdullah Awallul Islam.

Information from Lontara Tallo above proves that war expedition to lands of Tellumpocoe leaded king of Tallo, Sultan Abdullah Awallul Islam after king of Gowa tempts to spread Islam however he was denied by Bugis kingdoms, especially Bone itself. The refusal is considered to blame Gowa, and then it means war. War against Bone is done for three days. It made arms of Gowa in a mess. Bugis kingdom wins.

They have retreated with their arms, sailing back to Makassar. Defeat of Gowa in the war however doesn't make their moral decrease. Three months later King of Gowa sends his arms to destroy Bone for the second time to Bugis kingdoms. Even though this wave too caused defeat in Gowa side, it does not make Gowa retreat. It is proved by ambition of Gowa to spread Islam of which Samuel Denis claims in his letter in 1612 that King of Gowa by force has well conquered people of Bugis. Nowadays they are Moor (Muslim). Soppeng as one of Tellumpocoe alliance after war in Tanete-Soppeng had loss from arms of Gowa in 1609. In Lontara Bilang of Kings of Gowa and Tallo, it tells that "Namantama Islam Tu Soppeng, Bundu ri Pakenya." (meant: People of Soppeng converts to Islam after war in Pakenya).

Approximately a year later, King of Gowa and Datu Soppeng (1601-1620), send their man to talk to Arung Matowa Wajo La Sangkuru Patau to ask to join Islam in peace, but he denied it. Therefore war then was unavoidable. Alliance army both Gowa and Rappang destroy Wajo, Calekkodan Tatinco. Nonetheless they give in. Then Ajattappareng arms destroy and surround Tempe, Sengkang, and Tampangen, so in nomuch time Wajo gives in, then Arung Matowa just send peace message to King of Gowa, Sultan Alauddin by sending Pilla, Patola, and Cakkuridi (Bate Lomo) to talk about ceasefire.

Single day after declaring truce Arung Matow Wajo back to send La Mappepulu To Appamale and To Ali to talk to Karaeng Barombong in order to come to Wajo. Arung Matowa Wajo is ready to convert to Islam. Then Karaeng Gowa visits to Tosara. In Tosara Arung Matowa Wajo, La Sangkuru Patau converts to Islam, by requirement "Tennareddumui wasseku, tennatimpa' salewoku, tennasese balaoritampukku." (meant: never robbing my kingdom, never take my people property, and mine too).

According to Lontara, in Bugis, a year after defeat of Wajo in Islamic Wars against Gowa, KaraengE Tumena Rigaman destroys Bone. This attack provokes Luwu, Wajo, and Soppeng. In this chance, actually, Bone's arms are not able to defend three kingdoms under a General KaraengE Tumega Ri Gamana. Kingdom of Bone, as other Bugis kingdoms, gives in after fighting in a month.

Gowa's conquering War to Bone through Islamization motive called in Bugis as "Musu Selleng or Islamic Wars better meant as expansion or enlarging economy and political base, especially it relates to advantage of Gowa as maritime empire which needed other kingdoms to explore lands with material commodity source. Therefore it can be well known that motivation to conquer Bone has double advantage in both political statement, and symbolic statement about accepting Islam. In Hikayat Tallo it is found some note which Gowa in effort to spread Islam doesn't so much force. It is recorded in Lontarak which tells attitude of Advisor of Gowa, Karaeng Matoaya, as told below:

When he conquered Buginese, he did not allow army to rob property of people, even not allow take spoils from conquered lands, and not ask compensation nor take tribute as

symbol of recognition, because he doesn't want to see people suffer because of tribute cost. He ever said to Tumenanga ri Bonto Biraeng (son of Matoaya, Pattingaloang) that when he won from alliance Tellumpeocoe (Bone-Wajo-Soppeng), instead of taking their property, their leaves even he didn't pick; he shared any clothes and property to conquered people.

Related to accupation of Gowa in the name of particular religion, it can be seen in term "ampasombai tu Soppenga sipalili, ambetai Bone, tunabetayya napantamai Isilang, tumannyombaya napantamai Isilang ..." J Noordoy claims there any force to spread Islam by Gowa. It is a perception probably to exist from Islamization community itself. From its relation, he determines "official Islamization in political field and military has been totally complete if kings and their people say Syahadat" Mobilization of army by Gowa to conquer Bugis kingdoms alliance called Tellumpeccoe (three summits) is recorded in Lontara Bugis as Musu' Selleng. It is translated by Chrisian Pelras as Islamic Wars which is a general phrase to mark chronology of islamization in South-Sulawesi.

After Bone got occupied in 1611, then all land in South-Sulawesi, automatically, has accepted Islam, except Tana Toraja. Therefore for the first time Gowa can totally conquer Bugis kingdoms, particularly Bone which is mortal enemy in the past time. Political consideration is well reason why it happened. Gowa has well created its political supreme in South-Sulawesi even though Gowa has to spend much time from his the great part in sixteenth century to expand without getting perfect victory.

That is all about dispute of Gowa against Bugis kingdoms for four years, which in Lontara Bugis is said "Musu' Selleng" meant Islamization war.

CONCLUSION

Spread of Islam moves through good invitation as wanted by King Gowa 14, Sultan Alauddin. This is well accepted too in some kingdom such as Sawitto, Balanipa in Mandar, Bantaeng, and Selayar. Process of Islamization here actually moves in peace way. It is different from spreading Islam in Bugis Kindoms, especially Bone, Wajo and Soppeng. Their kings denied joining in Islam, so that Gowa declared war to them in four waves. The first wave happened in 1608 but Gowa was lost by Bugis alliance called Tellu Pocoe. In the years later, Bugis kingdoms were conquered one by one by following Soppeng (1609), Wajo (1610), and Bone (1611).

Process of Islamization in South-Sulawesi between Gowa-Tallo and Bone, therefore, is different. Process of spreading islam in Gowa-Tallo moves by peace way. Otherwise, strategy to islimize Bone moves in war way.

Therefore, Islam spreads in Bone Kingdom after being conquered. Bone occupying Bone together with Sopeng and Wajo joint in trio alliance called Tellupocoe. The first turning-point of glory of Bone because the side of spreading Islam is Gowa, which had historical trauma and negative sense to expand to Bugis kingdom "Bone." For Bone, if they accepted Islam from Gowa, it would mean Bone directly admitted authority of Gowa. It was problem not to accept in accordance with long narrative about South-Sulawesi's kingdom.

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