

ISLAMIZATION PROCESS OF THE TELLUMPOCCOE ALLIANCE: THE HISTORY OF BONE, SOPPENG AND WAJO

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Abstract

This research was conducted on the basis of the lack of studies that specifically reveal the Islamization of the Tellumpoccoe alliance based on the history available in the field. It aimed to uncover the Islamization of three major regions, Bone, Soppeng, and Wajo. It employed a historical research method that involved collecting historical sources, drawing external and internal criticism of historical sources, making interpretation, and applying historiography/or historical writing. The results demonstrated that the initial arrival of Islam in South Sulawesi was received openly by two major kingdoms, Luwu in 1602 and Gowa in 1605. Following the conversion of the Kingdom of Gowa, attempts were made to peacefully spread the religion, facilitated by Ulu agreement between the king of Bugis and that of Makassar. However, these efforts found rejection due to the suspicion of political motives to control other kingdoms. In response, kingdom of Gowa established Telumpoccoe

alliance involving three kingdoms (Bone, Soppeng, and Wajo) to stem the invasion as well as the Islamization process. However, such great power ultimately led to downfall, unable to maintain its existence. In the end, each of the kingdom that was a part of the alliance embraced Islam; Soppeng converted in 1609, Wajo in 1610, and Bone in 1611.

Penelitian ini dilakukan dengan dasar masih kurangnya penelitian yang mengungkapkan secara spesifik terkait proses islamisasi aliansi Tellumpoccoe berdasarkan fakta-fakta historis yang tersedia di lapangan. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap proses islamisasi tiga daerah besar yang meliputi Bone, Soppeng dan Wajo. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode penelitian historis yang meliputi heuristik/pengumpulan sumber sejarah, kritik eksternal maupun internal terhadap sumber sejarah, interpretasi dan historiografi/atau penulisan sejarah. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa awal kedatangan Islam di Sulawesi Selatan diterima dengan terbuka oleh dua kerajaan besar yaitu Luwu pada tahun 1602 dan Gowa pada tahun 1605. Setelah kerajaan Gowa memeluk Islam, adanya perjanjian Ulu Ada antara raja-raja Bugis-Makassar menyebabkan Kerajaan Gowa mencoba menyiarkan agama Islam secara damai, akan tetapi ditolak karena adanya kecurigaan adanya motif politik untuk menguasai kerajaan lainnya. Sebagai respons terhadap hal tersebut, maka didirikanlah persekutuan Tellumpoccoe oleh tiga kerajaan yaitu Bone, Soppeng dan Wajo guna membendung usaha invasi sekaligus proses islamisasi yang dilakukan oleh Kerajaan Gowa. Akan tetapi, kekuatan begitu besar yang dimiliki oleh Kerajaan Gowa menyebabkan kegagalan aliansi ini untuk mempertahankan eksistensinya. Pada akhirnya masing-masing kerajaan yang tergabung dalam aliansi tersebut memeluk Islam, yaitu Soppeng pada tahun 1609, Wajo tahun 1610, dan Bone pada tahun 1611.

Keywords: *Heuristic criticism; historical analysis; Islamization; Tellumpoccoe alliance*

Introduction

This research was conducted to reveal various historical phenomena during the Islamization of kingdoms, members of the Tellumpoccoe alliance in South Sulawesi. The focus of the research revolved around the intersection between Islamic culture and local wisdom in South Sulawesi. It

mainly explored the role of Islamic culture and history within the regions of Bone, Soppeng, and Wajo to understand how Islam is firmly rooted in the regions to date.

Around the 7th and 8th centuries, Muslim traders passed by the Malacca Strait on their voyages to countries in East Asia and Southeast Asia. Based on Chinese news during the Tang Dynasty, in that century, there were already Muslim communities in Kanfu (Canton) and Sumatra (Pusponegoro & Notosusanto, 2008, p. 1). The development of international shipping between the countries of West and East Asia was due to the glory of the Muslim Ummah during the Umayyad period (Hamka, 2006, pp. 221–222), in the West and the Tang Dynasty in East Asia, and the Sriwijaya Kingdom in Southeast Asia.

Islam in Indonesia experienced rapid development for its accessibility and alignment with human nature. This was evidenced by the existence of the first Islamic empire that grew and developed in the archipelago in the 13th century. However, several sources regarding the arrival of Islam in Indonesia are diverse. Some argue that Islam came into the archipelago from the early 13th century to the 15th century (Baiti & Razzaq, 2014) and developed in the following century. At the end of the 15th century, it brought a major influence on the spread of Islam in the archipelago in general and South Sulawesi in particular, namely Pasai Ocean Kingdom.

In the process of spreading religion, scholars need to understand not only religion, *fiqh*, and *hadith* but also philosophy. With this knowledge, one can engage in effective interaction with people who have different schools of thought, for the most appropriate attitude in presenting, defending, or rejecting an argument (Thoha, 1986, p. 588). This was, then, one of the methods applied in spreading Islam across the archipelago, Sulawesi in particular.

The arrival of Islam in South Sulawesi was late compared to that of other regions in the archipelago, such as Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan, and Maluku (Sewang, 2005, p. 80) due to the fact that the dominant influence of the Kingdom of Gowa was only in the field of trade in the 16th and 17th centuries. Officially, the Kingdom of Gowa-Tallo embraced Islam in 1603 AD, as stated in Lontarak' Bilang (diary of the Kingdom of Gowa-Tallo): *Hera 1603 Hijria' Sanna' 1015, 22 Satember', 9 Jumadele' awala' malam juma' Namantama Islam Karaenga rua Sisari'battang* (Lontarak Bilang, n.d.). In 1603

AD 1015 Hijriah, 22 September, 9 Jumadil Awal, Friday night, the two king brothers embraced Islam.

According to the Lontarak, Gowa-Tallo embraced Islam and accepted it officially in the kingdom in the early 17th century (Mappangara, 2004, p. 110). Apart from that, Islam existed in South Sulawesi before the 17th century because previously there were Muslim settlements in the Jazirah Kingdom of Gowa-Tallo. Even so, Islam developed in South Sulawesi due to three scholars from Sumatra. Their arrival was a representation of Sultan Muda Alauddin Riyat Syah (1589-1604), namely (1) Eldest Khatib Datuk Sulaiman; (2) Single Preacher Abdul Makmur; (3) Youngest Khatib Abdul Jawad. The Eldest Khatib and Single Khatib were known as fiqh experts while the Youngest Khatib was a Sufi (Agussalim, 2016, p. 13). These three scholars were known as Datu Tallua (scholars who spread Islam in South Sulawesi). Islamic religious celebrations were carried out by Datuk Patimang in the Kingdom of Luwu, Khatib Tunggal Abdul Makmur in Bulukumba, and Datuk Sulaiman in Gowa-Tallo. These three Datu used different methods according to the conditions of the people in the area. After Islam became the official religion in the kingdoms of Luwu and Gowa, it began to develop in South Sulawesi.

After the Kingdom of Gowa-Tallo converted to Islam, he took the initiative to convey the truth to the Kingdoms of Soppeng, Wajo, and Bone which were the Bugis Kingdoms. However, he was rejected by the three Bugis Kingdoms because it was considered one of the political motives by the Gowa-Tallo Kingdom to control the Bugis Kingdom (Kila et al., 2018, p. 6). This led the Kingdom of Gowa-Tallo to spread Islam by fighting against the Kingdom of Tellumpocoe (Soppeng, Wajo, and Bone). There have been several studies related to Islamization in South Sulawesi, but the study focuses on the politics of Islamization, as written by Siswadi (2016) entitled "The Politics of the Islamization of the Kingdom of Gowa-Tallo against the Three Kingdoms of Tellumpocoe (Bone, Soppeng, Wajo) in the XVII Century". Rahman et al (2021) studied about Islamization in North Sulawesi in XIX Century with emphasis on political and trade networks. In addition, there is also a study on the Islamization of an alliance written by Yani (2020) entitled Islamization in Ajatappareng XVI-XVII Century. The study is very different because the process of Islamization takes place peacefully. Therefore, this research focuses on the Islamization process of the Tellumpocoe alliance.

Method

This study used historical research consisting of heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography (Helius, 2007). The initial step was heuristics or collecting sources. The sources collected in this study were in the form of Lontara writings and various references related to the process of Islamization in South Sulawesi. The next step is to conduct criticism to test the validity of the various historical sources that have been obtained. Furthermore, historical and legal sources were then interpreted using another assistive science approach. In the interpretation process, to answer the research questions related to the process of Islamization of the Tellum Poccoe Alliance, this study employed a cultural science approach, which considered culture to contain symbolic meaning or cultural semiotics. Geertz (in Segal, 2003) defined religion as a system of symbols which strengthens the heart and increases motivation, which penetrates human beings and lasts long so that it becomes a reality. The final stage was historiography or historical writing in the form of scientific articles.

Finding and Discussion

Early Islamization in South Sulawesi

In general, the kingdoms in South Sulawesi originated from the descent of a person from the sky who was the messenger of the Gods or God's representative in the world, or commonly known as Tomanurung. At that time, in South Sulawesi Peninsula, people lived by the laws of nature, better known as Sianre Bale Taue.

South Sulawesi was governed by various Bugis-Makassar Kingdoms, but three prominent kingdoms, Kingdom of Luwu, the Kingdom of Gowa-Tallo, and the Kingdom of Bone held enormous power during that period. Besides, it was also well-known for the center of trading or shipping. Therefore, it appeared as one of the areas that developed in the 17th century and so on until the split of the royal alliances in South Sulawesi. It occurred because the location of South Sulawesi at that time was as a trade route. The physical form and coastline of South Sulawesi in the 16th century were not much different from that today. The distinguishing feature is the Saddang River, which previously emptied into the Makassar Strait between Sawitto and Suppa. Sidenreng and Tempe lakes are also still united in a large lake, many boats pass by on the large lake, and the source of the economy is agriculture (Pelras, 2006, p. 141). The export of various agricultural products

plays an important role in the prosperity of the newly developed kingdoms in South Sulawesi.

In the 16th century, Bugis culture was open to external influences or foreigners. Around 1550, the King of Gowa welcomed Muslim traders with preferential treatment. In 1575, Minangkabau Islamic poet, Abdul Makmur who had received Islamic teachings in Aceh arrived in Makassar for the first time to spread Islam. However, finding the fact that people ate pork and drank palm wine, Abdul Makmur moved to Kutai (Pelras, 2006, p. 158). Once upon a time, the King of Gowa sent envoys to Aceh to ask for *ulema* (scholars). In another version, the Malay Muslim community asked Sultan Muda Alauddin Riayat Syah to be sent by a cleric to spread Islam.

Around the beginning of the 7th century, three scholars were sent by Sultan Muda Alauddin Riayat Syah (1589-1604) to South Sulawesi. They were welcomed with joy, especially by the Malay Muslim merchants who had been waiting for their arrival for a long time. Based on the information, Dato Tallua (three clerics) chose to preach Islam through political means (Agussalim, 2016, pp. 31-32), so the first step was to find the most influential king around Sulawesi. South to be invited to embrace Islam so that it can help spread Islam further to other kingdoms in South Sulawesi. According to Nasikin et al (2023, p. 64), the authority of the king caused people to be highly obedient, and he was used as an example and role model by the community, the main supporter of the spread of Islam through political channels.

In 1602-1603, Islam officially entered the Kingdom of Luwu (Hamka, 2006, p. 634), and was considered a guideline in the kingdom, which was practiced through peaceful channels and gradually in the royal system (Mappangara, 2004, p. 119). In 1605, the Kingdom of Gowa-Tallo officially converted to Islam and made it the official religion of the kingdom and spread Islam to other Islamic kingdoms in two ways, by peace and by force. As explained, Gowa and Tallo accepted Islam as the official religion of the kingdom, in the Ulu Ada agreement between the Bugis-Makassar kings in the past. The agreement was Paseng pledge, which stated, "whoever finds a better way, he should let the others know". However, the Bugis kingdoms felt themselves to be strong, especially when they felt suspicious of the King of Gowa's intention to vehemently reject the invitation (Patunru, 1995, p. 99). Consequently, Gowa sent troops to spread Islam, which was known in Bugis history as Islamic warfare or *musu selleng*.

The term *musu'selleng* has different written forms depending on the sources. In *Lontarakk Bone*, specifically *Lontarakk Akkarungeng ri Bone*, it is written *musu'selleng*, while in *Lontarak Gowa*, *Lontarak Bilang* (diary) of the king of Gowa-Tallo, the term is found in Makassar language as “nabeta ri bunddu' kasallangng” (bone was defeated in the conversion war). Based on this basis, there is no need to explain the interpretation of the term *musu'selleng* according to Bugis and Gowa. The term *musu'selleng* originated from the invitation of the King of Gowa to take a new path of "Islam". Gowa's invitation was critically responded to by the Bugis Kingdoms, which were members of the *lamumpatue ri timurung* agreement (*tellu bocco*: Bone, Soppeng and Wajo). The rejection of the Gowa Tallo kingdom's invitation was closely related to the territorial expansion by the king through Islam as the media (Abdullah, 2016, p. 90; Pabbajah, 2021), giving rise to suspicion and rejection of the kingdoms in the Tellumpocoe alliance, and resulted in a war known as *musu'selleng*.

The spread of Islam was not easy. A lot of challenges were then faced by the King of Gowa during its spread in the 17th century because there were several large Bugis kingdoms that did not want to accept the teachings of Islam, such as Soppeng, Wajo, and Bone as well as very dangerous enemies for the Kingdom of Gowa in the century. These three great kingdoms united in an alliance known as Tellumpocoe for security, economic, and defense purposes. The Tellumpocoe Lontarak stated that:

Makkedai Arumpone/iana takdupang massiajing/Makkedai Arung Matowae/Napekkona Arumpone? Maseajing tanata tellu/Ate sia Wajo ri Luwu/naseajing si tanae ri Bone ri Goa/nakkeda Arumpone/Madeceng adammu Arung Matowa/Nae taroi sia masseajing tellu/Bone/Wajo/Soppeng/ Bone na Maseajing Goa/ Nae dekkio maelok mui Goa paoatai Wajo Taroni si wuno/Tattellui wi masseajing/Makado Arung Matowae/Nakkeda Pollipuk e ri Soppeng/Madeceng adamu Arumpone/ to Worowane tana ta he toldu Naiasa uwellu ellau anak e tana e ri Soppeng na ina tana eri Bone ri Wajo/ does he know Mappada worowane senraja raj e/(Hamid, 1992).

The Lontarak Tellumpocoe account above shows that the idea of making three Tellumpocoe alliances arose for the first time from Bone's idea. Initially, this idea was inappropriate for the ideas of Wajo and Soppeng, and both of them had different backgrounds. For the Kingdom of Wajo, the idea of an alliance was difficult to realize considering that Wajo was a territory conquered by Gowa, while on the other hand, Bone was friendly

with Gowa. However, the King of Bone emphasized that this was not an obstacle because the three kingdoms would unite to face it.

The Kingdom of Gowa considered that the entry of Soppeng and Wajo into the Tellumpocoe alliance was a betrayal because the two kingdoms were considered to be subordinate kingdoms that had rebelled against the power of the Kingdom of Gowa. In Gowa's view, the new alliance made by Bone was like "beating the war drum" against Gowa. Under these circumstances, war was unavoidable, and the grudges that had been suppressed by the peace treaty that had been agreed upon flared up again (Mappangara, 2014; Arief et al., 2021).

The King of Gowa was devastated by Wajo's involvement in the Tellumpocoe alliance. He was getting ready to launch an attack on Wajo. The King of Bone, who knew this, tried to find a way out of the conflict. Kajao Laliddong, the adviser to the King of Bone, was sent to find a way out so that the King of Gowa would not continue his desire to attack Wajo (Mappangara, 2014). The efforts made by Kajao Laliddong were not successful. The Bone envoy also conveyed to the rulers of Wajo not to be afraid in the face of Gowa's invasion. However, it did not discourage Gowa from spreading Islam in Tellumpocoe.

Sopeng Islamization

After the King of Gowa-Tallo officially converted to Islam in 1605, further steps were taken to spread Islam to other areas in two ways, by peace and war. Several king that had close relations with that of Makassar could convert to Islam in peace, such as Sawitto, Balanipa. Bantaeng and Selayar (Sewang, 2005, p. 112). In contrast, the kingdoms that were bound in the Telumpocoe alliance - Soppeng, Wajo, and Bone - were very sturdy and would not collapse unless the earth and sky were split as mentioned in the Tellumpocoe Lontarak,

Nakkeda arumpone / ia na tallumu ' mpatuang idik tellu masseajing pada woroane se ama tana ta ia tellu / Bome Wajo / Soppeng / manguru jak manguru deceng / seuwa ucung / mattulu parajo tellu teppettu / serangreng tessebelleeang / makkedawang ri saliweng temmakedawang ri laleng / namana anak eppo tenna wawa to mate / taro adanna tanae tellu masseajing / Bone Wajo Soppeng / nasabbi dewata seuwwa e / tapasengeng ngi anak eppota / iya mapellai taro adan na tana e ia tellu mas seajing makkuwa ramurramunna tana na ia tellu na ottongi e batu / ia pa namarussak taro adan na tana e ia tellu mas seajing makkuwa ramurramunna tana na ia tellu na ottongi e batue / ia pa namarussak taro adan

na tana e ia tellu Bone Wajo Soppeng marussak pi peretiwi e batara e / tasengengngi tana ta tellumpocco e (Hamid, 1992, p. 35)

It means:

Arumpone said: "That's what the three of us agreed on," our three countries are brothers and sisters by one and a half. Bone Wajo Soppeng. Together in joy and sorrow. One firstborn. One middle child. One youngest child. Twisted like a Parajo. Unbroken. Hand in hand. Going out not going inside Inherited by our children and grandchildren without being taken along to the grave. Treaty between the three fraternal countries. Bone Wajo Soppeng. Witnessed by the only God, we trust each other's children and grandchildren. Whoever violates the treaty of the three fraternal countries, country will be torn into pieces just like land crushed by stone. Will not dismiss the agreement of the three countries of Bone Wajo Soppeng unless the Earth and Heaven have collapsed. We name our country Tellumpocoe.

The Tellumpocoe Kingdom, which rejected the Makassar Kingdom's invitation for historical reasons, considered this as one of the policies of the Gowa-Tallo Kingdom to dominate the Tellumpocoe Kingdom. This refusal became the reason for Gowa to take up arms and fight the Tellumpocoe Bugis Kingdoms. Besides, there was an agreement that was mutually agreed upon between several kingdoms, which stated, "that whoever (among these kings) finds a better way, it is his duty to find that way to inform the other kings who also pledged in the agreement, "Sultan Alauddin as the XIV King of Gowa (Nur, 2007, p. 76)." This war is true as stated by J Noorduyn: It is true that Gowa sent Military expedition to the Buginese Countries to force them to embrace Islam, after they had rejected Goa's exhortation to do so voluntarily (Sewang, 2005, p. 114).

In 1607 the Kingdom of Gowa made its first attacks on the Bugis Kingdoms, such as Sawitto, Pinrang, Suppa, and Sidenreng. However, at that time, the Kingdom of Gowa received persistent resistance from the Tellumpocoe troops, so they suffered defeat in the Ajjatapparang War. There is another narrative that in 1608 an army was sent to fight against the Tellumpocoe alliance. In this war, the Kingdom of Gowa suffered defeat. Even Karaeng Matowayya who led the battle was almost killed. This war is known as Musu Asellengeng (Bugis) or Bundu Kasallangang (Makassar) (Nur, 2007, pp. 70-77). In addition, there are also opinions from historians, another version that in 1608 the Kingdom of Gowa-Tallo succeeded in

conquering Bacukiki, Suppa, Sawitto, and East Wajo (Pelras, 2006, pp. 160-161).

The defeat of the Gowa Kingdom in the war against the Tellumpocoe alliance did not mean the end of its holy struggle in spreading Islam to other Bugis Kingdoms. Three months later, the King of Gowa returned to the attack, but first, the King of Gowa conquered or sought support from small kingdoms, such as Akkotengeng, Maroangin, Padaelo, and Wajo. This attack was successful, costing the integrity of the Tellumpocoe alliance. In 1608 Rappang, Bulu Cenranae, Utting, and Maiwa sided with Gowa so that Gowa could build a fort in Rappang mentioned in Lontarak Tallo,

112,...Tunabetaya iangaseng napantamai Islang tonanyombaya napalilikangngi; napatamai Islang tunabetanya napalilikangngi; ammaradekangngi tempe sipue, Bulucenrana, Wawonio, Belokka, Lemo, Cempanga, Pattiongi, dan Pekanglabu; nabetana Bugisika ri tallu Bocco-Boccoa, tammaruppui, tammangallei sabukati, tammopalakkaira'ba gae, teami natea (Kila et al., 2018, p. 73)

It means:

112...all those who were defeated converted to Islam; those who worshiped (to him) converted to Islam; those who were defeated made his conquests; he freed parts of Tempe, Bulu Cenrana, Wawonio, Biloka, Lemo, Cempaga, Pattiongi, and Pepek Labbu; when he defeated the Bugis Kingdoms that were members of the Tellumpocoe alliance, he did not plunder or take the spoils of war, and did not take compensation.

This Lontarak mentioned several areas that had been conquered and converted to Islam, so support for Gowa was getting higher. Apart from that, Lontara also explained that not any slightest intention of the Kingdom of Gowa to make other Bugis Kingdoms subordinate, but they only wanted to convey the true path they had found.

In 1609, the Kingdom of Gowa carried out its second attack from the south, from the direction of Tanete attacking Soppeng. However, this attack was not responded with significant resistance. The Lamuru and Maroriawa people surrendered to Gowa easily. Datuk Soppeng himself converted to Islam in 1609. Seeing the course of the war that had passed, he came back with victory for Gowa. Arung Wajo immediately took peaceful steps by sending peace to the King of Gowa Sultan Alauddin (Sewang, 2005, p. 117). Arung Matoa had no objections to accepting Islam, as long as the condition was met: "not to take away my kingdom, not to take the people's goods and mine".

The defeat of the Soppeng Kingdom changed the power map in the region, with the retreat of the Soppeng Kingdom making small kingdoms in the interior of South Sulawesi voluntarily declare their stand on the side of the Gowa Kingdom (Mappangara & Abbas, 2003, p. 94). In Lontarak Bilang Gowa-Tallo, there was a possibility that the handover was not in the context of converting the 14th Soppeng King BeoE who ruled in 1601-1620 to Islam. Several other sources discuss that Soppeng Kingdom converted to Islam in 1609 (Kila et al., 2018, p. 76). Meanwhile, some argue that Datu Soppeng embraced Islam, there were already Soppeng people who knew Islam. This argument could also be true because many Soppeng people were doing inter-island trade at that time. On that trip, they must have made conversation with Muslims. Some stories also mentioned that three years before Datu Soppeng accepted Islam, a cleric named Syech Abdul Madjid came over. The origin of this scholar was unknown; he arrived in Soppeng in 1606. Based on available sources, Syech Abdul Madjid came from the Greek Arab tribe (Deng, 2011, p. 405). He saw that the Bugis people in Soppeng had not embraced Islam, so he wanted to spread Islam to them. It was not easy to validate the story due to the absence of the supporting data, up to date. If this story is true, Islam can be interpreted to have existed long before the arrival of Datu Soppeng BeoE in 1609 (Mappangara & Abbas, 2003, p. 96).

After the Soppeng Kingdom officially embraced Islam, there was a very basic change in the system of government and society in the Soppeng Kingdom. The most fundamental change was regarding Pangngadereng, which was the philosophy of social life and government of the Kingdom of Soppeng. Initially, the Pangngadereng philosophical elements consisted of four, *ade'*, *rapang*, *wicara*, and *wari*. However, after Islam was officially and thoroughly accepted in the Kingdom of Soppeng, a new element was added, namely *sara'*. We can see from the expression: *Eppa-mua paraja-I tana, iyya-mani nari panggenne'na ritu: pammulanna, Ade; ripe honey; matellunna, speak maeppa-na, wari; malimanna, Sara'* (Only the four that raised (prospered) the country, later it will be sufficient to become Five after Islam is accepted (adopted) and added, namely Sara'; that is, firstly, *Ade'*; secondly, *ripe honey*; third, *matelluna*, fourth, *speak maeppa-na*; Fifth, *wari* (Nur, 2007, p. 78).

By accepting *sara'*, the sociocultural institutions of the growing Bugis people acquire elements that are more humane. *Sara'* entered every aspect of the other Pangngadereng that had existed before. *Sara'* means to separate or segregate; separating two conflicting or clashing aspects between customary

law and habits that had grown and been rooted in society since long ago with Islamic law and or habits that must have applied to Islam. Therefore, *sara'* also functioned to guide the public to know, understand, live, and practice the teachings (shari'a) of the Islamic religion as a whole so that people who are contrary to the teachings of Islam can understand the essence of Islamic life. In addition, the mosque is a place to perform congregational prayers led by an imam (Pelras, 2006, p. 231). Usually, those who were chosen as imam were people who have more religious understanding than others.

Wajo Islamization

Wajo or previously known as the Kingdom of Boli, was a federation of three kingdoms, the La Tenritauk area named Majuleng, the La Tenripekka area called Sabbangparu, and the La Matareng area named Tekkalallak (Mattulada, 2015, p. 420). The federation was called Federation Lipuk Tellu Kajuruk-e (Farid, 2017, p. 123). Upon its development, each of these regions has the authority as the government in general. However, each region is not entitled to the private affairs of other regions. It cannot be denied that every region that cooperates with other regions must have an agreement. After the inauguration ceremony was held for La Tenribali, he was given the title Batara Wajo', and it became Batara Wajo I.

Wajo began to communicate with Gowa until the two of them collaborated. This had an influence on the development of the Wajo Kingdom even though it was subordinate to Gowa at that time. In 1582, Wajo joined the alliance formed by Bone, so that Wajo was indirectly separated from the Kingdom of Gowa, and it became the youngest brother in the alliance of the three major Bugis kingdoms, the Tellumpoccoe.

After Wajo entered this alliance, it automatically received protection from Bone and Soppeng as the older brother of the Wajo Kingdom, recalling the goals of the alliance, which are defense, security, and assistance. Therefore, when one of them was attacked by the Kingdom of Gowa or Luwu, the two other kingdoms were obliged to provide supports. However, this alliance eventually slowly and diligently the King of Gowa succeeded in making the three Bugis kingdoms convert to Islam. Even though it was suspected that they carry not only Islamic but also political purpose.

Islamization in Wajo took place a year after the defeat of the Soppeng Kingdom and the official acceptance of Islam in 1609 (Sewang, 2005, p. 117). This was inseparable from the role of the Gowa-Tallo Kingdom in

spreading Islam, not much different from the Islamization in Soppeng. The only difference was that in 1608-1609, the Kingdom of Gowa faced fierce resistance from the Kingdom of Soppeng, in contrast to Wajo who did not put up any resistance against Soppeng. In 1608, the people of Akkotengeng accepted the Kingdom of Gowa's invitation. Thus, the Akkotengeng community's rejection of Arung Matoa Wajo La Sangkuru Mulajaji's request for help in dealing with the kingdom of Gowa. Therefore, it was detrimental to the integrity of the Tellumpocoe alliance in general and the Wajo Kingdom in particular (Sewang, 2005, pp. 116-117).

In 1610, Wajo officially embraced Islam after Sultan Alauddin accepted the terms "Tennareddumui Wasseku, Tennatimpa' Salewoku, Tennasese Balaoritampuku"; Gowa did not take away my kingdom, did not take the goods belonging to my people and mine. Therefore, Arung Matowa, La Sangkuru, and some of their people embraced Islam. Arung Matowa's recognition of Wajo's power over Gowa meant that there was only one more Kingdom left in the Tellumpocco Alliance that had not yet accepted Islam. After La Sangkuru officially embraced Islam and so did most of the people of Wajo, in order to gain a deep understanding of the religion, he had just embraced and to spread it to all of the population, Arung Matoa La Sangkuru sent envoys to Gowa to ask preachers. Datuk Sulaiman was sent to teach Islam, by first learning the customs of the Wajo people from Arung Matowa Wajo, namely about the gods of sewage. So, Datuk Sulaiman answered what was explained about the gods of sewage, such a thing is true because in Islam, God Almighty is Allah SWT. Because Allah does not associate, is not born, does not give birth, is not neighbor, and none are worshiped besides Him. He is the one who gives life, and he is the one who causes death. He who reigns in the heavens and the earth, has power and controls everything, and stays away from what Allah has forbidden and does what is commanded. That was the dialogue between Arung Matowa Wajo La Sangkuru and Datuk Sulaiman. When Arung Matowa Wajo asked what was prohibited, Datuk Sulaiman replied: Aja Muapuang Rakka: don't offer offerings to anything and Aja Muammanu-manu: don't believe the sound on the ground (Nasruddin, 2014).

At that time, people believed that before starting any important work, they were required to sleep on the ground to hear *sadda* (signs). This belief was against Islam. Aja muappalabila: don't listen to shaman predictions; aja muanre muanre: don't eat pork; aja muinung pakamesse: don't drink palm

wine; aja muanre riba: do not eat riba; aja muabboto: don't play gambling; aja muappangaddi: don't commit adultery; and aja muennau: don't steal.

After Karaeng Matowaya converted to Islam, he gave the Wajo leaders proper clothes for prayer as guided by the Shari'a of Islamic religious teachings and taught the Wajo people the basics of Islamic teachings. The Islamic teachings developed in Wajo were about faith in Allah, God Almighty. Besides, they also covered the prohibitions, such as prohibition to give offerings to demons and jinns, to worship other objects, such as merit and saukang, and to do anything contrary to Islamic religious law.

After Datu Sulaiman explained what was prohibited in Islamic teachings, Arung Matowa Wajo ordered all his people who embraced Islam to carry out what Datuk Sulaiman had taught because that was good for the Wajo Kingdom. In further developments, Datuk Sulaiman who was sent to Wajo was entrusted to handle and organize Sara affairs in Wajo land. Sara officials were appointed by Datuk Sulaiman and distributed throughout the Wajo Land Kingdom (Mappangara, 2004, p. 117). Therefore, in the end, the Kingdom of Wajo was divided into three parts called limpo, each of which had a ruler and officials. The total number of officials was 39, plus one as Arung Matowa, so the total number is 40 people, which were fully regulated by Datu Sulaiman.

In addition, 20 candidates for Sara's office were appointed from Tosora, Wajo's mother country, and 40 people from two other limpo, bringing a total of 60 people. They were called mukmim whose duty was to lead Friday prayers in congregation at the mosque. They were equipped with sufficient religious knowledge. The materials studied included: (1) Laws and Regulations for representative marriages; (2) Referral laws and regulations, and Iddah; (3) Organizing the corpse, such as the way to bathe, shroud, pray, bury, and so on; (4) The law of faith, such as the law of inheritance (Mappangara, 2004, p. 117). The answer to the question, based on the previous discussion, why Wajo did not help Soppeng and Bone because Wajo at that time recognized Gowa's power, and after Islam became official in Wajo, Datuk was sent to teach Islamic law to the Wajo Kingdom so that Wajo was under the authority of Gowa Kingdom.

Bone Islamization

Unlike the northern part of Sulawesi, where the spread of Islam was motivated by increasingly intense encounters with Muslim traders, as well as

the political strengthening of the kingdoms of Makassar and Ternate (Rahman et al., 2021, p. 347), which were some of the major Islamic kingdoms in the archipelago, Islam in South Sulawesi was mostly spread through war at the beginning. One of the areas in South Sulawesi that experienced the war is the Kingdom of Bone.

The formation of the Bone Kingdom was not much different from other Bugis Kingdoms, with the story that could not be proven or commonly known as Tomanurung, which means "one who descends". The Tomanurung in Bone Kingdom is male. Tomanurung's presence was seen as the incarnation of the God Seuwwae to become the central ruler of the Kingdom of Bone. Tanah Bone was a combination of tribal community associations called Anang led by Matowa Anang (head of the clan), then Anang was formed into Wanua (country), such as Wanua Ujung Tibojong Ta, Tanete Riattang, Tanete Riawa, Pongeng, and Macege (Mappangara, 2004, p. 152). Therefore, these areas were united by Tomanurung with the royal center in Watampone, which was the center of government regulated by Tomanurung as well as the king.

Within its subsequent developments, the Kingdom of Bone grew bigger with the addition of several other kingdoms that were around power. Some kingdoms voluntarily stated that they were willing to join, and some others joined after being conquered by the Kingdom of Bone (Pangerang, 2009, p. 110). With the participation of Wanua Ujung, Pongeng, Ta'Tibojong, Tanete Riattang, Macege, and Tanete Riawang, the territory of the Kingdom of Bone grew very rapidly. Entering the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, there happened dynamics around the Kingdom, wars and intrigues between neighboring kingdoms, the peace process, the process of looking for allies to the process of Islamization.

The Kingdom of Bone was successfully led to convert to Islam in 1611 after the Kingdom of Wajo in 1610, Soppeng and Sidenreng in 1609. The Kingdom of Bone during the sixteenth century could be one of the strong, influential, and respected kingdom in the area, especially in the East. South Sulawesi expanded its territory supported by its strategic location. This was achieved during the reign of King Bone V, La Tenrisukki Mappajungnge who reigned in 1508-1535, King of Bone VI La Ulio Bote'E in 1535-1560 and King of Bone VII La Tenrirawe Bongkang'nge in 1560-1578 (Bahri, 2016). Upon further development, the Kingdom of Bone became an important kingdom in South Sulawesi because this kingdom developed

rapidly. In the 17th century, the Kingdom was a rival to the Kingdom of Gowa-Tallo and the Kingdom of Luwu. Moreover, it was united with other Bugis Kingdoms in the Telumpoccoe federation, which comprised Bone, Soppeng, and Wajo.

The Kingdom of Bone strengthened its position during the reign of the next king, La Tenrirawe Bongkangnge. At the time, a war broke out with the Kingdom of Gowa led by I Manriwagau Daeng Bonto Karaeng Lakiung Tunipallangga Ulaweng (King of Gowa X) and his brother I Tajibarani Daeng Marompa Karaeng Data Tunibatta (King of Gowa XI) (Patunru, 1995, p. 96). The war that lasted for approximately seven years ended with the "Uluadaya ri Caleppa" agreement. This agreement provided benefits for the Kingdom of Bone because the area was initially under the authority of the Kingdom of Gowa and was handed over to be under the Kingdom of Bone (Mattulada, 2015, p. 122), and the Tellumpoccoe alliance was created.

The Tellumpoccoe Fellowship was an alliance of three major Bugis kingdoms. In 1582, the Bugis Kingdoms of Wajo and Soppeng joined forces with Bone which made a joint defense agreement commonly known as Lamumpatue ri Timurung (Nonci, 2003, pp. 26–33). This alliance was formed to deal with external threats, especially from the kingdoms of Gowa and Luwu because there used to be frequent wars between the kingdom of Bone against the Kingdom of Gowa. Likewise, Gowa also often carried out attacks on the kingdoms of Wajo and Soppeng.

During Tunijallo's reign, the Tellumpoccoe alliance was seen as a considerable threat to the long-standing supremacy of the Kingdom of Gowa. This was even worse because the Wajo and Soppeng Kingdoms, which were still under the influence of the Gowa Kingdom, joined as the backbone of the Alliance. For Gowa, this alliance formed by Bone was a sign of war against the Kingdom of Gowa. Thus, war could no longer be avoided. The grudges that had been suppressed by the previous agreement now reappeared as a new era in the war between the Kingdom of Gowa and the Tellumpoccoe alliance. This proves that the power of the Kingdom of Gowa was so great at that time. In 1583, the King of Gowa made an attack on Wajo, but this attack was repulsed by Tellumpoccoe's forces (Mattulada, 2015, p. 122). Likewise, in 1590 Gowa attacked again but was still repulsed and Tunijallo himself was killed by the fury of one of his followers. The motive for the killing was not known for certain. Starting from 1607, the Kingdom of Gowa made its first attack on the Tellumpoccoe alliance but met with persistent

resistance from the Tellumpoccoe troops and succeeded in driving back the Gowa Kingdom troops. In 1609, he made his second attack on the Kingdom of Soppeng and that same year Soppeng officially converted to Islam. A year later, Wajo also accepted Islam without strong resistance, as was done by Soppeng. As for Bone, it was the last kingdom that was Islamized by the kingdom of Gowa in the Tellumpoccoe alliance. When the Soppeng and Wajo Kingdoms converted to Islam, the 10th King of Bone, We Tenri Tuppu, in 1602-1611 secretly left for Sidenrang to meet Addatuang Sidenreng La Pattiroi, who had embraced Islam. Not long after, in Sidenreng he fell ill and died, so he was known as Matinroe Ri Sidenreng.

In 1611, La Tenri Ruwa was appointed as the 11th King of Bone to replace We Tenri Tuppu. Sultan Alauddin as King of Gowa at that time visited Bone to pay homage to the inauguration of La Tenri Ruwa. During this visit, they discussed the attitude of the Kingdom of Bone towards Islam (Mappangara, 2014). In principle, the invitation by Sultan Alauddin was acceptable, but he himself could not make a decision because there was a customary council in the Kingdom of Bone in terms of decision making regarding the course of government in the Kingdom of Bone.

The defeat of the two Bone allies made King Bone We Tenrituppu personally want to accept Islam and made it the official religion in the Kingdom of Bone, yet this could not be decided alone. We Tenrituppu must obtain the approval of the *ade' pitu* council. After a meeting was held to discuss this matter, the *ade' pitu* council refused to accept Islam. It greatly disappointed him. Knowing that the Sidenreng Kingdom had accepted Islam (Rahma, 2018, p. 137), he decided to go to Sidenreng to consult on what steps to take regarding the situation. In a meeting between the King of Bone and *ade' pitue* and other royal officials, the King of Bone said:

“O my People..... The Sultan of the Kingdom of Gowa has come personally to visit us all. Kindness that is incomparable therefore it is a priority and glory for the Kingdom of Bone, if we all accept the call of the Sultan, to embrace Islam, that refusing a good invitation means ready to fight” (Poelinggomang, 2004, pp. 105-106).

However, the invitation made by the King of Bone did not receive a positive response from the Arung Pitue and dignitaries of the Kingdom of Bone. This was very disappointing because as a king, rejection meant that the loyalty of the people of Bone to their king began to wane. In addition, there was also the King of Bone's concern that this refusal could lead to war

between the Kingdom of Bone and the Kingdom of Gowa. If this happened, it was likely that he would end up like his two brothers or allies who were powerless against the Kingdom of Gowa.

The King of Bone with his family and followers who were still loyal to him fled to Pattiro. In this new place, he also tried once again to call on the people of Bone to accept Sultan Alauddin's invitation but failed, so he took passive action and confined himself more to his residence. But what the King of Bone did was considered a treatment that neglected his people (Mappangara, 2004). Therefore, the Ade Pitu Council held deliberations to take a way to resolve the problems that arise. In deliberation, the King of Bone must be dethroned from the royal throne. To convey the results of the deliberations, To Alaugang was sent to the King of Bone.

"That this servant was sent by the people of Bone to Puatta MangkauE, conveying that in this case, it is not the people who do not like Puatta, but it is Puatta who do not like us all, that currently the country of Bone is in power. But even so Puatta leave us too. "

After hearing these words, La Tenri Ruwa replied:

"It's not that we don't like our people, but on the contrary, it's our people who don't like us anymore. The sign is that you all have rejected our instructions, the directions to the path of goodness that the Sultan of Gowa asked for us all. Never was it because we were afraid of going to war with Gowa. Only because we really believe in the truth of Islam. You all deny and are not willing to obey us. Therefore, please all of you fight hard for your misguided beliefs and follow your path that is pitch black, while we will also quote the straight path that is bright and full of belief in the Almighty God according to the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad S.A.W"(Mappangara, 2012, pp. 288-293)

La Tenri Ruwa also conveyed what he had experienced to the King of Gowa, so that the King of Gowa was angry with ade' pitue. For the King of Gowa, the rejection against Islam was fine because there was no compulsion in Islam. However, what ade' pitue did made the King of Gowa angry because he dethroned La Tenri Ruwa from the royal throne. Bone did not learn from the previous experiences where at that time Wajo and Soppeng were attacked for committing betrayal against Gowa. In 1611, La Tenri Ruwa, the King of Bone embraced Islam and stepped down the Throne to become the King of Bone. Then, Sultan Alauddin sent Karaeng Pettung to pick up the King of Bone and brought him to Makassar and settled in a house near the residence of Datuk Ri Bandang with the title Adamulmarhum Kalinul Awalul Islam.

La Tenri Ruwa's migration to Makassar meant that the throne of the Bone Kingdom was vacant. The ade' pitue council deliberated to determine the king to be his successor. Then, La Tenripale Arung Timurung was elected as the 12th King of Bone (1611-1625). At the beginning of his reign, he was faced with a huge problem, Islam rejection. This attitude of the Bone King was in many ways very difficult to maintain because Gowa was indeed supported by a very strong military force. Moreover, Wajo and Soppeng had been defeated. Therefore, Bone Kingdom could not do much in the face of the Gowa Kingdom's attack. Bone admitted defeat and officially accepted Islam on November 23, 1611. Then, the ade' pitue council again held deliberations to determine the 13th King of Bone because La Tenripale had settled in Gowa because he was a friend of the King of Gowa. In the same year, based on the results of the ade' pitue deliberations, La Maddaremmeng was appointed as the 13th King of Bone. During his reign, he focused his attention on advancing the territory of the Bone Kingdom and expanding to the east and south of Lalengbata City. Although the ade' pitue rejected Islam, most community of Bone accepted it, bearing in mind that the people of Bone have known this teaching long before. Therefore, speculation arose that the resistance given by the people of Bone was not completely serious. The rejection was more directed to the ade' pitue in maintaining his power.

In the development of Islamic teachings in Bone, La tenripale To Akkapeang wished that when he died, his nephew, La Maddaremmeng, would have replaced him as the son of his brother, Arumpone XIII. The king who was very fanatical about Islam ordered that Islamic teaching be implemented completely in the Kingdom of Bone. La Maddaremmeng's enthusiasm in implementing Islamic teachings could be seen from his policies, such as the prohibition of slavery, his position as Parewa Ade was changed to Parewa Sara' with his subordinates titled Petta Kalie (qadhi), Petta Imam (Imam of the Mosque) (Fuadi & Usman, 2022, p. 37). Furthermore, he attempted to lead Bugis Kingdom to also implement Islamic teachings completely. He was not harsh and firm indiscriminately against those who disobeyed or went against his orders. However, the biggest challenge came from his own family, his mother named We Tenrisolong Datu Pattiro, who broke the power of the reactionaries so that La Maddaremmeng attacked Pattiro. His mother fled to the Kingdom of Gowa to ask for help from the King of Gowa XV (Bandung, 2020).

The arrival of La Maddaremmeng in Gowa was welcomed by Sultan Malikussaid who then used it as a momentum to attack Bone because it was the only kingdom that Gowa had not fully conquered under the sovereignty of the Gowa Kingdom. It led to a war between the Kingdom of Gowa and the Kingdom of Bone, known as Musu Assellengeng. Before the outbreak of the Beta-e ri Passempe war, the King of Gowa warned the Kingdom of Soppeng not to help Bone. However, because of the Tellumpocoe Agreement that bound Bone and Soppeng, King Soppeng felt obliged to help his brother (Nur, 2007, pp. 87-88). But then, the question arises, why didn't the Wajo Kingdom help Bone and Soppeng in the war? Based on speculation, Wajo could have learned from experience, given the great and strong power of the Kingdom of Gowa, so he chose to obey the words of the King of Gowa rather than to help Bone and Soppeng in war.

After the Musu Assellengeng war, Islam greatly influenced the Kingdom. The religious education in the kingdom began to apply Islam as it should be; the Al-Qur'an and Hadiths were introduced as a substitute for prayers that were contrary to Islam in *ade' pitue* and the many mosques that were built. The most interesting one was that Islam also introduced new things to commanders and royal officials, which was about what they could hold as "laws of war", following practices in the Qur'an, such as; (1) Muslims may only kill, expel, and fight infidels who start wars, and Muslims may not transgress; (2) it is not permissible to carry out war in the mosque unless we are attacked by infidels; (3) ending the battle when the enemy does not put up a fight and does no more damage; (4) fight according to God's command; (5) obligated to protect polytheists who seek protection from the Muslim community. These developments all persist until now.

After the Bugis Kingdom progressed in Islam, the Kingdom of Gowa became increasingly aggressive in expanding into several kingdoms, including Bima in three attacks (1616, 1618, and 1626), the Kingdom of Sumbawa, a kingdom in the western part of the island in two expeditions (1616 and 1626), Dompu (the island of Sumbawa was conquered in 1626), and Kengkelu or Tambora (1626). Buton, which was conquered in 1626, had indeed embraced Islam before. Conquered Lombok (Salaparang), Kutai, and Berau on the East coast of Borneo made a contract with Bali and exerted influence as far as Timor Island and the Aru-Kei Islands. Until 1660, the areas outside South Sulawesi that were subject to Gowa-Tallo rule were as follows: Bima (1616), Sumbawa, Salaparang (Lombok) (1618), Pulau Laut

(1618), Kutai (1618), Berau (1618), Buton (1626), Muna (1626), Banggai and Sula Island (1626), Solor-Sandowo Islands (Flores) Sumba (1626), Gorontalo and Manado (1634), Obi Islands (1640)), Buru (1640), Seram (1640), Timor (1640), Aru and Kei Islands (1640), and Northern Australia (1640) (Poelinggomang, 2004, pp. 94-95).

Conclusion

In the beginning, the Islamization process of Soppeng, Bone and Wajo Kingdoms by Gowa Kingdom - after converting to Islam in 1905 - persuasively received an extraordinary negative response. They were suspicious that the Islamization was driven by not only the religious mission of *Ulu Ada* but also political ambition to conquer other kingdoms. The three kingdoms that rejected this then formed an alliance called Tellumpocoe. This alliance served to limit the influence of the kingdom of Gowa to conquer other territories. As a result, physical warfare was unavoidable for approximately five years from 1607-1611 between the alliance and the kingdom of Gowa. However, the great war power of the Gowa kingdom caused these kingdoms to be conquered one by one that they embraced Islam, Soppeng in 1609, Wajo in 1610, and Bone in 1611. The conquest of the three great kingdoms marked the rise of the Islamic empire in South Sulawesi. This finding might be used as a valid source upon complementing various channels of the entry of Islam in Indonesia, and as a reference for Islamic da'wah in South Sulawesi. Some aspects that can be further developed are related to assimilation and acculturation of Islamic culture, the position of local beliefs after Islamization, the role of post-Islamization scholars, and the government structure of the kingdom of South Sulawesi after Islamization.

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