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# ISLAMIZATION IN SINJAI IN THE 17TH CENTURY: THE ARRIVAL OF ISLAM AND SOCIAL CHANGE<sup>1</sup>

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## Abstract

*This study aims at describing the arrival of Islam in the form of Islamization that resulted in socio-political and cultural change in Sinjai Society. It examines the role of the authorities who collaborate with Islamic scholars in the process of Islamization in Sinjai. This study involved qualitative research, and the data comprised both oral and written sources. The oral sources were conducted through interviews with several people who were considered to have required competence and trustworthiness. Written sources were derived from Lontara manuscripts, books and reports of the results of previous studies, articles, and internet websites. The research found that the arrival of Islam in Sinjai originated in three regions. The first was the East region in Tiro in which Abdul Jawad Khatib Bungsu or Datuk ri Tiro stayed in his mission to spread Islam in the southern area of South Sulawesi. The second was the West region in Gowa in which Abdul Makmur Khatib Tunggal or Datuk ri Bandang stayed to teach and spread Islam. The third was North region in which Laming or Wali Pute, the person who delivered Islamic teachings from Pompanua-Bone, came to spread Islam, especially in the Kingdom of Lamatti. There was the process in arrival of Islam in Sinjai society, however, it was not necessarily directly accepted, especially by the authorities. The authorities conducted process of the arrival of Islam through public figures from 1604 to 1607. The arrival and the spread of Islam led to sara' (Islamic law) as an integral part of pangngadereng (customary law). Therefore, the regulations of South Sulawesi society in Sinjai*

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*acquired a new framework, where sara' influenced behavior and social life. The adherence of society to sara' was due to the presence of Islam, which affected values, social norms, and culture from what previously existed. Islam altered the cultural aspects of society, since upon the arrival of Islam, the Ulama (the Islamic scholars) focused on faith and the truth of monotheism.*

**Keywords:** Islam in Sinjai, the Role of Islamic scholars and Authorities, Changes in social systems

### **Introduction**

Islam was introduced and developed in the South East Asian archipelago based on external and internal sources.<sup>2</sup> There are four external sources, and the first of which was derived from the Arabs. Arab traders had been conducting trading activity with the tribes in the archipelago since the seventh century. Trading was dominated by the *Sriwijaya* Kingdom, particularly in the western part of the archipelago.<sup>3</sup> The second external source was European, which are derived from the travel records of Marco Polo. In 1292, he stopped at the kingdom of *Samudera-Pasai*. The third source was Indian, since Indian traders from Gujarat were not only trading actively, but also spreading the religion and culture of Islam, especially to the people who lived near the coastline. This theory was proposed by C. Snouch Hurgronje in 1883 and was also supported by Gonda, Van Ronkel, Marrison, R.A Kern, and C.A.O. Van Nieuwinhuize.<sup>4</sup> The fourth source was China, which was based on Ma Huan's travel records that followed Ceng Ho. He noted that in the 1400s, there had been Muslim merchants who reside in the northern coast of Java. In the 7<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Busman Edyari et.al. (ed), *Sejarah Peradaban Islam* (Jakarta: Pustaka Asatrus, 2009), 207. Sriwijaya Kingdom (Palembang) left many evidences of ancient inscription with year 775 AD from Malaka to Kedah. Arab called Sriwijaya Kingdom as Zabak, Zabay, or Sribuza.

<sup>3</sup> Dedi Supriyadi, *Sejarah Peradaban Islam* (Bandung: Pustaka Setia, 2008), 195. The Kingdom of Samudera Pasai was Islamic Kingdom pioneered by Malik Al Shaleh or Meuro Silo (659-688 H/ 1261-1289 AD).

<sup>4</sup> Dedi Supriyadi, *Sejarah Peradaban Islam...*, 191.

century, it was also mentioned that there was an Arab merchant who settled on the coast of North Sumatra, referred to locally as Ta Shih.<sup>5</sup>

There were also three internal sources of the archipelago. The first was from the discovery of the tomb in *Leran-Gresik*. On the tombstone, the name of *Fatimah Binti Maimun* with the year of 1028 AD was written. The second was in the tombstone of *Sultan Malik Al Shaleh* as the ruler in the kingdom of *Samudera Pasai*. On the tombstone, it revealed that the Sultan died in the month of Ramadan in 676 H / 1297 AD. The third was the tomb of *Maulana Malik Ibrahim* in Gresik, where it is stipulated that he "died in 1419 AD", and the tomb came from Gujarat.<sup>6</sup>

Several researchers on the history of the spread of Islam in South Sulawesi such as Mattulada,<sup>7</sup> Abu Hamid,<sup>8</sup> Andi Zainal Abidin Farid,<sup>9</sup> Abdul Razak Daeng Patunru,<sup>10</sup> and Ahmad M. Sewang,<sup>11</sup> stated that in the early of seventeenth century, Islam became official religion in the kingdoms that exist in this region. Islam became the official religion of the kings massively. The efforts of the Islamization involved three *Ulama* (Islamic scholars), namely *Abdul Makmur Khatib Tunggal or Datuk ri Bandang*, *Abdul Jawad Khatib Bungsu or Datuk ri Tiro* and *Sulaiman Khatib Sulung or Datuk ri Patimang*. It can be assumed that Islamization was not released from the influence and efforts of these three Islamic scholars or *ulama*. They were considered the most commendable in the process of Islamization in the field of religious, social, political, and culture in South Sulawesi society.

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<sup>5</sup> Busman Edyar et al, (ed), *Sejarah Peradaban Islam...* , 191-192.

<sup>6</sup> Badri Yatim, *Sejarah Peradaban Islam* (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo, 2007), 191-192.

<sup>7</sup> Mattulada, "Islam di Sulawesi Selatan," in *Agama dan Perubahan Sosial*, ed. Taufiq Abdullah (Jakarta: CV Rajawali, 1983), 222.

<sup>8</sup> Abu Hamid, *Sistem Pendidikan Madrasah dan Pesantren di Sulawesi Selatan*, in *Agama dan Perubahan Sosial*, ed. Taufiq Abdullah (Jakarta: CV Rajawali, 1983), 340.

<sup>9</sup> Abdi Zainal Abidin Farid, "Lontara Sulawesi Selatan Sebagai Sumber Informasi Ilmiah," in *Bugis Makassar dalam Peta Islamisasi: Selayang Pandang tentang Beberapa Aspek*, ed. Andi Rasdiyanah Amir (Jakarta: IAIN Alauddin, 1982), 66.

<sup>10</sup> Abdul Razak Daeng Patunru et al., *Sejarah Bone* (Unjung Pandang: Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan, 1993), 82.

<sup>11</sup> Ahmad M. Sewang, *Islamisasi Kerajaan Gowa (Abad XVI Sampai Abad XVII)* (Jakarta: Medis Grafika, 2005), 91.

Sinjai was located in the southern part of South Sulawesi province. However, if it was seen from the geographical location, Sinjai had marine territory (Bay of Bone) and Tangka River which became the entry of fishing boats and merchant anchored. It could be a reliable indicator of the existence of Islamization efforts in this area before those three Islamic scholars came to introduce Islam. Another indication was that there was an old mosque which has been restored at *Aruhu, Demma' (Demak)*. In *Aruhu, Demma' Funeral (Demak)*<sup>12</sup> in Balangnipa-North Sinjai, there was the tomb of *Puang Belle* in Baka'e (East Sinjai) and the tomb of *Puang Bonto* in Bonto Salama (West Sinjai).

Islam was the only religion followed by society in Sinjai. Although there were other faiths, but the numbers were relatively few. The other faiths were followed by newcomers or those who worked as government officials and businesspeople. In Sinjai, there were no houses of worship of other religions besides mosque until now. The reality was questionable whether there was a correlation said that in the past, Sinjai was known as *tana Panrita kitta* (The area of Expert Islamic Books), or maybe this is just a strong influence of stigma “it is not Makassarese, Buginese, Mandarese, if they are not Islam.” Abu Hamid said that for these three ethnic groups if they were not Muslims, it would be a disgrace.<sup>13</sup>

The arrival of Islam in the form of Islamization that results in a change of socio-political and cultural in Sinjai Society became interesting to be researched. When a ruler or king embraced Islam, the masses massively followed the king's new religion, even though some of them did not accept it. There would be changes not only in trust but also in the system of governance and power-sharing. In addition, it was interesting to examine the role of the authorities who collaborate with Islamic scholars in the process of Islamization in Sinjai.

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<sup>12</sup> Interview to Muhannis (Humanist) on 10<sup>th</sup> October, 2015, he said that “It is known as Demma’ Funeral because there was tomb of Islamic scholar from Demak, he was called as Puang Demma’.”

<sup>13</sup> This statement was written by Abu Hamid in Ahmad M. Sewang, *Islamisasi Kerajaan Gowa . . .*, xi.



## Research Methods

This study was history research that aimed at reviewing the events in the past that were the arrival of Islam or Islamization in Sinjai. There were four steps in the history research namely heuristics, criticism of sources, source analysis, and interpretation-historiography.<sup>14</sup> This study was qualitative in which the discussions of descriptive analytic describe, explain, and explore the facts of history.<sup>15</sup> Therefore, this study referred to written sources or library research. However, it was possible to use other sources such as oral sources. Written sources were manuscripts of *lontara*, books, and reports of the results of previous studies, articles, and Web sites. The oral sources were through interviews with several people who were considered to have the competence and trustworthiness.<sup>16</sup>

In the discussion, sociological and anthropological approach were used as a theoretical basis for analyzing the data obtained. The process of analyzing the data sources was conducted by reduction, summarizing and systematically arranged in order to get a full description on a theoretical construct as contained in objective of the study. After that, the data was classified based on its characteristic in accordance with the formal goals of the study.<sup>17</sup>

## Sinjai in Pre-Islamic period, Faith and Social Systems

Sinjai was formed from a long historical process. Sinjai was built from some kingdoms that had strong power with their respective characteristics. The kingdoms were divided into two groups, known as the Federation of *Tellu Limpoe* (Three Territories) and *Pitu Limpoe* (Seven Territories). *Tellu Limpoe's* territory was located around the coast. The *Tellu Limpoe* Federation was a combination of three kingdoms, namely *Tondong*, *Bulo-Bulo*, and *Lamatti*. Moreover, the territory of *Pitu Limpoe* (Seven Territory) or *Pitu ri*

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<sup>14</sup> Sartono Kartodjo, *Pengekatan Ilmu Sosial dalam Metodologi Ilmu Sejarah* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1992), 4.

<sup>15</sup> H. Kaelan, *Metode Penelitian Agama, Kualitatif Interdisipliner* (Yogyakarta: Paramadina, 2010), 177.

<sup>16</sup> Ikbal Hasan, *Pokok-pokok Materi Penelitian dan Aplikasinya* (Bogor: Galia Indonesia, 2002), 12.

<sup>17</sup> Ikbal Hasan, *Pokok-pokok Materi Penelitian dan Aplikasinya...*, 162-163.

*Wawo Bulu* (Seven Territories on the Mountain in the Highlands) was a combination of the Kingdoms of *Turungeng*, *Manimpahoi*, *Terasa*, *Pao*, *Manipi*, *Suka* and *Bala Suka*.<sup>18</sup> Now, the regions of *Pao*, *Suka*, and *Bala Suka* are government administration areas of Gowa Regency.

The first *Arung* (King) in Sinjai was descended from *Manurung Tanralili* (People from the sky in Tanralili). He was named *La Patongai*, called *Puatta To Pasaja Timpa'e Tana* (Person who Opened Agricultural Land). *La Patongai* then married with the daughter of *Manurungnge ri Ujung Lohe* (People from the sky in Tanralili).<sup>19</sup> The descendants of *To Pasaja* descent was the forerunner of the establishment of the *Tondong* Kingdom, the *Bulo-Bulo Kingdom*, and the *Lamatti-Tellu Limpoe* Kingdom.<sup>20</sup> The first kingdom in the *Pitu Limpoe* area was the *Turungeng* Kingdom. The king was a woman. Then she was married by one of King of Tallo's sons. From this marriage, a girl was born. This daughter was married to a son of Bone King. From this marriage, she gave birth to a child consisting of a girl and six boys. Later this girl inherited her mother's government in *Turungeng*. Meanwhile, her six brothers

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<sup>18</sup> Moh. Yahya Mustafa and A. Wanua Tungke, *Sinjai 10 Tahun dalam Memori* (Makassar: Pustaka refleksi, 2002), 3.

<sup>19</sup> Basrah Gising, *Attariolongnge ri Bulo-bulo, Tondong, Lamatti-Sejarah Kerajaan Bulo-bulo, Tondong, dan Lamatti (Suatu Bentuk Manifestasi "Sinjai Bersatu")* (Makassar: Era Media, 2002), 3-5. There were some versions of *To Manurung* in Sinjai that was divided into three phases. The first was *To Manurung ri Ujung Lohe* (Phase 1) who has close relationship with Tana Toraja dan Luwu, the descents of the kings in Ujung Lohe, Saolohe, Bongki and Panreng. The second was *To Manurung Sekkanyili/Gowariewho* (Phase 2) was known in Camba (Maros) and Soppeng (in this case, Soppeng subdistrict of West Sinjai district, not the district of Soppeng). The descendants of *To Manurung Sekkanyili* become kings in Tonroe, Turungeng, Manimpahoi. The last was *To Manurung ri Tanralili* (phase 3), the descendants named *La Patongai* or *Timpa'e Tana* became kings in Tondong. *To Manurung* kings and the descendants became kings were caused by the role of four *Gellarang* (places where people were led by their leader or Gella) they were *Gellarang Tokka*, *Kolasa*, *Saukang*, *Samatarang*. Look at: Abu Hamid et al, *Jejak Kehadiran Sinjai Hingga Masuknya Islam* (Makassar: Padat Jaya, 2002), 22-27.

<sup>20</sup> Moh. Yahya Mustafa and A. Wanua Tungke, *Sinjai 10 Tahun dalam Memori . . .*, 3.

ruled in the Kingdom of *Manimpahoi*, *Terasa*, *Pao*, *Manipi*, *Suka*, and *Bala Suka*.<sup>21</sup>

Literature that can be used as an indicative guide to the history of the name of Sinjai, since there are number of versions. *Zainuddin Fatbang* said it is natural if the word “Sinjai” was disputed because none of the kingdoms included in *Tellu Limpoe* and *Pitu Limpoe* were called the Kingdom of Sinjai.<sup>22</sup> However, the naming of Sinjai was essential in its symbolic meaning in the context of building community integration, especially in the sociological-political aspects.

Two versions are considered argumentative about the history of the origin of the name “Sinjai”. The first one was originated from the idea of king of *Lamatti X*, named *I Topacebba*, who had the title *La Massiajengeng*. He tried to strengthen the relationship between the Kingdom of *Lamatti* and the Kingdom of *Bulo-Bulo* with a slogan, *pasijai singkeru'na Lamatti Bulo-bulo* (unite the beliefs and strength of *Lamatti* and *Bulo-bulo*). When *I Topacebba* died, He was given the title *Puatta Matinroe ri Sijai'na*. The word “*Sijai*” means one stitch. This word was then changed to Sinjai in the everyday speech of the community.<sup>23</sup> The phrase *pasijai Sinkerru'na Lamatti Bulo-bulo* means philosophically that the Kingdom of *Lamatti* and the Kingdom of *Bulo-Bulo* must equate perception in various problems faced. They must be insured in dealing with external threats, by strengthening unity. The idea was then realized by building *Balangnipa* Fortress in 1557. The fort was called *Balangnipa* Fortress because it was built in *Balangnipa* (now it is the capital of Sinjai). *Balangnipa* Fortress was also known as *Tellu Limpoe* Fortress since it was established in cooperation with the Kingdoms of *Lamatti*, *Tondong*, and *Bulo-Bulo*.<sup>24</sup>

The second version was when the dignitaries of the Kingdom of *Gowa* visited the *Bulo-Bulo* Kingdom. A dialogue took place

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<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* according to Rahmatullah Harum, the first woman king in Turungeng was one of the Arung Taralili descendants. Look at, Rahmatullah Harum, *Sinjai dari Masa ke Masa*. (Written at 2006, unpublished), 8.

<sup>22</sup> Abu Hamid et al, *Jejak Kehadiran Sinjai . . .*, 7.

<sup>23</sup> Rahmatullah Harum, *Sinjai dari Masa ke Masa . . .*, 8-9.

<sup>24</sup> Pemerintah Daerah Kabupaten Sinjai, *Company Profil Kabupaten Sinjai* (Sinjai: Badan komunikasi dan Informatika Kabupaten Sinjai, 2008), iv.

between King of *Gowa* (*I Manriogau Daeng Bonto*) and King of *Bulo-bulo* (*La Mappasokko*). The King of *Gowa* asked “How many kingdoms are in Bulo-Bulo?” The king of *Bulo-bulo* answered, “There were nine kingdoms, namely *Bulo-Bulo*, *Lamatti*, *Tondong*, *Manimpahoi*, *Turungeng*, *Manipi*, *Pao*, *Tombolo*, *Suka*, and *Bala Suka*.” The king of *Gowa* said “*Sinjaiji batea ri gowa*” (It is as many as kingdoms in *Gowa*). The word “*Sinjai-ji*” in Bugis language is *singega* which means as many. Then the King of *Gowa* proposed this area to be named “*Sinjai*”.<sup>25</sup>

The philosophical meaning of the phrase and the existence of Balangnipa Fortress were not strong enough to be used as an argument for the name of *Sinjai*, because it only involved the imperial federation of *Tellu Limpoe*. In addition, based on the dialogue between the King of *Gowa* and the King of *Bulo-Bulo*, it can be concluded that it is rational and strong enough to be used as a reason for naming “*Sinjai*”, because the explanation of *La Mappasokko* stated that the number of kingdoms in *Bulo-bulo* area was actually *sinjai-ji* (as many) as the number of kingdoms in *Gowa* which consisted of ten small kingdom territories. Therefore, the King of *Gowa* gave the name “*Sinjai*” as a representation symbol of the number of existing kingdoms. Based on that dialogue, it seems that the *Bulo-Bulo* Kingdom was more prominent than the other kingdoms in *Sinjai* in the political constellation at that time.

*Sinjai* society was mostly Bugis ethnic. The other was Makassar ethnic based on the language used in which the language of *Konjo* resembled the native language pronunciation. Identity as the Bugis was not certainly much different from the Bugis people in other districts (*Bone*, *Sengkang*, *Soppeng*, and others). In everyday reality, there were many similarities in aspects of life namely aspects of the traditions, beliefs, and religion. However, the location of the region of *Sinjai* was in cross-border between *Bone* District (Bugis) and *Gowa* (Makassar). Therefore, the traditions, beliefs, religious and

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<sup>25</sup> Abu Hamid et al, *Jejak Kehadiran Sinjai . . .* , 9. There were many versions about the name “*Sinjai*”, namely the version of *To Pasaja*, *Gowa*, *Buginese*, and *Legend*. Those versions had similarity reviewed from the language use. Look at, Abu Hamid et al, *Jejak Kehadiran Sinjai . . .* , 7-13.

linguistic communities in Sinjai were also under the influence of Makassar.

The religion of Sinjai community in pre-Islamic period cannot be separated from the development of religion and belief in South Sulawesi. From *I Lagaligo* literature period to the *To Manurung* period, the religion was overwhelmed by the mythological trust, in which there were some aspects of divinity and trust in natures. They were manifested in various rites in the form of religious-magical beliefs, which were centered on the existence of the Supreme God. The belief in the highest God was known in several ethnic groups in South Sulawesi, such as *Puang Matua* in Toraja area, *Dewata Seuae* in Bugis area, *Tu-niaka Ero'na* in Makassar.<sup>26</sup>

There were three beliefs of religious-magical beliefs in antiquity in South Sulawesi that could still be found. The first was *Alluk Todolo* in Tana Toraja in which the central figure was *Puang matua*. The organization of the trust activities was through various ritual ceremonies, such as *Rambu Tuka* and *Rambu Solo'*. The second was the belief of *To Lotang* found in Sidenreng Rappang in which the central figure was *Dewata Seuae*. This belief was widely spreading among Bugis people, on the coast of the northern Gulf of Bone. The third was *Patuntung* belief in which the central figure was *Tu Rie' A'ra'na* also commonly called *Tu Kammaya Ero'na*. This belief was spreading in Kajang (Bulukumba), in Onto (Bantaeng), and in the mountainous region of Camba (Maros).<sup>27</sup>

Bugis spiritual awareness has grown since the beginning of its history. It was evidenced by the fact that many members of the public believe the myth of *To Manurung* (man fell from the sky). *To Manurung* was known as a human figure suddenly appeared in the middle of the community that was not far from human settlements. The decent and place of *To Manurung* was unknown. Based on the myth in Bugis society, *To Manurung* was appointed as the leader in

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<sup>26</sup> Cf. Mattulada, *Sejarah, Masyarakat, dan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan* (Ujung Pandang: Lembaga Penerbitan Universitas Hasanuddin, 1998), 74-75. *Relegio* was descendant's representation trust that could not be asked. *Religio*, tends to show ancient rites (performance) to the Lord. Cf. A. S. Kambie, *Akar Kenabian Sawerigading* (Makassar: Lembaga Penerbitan Universitas Hasanuddin, 2003), 64-65.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Mattulada, *Sejarah, Masyarakat, dan ....*, 76.



order to create peace and prosperity in the area in which he first appeared. The myth of *To Manurung* until now was still believed to be hereditary in local faith communities of Bugis-Makassar such as *To Lotang* belief in *Amparita Sidenreng Rappang*, *Patuntung* belief in Kajang Bulukumba and West Sinjai.<sup>28</sup>

Sinjai people who hold ancestral beliefs believe the existence of spirits which occupy certain places or areas such as rivers, mountains, graves. The offerings brought to the river are usually termed *mappano'* (offerings to sea or river). The offerings brought to the mountains are usually placed near large boulders, large old trees, and hot springs. These places were believed to be sacred. Furthermore, after completing the life cycle program (marriage, pregnancy, birth, and death), Sinjai people brought offerings to *Pallohe*.<sup>29</sup> Offerings to *Pallohe* were termed *mappaenre'* (Offerings to the High).

Sinjai people believe in Puang Lohe which was often called *Pallohe* which means the supreme or powerful. *Pallohe* in the Sinjai people's faith in the past was assisted by *Cinna Bolong*, *Cinna Gau'*, *Dewata ri Toli*, and *Sangiaserri*. *Cinna Bolong* controlled the land, *Cinna Gau'* controlled the water and the coast, *Dewata ri Toli* controlled the forest and mountains, and *Sangiaserri* controlled rice. This form of obedience to god was actively carrying out some ancient rituals such as *Marumatang* (ancestral worship ritual). *Marumatang* was intended to invite ancestral spirits to come to witness their activities as a manifestation of their love for their ancestors. *Marumatang* begins with the taking of holy water in certain places led by *Sanro* (spiritual leader) and *pinati* (ritual leader). The rituals of *mappano'*, *mattoanang*, *mappaenre'* and several other

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<sup>28</sup> Norman Said, *Membumikan Islam di Tanah Bugis* (Makassar: UIN Alauddin Press, 2011), 35. Mengenai keberadaan kepercayaan patuntung di Sinjai Barat dapat dibaca dalam Abdullah Renre, *Patuntung di Sinjai Barat-Suatu Tinjauan Sosio Kultural* (Makassar: UIN Alauddin Press, 2012).

<sup>29</sup> *Pallohe* was the other name of *Puang Lohe* (Konjo language), which consisted of two words, *puang* means who was offered, and *lohe* means much. The writer ever saw that *Pallohe* like mini bed red or yellow netting. Inside of the netting, there was a mini pillow. There were also ancient items involving a jar, ceremonial knife, doll and even a plate, which should be prepared.

rituals accompanying this *Marumatang* were essentially the offering to the spirits of ancestors.<sup>30</sup>

Cristian Pelras cites Errington's opinion that life-cycle rituals especially those related to pre- and post-natal life were ceremonies that were most strongly defended by Bugis people. The primary foundation of this ritual was to equip a child with the power of *sumange'* (the spirit that was a vital energy source for each). A complete offering (serving food) was intended for *To Halusu'* (spirits) or *To Tenrita* (invisible people). *Sangiang Seri* (Rice goddess) was considered as a god who was the spirits of important figures in the past and spirits guarding certain places. There was also dish in the form of *sokko' patangrupa* (glutinous rice four kinds made four colors namely black, red, white, and yellow). *Sokko' patangrupa* was accompanied by *pakkanreang* (side dishes). *Sokko* was made of four colors that were symbols of the totality of the world. In other words, it was the symbol of the four elements of human origin itself. Black symbolizes land, white symbolizes water, yellow symbolizes wind, and red symbolizes fire. Other complements were bananas and raw water (not boiled) or coconut water.<sup>31</sup>

The appearance of *To Manurung* (People descending from the sky) was a concept that opened the new perspective for the life of a divided society towards a new order after being overwhelmed by feelings of anxiety and fear. The story of *To Manurung* was the beginning of the formation of kingdoms in South Sulawesi. *To Manurung's* leadership created a social layer and division of power namely *Arung* (king) and *Anakarung* (nobility) from *Anang* (existing community groups). *To Manurung's* leadership also created a state conception with a broader territory which encompassed *Anang* areas by binding to a peace agreement, and agreed to make *To Manurung* as their highest leader.<sup>32</sup>

According to Soerjono Soekanto, the presence of a community system could be caused by two things. First, it was formed according

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<sup>30</sup> Muhannis, *Catatan Prolog Sendra Tari dalam rangka MTQ XXVII Sulawesi Selatan tahun 2012 Di Kabupaten Sinjai*, March 20, 2012.

<sup>31</sup> Cristian Pelras, *The Bugis-translated by Abdul Rahman Abu et al, with the title Manusia Bugis* (Jakarta: Grafika Mardi Yuana, 2006), 220-222

<sup>32</sup> Mattulada, *Sejarah, Masyarakat, dan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan...*, 27.

to the growth of particular communities. Second, it was deliberately formed to pursue a common goal. The reason for the formation of community layering was based on intelligence, age level, property, and the nature of the authenticity of a head of community membership. Moreover, the system of community layers that was formed intentionally was based on the desire of the community to live regularly. Therefore, the existing power and authority must be divided regularly. This arrangement will show the location of power and authority in the organization, vertically and horizontally.<sup>33</sup>

In the era of *To Manurung's* leadership, the people of South Sulawesi experienced development in the fields of state and leadership in the political, economic and social system aspects. At this time, the strata or layers of society began to form. There were three social strata namely *Arung Strata* (nobility descended from *To Manurung*), *To Deceng* or *To Maradeka* strata (most people who are descendants of community leaders), *Ata* (The lowest strata of the whole community group namely slaves). Moreover, there were also some statuses in the community that were influential in social interaction as follows.

1. Ade' To Mapparenta (Leader of the Government)
2. To Panrita (Spiritual Leader)
3. To Acca (intellectuals)
4. To Sugi (The Rich)
5. To Waranai, Pakkanna (Heroes).<sup>34</sup>

Friedericicy in Mattulada said: People of South Sulawesi essentially consisted of two basic layers of society, namely the layer Anakarung and To Maradeka. Ata was only a secondary layer, which emerged following the development and growth of the Society.<sup>35</sup> Regarding *ata*, Mattulada writes, that one can be called *Ata*<sup>36</sup> if:

<sup>33</sup> Soerjono Soekanto, *Sosiologi-Suatu Pengantar* (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2005), 229-231.

<sup>34</sup> Mattulada, *Sejarah, Masyarakat, dan....*, 27-28.

<sup>35</sup> Mattulada, *Latoa-satu lukisan Analitis Terhadap Antropologi Politik Orang Bugis* (Yogyakarta: Gadjadara University Press, 1985), 30. According to Mattulada, social strata in South Sulawesi especially in Bugis-Makassar ethnic was based on the existence of *To Manurung* around 17<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>36</sup> Mattulada, *Latoa-satu lukisan Analitis ....*, 30.

1. Someone who loses the war then is sold by the person who wins the war to someone else.
2. Someone who sells himself to someone else.
3. Someone who is held captive.
4. Someone who breaks *pangngaderreng* (customary law).<sup>37</sup>

The scope of *Pangngaderreng* (customary law) covered some aspects called normative norms and rules that must be manifested in daily life as individual manifestations and awareness in *pangngaderreng*. This awareness is motivated by a feeling of being one with *pangngaderreng* which causes one to feel obliged to involve themselves in the whole society. The provisions contained in *pangngaderreng* also raise awareness of the Bugis Makassar tribe to live as outlined in the *pangngaderreng*. Based on this awareness, it can be understood that *Pangngaderreng* has the function as a control institution that oversees the behavior of the community, including leaders so that they do actions that cannot damage the stability of people's lives.<sup>38</sup>

### **The Arrival and Development of Islam in Sinjai**

It was recognized by previous researchers such as Abu Hamid, A. Halilintar Latief, and Amiruddin that knowing who, when, where, and how was about Islam in Sinjai would be faced with the problem of the availability of resources, especially the primary category sources in the form of *lontara* writing (ancient manuscripts or Bugis-Makassar letters). Most sources are relatively young so that they can be categorized as secondary sources. It has a direct impact on the availability of incomplete data, mainly from the aspect of time collection (days, dates, months and years).<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Bugis-Makassar Tradition system was known with the term *pangngaderreng* (Bugis) or *pangngadakkang* (Makassar). The term of *pangngaderreng* or *pangngadakkang* came from *ade* or *ada*. *pangngadakkang* or *pangngaderreng* means matter, anything related to *ade* or *ada* (tradition) and political behavior of Bugis Makassar ethnic in social interaction and transformation. Mattulada., *Latoa-satu lukisan Analitis . . .*, 333.

<sup>38</sup> Norman Said, *Membumikan Islam di Tanah Bugis...*, 15.

<sup>39</sup> Abu Hamid et al., *Jejak Kehadiran Sinjai . . .*, 77.

Chronologically, based on the search for the arrival and distribution of Islam in Sinjai, it was found that there was some information that could be used as an explanation and argumentation in the following description.

First, the King who first accepted Islam in the Kingdom of *Tiro* was *Launru Daeng Biasa* in 1604. *Abdul Jawad* who was the youngest Islamic scholar islamized him. They then worked together to spread Islam in the eastern part of Bulukumba to the coast of Sinjai.<sup>40</sup>

Second, because of *Launru Daeng Biasa*, a mosque was built in *Tiro*, as a place in which *Abdul Jawad Khatib Bungsu* taught and spread Islam. The existence of *Tiro* area which was relatively close to Sinjai area was the reason for the information about the existence of Islamic broadcasting activities that were fast reaching Sinjai. In 1606 King of *Tondong I Kahare Daeng Mallabasa* sent *Puang Belle* from *Tondong* and *Petta Massambangge* from *Bulo-Bulo* to meet *Abdul Jawad*. These two men then embraced Islam, and on their return, in their respective regions, they actively spread Islam.<sup>41</sup>

The kingdom of *Tiro* was located on the south of the Sulawesi Island, to the south of Sinjai, and it is now in the Bulukumba district. The distance between *Tiro* region and *Sinjai* region relatively facilitated access to information between these two regions. Therefore, the arrival of *Abdul Jawad Khatib Bungsu* and his success in Islamizing *I Launru Daeng Biasa* were the tagline at that time. This Islamic authority of *Tiro* and the spreading of Islam in the surrounding area attracted the attention of the authorities in other regions including *Sinjai*. Therefore, King of *Tondong I Kahare Daeng Mallabasa* sent several people to find out about Islam.

Third, *Lapateddungi*, king of *Bulo IX* accepted Islam in 1607. He married with *Watenricini*, the daughter of *Mangkubumi* (the Kingdom of Gowa I Mallingkaang Daeng Manyonri). When she came back to Gowa, she invited people to convert to Islam.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Salahuddin, *Skripsi* "Kerajaan Bulo-bulo dalam Persekutuan Tellu Limpoe" (Ujung Pandang: Institut Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan (IKIP) Ujung Pandang-Fakultas Ilmu Sosial, 1997), 34.

<sup>41</sup> Abu Hamid et al., *Jejak Kehadiran Sinjai . . .*, 91

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92.



Fourth, in the XVII century, the *Lamatti* Kingdom was visited by a *muballigh* (Islamic Scholar) named Laming, known as *Wali Pute*. He came from *Pompanua* (Bone). He was contemporary with the king of Bone XI, *La Tenri Ruwa* with the title *Sultan Adam Matinroe ri Bantaeng* (r. 1611-1619). Based on the permission from the King of Bone, *Laming or Wali Pute* preached to *Lamatti*.<sup>43</sup> Before Laming arrived, the king of *Lamatti Tuwa Suro* had been Islamized by *Dato' ri Tiro* in 1613.<sup>44</sup>

Fifth, after the Kingdom of *Gowa* officially accepted Islam as a dominant religion, a missionary named *To Maeppe Daeng Situncu* was sent to *Turungeng* Kingdom (*Pitu Limpoe*). This Islamic scholar was then called *Puang Bonto Salama*. He died there, and to commemorate his services, the *Pitu Limpoe* community named this area as *Bonto Salama* where his tomb has existed (Muhannis, 27 February 2013).

Around 1605, the kingdom of *Gowa-Tallo* had become Islam as the official religion of the kingdom. In islamization (acceptance and distribution) of the kingdoms in South Sulawesi, the Kingdom of *Gowa-Tallo* became the spearhead in this matter. The power and vast territory including *Sinjai* accelerated Islamization. *La Pateddungi*, the king of *Bulo IX* who converted to Islam in 1607 and married with *Watenricini* showed the high tendency of the rulers in *Sinjai* to Islam. Moreover, the Islamic scholars showed *ghirah* (great enthusiasm to Islamize the *Sinjai* community). The arrival of *Laming*, known as *Wali Pute* in the *Lamatti* Kingdom is the evidence of this landmark. Likewise, in the Kingdom of *Pitu Limpoe* once again *Gowa-Tallo* showed its role. The *Gowa-Tallo* authorities sent *To Maeppe Daeng Situncu* to islamize the *Pitu Limpoe* community which was centered in the *Turungeng* Kingdom.

Sixth, Thomas Gibson in 2000 found two manuscripts of *Lontara Silsilah tarekat* in Bira. The first *Lontara* contains that *Ar Raniri* pledged *Ahmad Haji al-Bugis* into *Qadiriyyah Sufi School* in the middle of the XVII century. He had a student named *Abdul*

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<sup>43</sup> Baharuddin, *Skripsi* "Analisa Historis tentang Pendidikan Islam dan Pengaruhnya Terhadap Perkembangan Kebudayaan Daerah *Sinjai*" (Ujung Pandang: IAIN Alauddin, 1981), 12.

<sup>44</sup> Abu Hamid et al., *Jejak Kehadiran *Sinjai* . . .* , 104.

*Rahman Lamatti* who later moved to live in *Bira*. The second *Lontara* states that *Ibrahim al-Kirani* pledged *Ibrahim Barat* from the *Bugis* kingdom of *Bulo-bulo* to the *Sattariyah Sufi School*. *Ibrahim Barat* had a student named *Abdul Rahman* who later lived in *Selayar*. *Al-Raniri* settled in *Aceh* between 1637 and 1644.<sup>45</sup>

The research results found by Thomas Gibson shows the people enthusiasm in *Sinjai* towards Islam. Being part of the genealogical chain of dissemination of the *Qadiriyyah* and *Sattariyah* orders was a separate achievement. At that time, Sufism was believed to be a high level of Islamic science in the discourse of the essence of truth. Mastery and the ability to teach Sufism by the natives showed that anyone who was serious about studying Islam would master it. In other words, the achievement of *maqam* (high degree in Sufism) by indigenous people opened the mindset that scholarship in Islam was not a monopoly of people from outside *Sinjai*.

The reign of *I Daomo Mabbissuneng Eppa'e* (King of *Bulo VIII*) made a substantial agreement with *Mallingkaang Daeng Nyonri Sultan Abdullah Awalul Islam* or more popularly known as *Karaeng Matoayya* (King of *Tallo IX*). The agreement was *rekko runtukki deceng Gowa riele'na, Tellu Limpoe ri assara'na, pakkotopa passibalinna* (if *Gowa* kingdom got goodness in the morning, then *Tellu Limpoe* kingdom also get goodness in the afternoon, and vice versa).<sup>46</sup>

The agreement shows the attitude of inclusiveness (openness) each kingdom against the possibility of “kindness” better than had been believed goodness. In other words, the vision gets a “kindness”,

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<sup>45</sup> Thomas Gibson, *Islamic Narrative and Authority in Southeast Asia from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, trans. Nurhady Sirimorok with title *Narasi Islam dan Otoritas di Asia Tenggara Abad ke 16 hingga Abad ke 21* (Makassar: Inninawa, 2012), 63. Syek Ahmad stayed in *Sinjai* and married with the daughter of *Arung Lamatti*. He had two children. One of them lived and stayed in *Bone*, while Syek *Abdul Rahman* moved to *Bira*., p 71. Details about Syek Ahmad could be read in Edward L. Poelinggoman and Suriadi Mappangara (Ed), *Sejarah Perkembangan Kerajaan-kerajaan di Sulawesi Selatan* (Makassar: Balibangda Pemprov Sul-Sel, 2003), 115. There were also Islamic scholars (Ulama) community (mainly Ulama Tasawuf) could be read in Azyumardi Azra, *Renaissance Islam Asia Tenggara-Sejarah Wacana dan Kekuasaan* (Bandung: Remaja Rosda Karya, 2000), 127-131.

<sup>46</sup> Look at, Basrah Gising, *Attariolongnge ri Bulo-bulo . . .*, 56.

and then if Gowa get it in the morning, obligatory delivered to Tellu Limpoe in the evening, and vice versa.

When Islam was accepted in Gowa and Tallo, it was agreed that the Sinjai kings sent forty of their superiors to find out about Islam. It was done after there was a notice from Gowa about Islam itself to Sinjai by comparing what had been known by the people of Tondong and Lamatti about the previous Islam. The group was led by four nobles consisting of two kings (*Arung*) namely *Arung Tondong* and *Arung Sapotinggi*, and two noblemen namely *Saukang* and *Samatarang*. They then each brought ten of his or her citizens. Their presence in Gowa was received by *Tomarilaleng* (royal apparatus), who was named *Karaeng Popo*. *Karaeng Popo* served the Islamic truth-seeking team from Sinjai and invited them to stay in Gowa waiting and watching the first Friday Prayer at the Tallo Makassar Mosque on 19 Rajab 1016 H or November 9, 1607.<sup>47</sup>

The arrival and acceptance of Islam in Sinjai came from three directions. The first was from the east - precisely at Tiro, in which *Abdul Jawad Khatib Bungsu* or *Datuk ri Tiro* settled in the mission of spreading Islam in the southern part of South Sulawesi. The second was from the west direction - precisely in Gowa, in which *Abdul Makmur Khatib Tunggal* or *Datuk ri Bandang* lived to teach and spread Islam. The third was from the North that was the arrival of the missionary named Laming (*Wali Pute*) from *Pompanua-Bone* to broadcast Islam, especially in the *Lamatti* Kingdom.

Islam for Sinjai people through was not immediately accepted, especially the authorities. The process of accepting Islam by the authorities was through the mission of public figures. Symbolic acceptance of Islam (the official religion of the kingdom) took place in 1607, represented by King of *Bulo-Bulo* IX, namely *Lapateddungi* who recited *syahadat* (accepting Islam) and it coincided with the first day of Friday prayers which was held in the Kingdom of Gowa / Tallo. It also became a momentum for Islam to become the official religion of the *Bulo-Bulo* kingdom which incidentally represented representatives of the attitudes of other kings in Sinjai regarding the arrival and acceptance of Islam.

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 183-201.

## The Change in Socio-Politics and Culture

*Pangngadereng* system (Customary law) was a complexity of wealth and cultural wisdom that did not just present in South Sulawesi but was formed from a process of social change and social transformation. *Pangngadereng* was a way of life for people in social life, which touched all aspects of the activities of the people of South Sulawesi. As a view of life, *pangngadereng* encompassed community life and individual privacy. The building of *pangngadereng* conception could break the deadlock of social transformation because it became a source of energy for the community based on the existence of micro cosmos (human) which was reflected from the macro-cosmos (natural) perspective. The reality of macro cosmos with its various symptoms was the main clue in understanding real life.

The arrival and spread of Islam cause *sara'* (Islamic law), and it became an integral part of *pangngadereng*. According to *Mattulada*, it caused South Sulawesi community institutions to obtain new colors. *sara'* played its role in behavior in social life. Community obeyed to *sara'* because the presence of Islam did not change the values, social norms and culture that already existed. Islam filled something from the cultural aspect of society because, at the beginning of the acceptance of the propagator of Islam, they focused on the matter of faith and the truth of monotheism. Furthermore, in the beginning, Islam did not add the existing social institutions, especially institutions in socio-political life based on *pangngadereng*.<sup>48</sup>

Related to the existence of *sara'* in *Pangngadereng*, a research result at Makassar Research and Development Center on the history of the entry of Islam in South Sulawesi found that in the context of arrival of Islam, in this region an agreement was signed between the kingdom on the one hand representing *adat* or custom, and *ulama* (people who are experts in the knowledge of Islam). On the other hand, it reflected the relationship between custom and religion. One

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<sup>48</sup> Look at, Taufiq Abdullah (ed.), *Agama dan Perubahan Sosial . . .* ; *Mattulada, Islam di Sulawesi Selatan* (Jakarta: CV Rajawali, 1983), 234.

of the *lontara* manuscripts explicitly stated that the contents of the agreement were as follows.

*Mappakarajai sara'e ri ade'e*

*Mappakalebbi'i ade'e ri sara'e*

*Temmakullei massara-sarae sibawa ade'e*

*Temmakullei sara'e narusa taro bicaranna ade'e*

*Pusai ade'e ritaro bicaranna, massappai ribicaranna sara'e*

*Pusai sara'e ritaro bicaranna massappai ribicaranna ade'e*

*Teppeddingngi siapussa pusa yadua, ade'e sibawa sara'e*

*Teppeddingngi sirusa' tarobicaranna sara'e sibawa ade'e*

This means:

*Shari'a* respects *adat* or custom.

*Adat* respects the *Shari'a*.

*Adat* and *Shari'a* cannot be separated.

Customs cannot cancel the *Shari'a* decision.

*Shari'a* cannot cancel customary decisions.

If customers cannot decide a case, then it seeks help from the *Shari'a*.

If the *Shari'a* cannot decide on a case, then it is looking for *adat*.

*Adat* and *Shari'a* are not permissible and misleading.

It was not permissible to cancel the decision between *adat* and *Shari'ah*.<sup>49</sup> Stabilization of *sara'* in *Pangngadereng* was contained in *lontara Latoa*,<sup>50</sup> and the contents of which are as follows.

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<sup>49</sup> Abdul Kadir Ahmad (ed), *Masuknya Islam di Sulawesi Selatan dan Sulawesi Tenggara*, (Makassar: Balai Litbang Agama Makassar, 2004), 61-62.

<sup>50</sup> *Latoa* was literature of Bugis people contained words of kings and people of Bugis Makassar about some problems. *Latoa* writing in the reign of King Bone VII La tenri Ware Bongkangge (1560-1578). While the writer named La Mellong or Kajao Laliddong, he was advisor of King Bone. Look at, Mattulada, *Latoa-satu*



*Makkeddatopi to rioloe, eppamui uangenna padacengie tana, iami nagenne' limangpuangeng, narapi mani asellengeng na ripattama' tonna sara'e, seuani ade'e, maduanna rapangge, matelunna wari'e, maepa'na bicarae, malimanna sara'e. Naia ade'e, iana ppedecengiwi tau maegae. Naia rapangge, iana peutangiwu arajengge. Naia wari'e, iana ppesekiwi asseajingengna tana masseajingge. Naia bicarae, iana ssoppoi gau' bawangna tau maggau' bawanngge ritu. Naia sara'e, iana sanresenna to madodongge na malempu'. Nakko tenri pogau'ni ade'e, masolanni tau maegae. Nakko tenripogau'ni rapangge, madodongni arajangge. Nakko de'ni wari'e, tessituru'ni tau tebbe'e. Nakko de'ni sara'e, mangkau bawang mmanenni taue. Narekka de'ni bicarae, marsa'ni asseajingenna tana masseajingge, iana matti mancaji gaga', naia gaga'e naccappari musu'. Naia iannani tau llesangiwu rapangge, iana ri papoleang ri Allah ta-ala, bali pasau'. Narekko tenriolani bicarae, sianre baleni taue. Apa' tenri patau'ni gau' mawatangge. Makkuniro naelorangge to rioloe ri peasseri ade'e, na ritau-tauri rapangge, nariassituri ttaroimagneteng bicarae. Bara' kuammengge narirebba to mawatangge, naripeutangge to madodongge.*

This means:

The ancients used to say, there were only four kinds that improved the state, and five kinds were only fulfilled, when the Islamic *Shari'a* was accepted. The first was *ade'* or custom, the second was *rapang* or agreement of previous ancestors, the third was *wari'* or royal protocol, and the fourth is *bicara* or law enforcement. *Ade'* improved the people, *Rapang* cemented the kingdom, *Wari'* strengthened the kinship of a family, and *Bicara* guarded arbitrary acts of people who do arbitrarily. *Sara'* was the back of the weak and honest people. If

*ade'* is not maintained again, then the people will be damaged. If the *rapang* is not maintained again, then the kingdom will be weak. If *wari'* is lost, there is no more agreement among people. Moreover, if there is no more *sara'*, everyone will act arbitrarily. If *Bicara* does not exist again, the familial relationship of countries will be damaged. This will later become a source of contention, in which the conflict will lead to war. Whoever denies the *rapang* will bring him a strong opponent by Allah SWT. If *bicara* does not exist again, and then people will destroy each other because actions that are from power are no longer feared. Therefore, *to Riolo* (the ancients) wanted that *ade'* should be strengthened, maintained carefully, and we should together uphold the certainty of *bicara*. Therefore, the protection of the weak is broken down.<sup>51</sup>

The integration of Islamic law into the *Pangngaderreng* also shows the *ulama's* intelligence on the situation and condition of the people at that time. They joined the mainstream of existing culture, but they did not get carried away by the currents in things that could damage the essence of Islamic teachings. The strategy of a practical approach to the spread of Islam with step by step was exact so that it built extreme emotional conditions on Islam. For Makassar, Bugis, and Mandar people, it became a disgrace to say that it was not Islam, even though in daily religious practice it was still far from what was expected. *Siri'* or shame in maintaining *ade'* and *sara'* were not only institutionalized in the government structure but also institutionalized in the soul of the community members in the form of ethos (enthusiasm).

Islam interacted with existing socio-cultural so that there was assimilation between Islamic institutions and pre-Islamic institutions. Islam was able to impose its influence on existing social systems, and it was due to three things. First, there was the number of Islamic values in accordance with the values held by society. Islam only needs to rectify existing understanding, especially in the aspects of

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<sup>51</sup> Mattulada, *Latoa-satu lukisan Analitis . . .*, 116-117.

religious and mystical beliefs and traditions, as well as people's views of life. Second, the strategies and approaches used by the propagators of Islam to the authorities and the community were persuasive and educative. The implementation of this strategy and approach added the new concept to the government system for the advancement of the kingdom. Third, there was the militancy of the propagators of Islam, in teaching and instilling Islamic values, especially the formation of personal Islam and the intellectual development of society.

### **Implications of the Study**

The Islamization in Sinjai was through two approaches, namely Sufism and Islamic Sharia. They have proven effective in accelerating the spread of Islam. The Sufism approach was practical because there was a tendency for the people who accept Islam to like mysticism. The Islamic *Shari'a* approach was practical because it was able to fill and enlighten the conception of *Pangngadereng*. The arrival and spread of Islam went smoothly and quickly, and two factors caused it. First, the spread of Islam pursued educative and persuasive method (peaceful and educational). Islam was quickly accepted and developed because the teachings of Islam had many values that were in accordance with the values of the pre-arrival life of Islam. In addition, the breadth of knowledge and skill of the *ulama* or *muballig* (Islamic scholar) were very understanding of the situation and conditions of the people faced. That reality could be said as a direct cause. Second, there were social and political conditions which were conducive in the Sinjai kingdoms and the kings supported the progress of the *ulama* or *muballig* in developing Islam.

There were some lessons or *'Ibrah* that could be contextualized to build Islamic civilization today based on the historical reconstruction of Islamization in Sinjai. First, the collaboration between kings and Islamic scholars or *ulama* was a necessity for building an Islamic society. Second, the urgency of rediscovering local wisdom or local intelligence was compiled with the values of Islamic teachings. Compilation of Islamic values and local wisdom can be an appreciative formulation of Muslims in

contributing solution to various Islamic problems in all aspects of social life. In addition, a Muslim must have individual piety and social piety. Piety means that a Muslim must have social care as he cares for himself.



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