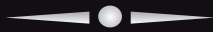


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HIMPUNAN ILMUWAN DAN SARJANA SYARIAH INDONESIA

# Al-Risalah

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# SOCIAL-POLITICAL CONDITIONS AFTER THE BONGAYA TREATY OF 1667; ISLAMIC POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE

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## **Abstract**

*This article aimed to describe the socio-political conditions after the Bongaya Treaty of 1667. This study employed the historical research method (library research). The researcher applied several approaches, namely the historical approach, religious approach, anthropological approach, and sociological approach. The Makassar War is a momentum for change from all aspects, not only changes from the political aspect but also the social, cultural and economic aspects that greatly tormented the people of Gowa. As a King, Sultan Hasanudin was responsible for the fate of the royal people of Gowa, which was getting sad. Sultan Hasanudin had to consider this even though he wanted to continue to fight. Sultan Hasanudin really understood the suffering of the people of the Kingdom of Gowa. Due to these considerations, the war lasted approximately four years, starting from 1666-1669 and ending with the Bungaya Treaty, which consisted of 30 articles. The treaty affected all aspects of Gowa community life, not only in terms of political factors but also the existence of Muslims. Since then, the power and influence of the Netherlands in East Indonesia began to be embedded towards serious colonialism. Sultan Hasanuddin, who dashed to defend his country until the last second has controlled the Kingdom of Gowa for 16 years; namely 1653-1669 and died in Gowa on June 12, 1670.*

**Keywords:** *Socio-Political; Bungaya Treaty; VOC*

## **INTRODUCTION**

The Makassar war is a momentum of change from all aspects, changes from political aspects and social, cultural, and economic aspects. The war lasted approximately four years, starting from 1666-1669 and ending with the Bungaya Treaty. If the Makassar War is a process, the Bungaya Treaty is the end and the results of the process. A logical consequence is that in war, there will be winners and losers. The winning party will become a new ruler, and the losing party will become subordinates. The new ruler will colour his era with its own characteristics that distinguish it from the characteristics of the previous ruler. This happens on the South Sulawesi Peninsula or East Indonesia in general. The Kingdom of Gowa-Tallo as the superior ruler in this region has now ended

and replaced by the superiority of the Kingdom of Bone, Soppeng and their allies VOC (Dutch Company).<sup>1</sup>

The awesomeness of the Makassar War is a form of resistance from the Makassar people in the face of foreign nations (Dutch VOC).<sup>2</sup> This incident colours the history of the people of the Makassar Sultanate and the people of South Sulawesi in general, who have embraced Islam about fifty years earlier.

The War of Sultan Hasanuddin with the Dutch VOC was the largest and toughest war faced by the Dutch VOC in Southeast Asia in the seventeenth century. The war raised the name of Sultan Hasanuddin as a king who dared to face the penetration of European power in the archipelago. In the view of the Indonesian people, he was a great national hero. Likewise, in the view of Europeans, especially the Dutch as his rival, he was called a rooster from the east.

## METHOD

In conducting this study, the researcher employed qualitative research and library research. Qualitative research is an inquiry strategy that emphasizes the search for meaning.<sup>3</sup> The type of study was historical studies related to events that have occurred in the past. The reference used in this study was taken from library books, archives, journals and the like.

### 1. *Heuristics*

In this study, several processes must be passed, namely research methods. The research method itself included several aspects, including heuristics. Heuristics was a method used in the research process to collect source data related or relevant to the theme to be studied.

### 2. *Source Critique*

Source criticism was a stage where the data that has been obtained would be filtered and then analyzed. From this data, the researcher would verify the data and criticize according to historical facts.

### 3. *Interpretation*

The stage of writing history at the third part was called interpretation. This part historical researchers played an important role, because at this stage the researcher would analyze and compare the data obtained and then interpret it. At this stage, the researcher used the following method:

- a. Inductive method, namely from the specific to the general, means analyzing the data obtained from the specific and then drawing general conclusions.
- b. Deductive method is concluding the general to the specific, which means that the author analyzed data from the general and then drew specific conclusions

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<sup>1</sup> Bahri, "Perebutan Panggadereng di Kerajaan Lokal di Jazirah Sulawesi Selatan Abad XV-XVII" Pendidikan Sejarah Fakultas Ilmu Sosial, UNM Vol 12, no 1, September 2016, h.6.

<sup>2</sup> Mattulada, Sejarah, Masyarakat dan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan, (Cet. I, Ujung Pandang: Hasanuddin University Press, 1998), h. 162

<sup>3</sup> A. Muri Yusuf, "Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif, dan Penelitian Gabungan", (Jakarta: Prenada media Group, 2014), h. 329.

#### 4. Historiography

Historiography was the last stage of the whole series of writing which was the process of compiling scientific facts that have been obtained and selected to produce a form of writing Islamic history.<sup>4</sup> After writing, the results of historical research can be presented or read and can also be used as a source of data for further research

### RESULT & DISCUSSION

#### 1. Political Conditions After the Bongaya Treaty

On November 18, 1667, a treaty was signed in a village or place south of Makassar City or the present point of view. This village is located near Barombong, which is now famous as a very beautiful beachfront bathing place. The place or village where the treaty was signed was called "Bungaya". Therefore, this treaty became known as *het bongaaïs verdrag*, namely the Bungaya treaty by the Dutch. In negotiations before the deal was signed, Speelman and the Netherlands were very impressed with Hero Hasanudin's friendly attitude towards Arung Palaka and Arung Kaju Sultan Hasanudin. However, senior officials who turned around, such as Karaeng Laiya and Karaeng Bangkala Sultan Hasanuddin, took a different stance.

The nobles and leaders of Gowa did not agree to hold negotiations or a peace treaty. However, as a King, Sultan Hasanudin was responsible for the fate of the people of the Kingdom of Gowa, which was getting sadder by the day; Sultan Hasanudin must consider this even though he wanted to continue to fight. Sultan Hasanudin really understood the suffering of the people of the Kingdom of Gowa. The Kingdom of Gowa was completely attacked by enemies from the south, east, north, and west. The VOC troops were increasing while the Gowa troops were getting weaker. The land of Gowa itself was in a very bad condition because people's residences were always used as battlefields. In fact, many fields were trampled or destroyed by burning by the Dutch and their allies. Continuing the war in such conditions or circumstances would mean suicide, destruction, and catastrophe for the people of Gowa. For this reason, Sultan Hasanudin felt it was wiser to make peace with the Dutch.

Therefore, on November 18, 1667, negotiations were held in a village called Bungaya. The negotiations resulted in a famous treaty in Indonesian history under the name "Bangarya Treaty", the Dutch called it *Het bongaaïs verdrag*. Makassar people call it *Cappaya ri Bungaya*. Thus, the correct name is an interesting agreement. Many Indonesian writers and historians have written it wrong because they followed the Dutch error; the error mentioned above stems from a mistake made by the Dutch who mispronounced the word *bungaya* as *bongaya*. The word *bungaya* comes from the original Indonesian language, namely flower. This word gets the affix *ya* and then becomes *bungaya* which means *de bloem*, flower. Affixes in Makassar words have the same meaning as Indonesian words: *si*, *sang* or *yang*. Flowers are flowers. Up to now, this

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<sup>4</sup> Nugroho Notosusanto, *Mengerti Sejarah* (Jakarta: Penerbit Universitas Indonesia, 1986), h. 32-33

village still exists, now Bungaya is a village that is nothing compared to its position in the 17th century.<sup>5</sup>

The Bongaya Treaty consists of 30 articles, but now it is only 29 articles.:

- 1) Approve the treaties of August 19 and December 21, 1660.
- 2) All because (employees) Europeans (Dutch) and Dutch in Sombaopu who became prisoners or fled to the Kingdom of Gowa have to be handed over to the Dutch Company.
- 3) All goods that have been confiscated by the government of the kingdom of Gowa originating from Dutch ships that ran aground or are damaged must be handed over to the Dutch Company.
- 4) Those guilty of killing Dutch people and those who damage Dutch ships will be punished before the Dutch population in Jumpandang.
- 5) People who are indebted to the Company must pay off all their debts within one year.
- 6) Portuguese and English must leave Makassar before the end of the year. The Sultan could not expand other European countries to trade in his kingdom, nor could he accept ambassadors from them.
- 7) Only the Company is granted the right to sell at the endpoint the essential imported goods. Violators of the law will be punished, and the goods in question will be confiscated for the benefit of the Company. Fabrics made on the east coast of Java are not included in the ban.
- 8) The Company is free from all duties and obligations for the entry and exit of goods.
- 9) Makassar people are not allowed to sail other than Bali, Java, Betawi, Banten, Jambi, Palembang, Johor and Kalimantan who must have a passport.
- 10) Forts Barombong, Pana'kukang, Garassi, Mariso and others must be overhauled. No one, anywhere, new forts be erected. Only the great fortress of Sombaopu will remain for the kingdom of Gowa.
- 11) Fort Jumpandang, the village and the land, including its surroundings, are handed over to the Company. The company lodge will be re-established.
- 12) Dutch currency is valid in Jumpandang.
- 13) The Sultan of the kingdom of Gowa will pay the Company a war fee of 250,000 ringgit, plus a fine consisting of 1000 young men and women, healthy and adult slaves or the sum of the price of the slaves.
- 14) The Kingdom of Gowa had to surrender Bima and the conquered areas to the Company.
- 15) The King of Gowa will try to hand over the king of Bima, the king of Dompu, Tambora, and Sanggar, all of them have killed the Dutch in Bima. Also, Karaeng Bontomarannu has to be handed over to the Company.
- 16) The Sultan must relinquish all his rights over Buton.
- 17) The Sultan must relinquish all his rights over the Sula islands and other islands that are under the control of Ternate, such as Selayar, Muna and all areas on the east coast

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<sup>5</sup> Sagimun. *Sultan Hasanuddin Menentang VOC*. Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Jakarta 1985. h.214-227

of Sulawesi, from Sanana to Manado, the Banggai islands, Gapi and others are located between Mandar and Manado, such as Lambagi, Kaidipan, Buwol, Toli-Toli, Dampelas, Balaisang, Solengsak and Kaili.

- 18) The government of the Gowa kingdom must relinquish its control over the Bone kingdom and the Luwu kingdom and must promise to free Datu Soppeng from exile.
- 19) The government of the kingdom of Gowa will subsequently recognize the kings of Laiya and Bangkala along with all Turatea and Bajeng and their conquered territories, all of them have come to the Company while in war, as free kings without (control) over them.
- 20) All countries which are defeated by the Company in war and its allies, starting from Bulo-Bulo to Bungaya, will become and remain as owned countries that the Company and its allies have won according to the laws of war. When Arung Bakke and Arung Appanang comes, these countries will be treated in accordance with the Company's rights to the areas north of Makassar.
- 21) The Government of the Kingdom of Gowa stated that it would relinquish its rights over Wajo, Bulo-Bulo, and Mandar, all of them were deemed evil to the Company and its allies. The Company and its allies would treat these countries in accordance with the will of the Company.
- 22) The Government of the Kingdom of Gowa will close its country from other countries. Suppose the royal government of Gowa can not refuse them to remain visible. In that case, the government of the kingdom of Gowa will seek the help of the Company which he recognizes as his protector with a further obligation, that he will assist the Company against the enemy of the Company. He will not hold consultations with other countries at war with the Netherlands.
- 23) Based on the articles above, the Sultan and his royal officials made peace, friendship and alliance agreements, which include the kings of Ternate, Tidore, Bacan, Buton, Bone, Soppeng, Luwu, Turatea, along with the conquered areas, as well as Bima with the landlords and kings who are then asked to join this alliance.
- 24) The Company will decide in disputes among Allied members. If one of the parties refuses to heed the intermediary provided by the Company, then all partner members assist the other.
- 25) Two prominent people from the government council in Gowa will go with Speelman to Betawi to seek the governor-general's approval on the agreement. The Governor-General, if desired, will be ordered to stay in Betawi with the guarantee of the Sultan's two sons.
- 26) To realize what is regulated in article 6, the Company will transport British people and their goods to Betawi.
- 27) In order to realize what is regulated in Article 15, if within ten days the king of Bima Karaeng Bontomarannu is not present and the Company is handed over, their children must be handed over to the Company.
- 28) The Sultan promised to pay the Company 250,000 ringgit as payment of war costs which had to be repaid in five consecutive seasons.

29) An oath signed this agreement on Friday, November 18 1667, in Bungaya.<sup>6</sup>

## 2. *The Existence of Muslims After the Makassar War*

### a. **Dutch VOC Supremacy in South Sulawesi**

After the Dutch Company levelled the land of Fort Sombaopu as the last bastion of the resistance of the Makassar Sultanate, then policies were issued that supported the grip of the Dutch Company's hegemony over the local community and kingdom. This was realized through the Bungaya Treaty, which became a means of legitimizing the hegemony of the Dutch Company for the people and kingdoms in South Sulawesi who had accepted Islam in general at the beginning of the XVII century AD. Archipelago, especially in South Sulawesi. The Bungaya Treaty was intended to end the Makassar War, which had claimed many lives and materials. In fact, this led to a humanitarian tragedy, namely the Liwuto sea tragedy and the burning of Sombaopu and Tosora.

The war occurred because of competing interests between the two (Makassar-VOC), who both wanted to control the spice trade route in the eastern region of the archipelago. Before the Makassar War, the spice trade route was under the control of the Makassar Sultanate, centered in Sombaopu. Makassar, which controlled shipping lanes and the spice trade in the eastern region of the archipelago as a result of the Islamic religion, which he embraced at the beginning of the XVII century AD, adopted a system of shipping and free trade for all nations (*liberium horse*). With this policy, Makassar City appeared as a city visited by many countries for trade. Busy European traders (Portuguese, Spanish, English, Danish, etc.) Arab, Indian, Chinese opened a representative trade office in Sombaopu. The *mare liberium* policy was different from the system adopted by the VOC, which applied a shipping and trade monopoly system; only the Netherlands was able to carry out shipping and trade. This triggered a conflict that led to a war between the strong VOC and the formidable Makassar Sultanate, which ended with the Bungaya Treaty, which was very profitable for the VOC and very detrimental to Makassar and its people. Through this agreement, the VOC seemed to have economic and political hegemony in South Sulawesi. The Tradition and Development of Messianism.

Therefore, the Dutch Company's penetration in South Sulawesi after the Makassar War was getting stronger. In facing the influence of the penetration of the Dutch Company, some people in South Sulawesi had their own ways to respond to these conditions. This response was certainly expected to be able to restore conditions to their original state or provide peace of mind. The types of responses to this are as follows: *First*, religious movements contain activities aimed at making people more active in carrying out their religious obligations (Islam). They broke away from the worldly ties associated with power and the Dutch Company by entering the world of tarekat. They inhabited areas that were beyond the formal reach of the Dutch Company rulers by forming spiritual bonds of brotherhood in various rituals.

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<sup>6</sup> Abd. Razak Daeng Patunru, *Sejarah Gowa*, (Ujung Pandang : Yayasan Kebudayaan Sul-Sel di Makassar, 1983), h. 50-55.



According to Mukhlis Paeni, this encourages the development of various traditions in South Sulawesi so that the *Naksabandiah*, *Halwatiyah*, and *Syatariyah* orders and the teachings of *Wajudiah* spread to remote villages in the interior of Makassar, in Sanrobone, Sorabaya, Laguruda, Galesong, Beba, Batang Kaluku, Patani, Garassi, Bontoje'ne, Lanna, and others.<sup>7</sup> Thus, the local people spiritually step in and hide in the tarekat practice, avoiding the hustle and bustle associated with politics. Things like this can be found in the *Murjia'ah* group in the history of Islamic thought. The *Murjia'ah* group was a group that did not want to get involved in the conflict between the *Shi'a*, *Khawarij* and *Mua'waiyah* supporter groups from the *Umayyads*.<sup>8</sup> The conflict was initially a question of leadership (politics) and eventually spilt over into the realm of religion. *Murjia'ah*, of course, did not want to be involved in disbelief with fellow Muslims, let alone involved in political life.

In general, Makassar in particular and South Sulawesi were under the political control of the Dutch rulers. The latter always tried to place the Netherlands as the only divinity in South Sulawesi because the condition of South Sulawesi's people became weak. This caused some people who could move to exodus outside the area. Scholars were trying to find a safe place to continue and maintain their activities. The teachings or knowledge of the Islamic religion were passed on in a safe or secluded place. Islamic religious education, in general, was more on the mystical or tarekat aspects, which were in great demand by young people or nobles.<sup>9</sup>

Their flight into the depths of mysticism or mysticism in remote areas can be understood as the response of Muslims to the decline of their existence after the Makassar War. The Muslims of South Sulawesi wanted to find peace through deepening the *tarekat* or Islamic mysticism from their downturn from the political domination of the Dutch Company in South Sulawesi

### **b. Out-of-Region Migration**

The VOC victory over Makassar caused a tremendous flow of refugees from the South Sulawesi region. Leonard Y. Andaya described this as follows; (1) migrating groups were often so large that their fleets resembled floating cities; and (2) the number and mobility of refugees in the archipelago is seen as an element of instability in the region.<sup>10</sup>

After Sombaopu was destroyed in 1669 AD, the Dutch Company Arung Pakakka also destroyed Tosora and its surroundings, the center of government of the Wajo

<sup>7</sup> Muchlis Paeni, "Membedah Perjanjian Bongaya" (Makalah yang disajikan pada Seminar Membedah Perjanjian Bongaya 1667 oleh Kementerian Koordinator Bidang Maritim dan Sumberdaya Republik Indonesia, Makassar, 21 Desember 2015), h. 6.

<sup>8</sup> Harun Nasution, *Teologi Islam; Aliran Sejarah Analisa Perbandingan*, (Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia Press, 2013), h. 24-25.

<sup>9</sup> Mattulada, *Sejarah, Masyarakat dan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan*, (Cet. I, Ujung Pandang: Hasanuddin University Press, 1998), h. 299.

<sup>10</sup> Leonard Y. Andaya, *The Heritage of Arung Palakka: A History of South Sulawesi (Celebes) in the Seventeenth Century*, terj. Nurhady Simorok, *Warisan Arung Palakka: Sejarah Sulawesi Selatan Abad ke-17*, h. 162

Kingdom, which resulted in Arung Matowa Wajo La Tenri Lai Tosengngeng. This, of course, added to the growth of the flow of South Sulawesi people out of the region to various regions in the archipelago.

Leaving the homeland to gain freedom from an oppressive government or a lack of concern for the welfare of the people was commonplace in the people of South Sulawesi. This kind of thing in South Sulawesi society was called *mallekke kitcheneng* (hiding in the kitchen). Among the refugees who were determined to continue fighting the Dutch VOC and not recognizing the Bungaya Treaty were the group led by Karaeng Tallo; Sultan Abdul Rasyid, Karaeng Galesong; son of Sultan Hasanuddin, Karaeng Bontomarannu; *tumabtalbutta* Gowa. They left Sulawesi to help the Banten sultanate, which had poor relations with the Dutch VOC.

However, another motivation for the Bugis-Makassar people to leave the area was motivated by the desire to improve their fate. The spirit of improving their destiny and the state for the people of South Sulawesi was a call to the soul, which in the local culture was called *siri'*. This was in line with the opinion of Abu Haif in the accompanying research that; Bugis-Makassarese people always tried to find a place considered suitable for them to live, work, socialize, and so on. The motivation for migration by the people of South Sulawesi was also motivated by the *siri* culture; which was their way of life.<sup>11</sup>

### 3. *The Impact of Post Bungaya Treaty*

In the end, the war did continue again; the resistance against the VOC was spearheaded by Karaeng Karunrung, who from the start hated the VOC by constantly urging Sultan Hasanudin to continue the war with the Dutch. April 12, 1668, war broke out for the umpteenth time between the VOC led by Speelman and Gwoa led by Sultan Hasanudin. Even the war that broke out after the Bungaya agreement was bigger. Between the two sides fell victims who were not small in number. Even Arung Palaka himself was injured in this battle. In the report that Speelman sent to the VOC government in Batavia, Sultan Hasanudin used poisoned bullets. Even minor injuries sustained by his troops were difficult to heal. Even Speelman, who was always praised bravely in his reports, expressed his anxiety and irritation.<sup>12</sup>

Of the many VOC troops who, together with Speelman, departed from Batavia on November 24, 1667, it can be said that no one else fought in this final battle. In one of Speelman's letters to the VOC leadership in Batavia requested that the VOC leadership in Batavia immediately send sufficient reinforcements to be able to deal the final blow to the Gowa Kingdom and guarantee absolute peace, even in his letter, Speelman emphasized that the VOC leadership should pay more attention to the Gowa Kingdom in Batavia. South Sulawesi is the center of power in the eastern region of Sri Lanka and Malabar. Speelman knew very well the situation of the two regions because previously,

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<sup>11</sup> Abu Haif, *Ritual Dalam Tradisi Mappanre Tasi Nelayan Bugis di Pagatan Kabupaten Tanah Bumbu Kalimantan Selatan: Akulturasi Islam dan Budaya Lokal, "Disertasi"*, (Makassar: UIN Alauddin Makassar, 2018), h. 51.

<sup>12</sup> Sagimun. *Sultan Hasanuddin Menentang VOC*. Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Jakarta 1985. h.243-246

Speelman was the governor of the region. After receiving reinforcements from Batavia and feeling strong, the VOC acted hard. On April 1669, Dutch troops carried out attacks regularly and repeatedly. The longer the Dutch got closer to Fort Sumbaopu, the atmosphere of the battle intensified.<sup>13</sup> On June 24, 1669, the main fort and fort of the Kingdom of Gowa fell into the hands of Blanda. Fort Sumbaopu felt in honour after the heroes of Gowa under the leadership of Sultan Hasanudin fought so persistently.<sup>14</sup>

The Gowa government worried would rise again, and the Dutch destroyed Fort Sumbaopu to the ground. Sumbaopu Fort was a fortress with walls or layers of walls around it because the King's palace inside was also protected by two winding walls. Likewise, houses and buildings were protected by walls or ring walls that can be used as fortifications in an emergency.<sup>15</sup> Speelman did not dare to attack Fort Gowa directly. Speelman then offered a pardon to those willing to cooperate with the Dutch. On June 29, 1669, Sultan Hasanudin resigned from the government, and the throne was handed over to his son, Amir Hamzah.<sup>16</sup> Sultan Hasanudin, who bravely defended his country until the last second, ruled the kingdom of Gowa for 16 years, from 1653 to 1669. His Majesty died in Gowa on June 12, 1670, after suffering from the placental disease at 39 years.<sup>17</sup> Because actually someone who died defending his country was a martyr. As explained in QS. Baqarah: 286:154.

وَلَا تَقُولُوا لِمَنْ يُقْتَلُ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ أَمْوَاتٌ ۚ بَلْ أَحْيَاءٌ ۚ وَلَكِنَّ لَا تَشْعُرُونَ - ١٥٤

“Never say that those martyred in the cause of Allah are dead – in fact, they are alive! But you do not perceive it.”<sup>18</sup>

From the above verse, Allah SWT forbids to say that people who go in the way of Allah SWT, those who are killed on the battlefield for defending Allah's religion, are dead, but Allah says that they live in the *barzakh* realm.

## CONCLUSION

The Makassar War, which occurred in 1666-1669 AD, resulted in the defeat of the Makassar Sultanate by the Dutch Company, which greatly affected the lives of the people of South Sulawesi. This is accepted by some as defeat as a fate from Allah SWT so that they remain in Makassar by following the rules of the Dutch Company as a risk of losing the war. There are also groups who respond to this by breaking away from the worldly

<sup>13</sup> Sagimun. *Sultan Hasanuddin Menentang VOC*. Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Jakarta 1985. h.249-251

<sup>14</sup> Sagimun. *Sultan Hasanuddin Menentang VOC*. Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Jakarta 1985. h.258

<sup>15</sup> Sagimun. *Sultan Hasanuddin Menentang VOC*. Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Jakarta 1985. h.276

<sup>16</sup> Kutoyo Sutrisni. *Sultan Hasanuddin*. Mutiara Sumber Widya. Jakarta, 2010 .h.43.

<sup>17</sup> Abd. Razak Daeng Patunru, *Sejarah Gowa*, (Ujung Pandang : Yayasan Kebudayaan Sul-Sel di Makassar, 1983), h. 62.

<sup>18</sup> Departemen Agama RI, *Al-quran dan Terjemahan*. Cet. I; Bandung: Syaamil Quran, 2011.

ties of power and company by entering the world of tarekat. They inhabit areas beyond the formal reach of Company rulers by forming spiritual bonds of brotherhood in various rituals. There are also extreme groups outside the South Sulawesi area, and they carry out exodus to various regions in the archipelago to continue the resistance. However, there are also those who leave the area in the spirit of wanting to improve their fate for the better.

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