

RELIGIOUS TRANSFORMATION IN WAJO (The Islamization Era 1582-1626)

¹Anisah Alamshah, ²Susmihara, ³M. Dahlan, ⁴Yasser Mulla Shadra

¹²³Univesitas Islam Negeri Alauddin Makassar, Indonesia

⁴Seri Begawan Religious Teacher University College, Brunei Darussalam

¹anisahalamshah@gmail.com, ²susmihara@uin-alauddin.ac.id,

⁴dahlanmuhammad1954@gmail.com

Abstract

This article endeavors to uncover the process of Islamization within the Cinnottabangka Kingdom, more commonly recognized as the Wajo Kingdom. Employing a historical approach, it utilizes various stages of historical research, involving heuristic methods for source collection, internal and external critique of historical sources, interpretation, and historiography. The findings from this research suggest the establishment of Wajo as a kingdom believed to have originated around the mid-15th century, initiated by an individual who founded the Lampulungeng settlement, known as Puangnge Lapulungeng. This phase progressed with the arrival of La Paukke, a noble and the offspring of Datu Cina, who laid the groundwork for the Cinnotabi Kingdom, eventually evolving into the Wajo Kingdom. Furthermore, Islam's adoption as the official religion in Wajo by the royal elite through the musu' selleng, instigated by the Gowa Kingdom, is a significant event. This acceptance took place on Tuesday, 15 Safar 1019, corresponding to Sunday, 9 May 1610, when Arung Matowa Wajo La Sangkuru Patau embraced Islam, adopting the title Sultan Abd. Rahman. Subsequently, the reception of Islam by the Wajo kingdom led to substantial transformations in governance and social structures, notably through the Pangngadereng system, a set of normative and customary rules grounded in elements like *ade'*, *bicara*, *rapang*, *wari*. With the integration of Islam into the Wajo Kingdom's governance, the Pangngadereng system merged with Sharia principles. The amalgamation of Bugis Wajo cultural values within the Pangadereng concept and their alignment with Islamic teachings.

Keywords: Cinnottabangka, Wajo Kingdom, Islamization, La Sangkuru Patau, Pangngadereng

Abstrak

Artikel ini bertujuan untuk mengungkapakan proses Islamisasi di Kerajaan Cinnottabangka, yang lebih dikenal sebagai Kerajaan Wajo. Melalui metode historis dan langkah-langkahnya, artikel ini menggunakan pendekatan penelitian sejarah yang melibatkan pengumpulan sumber (heuristik), kritik eksternal dan internal terhadap sumber sejarah, interpretasi, serta penulisan sejarah. Temuan dari penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa terbentuknya Kerajaan Wajo diperkirakan terjadi pada pertengahan abad ke-15, dimulai dengan pendirian perkampungan Lampulungeng oleh seseorang bernama Puangnge Lapulungeng. Periode ini kemudian dilanjutkan dengan kedatangan La Paukke, seorang bangsawan dan anak dari Datu Cina, yang mengawali Kerajaan Cinnotabi yang berkembang menjadi Kerajaan Wajo. Di sisi lain, penerimaan Islam sebagai agama resmi di Wajo oleh para elit kerajaan yang diinisiasi oleh Kerajaan Gowa, terjadi pada hari Selasa, 15 Safar 1019, atau setara dengan hari Minggu, 9 Mei 1610, saat Arung Matowa Wajo La Sangkuru Patau memeluk agama Islam dengan gelar Sultan Abd. Rahman. Pun demikian, terjadi transformasi signifikan pada struktur pemerintahan dan sosial setelah penerimaan Islam oleh kerajaan dan masyarakat Wajo, termasuk dalam sistem pangngadereng—sebuah sistem aturan adat yang didasarkan pada unsur *ade'*, bicara, rapang, wari. Setelah Islam terintegrasi dalam pemerintahan Kerajaan Wajo, sistem pangngadereng bergabung dengan prinsip syariat (*sara'*). Nilai-nilai budaya Bugis Wajo dalam konsep Pangadereng dan integrasinya dengan ajaran Islam.

Katakunci: Cinnottabangka, Kerajaan Wajo, Islamisasi, La Sangkuru Patau, Pangngadereng

INTRODUCTION

The Book of Lagaligo does not mention the Kingdom of Wajo. According to Lontara sources, the Kingdom of Wajo is considered a continuation of the Cinnotabi Kingdom. Following the conclusion of the reign of La Patiroi, the fourth king of the Cinnotabi Kingdom, the state experienced disintegration, leading to the establishment of two distinct governing regions: one under the rule of La Tenribali and the other under the rule of La Tenritappu. La Tenritappu's unfavorable actions ultimately led to his assassination by his own people. This event, the assassination of La Tenritappu, became a pivotal moment for the reintegration of the people of the Cinnotabi Kingdom under the leadership of La Tenribali, now recognized as the Kingdom of Wajo. Subsequently, La Tenribali assumed the title of the first king, known as Batara Wajo I.¹

¹ M. Irfan Mahmud, “Awal Mula Wajo dan Aspek Ruang Situs Inti Wajo Abad XV-XIX Masehi”, *Walennaee*, vol. 4, no. 7 (2001), p. 47-60.

Through this consolidation, Wajo emerged as a prominent kingdom in the southern region of Sulawesi, spanning from the 15th to the early 19th century AD. Unlike many other kingdoms in South Sulawesi, the Wajo Kingdom initiated its dynasty with a narrative that had a degree of rationality. It commenced with a princess from Luwu afflicted by a skin disease (*malasa uli*) and subsequently exiled to Wajo. As time progressed, Wajo distinguished itself particularly in terms of governing administration. Implementing the concept of *wanua*, a confederation model emphasizing village autonomy, the Wajo Kingdom flourished during a remarkable era.²

The findings from the overall survey conducted by the Southeast Sulawesi Historical and Archaeological Heritage Sanctuary in [year], along with the research carried out by the OXIS Project in the Pammana District in 1999, have revealed the abundance of archaeological remnants in the Wajo region. This discovery underscores the critical need for extensive research. The diverse array of data gathered by the survey team, including forts, ancient mosques, ceramic fragments, pottery shards, and metal currency, offers valuable insights into the socio-cultural facets and historical narratives at the heart of Wajo, Tosora.

In a similar vein, the OXIS team's efforts to excavate areas believed to predate Tosora in the villages of Lapaukke and Cina Riaja yielded various data underscoring the need for exploration in the surrounding areas (*limpo* and *wanua*) beyond Tosora (the heart of Wajo). During the brief exploration of these villages, certain stones, considered by some as "fossils" from the I Lagaligo period, were found. Toward the eastern side, there existed a sizable stone mortar believed to belong to the *We Cudai* community, accompanied by the discovery of foreign ceramics, pottery, and resin. Further investigations conducted in Bukit Cina also unveiled an early and sophisticated stage of pre-Wajo development.³

The archaeological exploration of the sites within the Wajo Kingdom area has become increasingly crucial. Despite serving as a field for philological, historical, and anthropological research, the distribution of artifacts appears to have been underutilized in elucidating various issues concerning the socio-cultural dynamics of the Wajo Kingdom, particularly regarding settlement spaces. Several scholars have delved into different socio-cultural aspects of Wajo based on classical Lontara texts

² See Anzar Abdullah, "Islamisasi Di Sulawesi Selatan dalam Perspektif Sejarah", *Pramita*, vol. 26, no. 1 (2016), p. 86-94; Dewi Sartika, dkk., "Musu' Selleng dalam Hegemoni Kerajaan Gowa Di Sulawesi Selatan (Studi Tentang: Islamisasi Kerajaan Wajo 1582-1626)", *El-Fata*, vol. 2, no. 2 (2023), p. 184-194; Mappangara, Suriadi. *Sejarah Islam di Sulawesi Selatan* (Makassar: Lamacca Press, 2003), p. 63.

³ M. Irfan Mahmud, "Awal Mula Wajo dan Aspek Ruang Situs Inti Wajo Abad XV-XIX Masehi", *Walennaee*, vol. 4, no. 7 (2001), p. 47-60.

and oral history. Notable among these scholars are Christian Pelras (1971; 1996), Andi Zainal Abidin (1985), Abdul Razak Daeng Patunru (1964), and J. Noorduynd (1955).

The processed texts from Lontara and oral history by previous scholars are undeniably important and should be examined from an archaeological perspective to gather empirical evidence. Consequently, the structure of buildings, the concentration of ceramic findings, and locations believed to have functional connections with the existence of Wajo's political center provide crucial testimony to the development of an economic-political enclave, at least from the early 15th century to the late 19th century.⁴

However, these assumptions do not convincingly allow us to ascertain the chronological details and spatial aspects concerning their relationship with the structure and function of the site. Departing from this issue, this paper will reassess the Islamicization process in Wajo by tracing the historical progression from pre-Islamic times, the advent of Islam, and the occurrences of acculturation and assimilation of Islam with the culture and local beliefs of the Wajo community.

THE WAJO KINGDOM IN PRE-ISLAMIC TIMES

1. The Origin of the Wajo Kingdom

The historical trajectory of local kingdoms in the South Sulawesi region shows that the Wajo Kingdom was only recognized around the mid-15th century. Before that, Tana Wajo was merely a natural fortress, consisting of vast plains surrounded by thick bushes and untouched virgin forests. Abdul Razak Daeng Patunru described that in ancient times, when no one inhabited Wajo, the area remained an expansive land covered by dense forests, inhabited by various types of animals and a variety of bird species. Surrounding it were numerous lakes teeming with fish.⁵

The term "Wajō" is derived from "bajo," which refers to a large tree offering shelter to hunters in that region. Over time, the pronunciation evolved into "wajō," eventually becoming the kingdom's name. The Wajo Kingdom sets itself apart from other realms in South Sulawesi, including Luwu, Bone, Soppeng, Gowa, and others. The leadership in Wajo does not trace its lineage to Tomanurung (Bugis) or Tumanurung (Makassar), individuals with unknown descent and origins. Additionally, the Kingdom of Wajo lacks "arajang" (regalia). Like the kingdoms in

⁴ Bahtiar, "Political Relationships between The Kingdoms: Gowa With Bone, Soppeng, Wajo (Tellumpocco)", *Walasauji*, vol.10, no. 2 (2019), p. 251-267.

⁵ Dewi Sartika, dkk., "Musu' Selleng dalam Hegemoni Kerajaan Gowa Di Sulawesi Selatan (Studi Tentang: Islamisasi Kerajaan Wajo 1582-1626)", *El-Fata*, vol. 2, no. 2 (2023), p. 184-194.

South Sulawesi emerging in the mid-14th century, Wajo also came into existence around that period.

However, Luwu, Bone, and Gowa were established earlier than the Wajo Kingdom, as these three kingdoms were mentioned in Lontara Sukkuna Wajo (LSW). Even Tomanurung in Matajang, the inaugural king of Bone, was narrated in the early sections of LSW.⁶ By the onset of the 13th century, Wajo's territory started gaining acknowledgment and saw the settlement of various community factions. Among the early settlers who initiated the formation of communities in Tana Wajo was Puangnge Lampulungan. Afterward, it evolved into Cinnottabangka. In the Lontara writing system, Cinnottabangka is denoted as Cinnottabi. With a growing population, Cinnottabi saw the appointment of La Paukke as its inaugural king. As time progressed, this territory eventually transformed into an independent kingdom.

2. Government Structure of the Wajo State

Batara Wajo held the highest leadership position, supported by three Paddanréng or Ranréng: Paddanréng Béttémpola, Paddanréng Taloténreng, and Paddanréng Tua, each handling specific governance matters. After the removal of Batara Wajo III in the Kingdom of Wajo, the governance remained vacant for three years, during which Arung Béttémpola took charge. Upon deliberation by the people of Wajo and Arung Béttémpola, appointing a leader as Arung Mataesso became imperative for the state. Consensus was reached to appoint La Palewo Topalipung, previously serving as Matowa in Majauleng. Since La Palewoi Topalipung's appointment, there was a change in title, transforming Batara Wajo into Arung Matowa Wajo.⁷

Arung Matowa Wajo leads the state in collaboration with three prominent officials of the Wajo region. These officials include Pabate lombo or Batelompo, responsible for carrying banners represented by three lempo: Battempolo, known as Pilla with a red flag; Talotanreng, identified as patola with multicolored flags; and Tua, recognized as cakkuridi with a yellow flag. Initially designated for security and warfare in their respective areas, their roles expanded gradually due to the increasing administrative power, evolving into ministerial positions that assist Arung Matowa Wajo in governance.

The trio of Paddanréng alongside the trio of Batelompo form a collective entity referred to as Arung Ennenge or Petta Ennenge. Should Batara Wajo or Arung

⁶ Zubair, "Interaksi Syariah dan Adat dalam Naskah Lontara Sukkuna Wajo", *Al-Turas*, vol. 18, no. 2 (2012), p. 189-207.

⁷ Abdurrazak Daeng Patunru, *Sedjarah Wadjo* (Makassar: Jajasan Kebudajaan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara, 1964), p. 39-40.

Matowa become part of this assembly, it takes on the name Petta Wajo. Within this organization, there exists a segment known as Arung Mabbicara (Speaking King), tasked with counseling and presiding over legal matters. Each Paddanréng is accompanied by 10 Arung Mabbicara. Among the total 30 Arung Mabbicara, a core group of 12 individuals holds significance, comprising 4 Arung Mabbicara for each Paddanréng. Their primary task is to adjudicate cases (maddatte bicara). Then, the other 18 Arung Mabbicara assist in mattetta mappanopate bicara (interpreting, lowering, raising), meaning they receive, examine, and bring cases to trial for decision by the Arung Mabbicara.

The role of Arung Mabbicara, if paralleled with today's terms, would be akin to a public prosecutor (jaksa). Apart from the Arung Mabbicara institution, there exists another body known as Suro Ribateng consisting of three individuals: one for Battempola, one for Talotanreng, and one for Tua. Their primary task is to act as official envoys conveying agreements. Suro Ribateng is only authorized to carry out tasks based on agreements and orders from paddanreng, directives from Batelompo, and instructions from Arung Matowa.⁸

The overall count of this institution includes Arung Matowa (1 person), Arung Ennenge (6 people), Arung Mabbicara (30 people), and Suro Ribateng (3 people). When totaled, it comprises 40 individuals who form the highest governing body in Wajo, later recognized as “Arung Patappuloe (Forty Kings)” or Puang ri Wajo. This institution holds sovereignty as the highest body in Wajo, commonly known as “Paoppang palengngngi Wajo,” signifying the rise and fall of Wajo's fate lies in the hands of Arung Patappuloe.⁹

3. The Wajo Land's System of Beliefs

In Wajo, a variety of deities known as Déwa Patoto hold sway over destiny, with Patotoé as the fate determiner and To Palanroé as the creator. These divine beings inhabit the celestial realm (boting langi), where they influence weather patterns, bestow prosperity, and at times unleash their might through thunder or droughts. Wé Nyiliq Timo, an entity from the submerged domains, recognized as the god of the underwater world, resides within lakes, seas, and rivers. Offerings like walasuji, featuring vibrant rice cakes, betel leaves, and chicken eggs, are submerged in these waters (rivers, seas, and lakes) as tributes.

Beliefs in this aquatic deity persist and endure to the present day. Worship of this entity is conducted through the maqcéraq tappareng ceremony, a rite

⁸ Mattulada, *Latoa Suatu Lukisan Analitis Terhadap Antropolgi Politik Orang Bugis* (Ujung Pandang, Hasanuddin University Press, 1995), h. 408.

⁹ Dewi Sartika, dkk., “Musu’ Selleng dalam Hegemoni Kerajaan Gowa Di Sulawesi Selatan (Studi Tentang: Islamisasi Kerajaan Wajo 1582-1626)”, *El-Fata*, vol. 2, no. 2 (2023), p. 184-194.

involving the sanctification of lakes and the sacrificial offering of buffaloes, symbolizing devotion by presenting the animal's head to the ruler of the underwater realm, aiming to avert calamities through this charitable act. Belief in ethereal beings safeguarding lakes has integrated deeply into the community's daily life.¹⁰ Besides its functional roles as a breeding ground, fishing area, fish conservation zone, and residential space, Lake Tempé hosts revered spaces. Within Lake Tempé lie numerous hallowed sites profoundly revered by the local fishing communities. These sanctified areas act as venues for the maccéraq tappareng ceremonies, annual rituals offering tribute to the lake's guardian.¹¹

Moreover, within the Tolotang belief system, followers maintain faith in the previously mentioned deities, along with Dewata Seuwaé (originating from Déq indicating negation, watang for body or form, and Seuwaé representing oneness), akin to the concept of the One God in monotheistic religions. They also acknowledge the existence of spectral entities like peppo (flying apparitions), parakang (bloodsuckers typically seen during full moons), tau tenrita (ghosts), asupanting (shapeshifting dogs), among others.¹²

THE INTRODUCTION OF ISLAM IN WAJO'S HISTORY

1. Islamization in Wajo

Before the arrival of the Minangkabau personalities—Dato Telluè (three datuks), namely Abdul Makmur Dato ri Bandang, Abdul Jawad Dato ri Tiro, and Sulaiman Dato Patimang—there already existed a Malay Muslim presence in Makassar. Following Gowa's official adoption of Islam on Thursday, September 22, 1605, marking the 9th of Jumadil Awal, 1014 Hijriah, it's recorded that the initial embracer of Islam was Raja Tallo I Malingkang Daeng Manyonri, Karaeng Tumananga Ri Bontobiraeng, the regional ruler of the Kingdom of Gowa. As a result, he was bestowed the title Sultan Abdullah Awalul Islam. Subsequently, Raja Gowa I Mangngarangi Daeng Manrabbia followed suit, later assuming the title Sultan Alauddin.¹³

¹⁰ Husnul Fahimah Ilyas, “Lontaraq Suqkuna Wajo: Telaah Ulang Awal Islamisasi Di Wajo”, *Tesis* (Depok: Fak. Ilmu Budaya, Universitas Indonesia, 2011), p. 39.

¹¹ Naidah Naing, “Kearifan Lokal Tradisional Masyarakat Nelayan pada Permukiman Mengapung di Danau Tempe SulaWesi Selatan”, *Jurnal Lokal Wisdom*, vol. 1, no.2 (2009), p. 19-26.

¹² Sapriillah, “Siasat Lokalitas: Studi Tentang Cara Komunitas Tolotang Mempertahankan Identitasnya”, *Tesis* (Ujung Pandang: Fak. Kebudayaan, Universitas Hasanuddin, 2006), p. 97.

¹³ Kusnaka Adimiharja, “Sistem Pengetahuan Lokal dan Pembangunan Masyarakat Desa di Indonesia”, *Jurnal Ekologi dan Pembangunan*, vol. 1, no.2 (1999): 11-21.

Concerning this issue, the inaugural Friday prayer took place in Tallo and was attended by all strata of Gowa-Tallo society on November 9, 1607, corresponding to the 19th of Rajab 1016. Ahmad Sewang notes the pivotal significance of this Friday prayer in the Islamization of South Sulawesi. Following this event, Sultan Alauddin proclaimed the Kingdom of Gowa as an Islamic realm, designating it as the epicenter for Islamization in South Sulawesi. His decision was grounded in a prior agreement among the kingdoms of South Sulawesi known as “ulu ada’.” The agreement stipulated: “Anyone who discovers a superior path commits to sharing it with their allied monarchs.”¹⁴

Gowa was responsible for spreading Islam to the Land of Bugis, as per the convention among Bugis kings in the past. This convention was an oath (pāseng) among them stating that whoever among them found a better path should share it with the others. However, Bugis kingdoms that felt their strength became suspicious of Gowa's intentions, such as the kingdoms united in the Tellupocoe alliance, a combination of three realms—Bone, Soppeng, and Wajo—thus rejecting Gowa's invitation.

The rejection by the Tellupocoe alliance of Gowa's call was based on the assumption that it was a tactic to fulfill Gowa's ambitions in initiating expansion and dominance in the political and economic arenas across all the Tellupocoe kingdoms. This refusal by several kingdoms served as a reason for the Kingdom of Gowa to resort to arms.¹⁵ In 1608, Sidenreng was defeated and embraced Islam. Sidenreng joined Gowa's forces to attack Soppeng and converted to Islam in 1609. Subsequently, Soppeng also allied with Gowa's army, and together with Sidenreng, they attacked Wajo, successfully Islamizing it by 1610. Following this, these three Bugis kingdoms united with Gowa to assail Bone, successfully Islamizing it by 1611. After Bone embraced Islam, it was declared that all kingdoms in South Sulawesi, including in the Mandar region (now West Sulawesi), had entered Islam.¹⁶

2. Islamic Progression Following Islamization

After Arung Matowa Wajo, La Sangkuru Patau, and a substantial segment of the Wajo populace formally embraced Islam, Arung Matowa recognized the need for

¹⁴ Dewi Sartika, dkk., “Musu’ Selleng dalam Hegemoni Kerajaan Gowa Di Sulawesi Selatan (Studi Tentang: Islamisasi Kerajaan Wajo 1582-1626)”, *El-Fata*, vol. 2, no. 2 (2023), p. 184-194.

¹⁵ Zubair, “Interaksi Syariah dan Adat dalam Naskah Lontara Sukkuna Wajo”, *Al-Turas*, vol. 18, no. 2 (2012), p. 189-207; Fadli, Aman, Irvan Tasnur, “Islamization Process of The Tellumpocoe Alliance: The History of Bone, Soppeng And Wajo”, *El-Harakah: Jurnal Budaya Islam*, vol. 25, no. 1 (2023), p. 156-179.

¹⁶ M. Irfan Mahmud, “Awal Mula Wajo dan Aspek Ruang Situs Inti Wajo Abad XV-XIX Masehi”, *Walennaee*, vol. 4, no.7 (2001), p. 47-60.

a knowledgeable figure—a scholar or preacher—to provide in-depth guidance and education on Islamic principles to the community. Arung Matowa La Sangkuru Patau then sent a representative to Gowa, requesting the dispatch of a preacher. Upon approval, Sulaiman Khatib Sulung was tasked with imparting Islamic teachings to the people of Wajo. His teachings, identified as Dato Sulaiman's teachings, encompassed the following aspects in LSW:

“Do not rely on bird calls when undertaking tasks; refrain from making sacrifices, as it may be perceived as idolatry. Avoid considering anything as sacred. Abstain from seeking guidance through palmistry, as it is believed to bring fortune. These practices constitute infidel beliefs, expressions, and actions, which are condemned by Allah. Abstain from consuming pork, prohibited by Muhammad and forbidden by Allah. Refrain from committing adultery, prohibited by Allah and forbidden by Muhammad. Avoid drinking alcoholic beverages, prohibited by Allah and forbidden by Muhammad. Refrain from participating in usury, prohibited by Allah and forbidden by Muhammad.”¹⁷

Arung Matoa and the Wajo community embraced this practice. In LSW, it's noted that the prevailing custom back then involved cremating the deceased and preserving their ashes in a tajo (urn), which was eventually interred. Dato Sulaiman advocated against cremation, emphasizing shrouding the deceased and then burying them. Following the acceptance of Dato Sulaiman's teachings by Arung Matoa and the Wajo populace, Dato Sulaiman invited Arung Matoa Wajo to a lake for a ceremonial bath and discourse.¹⁸ The impassioned speech delivered by Arung Matoa La Sangkuru resonated with fervent approval from the Wajo people, confirming and endorsing his words. Consequently, the community ceremonially bathed or cleansed Arung Matoa.¹⁹

ACCULTURATION OF ISLAM WITH THE CULTURE OF THE WAJO SOCIETY

The fusion of Islam with the Wajo community's culture involved Dato Sulaiman consistently harmonizing Islamic law with local customs, avoiding any clash between traditions and religious principles. Dato Sulaiman's statement, “Naiya adek na bicaranna sarake, narèkko mabbicàrai tennacèllèngi arung, mabèla ripuadai ala

¹⁷ Kusnaka Adimiharja, “Sistem Pengetahuan Lokal dan Pembangunan Masyarakat Desa di Indonesia”, *Jurnal Ekologi dan Pembangunan*, vol. 1, no.2 (1999), p. 11-21.

¹⁸ Husnul Fahimah Ilyas, “Lontaraq Suqkuna Wajo: Telaah Ulang Awal Islamisasi Di Wajo”, *Tesis* (Depok: Fak. Ilmu Budaya, Universitas Indonesia, 2011), p. 39.

¹⁹ Zubair, “Interaksi Syariah dan Adat dalam Naskah Lontara Sukkuna Wajo”, *Al-Turas*, vol. 18, no. 2 (2012), p. 189-207.

nauttamalyè,” highlights that, in accordance with customary Sharia, the ruler should refrain from meddling in decision-making processes.

Dato Sulaiman informed Sultan Alauddin, the King of Gowa, of his successful endeavors in spreading Islam in Wajo, where religious practices were established and mosques thrived. The King of Gowa then directed Dato Sulaiman to Luwu for further Islamic teachings. After a brief stay in Luwu, Dato Sulaiman passed away and was interred in Pattimang, earning the name Dato ri Pattimang (commonly known as Patimang). Upon learning of Dato Sulaiman's demise, Arung Matoa sought an ulama from Gowa, leading to the dispatch of Dato ri Bandang to Wajo, who eventually assumed the role of judge (kadi) following Dato Sulaiman's tenure.

Dato ri Bandang's arrival in Wajo marked the continuation of spreading Islamic teachings among its populace. A year later, a grand celebration of Prophet Muhammad's birthday (Maulid Nabi Saw) took place in a significant mosque. However, a dispute arose during the event between the amil from Tuwa and the bilal from Bèttèmpola, proving irreconcilable. Witnessing this, Dato ri Bandang and Petta Iwajo observed the behavior of the parèwa sarak, identifying violations of customary legal norms. Consequently, Dato ri Bandang initiated a reform within the parèwa sarak bureaucracy, removing officials who breached decorum or lacked understanding. Dato ri Bandang recommended to Petta I Wajo the appointment of parèwa sarak officials from noble backgrounds, considering their expertise in customary law.²⁰

During the reign of Lamameng Puwenna Radenggalo, a Ranreng in Akka (reigning from 1821-1825 AD), accommodating Sharia law alongside customary law was keenly observed by the ulama (Islamic scholars) in Wajo. At that time, an esteemed scholar named Sheikh Madinah arrived. He successfully encouraged the women of Wajo to wear the headscarf. Lamameng Puwenna Radenggalo, acting as the Arung Matoa, was deeply committed to Islam. As the Arung Matoa, he aimed to re-establish Sharia law in Wajo (previously, there had been a vacuum in Arung Matoa's leadership for four years due to conflicts among the limpo and the six royal councils). Some policies implemented by the Arung Matoa included:

The directives set by Arung Matoa included several significant reforms: first, the prohibition of idol offerings (mapi-narakai), followed by the felling of numerous large trees used in ceremonial offerings and the demolition of ritual huts. Moreover, there was a conscious effort to treat the Lili, a district ruler, equally among the populace. Another pivotal change was the replacement of the death penalty for

²⁰ Zubair, “Interaksi Syariah dan Adat dalam Naskah Lontara Sukkuna Wajo”, *Al-Turas*, vol. 18, no. 2 (2012), p. 189-207.

thieves with hand amputation, exemplified in the cases of Lasoso and Wèpacedda. Furthermore, inheritance laws were formally instituted.

Notably, the implementation of these inheritance laws triggered a protracted debate between Arung Matoa and the Wajo community. Eventually, the community embraced the customary laws governing inheritance, despite initial reservations expressed by figures like Arung Bèttèng. The consensus ultimately stood firm, echoing the decision made by Arung Matowâè, emphasizing the importance of adhering to the ancestral customs that defined the societal norms in Wajo.²¹

During that period, Arung Matowa sought to institute inheritance regulations based on Sharia law. However, Arung Bèttèng contested this proposition, asserting that Wajo women couldn't align with Sharia law's provision of a one-half share for women, given that Wajo customary law already mandated equal inheritance shares for both genders. Thus, Arung Matowa opted against implementing this particular inheritance law.²²

Furthermore, there occurred an integration of Islamic customs into the indigenous cultural framework termed “Pangadereng.” Pangadereng represented the wisdom imparted by kings or sages in the Bugis region during the 16th/17th century, encapsulating written records like Lontara Latoa, which elucidated Bugis perspectives on religious norms, cultural practices, state laws, and more. The components of Pangadereng encompassed four facets: *Ade'* (customary practices), *Rapang* (Jurisprudence), *Bicara* (Judiciary), and *Wariq* (Social hierarchy). With the advent of Islam, these four elements were augmented by *syara* (Islamic law), culminating in a total of five elements as a consequence of the influence of Islamization.

The way of life in Bugis Wajo society is renowned for its concepts of etiquette, sanctions, and life solutions, including: Maradeka To Wajoe (independence in life), wari (honesty), tuppup (respect), rapang pura onro (inheritance law), and naita alena ade'na napupuang (attention to children as they grow).²³ The Bugis cultural values, steadfastly held by the Wajo community, consist of four elements before Islam and expand to five after the arrival of Islam (ade', wari, rapang, bicara + syariat), all encapsulated in the terminology of Pangadereng, signifying customary traditions. Alongside these values within Pangadereng, to reinforce these cultural values, the

²¹ Mustaqim Pabbajah, “From the Indigenous to the Religious Practices: Islamic Construction of the Local Tradition in South Sulawesi, Indonesia”, *Esensia: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin*, vol. 22, no. 1 (2022), p. 91-102.

²² Nasruddin, “Usaha La Sangkuru Patau dalam Mengembangkan Agama Islam Di Kerajaan Wajo”, *Adabiyah*, vol. 14, no. 2 (2014), p. 143-149; Ahmad Yani, “Islamisasi di Ajatappareng Abad XVI-XVII”, *Pusaka*, vol. 8, no. 2 (2020), p. 191–210.

²³ M. Arif Mattalitti, *Pappaseng To Rioluta* (Jakarta: Sastra Indonesia dan Daerah, 1986), p. 87, 277, 282.

Bugis people introduced the concept of Paseng (Messages/Advice from kings/wise individuals), manifested through "SIRI," including:²⁴

Narekko lolongekko paddisengeng Majeppu muruntunitu Pattiroangna decenna lino na Akherat, meaning: acquiring knowledge means obtaining guidance for the afterlife. *Siriemi Rionroang Lino Narekko de ni Sirie Tau-Tau mami/Lebbi kessinni olo koloe*, which translates to: it's only through a sense of shame that we can attain human values in the world; without shame, no creature is more precious than us. Both the Pangadereng and Paseng concepts have simultaneously constructed the awareness and societal order for the Bugis people, especially Bugis Wajo, which can be seen from the legacy of their societal system. Even today, it remains a repository of local wisdom for those of Bugis descent, even when residing abroad.

Reconstructing the application of Pangadereng values and Islamic Sharia would significantly contribute to anticipating modern cultural values that do not align with the Indonesian national identity, which have heavily influenced the lifestyles of today's younger generation. This reconstruction can be achieved through various creative steps, primarily disseminated within the realm of education, which serves as the primary pillar supporting the future quality of our nation. Considering the principles of Bugis cultural values/Sharia as fundamental traditional values along with Pangadereng and religion, it becomes evident how essential it is to implement.²⁵

The value of steadfastness, understood as a principle of commitment and consistency, necessary to resist temptations that may sway principles; the value of honesty as the most crucial aspect to avoid any form of engineering and manipulation, both in outward actions and inner thoughts and the value of intelligence, crucial as the primary asset to prevent being deceived and to refrain from deceiving others. Actions should be well-considered to prevent regretful consequences; compassion is highly needed as a binding force for relationships, fostering a sense of brotherhood and closeness, promoting proper conduct and peace among all components of society.

CONCLUDING

The Wajo Kingdom, originating in 1399, inherited the legacy of the Cinnotabi Kingdom. Nestled in the Tosora hills, its heart, encircled by five lakes—Latalibolong, Lababa, Seppangnge, Latanparu, and JampuE—positioned west, south,

²⁴ Nurnaningsih, "Asimilasi Lontara Pangadereng dan Syari'at Islam: Pola Perilaku Masyarakat Bugis-Wajo", *Al-Tahri*, vol. 15, no. 1 (2015), p. 21-41.

²⁵ Zubair, "Interaksi Syariah dan Adat dalam Naskah Lontara Sukkuna Wajo", *Al-Turas*, vol. 18, no. 2 (2012), p. 189-207; Nurnaningsih, "Asimilasi Lontara Pangadereng dan Syari'at Islam: Pola Perilaku Masyarakat Bugis-Wajo", *Al-Tahrir*, vol. 15, no. 1 (2015), p. 21-41.

and east of Tosora village, while northern hills connected to Cinnongtabi Village. During the 15th to 17th centuries, Wajo adhered to a monarchy, succession passed along hereditary lines. Conflicts led to a shift to a constitutional monarchy, relying not solely on customary law but also on the Ammana Gappa. Subsequently, it transitioned into a democratic system aligned with Pancasila. Despite not formally adopted, Wajo predominantly observed customary law, evident through institutions like Parewa Sarak, governing religious affairs.

Noorduyn's Theory parallels the Islamic conversion in South Sulawesi to other archipelagic regions, comprising three stages. Initially, Islam entered Wajo through Malay Muslim traders engaging in trade. Second, Wajo's elite embraced Islam after Gowa Kingdom's attack, marked on Tuesday, 15 Safar 1019 (equivalent to Sunday, 9 May 1610). Arung Matowa Wajo La Sangkuru Patau embraced Islam, assuming the title Sultan Abd. Rahman.

Embracing Islam catalyzed significant shifts in governance and societal structures within the Wajo Kingdom, respecting local customs under the Pangadereng framework—an amalgamation of *ade'*, *bicara*, *rapang*, *wari*. Islam's integration merged Pangadereng with Sharia, harmonizing Bugis Wajo cultural values with Islamic teachings, fostering a cohesive lifestyle spanning individuals, society, state, and spirituality. Anchored in steadfastness, honesty, intelligence, and compassion, it's substantiated by textual sources—Qur'an and Sunnah—guided by "Siri" values, emphasizing personal integrity, social responsibility, and reverence towards Allah, the Creator.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abdullah, Anzar, "Islamisasi Di Sulawesi Selatan dalam Perspektif Sejarah", *Pramita*, vol. 26, no. 1, 2016, pp. h. 86-94.
- Adimiharja, Kusnaka, "Sistem Pengetahuan Lokal dan Pembangunan Masyarakat Desa di Indonesia". *Jurnal Ekologi dan Pembangunan*, vol. 1, no.2, 1999, pp. 11-21.
- Bahtiar. "Political Relationships between The Kingdoms: Gowa With Bone, Soppeng, Wajo (Tellumpocco)". *Walasauji*, vol. 10, no. 2, 2019, pp. 251-267.
- Bandung, A. B Takko. "Budaya Bugis dan Persebarannya dalam Perspektif Antropologi Budaya". *Lensa Budaya*, vol. 15, no. 1, 2020, pp. 27-36.
- Esse, Indo. "Sistem Pemerintahan Kerajaan Wajo Di Desa Tosora Abad Xv-Xvii Perspektif Siyasa Syar'iyah", *Thesis*. Makassar: Fak. Syariah dan Hukum, Universitas Islam Negeri Alauddin, 2020.
- Fadli, Aman, Irvan Tasnur. "Islamization Process of The Tellumpoccoe Alliance: The History of Bone, Soppeng And Wajo". *El-Harakah: Jurnal Budaya Islam*, vol. 25, no. 1, 2023, pp. 156-179.

- Farid Andi Zainal Abidin, *Wajo Abad XV-XVI Suatu Penggalan Sejarah Terpendam SulaWesi Selatan*, Bandung: Alumni, 1985.
- Geertz, Clifford, *Kebudayaan dan Agama*, Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1992.
- Ilyas, Husnul Fahimah, “Lontaraq Suqkuna Wajo: Telaah Ulang Awal Islamisasi Di Wajo”, *Thesis*. Depok: Fak. Ilmu Budaya, Universitas Indonesia, 2011.
- Latief, Halilintar. “Kepercayaan Orang Bugis di Sulawesi Selatan”, *Disertasi*. Ujung Pandang: Fak. Kebudayaa, Universitas Hasanuddin, 2005.
- Latoa, Mattulada, *Suatu Lukisan Analitis terhadap Antropologi Politik Orang Bugis*, Yogyakarta: Gajah Mada University Press, 1976.
- Mahmud, M. Irfan, “Awal Mula Wajo dan Aspek Ruang Situs Inti Wajo Abad XV-XIX Masehi”, *Walennaa*, vol. 4, no.7, 2001, pp. h. 47-60.
- Mattalitti, M. Arif, *Pappaseng To Riolota*, Jakarta: Sastra Indonesia dan Daerah, 1986.
- Naing, Nqaidah, “Kearifan Lokal Tradisional Masyarakat Nelayan pada Permukiman Mengapung di Danau Tempe SulaWesi Selatan”, *Jurnal Lokal Wisdom*, vol. 1, no.2, 2009, pp. 19-26.
- Nasruddin, “Usaha La Sangkuru Patau dalam Mengembangkan Agama Islam Di Kerajaan Wajo”, *Adabiyah*, vol. 14, no. 2, 2014, pp. 143-149.
- Nurnaningsih, “Asimilasi Lontara Pangadereng dan Syari’at Islam: Pola Perilaku Masyarakat Bugis-Wajo”, *Al-Tahrir*, vol. 15, no. 1, 2015, pp. h. 21-41.
- Pabbajah, Mustaqim, “From the Indigeneous to the Religious Practices: Islamic Construction of the Local Tradition in South Sulawesi, Indonesia”, *Esensia: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin*, vol. 22, no. 1, 2022, pp. 91-102.
- Patunru, Abdurrazak Daeng, *Sedjarah Wadjo*, Makassar: Jajasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara, 1964.
- Pelras, Christian, *Pelapisan dan Kekuasaan Tradisional di Tanah Wajo*, Jakarta: Budaya Jaya, 1976.
- Rachman, Sukirman A, *Sejarah Islam di Daerah Wajo*, Ujung Pandang: Balai Kajian Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional, 1999.
- Saprillah, “Siasat Lokalitas: Studi Tentang Cara Komunitas Tolotang Mempertahankan Identitasnya”, *Thesis*, Ujung Pandang: Fak. Kebudayaan, Universitas Hasanuddin, 2006.
- Sartika, Dewi, dkk, “Musu’ Selleng dalam Hegemoni Kerajaan Gowa Di Sulawesi Selatan (Studi Tentang: Islamisasi Kerajaan Wajo 1582-1626)”, *El-Fata*, vol. 2, no. 2, 2023, pp. 184-194.
- Suriadi, Mappangara, *Sejarah Islam di Sulawesi Selatan*, Makassar: Lamacca Press, 2003.
- Yani, Ahmad, “Islamisasi di Ajatappareng Abad XVI-XVII”, *Pusaka*, vol. 8, no. 2, 2020, pp. 191-210.
- Zubair, “Interaksi Syariah dan Adat dalam Naskah Lontara Sukkuna Wajo”, *Al-Turas*, vol. 18, no. 2, 2012, pp. 189-207.