ISLAMISATION IN SOUTH SULAWESI: REVIEW OF HISTORICAL PHILOSOPHY PERSPECTIVE SPECULATIVE AND CRITICAL

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ABSTRACT

This article examines the Islamization of South Sulawesi in the perspective of speculative and critical philosophy of history. The established order towards Islamization often gives rise to speculations that the people believe, without being based on a critical historical reconstruction. The established findings on Islamization were made by three preachers namely, Datuk ri Bandang, Datuk Patimang, Datuk ri Tiro who came from Lontara. However, there are other findings as an antithesis, especially those which find that Islam first spread in Tosora-Wajo brought by descendants of the Hadramaut named Sayyid Jamaluddin Akbar Alhusaini who came from Aceh, who traveled with a group of 15 people sourced from archaeological evidence and oral tradition. Islam that has reached the king, seems to ignore the narrative about Islam that grows in society. The impression is that history favors power based on writing and ignores the history of societies based on archaeological evidence and oral traditions. It is known that Islamic values in the Wajo community had developed before the arrival of Islam from Gowa. These two views will be dissected in a speculative and critical view. This article uses historical methods, performs heuristics in the form of lontara documents and archaeological evidence of Islamization in South Sulawesi, then critiques the sources used to reduce bias between the two views on Islamization, after which it is interpreted and historiographical.

Keywords: Islamization; speculative history; critical history

1. INTRODUCTION

Islamization is an ongoing process. From the beginning of its entry until now, it has become a study that deserves to be developed. The various views that are spread are still a debate that never ends. (Nakamura, 1993, hal. 1-2), that stated it was unclear, both in terms of arrival, origin and who

spread it first, is still under debate among Islamic historians. In line with this, the lack of clarity on this matter, due to Indonesia's geography and vast territory (Husda, 2016, p. 17).

There are several perspectives regarding the process of the arrival of Islam in the archipelago. The view that is often shared by historians, namely Thomas W. Arnold, with various data and facts explains that Islam was brought by the Arabs, from the first beginning of hijriah. This proposition is reinforced by the existence of trade relations that are quite extensive with outside areas, especially those carried out by Arab traders (Hasan, 1970, p. 401). M Dahlan elaborated on Umar Syihab's view that compromised and stated that Islam came to Indonesia in the VII century, which was directly brought from Arabia. As for the XII and XIII centuries, the arrival of the spreaders of Islam, both from the Indian Subcontinent and from Arabia, marked the process of Islamization in the Indonesian Archipelago (Syihab, 1998, p. 4).

Islamization in the sense of acceptance of Islam can mean conversion and socio-cultural change. Conversion is the transfer of religion or belief previously adhered to the Islamic religion. In this case, Islamization in the sense of sociocultural change, means adaptive changes or gradual adjustments from pre-Islamic culture to Islamic culture. Ahmad M. Sewang views that Islamic preachers do not reform the existing socio-cultural institutions. Still, instead they impart Islamic values to old institutions or add new institutions derived from Islamic culture (Sewang, 2005, p. 6). In this process, Islam spread peacefully.

The concept developed by Ahmad M. Sewang in viewing the acceptance of Islam, can be seen in two patterns, namely bottom-up and top-down. First, button-up means that the lower strata of society first accept Islam, then develops and is accepted by the upper strata of society or the ruling elite of the kingdom. Second, top-down means that Islam is accepted directly by the kingdom's ruling elite, then socialized and developed at the grassroots (Sewang, 2005, pp. 86-87). Ahmad M. Sewang further used the concept of top-down acceptance, that acceptance of Islam originated from the royal elite as evidenced by the Lontara text.

The bottom-up concept is agreed by several researchers. Seeing that Islam was spread to the layers of society first, the arrival of Islam in the South Sulawesi region had gone a long way before, namely when a Persian cleric named Jamaluddin al-Husein al-Akbar, who is believed to be a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad, still came to Indonesia via Cambodia. Jamaluddin arrived in

Indonesia then stopped in Aceh and Java, and then continued his journey to South Sulawesi. Jamaluddin then chose Tosora (Wajo) as a place to live until he died. In Java, Jamaluddin is known as Maulana Jumadil Kubra (Sabara, 2018, pp. 57-58; Ramli, 2006). There is no clear explanation regarding when Jamaluddin entered South Sulawesi. However, if you pay attention to the genealogy of the first Wali Songo, Maulana Malik Ibrahim is the grandson of Jamaluddin al-Akbar. Maulana Malik Ibrahim spread Islam in Gresik and died there in 1419 AD. From this information, it can be estimated that Sheikh Jamaluddin al-Akbar al-Husain entered South Sulawesi (Wajo) in the mid-14th century (Ramli, 2006, p. 55). The arrival of Sheikh Jamaluddin was almost three centuries before Islam was massively accepted as the official religion by the kingdoms in South Sulawesi. Sheikh Jamaluddin entered South Sulawesi and landed in the Bojo area, Barru Regency, with 15 bodyguards from Bojo. The group then traveled overland and then moved along Lake Tempe until they finally anchored and settled on one of the banks of Lake Tempe, which became known as Tosora (Ilyas, 2011, p. 199; Sabara, 2018).

The concept of top-down and bottom-up is an interesting phenomenon to be re-centered. The belief that the community believes that their area first converted to Islam needs to be a collective memory that needs to be explored further. However, the limitations of written sources regarding this matter are part that the author needs to consider. Oral traditions that develop in society need to be proven empirically; when, where, who and why that event can happen needs to be emphasized in the study of critical philosophy. Speculation has developed in the community who think that before the Gowa Kingdom elite accepted Islam, there were already Islamic communities in several areas that became trading centers, such as in Tosora Wajo, the Sayyid Community in Takalar, even in Bantaeng, which became a collective memory that still exists and is embedded in life. Public.

2) METHODS

This study uses historical methods. By searching for sources from various places. The primary source in writing this article; Ahmad M. Sewang "Islamization of the Kingdom of Gowa XVI to XVII Century"; Sabara's "Islam in the Traditions of Local Communities in South Sulawesi"; Husnul Fatimah Ilyas's "Lontaraq Suqkuna Wajo: Review of the Beginning of Islamization in Wajo". From this source, various information was obtained regarding Islamization in South Sulawesi. It is this source that is criticized using both primary and secondary criticism. The results of the sources

obtained are of course, processed in such a way as to become historical facts. Some sources support the hypothesis, and vice versa, exporting literary sources is very important to raise the history of the locality of the South Sulawesi region. After being recognized as a credible source, it is interpreted what actually happened. After that, the final stage, historiography of the data that has been obtained is carried out.

3) RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Speculative philosophy of history is a framework of past events as a special event space which is the focus of research by historians, aiming to uncover the general meaning of historical events. On the other hand, critical historical philosophy focuses on historical events that use organized concepts, specifically arranged methods in placing historical events in a comprehensive manner (Anamofa, 2016, pp. 92-104). However, what needs to be noted is that the essence of speculative philosophy of history does not mean that its conclusions are very speculative, even though they are speculative, but want to answer the question: "does history as a whole have meaning or not?" Critical historical philosophy does not mean to criticize knowledge about the past that is built by historians, even though it does have a critical function, but wants to answer questions about the field of historical inquiry rather than the historical process itself (Dray, 2002, pp. 1-5).

To translate the concept of speculative and critical philosophy, the concept developed by Ankersmit is used in that three things become the study of the speculative philosophy of history, namely the movement pattern of history, the motor that drives the historical process, and the purpose of historical movement. Through these three things, especially for the third thing, systems of speculative history are not only different from "ordinary" historical studies because they specifically look at the future, also, in their disclosure of the past, but the workings of a philosopher of speculative history are also different from the workings of an "ordinary" historical researcher. What is discovered and revealed by an "ordinary" historical researcher, for a new speculative philosopher of history is a starting point (Ankersmit, 2013., p. 17). Meanwhile, critical philosophy provides answers to a number of questions about history. First, it relates to whether history is a science. This arises because of the flow of positivism, which says that historical events cannot be explained by referring to natural laws. History has its paradigm and does not associate itself with natural sciences. Second and third, history requires historical reconstruction of past events built on historical facts, the basis of which is historical opinion or facts which require objectivity in historical

analysis, even though according to positivism history is never absolute but relative. Fourth, what is the essence of historical theories and interpretations. This concept is used to describe the dialectical process that occurs.

Islamization in South Sulawesi in the View of Speculative Philosophy

In general, speculative philosophy contains historical awareness that develops and expresses itself in various styles from myth to logos. Myth is a historical language that explains the meaning of human life; from where and to where human life; what is the meaning of the world and where did it come from. Myth is actualized in rites. Myth is also a paradigm of human behavior. Then human behavior is determined to what extent it "imitates" models in myth. In this case the philosophy of speculative history tries to find the meaning of history; historical developments show development patterns; history is not blind but towards a certain goal.(Bakker, 2018, p. 160). So a romanticism in history is usually built in a society.

Islamization and Movement History

The process of Islamization has a considerable influence in an area. In the political view, if an area has accepted Islam, then politically, that area has been controlled by Islamic propagators who came from the Kingdom of Gowa Tallo. Of course, in this case, it affects the movement of a country's history. Islamic history of "power" originates from the Kingdom of Gowa Tallo, so it is this kingdom that controls the Sulawesi peninsula. The rejection of Islam in the Kingdom of Bone actualized this collective memory. This is based on the political views of power adopted.

In the event of the conversion of the Kingdom of Tallo, which its first King received named I' Mallingkang Daeng Mannyonri Karaeng Tumenanga ri Bontobiraeng. After embracing Islam, this king used the name of Islam with the title "Sultan Alauddin Awwalul Islam". King Tallo's first entry into Islam occurred on the night of Friday 22 September 1605 or 9 Jumadil Awwal 1014 H (Noorduyn, 1956: 10; Azra, 2007: 35). In addition, there is information that still needs to be researched and verified, that before the arrival of the three datuks from Sumatra, there had been scholars of Arab descent who came to South Sulawesi to spread Islam. According to the report, the scholar of Arab descent referred to was Sayyid Jamaluddin al-Husayn al-Akhbar who was in this area around the 14th century AD.

The Driving Force of Islamization

In George Novack's view, the driving forces of history include great people, ideal forces, elected people and nations, and humans and the environment. First, big people, in the power of Islam need the power of political actors to smooth the movement of history. In the view of R.G. Collingwood's philosophy of history is inseparable from his understanding of philosophy. He stated that philosophy is an effort of reflection. Philosophical thinking is not simply thinking about an object; more than that, when someone thinks about an object, he is also thinking about his own thoughts about that object. Thought in relation to objects is not just thinking but is knowledge. For example, if psychology studies thinking and define it as mental events resulting from abstractions from objects, then for philosophy, thinking is a theory of knowledge. Concerning history, when psychologists ask what historians think, philosophers ask how historians know. Philosophers are very concerned about the existence of objects not as mere objects but as something that can be known by historians (Anamofa, 2016)

Collingwood uses two examples, namely political history and military history. For him, political history is human thought involved in political work such as making policies, planning the implementation of policies, trying to find parties who do not agree with a policy, anything that can be used to deal with parties who do not agree with that policy and so on. Military history for him is not a description of long and tiring training, cold battlefields, fallen victims, but is a thought about strategies and tactics that culminate in battle (Collingwood, 1978: 110). Referring to the Collingwood actor becomes very important in historical writing. Of course, actors have special figures that determine the movement of history. I Manngerangi Daeng Manrabbia, Sultan Alauddin Tumenanga ri Gaukanna, the 14th king of Gowa, made Islam the religion of the kingdom. He was enthroned as a king who was only 7 years old. Sultan Alauddin who had an important role in bringing Islam to spread to the Makassar area, even the Sulawesi peninsula in general. H. J De Graaf, for example, described the role of Sultan Alauddin in this case accompanied by Karaeng Matoaya in Geshiendenis van Indonesian that Kareang Matoaya, conquered all of Sulawesi and the surrounding areas (Wibawa, 2011, pp. 30-31).

Second, the ideal force becomes the driving force of subsequent history. The Kingdom of Gowa Tallo became the holder of the hegemony of Islamic power in South Sulawesi, so all areas that had not embraced Islam, especially in the interior areas, such as the Kingdoms of Bone,

Soppeng, Wajo and Sidenreng had to be converted to Islam. This movement is a political movement or expansion carried out by the Kingdom of Gowa Tallo to expand its territory. By using Islamic religious media, Gowa invited several kingdoms in the interior of South Sulawesi to embrace Islam. However, Gowa Tallo's invitation was rejected. The consequence of this refusal caused Gowa Tallo to launch a military attack on the kingdoms of Bone, Soppeng, Wajo and Sidenreng. After this royal area was defeated, then the religion of Islam was accepted by the rulers and people of the kingdom in the interior of South Sulawesi. That said, the kingdoms that embraced Islam because they lost the war were Sidenreng Rappang and Soppeng (converted to Islam in 1609 AD), Wajo in 1610 AD, and Bone in 1611 AD. (Mattulada, 1974, p. 13; Muhaemin, 2010; Abdullah, 2016)

Third, the elected people and nation are important to grounding Islam. After arriving at the kingdom brought by the missionary, Islam began to spread throughout the entire peninsula of Sulawesi. M Dahlan M found that Islamic broadcasters had succeeded in solidifying Islamic teachings into customs and people's lives. This is indicated by the inclusion of sharia as one of the elements of pangadereng. In the Lontara Latoa, for example, it is stated:

aEpmi auwGen pedecGi tn, aiymi ngEnE limpuaGE ndpimni asElEGE, nriptm ton srea. Esauwni adEea, mduwn rpeG, mtElun wriea, maEpn bicrea, mlimn srea.

(Eppami uangenna padecengi tana, iami negenne limappuangeng narafi'mani asellengeng, narifattama tona sara'e. Seuani ade'e maduwanna rafangnge, matelluna wari'e, maeppana bicarae, malimanna sara'e) (Dahlan, 2013, pp. 146-147).

Translation:

Only four types improve the country, then five types are sufficient when it comes to Islam, and the syara' (Islamic law) is also included. The first is ade', the second is rafang, the third is wari', the fourth is talking, and the fifth is syara'.

Furthermore, M. Dahlan M stated that by accepting Islam and making sharia an integral part of pangadereng, the institutions of social and cultural life of the Bugis-Makassarese people acquired a new color. This is because their obedience to the Shari'a is the same as their obedience to other aspects of pangadereng. Fourth, humans and the environment have become the driving force of history. So it's not only the actor, but also the environmental structure. In line with pangadereng,

Islamic values existed before Islam entered. Such as respecting each other, obeying trustworthy leaders, and being the successor of goodness is an added value for the people of South Sulawesi.

Islam as Goal

As *Rahmatal lil'alamin* religion, Islam is the goal of human life. The process of Islamization becomes an important part of human life. That actually Islamic values existed before the arrival of Islam in South Sulawesi. Islam has opened the horizons of people's thinking, who live without the rules of "sianre bale" to have just rules.

Islamization in Gowa in the View of Critical Philosophy

Critical historical philosophy views the need for a methodological reconstruction in parsing facts. The main problems that are questioned by adherents of critical philosophy, as stated by Hans Meyerhoff, include; objects from history, historical facts, purposes of writing history, historical language, theory and implementation, historical method, explanation, freedom of emotive meaning and ideological concept, and problems of historical meaning (Bakker, 2018, pp. 162-164). Of the existing problems, according to Mestika Zed, the areas of concern for critical historical philosophy include; (1) Study of the scientific status of history and its relationship with other disciplines, both natural sciences and social sciences; (2) Study of the concept of facts and the truth of historical statements; (3) study of the problem of historical objectivity; (4) finally a study of the value and benefits of historical science (Zed, 2010, pp. 13-15). Mestika Zed view is the reference in interpreting the sources of critical historical philosophy.

Interpretation of Sources Critically

In the top down concept, Ahmad M Sewang uses Lontara Bilang, which contains the diaries of the Kingdoms of Gowa and Tallo. Its contents record important events in brackets from the mid-16th century to the mid-18th century. The history of the source used was written by Daeng Pamatte during the reign of King Gowa IX, Tumapa'risi' Kalonna (1512-1546). Then it is equipped with a hijri calendar and written in attack letters during the time of Sultan Malik al-Said, King of Gowa XV (1639-1653). Then refined again in the middle of the XVIII century by including events in brackets between the XVII century to the XVIII century. Lontara's strengths are that the event record is equipped with the date of the event, both the Christian and Hijri calendar, besides that, the

record of events is brief and contains only facts, so that objectivity can be more accountable. (Sewang, 2005, p. 10). Tracing Lontara's sources is critical considering the events that took place, at least the events that mostly took place at the palace. If the narrators study the source, it is quite acceptable as a credible source after going through the refinement of the source. With a philological approach, this source can be explored in depth with adequate mastery of the Lontara language.

The data presented in Lontara are quite acceptable as historical facts. This is quite reasonable, because the lontara writer saw firsthand the events at the time that corresponded to the events of Islam in South Sulawesi. Primary sources will be more credible if they are written according to the time of the incident, because the memory will be stronger, because the time of writing is not too far from the incident.

Regarding objectivity in writing this lontara, we really need to look at it critically. What happened at the time. Because this Lontara was written in the palace, of course what was recorded was only for the "interests" of the palace. However, this is the most reliable source for the Islamization period. After having investigated in depth, the period in which the event occurred corresponds to the setting in which it occurred, then this becomes the closest source to the event. Of course, theory and methodology are needed to make historical writing objective.

Lontara sources have significant benefits as a record of events that record the Islamization of the Kingdom of Gowa Tallo. In addition to information on Islamization, there is also information on the daily activities of the king and palace officials who are carrying out their duties. In this case, this Lontara source is a source that can be used in writing history.

Methodological Reconstruction of Islamization in Gowa

The difficulty in reading Lontara Bilang is because it only records events in chronicle form or is a collection of historical facts arranged chronologically, so it requires broad insight to be able to provide interpretation in doing historiography. In this case, Lontara readers will only understand if they know the chronology of events in history (periodization in Makassar history), so that fragments of facts can be found fragmentarily, only readers who understand Makassar's historical setting will be able to map events.

Of course, special reasoning is needed in understanding the history of Makassar from Lontara Bilang's perspective. Requires extensive reading regarding palace activities, space and time. In this way, it will be easy to understand the historical setting, and of course determine the facts found in terms of the temporal and thematic historical events that occurred.

CONCLUSION

Acceptance of Islam through two methods. First, bottom-up means that the lower strata of society accept Islam, then develops and is accepted by the upper strata of society or the kingdom's ruling elite. Second, top-down means Islam is accepted directly by the kingdom's ruling elite, then socialized and developed to the grassroots. The top-down concept that uses lontara sources is quite acceptable. Tracing Lontara's sources is critical considering the events that took place, at least the events that mostly took place at the palace. If the narrators study the source, it is quite acceptable as a credible source after going through the refinement of the source. With a philological approach, this source can be explored in depth with adequate mastery of the Lontara language. Meanwhile, acceptance of Islam in a button-up manner does not have enough acceptable sources, thus giving birth to various scientifically unacceptable speculations.

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