

CHAPTER TWO

The *Lontara*: The Bugis-Makassar Manuscripts and their Histories

Time and place are the general parameters of history. Historiographic traditions may vary in the methods they rely upon, the evidence they accept and the conceptions of the world they seek to justify. But, all forms of historiography from the simplest of oral traditions to the most sophisticated of literary endeavours must be concerned with relating certain structured events within some framework of time and place. To be a history, a narrative must establish a chronology and a location (Fox 1979: 10).

This chapter will demonstrate the utilisation of *lontara*’, the Bugis-Makassar manuscripts and *caritana turioloa* (the ‘stories of the elders’) as historical sources. Both have been used by Indonesianists – Indonesian and non-Indonesian – with special reference to the history of the Islamisation of South Sulawesi in general and Cikoang in particular. In historical studies of South Sulawesi many observers have relied on the written *lontara*’ as their references. This may be due to the well-documented information available in them (Cense 1951), covering such matters as length of the reigns of kings of Makassar, dates of wars among Bugis kingdoms and the process of local conversion to the world religion of Islam. It is therefore necessary to look at the evidence regarding the frequent use of *lontara*’ as primary sources.

However, the aim of this chapter is not to give a historiography of the *lontara*’ manuscripts.¹ Instead, my aim is to apply the *lontara*’ more specifically to the study of Islam in South Sulawesi. The chapter also discusses the use of

¹ For a more concrete elaboration of Bugis-Makassar historiography see Cense 1951: 42–60; Noorduyin 1961, 1965; Abidin 1971, 1974; and Caldwell 1988.

Cikoangese stories of the elders, the *caritana turioloa* or what Fox (1979) calls 'historical narratives' in the interpretation of the coming of Sayyid Jalaluddin al-'Aidid to Cikoang.

The Islamisation of South Sulawesi according to the *lontara*'

In this section, I shall consider popular understandings of the history of South Sulawesi based on information in the *lontara*' (see Appendix I). To begin with, let us consider the following quotation:

The process of Islamisation in Indonesia (particularly South Sulawesi) can be reckoned into two clearly separate stages: the coming of Islam and conversion to Islam. The former is the time of trading movements in the archipelago of Indonesia and the latter consists of specific times in the history of Indonesia's ethnic groups' Islamisation. If necessary, there follows a third stage, which is the spreading of Islam by either forceful or peaceful means.²

Located on the southern tip of Sulawesi, Makassar seems to have been in contact with Islam since a time of rivalry between outside traders (chiefly Malays) and local merchants (Reid 1993: 132–136). Both Portuguese and Makassar sources state that by the early 16th century, Malay Muslim traders had settled in Makassar and other places on the southwest coast of Sulawesi (Noorduyn 1956). Nevertheless, historians argue that in reality it was many years before Makassar adopted Islam on any significant scale.

According to the *lontara*' *bilang* (Matthes 1883: 155–156) in the reign of Karaeng Tunipallangga (c. 1546–1565), a Javanese named Nakoda Bonang was residing in Gowa, and other Muslims from Makassar, Campa, Patani, Pahang, Johor and Minangkabau gained a number of privileges there. The building of a mosque³ for the community in the Mangalekanna suburb of Makassar was granted by Tunipallangga's successor, Tunijallo (c. 1565–1590). At this time, there were also wider trading connections established with other regions of the archipelago, which Pelras (1985) named a 'Campa-Patani-Aceh-Minangkabau-Banjarmasin-Demak-Giri-Ternate network'.

2 My translation from the Dutch. See Noorduyn 1956: 247–266, and 1965. According to Abidin 1971: 163 'the *lontara*' which Noorduyn studied date from the eighteenth century, though some were originally composed in the seventeenth'. See also Arnold 1913.

3 The mosque, called Katangka Mosque, is still standing in the vicinity of the Gowa Royal Tombs, where Karaeng Matoaya (I Mallingkaang Daeng Nyonri Karaeng Katangka), ruler of Tallo and prime minister of Gowa and the first person believed to become Muslim in 1605, lies buried (Reid and Reid 1988: 58).

Pelras (1985: 108) has also suggested that the coming of Islam to South Sulawesi, particularly to Gowa, might be related to the legend of the 'Three Datok' (Mak. Dato' Tallua and Bug. Dato' Tellue) who were the *muballigh*, or preachers, who introduced Islam. The date of the arrival of the Three Datok, if we refer to the Kutei Chronicle, was around 1575. The legend of the Three Datok, which is similar to those of the Wali Songo, the Nine Saints of Java, is regarded as the first period of the Islamic mission in Gowa. These Three Datok, Abdul Makmur Khatib Tunggal (alias Datok ri Bandang), Khatib Sulaiman (alias Datok ri Pattimang) and Khatib Bungsu (alias Datok ri Tiro) are believed to have succeeded in converting the twin states of Gowa and Tallo' (see Appendix II).

A number of oral traditions mention that before the Three Datok arrived in Gowa they first went to Luwu' (now Palopo) (see Appendix II),⁴ a Bugis kingdom in South Sulawesi, in order to convert the ruler of Luwu' – Datu' Payung Luwu' (The Umbrella of Luwu') named La Patiware Daeng Parabbung – who allegedly pronounced the *syahadat*, the Islamic profession of faith signifying conversion, on 15 or 16 Ramadhan 1013 AH (4th or 5th February 1604) and adopted the Arabic title Sultan Muhammad (Daeng Patunru 1983: 19).

The twin states of Gowa and Tallo', referred to by Dutch writers as *zusterstaten*, 'sister kingdoms', are inseparable in the history of South Sulawesi. This relationship is described in a traditional saying of the peoples of Gowa and Tallo' as *rua karaeng nase're ata*, 'two rulers but only one people' (Daeng Patunru 1983: 9). The ruler of Tallo' and also prime minister of Gowa, named Karaeng Matoaya (I Mallingkaang Daeng Manyonri Karaeng Katangka), was believed to have first embraced the Islamic faith with several members of his family on Thursday night, 9 Jumadil Awal 1014 AH (22nd September 1605) and hence after the Luwu' ruler's conversion in 1604.

As the first ruler to pronounce the *syahadat* in the Makassar region, he assumed the title Sultan Abdullah Awalul Islam. At the same time, the ruler of Gowa, who was his nephew and student, I Manga'rangi Daeng Manrabbia by name, also became a Muslim, taking the title of Sultan Alauddin. This legendary tale is explicitly expressed in the following traditional poem:⁵

*Hera 1605, Hijarak Sanak 1015,
22 Satemberek, 9 Jumadelek awalak, bangngi Jumak.*

4 Pelras (1985) states that 'when Datok Pattimang arrived in Bua, to the south of Palopo, he was welcomed by a nobleman called Tenriajeng, who was the first local Muslim there, and that is why he is known also as I Assalang, from *asal*, or origin. He had kept his conversion secret because nobody in the nobility could claim to have embraced Islam as long as the Luwu' ruler was not a Muslim himself, and that is why he was called also Tenripau, Not-to-be-mentioned.'

5 Excerpt from the *urupu sulapa' appa* or *lontara'*, *Lontara Bilang Raja Gowa dan Tallo'* (Diary of the Kings of Gowa and Tallo') 1985/1986, Dep. Dik. Bud. Bidang Penelitian dan Pengkaji Kajian Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan La Galigo.

Namantama Islaam Karaenga rua sisarikbattang.

In 1605 AD⁶, and the Hijri year 1015,
On 22 September, or Jumadil Awal, on Thursday evening,
The two kings and brothers embraced Islam.

*Hera 1607, Hijarak Sannak 1017,
9 Nopemberek, 18 Rakjab, allo Jumak.
Nauru mamenteng jumaka ri Tallok, uru sallanta.*

In 1607, and the Hijri year 1015,
On 9 November, or 18 Rajab, on Friday,
The Juma'ah prayers were first said in Tallok, (thus it was) the beginning of
Islam.

The tale of the Three Datok and their mission conveys the impression that the expansion of Islam in the major part of South Sulawesi was very rapid. Within two years after the conversion of the two rulers, all the citizens of the Gowa and Tallo' kingdoms had accepted the new faith and the two kingdoms became centres of wider Islamisation in South Sulawesi. The ruler of Gowa began to convince other rulers in alliance with his kingdom throughout South Sulawesi to accept Islam. At first not all were happy with the mission. Some rejected it as unfriendly, especially the three largest Bugis kingdoms of Bone, Wajo and Soppeng (Daeng Patunru 1983: 20; Hamid 1994: 11). Their rejection angered the ruler of Gowa and he waged war on the Bugis until they accepted Islam.⁷

According to Daeng Patunru (1983), however, the king of Gowa was regarded as a good Muslim and adhered to the principle of the teaching that the expansion of Islam must be carried out by peaceful means. He did not force the Bugis rulers to accept the new faith, but because they had mounted opposition towards the influence and authority of Gowa,⁸ he necessarily had to be harsh toward them in order to preserve his own power and sovereignty in South Sulawesi.⁹

On the other hand, Robinson and Paeni (1998) argue that the war was due to a treaty held by the descendants of the kings of Gowa/Makassar and those of the Bugis. The traditional agreement had stated 'if anyone deriving from either Makassar or Bugis, or others, finds a spark of goodness, the discoverer of it will

6 Noorduyt (1956: 15–21) argues, however, that none of the sources give exact numbers of the years in this chronicle. See the diary published by Ligtvoet, *Transcriptie van he dagboek der vorsten van Gowa en Tallo met vertaling en aantekeningen*, in *Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genotschap* (TBG) 1880, Vol IV, which records 1603. We can now assume this to be an error, possibly misremembered by the writer of the chronicle.

7 For the Buginese, the war is regarded as the *musuk selling*, Islamic war (Hamid 1994: 11).

8 These two ethnic groups of Makassar and Bugis are culturally related, but historically have been rivals for dominance in the peninsula. Pelras 1975: 6; and Mills 1975: 217–218.

9 See Arnold 1913 for different reasons for the war.

be obliged to convince the others.' Accordingly, the Gowa kingdom had chosen Islam because it presented such a spark of goodness and needed to be shared among other kingdoms.

Before the Bugis and Makassarese nobles officially accepted Islam they had faced a choice between Islam and Christianity. They had begun to doubt the meaning of their own pre-Islamic faith and its strength as a source of worldly power. Arnold (1913: 394) describes what followed: 'Thus they determined to send, at the same time, to Malacca (which was under the control of the Portuguese) and to Aceh (an Islamic kingdom) to desire from the one, Christian priests and from the other, Islamic missionaries, resolving to embrace the religion of those missionaries who came first among them.' The Bugis and Makassarese nobilities finally accepted Islam because it was the Islamic missionaries who arrived first, while their demands for Christian priests went unanswered by the Portuguese (cf. Pelras 1985: 115).

Within seven years, all kingdoms in Sulawesi were converted to Islam. These were respectively Luwu' in 1604, the twin Gowa-Tallo' in 1605, Sidrap-Soppeng in 1609, Wajo in 1610 and Bone in 1611. Despite their forced entry into Islam, the Bugis people are in present times considered to be among pious Muslims and in possession of great religious teachers. When they settle farther afield from home they are successful in introducing Islam to local peoples and traces of their influence can be found in Maluku, Flores, Banjarmasin, Irian Jaya and other provinces of Indonesia where they have gone in order to make a better life for themselves.

Nevertheless, the process of Islamic expansion in South Sulawesi took a very long period of time, incorporating a lengthy process of 'familiarisation' (Pelras 1985: 110) characterised by a tendency to mediate Islam with traditional beliefs (In. and Ar. *adat*). There are traditions in the *lontara'* stating that for 125 years before the official acceptance of Islam, the people of South Sulawesi had been in regular contact with Muslim merchants. Pelras (1985: 110–114) has argued that the people of Makassar, and probably the Buginese with their rulers as well, had modified Islam with their traditional beliefs for a long time before they decided to embrace it fully.

The aforementioned Three Datok managed to draw parallels between the Shariah of Islam and customary *adat* of place, so that Islam was not seen as a wholly alien belief system. Islam was acceptable, because many of its ethical teachings also existed in local values. In their view, this method had to be applied because, as Noorduyin (1956: 247–266) suggests, Islam also brought with it radical implications that induced strong resistance among people who were keenly attached to their traditions and proud of their own culture. The conversion to Islam by Karaeng Matoaya, followed by his family and later by his

people, could take place because the Three Datok chose to come to terms with the local traditions in the hope that their teaching and *dakwah* would in the long term make the older beliefs irrelevant.

The Three Datok insisted that the act of proclaiming conversion must be the first priority; a complete implementation of Islamic values would follow in the long term (Pelras 1985: 122). In due course members of the local nobility were appointed as officials administering Islamic observance, such as the *imam*, the leader of the ritual prayers; the *khatib* or preacher of sermons; the *bilal* or caller to *prayer*; and the *qadhi*, or legal judge. These incumbents were called Parewa Sara', 'Instruments of the Syari'at' (Pelras 1985: 122) and formed another council within the social traditions of Makassar. The only council known before the coming of Islam had been the Ade', the gathering of traditional chiefs as the guardians of the customs and practices of the community. The two councils of the Ade' and Parewa Sara' were then allocated side by side to be advisers over the kingdoms and were known collectively as Pangngadakkang in Makassarese and Pangngadereng in Buginese (Andaya 1984).

It was in this way that agreement was finally achieved between the Three Datok and the local nobility. Datuk Pattimang, for example, used teachings centred on *tauhid* (Ar. the absolute oneness of God) not strictly in Islamic terms, but by invoking Bugis beliefs about the One God, Dewata Seuwa (in Makassar, Karaeng Kaminang Kammaya), from whom the Tomanurung, claimed as founders by both Makassarese and Bugis were descended, and the Parewa Sara' who were regarded as the representatives of the One God on Earth. Andaya (1984: 36) comments:

By becoming a member of the Muslim nobility, he would be acknowledged as sharing the God-given privilege of being superior to the rest of humankind and of being God's Shadow on Earth. How reassuring would have been the thought that on becoming Muslim nobility, he would be justified in confronting the *adat* leaders with the statement that 'to dispute with kings is improper, and to hate them is wrong', and so to confidently anticipate the blessings of God and the entire Muslim community.

To offer another example, Datok ri Bandang did not try to force the Makassar nobility immediately after they had embraced Islam to do away with traditional customs, such as bringing offerings to sacred places and the belief in *saukang*,¹⁰ symbols found in nature, because such were regarded as the means to guarantee prosperity for the society and represented a chain between the present rulers

¹⁰ These were believed to contain 'magical properties that could ensure the well-being of the community. The *saukang* may have been a mango pit or a piece of wood, but most often it was a stone. The finder of the *saukang* became the temporary personification of the deity immanent in the *saukang* and the intermediary or link between the god on the one hand and the community on the other.' (Andaya 1984: 25.)

and their forebears¹¹ (Pelras 1985: 124). Accordingly, the Makassar nobility did not abandon the local traditions that they conceived as central to their culture, but by holding Islamic offices such as *imam*, *bilal*, *qadhi* and *khatib* their dignity and prestige became more exalted in the eyes of society. It was also through these Islamic offices that the Makassar nobility became the central agents of Islamisation in South Sulawesi (Daeng Patunru 1983).

The role of Muslim traders as *muballigh*, or religious missionaries, is also well known in relation to the history of Indonesian Islamisation. Indeed, their coming to South Sulawesi was not just for trade, but also to introduce Islam to their local counterparts. What is more, not all the Malays coming to South Sulawesi were traders; many of them were just *muballigh* who came at the invitation of the local people.

Trading connections between Muslim Malays and the local merchants became a bridge through which the *muballigh* entered into easy contact with the local people. It was a partnership in which they could introduce the Islamic faith by friendly means. Islam secured its roots in South Sulawesi in the early 17th century, or according to the official account, 22nd September 1605 (which 'official' conversion to Islam is relatively late when compared to other regions, such as Sumatra and Java).

The distinction between the coming of Islam and 'official Islamisation' must be made, however. For instance, although the Three Datok – as Malay *muballigh* originating from Minangkabau, namely Datok ri Pattimang (alias Sulaiman Khatib Sulung) active in the Luwu' and Wajo' kingdoms; Datok ri Tiro (alias Abd ul-Jawad Khatib Bungsu) in Bulukumba; and Datok ri Bandang (alias Abd ul-Makmur Khatib Tunggal) in Gowa – had come into contact with the Bugis and Makassar aristocrats after their arrival in 1575, the conversion of the Makassarese and Buginese noblemen to Islam was only achieved in 1605 after a relationship lasting 30 years.

The mythological character of Sayyid Jalaluddin

Masyarakat di sekitar kediaman I-Bunrang memberikan perhatian penuh atas keberadaan seseorang yang bertampang Arab dengan wajah anggun penuh wibawa dan rendah hati.

Sampai setiap orang yang menemuinya sangat terkesan dan menjadi terpikat terutama pada kepribadiannya yang senantiasa memancarkan

11 'Highland Makassarese called their pre-Islamic religion *patuntung* from a root that means 'to strive', because it was essentially about competitively manipulating spirits to increase status in this world and the next.' (Reid 1993: 138).

kata-kata 'hikmah' dan tidak lepas dari menyebut nama Allah.

The people living around I-Bunrang's residence gave their full attention to the presence of that person of Arab appearance, he was of elegant and authoritative mien, yet of unpretentious comportment.

So that all who met him were impressed and drawn to him, especially to his character and the way in which he spoke words of wisdom, never unmindful of reciting the name of Allah.
(Haji Maluddin Daeng Sikki, Cikoang, January 1997)

The verses above tell the tale well known among the Cikoangese of the first contact of Sayyid Jalaluddinal-'Aidid with the local people. The descriptions of his character and his Islamic piety show that he made a great impression in the minds of the Cikoangese from the very time of his arrival. Nowadays people still refer to him whenever they talk about religious activities. However, there is doubt about exactly when and why Sayyid Jalaluddin came to Cikoang. What actually was the character of his teachings? The only available sources are in the possession of the Cikoangese themselves, in old manuscripts and chronicles that are extremely difficult to obtain due to the sacredness in which the artefacts are regarded. They are restricted from outsiders (as the writer himself experienced) and even among the Cikoangese themselves. The only people entitled to have access to these old manuscripts are those categorised as *anrongguru* or religious specialists (see Chapter Four) and who are currently rare to find. Sayyid Maluddin Daeng Sikki al-'Aidid (Sayyid Karaeng) who is Chair of the al-'Aidid organisation of Makassar is one from whom I was able to obtain several modern transcripts of the old texts. These contain the history of the coming of Sayyid Jalaluddin, the grounds of conducting the Maudu' ceremony and other such Sayyid traditions.¹²

12 The transcripts that I obtained were made in 1996. Besides collecting data through a series of scheduled interviews with informants, I also received several written pieces of information given by my key informant, Sayyid H. Maluddin Daeng Sikki.



Figure 1: Portrait of Sayyid Jalaluddin al-'Aidid

Source: Haji Maluddin Daeng Sikki, Cikoang, January 1997.

Every observer conducting research into the Cikoangese community must depend heavily on the information given by the *anrongguru* which has been handed down orally from generation to generation. For instance, French scholars Gilbert Hamonic (1985) and Christian Pelras (1985) as well as Indonesian observers such as Muhammad Hisyam (1983), having observed the distinctiveness of the religious life of the Cikoangese, could not avoid adopting the information of the *anrongguru*. We shall see how these stories of the elders, *caritana turioloa*, provide the special perceptions of the Cikoangese historical accounts.

In the period of South Sulawesi's early contact with Muslim Malay regions of the archipelago, it is told that Cikoangese sailing to Aceh had met two figures named Hapeleka, who had an excellent memorisation of the Qur'an and a Saeha (Syeikh). They encountered an *ulama* whose genealogy was derived from the Hadhramaut, namely Sayyid Jalaluddin al-'Aidid.¹³ The Cikoangese then requested Sayyid Jalaluddin to come to Sulawesi. Muhammad Hisyam says (1985: 18) that on his voyage to Makassar, Sayyid Jalaluddin put in at Kutai, Kalimantan where he met Abdul Kadir Daeng Malliongi' or Bambanga ri Gowa, a Makassarese nobleman who had been forced to flee because of a *siri'* elopement scandal (see further Chapter Three on *siri'*). Sayyid Jalaluddin instructed Daeng Malliongi' in Islam and subsequently married his daughter, I-Accara Daeng Tamami.

Prior to his arrival in Cikoang, while in Gowa, Sayyid Jalaluddin al-'Aidid was reported to have been appointed by the ruler of Gowa, Abd. Kadir Karaenta ri Bura'ne as his adviser, particularly in matters of military tactics and religious studies (*Ar. din ul-Islam*). It is Sayyid Jalaluddin's holding of this historic strategic rank, along with their socially ascribed status which leads the Sayyid of Cikoang to consider themselves to be of higher moral and religious worthiness than the Makassar nobility.

Though Sayyid Jalaluddin al-'Aidid had no problems with the local people in Gowa he met with some sort of opposition from the king. He moved to Cikoang, where he converted the still pagan nobility and population. But according to Hamonic (1985) and Cikoang sources, the hostility between Sayyid Jalaluddin and the ruler was not the cause for his moving. Rather, Sayyid Jalaluddin saw that Islam had become the major faith of Gowan society and there were already in circulation teachings of a number of influential scholars, such as the Acehese

13 According to Cikoang sources, Sayyid Jalaluddin was a son of Sayyid Muhammad Wahid of Aceh and one Syarifah Halisyah. The latter's father, Sayyid 'Alawiyah Jala ul-Alam was himself a son of one Sayyid Muhajirun al-Basrah. Exiled from Basrah, he had fled Iraq at the beginning of the 16th century because of political troubles, possibly connected to the wars between the Ottoman empire and the kingdom of Iran, which erupted in 1514 (see Pelras 1985).

Hamzah Fansuri and Nuruddin ar-Raniri, men of different descent (Persian and Hadhrami Arab respectively), culture and competing Sufi *tarekats*, which had been embraced by the local people.

There are other versions of the story of this matter in Cikoang traditions; for instance, that Sayyid Jalaluddin met the opposition of the ruler of Gowa because he refused to tell of his earlier life – probably the fact of his marriage to the daughter of the exiled Daeng Malliongi'. The chief version, more logical to the Sayyid and the one used in this study, is that Sayyid Jalaluddin left Gowa because he did not want to see the unity of Muslims disturbed by his presence. It should be noted that the law school of Gowa had been established as the Madzab Syafi'i of Sunni Islam, whereas Sayyid Jalaluddin was of the Shi'i Zaydi school of Yemen which emphasised adherence to its own mystical brotherhood, the Tarekat Bahr ul-Nur (Ar. the Mystical Way of the Sea of Light). It is possible that he was unwilling to risk introducing a rival discipline into Gowa. This historical event took place in 1032 AH/1632 CE, according to the manuscript book written by Hapeleka called *Bayanul Bayan* (see further Hisyam 1985; 17–20).

Following suggestions by the ruler of Gowa, Sultan Alauddin and Karaeng Matoaya (I Mallingkaang Daeng Nyonri Karaeng Katangka), Sayyid Jalaluddin then decided to move and to take all of his family with him to Cikoang. His arrival there is still commemorated every year on Maudu', the festival of the birth of the Prophet (see further Chapter Five).

The spread of the teachings of Sayyid Jalaluddin and his followers

The status of the Sayyid is significant within the community of Cikoang because their presence is always associated with the excellence of the Prophet Muhammad as founder of the Muslim community. The way the Sayyid perpetuate their traditional status is based on the teachings historically brought by Sayyid Jalaluddin al-'Aidid as a descendant of the Prophet and the founder of that Sayyid community (Hisyam 1985).

Hamonic (1985) tells us that during his stay in Cikoang, Sayyid Jalaluddin developed a lifestyle which encouraged believers to put aside, without completely abandoning, the things of this world. He based his life on the Shariah and its sources, the Qur'an and Hadith, and on *fiqh*, or jurisprudential practices, in conjunction with his own Tarekat Bahr ul-Nur, which is focused on the quest for *hakikah*, or the reality of God, and *ma'rifatullah*, gnosis, or an intuitive knowledge of spiritual truths. In addition to these doctrines, what

Sayyid Jalaluddin emphasised most was the commemoration of Maudu' or the Maulid festival and the right methods of conducting it (discussed in detail in Chapter Five).

As the teaching of the Tarekat Bahr ul-Nur flourished, the followers of Sayyid Jalaluddin increased in number. When he thought his religious duties had finished in Cikoang, he travelled via Selayar and Buton to Sumbawa, where he died and was buried. In modern Cikoang, the Sayyid always bear in mind that the mystical order of Bahr ul-Nur is the product of the Madhhab Ahl ul-Bait – literally, the 'Way of the Household of the Prophet' (Hisyam 1985: 26) (see my further discussion in Chapter Four).

The tomb of Sayyid Jalaluddin is not located in Cikoang. Only the tomb of his second son, Sayyid Sahabuddin al-'Aidid can be found in the cemetery, Jera' Paletteka. This cemetery has traditionally been accessible only to the members of the Sayyid families. It is now regarded as a sacred site and has become popular for visitors seeking good fortune. According to Cikoang sources, Sayyid Jalaluddin died in Sumbawa, West Nusa Tenggara and was buried there. The reason why the Cikoangese did not take the body back to Cikoang for burial is that, according to my informant, the descendants of Sayyid Jalaluddin living in Sumbawa did not agree to its removal.

Sayyid Jalaluddin's second son, Sayyid Sahabuddin, settled in Cikoang, married and continued the teachings of his father. According to one Cikoang source, descendants of Sayyid Jalaluddin al-'Aidid spread out as far as Selayar, Buton, Luwu', Mandar, South Kalimantan and Jakarta (Kelurahan Penjaringan) where they are still said to be found. Moreover, with their descent maintained by strict endogamy, later generations were able to found a distinctive community around Organisasi Al-'Aidid Makassar (the Makassar Al-'Aidid Organisation). In 1905, thanks to the actions of a local Sayyid hero by the name of Bahauddin, the traditional government of Cikoang collapsed and power was taken over by the Sayyid (Hamonic 1985). Since then, the Sayyid community has dominated the appointment of the village heads of Cikoang. Such is some of the evidence of the effect of the spread of Sayyid Jalaluddin's teachings.

Hisyam (1985) observes that the election of top officials in the Cikoangese administration is rather complicated, particularly at the level of village head, due to the attitudes of the Sayyid. If the appointed village head is not from among the Sayyid, the Sayyid community will only reluctantly agree to decisions taken by him. Thus, according to Hisyam's findings, in order to better rule the Sayyid community in particular and the Cikoangese in general, the head of Mangarabombang District (an authority above Cikoang village) prefers to welcome a candidate of Sayyid origin in the election of village heads. On this point, Daeng Sila (a Sayyid Daeng) told me: 'in Punaga (another hamlet near

Cikoang village), the village head has always come from the Sayyid family, ever since the Sayyid settled in the region. The reason is because it is easy to get official approval to celebrate the Maudu' festival if the village head is a Sayyid.' It can be well understood that the appointment of village head in Cikoang is a major concern of the Cikoangese because of its impact on the maintenance of the Sayyid traditions.

To conclude: the *lontara'*, to a certain extent, provide us with adequate information about the coming of Islam to Cikoang. Although they tell us little about what really brought about the arrival of Sayyid Jalaluddin, we are at least better informed about when exactly he came to Cikoang. It was the first time Islam took root in the region, during the first years of the 17th century. In addition, the *caritana turioloa*, for the most part, not only inform us of the number of people who continued the tradition of Sayyid Jalaluddin's religious teachings, but also the details of those teachings. The complete body of the teachings will be discussed in the second part of this study.

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