

REVEALING THE STRUGGLE OF THOUGHT AND ISLAMIC DISSEMINATION OF THE *ULAMA* IN SOUTH SULAWESI

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Abstract

This article focused on the role of the *ulama* in Jeneponto and Bantaeng in developing a network of traditions and scholarly intellectual discourse in South Sulawesi from 1900 to 1950. The *mangangaji* action platform initiated by the *ulama* is a medium for transmitting knowledge and religious symbols delivered through *tabligh* and *talkim* forums held at homes, mosques/violations, or in other more relaxed atmospheres. The *mangagaji* (recitation) is an effort to breed education and teaching, and the *ulama*'s strategy to disseminate religious knowledge and cultural theological teachings. The transmission of teachings is articulated in ideas, practices, and reflections through literacy works which will later become essential references in forming value systems, institutions, and community behavior. This article described two main issues of *ulama* discourse, practice, and religious networks: (1). How are the *ulama*'s religious-intellectual discourse and the socio-historical process taken in realizing the *ulama*'s existence?, and (2). What are the roles of the *ulama* in strengthening Islamic thought in Jeneponto and Bantaeng?. This study used a historical approach with references source on archival materials, ego documents, printed manuscripts, books, journals, and interviews. Religious-intellectual discourse is initiated and developed continuously so that the role of the *ulama* is reflected in the production of knowledge, circulation of authority, and religious practice.

Keywords: *Intellectual network, Islamic dissemination, and religious practice.*

INTRODUCTION

When the research on the *ulama* (religious scholars) networks in South Sulawesi was initiated in 2017, various questions arose regarding multiple aspects of the *ulama*. It includes their character traits, scientific transmission networks, intellectuality, accessibility, works, services, support base, and the legacy left behind, so they deserve respect as *ulama*. The author and the Religious Research and Development of Makassar Team, which consisted of eight people, were divided and distributed to various regions in South Sulawesi. Then, a frame of reference, criteria, and research roadmap were compiled. The assumption was the *ulama* are servants of Allah with Qur'anic character, heirs of the prophets (*waratsatul anbiya*), leaders and role models for the people (*qudwah*), bearers of the trust of Allah, custodians of the benefit and preservation of

human life. Figures who master classical books, mobilize literacy, revive *mangaji kitta'* (recitation of books), and recite the Qur'an, set an example of didactics by inheriting religious and cultural values. The *ulama* have nature, character, and morality that are believed to bring blessings and grace. Thus, it is not surprising that the *ulama* are respected and imitated as role models (*uswah*), experts in Islamic religion (Makassar, *tupanrita*; Bugis, *topanrita*) who carry out noble duties as teachers (*gurutta*), successor of duties and functions in prophetic treatises for mankind, conveying religious messages (*tabligh*) and providing teaching (*taklim*) (Abdul Kadir Ahmad, 2019: 12). Mastery of religious knowledge and practice is excellent, so the community gives the *ulama* high respect as *anregurutta* (master). With the title of "master", the *ulama* can take part beyond their time and become an inspiration for

generations who are remembered in the future.

In Indonesia, the *ulama* has an important influence on the community's religious life. They act as translators of Islamic values and appear as royal elites who have main tasks in the religious field (Milner, 1982: 34-35). This vital role led Clifford Geertz to label the *ulama* as "cultural brokers". This term is addressed explicitly to *kyai* as a term for *ulama* in Java to describe people who connect between the local and the broader systems (Abdul Kadir Ahmad, 2019: 4).

In South Sulawesi, the *ulama* play a major role in exchanging community's ideas and behavior through a learning system and disseminating of Islamic religious teachings and doctrines. The strengthening of ideas and practices derived from the holy texts of the Qur'an and al-Hadith could ultimately change the orientation of the rulers' beliefs, traditional aristocrats, and society into puritanical Islamic religious doctrines. The crossing of traditions and cultural values that were cared for by the palace then met at the level of intellectual thought and *da'wah* of the *ulama* through channels that characterized their local nature, such as *mangangaji tudang* or *halaqah* in populist diction. Such a process changed the perspective of dogmatic theological teachings to a more dialogical conversation space. This changing religious practice was stimulated by the continuity or even contestation of the *ulama*'s intellectual discourse into a more authentic and contextual choice of action amid the heterogeneous social, cultural, economic, and political systems of the people of the South Sulawesi. So, in this way, the *ulama* chose the path to strengthen the basis for the dissemination of teachings and practices through *da'wah* and institutional strengthening through the infrastructure built; mosques, madrasas/Islamic boarding schools, agriculture and commerce, or exploring the transcendental path through the search for authenticity in the strains of the *tarekat*.

Such choices to strengthen the development of Islamic *da'wah* put the *ulama* in a sometimes difficult position in a society that often changed dramatically in its relations with local rulers and the colonial government. This change can trigger a sharp spiral of conflict that makes the existence of *ulama*

very vulnerable to various social and political changes.

LITERATURE REVIEW

One of the references to find out the dynamics of the *ulama* and their connections with other networks in Gowa and Jeneponto, which have similarities and geographical proximity to Bantaeng on the southern coast of Sulawesi is *Ulama, Guru, dan Gallarrang-Negosiasi Islam dan Lokalitas* by Abdul Kadir Ahmad. This book, published in 2019, is part of the research results that used an ethnographic approach to dissect cultural issues and religious authority, character figures, kinship and economic networks, institutional institutions, and the struggles of the *ulama* in the public sphere as well as the results and works left behind, who is an entity himself as a central figure as a model for Muslims.

As the author admits, this book is a research product carried out over a fairly long period between the 1990s and 2018. The long duration of the study was certainly not carried out chronologically. Therefore, it is understandable if this book is a compilation of various products of the author's knowledge spun into a mosaic of thought that shows the interconnectedness of ideas. However, it raises doubts about the author's choice to use an anthropological ethnographic approach or a historical prosopographic biography. Based on the content, it is very likely that this book was designed to compile and describe the profiles of prominent *ulama* in Gowa and Jeneponto into a single platform for collective biographies of the *guruta* or *anregurutta* of the region. The author examines the gap between the two, highlighting the issue of the *ulama*'s intellectual networks, kinship, and economics and disseminating the theological teachings of the *ulama* and other figures who have contributed to the intellectual character of the *ulama*. The writer has very high respect for the author's openness, describing the process he goes through honestly and his strengths and weaknesses (pp. iii-v).

Abdul Kadir Ahmad has also written another book on the *ulama*, published earlier. The book is *Ulama Bugis* (Makassar: Indobis, 2008). The *ulama*, who are called *anregurutta* in Bugis terms, *anrongguru* in Makassar language, and *annangguru* for Mandar people, refer to people or teachers who are

religious experts. Bugis people define *ulama* as scholars who have the capacity for knowledge, practice, and noble character (Abdul Kadir Ahmad, 2008: 177-361). These qualifications are in tune with the terminology of *panrita*, *anreguru*, and *sheikh* in the sense of "a wise person, expert in jurisprudence, and religious leader" attached to the *ulama*.

These two books provide a new spectrum with a distinctive local element, different from the general narrative built on an external perspective that is always present to color the debate on religious-intellectual discourse of the *ulama*. Abdul Kadir Ahmad succeeded in connecting the narrative of the development of the *ulama* in critical and sharp speech, *pesantren* conventional traditions versus modern or outside settings (Javanese) as the center of gravity of Nusantara *ulama*, and perspectives from within (South Sulawesi) which contributed to the development of the Indonesian clerical network and global. In this context, the authors get inspiration and ideas to develop other models in the cultural area of Makassar (Jeneponto and Bantaeng) by viewing the *ulama* as important actors who drive changes in the orientation of religious understanding and the practice of influential Islamic theology. From that point, this study will begin.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study used a historical approach to topic selection, source collection, source verification, interpretation, and writing (historiography). The sources relied on several materials by prioritizing primary sources available in several places. Primary sources are not sufficient to fill all the analytical space from several aspects discussed because it requires assistance from other types of materials, namely secondary sources. As primary sources, secondary sources must also be classified, reviewed, and criticized based on their origin, content, and relevance to the research topic. The importance of source criticism is carried out to change "historical sources" into "evidence" with interpretation and explanation standards in writing. Thus, the historiography of *ulama* was carried out by integrating library research

techniques, archives, ego documents, and field research through observation and interviews with historical actors or witnesses using the oral history method.

DISCUSSION

The Ulama's Religious-Intellectual Discourse

The formation of an intellectual network of *ulama* in South Sulawesi with the world of *Haramain* at the beginning of the 20th century began with the journey of young people (who later became famous *ulama*) to study in Mecca and Medina, Hadramaut, or other countries in the Middle East that already have strong traditions in Islamic studies. They include Ahmad Bone (Bone), Muhammad Ramli (Luwu), Abdul Rahman Ambo Dalle (Pinrang), Rafi Suleman, and Juned Suleman (Bone). Following Muhammad Saidi, Muttalib bin KH. Qurban Petta Koro, Ahmad Daeng Mapuji, Abdul Azis (Jeneponto); Minhaz Benuas, Abubakar Puang Abu, and Imam Gazali (Bantaeng). Those who go to the Haram are not only pilgrimages to fulfill the obligations of the pillars of Islam (for those who can afford it) but also want to seek intellectual enlightenment through a learning process from the leading *ulama* who have lived for a long time to build and develop religious networks.

However, before they arrived at the center of the Islamic world's orbit, Nusantara *ulama* from South Sulawesi had already become teachers for Bugis, Makassar, Mandar, and even Jawi *ulama* in Mecca and Medina, including KH. Abdurrahman al-Bugisi and his son-in-law KH. Abdul Rasyid al-Bugisi, KH. Mallawa al-Bugisi, KH. Ambo Wellang al-Bugisi, and KH. Muhammad As'ad al-Bugisi (Wajo).

They built relationships with *sheikhs*, who were the main teachers of *ulama* from South Sulawesi in Haramain, such as *Sheikh* Umar Hamdhani al-Magribi, *Sheikh* Abbas Abdul Jawad, *Sheikh* Hasan al-Yamani, *Sheikh* Said al-Yamani, *Sheikh* Jamal al-Makki, *Sheikh* Ahmad Nadzirin, and *Sheikh* Abrar. This relationship does not merely increase the dynamics of knowledge at the student level (*santri*) but also proves that they are translators of "traditional Islam", mediums of introduction to Islamic education, and intermediaries of classical sciences; *fiqh*,

interpretation, *tasauf*, *kalam*, monotheism, and Arabic in the Bugis-Makassar community (Arief, 2007: 127-128). The teacher-student intellectual relationship in Mecca continues when they return to their homeland through various clerical institutions. And the most prominent of all socio-political entities of the *ulama* is the knowledge transmission through establishing institutional institutions in the more structured recitations and educational facilities, such as madrasas/Islamic boarding schools, mosques, economics, agriculture, literacy, and even *tarekat*. Organizing these Islamic earthing infrastructures becomes "the foundation for their religious-intellectual authority and influence among Muslims" (Burhanuddin, 2012: 95-96).

Several *ulama* from Bantaeng and Jeneponto have followed in the footsteps of their predecessors to build and develop intellectual networks in Haramain. At first, they came for Hajj, then became believers to study and start a small business. KH. Imam Gazali (born January 25, 1912 - died November 27, 1973), KH. Minhaz Benuas (1907-October 1983), KH. Abdul Hamid Karim (1904-1999), and KH. Abubakar Puang Abu (1919-2001) are *ulama* from Bantaeng who have lived in Haramain. The longest living among them is KH. Imam Gazali. During his 11 years in Mecca, he studied with many *ulama* from the Middle East and the Archipelago. KH. Abdul Azis (1890-1960), KH. Ahmad Daeng Mapuji (1912-10 November 1985), and KH. Sirajuddin (1887-1982) are *ulama* from Jeneponto.

In an inclusive scientific world atmosphere, these believers learn, write, and build religious ideas through socio-cultural interactions with *sheikhs* or students from other continents. In the view of migrants from other nations or even from Arab countries, the believers of the Archipelago (Indonesia) are the most substantial community in maintaining their inner ties and commitments with their country of origin (Shahid, Azyumardi Azra, Budhy Munawar-Rachman, et al., Volume II, 2015: 275).

Establishing a strong emotional relationship with the homeland facilitates the transmission of religious teachings and ideas, so the Muslim clerics are known and respected as agents of change in Islamic intellectual discourse.

When the knowledge gained is considered sufficient and can be described in symbols, and with religious authority possessed as a teacher, the believer in the next phase conveys the knowledge to other people or the community in the village. The *ulama* returned to their home countries, met with relatives and audiences to preach, and delivered religious messages based on the holy texts of the Qur'an, al-Hadith, and *ijma'* *ulama* as the basis for building theological arguments. Their job is relatively easy, no longer dealing with community groups who are still ignorant about religious intricacies. So, they do not convert community's beliefs first, emphasizing Islam as a doctrine that demands belief in transcendental truths, as was the task of the *ulama* who spread Islam in the early days when religion was first introduced in the South Sulawesi in the early 17th century.

In the 20th century, the *ulama's* main task was to reduce the subordination of local powers, which consistently continued to play their dominance over Islam and strengthen the community's socio-cultural interactions. In fact, they also carry out renewal (*tajdid*) which seems to be the dominant paradigm in religious-intellectual discourse. Purification of teachings and creed from superstition, *bid'ah*, and superstition is also the target of the *da'wah* movement practiced by the *ulama* while translating several new elements related to Islam into the context of local culture, in the material objects, traditions, and texts that seem to be influenced by various tradition or other elements (Abdul Hadi WM, Azyumardi Azra, Jajat Burhanudin, et al. Volume I, 2015: 132-133; Shahid, Azyumardi Azra, Budhy Munawar-Rachman, et al, Volume II, 2015: 271).

The *ulama* built intellectual, cultural, and social networks in the early to mid-20th century, although they did not bring new theological teachings. They still strengthened and made affiliations with local elites to develop into teachers or *guruttas*, who on the recognition of their community of followers became the *ulama* or, on a higher scale known as *anregurutta* (AG), appeared as the primary mover of the revival movement of the Islamic intellectual tradition. Bringing knowledge, ideas, and even methods considered new in their day through recitation

and practice in various private-public spaces, urban-rural, coastal-inland, even at the edge of the country far from the glitter of urban life.

In forming an *ulama* network that later gave rise to many figures in the dialectic of the Islamic world, the effort to cultivate Islam through various forms of religious activity is an enlightenment process for individuals, groups, or communities with a straightforward *mangangaji tuddang* method. This local wisdom-based learning design is a form of socio-cultural adaptation that can fuse the religious-intellectual experience of *ulama* with the pattern of community life filled with traditional values. This method is quite effective for *anregurutta* in transmitting knowledge to his students and within the framework of developing wider teachings.

The idea of change that was promoted, especially religious perspectives and practices, influenced the design of the governance of the royal government institutions through adaptation, negotiation, and mediation of aspects of modernity in the light of Islam. This adaptation, among other things, is translated by establishing religious institutions that give full authority to the *ulama* to organize it. In Bantaeng, for example, the institutionalization of Islam took place through adaptation to the structure and hierarchy of the kingdom through the establishment of a religious institution called "*kadi*" or "*kali*". The *Kadi* had an important political role, especially as a giver of the legitimacy of power to the king, and acted as a holder of religious authority that had strong institutions in society.

In this context, the *ulama*, who are located as *kadi*, undergo a role transformation which no longer carries out the main task as a judge who decides or determines a case but has additional functions to organize education, complete marriage, divorce, inheritance, endowments, and regulate religious activities. They also carried out another political mandate to strengthen the steps and policies taken by the royal rulers. In such an important position, the *ulama* were given the flexibility to develop the *kadi* institution by forming an organizational apparatus whose structure was more hierarchical; "*imang*" (priest), "*katte*" (khatib), "*bidala*" (thimble), and "*doja*". The implementation of institutional policies and

an accommodative response to this idea was establishing a formal educational institution called *Madrasah Nahdlatu al-Thawalib* in 1925. The founder was KH. Muhammad Husain, who at that time was serving as a cadre. The establishment of an Islamic educational institution with a Madrasah pattern was certainly the initiative and encouragement of King of Bantaeng, Karaeng Pawiloy (reigned 1913-1931).

In Jeneponto, the development of Islam is an essential contribution of Islamic institutions formed by the local *ulama*. Several *ulama* have broad influence with a solid scientific base.

The author begins by briefly reviewing the profiles of several Jeneponto and Bantaeng *ulama*. Most of them come from small villages or villages but make significant contributions to the transmission of knowledge and the formation of intellectual networks on the southern coast of Sulawesi. They are KH. Abubakar Daeng Tumpu, KH. Ahmad Daeng Ma Puji, KH. Muhammad Saidi, KH. Abdul Aziz, KH. Ahmad Daeng Mapu (Jeneponto); KH. Abdul Jabbar Arafah Puang Lompo, KH. Muhammad Said Musamah, KH. Minhaz Benuas, KH. Imam Gazali, and KH. Fatahuddin (Bantaeng). With various considerations, including the lack of sources and information that can be traced, other current *ulama* will be discussed to see the continuity of the clerical network between regions. The *ulama*'s description is based on information obtained from their family, ego documents, and testimonies from their former students who are still alive.

Abubakar Daeng Tumpu was born in Arungkeke Jeneponto in 1905 and died in 1996. His wife's name is Hj. Basse Daeng Nurung (daughter of KH. Abdul Gani, a prominent *ulama* from Sumatra). Thus, KH. Abubakar Daeng Tumpu built his scientific base through a kinship network with descendants of *ulama* who have a reputation in the Islamic world.

KH. Abubakar Daeng Tumpu has no historical roots in a clerical family because his parents were just ordinary farmers in Jeneponto. However, his attention to the world of education is considerable. He set aside some wealth to help finance Islamic recitations and *da'wah*. At the age of seven years (1912), he began to follow the *halaqah*,

which is considered the oldest in Jeneponto, under the tutelage of KH. Petta Koro Sacrifice. Then he studied with KH. Ahmad Bone and KH. Abdul Khair (father of KH. Ahmad Bone) in Batu Karopa Bone in 1940. A more systematic study began and gave him valuable lessons to master the rules of *nahwu-sharaf*, *fiqh*, interpretation, and hadith. These textual sources later became his students' basic foundation when holding recitations in Arungkeke and Tolo Kelara Jeneponto around 1944 until the end of his life in 1996 (H. Nasir Awing, *interview*, 2 July 2018). After more than a year of studying with KH. Ahmad Bone, then he continued his studies at *Madrasah Arabiyah al-Islamiyah* (MAI) in Sengkang Wajo, under the guidance of KH. Muhammad As'ad. Around 1943, he moved to Bonde Campalagian to study with KH. Arsyad Maddapungan. He studied for almost a year before finally moving to Salemo Island with ten students from Bonde Campalagian Polewali Mandar (Mubarak Idrus, 2022: 228; H. Nasir Awing, *interview*, 2 July 2018).

The turmoil of the independence struggle when Japan occupied these islands in 1942-1945, the revolution that echoed at the end of 1945-1950 along with Dutch police actions added to political and security chaos, which resulted in the emergence of political instability which disrupted the learning process at several Islamic institutions in South Sulawesi. The bombing by Allied forces on Salemo Island in 1949 and the DI/TII rebellion of the Usman Balo group (Alie Humaedi, 2022: xvi) prompted the *santri* and the *ulama*, who had made the island a leading center of Islamic learning, to carry out an exodus to seek refuge.

Most of them returned to their hometowns, met with their families, and built new networks to develop the knowledge they received while overseas. KH. Abubakar Daeng Tumpu returned to Arungkeke Jeneponto with his fellow villagers, KH. Abdul Muttalib, KH. Ahmad Daeng Mapuji, and KH. Ahmad Dahlan Daeng Parenreng. Arriving in his homeland, KH. Abubakar Daeng Tumpu tried to open a recitation. However, his efforts were hampered because of the psychological situation of the masses, who were overwhelmed by the turmoil of the independence revolution. He finally decided to move and study again from an *ulama* from Sinjai who was on duty in Bantaeng, KH.

Muhammad Tahir. The *ulama*, who is more popular with the nickname Puang Kali Taherong, accepted him as a new student who is more senior than other students in terms of age and experience. The teacher-student relationship continued when KH. Muhammad Tahir returned to Balanipa.

From Sinjai, KH. Abubakar Daeng Tumpu again visited KH. Ahmad Bone in Bone to increase his ability to understand and master the science of *fiqh*, *mantiq*, and interpretation. As a result, he was given the trust to teach in the lower class, the beginner class for students who started their lessons with the *halaqah* system. He also followed to Makassar when his teacher preached and stayed for quite a long time. Then he registered as a student at the *Ma'hadut Dirasatil Islamiyah wal-Arabiyah* (MDIA) school in Makassar led by KH. Muhammad Nur at the end of 1944. Here, he received the *wirid* of the Muhammadiyah *tarekat* from the famous *ulama*.

The continuity of this didactic process makes it clear that the *ulama* never felt it was enough to just study with a *kyai*. However, often opening up scientific horizons with a series of processes to form an identity as an *ulama* requires a fairly long *rihlah* to study from one place to another. Study with some *anregurutta* who have a deep knowledge of one or even more specific religious fields. The *ulama* forged themselves with hard work and perseverance and then emerged as individuals who could broadcast and build intellectual, kinship, cultural, and even economic networks.

Figure 1. KH. Abubakar Daeng Tumpu



(Source: Photo collection of KH. Abubakar Daeng Tumpu's family, reproduced by Muslim A.R. Effendy on 2 July 2018).

In 1949, Abubakar Daeng Tumpu went on pilgrimage and, on his return from the holy land, tried to reopen the recitation in Arungkeke. This time, his efforts received a warm welcome from the surrounding community, especially residents of Tolo Kelara Jeneponto. At the request of Karaeng Tolo H. Abul Rifai Karaeng Lagu and his brother H. Abdul Rifai Karaeng Beta, he moved to Tolo Kelara. He began opening recitations in 1952 (H. Nasir Awing, *interview*, 2 July 2018). The legacy inherited by KH. Abubakar Daeng Tumpu continued disseminating religious-intellectual networks to his students, who later grew to become important *ulama* in local networks. Among them is KH. Ahmad Daeng Bela (Malakaji Gowa), KH. Pattonangi, and KH. Abdul Hayong, who later opened the Nahdathul Ulum Islamic Boarding School in Kelara Jeneponto. Another student who builds scholarly networks with the intense scientific transmission is KH. Djumatang Rate (Chairman of the Indonesian *Ulama* Council Jeneponto Regency, 2011-2016, 2016-2020). He attended the study at the house of KH.

Abubakar Daeng Tumpu for three years (1969-1972) (Dr. KH. Fridayang Rate, MAg, *interview*, 23 July 2018).

KH. Muhammad Saidi (1887-1982) was another *ulama* from Jeneponto who had an important role in preaching Islam. The *ulama*, who had studied at *Madrasah Darul al-Falah* in Mecca, built his base of influence at the level of the peasants living in the highlands of Datara and Malakaji, Gowa. The *da'wah* model developed is an example of the intense relationship between the *ulama* of the book and the village teacher so that Islam grows dynamically (Abdul Kadir Ahmad, 2019: 213). This model parallels the Islamization efforts broadcast by the *ulama* living in the coastal border areas of Jeneponto and Bantaeng, KH. Abdul Aziz (1890-1960). In 1905, little Abdul Azis went on pilgrimage and studied in Haramain. During the 25 years he lived in Mecca, he deepened his religious knowledge and studied with great *ulama* from the land of Jawi, such as Sheikh Abdurrahman al-Bugisi and several Middle Eastern *ulama*. In 1930, he returned to Indonesia and developed Islamic education in Jeneponto, Bantaeng, and Bulukumba (Abdullah Karaeng Bulu, *interview*, 4 August 2018). KH. Abdul Aziz's children did not follow in his father's footsteps as an *ulama*. The disconnection of this intellectual network link can be traced to the political system and pragmatic attitude, especially during difficult times when the colonial political system was crushing and economic demands became the primary choice. Also, the security disturbances caused by the DI/TII rebellion in the 1950s.

From 1949-to 1955, a *halaqah* assembly was developed in Tino Pacinongan, Taroang, Jeneponto. KH. Ahmad Bone was often present to bring material for *mangagaji kitta* (recitation of books) *fiqh*, *mantiq* science, and interpretation (Karaeng Kule, *interview*, 4 August 2018). The arrival of this great *ulama* from Bone further emphasized that the relations built between *ulama* to strengthen the basis of Islamic development in Jeneponto and Bantaeng became strong evidence of the authority and greatness of KH. Abdul Aziz. His reputation as an *ulama* seemed to be tested by *anregurutta* from various regions to work together to compare their respective fields of expertise. Around the highlands of Gowa (Datara, Malakaji,

Tonroang, Malino) and Jeneponto, KH. Muhammad Saidi (born in 1887 and died in Datara in 1982) was an *ulama* who was active in preaching and building scientific networks. Muhammad Saidi studied religion at KH. Qurban Petta Koro in Arungkeke at the age of 6 years, in 1893. In 1903, he returned to Datara Tompobulu Gowa (Sirajuddin HS Daeng Tamu, *interview*, 24 July 2018). Besides KH. Abubakar Daeng Tumpu, KH. Muhammad Saidi, and KH. Abdul Azis, there is also KH. Ahmad Daeng Mapuji (1912-10 November 1985), who developed a *da'wah* network in Jeneponto and the surrounding area. KH. Ahmad Daeng Mapuji does not leave many literary works or heritage except for a translation of “*Surat Yasin*” into Makassarese. Throughout his career as a bureaucrat-*ulama*, KH. Ahmad Daeng Mapuji once served as the Chairman of the Jeneponto *Syari'ah* Court (now the Religious Court). After this position, he was given the task of leading the first Jeneponto–Takalar Regency Department of Religion when the two regions were still united in administration. This position continued when the administrations of the two regions separated. He served as Head of the Jeneponto Religious Affairs Department until his retirement. In social organizations, KH. Ahmad Daeng Mapuji was asked to become the Chairman of the Sarikat Islam, Chairman of the Jeneponto *Ulama* Council, and Advisor to the Jeneponto Regent, Palangkei Karaeng Lagu (Abdul Kadir Ahmad, 2019: 39-40). In politics, he once joined the Golkar Party and was appointed as an advisor when the party bearing the banyan tree was led by Harmoko (H. Mahading Daeng Gassing, *interview*, 25 July 2018).

KH. Ahmad Daeng Mapuji started his scholarly work by establishing an educational institution with a Madrasah pattern, a modernization of Indonesian Islamic education. It was based not only on his experience at *Madrasah Darul al-Falah* Mecca but also on the demands for change following the modernization of education by the Dutch colonial government in Indonesia. The establishment of this Madrasah was part of implementing the decision of the “*Oelama Celebes*” meeting, which was held in 1932 in Watampone Bone. This forum was held as the initiative of King Bone Andi Mappanyuki. The meeting results have encouraged

the *ulama* to establish Islamic schools in the form of madrasas. Take, for example, the *Madrasah al-Arabiyah al-Islamiyah* (MAI) in Sengkang Wajo which was built by KH. Muhammad As'ad in 1932 (Andi Muawiyah Ramly (ed.), 2006: 77-78), and *Madrasah Darul al-Falah* in Arungkeke Jeneponto which was initiated by KH. Ahmad Daeng Mapuji in 1947.

In Bantaeng, KH. Abdul Jabbar Arafah Puang Lompo, KH. Muhammad Said Musamah, KH. Minhaz Benuas, KH. Imam Gazali, and KH. Fatahuddin tried to practice the transmission of scientific interpretation with the nuances of the Haramain world. KH. Abdul Jabbar Arafah Puang Lompo (23 April 1920-1989) is a central figure in local and regional networks in Bantaeng, Bulukumba, Jeneponto, and Gowa. He is an *ulama* who left a lot of knowledge and Islamic institutions in Bantaeng.

Figure 2. KH. Abdul Jabbar Arafah Puang Lompo



(Source: Photo collection of KH. Abdul Jabbar Arafah Puang Lompo's family, reproduced by Muslimin A.R. Effendy on 31 July 2018)

On 8 September 1947, he decided to leave for Mecca. In addition to the pilgrimage, he also attended the recitation at the Grand Mosque. He entered formal school at an educational institution that has produced many of world *ulama* caliber, namely *al-Madrasatul Falah*. Under the guidance of *Sheikh* Alwy bin Abbas Maliki, he completed

his studies in mid-1949 and obtained *idjaz* or *amah*, and returned to Indonesia at the end of 1949.

Upon returning to Indonesia, he opened a recitation at the Ruhul Amin Mosque in Sampole. Now, the mosque has changed its name to the Great Mosque of *Sheikh* Abdul Gany Bantaeng. The critical position of Abdul Djabbar Arafah Puang Lompo in building intellectual networks in the southern part of Sulawesi lies in his respectable place in the region and his reputation as a builder of an *ulama's* network. He gained extensive and deep religious knowledge through intellectual exploration in Islamic education centers in South Sulawesi and Mecca in the fourth to the first half of the 20th century.

There is also KH. Muhammad Said Musamah (born in Lamuru Bone in 1925 and died on 14 July 1999). The *ulama* who is more senior than KH. Muhammad Said Musamah, apart from those already mentioned above, is KH. Imam Gazali (1911-1974). He opened a consultation room and alternative medicine at his home. He treated by reading the holy verses of the Qur'an and often giving "amulets" in the form of "nagasekoi" to "patients" to ward off evil spirits that interfere (Faisal, interview, 29 July 2018).

In an earlier period, a Bugis *ulama* appeared who was not widely known because information and news about the person concerned were very limited. The *ulama* is KH. Minhaz Benuas (born 1907 and died in October 1983 in Mattoanging Kampung Gusung Lamalaka Bantaeng). KH. Minhaz studied Salemo Island between 1923 and 1925, contemporary with KH. Kadir Khalid from Makassar. Then he continued his education in Sengkang for four years by studying with KH. Muhammad As'ad. After As'ad death, he studied with KH. Abdurrahman Ambo Dalle. Returning to Bantaeng, he founded the Diniyah School in 1945 in Mattoanging, Lamalaka. Due to the shortage of teachers, KH. Minhaz Benuas asked KH. Abdurrahman Ambo Dalle, and that request was fulfilled by sending KH. Abdurrahim alias *Guru Boco*, Ustadz Muhammad Daud, and Ustadzah Sitti Maryam in 1947. They taught here for three years (1947-1950) and returned to their

respective villages due to security disturbances.

The Role of The *Ulama* in Strengthening Islamic Thought

The process of forming an *ulama* later gave rise to many figures who we now call *ulama* in the dialectic of the Islamic world. Then Islamization, which is interpreted as "grounding Islam" through various religious activities, is an enlightenment effort carried out by educated people towards groups or communities in multiple ways. The learning model of *mangangaji tudang* or *halaqah* in the context of traditional Bugis and Makassar Islamic education is a learning design based on local wisdom in a way or strategy that is very close to traditional community life.

The pattern and characteristics of the *ulama* and their interactions with local ruling groups that have dynamized the development of Islam on the southern coast of Sulawesi, which includes Jenepono and Bantaeng, can be explained in several types. *First*, some *ulama* are not affiliated with any political forces, working to fight for the earthing of Islamic values culturally and personally. They "kept their distance from the regime and focused on *da'wah* and *tarbiyah* (*al-da'wah wa al-tarbiyah*) based on Islamic interpretations on the puritan side of the modernist-reformist spectrum". *Second*, the *ulama* who build affiliations and synergize with local political forces often hold the position of "*kadi*" or other positions that make them always in the palace environment and even become part of the local elite. They move on the path of *fiqh* science whose manifestations are in the *al-tasyri 'wa al-qadha*, namely the legal and judicial system (Endang Rochmiatun, 2016: 2). This group "is more constructive in dealing and cooperating with the government. They are called accommodationists" (Carool Kersten, 2018: 269). *Third*, the *ulama* chose the path of *da'wah* by developing institutional institutions based on mosques and Islamic boarding school education.

The three styles and characteristics of the *ulama* above are interrelated with each other. The first category of the *ulama* has traditionally had a strong support base at the grassroots level. However, they pay less attention to the formal institutionalization of

Islam. Basic recitation with the *halaqah* system as an embryo for the birth of classical pesantren education, most of which are pioneering efforts of these *ulama*, has had an impact on efforts to increase the capacity of "participants" (*halaqah*) to "santri" (*pesantren*) which are complementary. From this point of view, *anregurutta* KH. Abubakar Daeng Tumpu, KH. Muhammad Saidi, KH. Abdul Aziz, KH. Abdul Muttalib, KH. Ahmad Dahlan Daeng Parenreng (Jeneponto), KH. Abdul Hamid Karim, KH. Imam Gazali (Bantaeng) are active *ulama* who move freely, preach without geographical barriers, and are not worried about power and local political arenas. They are respected for their religious authority and appear as teachers who are role models for the people.

The second characteristic is that *ulama* who are affiliated with power tend to act as legal providers for the policies and actions of the ruling elite. They build the basis of their argument based on the ideas that come from the texts of the Qur'an, al-Hadith, and *ijtima ulama*, as well as positive legal philosophy. They started their struggles as religious teachers who later became *ulama* of their scientific reputation and character, entered Islamic education through *mangangaji tuddang*, studied with several *ulamaz* in various places, and gained intellectual enlightenment through formal schools. Some examples that can be mentioned here are KH. Ahmad Daeng Mapuji, KH. Abdul Hayung (Jeneponto), KH. Abdul Djabbar Arafah Puang Lompo, KH. Minhaz Binuas, and KH. Fatahuddin (Bantaeng).

The third characteristic is the *ulama* who build their intellectual reputation through the world of pesantren. Even though they are also ex-students from *mangangaji tuddang* or *halaqah*, they prefer other means of broadcasting Islam. Not only recitations are developed but also institutional aspects so that students have regular, measurable, and integrated levels of learning with other worlds of education. Several *ulama* belong to this group, such as KH. Ahmad Daeng Mapuji, KH. Abdul Azis, and KH. Abdul Hayung from Jeneponto and KH. Minhaz Binuas, KH. Abdurrahim alias *Guru Boco*, KH. Muhammad Said Mussamah, and KH. Abubakar Puang Abu (Bantaeng). But keep in mind that almost all

ulama experience the process of "santrinization" at different levels of characteristics. The third type of *ulama* concentrates on forming people based on madrasas. It does not disappear with the end of the traditional centers of power in Jeneponto and Bantaeng.

As an elite group, the *ulama* act as glue for the people who distance themselves from personal interests and can maintain and develop Islamic traditions and values with their authority. In the *ulama*, it is manifested that personally, he can represent community groups or on a wider scale as a representation of the interests of the people who, with actual works of preaching, dedicate themselves to the common good while maintaining harmony between various interest groups. In later developments, the network spread through *tarekat* organizations, theological similarities affiliated with Asyariyah in the field of kalam and the Shafii school of fiqh, as well as socio-political networks that often intersect with contemporary *ulama* (Arief, 2007: 62).

CLOSING

The network of *ulama* built through the transmission of intellectual ideas forms an inclusive *ulama* and Islamic institutional ecosystem for the effective and intensive collaboration of the *ulama*, wealthy people, and rulers. This collaboration encourages the creation of a learning ecosystem and promotes Islamic religious education and a network of *ulama* in South Sulawesi (Alie Humaedi, 2022: xvii).

This network is not organized formally and strictly. It is formed through the informal and personal relationships between complex lines of intellectual genealogy. *Gurutta* and *anregurutta*, or the relationship between *anregurutta* and students fostered by the *ulama* are intertwined, breaking through social, cultural, and administrative boundaries. Furthermore, this intellectual genealogy that seems quite loose is bound by spiritual links through the *mangangaji tudang*, *tarekat*, or in the fairly solid kinship and economic relationships. The *ulama* discussed here do not leave sufficient textual legacy to help understand the historical roots of their spiritual *rihlah* in intellectual genealogy. However, simple topics adapted from previous *ulama* in the collections of prayers, short treatises, and advice as

compiled by KH. Abubakar Daeng Tumpu, KH. Ahmad Daeng Mapuji, KH. Abdul Hayung (Jeneponto); KH. Abdul Djabbar Arafah Puang Lompo and KH. Imam Gazali (Bantaeng) show the continuity of ideas, practices, and scientific styles that reveal the intellectual color they have acquired.

In Jeneponto, the *ulama* institutions were challenged and desired to make changes and reforms. Figures like KH. Abubakar Daeng Tumpu, KH. Muhammad Saidi, KH. Abdul Muttalib, and KH. Ahmad Dahlan Daeng Parenreng are not just an intermediary that bridges the community with the outside world but also plays a vital role in the flow of social, political, economic, educational, cultural, and religious change. The establishment of *Madrasah Darul al-Falah* by KH. Ahmad Daeng Mapuji and intellectual network development by KH. Abdul Azis reaching Jeneponto coastal and mountainous areas are an Islamization strategy that is driven simultaneously within the framework of accelerating the earthing of Islam.

In Bantaeng, a massive Islamic earthing movement emerged, which was encouraged by several *ulama* who had gained intellectual enlightenment and the influence of the Arab world. The sign of the revival of the movement was the establishment of an educational institution with a strengthening base in the world of *tarbiyah*, namely *Madrasah al-Tawalib* by KH. Muhammad Husayn.

The strengthening of Islamic thought in Jeneponto and Bantaeng was distributed through intellectual, kinship, and economic networks simultaneously with the transmission of religious knowledge. *Ulama*, who work in local and regional networks, synergize with the *ulama* educated by Haramain so that the production of religious knowledge runs intensely. The struggle of *ulama* in broadcasting is also colored by the diversity of interpretations and differences in understanding texts from the Qur'an, al-Hadith, and other books, which are the basic references in reading *tudang*. These differences are generally resolved through the *ulama* meeting forums (formal and informal), which are initiated by *anregurutta* or other *ulama* who have scientific authority. The *ulama*'s authority, character, and intellectuality were tested to provide logical arguments for the problems faced by the

people. Here, it can be seen that the orientation and style of the science they study and master is not only "outward sciences", which are eccentric, such as interpretation, *fiqh*, or *sharia* in general. But also the "sciences of the mind", which are esoteric like Sufism or *tarekat*.

The development of religious-intellectual discourse in Jeneponto and Bantaeng is oriented to the network of Haramain *ulama*, on a local and regional scale. It is centered on areas that are the basis for the Islam development of religious and educational leaders, such as the islands of Salemo, Wajo, Luwu, Bone, Makassar, and Polewali Mandar. Since at least the beginning of the 20th century, these areas have played a crucial role in the transmission of religious-intellectual ideas from Haramain to various parts of the region. Quantitatively, the institutions of religious-intellectual discourse in Jeneponto and Bantaeng are not as many as those of the regions that are the main bases for the development of Islam in South Sulawesi. However, Bantaeng's position as a *butta toa* (old land) birth and the early growth of Islam on the southern coast of Sulawesi gave its own weight and significant added value to the developed Islamic thought and its impetus or influence over other parts of the region. Bantaeng's unique historical position is the main reason why the *ulama* involved in this intellectual-religious discourse are more cosmopolitan than similar discourses in Jeneponto.

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