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The Petta Kalie's Contribution in The Development of Islamic Law During The Kingdom of Bone

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Abstract: This article examines *Petta Kalie's* contribution to the development of Islamic law in the Kingdom of Bone. *Petta Kalie* or *qadhi* has the same position as an advisor or counselor to the *sultan*. This was similar to the *qadhi al-qudhat* in Baghdad, *syekh Islam* in Turkey, *sadar-i azam* in India, *qadhil malikul adil* in Aceh or *Wali Songo* in Java. This study uses a historical approach to understanding Islamic law as an analytical tool by looking at *Petta Kalie* as a collective history that contributes to the development of the Islamic law. The study concluded that there were four contributions of *Petta Kalie* in the development of Islamic law: affirming the integration of *sara'* (Islamic law) and *ade'* (adat), such as the *sompa*, *mappacci*, *barzanji* and *meppanre tamme* traditions. The internalization of the Islamic law with the style of Shafi'i school of thought was carried out by *Patte Kalie* assisted by *puang imang*, *katte'*, *bilal*, *doja* and *amil* who are in charge of teaching and disseminating the Islamic laws such as marriage, divorce, reconciliation, inheritance distribution, and the management of *zakat*. In addition, *Petta Kalie* also promotes women's equality in Islamic law, supports female *Sultanah* to appear as kings, and initiates education in studying Islamic sciences, especially for women called *makkamisi'*. Finally, a legal *fatwa* related to resistance to the Netherlands and refusal to cooperate with them. Some of these arguments and findings are indisputable historical facts that *Petta Kalie* made a major contribution to the development of Islamic law in the *Bugis Bone* society.

Keywords: Contribution, *Petta Kalie*, *shafi'i school of thought*, *Integration of Sara' and Ade'*, *Kingdom of Bone*, History of Islamic Law.

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Abstrak: Artikel ini mengkaji tentang kontribusi Petta Kalie dalam pengembangan hukum Islam di Kerajaan Bone. Petta Kalie atau qadhi memiliki kedudukan sebagai penasehat sultan sama dengan qadhi al-qudhat di Baghdad, syekh Islam di Turki, sadar-i azam di India, qadhil malikul adil di Aceh atau Wali Songo di Jawa. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan sejarah hukum Islam sebagai alat analisis dengan melihat Petta Kalie sebagai sejarah kolektif yang berkontribusi dalam pengembangan hukum Islam. Kajian tersebut menyimpulkan bahwa terdapat empat sumbangan Petta Kalie dalam pengembangan hukum Islam yaitu; meneguhkan integrasi sara' (hukum Islam) dan ade' (adat), seperti tradisi sompa, mappacci, barzanji dan meppanre tamme'. Internalisasi hukum Islam yang bercorak mazhab Syafi'i dilakukan oleh Patte Kalie dibantu oleh Puang Imang, Katte', bilal, doja dan amil yang bertugas dalam mengajarkan dan mensosialisasikan hukum Islam seperti pernikahan, talak, rujuk, pembagian warisan, pengelolaan zakat. Kemudian Petta Kalie juga mendorong kesetaraan perempuan dalam hukum Islam, mendukung Sultanah perempuan tampil sebagai raja dan menginisiasi pendidikan dalam mempelajari ilmu-ilmu keislaman khusus perempuan yang disebut makkamisi'. Terakhir fatwa hukum terkait perlawanan kepada Belanda dan penolakan untuk bekerjasama dengannya. Beberapa argumentasi dan temuan tersebut merupakan fakta sejarah yang tidak terbantahkan bahwa Petta Kalie memberikan kontribusi yang besar bagi pengembangan hukum Islam dalam masyarakat Bugis Bone.

Kata Kunci: Kontribusi, Petta Kalie, mazhab Syafi'i, Integrasi Sara' dan Ade', Kerajaan Bone dan Sejarah Hukum Islam

Introduction

Petta kalie or Qadhi is an important Islamic scholar who functions as the *mufti* and advisor/counselor to the *Sultan* (the king, in the Islamic reference) in the field of Islamic law. It has been a common sense that every *sultanate* in the Islamic kingdom had religious advisors who happened to be knowledgeable scholars who had a high religious understanding, broad social, economic and political insights whose main responsibility is giving advice to the *sultan*. This important position of *qadhi* dated back to the Abbasid Caliphate, Ottoman Turks, Mughals in India, to the archipelago such as Aceh, Demak, Banten, Makassar, and Bone.

During the Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad, *Qadhi al-Qudhat* or the supreme judge, was known as Ya'qub bin Ibrahim bin Habib bin Sa'id al-Anshary (732-798 AD) or Abu Yusuf. Abu Yusuf was a direct disciple of Abu

Hanifah and became qadhi in the era of the three Caliphs: al-Mahdi, al-Hadi and Harun al-Rashid. His famous book, *al-Kharaj*, an important reference to tax and Islamic economic law, was written at the request of Caliph Harun al-Rashid.¹

In the Ottoman Turkey, the qadhi was referred to Sheikh of Islam, the most famous of which was Ebu al-Su'ud (1490-1574 AD), at the time of Sultan Sulaiman.² Sheikh of Islam organized regulations issued by the *sultan* under the name of *Qanun Namah Sultan Sulaiman* (Laws made by Sultan Sulaiman).³ Sultan Sulaiman was then assisted by Ibrahim al-Halabi (d.1549 AD) who was also a scholar who compiled a book of law entitled *Multaqa al-Abhur* (the meeting point of the seas), which was the Ottoman Legal Law, used up to the 19th century AD.⁴

The Ottoman government then issued an Islamic compilation law, known as *Majallah ahkam al-adliyah*. In this case, the Sultan's advisors in the field of religion were greatly influential in the emergence of the Islamic law compilation.⁵

In India, during the Mughal Empire, religious matters were regulated by the kingdom under the leadership of *Sadar as-Sudur* or *Sadar-i azam* (main religious leaders of the kingdom).⁶ The history of the Sultanate of India recorded that one of the most famous As-Sudur was Abu al-Fadl (1551-1602 AD) during the reign of Sultan Akbar. Abu Fadl composed an essay entitled *a'in-i akbar* (Akbar's law), regulating family, military, royal and tax law

¹Mahmud Hamdi Zaqzud, *Mausu'ah A'lamul fikr al-Islamiyah*, Kairo: al-Majlis al-'Ala, 2007. Adiwarmar Azwar Karim, *Sejarah Pemikiran Ekonomi Islam*, Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2008, p. 53. Rachmatullah Oky, "Teori Pajak Menurut Abu Yusuf Sebuah Alternatif Solusi Perpajakan di Indonesia," *Iqtishoduna: Jurnal Ekonomi Islam* 8, No. 1 (2019), p. 1-5.

²Antony Black, *Pemikiran Politik Islam: Dari masa Nabi Hingga Kini*, diterjemahkan oleh Abdullah Ali dan Mariana Ariestuawati, Jakarta: Serambi Ilmu, 2001, p. 389.

³Juhaya S. Praja, *Fikih dan Syariat dalam Taufik Abdullah* (et. al.), Ensklipedi Tematis Dunia Islam, Jilid IV, Jakarta: Ichtiar Baru van Hoeve, 2002, p. 108.

⁴Philip K. Hitti, *History of The Arabs: Rujukan Induk dan Paling Otoritatif Tentang Sejarah Peradaban Islam*, Jakarta: Serambi Ilmu, 2006, p. 911. Subhi Mahmassani, *Al-Audha' al-Tasyri'iyyah fi al-Daulah Madhiha wa Hadhiriha*, Beirut: Dar al-Ilm al-Malayin, t.th., p. 192.

⁵Ahmad Hanafi, *Pengantar dan Sejarah Hukum Islam*, Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1995, p. 219.

⁶Taufik Abdullah, (et. al). *Enskilopedi Tematis Dunia Islam*, Jilid II, Jakarta: Ichtiar Baru Van Hoeve, 2002, p. 296. Ira Lapidus, *Sejarah Sosial Umat Islam*, Jakarta: Grafindo Persada, 1999, p. 703.

issues.⁷ After the death of Sultan Akbar, Aurangzeb (1658-1707 AD) became Sultan who then organized a commission tasked with compiling a collection of Islamic law, well known as *Fatawa al-Hindiya*, which was heavily influenced by the Hanafi school of thought.⁸

In Aceh, the Sultan's advisors were referred to *qadhi maliku adil* functioning as *mufti* and advisors to the *sultan* in the field of Islamic law. Some of the famous scholars were Sheikh Nuruddin al-Raniry (d. 1658 AD) and Sheikh Abdurrauf al-Singkily (1615-1693 AD) who became Qadhi during the four *Sultanahs*. Apart from other scholars, the two qadhi (judges) were the most prominent because at that time Aceh achieved its glory and became the center of the spread of Islam in the archipelago since Sultan Iskandar Muda (1593-1693 AD) up to the time of the female leader *Sultanah* Keumalat Syah (1688-1699).⁹

In the island of Java, for example, the Kingdom of Demak, the Sunans became advisors to the King and became prominent teachers in the teaching of the Islamic religious sciences. *Wali Songo* such as Sunan Kali Jaga (1450-1513 AD) and Sunan Bonang (1465-1525 AD) contributed greatly to the process of Islamization in the Javanese island in collaboration with Raden Fatah, the first Sultan of the Islamic Kingdom of Demak. Likewise in the Sultanate of Banten, Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassary (1626-1699 AD) was also appointed as mufti of the Banten kingdom by Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa (1651-1682 AD) as well as his son-in-law who served not only as a religious advisor but also a political leader, who later the Muslim scholars suggested that he became a warlord against the Dutch colonialists. Even Dutch historical records call him opperprister (the highest priest).¹⁰ Due to his strong influence to the struggle againsts the colonialism, the Dutch exiled him to Sri Lanka and then to South Africa in which he then deceased.

While in Bone, South Sulawesi, the advisor to the sultan was referred to *Petta Kalie*. The term *Petta Kalie* itself comes from the word "kali", refers to the term *qadhi* (the judge).¹¹ While the word *qadhi* itself comes from its root of *qadha* in the Arabic word, which means to do, to determine, to decide

⁷Antony Black, *Pemikiran Politik Islam..*, p. 436.

⁸Abdul Aziz Dahlan (et.al), *Ensiklopedi Hukum Islam*, Jakarta: Ichtiar Baru van Hoeve, 1996, p. 1664.

⁹Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII*, Jakarta: Kencana, 2007, p. 197-229.

¹⁰Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama...*, p. 275. Karomani, "Ulama, Jawara dan Umaro: Studi tentang Elit Lokal di Banten," *Jurnal Sosiohumaniora* 11, No. 2, (2009), p. 172.

¹¹Ahmad Warson al-Munawwir, *Kamus Al-Munawwir; Kamus Arab-Indonesia*, Jakarta: Pustaka Progresif, 1997, p. 1130.

in a court, an expert in determining the law or a judge. The addition of the word *petta* was intended as a form of respect or nobility as used by the Nobles in the kingdom of Bone, especially the king and his family and descendants.¹²

According to Perlas and Andaya, *Petta Kalie* in Bone was the main authority in the field of religion and advisor to the *Sultan* who determines the Islamic law in relation to *adat* or customary.¹³ This suggests that the term *qadhi*, *kalie*, or *petta kalie* refers to a person or institution whose function is to decide things related to the Islamic law. However, the term *kalie* for *kadi* was not only used by the Bugis, Makassar and Mandar people of South Sulawesi and West Sulawesi.¹⁴

This study uses legal history as an approach and an analytical tool. Ali and Marzuki suggested that legal history research is included in empirical juridical studies or legal realities that occur in the society. The history of law seeks to identify the stages of legal development by limiting its focus and its periodization from time to time.¹⁵ According to Kuntowijoyo, the study of *Petta Kalie* is a collective biographical history. This is so because it examines a group of people who shared similar background by investigating their lives. Meanwhile, Mattulada said that the historical method emphasizes the process, in which human behavior is shaped in the society, its background, and factors that influence the reality. In addition, in the context of the history of Islamic law, this kind of study has been conducted by Minhaji and Mudhzar who studied Islamic law with a social history approach. Social history is an analytical tool in studying Islamic law, which has been long established in Indonesia. This suggests that historical perspectives are important in the study of law as they allow contexts to be taken into account in law determination; and the historical perspectives also permit the integration of laws with their social and cultural order emerged in the society.¹⁶

¹²Andi Palloge Petta Nabba, *Sejarah Kerajaan Tanah Bone (Masa Raja Pertama dan Raja-Raja Kemudiannya Sebelum Masuknya Islam Sampai Terakhir)*, Sungguminasa: Yayasan al-Muallim, 2006, p. 301.

¹³Christian Perlas, *The Bugis*, Oxford: Blackwell Publisher, 1996, p. 190. Leonard Y. Andaya, *The Heritage of Arung Palakka: A History of South Sulawesi (Celebes) In the Seventeenth Century*, Edisi Indonesia; Makassar: Innawa, 2006, p. 44.

¹⁴Ahmad M. Sewang, *Islamisasi Kerajaan Gowa Abad XVI Sampai Abad XVII*, Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2005, p. 145.

¹⁵Zainuddin Ali, *Penelitian Hukum*, Jakarta: Sinar Grafika, 2014, p. 22-44. Peter Mahmud Marzuki, *Metodologi Penelitian Hukum*, Jakarta: Kencana, 2014, 166.

¹⁶Mattulada, *Studi Islam Kontemporer: Sintesis, Pendekatan Sejarah, Sosiologis dan Antropologis dalam Mengkaji Fenomena Keagamaan*, dalam Taufik Abdullah dan M. Rusli Karim, *Metodologi Penelitian Agama: Sebuah Pengantar*, Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 1989, p. 7.

This study will therefore discuss Petta Kalie's contribution to the development of Islamic law during the Bone kingdom period from the 17th century to the 20th century by using a legal history approach. The focus is in understanding *Petta Kalie's* contribution in the integration of *sara'* and *ade'*, the internalization of Islamic law in the Bone society, the equality of women in the Islamic law and *Petta Kalie's* legal fatwa related to the resistance against the Dutch.

Petta Kalie: The Chain of Knowledge and Pattern of Islamic Law

1. Petta Kalie: Counselor to the King, Teacher of the People

Petta Kalie's position as a counselor to the Sultan in the Bone Kingdom was performed by the first to the twentieth Petta Kalie. They were appointed directly by the Sultan because of their capabilities of helping, counseling and the teaching of Islamic law and other socio-religious knowledge.

Here is a list of Petta Kalie serving the King of Bone;

Tabel 1: The list of *Petta Kalie* and the kings of Bone

No.	The Petta Kalie	Theking of Bone
1	Fakih Amrullah, <i>Petta Kalie</i> the first (1639-1640 AD)	La Ma'daremmeng Sultan Shaleh Matinroe ri Bukaka, the-13 th king (1631-1640 AD)
2	To Bala Arung Tanete Ri Awang, <i>Petta Kalie</i> the second (1643-1660 AD)	Holding the <i>Jennang</i> position and the qadhi as well (1640-1660 AD)
3	<i>Petta Kalie</i> the third residing in Bontoala, the name was not known (1669-1696 AD)	Sultan Sa'aduddin Metinroe ri Bontoala, the 15 th king (1669-1696 AD)
4	Syekh Ismail, <i>Petta Kalie</i> the fourth (1696-1724 AD)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sultan Muhammad Idris Adhimuddin Matinroe ri Naga Uleng, the 16th king (1696-1714 AD). 2. Sultanah Zainab Zakiyatuddin Matinroe ri Tippulue, the-17th king (1714-1715 AD) 3. Sultan Sulaiman Mahyuddin Matinroe ri Beula, the 18th king (1715-1718 AD). 4. Sultan Ismail Matinroe ri Somba Opu, the-19th king (1718-1821 AD).

		5. La Panaongi To Pawawoi Petta I Pessi Matinroe ri Biseing, the-20 th king (1721-1724 AD)
5	Abdul Rasyid, <i>Petta Kalie</i> the fifth (1724-1775 AD)	Sultanah Zainab Zakiyatuddin Matinroe ri Tippulue, the-21 st king (1724-1749 AD)
6	Daeng Malengu, <i>Petta Kalie</i> the sixth (1749-1758 AD)	Sultan Abdul Razak Jalaluddin Matinroe ri Malimongeng, the-22 nd king (1749-1775 AD)
7	La Cendrana, <i>Petta Kalie</i> the seventh (1758-1775 AD)	Sultan Abdul Razak Jalaluddin Matinroe ri Malimongeng, the-22 nd king (1749-1775 AD)
8	Arab Harun, <i>Petta Kalie</i> the eighth (1775-1809 AD)	Sultan Ahmad Shaleh Syamsuddin Matinroe ri Rompe Gading, the-23 rd king (1775-1812 AD)
9	Haji Pesona, <i>Petta Kalie</i> the ninth (1809-1823 AD)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sultan Ahmad Shaleh Syamsuddin Matinroe ri Rompe Gading, the 23rd king(1775-1812 AD) 2. Sultan Muhammad Ismail Muhtajuddin Matinroe ri Leleng Bata, the-24th king (1812-1823 AD)
10	Syekh Ahmad, <i>Petta Kalie</i> the tenth (1823-1847 AD)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sultanah Salimah Rajiyatuddin Matinroe ri Salassa'na the 25th king (1823-1835 AD). 2. Sultan Adam Najmuddin Matinroe ri Aja' Benteng, the 26th king (1835-1845 AD) 3. Sultan Ahmad Shaleh Mahyuddin Matinroe ri Kessi, the 27th king (1845-1857 AD)
11	KH. Adam, <i>Petta Kalie</i> the eleventh (1847-1865 AD)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sultan Ahmad Saleh Mahyuddin Matinroe ri Kessi, the 27th king (1845-1857 AD) 2. Sultanah Ummul Hadi Matinroe ri Majennang the-28th king (1857-1860 AD).

		3. Sultan Ahmad Idris Matinroe ri Paccing, the-29 th king (1860 – 1871 AD)
12	KH. Safiyanah, <i>Petta Kalie</i> the twelfth (1865-1879 AD)	1. Sultan Ahmad Idris Matinroe ri Paccing, the-29 th king (1860 – 1871 AD) 2. Sultanah Fatimah Matinroe ri Bolampare'na, the-30 th king (1871-1895 AD).
13	KH. Muhammad Yusuf, <i>Petta Kalie</i> the thirteenth (1879-1905 AD)	1. Sultanah Fatimah Matinroe ri Bolampare'na (ke-30/1871-1895 AD). 2. La Pawawoi Karaeng Sigeri Matinroe ri Bandung, the 31 st king (1895-1905 AD)
14	KH. Abdul Wahid, <i>Petta Kalie</i> ke-14 (1906-1917 AD)	Masa Kolonial Belanda. Pemerintahan dipegang oleh <i>Ade Pitue</i> (1905-1931 AD)
15	KH. Abdul Hamid, <i>Petta Kalie</i> the 15 th (1918-1942 AD)	1. The dutch colonial, the transition government <i>Ade Pitue</i> (1905-1931 AD) 2. Sultan Ibrahim Matinroe ri Gowa, the 32 nd king (1931-1942 AD)
16	KH. Ali Hamid, <i>Petta Kalie</i> the 16 th (1942-1945 AD)	Bone under the siege of the Japanese (1942-1945 AD), but it ws governed by the king, Sultan Ibrahim Matinroe ri Gowa, the 32 nd king (1931-1942 AD).
17	KH. Abdul Hamid, <i>Petta Kalie</i> ke-17 (1945-1946 AD).	Japan to NICA. The government is held by <i>ade' pitue</i> .
18	KH. Sulaiman, <i>Petta Kalie</i> the 18 th (1946-1951 AD)	La Pabbenteng Petta Lawa Arung Macege the-3 rd king (1946-1951 AD). The last king
19	KH. Abdul Hamid, <i>Petta Kalie</i> the 19 th (1951-1961 AD)	In 1951, Bone was replaced from the kingdom to the <i>Afdeling</i> region and then it transformed into the district level led by the regent.

20	KH. Muhammad Rafi Sulaiman, <i>Petta Kalie</i> the 20 th (1962-1991 AD)	Was assigned as the <i>Petta Kalie</i> Bone by the legislative member of the Bone through the recommendation of the community leaders and the Muslim scholars in 1962. With the deceased of the 18 th <i>Petta Kalie</i> there was no more <i>petta Kalie</i> was assigned
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Data Source: Ridhwan, 2019.

Furthermore, *Petta Kalie*, apart from being a mufti and a counselor to the king, they were also teachers and educators who taught Islamic sciences both informally, non-formally and formally. Informally and nonformally, *Petta Kalie* taught Islamic sciences centered in the al-Muhajirin Mosque and other areas, such as Awangpone, Cenrana, Pattiro, and Barebbo. Islamic education was delivered through the recitation of the Qur'an and study of the traditional textbook or known as the yellow book (*mangaji kitta'*) or *mangaji tudang* (the learning circle was in the form of a cross-legged seating before the teachers). Masjid al-Muhajirin was the royal mosque at that time, in which the teaching of Islam was led directly by the *Petta Kalie*, the first Faqih Amrullah and continued by other *Petta Kalie* afterward.¹⁷

In addition, the *Petta Kalie* then established a formal education institution in Bone, well known as (1) Madrasah Amiriyah Islamiyah (1933), which was initiated by KH. Abdul Hamid, the 13th *Petta Kalie*; (2) IAIN Alauddin Bone branch (1967) was also very much supported by the KH Abdul Hamid, the 20th Muhammad Rafi Sulaiman *Petta Kalie*, now IAIN Bone, and (3) Al-Junaidiyah Modern Islamic Boarding School which was also founded by KH. Muhammad Junaid Sulaiman, the younger brother of KH. Muhammad Rafi Sulaiman, the final *Petta Kalie*.¹⁸

In addition, among *Petta Kalie*, several people were scholars and prolific writers. For example Arab Harun, *Petta Kalie* who was the 6th follower of Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassary and copied many of his books. Abu Hamid explained that about 30 treatises were copied by Arab Harun. These treatises include: (1) *Fathu al-Rahman*, (2) *Matla' al-Saraair wa al-Zhawahir*, (3) *Mathalibu al-Salikin*, (4) *Fathu Kaifiyat al-Dzikri*, (5) *al-Barakat al-Sailaniyah*, (6) *al-Fawaaih al-Yusufiyat fi Bayaani al-Tahqiq*, (7) *Kaifiyat al-*

¹⁷Ridhwan, *Pendidikan Islam di Bone: Studi Historis tentang Peranan Petta Kalie dalam Pengembangan Islam*, Aceh Besar: Sahifah, 2019, p. 274. Leonard Y. Andaya, *The Heritage of Arung Palakka.*, p. 381.

¹⁸Ridhwan, *Pendidikan Islam.*, p. 270-295.

Manfai, (8) *Tahshilu al-Inayah wa al-Hidayat*, (9) *Risalah Ghaayah al-Ikhtishaar wa al-Nihayah al-Intizdar*.¹⁹

It is concluded that that the Petta Kalie was an important figure as he was a scholar who acted as the advisor to the sultan, educator, mentor and teacher of religious sciences for the community.

2. The *Sanad* of Knowledge to the Haramaian

The scientific *Sanad* (chain) of *Petta Kalie* was connected to their teachers in Mecca and Medina or Haramain. The stage in acquiring religious knowledge went through two phases: the basic education was the first education obtained by the scholars before they become *Petta Kalie*. However, there was no sufficient information was found regarding the basic education, especially in regard with the *Petta Kalie* who served in the early days of the establishment of this basic institution. For that reason, no further and in-depth discussion could be used to describe the existence of the basic education. The only information used to describe this basic institution comes from the notes of a 17th-century French researcher, Gervaise, who observed the stages of education of the children of the Makassar nobleman. In addition, the contemporary notes were generated from Andi Zainal Abidin Farid, suggesting that when children are 5 or 6 years old, they were usually sent to educational institutions to study from other Muslim scholars. When they are 7 or 8 years old they start learning the Qur'an, writing and arithmetic under the leadership of a religious scholar, in which children study for one hour in the morning and one hour in the afternoon, for about two years.²⁰

In addition, the journey to perform the pilgrimage in the 17th century was certainly different from the current form of the performance²¹ Azra and Putuhena mentioned that generally the trip to Mecca in the 17th century was for the purpose of studying the Islamic knowledge²². For that reason, a large number of *Petta Kalie* continued to study at Haramayn. Asnawi Sulaiman also noted that of the 18 people who had served as *Petta Kalie*, nine of them were known to have studied at Haramain, especially in the holy city of Mecca: (1) Arab Harun, (2) Haji Pesona, (3) Sheikh Ahmad, (4) KH. Adam, (5) KH. Safiyana, (6) KH. M. Yusuf, (7) KH. Abdul Wahid, (8) KH. Sulaiman, and

¹⁹Abu Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf: Seorang Ulama, Sufi dan Pejuang*, Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2005, p. 143.

²⁰Andi Zainal Abidin Farid, *Persepsi Orang Bugis Makassar tentang Hukum Negara dan Dunia Luar*, Bandung: Alumni, 1983, p. 36.

²¹Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama..*, p. 52.

²²M. Shaleh Putuhena, *Historiografi Haji Indonesia*, Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2007, p. 107.

(9) KH. Muhammad Rafi Sulaiman.²³ These nine scholars continued their education at Haramayn before they were appointed *Petta Kalie*, except for KH. Abdul Wahid who actually left after serving *Petta Kalie*.

For example, KH. Sulaiman studied and lived at the house of his relative who lived in Mecca, namely Sheikh Abdurrahman Bugis.²⁴ Sheikh Abdurrahman Bugis himself was one of three Bugis clerics who were known as teachers or the Caliphs of the Sanusiayah *tareqat* in Mecca at that time. Putuhena said that at the end of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century, there were three Bugis clerics living in Mecca, namely Abdul Karim Bugis, Abdurrahman Bugis, and Abu Huraerah. All three were known as teachers or caliphs of the Sanusiyah *tareqat* in Mecca. According to Putuhena's statement, the students of the three caliphs came from North and Central Africa, mostly from Sulawesi and people of Bugis descent from South and East Borneo.²⁵

Pijper, a Dutch writer who discussed the penghulu on the island of Java, stated that on the island of Java, a pattern of education has been applied that a prospective penghulu must go through before being officially appointed as a penghulu. The pattern was that they must first learnt the basics of Islamic knowledge in traditional pesantren, and then continued their education to Mecca.²⁶

The two stages of learning seemed to be a common habit or pattern, and have even become a belief among Muslims in the archipelago. Habits and beliefs about the importance of continuing education to Haramain were clearly closely related to Haramain's position in the context of the Islamic scholarship today. Therefore, when discussing the scientific chain of *Petta Kalie's* knowledge, it is important to describe Haramain's position as the scientific center of Muslims.

The chain of science in religious traditions is something important because it shows the clarity of knowledge origin that is connected to the Companions of the Prophet and the Messenger of Allah. *Petta Kalie* clearly has a scientific chain up to the Prophet Muhammad through their teachers in

²³Asnawi Sulaiman, *Sejarah Singkat Keqadhian (Qadhi) Bone*, Jakarta: Lembaga Solidaritas Islam al-Qashash, 2004.

²⁴KH. Daud Ismail, *Riwayat Hidup KH. Muhammad As'ad al-Bugis*, Ujung Pandang: Bintang Selatan, 1989, p. 25.

²⁵KH. Daud Ismail, *Riwayat Hidup...*, p. 359.

²⁶G.F. Pijper, *Studien Over De Geschiedines Van De Islam in Indonesia 1900-1950*, diterjemahkan oleh Tudjimah dan Yessi Agustin, Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia Press, 1985, p. 91.

Mecca and Medina which at that time became centers of Islamic education throughout the Islamic world.

3. Shafi'i School of thought: Patterns of Islamic Law

The Islamic law as developed by *Petta Kalie* in Bone referred to the *Shafi'i* school of thought. This is so as this particular school of thought has been adopted and practiced in the archipelago, starting from Aceh, Palembang, Banten, Demak, Cirebon and Banjarmasin.²⁷ Similarly, the Malaysian peninsula, Brunei, Pattani or Southern Thailand show the characteristics and patterns of the *Shafi'i* school as well, this can be seen from the genealogy of the ulama and their scholarly works and their influence to the present times.

In line with this argument, according to Azra, the characteristics of neosufism, a new development of Sufism which is a compromise or middle way between the two mainstreams of classical Islamic scholarship: the *fiqh* orthodoxy at one pole and Sufism spiritualism at the other. The moderate way as promoted by Imam al-Ghazali unites *fiqh* and Sufism which are affiliated to the Sunni school of thought. For that reason, in Bone the development of *fiqh* teaching referred to the *Shafi'i* school of thought. This is evident from the books taught by the Qadhi and genealogists to the haramayan, as other archipelago scholars such as; Sheikh Abdurrauf al-Singkily, Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassary, Sheikh Abdussamad al-Palimbangi. All of these scholars are adherents of the *Shafi'i* school of thought. Therefore it is not surprising that Bone religious practices have been influenced by the Sunni school of thought to the present day.

Therefore, Perlas, Hokker and Azra emphasized that the majority of the Indonesian Muslims, including those of South Sulawesi, are the strong adherents of *Ahlu Sunnah wal Jama'ah*, especially the *Shafi'i* school of thought. The works of *Shafi'i* and his followers are known and widely studied in educational institutions since Islam presented in the Malay peninsula. In the Bugis Lands this Sunni religious practice is combined with customs which is not in conflict with the Islamic law.²⁸

²⁷Anny Nalilatur Rohmah dan Ashif az Zafi, "Jejak eksistensi mazhab Syafi'i di Indonesia," *Tamaddun: Jurnal Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Islam* 8, No. 1, (2020). Muhammad Syarif Hidayatullah, "Imam Syafi'i Sebagai Mujtahid dan Imam Mazhab Fikih (Studi Historis, Yuridis dan Sosiologis)," *Al-Yasin: Jurnal Hasil Kajian dalam Bidang Keislaman dan Pendidikan* 5, No. 2, (2020).

²⁸Chirstian Perlas, *The Bugis*, h. 191. M. B. Hokker, *Islam Mazhab Indonesia: Fatwa-fatwa dan Perubahan Sosial*, Bandung: Mizan, 2003, p. 31. Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama...*, p. 335.

One example is the book by Haji Ahmad ibn Khathib al-Bathuwalaq Ibrahim (Shaykh Ahmad Petta Kalie 8) entitled: *Asrar ash-Shalah fi Tabyin Muqaranah an-Niyah bi Takbirah al-Ihram fi al-Fiqh wa at-Tashawuf` ala I'tiqad Ahli as-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah wa Mazhab as-Syafi'i*, who spent 25 months of Hajj 1237H to complete it.²⁹ The title of the book clearly states the secret of prayer in the perspective of Sufism and *aqidah ahlu sunnah wa al-Jama' ah* and the *Shafi'i* school of thought. This is the pattern of Islamic law of the *Petta Kalie* that influences the people of Bone.

In addition, in the organization of the Bugis Bone community, many follow Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), which according to the school of thought is more likely to follow *Shafi'i* school. The 20th *Petta Kalie*, KH. Muhammad Rafi Sulaiman was an NU figure who participated in the 27th NU Congress in Situbondo in 1983. KH. Muhammad Rafi Sulaiman was a member of the Formation Team among 7 influential NU.³⁰

Petta Kalie's Contribution to the Development of Islamic Law

1. Strengthening the Integration of *sara'* and *ade'*

There has been a synergy between Islamic and customary law in the Bugis Bone community, which is similar to some areas in the archipelago. In Aceh, for example, there is a harmonious integration between the Islamic and customary law, in which the Hadih Madja suggested that *hukom ngon adat lagee zat ngon sifeut* (religion and custom are like substances and characteristics that cannot be separated).³¹ In West Sumatra, there is also a Minangkabau proverb which says, *adat basandi syara', syara' basandi kitabullah* (customs are based on sharia, and sharia is based on the Book of Allah).³² Likewise, the Bugis people recognize the pattern of integration as described in the Bugis language, *mappakarajai sara'e ri ade'e, mappakalebbi'i ade'e ri sara'e* (Shari'a respects custom, adat respects Shari'a).³³

Abdullah said that one of the patterns of cultural formation that shaped the Islamic state (Islamic kingdom) in the archipelago was the pattern of South Sulawesi. The Sulawesi pattern shows a tendency towards the formation of an

²⁹Ridhwan, *Pendidikan Islam...*, p. 250.

³⁰Ridhwan, *Pendidikan Islam...*, p. 230.

³¹Rusjdi Ali Muhammad, *Revitalisasi Syariat Islam di Aceh: Problem, Solusi dan Implementasi*, Jakarta: Logos, 2003, p. 175.

³²Yaswirman, *Hukum Keluarga: Karakteristik dan Prospek Doktrin Islam dan Adat Dalam Masyarakat Matrilineal Minangkabau*, Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 2011, p. 107.

³³Ridhwan, Abidin Nurdin dan Wardhana, "Masjid Sebagai Pusat Pendidikan Pada Masa Kerajaan Sampai Masa Orde Lama di Bone, Sulawesi Selatan," *Jurnal Ilmiah Didaktika* 20, No. 1, (2019), p. 86.

integrative pattern of tradition. This is the tradition when Islam experienced a conceptual and structural process based on context. Islam becomes an intrinsic part of the system as a whole. Islam is seen as the foundation of the civilized society and private life as well. In this integration tradition, Islam is the dominant element in the new cognitive community as well as in the political paradigm, which is used as a measurement of what is considered reasonable and what is not.³⁴

The South Sulawesi pattern is a pattern of Islamization through the conversion of the palace or center of power to Islam. Islam is embraced by the community without providing a prior basis for the formation of the state. Religious conversion was carried out, and the same time the center of power has first existed. However, Badri Yatim stated that the process of Islamization did not stop up to the establishment of Islamic kingdoms, it rather continued intensively in various ways and channels.³⁵

In addition, Anhar Gonggong understands that the integration of Islamic principles with customs, which was developed in the Kingdom of Gowa and Tallo, known as the *pangadakkang* (Makassar language) was not much different from that of the *pangngaderreng* (Bugis language) system in the Bone Kingdom.³⁶ The existence of *pangngaderreng* in the traditional system of the Bugis Bone community is seen as something that contains noble values and is used as a way of life. Therefore, in the Bugis Bone community, a person's social piety is not only measured according to *sara'* but also according to *ade'*.

Thus, between *pangngaderreng* and *sara'* collaborate to form a value system that animates every step and action of the Bugis Bone. The harmony between *pangngaderreng* and *sara'* can be seen from the expression in Bugis language below:

*Mappakarajai sara'e ri ade'e. Mappakalebbi'i ade'e ri sara'e.
Temmakullei ade'e narusa' taro bicaranna sara'e. Temmakulle toi sara'e
narusa' tarobicaranna ade'e. Temmakullei sipusa-pusang iya duwa.
Temmakulle toi sirusa' iya duwa.*

Meaning:

³⁴Taufik Abdullah, "Islam dan Pembentukan Tradisi di Asia Tenggara", dalam Taufik Abdullah dan Sharon Siddique, ed., *Tradisi dan Kebangkitan Islam di Asia Tenggara*, Jakarta: LP3 ES, 1989. Badri Yatim, *Sejarah Peradaban Islam*, Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2003, p. 225-230.

³⁵Badri Yatim, *Sejarah Peradaban Islam*, p. 25.

³⁶Anhar Gonggong, *Abdul Qahhar Muzakkar: Dari Patriot Hingga Pemberontak*, Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2005, p. 117-130.

Shari'a respects customs, and customs respect the Shari'a. Abstinance from *adat* cancels shari'a decisions. Shari'a also abstains from canceling customary decisions. It is impossible that the two could overlap and the two to contradict each other.³⁷

The acceptance of the element of *sara'* in the *pengngaderreng* system suggests that the values of Islamic law have become a part of the traditions and cultures of the Bugis Bone community. Obedience to *panngaderreng* also means obedience to *sara'*. On the other hand, a violation of *pangngaderreng* means a violation of *sara'*. As a royal official who is the embodiment of *sara'* in the *pangngaderreng* system, *Petta Kalie's* position is very possible to play a role in instilling and civilizing Islamic law in the Bone community.

Petta Kalie's acceptance of the *sompa*, *mappacci*, *barzanji* and *mappanre tamme'* traditions, is a part of the effort to strengthen Islamic and customary law. The tradition of *sompa* or dowry, which is something given by a man to his future wife. Before the term dowry was known based on the Islamic tradition, *sompa* was already practiced by the Bugis people). Even today, if the *ijab qabul* is stated by the prospective husband, it is obligatory to mention the real term (Saudi Arabian currency, not stated in Rupiah, for example: 10 reals to 88 reals depending on the agreement and the social strata of the married person). The *mappacci* tradition is a series of marriage propositions in the Bugis society. *Mappacci* is held on the night of the wedding ceremony. After Islam became the official religion, the *mappacci* tradition was maintained along with the reading of *barzanji* (praises and prayers to the Prophet Muhammad).³⁸

Similarly, the tradition of *mappanre temme*, which is a ritual carried out by Bugis Bone parents when their children successfully finished learning the Qur'an. This tradition can be likened to a graduation ceremony, in college. *Mappanre Temme* is a reflection of people's joy and gratitude to Allah for the success of their children learning to read the Qur'an. In this case, *Petta Kalie* helped to strengthen these traditions so that they are still practiced by the Bugis Bone community to this day.³⁹

Therefore, according to Wekke, the integration between *sara'* and *ade'* in Bugis society reflects the synergism between firmness in customs and

³⁷Haddise, *Hukum Kewarisan di Bone; Kajian Tentang Pelaksanannya Berhadapan dengan Hukum Kewarisan Adat*. Laporan Penelitian; Proyek Peningkatan Perguruan Tinggi Agama STAIN Watampone, 2004, p. 1-2.

³⁸Syarifuddin Latif, *Fikih Perkawinan Bugis Tellumpoccoe*, Jakarta: Gaung Persada Press, 2017, p. 110 dan 294.

³⁹Ismail Suardi Wekke, "Islam dan Adat: Tinjauan Akulturasi Budaya dan Agama dalam Masyarakat Bugis," *Jurnal Analisis* XIII, No. 1 (2013), p. 40.

religious observance. Likewise, both are structures in the *pangngaderreng* (social law), which then unites the functions of the two in regulating life. Furthermore, in many traditional activities, it has been adapted to Islamic principles. Islam is translated into local life, while maintaining the existing pattern and then transformed it into the essence of monotheism. Finally, the encounter of *adat* and religion in Bugis culture shows that dialogue has taken place and reconstructed a new culture in local nuances. The process of integrating Islamic and customary law occurred due to *Petta Kalie's* significant roles, and they become the main actor for this success.⁴⁰

2. The internalization of the Islamic Law in the Society

Petta Kalie internalized Islamic law in the community, assisted by Puang Imang (Masjid Imam), *Katte'* and *Bilal* (Khatib and Bilal), *Doja* and *Amil* (mosque officer and zakat officer). The duties of *Petta Kalie* and the *Petta Kalie* institution in the internalization process are as follows;

a. *Petta Kalie's* Tasks

Asnawi Sulaiman mentioned in more detail regarding the main tasks of Qadhi Bone: (a) giving consideration to the king in matters relating to Islamic law, (b) adjudicating and deciding all matters concerning the distribution of inheritance, execution of wills, marriage, divorce, *ta'lik*, *Faskh*, *rujuk* and others related to marriage matters, (c) reconciling disputes between husbands and wives concerning domestic matters, and (d) carrying out marriages and holding funeral ceremonies for kings and other nobles.⁴¹

In addition to the main tasks mentioned above, there are also other tasks of the *Petta Kalie*:

- 1) organizing religious ceremonies with the help of other *parewa sara'*, such as the celebration of the birthday of the prophet, *isra' mi'raj* of the Prophet Muhammad, Eid al-Fitr, Eid al-Adha, and other religious celebrations, both were held at the center of the kingdom, as well as at the national and district level.
 - 2) organizing the Islamic religious education in mosques, at the king's palace, and at his residence,
 - 3) maintaining the *waqf* of the Muslims (mosques, land, etc.), and
 - 4) giving *fatwas* on religious matters, if it is needed.⁴²
- b. Duties of the *Imam* (*Puang Imang*)

⁴⁰Ismail Suardi Wekke, *Islam dan Adat...*, p. 28.

⁴¹Asnawi Sulaiman, *Sejarah Singkat Keqadhian...*, p. 30.

⁴²Asnawi Sulaiman, *Sejarah Singkat Keqadhian...*, h. 33.

The duties of the priest or imam are (a) assisting the *qadhi* in carrying out his daily duties, (b) representing the *qadhi* in official royal events, if the *qadhi* was unable to attend himself, (c) guiding the community in the observing the worship and leading the performance of prayer services (as the *imam*), (d) being a witness in a marriage ceremony, (e) being a companion or advisor to *arung palili* (district level).⁴³

As a companion or a counselor to the *arung palili*, the duties of the *imam* are (a) to represent the *qadhi* and various activities in the *palili* area, if the *qadhi* is unable to attend, (b) to carry out marriage, divorce, and reconciliation for the *deceng* group, and to the *sama*, after receiving orders from the *qadhi*, (c) to carry out religious ceremonies, such as Eid al-Fitr, Eid al-Adha, Maulid Nabi (celebration of the birth of the prophet, *Isra' Mi'raj*, and others, after receiving orders from *Qadhi*, (d) to collect *zakat* together with *amil*, and (e) cooperate with *arung palili*/district head in recording deaths and births, and then to report to *Petta Kalie*. In short, the priest or *Puang Imang* is the executor of *Petta Kalie*'s duties at the *palili* level. The priest was always side by side with the *Arung Palili* or the *palili* ruler in performing their tasks. c. *Katte'* and *Bilal* (The task of the preacher)

The duties of the *khatib* or *katte* are (a) acting as *khatib* (sermon reader) in the implementation of Friday prayers, (b) assisting *qadhi* and *imams* in carrying out their daily tasks, and (c) representing the *Imam* in religious ceremonies, if the *imam* is unable to attend. The duties of *Bilal* are (a) assisting the implementation of the duties of the *imam* and *khatib*, (b) calling the call to prayer at every prayer time, and (c) assisting the *doja* in maintaining the cleanliness of the mosque.

d. *Doja* and *Amil*'s duties

The duties of the *doja* are (a) to maintain the mosque and all its equipment, (b) to serve the needs of the community, such as slaughtering sacrificial animals and for other traditional and religious ceremonies, and (c) to be guards and servants for all daily needs of *Petta Kalie*. while the task of *Amil* is to assist the *imam* in collecting *zakat*, both *zakat fitrah* and *zakat mall*.⁴⁴

In this context, it is clear that *Petta Kalie* and the institutions that helped him internalize as well as socialize Islamic law in society, influence the understanding of the Islamic law in the society, which is then entrenched and continues to be practiced in the socio-religious life of Bugis Bone to this day.

⁴³Asnawi Sulaiman, *Sejarah Singkat Keqadhian...*, h. 30.

⁴⁴Asnawi Sulaiman, *Sejarah Singkat Keqadhian...*, p. 40.

3. Women's Equality before the Islamic Law

One of Petta Kalie's contributions to the development of Islamic law in Bone is to provide space for women who are equal to men and not to discriminate against them. In this case there are two forms of supports: support for women's leadership and the teaching of Islamic law especially for women. During the 4th Petta Kalie, Sheikh Ismail, the 10th Sheikh Ahmad, the 11th KH. Adam, and KH. Safiyanah and KH. Muhammad Yusuf, each as the 13th and 14th Petta Kalie, there were four women who appeared as *Sultanah*.⁴⁵

- a) Sultanah Zainab Zakiyatuddin, the 17th Queen (1714-1715 AD).
- b) Sultanah Salimah Rajiyatuddin, 25th Queen (1823-1835 AD)
- c) Sultanah Ummul Hadi, the 28th Queen (1857-1860)
- d) Sultanah Fatimah, the 30th Queen (1871-1895 AD).

All *Petta Kalie* who were in office at that time did not reject women's leadership, and it was proven that there was no conflict whatsoever during their resume of the position, whereas generally belief in the Islamic legal tradition referred by many to Imam al-Mawardi or Ibn Khaldun, the man is the central requirement to be the leader.

In addition to the religious learning circles as organized by the *imam*, the *Petta Kalie* and the institutions under their leadership organized the learning circles throughout the Bone area. In fact, some activities were carried out in mosques known as *makkammisi'*. *Makkammisi'* literally means "to carry out on Thursday".⁴⁶

The *makkammisi* activity is equated with the Friday prayer, which in Bugis is called *ma'juma'*. This idea arose on the basis of *Petta Kalie's* thought that *ma'juma'* was reserved for men only, while for women a *makkammisi* program was specially organized. The implementation process of *makkamisi* was almost the same as that of Friday prayers, starting with the congregational prayer, and then continued with religious lectures. The material presented is generally related to the basics of Islamic teaching, such as creed, morality, and *fiqh*. *Makkammisi'* was carried out in the center of the kingdom and throughout the *Palili* Bone area which was fostered directly by the priests (*puang Imang*). Up to the 2000s, *makkammisi* activities could still be found, especially in villages.

In this context, the process of internalizing Islamic law in Bone also provided a space for equality between women and men. This meant that women were also given the opportunity to become *Sultanahs* to lead a

⁴⁵Ridhwan, *Pendidikan Islam di Bone...*, p. 192-196.

⁴⁶Ismail Suardi Wekke, *Islam dan Adat...*, p. 36.

kingdom and education and teaching on Thursdays as men also take part in the learning circles in mosques about Islamic sciences.

4. The Legal Fatwa Against Invaders

Two *Petta Kalie*, the 10th *Petta kalie*, Sheikh Ahmad and the 13th *Petta Kalie*, KH. Muhammad Yusuf, promoted the anti-colonialism movement, in which they issued the decree to fight against Dutch Colonialism. For example, Sheikh Ahmad fully supported the anti-Dutch attitude, in which he insisted that he would not renew the Bongaya Agreement, an agreement that was harmful to the indigenous people. Due to the strong attitude of the King of Bone, the Dutch Governor attacked Bone in 1825 AD.⁴⁷

In addition, the 13th *Petta Kalie* launched a legal fatwa against the Dutch. For this reason, Dutch made a serious destruction to the kingdom of Bone. For example, during the tenure of KH. Muhammad Yusuf, Bone Kingdom was heavily destroyed by the Dutch troops. The incident was remembered by the people of Bone as "*Rumpa'na Bone*" or the destruction of Bone's defenses. At that time, the King of Bone was La Pawawoi Karaeng Sigeri, the 31st King.⁴⁸ On July 19, 1905, the Dutch troops moved by sea to the Bajoe beach, precisely in the Pallime area. That same day the Dutch landed in Pallime, and immediately sent envoys to the King of Bone. The envoy conveyed the message, "the desire to unite all the kingdoms in South Sulawesi under their control", including Bone. Especially for the Kingdom of Bone, the Netherlands wants to control the port of Pallime to help the King of Bone collect taxes at the port for the benefit of the Kingdom of Bone and their own benefits.⁴⁹

The Dutch's desire was rejected by Bone, and before the refusal was conveyed to the Dutch, the King of Bone, La Pawawoi Karaeng Sigeri sent his son who was also the supreme commander of the Bone kingdom army at that time or *Petta Ponggawae*, Baso Pagilingi Abdul Hamid *Petta Ponggawae* to meet KH. Muhammad Yusuf to ask for his fatwa, religious consideration. When *Petta Ponggawae* conveyed the purpose of his arrival, he replied:⁵⁰

⁴⁷Andi Muhammad Ali, *Bone Selayang Pandang*. Cet. II; Watampone: Damai, 1986, p. 60.

⁴⁸Asnawi Sulaiman, *Sejarah Singkat Keqadhian...*, p. 19.

⁴⁹Andi Muhammad Ali, *Rumpa'na Bone: Perang Bone 1905*, Watampone: Damai, 1984, p. 20.

⁵⁰Asnawi Sulaiman, *Sejarah Singkat Keqadhian...*, p. 19.

"I advised the King (Puatta) not to accept the Dutch's request to use the Pallime port because the Dutch were very cunning, and would control both ports like the Sunda Kelapa port in Java for their own benefits. If the Dutch forced their will, then the people of Bone had to fight back. To Petta Ponggawae, I advised that Ananda, as the Supreme Commander of the Army of the Bone Kingdom must fight to the last drop of blood (Abalunggi Bone anak) because the Dutch were very evil and their aim was to colonize us, God willing, my father (KH. Muhammad Yusuf) did not want to see the Dutch enter Bone."

Having known the rejection of the Bone Kingdom against the Dutch wishes, in the early hours of Friday, July 21, 1905, war broke out between the Netherlands and Bone. The Dutch were led by the Expeditionary Commander Colonel C. Van Leonen, while the Bone side was led by Petta Ponggawae, Baso Pagilingi Abdul Hamid, son of La Pawawoi Karaeng Sergeri. In addition, there was "Rumpa'na Bone" in 1905. KH. Muhammad Yusuf died on Friday, August 11, 1905, at the age of 90 years. He was buried next to the Al-Mujahidin Watampone Mosque. The "*Rump'na Bone*" incident shows that *pettta kalie* contributed not only as a royal advisor in the field of Islamic law, but also to the political issues in Bone.

Petta Kalie KH. Muhammad Yusuf not only gave advice on Islamic law but also legal fatwas, religious consideration, related to politics against the Dutch colonialists. This reality occurs in almost all Islamic kingdoms in the archipelago in their resistance to the invaders.

Conclusion

Petta Kalie was an advisor or counselor to the *sultan* in the kingdom of Bone in the field of Islamic law and in the field of religion in general as was performed by *Qahi al-Qudhat* in Baghdad, *Sheikh of Islam* in Turkey, *Sadar-i Azam* in India, *Qadhi Malikul Adil* in Aceh, *Wali Songo* in the Sultanate Demak and the Muslim scholars in the Sultanate of Banten. *Petta Kalie's* contribution in the process of integration between *sara'* and *ade'* in the Bugis Bone community. This was done in four ways: affirmation of the integration of *shari'a* and custom, in this context there has been harmonization between Islamic and customary law which can be seen in the *sompa*, *mappacci*, *barzanji* and *meppanre tame'* traditions. The internalization of Islamic law into the society was carried out by *Patte Kalie*, who was assisted by *Puang Imang*, *Katte'*, *bilal*, *doja*, and *amil* who were tasked with teaching and socializing as well as implementing Islamic law such as marriage, divorce,

reconciliation, inheritance distribution, and *zakat* management. Likewise, there has been an equal space between men and women in the Islamic law, there were four women who appeared as leaders and Patte Kalie continued to support them and initiate dIslamic law education and Islamic sciences, especially for women, namely *makkamisi*. Finally, legal fatwas and attitudes related to resistance to the Dutch and refusal to cooperate with them was also a central part of Patte Kalie's roles. Some of the arguments and historical findings are an undeniable fact that *Petta Kalie* has a great contribution to the development of Islamic law in the Bugis Bone community.

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