

THE MODEL OF THE ARCHIPELAGO'S MARITIME MUSLIM CITY IN MEDIEVAL TIMES (A Study of Somba Opu in the Kingdom of Makassar)

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Submitted : 03 Desember 2024

Accepted: 25 Desember 2024

Abstract

The purpose of this study is to reconstruct Somba Opu as a model of the Muslim maritime city of the archipelago in medieval times. The results of this study will be useful for the government of South Sulawesi Province, especially in determining policies related to urban planning and urban governance (*good urban governance*). The types of research used are *library research* and *field research*. *Library research* focuses on reviewing, studying, and discussing literature or library sources and other sources. *Filed research* captures actual data and information at the research location. The research steps are Heuristics, Criticism, Interpretation, and historiography. The results of this study show that Somba Opu grew to become one of the maritime Muslim Cities in the archipelago in the 17th century. The characteristics include; Somba Opu is the center of the Makassar Kingdom government as well as an international commercial city visited by foreign traders from Asia (China, Malay, India, and Arabia) and from Europe such as Portugal, so the population grew significantly and pluralist, coastal markets grew into economic centers and private and foreign companies providing employment, the existence of the Mosque as a symbol of Islamic government with a majority Muslim population. The king with the title of Sultan was Sultan Alauddin and the kings after him. This Islamic government respects the plurality of society which is marked by the existence of non-Muslim houses of worship such as churches that are permitted by the ruler. The results of this study will complement and enrich previous studies as well as become a reference for urban managers and urban planning experts.

Keywords: Model, Muslim City, Maritime, Archipelago, Medieval, Somba Opu

Abstrak

Tujuan penelitian ini adalah merekonstruksi Somba Opu sebagai model kota Muslim maritim Nusantara pada abad pertengahan. Hasil kajian ini akan bermanfaat bagi pemerintah Provinsi Sulawesi Selatan, khususnya dalam menentukan kebijakan yang terkait dengan tata kota dan tata kelola perkotaan (*good urban governance*). Jenis Penelitian yang digunakan adalah *library research* dan *Filed Research*. *Library research* yakni berfokus pada penelaah, pengkajian dan pembahasan literatur atau sumber pustaka dan sumber lainnya. Adapun *Filed research* digunakan untuk menjangkau data dan informasi aktual di lokasi penelitian. Adapun Langkah-langkah penelitian yaitu Heuristik, Kritik, Interpretasi dan historiografi. Hasil kajian ini menunjukkan bahwa Somba Opu tumbuh menjadi salah satu Kota Muslim maritim di Nusantara pada abad ke 17. Adapun penciri tersebut, antara lain; Somba Opu merupakan pusat pemerintahan Kerajaan Makassar sekaligus menjadi bandar niaga international yang dikunjungi oleh-pedagang-pedagang Asing seperti dari Asia (Cina, Melayu, India dan Arab) dan dari Eropa seperti Portugis, sehingga populasi penduduk tumbuh secara signifikan dan pluralis, pasar-pasar pesisir tumbuh menjadi pusat perekonomian dan perusahaan swasta dan asing penyedia lapangan pekerjaan, keberadaan Mesjid sebagai simbol pemerintahan Islam dengan populasi masyarakat mayoritas muslim. Raja bergelar Sultan yaitu Sultan Alauddin dan raja-raja sesudahnya. Pemerintahan Islam ini menghargai pluralitas masyarakat yang ditandai dengan keberadaan rumah ibadah non muslim seperti gereja yang diizinkan oleh penguasa. Hasil kajian ini akan mengisi dan memperkaya kajian-kajian sebelumnya sekaligus menjadi referensi bagi pengelola perkotaan dan ahli kajian tata kota.

Kata Kunci: Model, Kota Muslim, Maritim, Nusantara, Abad Pertengahan, Somba Opu

A. Introduction

The Kingdom of Makassar was the twin kingdom of Gowa and Tallo. This kingdom grew and developed into a large kingdom, one of the influencing factors was the geographical location of the kingdom's capital, Somba Opu, which was located in the coastal area. Thus, the kingdom grew and developed as a maritime kingdom where marine and shipping became the main support for economic movement. As a maritime kingdom with a strategic geographical location, it became a strong reason for the arrival of transcontinental traders (Chinese, Malay, Indian, Arab, and Portuguese) in the Kingdom.

The development of Somba Opu as a commercial city and defense base of the Makassar Kingdom in the mid-XVI century was supported by two most decisive factors, *First*, internal factors, the rapid growth of the Makassar Kingdom (Gowa-Tallo) as a kingdom that gathered and protected the lands of the Makassar people along the coast of the southern peninsula of Sulawesi. *Second*, external factors, are marked by the arrival of Westerners to the archipelago. Roads to spices were discovered and competition arose between nations in commerce.¹

Another factor that enabled the development of Makassar city in Somba Opu was the fall of Malacca to the Portuguese in 1511, so most transcontinental merchants, especially Muslim merchants, chose Somba Opu for their trading activities. Gradually, the center of the spread of Islam moved to the eastern part of the archipelago, especially after Islam was accepted as the official religion in the Kingdom of Makassar at the beginning of the XVII century.²

Maritime trade is not only synonymous with being a center for the exchange of goods and money, but cultural acculturation has also developed into a very interesting object in the country. The rapid growth of Bandar Somba Opu triggered the area to grow into a city with a very wide influence. This can be seen from the rapid growth of Makassar's economy after the center of royal government was moved to Fort Somba Opu during the time of the ninth king Tumapa`risi Kallona (1512-1546).

As a medieval city, Somba Opu appears with various charms; a large heterogeneous population, an advanced culture, a center of study and managed by the City administration, so this study is important and interesting, where the results of this study can be utilized by the South Sulawesi Provincial government in establishing policies related to urban governance and city management.

Related to the growth of a city, Uka Tjandrasasmita explained that the growth and development of the central cities of the kingdom were caused by several factors, namely geographical, political, economic, cosmological and magical-

¹Mattulada, *Tracing the Presence of Makassar in History (1510-1700)*, (Ujung Pndang: Lembaga Penerbitan Universitas Hasanuddin, 1990), pp. 22-23

²Mattulada, *Tracing the Presence of Makassar in History*, p. 23

religious.³ Furthermore, according to Uka Tjandrasasmita, one of the characteristics of a Muslim city is that the location of the mosque building as a place of worship is inseparable from the composition of the core city layout where there is a kingdom or palace.⁴ Meanwhile, the characteristics of a Maritime City are related to marine and shipping being the main economic activity. The Nusantara maritime economy is supported by four pillars, namely sea transportation (shipping), ports, coastal cities, and markets.⁵

Based on several theories about cities, it can be concluded that cities are open and dynamic systems in terms of physical, socio-cultural, economic, and political aspects. A city has many aspects that will characterize the city itself. The values in these aspects form an identity for the city so that it is specifically different from other cities. This study will reconstruct the model of Somba Opu City as a Muslim Maritime City in medieval times.

1. History of the Presence of Islam in the Kingdom of Makassar

Islam entered South Sulawesi officially in the 17th century inseparable from the kingdoms in the archipelago that combined political and economic interests as a coherent system. According to the theory developed by Noorduynd, the process of Islamization in South Sulawesi is not much different from other regions in Indonesia, namely through three stages, *first the* arrival of Islam, *second the* acceptance of Islam and *third* its further spread.⁶ The theory of Islamization in the archipelago was further developed by Syukur, namely the theory of *proselytization* (activities to spread Islam), the theory of *convergence* (similarities between local culture and Islamic teachings so that Islam is easily accepted), and the theory of *propagation* (dissemination of Islam).⁷

³Uka Tjandrasasmita, *The Growth and Development of Muslim Cities in Indonesia*, from the XIIIth to the XVIIIth Century (Kudus; Menara Kudus, 2000), p. 51. 51

⁴Uka Tjandrasasmita, *Growth and Development of Muslim Cities in Indonesia*, p.

⁵<https://siwalimanews.com/transformasi-jalur-rempah-maritim/>

⁶Ahmad M. Sewang, *Islamization of the Kingdom of Gowa (16th to 17th Century)*, p. 6.

⁷Syamzan Syukur, "Reconstructing the Theory of Islamization in the Archipelago: The Discourse of Historians and Anthropologists", *International Proceedings, Islam, Literacy and Local Culture*, (Makassar: UIN Alauddin Press, 2014), p. 73

The Bugis-Makassar tribe is known as an accomplished sailor. Therefore, according to Ahmad M. Sewang, before the presence of Muslim traders in Makassar, Makassar migrants had already met, and established friendships and there may even have been Makassar residents who accepted Islam before Islam was officially accepted in Makassar.⁸ Thus, when referring to the Islamization theories mentioned above, at this stage the activities of spreading Islam had taken place or by the *proselytization* theory.

The encounter between Islam and the Bugis-Makassar people took place not only on the outside but also on the inside, characterized by the presence of Muslims in the Kingdom of Makassar who were generally also in the context of trade - which distinguishes the presence of Westerners in the archipelago as colonialism. On the other hand, the rulers of the Kingdom of Makassar applied an open policy for foreign traders (*mare liberum*). Perhaps this is also the reason why the presence of Muslim traders tends to be sympathetic to the native rulers. Therefore, long before Islam was accepted as the official religion of the Kingdom, Islam already had a place in the hearts of the rulers of the Makassar Kingdom.

The tenth king of Makassar, Tunipalangga (1546-1565), gave permission to Malay traders through the intermediary of captain Bonang to settle in Somba Opu. And even during the time of the 12th king, Manggorai Dg Mammata Karaeng Bontolangkasa Tunijallo (1565-1590), a mosque was built for Muslims in Mangalekana (Sumba Opu).⁹ The existence of a mosque for Muslims does not mean that the indigenous population of Makassar had accepted Islam, but the existence of the mosque shows the good relationship between Muslim traders and the indigenous population, especially the rulers of the Makassar Kingdom since the IXth king.¹⁰

Based on the *Lontara* of the Makassarese, it is found that before the beginning of the XVII century, there were already Islamic religious leaders among

⁸Ahmad M.Sewang, *Islamization of the Kingdom of Gowa (16th to 12th Century)*, p. 32

⁹Mattulada, *Tracing the Presence of Makassar in History*, p. 39

¹⁰Mattulada, *Tracing the Presence of Makassar in History*, p. 40

the Makassarese who received Islam in Java (Demak) or from Malacca and Ternate.¹¹ Similarly, Syukur said that the Bugis-Makassar tribe had already known and embraced Islam through trade shipping routes.¹² This shows that the Islamization of the Bugis-Makassar tribe, or especially the Makassar people, did not only take place in Makassar but also took place outside the Makassar region, especially for those Makassar people who traveled outside.

The Kings of Gowa and Tallo (Makassar Kingdom) officially accepted Islam in 1605, precisely on the night of Friday, 9 Jumadil Awal 1014 H. or September 22, 1605. It is stated that the Mangkabumi of Makassar Kingdom I Malingkang said the two sentences of the creed and afterward the fourteenth king Mangarai Daeng Manrabia also followed.¹³ The Islamic scholar who converted the two kings and their people was Abdullah Ma'mur Khatib Tunggal (Dato ri Bandang) who came from Minangkabau.

Two years later, all the people of Gowa and Tallo were converted to Islam with the first Friday prayer ceremony at the Tallo Mosque on November 9, 1607. At the same time in Bandar Makassar, Malay traders and Makassarese people who had already embraced Islam around Fort Somba Opu, at Mangallekana Mosque also organized Friday prayers and thanksgiving prayers.¹⁴ Thus it can be stated that Islam was accepted in the kingdom of Makassar peacefully.

2. The Growth of the Kingdom of Makassar as a Maritime Kingdom

The Kingdom of Makassar was another name for the twin kingdoms of Gowa and Tallo. Around 1528, these kingdoms formed a joint government that did not show any dividing line. In this context, the King of Gowa always inherited the position of king and the King of Tallo as mangkubumi.¹⁵

¹¹ Mattulada, *Tracing the Presence of Makassar in History*, p. 40

¹²Syamzan Syukur *Unraveling the Traces of Islamization of the Early Arrival of Islam in Kedatuan Luwu*, (Makassar: eSA Publishing, 2014), pp. 102

¹³ Ahmad M. Sewang, *Islamization of Gowa Kingdom*, p. 110

¹⁴Mattulada, *Tracing the Presence of Makassar in History*. 41

¹⁵Edward Poelinggomang, L, *Makassar in the 19th Century A Study of Maritime Trade Policy*. Cet. I; Jakarta: Gramedia Popular Library, 2002), pp. 14-15

The arrival of Muslim traders or trade contacts with the outside world certainly followed the shipping route through the coastal area, where in the early 16th century Somba Opu had begun to be visited by foreign traders such as from Asia (China, Malay, India, and Arabia) and Europe such as Portugal. The geographical location of Somba Opu is on the trade route between Malacca the center of Portuguese rule in Southeast Asia since 1511 and Maluku as a producer of spices which was the main trade commodity at that time. Therefore, the government of the Kingdom of Makassar, which was centered in Bonto Biraeng (Balla Lompoa) since the first king until Sombaya ri Gowa IX King *Tumaparisi Kallona* (1510-1546) reigned in that place, was moved to the coastal area, namely Maccini Sombala. In this place, a new royal city was built, named Somba Opu.¹⁶ The consideration of moving the center of the kingdom's government was certainly based on the progress of the Makassar Kingdom both in the economic and political fields.

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¹⁶Ahmad M Sewang, *Islamization of Gowa Kingdom*, p. 72-73

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In addition, the hilly limestone and sandy soil make it impossible for the population to rely entirely on farming. Hence, one of the reasons why most of the population made a living as sailors.¹⁸ Perhaps for this reason, the ninth King of Gowa, King *Tumaparisi Kallona* (1510-1546), began to organize, develop, and maximize the maritime aspects of the Kingdom of Gowa. At this time, Makassar became a transit area for merchants on their way to the East (Ternate). It seems that King *Tumaparisi Kallona* responded to global needs that had a positive impact on local interests (Kingdom of Gowa)

King *Tumaparisi Kallona* designed the trading city and the center of government to be in the same area, to facilitate the control of the Royal government. This was certainly a thought and consideration for the King of Gowa, especially in maintaining political security for the government of the Kingdom of Gowa. The trading city is a place where traders from within and outside the country pass through. Somba Opu as a commercial city will position the Kingdom of Makassar to become a large kingdom, but it does not rule out the possibility that this trade area is vulnerable to being infiltrated by other interests that can destabilize other fields, especially in the field of political government, for this reason, King *Tumaparisi Kallona* (1510-1546) made a breakthrough, namely a major change for the kingdom of Gowa by starting the transfer of the palace and the center of government to Somba Opu. The king's policy shows that he was a visionary king, thinking ahead for the progress of the Kingdom of Gowa and the interests of the local community

As the center of government, Somba Opu was built with a perimeter fort. To maintain security from external attacks. Moreover, in the XV-XVI centuries, the Makassar Kingdom was aggressively exercising hegemony over other kingdoms and Bugis kingdoms. Therefore, Somba Opu became more popular as Somba Opu

¹⁸Anwar Thosibo, "The Voyages of the Bugis-Makassar People in the XVII Century," *Thesis*. (Yogyakarta: Gajah Mada University, 1984), pp. 8-9

fort. This transformation was continued by the 10th King Tunipallangga Ulaweng, by strengthening the fort structure with padas, and then during the reign of Karaeng Tunibatta (1565) the 11th King of Gowa, Karaeng Tunijallo (1565-1590) the 12th King of Gowa the fort began to come into contact with cannons.

Before the relocation of the Makassar Kingdom Government Center from the interior to the coast of Somba Opu, this coastal area was one of the areas visited by foreign traders, because of its geographical location as an international trade route. After Somba Opu became the center of the Makassar Kingdom, it slowly grew into a major port in the Makassar Strait. Even in the 16th and 17th centuries, Somba Opu became a trading center and spice port visited by foreign traders from Asia and Europe.

Ahmad M. Sewang explained that Sumba Opu as the capital of the kingdom is located at the mouth of the Jenneberang river directly facing the ocean. In addition, Sumba Opu is surrounded by small islands that function as embankments to withstand the waves coming from the west, so that this harbor meets the requirements for anchoring sailing ships or large boats.¹⁹ perhaps this is also one of the reasons why Somba Opu is the choice and is visited by traders from outside.

Several important steps were taken by the Makassar Kingdom to establish itself as the main Maritime kingdom in the archipelago;

- a. The conquest of the rice- and forest-producing Bugis hinterlands led to wars of conquest against the Bugis kingdoms in the interior since the 16th century.
- b. Mastered the shipping and trade routes of Eastern Indonesia and made Sumba Opu the main transit port for the spice trade in Maluku.
- c. Establish cooperation and diplomatic relations with foreign kingdoms and make Sumba Opu an international city.
- d. Building the army and bureaucracy of the kingdom of Gowa as the center of East Indonesian trade was not only supported by geographical factors as the gateway to East Indonesia, but the strength of its sea fleet which was able to control such a vast trading area. The maritime tradition of the Makassarrese

¹⁹ Ahmad M. Sewang, *Islamization of Gowa Kingdom*, p. 73

people in the industrial sector accelerated the international recognition of the kingdom of Gowa, centered in Sumba Opu, as the center of East Indonesian trade activities in the 16th-XVII centuries.²⁰

The development of Sumba Opu Fort as a commercial city and defense base for the Makassar Kingdom in the mid-XVI century was supported by several decisive factors:

- a. Internal factors: the rapid growth of the kingdom of Gowa Tallo as a kingdom that gathered and protected the lands of the Makassar people along the coast of the southern peninsula of Sulawesi. This growth was also encouraged by threats from the mainland of South Sulawesi with the development of Bugis kingdoms in the interior, such as Soppeng, Wajo, and Bone, which began to exert influence over the mainland and coastal areas to the north and along Bone Bay. These rivalries for influence led to increased efforts by each kingdom to consolidate its power by building fortresses and bases for attacks to expand its sphere of influence. There were no preparations that would have hampered the kingdoms from the outside until the fall of Malacca to the Portuguese. The late nineteenth-century kingdoms of Gowa and Bugis were largely unknown to outsiders.²¹
- b. Internal factors: the rapid growth of the kingdom of Gowa Tallo as a kingdom that gathered and protected the lands of the Makassar people along the coast of the southern peninsula of Sulawesi. This growth was also encouraged by threats from the mainland of South Sulawesi with the development of Bugis kingdoms in the interior, such as Soppeng, Wajo, and Bone, which began to exert influence over the mainland and coastal areas to the north and along Bone Bay. These rivalries for influence led to increased efforts by each kingdom to consolidate its power by building fortresses and bases for attacks to expand its

²⁰Muchlish, *Methodology of Writing History at the MSI Sul-SEL Scientific Meeting, Sumba Opu, Center of 17th century Maritime Power in Eastern Indonesia*, Paper at the Scientific Meeting of the Indonesian Society of Historians, National Archives, 1988. H. 5-8.

²¹Mattualada *Tracing the Presence of Makassar in History (1510-1700)* (Ujung Pndang: Lembaga Penerbitan Uinversitas Hasanuddin, 1990), p. 22.

sphere of influence. There were no preparations that would have hampered the kingdoms from the outside until the fall of Malacca to the Portuguese. The late nineteenth-century kingdoms of Gowa and Bugis were largely unknown to outsiders.²²



Bandar Niaga International Somba Opu Abad 17

Sumber: <https://kebudayaan.kemdikbud.go.id/bpcbsulsel/benteng-somba-opu/>

B. Morphology of Somba Opu City

City morphology or the study of products and logical physical forms of a city. Referring to the theory of Muslim cities according to Uka Tjandrasmita; *First, the* morphology of the Muslim city is the city is the center of the kingdom or government, the population and the structure of society consists of the kings and their families, the elite, the non-elite, and the slave class. *Second, there is a market as the center of the economy. Third, there is a mosque or place of worship.*

Data about Somba Opu city will be analyzed based on the theory of city growth and development according to Uka Tjandrasmita, as mentioned above by combining the opinions of other figures. The morphology of Somba Opu City is as follows:

²²Mattualada *Tracing the Presence of Makassar in History (1510-1700)* (Ujung Pndang: Lembaga Penerbitan Uinversitas Hasanuddin, 1990), p. 22.

1. Population and Community Structure of Somba Opu City

According to Louis Wirth's theory as cited by Uka Tjandrasasmita, the city is a permanent settlement with heterogeneous individuals.²³ In this context, Somba Opu was a large city in the East that was visited by foreign traders, especially during the fall of Malacca to the Portuguese in 1511, so it can be stated that the community of Somba Opu is heterogeneous; in addition to the indigenous population, there are also foreign residents. In this case, Somba Opu is a Muslim city, the community is not an urban community in the true sense but urban-rural. Migrants are interested in moving to Somba Opu because of the availability of jobs from private and foreign companies with decent salaries.²⁴

The population reached 160,000,²⁵ even Tika et al put Makassar as one of the 6 great cities of the World in the 16th-17th Century namely Paris and Naples, Malacca, Banten, Surabaya, Gresik, and Makassar/Somba Opu.²⁶

In Uka Tjandrasasmita's theory, the structure of urban society during the growth and development of the Islamic kingdoms in Indonesia is divided into four parts: *First*, the group of kings and families. *Second*, is the elite group. *Third*, the non-elite group. *Sixth*, the slave class. The community structure of Soma Opu of the Makassar Kingdom seems to follow this pattern.

The residences of the nobility and the king's relatives were located in the north, bisected by the axis of the main road that ran north and south, while the *Maradekaya* community constituted the majority of the population, living in settlements outside the fort walls.²⁷ *The maradeka* or non-elite group consisted of

²³Uka Tjandrasasmita, *Growth and Development of Muslim Cities in Nusantara*, p.12

²⁴Abd Rasyid et al, *Makassar as a Maritime City*, Jakarta: Department of National Education Jakarta, 2000, p. 74

²⁵Zainuddin Tika et al, *History of Bajeng Kingdom*, Institute for the Study and Writing of History and Culture of South Sulawesi, 2009

²⁶Zainuddin Tika et al, *History of the Bajeng Kingdom*, Institute for the Study and Writing of History and Culture of South Sulawesi, 2009

²⁷Cakra Indra, "Social Stratification of the Occupants of Somba Opu Fort in the 16th-XVII Century Based on Artifact Findings", *Thesis*, (Yogyakarta: UGM, 2014), p. 1. 1

foreign traders from various countries and the Indigenous population (not the nobility and data/slaves).

2. Markets as Economic Centers and Sawata and Foreign Companies as Job Providers

Somba Opu as a bustling city in Makassar reached its peak in the middle of the XVII century AD and even Makassar (Somba Opu) became an international city and *entrepot* (trading post).²⁸ The success of Somba Opu can be seen in the number of foreign visitors from Asia and Europe until the middle of the XVII century. Even the Portuguese made it a trading base in Southeast Asia, as did the English, setting up a small industry in 1613 and establishing a special relationship in the 1630s.²⁹ Malay traders (Pahang, Patani, Campa, Minangkabau, and Johor) who had previously established a trading colony in Siam, led by Anakoda Bonang, asked the king to settle and trade in Makassar. His request was accepted and he was permitted to settle in Manggalekana, under the supervision of Syahbandar I Mangngambari Karaeng Mangngaweang Daeng ri Manggalekana.³⁰ The success in the maritime world in Southeast Asia centered on Sumba Opu attracted traders. The trade situation in Somba Opu, as illustrated by Pabittei:

"Those who sailed in the western part of the archipelago and Malacca in Sumatra and Java to reach the spice islands in the eastern part of the archipelago met at the commercial city of Somba Opu with the ocean in the eastern part of the archipelago. Makassarese, Bugis Ternate, Seramese, Bandaese, and others who wanted to trade their goods to other parts of the archipelago. They came and settled down. Gradually, by the early 17th century, Somba Opu had developed into the largest stockpile of spices from the Moluccas. The king of Gowa even had the right to monopolize rice and other goods imported to Somba Opu. He controlled the shipping routes between Java, the Flores Sea, and the Makassar Strait".³¹

²⁸Meir Kohn, *The Origins of Western Economic Success: Trade and Government in Pre-Industrial Europe*, (Hanover: Dartmouth College Department of Economics, 2003), pp. 3

²⁹ Muchlis, *Socio-cultural Dimensions of South Sulawesi History*. History Seminar of the Society of Indonesian Historians (MSI) of South Sulawesi. 1993.

³⁰ Edward Poelinggomang, *Makassar in the 19th Century A Study of Maritime Trade Policy*, p.

³¹Amanah Pabittei, *Sitti Benteng Sumba Opu South Sulawesi*, (Makassar: Department of Education and Culture, 1995), p. 26

The arrival of Islam was brought by traders, especially the Malays when the conquest of Malacca by the Portuguese caused many Malays to shift their trade to Makassar. The Malay traders, in addition to trading, also spread Islam. Therefore, Sumba Opu Fort was not only a trading center, but also a center for the spread of Islam in Eastern Indonesia. Those who entered the Makassar region offered a form of security and friendship agreement between sultans and traders. The agreement was realized through the exchange of merchandise with a barter system and marriage ties.³² The commercial port centered on Somba Opu has become an explored city so that the largest maritime economy can be said to be sourced in Makassar's Sumba Opu Fort.

The market, which served as a place to fulfill all the needs of the people who traded in Makassar, was located outside Fort Somba Opu. In front of the market is a public road that connects to the palace complex.³³ A market that performs its function well can be used as a price benchmark.³⁴ It should also be noted that the economic activists in Makassar were people who were given capital and trust by the ruler. Markets were set up by the government in almost every corner of the city. The market did not only take place on land, but they made a floating market.³⁵ This is very possible because according to its geographical location, Fort Somba Opu is surrounded by the Je'neberang River.

One form of trade that was carried out was lending or investing capital by people who could be trusted to carry out trade. The king, the treasurer, and the rich men were not traders, but paid wages by dividing the profits according to the agreement that had been made.³⁶

³²Abdul Rasyid and Rasstu Gunawan, *Makassar as a Maritime City*, (Jakarta: Department of Education, 2000), p. 58

³³Muslimin Efendy A.R., *Ceramic Trade Network: Makassar XVI-XVII Century*. (Wonogiri: Bina Citra Pustaka, 2005), p. 157

³⁴Anthony Read, *Early Modern History of Southeast Asia*. Translation. Sori Siregar, Hasif Armini and Dahris Setiawan, (Jakarta: Pustaka LPT3ES, 2004), 188.

³⁵Muslimin Efendy A.R., *Ceramic Trade Network: Makassar in the 16th-XVII Centuries*, p. 157

³⁶Lapian, *16th and 17th Century Nusantara Shipping and Trade*, (Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu, 2018), pp. 63-65

Therefore, the markets in the central city of the kingdom were one of the sources of income for the king or local ruler. The market also depended on concessions and guarantees of protection from the ruler or king. This was the regular support of traded goods and produce, excise duties, money for troops, and the cost of protecting merchants as well as the ability of merchants to pay the excise duties of neighboring markets.³⁷

The development of the port city of Makassar was marked from the time of the 10th king Tunipalangga (1546-1565) by separating the position of syahbandar as a position that was previously duplicated. Due to the importance of the syahbandar's position in the development of Makassar's commercial city, the Makassar *lontara* details the duties of the syahbandar (*Daengta Sabandaraka*). In 1626, Amana Gappa reorganized the shipping laws for the Bugis/Makassar people, so the duties of the syahbandar were re-established, the essence of which came from the time of Daengta Mangalekana Sabannara-ka (which was written in Mangalekana) I Mangambari Karaeng Mangawiang.³⁸ The duties of the syahbandar:

"As for you, the syahbandar, it is your duty to keep an eye on the merchants who have just arrived in your country's harbor, so that your country may receive much duty. For you, syahbandar, are charged with the duty of putting the produce of the land into the king's treasury. You are also my personal substitute, looking after the good and bad of the merchants. In this you must be careful, like the mothers of merchants. Arm your son with honesty according to the law."³⁹

The existence of Bandar Somba Opu was a source of income for the Kingdom of Gowa until 1667, therefore, of course, the kingdom tried to provide a good atmosphere and or ensure security for economic activists both from within and outside the country in Bandar Somba Opu (domestic and international). In addition, the assignment of the management of Bandar Somba Opu to Syahbandar (*Syahbandara*) with its various ethics and governance, is proof that the Kingdom of Gowa is advanced, especially in government administration.

³⁷Uka Tjandrasmita, *Growth and Development of Muslim Cities in the Archipelago*, pp. 23

³⁸ Mattulada, *Tracing the Presence of Makassar in History*, p. 30-13

³⁹ Mattulada, *Tracing the Presence of Makassar in History*, p. 31

Somba Opu's position as a transit port encouraged the area to produce trade commodities, one of which was rice, in addition to the produce of Kerajaan Gowa, also imported from surrounding areas, such as Maros, Pangkep, Bone, and Bantaeng. In addition, there was also an abundance of foreign merchandise such as spices from the Moluccas, cloth from India, metal goods and silk from China, silver from Spain, and pepper from Sumatra and Kalimantan.⁴⁰

As mentioned earlier during the growth and development of Islam, the buying and selling system still continued the previous tradition of bartering between necessary goods. There is also a conventional exchange tool in the form of currency, found around the 17th century, precisely during the reign of Sultan Alauddin, the Kingdom of Gowa made its own currency, namely gold and tin currency called *Dinara* which is large and *kupa* is small, all using Arabic writing. Tin currency was called *benggolo*. Probably the one who made the money was Karaeng Pole. Around the middle of the 17th century currency making stopped, but was resumed during the time of Sultan Hasanuddin.⁴¹ The influence of Islam on this type of currency of the Kingdom of Gowa also shows that the Kingdom of Gowa has officially accepted Islam.

3. Places of Worship, Ceremony, Education and other symbols of Islam

Since the mid-16th century, a Malay settlement has been found in Mangalekana, the area around Somba Opu during the reign of the 10th Gowa king Tunipalangga (1546-1565), and it seems that the Malays had good relations with the rulers of the Kingdom of Gowa, so that the 12th Gowa king Tunijallo (1565-1590) allowed the Muslim community to build a mosque. This was the first mosque in the Kingdom of Gowa and South Sulawesi.

In this context, according to the author's analysis, Muslim traders in Magalekana will try to establish good relations with the ruler so that they can be guaranteed safety and security in trade, while for the ruler of the Makassar

⁴⁰Sartono Kartodirjo, *Introduction to New Indonesian History: 1500-1900 from Emporium to Empire*. (Cet. I; Jakarta: PT. Gramedia, 1987), p. 88

⁴¹Uka Tjandrasmita, *Growth and Development of Muslim Cities in the Archipelago*, pp. 160

Kingdom, the presence of these Muslim traders brings economic benefits. Moreover, the Muslim traders were not involved in political issues - their only profession was as traders. As if on cue, a good relationship was established between the Muslim traders and the rulers of the Makassar Kingdom.

The mosque of the Malays in Mangalekana, not only functioned as a place of prayer but was also used by Malay traders to teach Islam to the indigenous population. So that the mosque functions as a place of worship as well as a center of Islamic education. When the King of Gowa Tallo officially embraced Islam, Friday prayers and prayers of thanksgiving were held in the mosque.⁴² The existence of this mosque completes the morphology of the city of Sumba Opu as a Muslim Maritime City of the archipelago in the 17th Century. This is in accordance with Uka Tjandrasasmita's theory that places of worship (mosques) characterize Muslim cities, and become an integral part of the composition of urban planning.⁴³

The acceptance of Islam as the official religion of the kingdom is not only marked by the presence of the mosque and its existence as an important building in the center of the government of the Kingdom of Gowa, but another symbol of Islam is the use of the title Sultan for the King, as used by the first King to embrace Islam, I Mangerangi daeng Manrabia Sultan Alauddin.

In addition to the title of Sultan to the King, other symbols of Islam can also be seen in the culture of the people of Makassar or called *Panggadakkang*, which is a form of culture that includes a system of norms and customary rules and regulations, also contains elements that cover all activities of human life acting and regulating life infrastructure in the form of material and non-material equipment. As a consequence of the acceptance of Islam as the official religion of the kingdom, the *Panggadekeng* was then refined to include elements of *syara'* (Islamic law).

C. Conclusion

Somba Opu grew as the Muslim Maritime City of the Archipelago in the XVII century. This achievement mainly arose from the kingdom's efforts to provide a

⁴²Mattulada, *Tracing the Presence of Makassar in History*, p. 41

⁴³ Uka Tjandrasasmita, *Growth and Development of Muslim Cities in the Archipelago*, pp. 162

good atmosphere and or guarantee security for economic activists both from within and outside the country. In addition, another policy of the kingdom was to assign the management of Bandar Somba Opu, namely Syahbandar (*Syahbandara*) with various ethics and governance, as evidence that the administration of the Gowa Kingdom government was progressing.

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