

Between Women, Throne, and Power: Religious Transformation in Kagaua Palu, 1600-1904

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Article history

Received : 2022-09-20

Accepted : 2023-03-26

Published : 2023-04-10

Keywords

Woman,
Throne and power,
Religious transformation,
Kagaua Palu

Abstract: This study examines the discourse of women, the throne, and power as a foundation for thinking that led to the transformation of religion in Kagaua Palu's history from 1600 to 1904. Few studies on women reveal its connection with the change of Islam in Palu. This study uses a qualitative-historical method with heuristic stages, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography. The data sources for this research are colonial manuscripts, newspapers, and some utterances (oral information). The study shows that religious transformation drives tradition in Kagaua Palu to experience a shift, seen from the shifting matrilineal system to the patrilineal, even though this does not apply in general. In addition, the religious transformation has also led to a shift in local cultural awareness and the birth of a dynamic Islamic understanding that has opened the broadest possible access. In general, the To Kaili woman has become a pillar of the forerunner to the throne and power, accompanied by a religious transformation in Kagaua Palu. In conclusion, To Kaili women are essential in developing Palu Muslim society. That becomes a comparative narrative that erodes patriarchal nuances in Indonesian historiography.

Abstrak: Kajian ini mengkaji wacana perempuan, tahta, dan kekuasaan sebagai landasan pemikiran yang berujung pada transformasi agama dalam sejarah Kagaua Palu dari tahun 1600 hingga 1904. Beberapa kajian tentang perempuan mengungkap keterkaitannya dengan perubahan Islam di Palu. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif-historis dengan tahapan heuristik, kritik sumber, interpretasi, dan historiografi. Sumber data untuk penelitian ini adalah manuskrip kolonial, surat kabar, dan beberapa ucapan (informasi lisan). Studi ini menunjukkan bahwa transformasi agama mendorong tradisi di Kagaua Palu mengalami pergeseran, terlihat dari pergeseran sistem matrilineal ke patrilineal, meskipun hal ini tidak berlaku secara umum. Selain itu, transformasi keagamaan juga telah menyebabkan terjadinya pergeseran kesadaran budaya lokal dan lahirnya pemahaman Islam yang dinamis sehingga membuka akses seluas-luasnya. Secara umum, perempuan To Kaili telah menjadi pilar cikal bakal tahta dan kekuasaan, disertai dengan transformasi agama di Kagaua Palu. Kesimpulannya, To Kaili perempuan sangat penting dalam membangun masyarakat Muslim Palu. Itu menjadi narasi komparatif yang mengikis nuansa patriarki dalam historiografi Indonesia.

Cite this article: Nuraedah (2023). Between Women, Throne, and Power: Religious Transformation in Kagaua Palu, 1600-1904. *Paramita: Historical Studies Journal*, 33(1), 86-96. <http://dx.doi.org/10.15294/paramita.v33i1.39109>

INTRODUCTION

Women in history and culture generally recognize their existence as second only to men. As a result, many women have protested against male dominance over women. According to Tabroni et al. (2020), a significant concern in Islamic social movements is how ideas are socially created, organized, and disseminated. In Indonesia, we can examine the role of women using a historical lens. According to Suryochondro (1984, p. 67), in the 19th century, names such as Martha Tiyahahu from Maluku and Cut Nyak Dien and Cut Nyak Meutia from Aceh were some of



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the characters who were famous for their struggle against the Dutch colonialists. Furthermore, according to Suryochondro (1984, p. 68), at that time, the role of the woman could not be separated from the situation of the times when she was struggling to expel the invaders.

Women cannot be separated from the history of this nation, both the history of women in general and locally. Women are so central in the life of this nation. Talking about women is like a building that cannot be separated from one another. According to Shihab (1996, p. 296), quoted from Handayani and Ilyas (2014), women in Chinese and Hindu civilizations are not better than in Greek and Roman civilizations, where the right to life of a married woman must end at the death of her husband. The wife must also be burned alive when the husband's corpse is burned. In Roman civilization, women were entirely under the dominion of their fathers after marriage, and the power shifted to the husband. This power includes the authority to sell, expel, persecute, and kill.

According to Handayani and Ilyas (2014), Islam came to this earth to liberate humans from the injustices they created. Islam introduces itself as "*Rahatan lil Alamin*," a universal religion. All the rules of human life already exist in its sharia. However, in human history, from ancient times to the present, issues regarding gender relations are still being discussed. Few groups of Muslims cannot understand the meaning of "gender." So this is also the cause of the deviation. According to Nuraedah (2020), women's daily activities show resistance to male dominance over women. The reality in the Sigi Regency community shows that women significantly contribute as mediators who act as liaisons and communicators between the interests of the pesantren and the community.

According to Ahmad et al. (2011, p. 3), in Java, the XIV-XVI centuries were a significant period because these periods were the process of strengthening Islamic bases. Even further, Ahmad wrote that the development of Islam as a belief system that later transformed into an ideology in the government system could not be separated from the role of those who have contributed to spreading Islam. However, the emphasis on who has a role in the transitional period between the Hindu-Buddhist and the Islamic periods still tends to be the role of men at the center.

Through the culture of patrilineal society, women are always considered inferior to men. Women are always constrained by their functions, shaped by society and its culture. It is the leading

cause of subordinated women. According to Saptari and Holzner (1997, p. 7), the three terms most often used to describe this situation are the division of marginalization, domestication, and housewifery. He says these three terms are the embryo of women's inferiority to men.

According to Handayani and Ilyas (2014), the Koran does not teach discrimination between men and women as human beings before God, men and women have the same degree, but the problem lies in the implementation or operationalization of these teachings. Many factors, such as environment, culture, and traditions, are patriarchally systems-including economic and political systems, as well as individual attitudes and behavior that determine the status of women and gender inequality.

An overview of the position of women during the Majapahit period can be seen from Nastiti et al. (2009) based on available data as follows: First, women in mythology are worshiped and sacred, like the goddesses, who are the personification of the magic (energy) of the gods such as Dewi Parwati, Sri, Laksmi, Ratih, Durga Mahisasuramardini, and others; second, women from the Mahabharata and Ramayana epics, for example, Dewi Kunti, Sita, Sembadra, Rukmini, and Trijata; third, women who became characters in stories composed by ancient Javanese poets, for instance, Dewi Sri Tanjung, Suwistri, Angreni, Sekar Taji, and also supernatural or religious female characters, such as Ra Nini, Calon Arang, Dewayani, Rara Sucian, and Buta Nyai (Tothokerot) in the folklore of Kediri; fourth, women historical figures who played roles in ancient Javanese civilization such as Pramodhawarddhani, Pu Kbi, Mahendradatta, Ken Dedes, Gayatri Rajapatni, Tribhuwottunggadewi, and Suhita; and fifth, ordinary women who were the general population during the Majapahit era. Women's roles from the first to the third class are determined based on mythical descriptions and stories that poets have written. So this picture follows the imagination of the poets and also refers to the holy stories of Hinduism and Buddhism.

Based on the historical lens above, we can find constructions about women, power, and the throne (Religious Transformation in the History of Kagau Palu). The woman in *To Kaili's* glasses has carved her history according to her era. By the end of the 19th century, the *Kaili* women had shown the strength and power of their generation. According to Geertz (in Handayani & Novianto, 2004), the effect of female dominance can extend into society to create a network of female dominance. Women

link their power with other women or people related to them to strengthen the network, and female domination extends to some form of absolute power.

The presence of Sawerigading - a legendary figure from the land of Luwu, has meaning for the people of *Kaili* because Sawerigading is considered a legendary figure in *Kaili*. Unsurprisingly, the relationship between the South and Central kingdoms was straightforward because of the experience of brotherhood between Sawerigading and Queen Ngilinayo. According to Safrillah (2017), Sawerigading's long journey to China has traces to the *Kaili* people, especially the kingdom of Sigi. Sawerigading is believed to have stopped at Sigi. The Sigi Kingdom at that time was ruled by a beautiful queen named Ngilinayo. It is said that Sawerigading fell in love and wanted to marry the queen. There is a story about a queen named Ratu Ngilinyo. She is a great woman at that time. The first mythology is Sawerigading, which developed into stories in Luwu in the 15th century (Sulistyo, 2014).

Based on the problem description above, women are a fascinating object of study to be studied further. The study of women requires everyone to see women as equal beings to men, so it is worth analyzing their contributions and actions in various fields of life following the times. This research focused on women, throne, and power: The religious transformation in the history of *Kagua Palu* in the 1600-1904 periods. The author himself pays attention to women occupying and giving "power" to men through their dignity. In several regions of Indonesia, women have always been complementary individuals after men. This is, of course, very contrary to the concept of human equality. This article also emphasizes that women's positions differ from what everyone thinks. Women considered weak, patient, gentle, and permanently resigned to situations are wrong stereotypes. This research aims to answer the following questions: How do the *To Kaili* women perpetuate their throne and power in the land of *Kaili*? Moreover, how can religious transformation become a spirit among the people of Palu?

METHOD

This historical research takes material objects from colonial sources, manuscripts, newspapers, and several utterances (oral information). Historical research, assisted by qualitative research, strengthens the results obtained. Qualitative research is a systematic and subjective approach

used to explain life experiences and give meaning to them. This type of research is conducted to explain and promote understanding of human experience in its various forms (Danim, 2002).

The first historical stage is heuristic. Heuristic means to find or search. Heuristics is an activity to find and collect various sources, information, traces of the past, and relics of the past. Source criticism (or information evaluation) is essential; source criticism is the process of evaluating the qualities of informants, such as validity, reliability, and relevance to the subject being studied. The next stage is interpretation. Interpretation means re-interpreting the facts and determining the meaning and interrelationships of the facts obtained in the field. Data analysis was conducted to determine the relationship between one category and another, so the *verstehen* (understanding) method was used. The next stage is historiography, the process of analyzing research findings. Historical sources are not only in the form of literary sources but other sources. Gottschalk (1985) revealed that historical heuristics are similar to other bibliographical activities regarding printed books. However, the historian has to use much material not found in books.

WOMEN, THRONE, AND POWER

Historically, women's figures are often marginalized, and their dignity has been abused. The marginalization of women can be traced to an event nine years after the *Kuti rebellion* when the *Tanca incident* occurred. According to Atmosiswartoputra (2020, pp. 14-15), the initial occurrence of the incident was because Jayanagara was indecent towards his two younger sisters, Tribhuwanatunggadewi and Dyah Wiyat Rajadewi. Jayanagara wanted them to become his wives, even though they were siblings from the same father and different mothers. Dharmaputra Tanca's wife heard Jayanagara's indecent behavior and told her husband. Tanca complained about this to Gadjah Mada, but he did not take any action. Until Mpu Tanca killed Jayanagara and Gadjah Mada, who knew Tanca's intentions, immediately got up and killed Tanca too. Since the king was killed, Tribhuwana tunggadewi and DyahWiyat Rajadewi were free from King Jayanagara's grip. This classic story has opened a conversation not only about the influence of women in the past but also about the impact of women being underestimated.

According to Susetyo (2010: 20), a stereotype is a generalization process carried out inaccurately about the nature or behavior. According to the au-

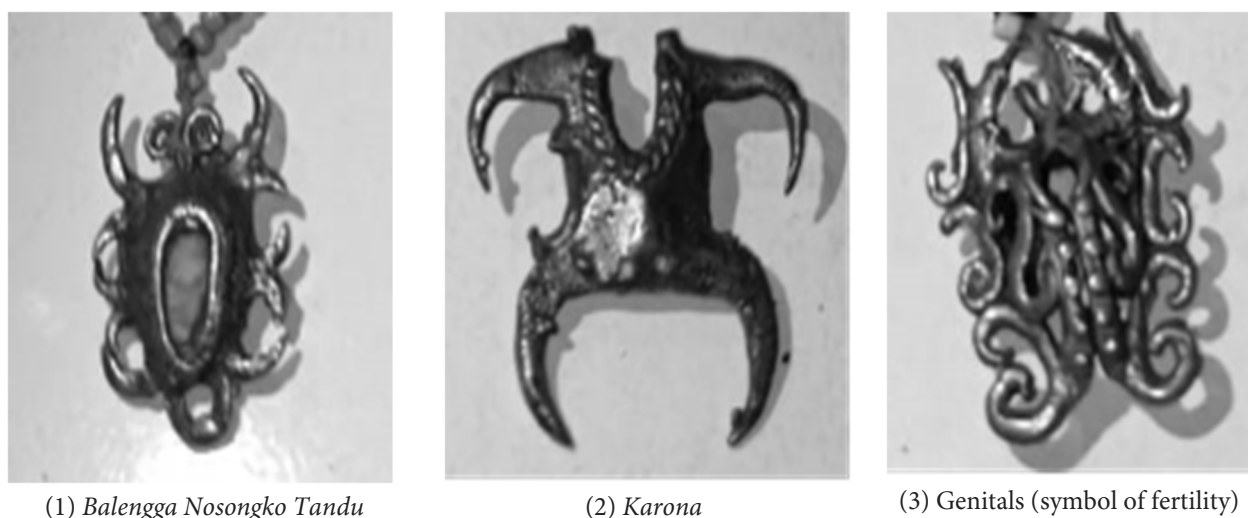


Figure 1. *Taiganja* documentation (Source: Nuraedah, 2019)

thor, this is the initial symptom of the subordination of women from their position as God's creatures that are equal to men. According to Sendratari and Maryati (2014, p. 3), from a language perspective, we can find two words, *wanita*, and *perempuan*, in Indonesian means woman, that both have the same meaning. However, both have different values. The word *wanita* is more directed at increasing value. Furthermore, she said that the word *perempuan* has a positive connotation and is a form of amelioration. In contrast, *Wanita* has a negative connotation and is pejorative of lower value than *perempuan*. Regardless of these definitions, the author uses the word woman in this paper without favoring the words *wanita* and *Perempuan*.

Research about women focuses on the general opinion of society, primarily related to the role and position of other women in social life. Studies on women also indirectly protest and demand women's rights and societal equality. In the past, Indonesian women on the political stage have had an undeniable place and power, as discussed above. Furthermore, studies related to women are an initial step in exploring the roots of women's power over men in certain localities. It aligns with the views of Marxists, who see women as equal to men—the same as the *Kaili* community as an object of this study. Women of the *To Kaili* nobility, as a symbol of fertility, use the symbol "*Taiganja*" as one of the gifts when proposing. *Taiganja* makes the power of women undeniable. *Taiganja* became a manifestation of the power and strength of the female nobility in the *Kaili* community until they could transform through religion.

The Ministry of Education and Culture (1992/1993, p. 47) revealed that to understand and know the flow of authority in the generation of

aristocrats, the right to use *taiganja* is according to the descent of nobility, with the expression: "*kamadika ledo nalipo rimumbine*," which means that nobility does not disappear in women. It follows the origin of the *Kaili* Tribe's aristocratic institution, which *Tomanuru* started as a female figure who descended from heaven and then married *Tomalanggai*. This argument sees women as having great power in *Kaili* land.

Taiganja 1 is called *Balengga Nosongko Tandu*, which means head with horns, *Taiganja* 2, which becomes the body, is called *Karona*, in *Kaili Ledo* language, is "body." *Karona* is the language body for *Kaili*, *Tara*, and *Ija*. *Taiganja* 3 is the genitals. *Taiganja* is synonymous with the "*To Kaili*" symbol of fertility for unmarried women. *Taiganja* is symbolized by fertility and purity. *Taiganja* is a complement to traditional ceremonies. Not only that but *taiganja* is also used in traditional ceremonies for *Kaili* or other activities.

The manuscript on *Tanah Kaili*, the Central Sulawesi Dati I Tourism Development Agency, reveals that when viewed from a historical perspective and the speech of *To Kaili* that developed in society before the advent of Islam, there are many stories or tales of the arbitrariness of the rulers in the community. It adopted a leadership pattern that emerged during the *Tomalanggai* (dictator) phase. Where the ruler leads the people arbitrarily. Customary law as a stronghold has not yet had an effect because the power at that time was still under the "lust" of men as the strongest person.

However, gradually, that changed following the emergence of the leadership of *Tomanuru* (a higher power: a human descended from a god from heaven who was very beautiful), who was married to *Tomalanggai*. *Mengenal Tanah Kaili's*



Figure 2. *Taiganja* (Source: Nuraedah, 2019)

manuscript reveals that this woman came from gold-colored bamboo (*bamboo mas*) or “*Bolowatu Mbulawa*.” As a result of marrying *Tomanuru*, *Tomalanggai* gradually changed his character from dictator to the point where he gave birth to a crown prince who succeeded in his father’s power.

The stories and narratives that develop above want to convey that the *To Kaili* woman is a symbol of the forerunner of nobility born of women who, because of their fertility, can give birth to patterns of power and throne structure that take turns and are passed down from generation to generation. Lineage plays a role in determining position or power. This concept by Witasari (2016) means that people who occupy certain positions or have certain powers depend on the origin of their parents. Likewise, among the nobility, robust and influential women in *Kagaua Palu* started with the figure of Intauli, Tina Inta alias Pondjala, and Dae Paraanto, to Pue Sese as aristocrats and mediators in the warring communities.

ialembah and Intauli (see *Tatanga* Lineage) are two noble couples in the *Kaili valley* who gave birth to well-known figures in this valley. Pialembah as the husband of Intauli is a rarely known figure in Palu. His father’s name is Dae Kanawe (Madika Kolaka), and his mother’s name is Pacilangi. Intauli himself, his father is Ganturolabu, and his mother is Yayangiri. Ganturolabu and Ya-

yangiri have daughters named Royanggamagi, Pelininau, and Intauli. Intauli then married Pialembah.

Pialembah and Intauli have children named Tinainta alias Pondjala and Dae Paraanto. These two brothers are of noble blood *To Kaili*. Furthermore, it told that Tina Inta or Pondjala married a nobleman from Pantoloan named Daemanguhu. Pondjala and Daemanguhu had a daughter named Manukaluli. Then Manukaluli married a man from the Sigi nobility named Tandinugo. Manukaluli has a strong kinship with his mother, namely with the Tawaeli and Pantoloan lineages from his great-grandfathers. Until then, his cohesion was strengthened in Sigi because he was married to a Madika there.

The second child of Pialembah and Intauli, Dae Paraanto, is a mighty woman. Dae Paraanto married twice. His first husband was a nobleman from Pantoloan. Dae Paraanto marriage to a Pantoloan nobleman and had a child named Kilomelanda. Dae Paraanto’s second husband was aristocrat Siranindi. Dae Paraanto is the son of the Siranindi nobles, giving birth to offspring named Labulemba, Pararibua, and Sapemaburi (the last two women are noble *Kaili*).

Due to Labulembah’s authority and power, the son of Magau Labulembah, Kodi Vono, was confirmed as Magau Palu. However, dissatisfaction arose in various circles. It was because, with Magau Kodi Vono becoming King of Palu, Tawaeli would gradually become one unit with Palu. It was reinforced by Labulembah, who controlled Tawaeli and Palu under his son Kodi Vono. The solidity of Palu during Kodi Vono’s era has continued until now when Palu has become the center of government.

Taken from the Our Santina Lineage and the *Tatanga* version, it shows that the second child is named Pararibua, but there is not enough data to discuss this figure. Dae Paraanto’s third child was a woman named Saremaburi. Saremaburi then married a Siranindi/Palu aristocrat named Daembasu. Daembasu (boy) and Sapemaburi (f) then had a child named Sangipinile. Sangipinile then married Mpuselembah, who was of royal descent from Labuan. Mpuselembah is blue-blooded from the royal lineage of Mambanga (Guru Bulava) and Borerumi. Sangipinile and Mpuselembah then gave birth to several children named Daesatia, Royambulava, Daepoandja, and Gumbelibu. Daesatia then had a husband named Daesalemba (Magau III Tawaeli), Royambulava then had a husband named Iralawaembah (Madika Bangga), and Daepoandja’s husband Djalalangi. Djalalangi himself was a *Tatanga*

nobleman. Thus, the results of these marriages united cohesion between them and, conversely, confused the different data because each family's speech claims crossed generations and also because there were noble names that had similarities.

Custom marriage is an established political tool to expand power and authority. In this process, there is a political marriage. It seems indisputable that the marriage between Labuan, Dolo, and Kumbili Kayumalue Mpuselambah strengthened cohesion with Palu, Dolo, and Kumbili Kayumalue, Tawaeli, and Sigi, by marrying their daughter Daesatia to Daesalemba. Daesalemba's mother's name is Rendanuama, and his father is Dg. Pabila (nobleman Dolo/Kumbili Kayumalue). Rendanuama is the son of Manukaluli and Tandinugo. Daesalemba himself is Manukaluli's grandson. Mpuselambah, through his wife, Sangipinile, has united the Manukaluli (Tawaeli) clan with Tandinugo (Sigi) through marriage.

This marriage eventually becomes a way to unite (social cohesion). This kind of marriage is beneficial for confirming and maintaining a region's position as kings, nobles, and rulers. Such marriages are called political marriages. Political marriages between noble families, royal families, and prominent noble families have been recorded in many inscriptions. For example, in the inscriptions of the Ancient Mataram period, namely the Cungran II Inscription and the Geweg Inscription, it is known that Mpu Sindok, the ruler of the Ancient Mataram in East Java, married the daughter of Rakryan Bawang. He made her his consort with the title Sri Parameswari Dyah Warddhani Pu Kbi. There are many examples of political marriages like this. It is helpful to gather political power for generations on an ongoing basis through kinship lines. In the Kaili valley, it can be seen in various events of political marriage, as was commonly done by nobles in the archipelago. As described above, the descendants of Dae Paraanto and Tina Inta, or Pondjala, were the forerunners of power and the throne in the Kaili valley.

The description of the events above is part of the history of the Palu kingdom, which cannot be separated historically; always there and able to bring systemic cohesion. This systemic arose because of marriages between elite female nobles and male nobles due to politicization which led to social cohesion over power and the throne. Thus the relationship between Sigi and Tawaeli cannot be separated from one another until now. If traced between the stories of Labulembah and Manukaluli as manifestations of two brothers from the descendants of

the nobles Pialembah and Intauli, that is the key to opening the history of Palu. The story above strengthens the power of women in the *Kaili* valley from the Dae Paraanto, Tina Inta alias Pondjala, Manukaluli, Sapemaburi, and Sangipinile lines which also descend to Deisatia, Royambulava, and Dei Poandja. These great and challenging women are the originators of the breed, power, and sustainable power in the Kingdom of Palu.

The power of men without women behind them was very "fragile" in politics in the Palu valley during the early days of the traditional leadership of *Kaili*. The legitimacy of Dae Paraanto's power through his lineage, namely Labulembah as a male nobleman, was not as strong as Dae Paraanto's power at that time through his other lineage Sapemaburi, a female nobleman.

The history of the Kingdom of Palu, seen from the description above, if we see the opinion of Jones (2009), is determined by the existence of a social movement process. The change goes hand in hand with the movement of structures that continuously perform dialectics all the time. However, every social movement that occurs should be ethical and practical. There are four basic structures of a discourse that are universal and can be found, as well as the basis for theory: the ruler, the hysterical, and the analyzer. The following four discourses can produce social influences, namely: first, educate or indoctrinate; secondly, arrange or give orders; third, desire or protest; and fourth, analyze or transform or revolutionize. These four points can be seen in Dato Lagugulili's phase I. I, Dato Labogulili, became a ruler full of dynamics, able to indoctrinate through "religion" to influence various aspects of life in Palu socially. As magau I Dato Labogulili certainly had a bargaining position to regulate and give orders in the society that he led, without it, a bargaining position to be recognized, valued, and imitated would be hard to achieve. In addition, the desire to raise Islam and to make the position as magau can easily make "Islam" a force. Through Islam's central position as a force, all pillars of religion can be transformed from one generation to another so that Islam can develop widely in *Kaili*.

The history of the Kingdom of Palu has been transformed into an undeniable political force in the history of Central Sulawesi. It happened through historical processes and the social movements of its people. The system built through kings, traditional institutions, and religion as a force has always experienced dialectical changes

throughout time, past and present. The system always moves in line with the dialectics constantly surrounding and judging. *To Kaili*, women perpetuate their throne and power in the land of *Kaili* through the dignity they have passed down from generation to generation. The traditional view of women as the mother of the country can balance various local events, and the acceptance of women in traditional institutions through the transition process has not been able to be transformed through religious doctrine, which has developed.

RELIGIOUS TRANSFORMATION IN KAGAU PALU

The spirit of Islamic ideology reinforces the power and strength to make changes in a territorial area. The emergence of reinforcing figures in local political escalation further encourages religious transformation. The transformation of religion, namely Islam, into local politics can respond to regional sentiments that are already firmly rooted. Tholiban (in Kuswana, 2020) has a fundamental reason for understanding the actual teachings of Islam. First, Islam is the religion of *Rabbani* (divinity), the religion of Allah, which does not have anyone's intervention; secondly, Islam is a universal (natural) religion not limited by territory all over the world and all human beings. Then he said that Islam is a flexible religion in every situation. This reason is one of the foundations of Islam, which is very flexible and easy to accept. Islam is readily accepted as a religion because there is no class or classification in Islam. All humans are the same. Islam also aligns with all actual conditions in life.

Religious transformation is realized through the ability of religious leaders to transfer religious values in all aspects of life in the form of religious values and exemplary and social piety. These values can be seen from the process of carrying out the teaching in acting and behaving. Exemplary, religious, and social purity are strong foundations that fortify the spreaders of Islam or religious figures on various occasions to become agents of transformation. Teaching carriers as religious figures on the front stage become role models for opening the key to religious transformation, which can develop rapidly. The carrier of the teachings or spiritual teacher as an individual was very closely imitated and emulated in his actions in the 16th and 17th centuries but underwent a rapid transformation, where this teacher directly began to transmit his ideas to the next spiritual teacher,

which can be found in the story of memory memoirs that cannot be remembered with certainty so that the authenticity of the memoir can be shifted. The memory memoir is added and mixed with legends and myths (Hasbullah, 2017). The carriers of teachings or spiritual teachers are influential in the kingdom of Palu, such as Dato Karama, with *magau-magau* that existed according to his era.

According to Duriana (2018), Islam provides a personality attitude and teaches the norms of life so that every adherent of Islam has a high level of awareness and a strong personality that is difficult to change. It aligns with religious leaders or local religious leaders in the *Kaili* Valley. Furthermore, Duriana (2018) reveals that transformation or change in society occurs by introducing new elements. New elements are then introduced to society in two ways, through discoveries (inventions) and the inclusion of other community influences. In this case, through new findings and the inclusion of other community influences, a transformation process occurs, according to Berger (in Dewi, 2012), that encourages humans to get out of the tyranny (prison) of the social structure that binds them through transformation. The religious transformation was carried out by actors, namely immigrants from ethnic Makassar, Mandar, and Bugis backgrounds. This religious transformation was brought about by actors, namely immigrants from Makassar, Mandar, and Bugis ethnicities.

The influence of Gowa, Mandar, and Bugis in the *Kaili* valley encourages transformation because alliance after alliance occurs within this clan, which is under the individual as a role model and becomes an agent of change. The agent of change lives autonomously and is decentralized to meet the needs of local community cohesion as supremacy forces on land and sea, strengthened by agents or "figures" or cohesive leaders who are respected and obeyed. What is evident from their cohesion is a democratic life that is functional by providing opportunities for participation in "power" in the Palu kagau based on their respective rights and obligations to achieve strength in broad kinship cohesion. During the time of I Dato Labungulili, the leadership phase of the Malay and maritime patterns appeared, with a center of power around the coastal area, marked by an awareness of diversity and democracy.

Diversity and territorial unity are realized through the unity of various ethnic groups (*Kaili*, *Minangkabau*, and *Bugis*) in coastal areas. The diversity of I Dato Labungulili and his family can be

seen from Pue Nggari, the magau who first circumcised his son, to the charismatic figure of Dato Karama. Thus, his son accepted Islam as a new religion. With the acceptance of the new religion, namely Islam, the Islamic doctrine has been firmly attached through the power of cohesion. On the other hand, his father, mother, and himself act as agents of power in this valley. As an instrument of political strengthening and cohesion among immigrants, Islam has strengthened religious transformation in various fields of life.

Another example of diversity can be seen in the descendants of I Dato Labungulili's third wife, Taopa, who has a son named Tjumpulemba, alias Pue Ratovo. Taopa himself, son of Buangisi. Tjumpulemba (Pue Ratovo) is married to a woman named Dg. Lino. The result of the marriage between Tjumpulemba and Dg. Lino gave birth to a daughter named Dg. Matjino. Dg. It was Matjino who married Mr. Garuda. (analysis of Our Genealogy Santana). Who is La Garuda? La Garuda was a pirate figure from Gowa who was respected but hated by the Dutch because he often carried out rebellions in Palu Bay and its surroundings, which greatly disturbed the Dutch colonial presence in the waters of Palu Bay and its surroundings at that time until in the most challenging situation he was able to avoid it. Still, La Garuda was easily caught when representing his father-in-law, signing a contract with the Netherlands. La Garuda was arrested and forced to work for 15 years. The social cohesion built by I Dato Labungulili can be seen through religious patterns, by marrying a woman from Biromaru and Tawaeli (Taopa), the daughter of Bulangisi. Bulangisi or Dg. Makondang was the first Islamic broadcaster in the land of Kaili in the 17th century. Bulangisi was a student of Sheikh Yusuf in Gowa. When Bulangisi first came to the Tawaeli Kingdom, all the Tawaeli people chewed betel nuts. At the same time, Bulangisi meant white as teeth. Bulangisi then married Yuwu, a daughter of the noble Tawaeli (Madika). Bulangisi first taught the letters of the Koran in Bugis spelling on the Kaili plains.

Functional democratic character colored I Dato Labungulili's leadership pattern, from the quote above, by giving freedom to his son-in-law to carry out invasions against Dutch forces in the waters. The character of functional democracy means respecting the social functions of sons-in-law of different ethnic groups, but the same in political struggles.

Islam is used as part of the religious identity of the people in Palu and a symbol of the strength of the identity of spiritual beings. Islam as a reli-

gious identity and *Kaili* customs originating from the past has a special meaning capable of conforming to principles. The combination between religion and culture gives birth to different adaptations and new cultures. The result of the adaptation that appears in the middle of the two becomes "acculturation." Acculturation processes go hand in hand and do not intersect. When the two go hand in hand, another pattern emerges, namely "integration." This point of view can provide an identity readily accepted by all groups for clarification so that it can be found outside of "religion" and "customs" as part of the process of emerging restructuring.

The structure that exists in kagua, namely *magau* and *baligau*. *Magau* and *baligau* become ideological spirits and strengths capable of fortifying religious transformation (Nur, 2016; Anriani et al., 2019). Religious transformation occurs stagnant if the structure needs to develop a mandate and responsibility in its supporting community. *Magau* has social influence based on the duties and authority that are developed. *Magau* has a tremendous primary responsibility and task in exercising his power. *Magau* also can mobilize its citizens in various community activities. A *magau* prefers the residents' comfort, peace, and conduciveness because comfort and peace produce social influence. Apart from the *magau*, the other structural authority is the *baligau*.

According to Rais in Wekke (2013), Islam's presence in Bugis society is a form of accepting completely new values into an established culture. However, a new culture in an existing culture upholds values and the original identity. When the Bugis migrated to Palu, they gradually practiced their original culture while still prioritizing assimilation with the local culture they visited. Bugis' ethnicity through migration gave birth to cultural identity. This confirms the image of the Bugis people as adherents of traditional customs passed down from generation to generation. It is easy for the Bugis to acculturate with the *To Kaili* culture because of the standard of *aqidah*, the philosophical basis while rejecting syncretization in religious teachings. Islamic religious teachings must find their place in the local culture.

Kaili lives and practices their Islam combined with the traditions that they had long before Islam came. Traditional rituals to *Kaili* as an adhesive for the social harmony of the community to work hand in hand in completing the event together with the environment in which they live and settle. Including religion in traditional rituals does not necessari-

ly erase these traditions. Instead, it enriches the ritual traditions of the community. These ritual traditions mixed with religious elements can strengthen philosophy; By loving each other and caring for the earth's ecological environment, those in the Throne on His Throne will be loved. The customary practice of *To Kaili* can bridge customs and religion so that it is born in the form of a new formula that can support *Kaili* culture, which contains high cultural values and needs to be preserved. Not in the form of clashes or cultural wars.

Recognition of cultural values during the *Kaili* community becomes legitimate with its ability to bind established culture with the *To Kaili* community's views of life and beliefs. This conception becomes a dialogic and integrative discourse, where religion and culture can be dialogued, while traditions that stand alone can unite in an "integrative" way. When I Dato Labungulili came to power, the domination of Islam in *Kaili* land emerged through H. Borahima as the founder of the Jami Mosque, strengthening the strength of the Islamic religion. This dialogue arose when Islam as a religion dealing with the *Kaili* tradition experienced tension when Islam began to spread and experienced strong development and legitimacy in the early days of colonial influence in Palu.

With the signing of the acknowledgment of Dutch authority by *Kaili's magaus*, one of them was Magau Djojokodi, as evidenced by the existence of almanacs in 1857, 1860, and 1861 related to becoming the king of Lamakaraka. This can make it clear that officially the power of the Dutch government binds these *magaus* to carry out the government of their country on behalf of the Netherlands. Magau Palu Lamakaraka, Magau Tavaeli Noeroedin, and Magau Banava La Sabanava previously signed the recognition contract. Even though the text of the acknowledgment has been signed, the *Kaili* land still has a spirit of ownership over their country. This reluctant attitude of *magau* was considered by the Dutch government as a gesture of resistance, so in 1888 the Dutch government sent Marsose troops transported by three units of warships. The ships fired their cannons at Kayumalue beach, which caused many casualties, so Magau Tavaili, Langge Bodu (Toma Itanggu), was forced to sign Pelakat Panjang on 28 June 1888 (Masyhuda, 2010, pp.134-135).

Djojokodi, as *magau*, strengthened himself by carrying out transformation efforts in the form of repairs and rehabilitation of the Jami Mosque in several parts to continue the struggle of his great-grandfather, I Dato Labungulili. It is unavoidable



Figure 3. Magau Djojokodi (Source: Nuraedah, 2019)

that Djojokodi had great-grandfathers who were claimed to be the founders of Kagaua Palu, namely Pue Nggari and I Dato Labugulili. (See Swedish Stamboom from Pue Ngari line down to Magau Djanggola). This was the basis or one of the reasons for Djojokodi moving to Kampung Lere because it was close to the Jami Mosque and where his great-grandmother ruled. The Jami Mosque was built during the reign of his great-grandfather, I Dato Lagugulili.

When Djojokodi was in power, Islam experienced developments with the influx of Bugis influence, which further strengthened its position and influence in expanding Islam, with evidence written by Kruyt that in 1905 while traveling to the mountains in the Central Sulawesi region, Kruyt mentioned the name To Mopoasa, meaning is people who fast or also "Tau Mappoasa." To Mopoasa, who sent down mighty Islamic warriors around 1905. Kruyt stated that To Mopoasa was a Muslim, and his exaggerated marriage suggested that he was not an ordinary person but was assumed to be a Luwunese or someone from the Masamba area (South Sulawesi). Thus the influence of Islam during the Djojokodi era was brought from South Sulawesi.

During the period when Djojokodi was in power, other changes occurred, namely the transformation of religion, which triggered a shift in culture and hereditary traditions, as well as the expansion



(1) Jami Mosque, 1905-1908 (Source: Tropen Museum KITLV)



(2) Jami Mosque (Source: Nuraedah, 2019)

Figure 4. Comparison of the Jami Mosque, 1905-1908 and 2019

sion of Islamic influence to become a stronghold of all power and local political intrigue could be minimized as a family in the kingdom of Palu. The most significant influence was external factors as triggers, namely the influence of Dutch colonialism and prolonged domestic disputes that had entered the palace. The shift between cultural values and customs and religion has created a new discourse on efforts to purify religion. Differences in views in addressing the influence of the development of traditional and cultural values on religious orders have resulted in friction within a religion. One group maintains religious teachings textually. Another group accommodates the development of customs and culture.

The Jami Mosque in the village was recently renovated and repaired during Djojokodi's era based on several considerations from Magau Djojokodi and his family. At that time, Djojokodi lived in Tangga Banggo, also considering the closeness between Kampung Baru-Kampung Lere and families in Tangga Banggo being able to carry out worship together at the Jami Mosque, thus encouraging and urgently needing repair of the mosque because of its very strategic location, which is in the middle of the midway between the two villages. In addition, Djojokodi has plans to build Souraja in Lere.

The phenomenon of Islam, which has blended in and experienced expanded access to the midst of society, has encouraged the creation of religious transformation in Kagaua Palu, namely, religion in the historicization of Kagaua Palu has transformed into a messenger and upholds the dignity of men as the pillars of the family, humans, and humanity itself, the values of the religious spirit have elevated women as their husbands' companions. Following the foundations and teachings of Islam, Islam has been transformed into a means of control in politi-

cal and customary feuds. At the same time, religion has been transformed into a fosterer of brotherhood across religions, races, and ethnicities. This religious transformation also split itself towards social transformation among the people of Palu, especially toward fundamental changes in various fields.

CONCLUSION

Women in Kagaua Palu have been transformed into boosters and reinforcements for the throne over men. Their role has encouraged socio-religious transformation in society. A man without a woman who is strong and characterized by traditions and customs will not be able to support himself as a strengthener of the breed. The *To Kaili* woman has raised, chosen, and defined her identity as her strength in the man (her husband). The local aristocratic throne in Palu was born and became strong because women were behind it. It is the great woman behind him who can strengthen the power of men for decades. Through women, the throne and power are transformed religiously, where religion has become a messenger to the communicant to elevate the dignity of men, humans, and humanity. Apart from that, Islam has become a tool of social control in political and customary feuds. At the same time, religion is transformed into a fosterer of brotherhood across religions, races, ethnicities, and gender. From the phenomena, it can understand that in Indonesian history of an ethnic that women hold essential roles in the changes of social religiosity in the middle of a traditional community that become important notes as well as a contribution that can erode patriarchal nuances in Indonesian historiography so that the study of women in history needs to be put forward to make the writing of Indonesian history more objective and critical, prioritizing

humanist values which can become reflective knowledge for the current generation.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The author would like to thank the Tadulako University Research Institute, which has given an assignment letter to write the History of Kagaua Palu in 2019, as well as to my informants who are very open, especially Atman., S.Pt., M.Si, Supratman., S Sn, who has provided many inputs and corrections in using the Kaili language so that research can be carried out correctly.

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