

NEGOTIATING ISLAM, POWER, AND KINGSHIP: OPU DAENG MANAMBON'S POLITICAL DA'WAH IN EIGHTEENTH- CENTURY MALAY SULTANATES

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Received: 2026-04-09 /Revised: 2026-05-05 /Accepted: 2026-06-04 /Publish: 2026-07-01

Abstract

Previous studies on Bugis migration have mainly emphasized political expansion, trade networks, and dynastic formation, while overlooking political da'wah (dakwah siyasah) as an integrated strategy of Islamization and governance. Likewise, Opu Daeng Manambon has largely been portrayed as a historical ruler rather than a political actor who combined Islamic values, diplomacy, and statecraft. This study addresses this gap by examining the political da'wah strategies of Opu Daeng Manambon and his brothers through the Silsilah dan Hikayat Raja-Raja Mempawah, Pontianak, Matan, Sambas, Riau, dan Selangor. Using qualitative research with historical and philological approaches, this study analyzes Malay manuscripts through critical textual interpretation supported by historical sources. The findings reveal that political da'wah operated through three interconnected strategies: diplomacy with Malay rulers, strategic marriage alliances, and moderate political leadership based on consultation and inclusive governance. Rather than imposing Islam through coercion, Opu Daeng Manambon institutionalized Islamic values within political institutions, administrative practices, and intercultural relations, thereby strengthening both political legitimacy and social cohesion in multiethnic Malay societies. This study's originality lies in proposing political da'wah as an integrated framework linking Islamization, political legitimacy, diplomacy, and cultural accommodation in the formation of Malay-Islamic states. The findings contribute to the scholarship on Islamic political thought and Southeast Asian Islam while offering historical insights into moderate governance and intercultural political leadership in plural societies.

Keywords: political da'wah; Islamic statecraft; Opu Daeng Manambon; Malay manuscripts; Islamization; Bugis diaspora.

PUBLIC INTEREST STATEMENT

This study demonstrates that the spread of Islam in the Malay world was shaped not only by religious preaching but also by diplomacy, political leadership, and intercultural engagement. By examining the historical role of Opu Daeng Manambon and his brothers through Malay

manuscripts, the research shows how political authority, strategic alliances, and cultural accommodation contributed to peaceful Islamization and stable governance in multiethnic societies. These findings offer valuable historical lessons for promoting religious moderation, inclusive leadership, and intercultural cooperation in contemporary plural societies, while highlighting the importance of preserving Malay historical manuscripts as sources of knowledge on Islamic civilization and Southeast Asian political history.

INTRODUCTION

The Bugis diaspora has attracted considerable scholarly attention because of its significant role in shaping political, economic, and cultural networks across the Malay Archipelago. Previous studies have primarily examined the historical background of Bugis migration, emphasizing the socio-political transformation of South Sulawesi, maritime trade, and the establishment of Bugis settlements in various regions of Southeast Asia. Pelras (2006), for instance, interprets migration as an adaptive economic strategy while simultaneously illustrating the evolution of Bugis identity and culture beyond their homeland. Similar studies demonstrate that Bugis migrants occupied diverse social positions as merchants, religious scholars, educators, and political elites, contributing substantially to the development of Malay-Islamic societies (Hamka, 2005; Patmawati & Nurfaidah, 2015).

Among the most influential Bugis migrants were the five Opu brothers from the Kingdom of Luwu—Opu Daeng Perani, Opu Daeng Manambon, Opu Daeng Celak, Opu Daeng Marewa, and Opu Daeng Kamase. Their migration to Johor, Riau, Matan, Sambas, and Mempawah transformed the political landscape of the eighteenth-century Malay world. Historical records indicate that they successfully restored Sultan Sulaiman to the Johor throne after defeating Raja Kecil of Siak and assisted Sultan Zainuddin in reclaiming the Kingdom of Matan from internal rebellion. Their political achievements subsequently enabled them to occupy strategic positions within Malay sultanates, including the office of Yang Dipertuan Muda in Riau and the kingship of Mempawah (Van Dijk, 2016; Willer, 2015).

Existing scholarship has largely interpreted these developments from the perspectives of migration, genealogy, dynastic politics, and Bugis influence within the Malay courts (Kesuma, 2004; Patmawati, 2014). While these studies successfully document the historical expansion of Bugis political power, they rarely examine how political authority functioned as a medium for Islamic propagation and social integration. Likewise, little attention has been given to the mechanisms through which Opu Daeng Manambon and his brothers combined diplomacy, kinship alliances, moderation, and political leadership to institutionalize Islamic values without generating ethnic or religious conflict. Consequently, the concept of political da'wah (dakwah siyasah) remains underexplored in studies of Bugis political history.

This gap is particularly important because the success of the Bugis elites cannot be explained solely through military capability or dynastic alliances. Their acceptance by diverse Malay communities suggests the existence of broader political and religious strategies that facilitated intercultural accommodation and legitimate governance. Understanding these strategies is also relevant for contemporary discussions on moderate Islamic leadership, peaceful political engagement, and governance in plural societies.

To address this gap, this study investigates the political da'wah strategies of Opu Daeng Manambon and his brothers as recorded in the *Silsilah dan Hikayat Raja-Raja Mempawah*,

Pontianak, Matan, Sambas, Riau, dan Selangor. Specifically, it asks two questions: (1) How did political da'wah enable the Bugis elites to gain legitimacy and acceptance within Malay societies? (2) How were the principles of political da'wah translated into governance and state administration after they assumed political authority?

Unlike previous studies that primarily focus on Bugis migration or royal genealogy, this article conceptualizes the historical experience of Opu Daeng Manambon as a model of political da'wah, integrating diplomacy, Islamic legitimacy, kinship networks, and cultural accommodation into a coherent analytical framework. By combining historical and philological approaches, this study contributes to broader debates on Islamic political thought, Islamization, and state formation in the Malay Archipelago.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Research on the Bugis diaspora has predominantly examined migration, political expansion, and the establishment of Bugis influence within the Malay world. Kesuma (2004), for example, analyzed the migration of Bugis communities from South Sulawesi to Johor by focusing on the genealogy of the five Opu brothers and their political role in restoring Sultan Sulaiman's authority after the conflict with Raja Kecil. The study successfully explains the political integration of Bugis elites into the Johor Sultanate but pays little attention to the role of political da'wah, moderation, and intercultural accommodation as mechanisms underlying their acceptance within Malay society.

Studies concerning the Malay kingdoms of West Kalimantan have mainly explored political history and dynastic succession. Lontaan (1975) documented the historical relationship between the Kingdoms of Ketapang and Mempawah, whereas Umberan et al. (1997) emphasized the administrative reforms introduced during the reign of Opu Daeng Manambon, including the relocation of the royal capital and the integration of Islamic law (*syara'*) into local governance. Likewise, Suryani et al. (2001) highlighted Opu Daeng Manambon's contribution to the spread of Islam through his invitation to Habib al-Husin al-Qadri and the establishment of dynastic alliances that later facilitated the founding of the Pontianak Sultanate. These studies demonstrate the political and religious significance of Opu Daeng Manambon but largely describe historical events without explaining the broader political and religious strategies that shaped these developments.

Another strand of scholarship has investigated Bugis cultural identity and manuscript traditions. Patmawati (2014) interpreted Bugis migration through maritime culture, competitive traditions, and historical experiences of displacement, while also reconstructing the arrival of Opu Daeng Manambon in West Kalimantan and his accession to the Mempawah throne. Meanwhile, Willer (2015) presented a chronological account of the Mempawah Kingdom and Bugis dynastic succession, although his interpretation primarily focused on political genealogy. Patmawati and Besse Wahida (2018), using a philological approach to the *Lontara Attorioloang ri Wajo*, revealed Bugis diplomatic negotiations in Matan and briefly mentioned Opu Daeng Manambon's role in conflict resolution and political reconciliation. Nevertheless, moderation and political da'wah were discussed only descriptively and were not developed into analytical concepts.

Taken together, previous studies have significantly advanced understanding of Bugis migration, dynastic politics, and the historical development of Malay kingdoms. However, three important gaps remain. First, existing scholarship predominantly interprets Opu Daeng Manambon as a political ruler rather than as an actor who integrated Islamic propagation with

political authority. Second, diplomatic negotiation, marriage alliances, and conflict mediation have been examined as isolated historical events instead of components of a coherent political da'wah strategy. Third, no previous study has integrated historical and philological analyses of the *Silsilah dan Hikayat Raja-Raja Mempawah, Pontianak, Matan, Sambas, Riau, dan Selangor* to explain how Islamic values, political legitimacy, and cultural accommodation collectively contributed to state formation in the Malay world.

Accordingly, this study proposes a new analytical perspective by conceptualizing the activities of Opu Daeng Manambon and his brothers as a model of political da'wah that combines diplomacy, Islamic legitimacy, kinship networks, and inclusive governance. By integrating historical and philological approaches, this research contributes to the broader literature on Islamic political thought, Islamization, and state formation in Southeast Asia.

METHOD

This study employed a qualitative historical research design integrating historical and philological approaches to examine the political da'wah strategies of Opu Daeng Manambon and his brothers. The historical approach was used to reconstruct political events, networks of authority, and the process of Islamization in the eighteenth-century Malay world, while the philological approach facilitated the critical interpretation of classical Malay manuscripts as historical and intellectual sources. Combining these approaches enabled the study to examine the interaction between political legitimacy, Islamic propagation, and cultural accommodation within their historical context.

The primary source of this study is the *Silsilah dan Hikayat Raja-Raja Mempawah, Pontianak, Matan, Sambas, Riau, dan Selangor* (1282 H), which documents the genealogy, political alliances, diplomatic relations, and Islamization of the Bugis-Malay kingdoms. To strengthen historical interpretation, the manuscript was complemented with secondary sources, including historical monographs, previous studies on Bugis migration, Malay political history, Islamization, and contemporary scholarship on political da'wah and Southeast Asian Islam.

Data were collected through document analysis involving manuscript identification, transliteration, source criticism, and contextual reading of historical narratives. Following historical research procedures, the study applied four stages: heuristics (identification and collection of historical sources), source criticism (external and internal evaluation of authenticity and credibility), interpretation (contextual analysis of historical evidence), and historiography (historical reconstruction). Philological analysis focused on interpreting textual structures, terminology, and narrative patterns related to diplomacy, political authority, marriage alliances, and Islamic leadership.

The data were analyzed using thematic content analysis. Relevant passages were coded according to four analytical categories derived from the concept of political da'wah: (1) diplomacy and political negotiation, (2) kinship and dynastic alliances, (3) Islamization and religious legitimacy, and (4) governance and cultural accommodation. The interpretation was informed by theories of political da'wah, Islamic political thought, and state formation to explain how Islamic values were institutionalized through political authority rather than coercive conversion.

To enhance the trustworthiness of the findings, the study employed source triangulation by comparing manuscript narratives with historical literature and recent academic studies on Bugis migration, Malay manuscripts, and Islamization in Southeast Asia. Analytical triangulation

was further achieved by integrating historical and philological perspectives, allowing the reconstruction of political da'wah as both a historical process and a discursive strategy embedded within Malay manuscripts.

RESULT

Political Da'wah Strategy through Internal Group Cohesion

The findings demonstrate that the political da'wah (*dakwah siyasah*) strategy adopted by the Five Opu Brothers was initially constructed through strong internal cohesion rooted in Bugis sociocultural values. Their migration across the Malay Archipelago was not an individual undertaking but a collective movement involving loyal followers (*jua-jua*) who accompanied them throughout their political and religious missions. This collective organization reflects the Bugis patron-client tradition, in which political authority was legitimized through reciprocal obligations between aristocratic leaders and their followers rather than through coercive domination.

The solidarity of the Five Opu Brothers was reinforced by the Bugis ethical principles of *siri'* (honour and dignity) and *pacce* (collective solidarity and compassion). These values shaped their political behaviour by encouraging courage (*ujung badik*), honesty (*malempu'*), perseverance, and collective responsibility during migration. Such findings support Pelras' (2006) argument that Bugis migration was sustained not only by economic aspirations but also by deeply embedded cultural norms that facilitated political adaptation in overseas societies. Rather than abandoning their cultural identity, the Five Opu Brothers transformed Bugis values into political capital that enhanced their legitimacy within the Malay sultanates.

The manuscript further illustrates the followers' unwavering loyalty toward their leaders through a dialogue between Daeng Matak, Tuan Haji Hufaz, and Opu Daeng Manambon. The followers declared:

"hai tuanku yang aku semua ini sudah sudi menanggung apa-apa perintah tuanku juga yang aku nanti."

This statement reflects more than personal loyalty; it illustrates the reciprocal trust that characterized Bugis political organization. The relationship between leaders and followers functioned as a mechanism for maintaining political stability during migration while simultaneously strengthening social cohesion among Bugis communities dispersed throughout the Malay world.

The decision reached through consultation (*musyawarah*) to withdraw peacefully from Matan rather than engage in armed conflict further demonstrates that political da'wah prioritized conflict prevention over military confrontation. The manuscript explains that prolonged warfare would inevitably affect Bugis families remaining in their homeland, indicating that political considerations were inseparable from kinship responsibilities. This finding confirms that consultation served not merely as a political instrument but also as an Islamic ethical principle guiding decision-making. Consequently, the Five Opu Brothers institutionalized political moderation by minimizing internal conflict through deliberation and consensus.

Likewise, the military ethos articulated by Opu Daeng Celak illustrates that courage was regulated by customary ethics rather than unrestricted violence. As recorded in the manuscript:

"Apabila sudah tercabut keris kita dan berbunyi meriam, senapan dan pemuras, kita jangan lari dan jangan minta maaf kerana pasak adat kita semua orang Bugis."

This passage demonstrates that bravery was inseparable from honour and discipline. Military engagement was governed by customary norms, reflecting a political culture in which ethical conduct remained central even during warfare. Therefore, the internal organizational structure of the Five Opu Brothers constituted the first pillar of their political da'wah strategy, enabling them to maintain unity, legitimacy, and collective discipline throughout their migration.

Political Da'wah through Diplomacy and External Relations

The second dimension of the Five Opu Brothers' political da'wah strategy was manifested through diplomacy and intercultural engagement with external political actors. Their migration was characterized by deliberate efforts to establish harmonious relationships with local rulers before pursuing political influence. The journey to Cambodia illustrates this approach, where Opu Daeng Rilekke respectfully requested permission to enter the kingdom and expressed his intention as follows:

"Adapun yang seperti hamba-hamba sekalian ini tiada apa-apa hajat melainkan datang menghadap kepada raja minta terhamba serta hendak melihat-lihat adat negeri ini..."

Rather than asserting military strength or aristocratic superiority, the Bugis nobles presented themselves with humility and respect for local customs. This diplomatic behaviour reflects the Bugis principle commonly expressed as *"di mana bumi dipijak, di situ langit dijunjung"* (where one stands, one honours the local customs). Such an approach enabled the Five Opu Brothers to gain political acceptance without provoking resistance from host societies. These findings expand previous studies of Bugis migration by demonstrating that cultural accommodation functioned not merely as social adaptation but as an intentional strategy of political da'wah.

Diplomatic competence, metaphorically described in Bugis tradition as *ujung lidah* ("the sharpness of the tongue"), became an essential instrument of political negotiation. Their dialogue with Sultan Zainuddin exemplifies this principle. Although they possessed superior military capability, the Five Opu Brothers humbly responded:

"Betul sayalah yang berlima ini mencari raja-raja betuah yaitu hendak menumpang kepada tuahnya."

This statement reveals an important political ethic: legitimacy was pursued through mutual respect rather than domination. Such humility strengthened political trust and facilitated long-term cooperation with Malay rulers, illustrating that successful political da'wah relied upon persuasive diplomacy instead of coercive authority.

Marriage Alliances as a Strategy of Political Da'wah

Beyond diplomacy, the Five Opu Brothers systematically employed dynastic marriages to institutionalize Islamic political authority across the Malay world. Marriage functioned not merely

as a personal relationship but as a mechanism for establishing kinship networks that linked Bugis aristocracy with Malay royal families.

The marriage between Opu Daeng Manambon and Putri Kesumba ultimately enabled him to ascend the throne of Mempawah and establish a dynasty whose descendants later became rulers of Mempawah, Landak, and Pontianak. Similar political marriages were undertaken by Opu Daeng Perani, Opu Daeng Marewa, Opu Daeng Celak, and Opu Daeng Kamase across Johor, Riau, Selangor, Kedah, and Sambas. These alliances significantly expanded Bugis political influence while simultaneously strengthening the Islamization of Malay political institutions.

Unlike military conquest, dynastic marriage created enduring political legitimacy through kinship. This finding supports contemporary theories of political da'wah, which argue that Islamic political influence is more sustainable when embedded within social institutions and family networks than when imposed through coercive means. Consequently, marriage alliances constituted an effective instrument for integrating Islamic values into the governance structures of the Malay sultanates.

Political Legitimacy Based on Integrity and Contractual Leadership

Another important finding concerns the contractual nature of political leadership established by the Five Opu Brothers. Their agreement with Sultan Sulaiman prior to the Johor campaign clearly demonstrates that political authority was negotiated through explicit commitments rather than arbitrary claims to power. Opu Daeng Perani stated:

"Jika pekerjaan saya semua ini melanggar Siak maka sebelah Raja Sulaiman menjadi Yang Tuan Besar... dan saya semuanya menjadi Yang Tuan Muda sampailah kepada turun temurunnya..."

This political agreement illustrates that legitimacy was grounded in reciprocal obligations and fulfilled promises. The Bugis leaders did not seize authority through unilateral force but acquired political office after successfully restoring legitimate rulers to their thrones. Such contractual leadership resembles contemporary concepts of political legitimacy, in which authority is justified by competence, accountability, and public trust rather than by coercion alone.

Collectively, these findings demonstrate that the political da'wah strategy of the Five Opu Brothers rested upon four interconnected pillars: internal solidarity, diplomatic engagement, dynastic alliances, and ethical political legitimacy. These dimensions operated simultaneously to institutionalize Islamic values within Malay political institutions while preserving intercultural harmony. Accordingly, the historical experience of the Five Opu Brothers offers an important model of moderate political da'wah, illustrating that Islamization in the eighteenth-century Malay world was achieved primarily through diplomacy, cultural accommodation, and inclusive governance rather than military coercion. This interpretation contributes to the broader scholarship on Islamic political thought by conceptualizing political da'wah as an integrated framework linking religious propagation, political legitimacy, and intercultural state formation in Southeast Asia.

Methods of Political Da'wah

The political da'wah practiced by Opu Daeng Manambon and his brothers can be

understood through two historical phases: before they assumed political authority and after they became rulers. In both phases, political da'wah was not limited to formal religious preaching, but operated through culture, dialogue, cadre formation, structural authority, and moderate leadership.

Before becoming rulers, the Five Opu Brothers adopted a cultural approach to da'wah. As Bugis nobles from the Kingdom of Luwu, they migrated across the Malay world while engaging in trade, diplomacy, and the search for political fortune. Their main assets were integrity and courage, qualities associated with the Bugis ideal of *to warani* or brave persons. These qualities made them trusted actors among Malay rulers who faced political crises and required military or diplomatic assistance. Their aristocratic background also enabled them to mobilize followers across the diaspora. Bugis, Makassar, and Mandar migrants generally placed their loyalty in descendants of South Sulawesi royal families. This loyalty was not only political but also social and religious, as Bugis diaspora communities were often accompanied by religious intellectuals known as *to panrita*. These figures played an important role in empowering migrant communities, including in matters of religious life.

The manuscript records the presence of warriors and religious teachers among the followers of the Five Opu Brothers when they left Matan for Riau:

“Syahdan sekalian opu-opu itupun bersalamlah dengan baginda serta bertangis-tangisan selalu turun ke perahu berlayar pergi ke negeri Riau adalah bersama Opu Daeng berlima bersaudara itu daripada menteri hulubalang anak daeng-daeng yaitu ada tiga orang, pertama Daeng Manampu, kedua Daeng Masuru, ketiga Daeng Mantu dan seorang lagi punggawanya bernama Taskuni dan beberapa pula andri gurunya serta jawa'-jawa'nya.”

This passage indicates that their migration involved not only political and military actors but also teachers and community organizers. Therefore, their cultural da'wah was embedded in the social structure of the Bugis diaspora and functioned as a bottom-up form of religious empowerment. Another important method was dialogical engagement. The manuscript contains several dialogues between the Five Opu Brothers and rulers of Cambodia, Riau, Matan, and Kedah. These dialogues show that political da'wah was carried out through negotiation, persuasion, and mutual recognition rather than unilateral domination. In Kedah, for example, the ruler requested their assistance:

“Adapun saya menyilahkan saudara-saudara saya yang datang kemari, hajat saya minta tolong kepada saudara-saudara... Jadikan saya ini Yamtuan karena adik saya sudah menjadi Yamtuan...”

Opu Daeng Parani, representing his brothers, responded by accepting the request while also asserting his authority over Bugis, Makassar, and Mandar communities in Kedah:

“Maka adapun yang seperti permintaan raja itu, maka saya terimalah... mana-mana yang seorang datang dari timur seperti orang Bugis, Mandara dan Makassar... hendaklah dibawah perintah saya kepada waktu ini...”

This dialogue reveals that their political authority was built through consent and negotiated leadership. They did not merely respond to royal requests; they also consolidated diaspora networks as a political and social base. The response of the Bugis, Makassar, and Mandar migrants confirms this legitimacy:

“Adapun hamba-hamba sekalian ini di mana-mana raja Bugis bekerja maka di situlah hamba-hamba sekalian ini serta kepadanya...”

Cadre formation was another central method of political da'wah. It was developed through marriage alliances involving the Five Opu Brothers and their followers. These marriages connected Bugis elites with royal families in Riau, Selangor, Matan, Mempawah, Landak, Pontianak, Sambas, and other Malay polities. Through these alliances, a Bugis-Malay generation emerged and later continued political leadership in several kingdoms. In this sense, marriage functioned not only as a dynastic strategy but also as a mechanism for transmitting Islamic values, political legitimacy, and leadership capacity across generations.

The manuscript also emphasizes their courage in battle, especially in Kedah:

“Daeng Parani lima bersaudara itu adalah terlebih beraniya dari pada yang lain-lain...”

However, this courage should not be interpreted merely as militarism. In the context of political da'wah, military capability supported political legitimacy when used to restore order, protect alliances, and defend agreed commitments. After the Kedah conflict, Opu Daeng Parani distributed the reward received from the Yamtuan among the Bugis participants before leaving for Riau. This act reflects distributive ethics and reinforces the reciprocal bond between leader and followers. After becoming rulers, the Five Opu Brothers shifted from cultural and dialogical da'wah toward structural da'wah. This structural da'wah was exercised through political authority, inter-kingdom alliances, governance, and the fulfilment of political agreements. The alliances formed through marriage and treaty were maintained as binding commitments. This is evident when Raja Kecil attacked Kedah and Opu Daeng Parani called upon Opu Daeng Marewa, Opu Daeng Celak, ministers, and commanders in Riau to return to Kedah:

“Baiklah pergi kita lihat-lihat negeri Kedah itu dan lagi pun perjanjian raja Kedah dengan kita pun belum lagi cukup.”

This statement shows that their political da'wah was grounded in fidelity to agreements. Political authority was understood as a moral responsibility, not merely a claim to power. Their involvement in Kedah was therefore framed as the fulfilment of a previous political contract. Nevertheless, the manuscript also shows that the Five Opu Brothers did not seek perpetual warfare. Their political interventions were shaped by the need to prevent domination by rulers portrayed as arrogant and treacherous, such as Raja Kecil. The manuscript records Raja Kecil's tactical confidence in confronting the Bugis:

“Janganlah adinda susah sekedarkan raja-raja Bugis yang dari Riau itu... apabila ia rapat, kita semua masuk ke dalam kubu, kita bedil dengan meriam dan lila...”

This passage illustrates the contested political environment in which the Bugis operated. Their da'wah siyasah after assuming power required the ability to combine diplomacy, strategic defence, and political discipline in order to protect allied kingdoms and maintain regional stability. Moderate leadership became the most significant feature of their political da'wah after they gained authority. Opu Daeng Parani attempted to resolve internal royal conflicts through reconciliation before resorting to war. In the Kedah conflict, deliberation was held at the royal hall, and a letter was sent to Raja Kecik to prevent further bloodshed. The manuscript states:

“...baiklah kita damaikan raja Kedah beradu saudara itu berkelahi karena dia dengan saudaranya dan dengan negerinya...”

The letter further emphasized that war would harm traders, the poor, and ordinary people who depended on political stability for their livelihoods. This demonstrates a clear awareness of the social consequences of conflict. Political da'wah, in this context, was directed toward protecting public welfare (*masalahah*) and preventing harm (*mafsadah*). Thus, the methods of political da'wah practiced by Opu Daeng Manambon and his brothers may be conceptualized as a transition from cultural and dialogical engagement before power to structural and moderate governance after power. Before becoming rulers, they relied on cultural adaptation, diaspora solidarity, dialogue, and cadre formation. After assuming authority, they institutionalized Islamic-political values through treaty fulfilment, inter-kingdom cooperation, conflict mediation, and inclusive leadership. This model demonstrates that political da'wah in the Malay world was not coercive, but operated through social trust, ethical leadership, strategic alliances, and the pursuit of public welfare.

DISCUSS

Political Da'wah Strategy (Dakwah Siyasah)

A da'wah strategy refers to a systematic plan consisting of a series of activities designed to achieve specific objectives of Islamic propagation. According to Ali Aziz (cited in Santa Rusmalita, 2017, p. 86), two essential aspects should be considered in developing a da'wah strategy. First, strategy constitutes a planned course of action that encompasses the selection of appropriate methods and the effective utilization of available resources. Second, every strategy must be directed toward achieving clearly defined da'wah objectives.

To realize these objectives, several fundamental principles should guide da'wah practitioners (da'i). These include the philosophical principle, which concerns the ultimate goals of da'wah activities; the competency principle, which emphasizes the professional qualifications and expertise of the preacher as the principal agent of da'wah; the sociological principle, which considers the social conditions and characteristics of the target audience (*mad'u*); the psychological principle, which addresses the psychological dimensions of both the preacher and the audience; and the principle of effectiveness and efficiency, which seeks an optimal balance between time, cost, human resources, and the expected outcomes (Samsul Munir Amin, 2009, p.

107).

Political da'wah (*dakwah siyasah*) refers to a model of Islamic propagation that employs political authority, governmental institutions, bureaucracy, and public policy as instruments for promoting and institutionalizing Islamic values (Tata Sukayat, 2015, p. 38). Unlike grassroots approaches, political da'wah follows a top-down model of social transformation, whereby political leaders formulate and implement regulations inspired by Islamic teachings to empower Muslim communities through educational development (Iyatna Supriatna, Muliaty Amin, & Usman Jasad, 2016), social welfare, and public security. More broadly, political da'wah functions as a strategic mechanism for embedding Islamic principles within social life, cultural practices, and public policy through moderate (*wasathiyah*) approaches, cultural accommodation, cross-sectoral collaboration, and adaptive responses to contemporary global challenges (Moh Asmawi et al., 2024).

The implementation of political da'wah also requires strong ethical commitments from da'wah practitioners. As emphasized by Abdul Munir Mulkhan (1996, p. 193), political preaching must neither mislead the public nor manipulate or distort the truth for political interests. Instead, preachers are expected to uphold honesty, transparency, accountability, and moral courage in conveying Islamic teachings. Consequently, political da'wah is fundamentally grounded in ethics and morality rooted in the principle of *tawhid* (the oneness of God), ensuring that political engagement remains within the framework of divine guidance while promoting both worldly welfare and spiritual well-being.

Moderation as the Fundamental Pillar of Political Da'wah

According to the *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (2008), moderation refers to the avoidance of violence and extremism. A moderate attitude denotes a tendency to reject excessive behavior or radical expressions, while consistently adopting a balanced position that is willing to consider alternative viewpoints. In this sense, a moderate individual acts as a mediator who seeks equilibrium rather than polarization.

Al-Qaradawi, as cited in Rauf (2014, p. 5), associates moderation (*al-wasatiyyah*) with several related concepts, including *tawazun* (balance), *i'tidal* (justice and proportionality), and *istiqamah* (steadfastness). Moderation integrates the divine (*rabbaniyyah*) and the human (*insaniyyah*), material (*maddiyyah*) and spiritual (*ruhiyyah*) dimensions, revelation (*wahy*) and rationality (*'aql*), as well as collective (*masalahah al-jama'iyyah*) and individual (*masalahah al-fardiyyah*) interests without privileging one element at the expense of another. Similarly, Wahbah al-Zuhayli defines moderation as maintaining balance in belief, attitudes, behavior, social order, interpersonal relations (*mu'amalah*), and morality. It rejects excessiveness in all aspects of life, particularly in religious understanding and practice, while fostering harmony between one's relationship with God (*habl min Allah*) and one's relationship with fellow human beings (*habl min al-nas*).

Based on these perspectives, moderation may be understood as a worldview and behavioral orientation that places every matter in its appropriate context by maintaining a balanced middle position and avoiding both extremes. A moderate individual assigns proportional value to competing interests without allowing any single aspect to dominate beyond its proper limits. Such moderation does not emerge spontaneously but is gradually cultivated through family upbringing, cultural traditions, intellectual development, historical experience, and social

environment. Consequently, nurturing moderation within individuals and society requires a continuous, systematic, and long-term educational process.

The successful implementation of moderation depends upon the development of comprehensive mutual understanding among individuals and communities regarding the social issues they encounter. According to Mohammed Abu-Nimer (2010, p. xiii), sustainable peace is achieved through three complementary mechanisms: internal group mechanisms, intergroup mechanisms, and external (extra-group) mechanisms.

Within the historical experience of the Five Opu Brothers, the internal mechanism was reflected in the strong solidarity among the siblings. Decisions were consistently reached through consultation (*musyawarah*), and all members collectively accepted both the responsibilities and consequences of those decisions. Throughout their migration, the brothers consistently acted together in providing military and political assistance to rulers who sought their support. In the Kingdom of Matan, for example, they played a decisive role in restoring political stability following the conflict between Sultan Zainuddin and his younger brother, Pangeran Agung (Rahman et al., 2000, p. 46). Their solidarity extended beyond the immediate family to include their Bugis followers who had migrated from South Sulawesi, while they also maintained close relationships with Bugis communities living throughout the Malay world.

At the intergroup level, the Five Opu Brothers consistently demonstrated respect for the customs and traditions of the societies in which they settled. Wherever their ships anchored, they adhered to local cultural norms and integrated themselves into the host communities. One of their principal strategies of integration was political marriage, which served as a means of establishing kinship ties with local elites. Significantly, these marriages were generally contracted with daughters of rulers, influential nobles, prominent merchants, and respected aristocratic families, thereby strengthening political alliances and facilitating intercultural accommodation.

At the external level, the Five Opu Brothers implemented inclusive governance after assuming political authority over multiethnic societies. Their administration was characterized by equitable treatment of diverse ethnic communities under their jurisdiction. Local communities were granted the autonomy to administer their own customary laws, while remaining integrated within the broader political system through taxation in exchange for security, political stability, and governmental protection. This governance model reflects a practical manifestation of moderation, in which political authority, cultural diversity, and Islamic values were harmoniously integrated within a pluralistic social order.

Historical Background of the Five Opu Brothers

The Five Opu Brothers were Bugis nobles from the Kingdom of Luwu in South Sulawesi who undertook extensive migration across the Malay world, including the western regions of Borneo (present-day West Kalimantan). Their migration represented not merely geographical mobility but also a process of political, cultural, and religious engagement that significantly influenced the development of Malay-Islamic polities. This study examines how the Five Opu Brothers cultivated moderation and intercultural relations throughout their migration, both during their early period as migrants and after they assumed political authority in the Malay Sultanates of Riau and West Kalimantan.

The subject of this study falls within the domain of historical inquiry because it reconstructs past events based on historical evidence left by the activities of the Five Opu

Brothers. The analysis relies on historical traces preserved in manuscripts, archival records, and other historical sources to reconstruct their migration, political careers, and interactions with local societies. These historical materials provide the primary basis for understanding the strategies through which the Five Opu Brothers negotiated political legitimacy, cultural accommodation, and Islamic propagation in the eighteenth-century Malay world.

Among the five brothers, Opu Daeng Perani, the eldest, first established political alliances through his marriage in Siantan. Acting on behalf of his brothers, he negotiated a political agreement with Sultan Sulaiman of Johor, stipulating that should the Bugis successfully restore Sultan Sulaiman to the Johor throne, the office of Yang Dipertuan Muda would thereafter belong to the Bugis lineage. The second brother, Opu Daeng Manambon, married the daughter of Sultan Zainuddin of the Matan-Tanjungpura Sultanate. Following his successful mediation of the succession dispute among Sultan Zainuddin's heirs, he was appointed ruler of the Kingdom of Mempawah and was granted the royal title Mas Surya Negara. His political leadership subsequently laid the foundation for the consolidation of Bugis-Malay political authority in West Kalimantan.

Opu Daeng Marewa was appointed the first Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau under the title Kelana Jaya Putra, where he served until his death. He was succeeded by Opu Daeng Celak, who became the second Yang Dipertuan Muda of Riau and continued strengthening Bugis political influence within the Johor-Riau Sultanate. Meanwhile, Opu Daeng Kamase established political ties with the Sambas Sultanate through marriage and was appointed Pangeran Mangkubumi, thereby reinforcing Bugis political integration into the Malay aristocracy of West Kalimantan. Collectively, the historical experiences of the Five Opu Brothers illustrate a coherent pattern of migration, political diplomacy, strategic marriage alliances, and inclusive leadership that facilitated their acceptance within diverse Malay societies while simultaneously advancing the institutionalization of Islamic governance.

CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that the political da'wah (*dakwah siyasah*) of Opu Daeng Manambon and his brothers extended beyond the propagation of Islam through religious instruction, functioning instead as an integrated strategy that combined political legitimacy, diplomacy, cultural accommodation, and moderate governance. The findings reveal that their political da'wah operated through two complementary phases. Before assuming political authority, they employed cultural engagement, dialogue, diaspora-based networks, and dynastic marriages to cultivate social trust and establish political legitimacy. After becoming rulers, these strategies evolved into structural political da'wah, manifested through the institutionalization of Islamic values in governance, the fulfillment of political agreements, inter-kingdom cooperation, conflict mediation, and inclusive leadership. Rather than relying on coercion, the Five Opu Brothers promoted Islam through consultation (*musyawarah*), ethical leadership, respect for local customs, and strategic alliances, thereby contributing to political stability and social cohesion in the multiethnic Malay sultanates of the eighteenth century.

The study contributes to the scholarship on Islamic political thought by proposing political da'wah as an integrated analytical framework linking Islamization, state formation, diplomacy, and cultural accommodation in the Malay world. It also provides historical insights into how moderate political leadership can serve as an effective mechanism for managing

diversity and strengthening governance in plural societies. Nevertheless, this study is limited by its primary reliance on a single historical manuscript, *Silsilah dan Hikayat Raja-Raja Mempawah, Pontianak, Matan, Sambas, Riau, dan Selangor*, supported by complementary historical literature. Consequently, the findings primarily reflect the perspectives preserved within this textual tradition and may not fully represent other regional historical narratives. Future research should incorporate comparative analyses of additional Bugis, Malay, Dutch colonial, and local archival sources to further examine the diversity of political da'wah practices across the Malay Archipelago and to develop a broader comparative understanding of Islamic political leadership in Southeast Asia.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors would like to express their sincere gratitude to the custodians of the *Silsilah dan Hikayat Raja-Raja Mempawah, Pontianak, Matan, Sambas, Riau, dan Selangor* manuscript and to all institutions and scholars whose historical publications and archival collections contributed to this research. The authors also acknowledge the valuable support provided by colleagues and reviewers whose constructive comments significantly improved the quality of this manuscript.

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Conceptualization, P., A.A., and P.; methodology, P. and A.A.; historical investigation, P.; philological analysis, P. and A.A.; formal analysis, P., A.A., and F.A.; data curation, P.; writing—original draft preparation, P.; writing—review and editing, A.A., P., F.A., and M.S.H.M.; visualization, P.; supervision, A.A. and M.S.H.M. All authors have read and agreed to the published version of the manuscript.

FUNDING

This research received no external funding.

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD STATEMENT

Not applicable. This study employed qualitative historical and philological methods based exclusively on historical manuscripts, archival documents, and published literature, and did not involve human participants, clinical data, or experimental procedures.

INFORMED CONSENT STATEMENT

Not applicable.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

The primary historical source analyzed in this study is the manuscript *Silsilah dan Hikayat Raja-Raja Mempawah, Pontianak, Matan, Sambas, Riau, dan Selangor* (1282 H), supplemented by published historical references cited throughout the article. Additional data supporting the findings of this study are available from the corresponding author upon reasonable request, subject to manuscript access restrictions.

DECLARATION OF GENERATIVE AI AND AI-ASSISTED TECHNOLOGIES IN THE WRITING PROCESS

During the preparation of this manuscript, the authors used ChatGPT (OpenAI) solely to assist with language refinement, academic editing, and improving the clarity and organization of the manuscript. All historical interpretations, data analysis, and scholarly conclusions were independently developed, verified, and critically reviewed by the authors, who take full responsibility for the accuracy, originality, and integrity of the published work.

CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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