

The Struggle of Opu Daeng Risaju and Luwu's Muslim Community Response to Collonialism

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Submission Track:

Received: 24 September 2025

Final Revision: 16 Desember 2025

Available Online: 30 January 2026

Abstract

Opu Daeng Risaju was a warrior and one of the pioneers of the Indonesian Islamic Union Party (PSII) in Tanah Luwu. Although Opu Daeng Risaju was a woman, her determination and fighting spirit were immense. Opu Daeng Risaju was determined to realize her dream of eliminating the colonizers in Tanah Luwu, South Sulawesi. Opu Daeng Risaju's struggle through the PSII was well received by the Muslim community in Luwu, as the majority of the population in this region is Muslim, making Islamic-oriented movements more easily accepted by the community. This study will examine the response of the Muslim community to Opu Daeng Risaju's struggle against colonialism in Luwu. This study will focus on three main areas of discussion. First, it will discuss the background of the community in Luwu before 1930. Second, it will discuss the efforts made by Opu Daeng Risaju in fighting colonialism in Luwu from 1930 to 1946. Third, it will examine the response of the Muslim community to Opu Daeng Risaju's struggle. This research employs a socio-political approach, utilizing the concept of struggle based on Louis Thurstone's theory of response. The research method used is historical research, involving the steps of heuristics, verification, interpretation, and historiography.

Keywords: Community Response; Opu Daeng Risaju; Luwu Land.

Abstrak

Opu Daeng Risaju adalah seorang pejuang dan salah satu pelopor berdirinya Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia (PSII) di Tanah Luwu. Meskipun Opu Daeng Risaju merupakan sosok perempuan, namun tekad dan semangat perjuangannya sangat besar. Opu Daeng Risaju bertekad untuk mewujudkan cita-citanya yaitu menenyapkan para penjajah di Tanah Luwu, Sulawesi Selatan. Perjuangan Opu Daeng Risaju melalui PSII diterima baik oleh masyarakat muslim di Tanah Luwu, hal tersebut disebabkan karena mayoritas masyarakat di daerah ini adalah beragama Islam, sehingga gerakan-gerakan yang bercorak Islam lebih mudah diterima dalam masyarakat. Penelitian ini akan membahas mengenai Respon masyarakat muslim terhadap perjuangan Opu Daeng Risaju dalam melawan kolonialisme di tanah Luwu. Penelitian ini akan memfokuskan pembahasan yang terdiri dari tiga fokus pembahasan. Pertama, pembahasan mengenai bagaimana latar belakang masyarakat di tanah Luwu menjelang tahun

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1930. Kedua, membahas mengenai usaha-usaha perjuangan yang dilakukan Opu Daeng Risaju dalam melawan kolonialisme di tanah Luwu pada tahun 1930-1946. Ketiga, membahas mengenai bagaimana respon dari masyarakat muslim terhadap perjuangan Opu Daeng Risaju. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan sosial politik, konsep yang digunakan ialah konsep perjuangan dengan menggunakan teori respon dari Louis Thurstone. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode penelitian sejarah yaitu dengan langkah-langkah heuristik, verifikasi, interpretasi, dan historiografi.

Kata Kunci: Respon Masyarakat; Opu Daeng Risaju; Tanah Luwu.

PENDAHULUAN

Luwu was one of the three major kingdoms in South Sulawesi known collectively as "*Tellumpocoe*," encompassing the Kingdoms of Gowa, Bone, and Luwu. Among these three kingdoms, the Kingdom of Luwu was the oldest. Its sphere of influence encompassed Poso to the north, Kolaka to the southeast, Tana Toraja to the west, and Pitumpanua to the south. This extensive territory was administratively divided into three regions, each governed by a local chief bearing the titles of Maddika and Makole, specifically Maddika Bua, Maddika Ponrang, and Makole Baebunta.¹

In 1905, the Dutch arrived at Luwu. Initially, the Dutch forces attempted to land at Ponjalae and Tappong beaches, but these plans were unsuccessful. Eventually, the Dutch were able to control Luwu through the city of Palopo.² The Dutch arrival served to establish their colonial influence directly and formally. Following the Dutch presence, their colonial influence indirectly affected the socio-political and economic life of the people of Luwu. This can be observed through the economic system of the Luwu community. The currency economy had not thoroughly penetrated the entire population, particularly those living far from the urban center. This presented a significant difficulty for farmers in settling their tax obligations to the colonial government. In addition, many communities still practiced barter economy. Regarding education, the people of Tanah Luwu were already familiar with education before the Dutch arrival. This educational context referred to non-formal learning, which took the form of Qur'anic study groups (*pengajian*) accompanied by moral lessons.³

¹ M. Rasyid Ridha, *Membela Indonesia Perjuangan Rakyat Luwu Mempertahankan Kemerdekaan*, (Makassar: Rayhan Intermedia, 2022), pp. 1-2.

² *Ibid.*, p. 46.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

The emergence of national movement organizations in Tanah Luwu significantly influenced the political climate of the region. One such organization was the Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia (PSII). PSII, a politically oriented Islamic organization, was first introduced by a woman of Luwu noble lineage who possessed a resolute spirit: Opu Daeng Risaju, in 1930. Opu Daeng Risaju was born in Palopo in 1880. Her father was Muhammad Abdullah To Barengseng, and her mother was Opu Daeng Mawellu. She was descended from the 22nd King of Bone, La Temmasonge Matimore Malimongeng.⁴

Opu Daeng Risaju was elected as the chairman of PSII in the Palopo area of Tanah Luwu on January 14, 1930. Since her election, Opu Daeng Risaju endeavored to recruit members from the community. The establishment of PSII in Tanah Luwu, founded by Opu Daeng Risaju, met with enthusiastic and excellent support from the community. This positive reception was because PSII was an Islamic party, which aligned with the predominant religion of the Luwu community.⁵

In her struggle, Opu Daeng Risaju was once detained by the Dutch colonial government for 13 months, accused of incitement and spreading discontent against the colonial regime. After her period of detention, the community's response and support for Opu Daeng Risaju only grew stronger. They urged her to establish new branches in Tanah Luwu, such as in Malili and Patampanua. Consequently, on March 1, 1932, she officially founded a PSII branch in Malili. After formalizing the new branch, Opu Daeng Risaju and her husband returned to Palopo, but en route, they were arrested and detained by Dutch officials. At that time, the detention of nobility was considered an infringement upon the rights and dignity of the noble class and their families.

In 1932, Opu Daeng Risaju lost her noble title, and consequently, the Luwu customary council no longer addressed her by the title Opu Daeng Risaju. However, the public showed a different response: even after Opu Daeng Risaju's noble title was revoked, the community continued to address her by the name Opu Daeng Risaju, maintaining their admiration for her.⁶

Based on the previous discussion, this article endeavors to examine in depth the response of the Muslim community to the struggle led by Opu Daeng Risaju against colonialism in the

⁴ Ajisman, et al, *Tokoh Inspiratif Bangsa*, (Jakarta: Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Republik Indonesia, 2017) p. 301.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 316-317.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 319-322.

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Luwu region. Several previous academic studies have addressed Opu Daeng Risaju's struggle against colonization and his contributions to the Indonesian Islamic Association (PSII).

One such study is the undergraduate thesis by Alfian Ashari Putra, titled "Opu Daeng Risaju's Struggle Against Colonization Through the Indonesian Islamic Association (PSII) in South Sulawesi, 1930–1950." This thesis contains a biography of Opu Daeng Risaju, detailing his family background and social status. Furthermore, it explains the challenges he faced in resisting colonialism in South Sulawesi. The research also elucidates Opu Daeng Risaju's efforts to champion the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), specifically his opposition to the Dutch colonial regime, the Japanese occupation, and his efforts to defend independence. While this thesis shares the common ground of examining Opu Daeng Risaju's anti-colonial struggle, it lacks a thorough discussion regarding the specific response of the local community in Luwu, South Sulawesi, to his anti-colonial efforts. Consequently, this research aims to provide a deeper analysis of the Muslim community's response to Opu Daeng Risaju's struggle against colonialism.⁷

Another relevant source is the article by Muhammad Amir and Muhammad Nur Ichsan Azis, titled "Opu Daeng Risaju's Contribution to the Indonesian Islamic Association Movement in South Sulawesi (1930–1946)." This article details Opu Daeng Risaju's pivotal role in the development of the Indonesian Islamic Association (PSII) in Luwu. It also discusses his struggles while serving as the head of PSII in Palopo. His involvement in movements and political enlightenment in Luwu undermined the Dutch colonial government. This article, similar to the current study, focuses on Opu Daeng Risaju's activism through PSII. However, the scholarly discussion remains insufficient concerning the specific response of the Muslim community to Opu Daeng Risaju's anti-colonial struggle. Therefore, this study is motivated to investigate the local Muslim community's reactions to Opu Daeng Risaju's movements.⁸

Based on the preceding summaries, the scholarship by Alfian Ashari Putra and the article by Muhammad Amir and Muhammad Nur Ichsan Azis primarily highlight Opu Daeng Risaju's struggles and political roles but do not deeply investigate the reactions of the local

⁷Alfian Ashari Putra, "Pergulatan Opu Daeng Risaju Melawan Penjajahan Melalui Partai Syarikat Islam Indonesia (PSII) di Sulawesi Selatan 1930-1950", *Final Project of Fakultas Adab dan Humaniora Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel Surabaya*, 2021, pp. 1-92.

⁸Muhammad Amir dan Muhammad Nur Ichsan, "Kontribusi Opu Daeng Risaju Terhadap Gerakan Persatuan Islam Indonesia di Sulawesi Selatan (1930-1946)" *Al-Qalam: Jurnal Penelitian Agama dan Sosial Budaya*, Vol. 28, No. 2, 2022, pp. 293-305.

population, particularly the Muslim community who constitutes the majority in Luwu. Consequently, this article endeavors to trace the forms of response and support provided by the Muslim community to Opu Daeng Risaju's struggle against colonialism in Luwu. Moreover, the study will clarify the diverse responses of the Muslim community, encompassing both members of the Muslim community themselves and the indigenous inhabitants of Luwu.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology employed in this study is the historical method. According to Gilbert J. Garraghan, as cited in *Metodologi Penelitian Sejarah Islam (Methodology of Islamic History Research)* by Dudung Abdurahman, historical research methodology is defined as a set of systematic rules and principles designed to effectively collect historical sources, critically evaluate them, and synthesize the resulting findings in a written form. Based on this understanding, historical experts universally agree upon four sequential steps in historical research: Heuristics (source collection), Verification (critical source analysis), Interpretation (explication), and Historiography (writing history).⁹

This article adopts a socio-political approach. This choice is warranted because the research focuses on the Muslim community's response to Opu Daeng Risaju's struggle against colonialism through the national movement organization, PSII. A socio-political approach involves analyzing power relations and social structures, alongside examining how social issues influence political processes, or conversely, viewing political issues through a societal lens.¹⁰ This framework is therefore highly congruent with analyzing the diverse responses of the Muslim community to Opu Daeng Risaju's anti-colonial struggle.

Furthermore, the study utilizes Louis Thurstone's Theory of Response. This theory is employed to gain a profound understanding of the Muslim community's reactions to the struggles undertaken by Opu Daeng Risaju against colonialism. According to Louis Thurstone, a response is a constellation of feelings, inclinations, suspicions, prejudices, detailed understanding, ideas, fears, perceived threats, and deeply held beliefs concerning a specific subject. The application of this theory is appropriate because it provides a robust analytical tool

⁹ Dudung Abdurahman, *Metodelogi Penelitian Sejarah Islam*, (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2019), pp. 103-104.

¹⁰ M.Tahir Kasnawi dan Rasyid Thaha, *Konsep Dasar Kekuatan Sosial Politik*, Banten: Universitas Terbuka, p. 3.

for assessing the various forms of community responses to Opu Daeng Risaju's anti-colonial activities within the Luwu region.¹¹

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The Socio-Cultural Context of Luwu Leading up to the 1930s

The Luwu region constituted one of the major kingdoms of South Sulawesi, recognized by the title "Tellupoccoe." This encompassing designation included the Gowa Kingdom, the Bone Kingdom, and the Luwu Kingdom. The ruler of the Luwu Kingdom held the title of Datu or Pajung. He was traditionally drawn from the Mattola lineage (a high noble title, which, should there be no Mattola heir, could be succeeded by an Angileng heir). The coronation of the ruler was facilitated by the Ade' Seppulodua (which functioned as the supreme council).¹² Geographically, the Luwu Kingdom is situated in the northern part of South Sulawesi, possessing an extensive territory comprising mountainous regions in the west, large fertile plains, and numerous major rivers. Consequently, Luwu featured three distinct geographical categories: coastal areas, inland agricultural regions, and mountainous areas suitable for plantations. These three regions formed the primary sources of livelihood for their inhabitants. This natural environment greatly facilitated the population's ability to meet their subsistence needs by offering varied economic choices. For instance, residents near the sea primarily worked as fishermen, those in the interior engaged in agriculture, and others pursued commerce.¹³

The arrival of the Dutch in Luwu occurred in 1905. Initially, the Dutch forces attempted to land at Ponjalae beach and Tappong beach, but these plans proved unsuccessful. Eventually, the Dutch managed to consolidate control over Luwu through the city of Palopo.¹⁴ The Dutch presence marked the direct and formal establishment of colonial rule. Even prior to their physical arrival, the Dutch had already exerted profound influence on the region's social and economic structures. This influence was notably manifested through the introduction of coffee cultivation, which was systematically implemented by the Dutch administration. Coffee plants

¹¹ Muhammad Sirojuddin, *Respon Mahasiswa Perbandingan Agama Semester VI dan VIII Stain Kediri Terhadap Yahudi Tahun 2016*, Skripsi IAIN Kediri, 2016, p. 13.

¹² Rasyid Ridha, *Membela Indonesia Perjuangan Rakyat Luwu*, pp. 1-2.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

were widely grown in mountainous areas, such as Uluvalu, Penggala-Tana Toraja, and the Seko-Rongkong regions. At that time, coffee constituted a crucial international export commodity, primarily traded by the Dutch in Europe.

Upon entering Luwu in 1905, the Dutch introduced a novel educational system. They promoted Westernization through education by establishing public schools. These institutions were frequently attended by noble groups and local community leaders. The outcome of this Westernization process was the emergence of a new social group known locally as the educated class. In 1908, the colonial government first constructed the Volks School, a local language elementary school, in Luwu. Educational development in Luwu was characterized by a relatively slow pace. Evidence of this is seen in the fact that in 1920, only 6,765 people in Luwu were literate in Indonesian (representing 2.22%), while the number literate in Dutch was only 22 individuals (1%). Significant strides in education began to materialize by 1930, which is evidenced by the measurable increase in the number of people literate in both Indonesian and Dutch.¹⁵

Regarding education, the people of Luwu were already familiar with educational practices before the Dutch colonization. This education was fundamentally religious, consisting of Quranic study groups and moral lessons. One prominent group administering such studies was the household of Opu Daeng Risaju. Since the majority of the populace were Muslim and firmly adhered to religious and customary values, the intrusion of Dutch colonialism altered the social and economic structure. However, Islamic identity remained the paramount characteristic of the community. This created a strategic opportunity for the emergence of groups such as PSII, which was rooted in Islamic principles, thus ensuring its easy acceptance by the Muslim community.

Perjuangan Opu Daeng Melawan Kolonialisme (1930-1946)

In 1930, as the Dutch consolidated their presence in Luwu, Opu Daeng Risaju departed from Palopo and settled in Pare-Pare alongside her husband, Muhammad Daud. It was in Pare-Pare that she began to engage actively with the Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia (PSII). Her active involvement with the Pare-Pare branch of the PSII commenced in 1927, an organization that was politically oriented toward opposing colonial rule. Opu Daeng Risaju was introduced to the organization through Muhammad Yahya, a merchant from South Sulawesi, who was himself

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 30-32.

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among the founders of the Sarekat Islam (SI) branch in Pare-Pare. At that time, Opu Daeng Risaju and her husband became members of the SI Pare-Pare branch. Her active participation in the organization provided her with considerable organizational and political experience. Subsequently, in 1930, she and her husband returned to Palopo, where she established a branch of the PSII and was elected as chairperson of the PSII for the Luwu region of Palopo at a general assembly held at Pasar Lama Palopo on 14 January 1930. Historically, Opu Daeng Risaju is recorded as the first woman to have led a political party founded upon Islamic principles.

In disseminating the PSII throughout the region, she was assisted by family members and close associates, among them Daeng Manompo, Daeng Malewa, Ahmad Cambang, Beddu, Tjakkuru, and others. Although these individuals were of modest backgrounds and possessed limited formal education, they were nonetheless steadfast in their convictions and deeply committed to supporting Opu Daeng Risaju's efforts in expanding the PSII organization. As a woman of noble lineage, Opu Daeng Risaju had cultivated within herself a profound sense of patriotism and national devotion, as evidenced by the sacrifices she made in her struggle against colonial oppression. Her resistance was grounded in three principal values: an unwavering adherence to the teachings of Islam, obedience and loyalty to the precepts of the *Datu* as expressed in the maxim "*napusiri datue napumate tau megae*" and an abiding spirit of nationalism.

News of the establishment of the PSII in Luwu reached the ears of the Controleur of Masamba through his network of informants. The Controleur of Masamba sought to suppress Opu Daeng Risaju's activities, as she was regarded as a distinct threat to the Dutch colonial government. She was subsequently accused of inciting the population and fomenting hostility among the people against the Dutch colonial administration. On these grounds, Opu Daeng Risaju, together with approximately seventy members of the PSII, was arrested. The following day, her fellow members were released on the grounds that they were deemed not guilty; however, Opu Daeng Risaju herself remained in detention and was sentenced to thirteen months of imprisonment. This action by the Dutch authorities did not diminish Opu Daeng Risaju's resolve to continue her struggle against colonial rule through the PSII. Furthermore, during her period of imprisonment, she devoted herself to deepening her knowledge and remained informed of developments and conditions beyond the prison walls.

Upon completing her period of detention, Opu Daeng Risaju formally established a PSII branch in Malili in 1932. Following the inauguration of this new branch, she and her husband

were apprehended and shackled by Dutch authorities en route and subsequently brought to the district of Patampanua. As a consequence of this arrest, Opu Daeng Risaju was stripped of her noble status, as the act of shackling a person of noble descent was considered a profound affront to the dignity of the nobility.¹⁶

On 9 February 1942, Japan extended its occupation to South Sulawesi, including the region of Luwu. This year marked the formal end of Dutch colonial rule and the beginning of a new period of Japanese occupation in Indonesia. The arrival of the Japanese in Luwu represented a particularly dark era for religiously based organizations in South Sulawesi. On 20 March 1942, the Japanese authorities issued a proclamation prohibiting all political and social organizational activities that had been previously established, including the PSII. From the onset of the Japanese military occupation, all political organizations were rendered inoperative, as activities of a political, social, religious, and economic nature were systematically abolished. All previously established organizations were replaced by Japanese-sponsored bodies, thereby placing the entirety of political activity under direct Japanese governmental control.

As chairperson of the Palopo branch of the PSII, Opu Daeng Risaju found herself with limited recourse and was compelled to comply with Japanese governmental policies. Nevertheless, Achmad Cambang, a close associate of Opu Daeng Risaju who had played an active role in the PSII prior to the Japanese occupation, attempted to resist Japanese policy. As a consequence of his resistance, he was detained and subjected to torture in the Masamba prison, where he ultimately died. The death of Achmad Cambang dealt a severe blow to both the PSII and Opu Daeng Risaju personally. The brutality of the Japanese administration, however, reignited Opu Daeng Risaju's resolve to mount a resistance. She consequently pursued her struggle with great caution, patience, fortitude, and with the full extent of her intellectual resources.

Opu Daeng Risaju's struggle was conducted within carefully circumscribed limits, consisting primarily of visits to family members and fellow fighters across various villages. In each village she visited, she delivered religious teachings and conducted Qur'anic study sessions, which were simultaneously employed as a means of cultivating and reinforcing the spirit of resistance among the population. These activities served to bind the conscience of the people through direct social engagement.

¹⁶ Ajisman, *Tokoh Inspiratif Bangsa*, pp. 314-322.

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In 1944, the Second World War entered a decisive phase involving Japan in its conflict against the United States and its Allied forces. In the same year, as Japan came under increasing military pressure from the United States, Japanese General Kuniaki Koiso extended a promise of independence to the Indonesian people. On 15 August 1945, Japan surrendered unconditionally to the Allied powers. The resulting power vacuum was effectively seized upon by the Indonesian people as an opportunity to assume control from the Japanese military and as a defining moment for the proclamation of Indonesian independence. Finally, on 17 August 1945, the Indonesian nation successfully proclaimed its independence. Upon receiving news of this proclamation, Opu Daeng Risaju was overcome with profound joy, recognizing that her years of tireless dedication and sacrifice within the party had not been in vain.¹⁷

The Muslim Community's Response to the Struggle of Opu Daeng Risaju

Opu Daeng Risaju was widely known for her unwavering determination in resisting colonial rule. She was fearless in her convictions and steadfast in her commitment to eradicating colonialism from the land of Luwu. Through the Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia (PSII), she embarked upon a sustained campaign of resistance against colonial oppression. Given that the majority of the population in Luwu adhered to Islam, the establishment of the PSII in the region was received with considerable enthusiasm by the local community, owing to the organization's explicit grounding in Islamic principles. In the course of her struggle against colonial rule, Opu Daeng Risaju encountered a diverse range of responses from the community, particularly from among the Muslim population.

Supportive Responses: Acceptance and Active Participation of the Muslim Community

Upon assuming the chairpersonship of the PSII, Opu Daeng Risaju immediately endeavored to recruit members from the local community. She employed cultural approaches through engagements with family members and close associates, and as a result, community awareness of and receptiveness toward the PSII extended as far as Malangke, located to the north of Palopo. Opu Daeng Risaju remained relentless in her resistance against colonial rule, and this perseverance was met with an overwhelmingly positive response from the community. Such positive responses were manifested in the active participation of community members in

¹⁷ Ashari Putra, "Pergulatan Opu Daeng Risaju Melawan Penjajahan Melalui Partai Syarikat Islam Indonesia (PSII) di Sulawesi Selatan 1930-1950", pp. 74-79.

organizational activities, including attendance at political study sessions, cadre training programs, and Qur'anic study circles imbued with an anti-colonial spirit. When Opu Daeng Risaju was arrested and imprisoned for thirteen months on charges of inciting the populace, public support for her cause increased rather than diminished. Following her release, community members petitioned her to establish new PSII branches in Malili and Patampanua. This demonstrated that the community not only extended their sympathy but also rendered concrete support in the form of broad-based communal backing and recognition of her leadership.

Responses of Rejection: Criticism from the Customary Elite and Within the Family

The responses received by Opu Daeng Risaju were not uniformly positive; certain segments of the community held views that diverged considerably from those of the broader population. Resistance emerged from within the circles of the customary elite and the noble families, particularly in the context of the incident in which Opu Daeng Risaju and her husband were arrested and shackled by the colonial government while traveling to Palopo.¹⁸ At that time, the act of shackling a person of noble descent was regarded as a deeply shameful act that gravely undermined the dignity of the noble family concerned. The shackling of Opu Daeng Risaju was therefore simultaneously construed as an affront to her family's standing as members of the nobility. This incident provoked a strong protest from the custodians of customary law in Luwu, most notably from Opu Balirante. Following the shackling incident perpetrated by the colonial government, Opu Daeng Risaju faced a succession of challenges from both her family and the customary authorities of the region.

The royal palace took strong exception to Opu Daeng Risaju's conduct, as it was perceived to have diminished the dignity and honor befitting the nobility. Consequently, several of her relatives attempted to intimidate her into ceasing her activist and resistance activities, on the grounds that, as a respected member of the nobility in Luwu, the mistreatment she had suffered at the hands of the Dutch constituted a profound humiliation for her entire family. In 1932, Opu Daeng Risaju was formally stripped of her noble title, and the Luwu Adat Council ceased to address her by the appellation Opu Daeng Risaju. Nevertheless, those among the community who held her in deep admiration continued to support her and persisted in addressing her by that name. Beyond her relatives, resistance also emerged from her own

¹⁸ Ajisman, *Tokoh Inspiratif Bangsa*, p. 317

husband, who implored her to temper her opposition to the Dutch colonial government and to discontinue her involvement in party activities. Opu Daeng Risaju, however, remained undeterred and continued her struggle. This irreconcilable difference ultimately led to the dissolution of their marriage, which had endured for twenty-five years.

Rejection was further reflected in the demands of the customary elite that she be exiled. Opu Daeng Risaju's continued resistance activities encountered renewed opposition from certain members of the customary council who were aligned with the Dutch colonial government. These circumstances brought her once again before the customary court, where she was charged with violations of customary law and was proposed to be sentenced to ten years of exile. This proposal was, however, opposed by Opu Balirante, who shared a blood relation with Opu Daeng Risaju. Opu Balirante contended that Opu Daeng Risaju's actions did not warrant a punishment of such severity, and as a result, the sentence ultimately imposed by the customary authorities was reduced to a period of fourteen months.¹⁹

Diverse Community Responses and Shifts in Social Perception

The responses to Opu Daeng Risaju's struggle were by no means uniform. On one hand, the Muslim commoner population demonstrated profound loyalty and admiration toward her steadfastness and courage as a female figure who dared to confront colonial rule. On the other hand, the customary elite, bound by the norms and conventions of traditional law, took offense at the radical measures undertaken by Opu Daeng Risaju. In the long term, however, her struggle succeeded in shifting the prevailing perception that women, including those of noble descent, were capable of leading political movements without forfeiting their legitimacy in the eyes of the people.

Opu Daeng Risaju occupied a position of noble standing within Luwu society. She embodied a deeply ingrained sense of patriotism and possessed a natural charisma that resonated strongly with the wider community. Her nobility and leadership qualities were clearly demonstrated upon her appointment as chairperson of the PSII branch in Palopo. Opu Daeng Risaju was equally distinguished by her profound sense of responsibility, as evidenced by her tireless efforts to liberate the people from oppression and colonial subjugation. These qualities

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 320-323.

collectively constituted a distinct personal authority that commanded enduring respect and reverence from the community throughout her lifetime.²⁰

CONCLUSION

The Dutch arrived in Luwu in 1905 with the explicit intention of formally and directly establishing their colonial dominion over the region. However, Dutch influence had already indirectly permeated the social and economic life of the Luwu population well before their formal arrival. This indirect influence was largely attributable to the introduction of coffee cultivation, which had been indirectly promoted by the Dutch colonial government and had become widespread across the mountainous regions of the area. In the realm of education, the people of Luwu had already been acquainted with educational practices prior to the Dutch arrival. The form of education in question was religious in nature, consisting of the formation of Qur'anic recitation study groups and the provision of moral instruction.

Opu Daeng Risaju's struggle was by no means without difficulty, as she confronted numerous challenges throughout the course of her resistance; yet her resolve and spirit of determination never wavered. Despite being a woman, these circumstances did not deter her from actively engaging in resistance aimed at eradicating colonialism from the land of Luwu. Her struggle formally commenced with the successful establishment of a PSII branch in Luwu on 14 January 1930. Historically, Opu Daeng Risaju is recorded as the first woman to have led a political party founded upon Islamic principles. She faced opposition from both the Dutch and Japanese colonial governments alike, and in the course of her struggle, she willingly endured imprisonment and detention at the hands of the colonial authorities. These hardships, however, did not constitute an impediment to her cause, and she persisted unwaveringly in her resistance.

Given that the majority of the population in Luwu adhered to Islam, the establishment of the PSII in the region was received with considerable enthusiasm, owing to the organization's explicit grounding in Islamic principles. In the course of her struggle against colonial rule, Opu Daeng Risaju encountered a diverse range of responses from the community, encompassing both the Muslim population and the customary society of Luwu. These responses were not exclusively favorable; certain reactions proved to be less than supportive. Nonetheless, despite the varied and at times adverse nature of these responses, Opu Daeng Risaju continued to

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 334-336.

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command deep respect and reverence from the community, a testament to her unwavering perseverance in the struggle against colonialism in the land of Luwu.

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