



RESEARCH ARTICLE

Bissu, Victims of DI/ TII Propaganda in the Novel Arriving Before Departing Works by Faisal Oddang and Calabai by Pepi Al-Baygunie

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
Received: Jul 17, 2024 Accepted: Sep 9, 2024	DI/TII, a group of Islamic organizations that rebelled against the government of the Republic of Indonesia in 1950. One of its goals was to establish an Islamic state and make Islamic law the basis of the state in South Sulawesi. In order to gain support from the people of South Sulawesi, DI/TII used propaganda, Islamic religious propaganda that had sacrificed bissu, a minority group that adhered to traditional beliefs in South Sulawesi. This study aims to find religious propaganda and bissu persecution in the novel <i>Tiba Sebeleum Berangkat</i> by Faisal Oddang and the novel <i>Calabai</i> by Pepi Al-Baygunie. The method used in the study is qualitative-descriptive. The scope of descriptive understanding that will be explained with the scalpel of literary sociology, the theory that will be used to find, reveal, and describe religious propaganda and bissu persecution of DI/TII. The research data in the study, namely descriptive words or sentences related to; (1) DI-TII religious propaganda in the novel <i>Calabai</i> by Pepi Al-Baygunie and <i>Tiba Sebelum Berangkat</i> by Faisal Oddang, and (2) bissu persecution in the novel <i>Calabai</i> by Pepi Al-Baygunie and the novel <i>Tiba Sebelum Berangkat</i> by Faisal Oddang. The results of the study found that DI/TII had utilized bissu as a propaganda tool for rebellion against the government of the Republic of Indonesia in 1950. In order to gain sympathy and support from the people of South Sulawesi, DI/TII used religious propaganda, by means of; (1) weakening the spiritual and social position of bissu by leading opinion that bissu behavior is contrary to Islamic law, (2) spiritual activities carried out by bissu are acts of idolatry that can invite the wrath of Allah, and (3) persecution and murder of bissu to prove that DI/TII propaganda is not only limited to leading opinion, but is a real struggle (rebellion) to uphold Islamic law, sacrificing minority groups who have different beliefs to DI/TII for the sake of power, and (4) persecution of bissu in the 21st century is the impact and continuation of DI/TII religious propaganda in 1950.
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INTRODUCTION

Bissu, a group of adherents of the traditional *attoriolong belief* (Triadi, 2020; Pabbajah, 2012; Kusuma, 2018), a group that was the victim of the DI/TII (Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia) murder in South Sulawesi in 1950 (Al-Jum'ah, 2019; Nurfadillah, 2019). Although, the bloody event occurred eighty-three years ago, it is not easily forgotten in the collective memory of society. The incident was almost never reported, let alone presenting the perpetrators in court as defendants. It is true, events that have not been revealed will show a way out in their own way. If the community that was the victim of the DI-TII murder has not received justice or does not easily obtain information about the chronology of the murder of the bissu, now without pressure and threats in an open era, the incident seems to be held again and gets its stage.

Its presence in the novel *Calabai* by Pepi Al-Baygunie (2016) and the novel *Tiba Sebelum Berangkat* by Faisal Oddang (2018), is not only a place to emotionally present how painful the humanitarian disaster was for families or groups of religious beliefs who were victims of murder. But, also (Siswanto, 2008; Wijdaniyah, Hasanah, Dermawan, 2020) has become a place to review and reconsider the demands of the murder of bissu in the past which were tried to be covered up by the majority group, Herbawono, (2024) adherents of Islam. Karaeng (2023); Fauzan, (2015), the murder incident in the name of religion and the interests of power.

DI/TII, a group of Islamic organizations that rebelled against the government of the Republic of Indonesia in 1950, (Gonggong, 2004). One of its goals was to establish an Islamic state and make Islamic law the basis of the state in South Sulawesi. (Nurul, 2019; Karim, 2011; Waldiansyah, 2020). It was not easy for DI/TII led by Kahar Musakkar to gain support. In order for the people of South Sulawesi to sympathize and provide support, one of the methods used was to carry out religious propaganda that targeted and weakened the social and spiritual functions of the bissu.

In the novels *Calabai* and *Tiba Sebelum Berangkat*, DI/TII knows exactly, historically bissu have a well-established cultural power and still have influence in Bugis society, (Jufri, 2023; Suliyati, 2018; Azizah, 2022). In the social space, bissu is a minority group, (Herbawono, 2024; Petsy, 2020). However, in a society that adheres to the traditional *attoriolong belief*, bissu have a role as messengers, humans who are considered to have descended from the sky and are part of a respected group or holy people who are believed to be able to convey human desires to God through the *attoriolong traditional ceremony*. (Rahmat, 2023; Pattinama, 2020; Suliyati, 2018).

As part of implementing customary law, Said (2016), bissu became the driving force of cultural practices in several Bugis kingdoms, such as in the Luwu kingdom (Aminah, 1980), the Barru Kingdom (Suliyati, 2018), the Wajo kingdom (Ferawangsa, 2019), the Bone kingdom (Supriadi, 2021; Misdianti, 2021), the Sidenreng Kingdom (Azizah, 2022), and the Soppeng kingdom (Sumange, 2014) during the kingdom system in South Sulawesi. However, Azizah, (2022) since the kingdom accepted Islam and chose to join the Republic of Indonesia, on August 19, 1945, at that time the attributes and functions of the customary implementing apparatus began to weaken, including the function of the bissu. Even so, its socio-spiritual functions, such as carrying out the ritual of bringing down rain to irrigate rice fields, are still carried out as usual (Pelras, 1996; Rahayu, 2021), to the point that Said, (2016) considered it a deviant organization or group by DI/TII in the 1950s.

In the midst of society, the presence of bissu is very much needed (Jemeq et al., 2022; Petsy, 2020). Bissu fills the spiritual space of farmers. For farmers, the fate of rice in the fields cannot be left only to fertilizer and technology, but also to God in the sky. As an open traditional society, modern technology is accepted with open arms to plow the fields, without losing faith in traditional identity, Agusman, Pratiwi, Suyitno (2020). They cultivate the land with tractors, but never forget to burn incense. Modernity does not change their beliefs and closeness to nature. For people who adhere to traditional beliefs, technology is needed only to replace labor and make work easier, not to replace beliefs.

Traditional Bugis society believes that the relationship between humans and plowed land is not just a relationship of mutual use, but to fill each other (spiritually) and respect each other. A relationship that gives meaning to life and to humans. In this philosophical view, bissu have an important role in the life of traditional Bugis society as the implementer of customs. With this belief, before the rice planting season, rituals are always held as a form of love for nature (Al-Baygunie, 2016); Triadi, 2022). With the *mappalili ritual*, the success of planting and harvesting which is a sign of blessings from the gods, bissu are also considered to have the ability to understand life beyond worldly life, such as the belief in the substance of Sangyang Sri or the goddess of fertility whose heart must be pleased through the performance of the *mappalili ritual*. This ceremony is held as a request to Sangyang Sri, so that she is willing to send down her blessings to the earth, in the form of fertility in the rice that has been planted by farmers.

Unfortunately, bissu still enjoy the trust and are the people's dependency. made DI/TII furious. The people's great trust and dependence on the bissu considered to be hindering the DI/TII rebellion to enforce Islamic law. For DI/TII, respect for bissu would not change their status as a group of *calabai*

whose acts of worship are not accepted. Also, the ritual activities that have been and will be carried out will forever be contrary to Islamic law and will not receive rewards. To eliminate its influence, DI/TII used Islamic religious propaganda, under the pretext of bissu behavior deviate from the teachings of Islam.

DI/TII propaganda on gender issues and misleading thinking, that bissu rituals and worship are not accepted by God, bring bad luck and disaster. DI/TII, not only carried out propaganda, but also persecution, bissu who did not want to leave *their traditional activities and beliefs* were sought and killed. The loss of life of minority groups who had different beliefs has led DI/TII to victimization, sacrificing bissu just to prove to the people of South Sulawesi, that DI/TII's struggle was serious about enforcing Islamic law, even if it meant taking the lives of innocent people.

Having a strong influence and armed, DI/TII had no difficulty finding and killing bissu. Nurul (2022), the DI/TII movement led by Kahar Musakkar was a nightmare that brought trauma, DI/TII troops tried to eradicate bissu and *calabai* because they were considered to have deviated from the teachings of Islam. Nur (2021), a very big sin, namely associating partners with Allah.

The effort to change the ideology of Islam in the Kahar Musakkar rebellion, not only had an impact on the rebel sympathizers, but also on the people of Sulawesi as a whole. Those who felt the most impact were people who did not embrace Islam or still believed in local beliefs. Those who still practiced local traditions were forced to embrace Islam. Bissu community became one of the groups targeted by this coercion. Bissu who no longer had political and social power were pressured by the DI/TII rebellion. The implementation of strict regulations by Kahar Musakkar forced the bissu to return to being a man. Those who refused did not hesitate to be killed. (Azizah, 2019: 2022).

Previous research on the *Calabai novel* has been widely conducted. Burhan (2022), in his research on *Historical Facts in the Calabai Novel* by Pepy Al-Baygunie which juxtaposes non-literary texts with literary texts, it was found that *The Calabai novel* represents Indonesian history from the Old Order to the post-reformation era, namely the DI/TII rebellion and its impact on the bissu in Segeri. The forms of violence and threats have had an impact on the bissu, from the 1960s to the early 2000s.

Purwaningsih (2017) with the title of the research, *Transgender in the Calabai Novel by Pepi Al Baygunie: Identity Study*. In this study it was found that the *Calabai novel* offers a discourse on dynamic identity, namely identity represented through Saidi, a signifier *that* indicates that gender is not a static phenomenon.

Melanatus Shelikha (2017), researched *Social Criticism in the Novel Calabai*. In the research It was found that *the calabai* and bissu were rejected from society. By society, *calabai* are considered a form of curse from Allah.

Sazari and Hayati (2020), researching *Social Conflict in the Novel Tiba Sebelum Berangkat* by Faisal Oddang. In this study, it was found that the causes of social conflict are differences of opinion, differences of interest, and cultural conflict. Social conflict has an impact on the loss of trust, and the occurrence of rifts in relationships between individuals and groups.

Rasinta (2023), researched the process of forming *Homosexual Behavior in the Novel Tiba Sebelum Berangkat*, by Faisal Oddang . In his research, it was found that the process of forming homosexual behavior in Mapata began with preconditions of sexual violence, in the form of sodomy from his stepfather and homosexual behavior of homosexual sex figures (being an object and being a subject). After homosexual behavior was formed, Mapata no longer liked women.

Hardita Hatta (2021), examines *Hegemony in the Novel Tiba Sebelum Berangkat*, by Faisal Oddang. The study found religious hegemony, state hegemony, including political party hegemony, Indonesian Islamic army hegemony, bissu leadership hegemony, and cultural hegemony.

In addition to studies that are directly related to the research to be conducted, there are also other studies found that are not directly related to the research to be conducted, such as research by Suryo (2021) and Siswanto (2019). Suryo, in his research on propaganda in three novels by Forrest Carter; *The Outlaw Josey Wales*, *The Education of Little Tree*, and *Watch for Me on The Mountain*, found that references to historical events were political propaganda. Meanwhile, Siswanto (2019) who studied

Social Capital in Political Communication Strategy found that Kahar Musakkar had social capital, a communication strategy that combined religious messages and development conveyed in the form of propaganda. Salsabila (2020), studied *Nazi German Propaganda in the Novel The Women In The Castle, by Jessica Shattuck*. The study found that in order to gain the sympathy of the German people during World War II, Nazi Germany used propaganda. The non-Aryan nations who were victims of Nazi German propaganda were Gypsies, Slavs, Poles, and Jews.

Previous research, as mentioned above, has not directly touched on or explicitly discussed the DI/TII religious propaganda in the novels *Calabai* by Pepi Al-Baygunie and *Tiba Sebelum Berangkat* by Faisal Oddang.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

This research is a *liberary research*. The presentation of research data uses a qualitative approach with a descriptive explanation and a sociology of literature theory approach. Understanding this explanation is relevant to what Creswell (2015) mentioned, that qualitative research is interpretive research, namely the experience and direct involvement of researchers as participants continuously in research. Qualitative methods produce descriptive data, in the form of written or spoken words about the nature of an individual or symptoms of a particular group that can be observed (Moleong, 2017: 4).

Data and data sources

There are two data sources used in this study, namely (1) the novel *Calabai* by Pepy Al-Baygunie (2016), and (2) the novel *Tiba Sebelum Berangkat* (2018) works by Faisal Oddang. Referring to the data sources, the data in this study are descriptive words or sentences related to; (1) DI-TII religious propaganda in the novel *Calabai* by Pepi Al-Baygunie and *Tiba Sebelum Berangkat* by Faisal Oddang, and (2) the impact of propaganda on bissu, after the DI-TII rebellion in the novel *Calabai* by Pepi Al-Baygunie and the novel *Tiba Sebelum Berangkat* by Faisal Oddang.

Data collection technique

The data collection technique used in this study is the reading, listening and note-taking (BSC) technique. Reading technique, a technique used to collect data by reading. Listening technique, a data acquisition technique carried out by listening to the use of language. Reading and listening are continued with the act of taking notes. Note-taking technique, a data collection technique carried out by taking notes or quoting texts in the novel *Calabai* by Pepi Al-Baygunie and *Tiba Sebelum Berangkat* by Faisal Oddang.

This research was conducted with several stages of data classification and analysis, (1) classifying the data, namely religious propaganda in the novel *Calabai* by Pepi Al-Baygunie and the novel *Tiba Sebelum Berangkat* by Faisal Oddang, and (2) classifying the data on the impact of religious propaganda on religious propaganda in the novel *Calabai* by Pepi Al-Baygunie and the novel *Tiba Sebelum Berangkat* by Faisal Oddang.

Data analysis

The analysis of this research data uses the triangulation method, which is an effort to validate the truth of data obtained by researchers from various sources, data collection techniques and time (Sugiyono, 2019). Triangulation from various references is carried out after the data obtained is believed to be valid, then analyzed by the researcher to produce conclusions. The stages of data analysis are carried out by organizing data, sorting data, matching data, searching for and finding patterns. Research data is analyzed using a literary sociology scalpel.

RESULTS

There are two findings found in the research of the novel *Calabai* by Pepi Al-Baygunie and *Tiba Sebelum Berangkat* by Faisal Oddang, namely (1) Islamic religious propaganda, and (2) persecution of bissu. The propaganda of the enforcement of Islamic law by DI/TII was used to attract sympathy and support from the people of South Sulawesi to rebel against the government of the Republic of Indonesia, while the persecution of bissu, a minority group who adhere to traditional beliefs that

differ from DI/TII, was persecuted to convince and prove that the enforcement of Islamic law in South Sulawesi was truly enforced by DI/TII.

DISCUSSION

1. DI/TII Islamic religious propaganda in the novel *Tiba Sebelum Berangkat*, by Faisal Oddang and the novel *Calabai* by Pepy Al-Baygunie

Bissu will hold a *mappalili event*, an event that marks the community being able to work on the rice fields. At this event, heirlooms stored in *the arajang*¹ are taken out and paraded around the village. Parading *the attorionlong heirlooms* is always combined with the *maggiri dance*², a bissu dance that is performed using a badik or keris. This heirloom, which is known to have magical powers, is used by bissu to stab certain parts of the body. However, the event that is always attended by forty bissu, is considered by DI-TII (TII) as an idol worship event, a traditional ceremony that associates Allah with Satan. The misleading view that always positions bissu as a group that deviates from the teachings of Islam every time a traditional ceremony is held, always becomes a moment for repeating TII religious propaganda to build a perception of weakening the social and spiritual function of bissu.

"No need to come in! We're scared shitless."

"So if I may ask, what is the purpose of your arrival?"

"Right away, we forbid you from holding mappalili."

"We weren't the ones who held it," Puang Matua Sakka's voice was very calm, "but the residents asked us to act as intermediaries. Please, if you want to ban it, ban the people in this village."

"They couldn't have done it without your help."

"We wouldn't have done it without their request."

"You talk too much," the man moved forward and shot Puang Matua Sakka in the chest with his rifle. Puang Matua Sakka smiled, rubbing his chest and did not move from his original position.

"You are violating religious values, you are worshipping idols and you are violating your nature as men by being such sissies." The sentence ended with spitting on the floor.

..."To hell with the Gods! There is only one God," the rumbling voices began to be heard and then stopped when a word was heard giving the bissu a choice: we will forgive you, first, if you cancel the mappalili event, and second if you return to being men. (TSB, pp: 116-117).

The arrival of the Indonesian Islamic Army (TII) troops on a rainy night did not surprise the bissu who were discussing the preparation of the *mappalili event*. They were used to facing TII. Being in the *arajang house*, TII arrogantly showered the bissu with propaganda statements. They were considered to be violating religious values. TII propaganda using religious symbols did not only occur in the *arajange house*, but continued in the event of the arrest of the village imam, a form of repetition of propaganda in a different context. This incident can be seen when Rusmang, the village imam was arrested by a *gorilla*³, as follows.

"How can I be calm when I have a husband held captive in the forest?"

"What? They have nothing to do with your husband. Besides, your husband is the village imam, there's no way the Islamic Army would hurt him."

"Stop calling them the Islamic Army, I am a Muslim and I do not feel represented. I am the wife of an imam, I carry out all my obligations as a servant, I do not hurt others, I do not accept my religion being used as a way for group and personal interests, not for the welfare of the people. Try asking everyone in this village, you know they are all Muslims, try asking them, do they accept their religion being used as an excuse to create chaos? They are a gang of troublemakers, they are, ah!"

¹House, a place to store traditional ceremonial tools

²Stabbing a dagger or keris into a certain part of the body

³The word comes from the word guerrilla which people use to refer to the Indonesian Islamic Army (TII)

"Calm down, Rabiah, calm down first," Bissu Rusmi held her sister-in-law's shoulders again, which were shaken by her cries.

"Do you think I can be calm while my husband's life is in danger?"

"I don't understand your train of thought, so why did you come screaming looking for me?"

"I ask you to take responsibility, *Tailaso!*"

"Watch your words, I am a bissu, it is not appropriate for you to say things like that. Aren't you afraid of the wrath of the Gods?"

"Rusming, it is precisely because you are a bissu that my husband has suffered this fate. Last night he rushed to the *arajang house* to stop the gang from hurting you, but look now, look, he is the one who is in trouble." (TSB, p. 124).

From Rabiah, information was obtained that the Islamic army fought (rebelled) for Islam, but only for the interests of the DI/TII group that wanted to establish an Islamic state and make Islamic law the basis of the state, a group whose rebellion was in the name of Islam, in the midst of the South Sulawesi community whose population was predominantly Muslim. Rabiah, with disappointment, and the village imam who was arrested confirmed that the bissu had been used as propaganda scapegoats by TII to seek or maintain support from the community that had stronger social and political power than the minority bissu group.

The TII propaganda known through Rabiah's statement continued to the ignorance of bissu Rusmi, that Rusmang, bissu Rusmi's older brother was arrested by *the gurilla* because he was the village imam. The arrest carried a propaganda message for additional troops and strengthening support for the community.

"It's not that you don't know," Rabiah's voice challenged, "you don't want to know. The gang knows that your brother is the village imam and if he is invited into the forest and forced to fight and influence his congregation, the gang will get many additional troops. Do you understand?"

"How do you know, Rabiah?"

"There was a messenger from the gang this morning, do you want to know what he said?"

Bissu Rusmi neither said yes nor no, he waited silently.

"This is what he said, we from the Indonesian Islamic Army came with good intentions to convey to you, that Imam Rusmang has been with us, together we fought jihad for the Islamic State of Indonesia." Bissu Rusmi was silent, he waited for his brother-in-law to continue.

"I certainly don't just believe that. I know they are just as rotten as the Javanese soldiers who like to tease the village women. I believe that my husband is in the forest, I believe that my husband is at war but I don't believe that it was his wish. Impossible! I know he is just being used, I know that his congregation will enter the forest if their imam goes ahead, those gangs are really smart at finding opportunities. God damn it!" (TSB, pp: 125-126).

Bissu Rusming did not know that the DI/TII rebellion had been using religious propaganda. Spreading goodness through religion, that Imam Rusmang and TII would jihad for an Islamic state was propaganda to increase troops and weaken the bissu spiritually. The arrest of the imam or villagers was a form of propaganda to direct perception, DI/TII was worshipped, cheered, and always with the people jihad to establish an Islamic state. In fact, all of that was just a lie. The people never wanted their religion to be used as a propaganda tool.

DI/TII, indeed failed to establish an Islamic state through the Kahar Muzakkar rebellion against the government of the Republic of Indonesia. However, DI/TII propaganda had already found a place, a space to influence and hate the *calabai* and bissu. DI/TII propaganda did not easily disappear from the memories of several community groups in South Sulawesi. DI/TII religious propaganda not only had an impact during the Kahar Muzakkar rebellion, but was also felt until the 21st century. DI/TII propaganda that succeeded in convincing the community to adopt conservative Islam, as follows.

Suddenly, Pak Dahlan said firmly, "But our religion condemns calabai, Puang."

Saidi flinched. For a moment he turned his gaze to Mr. Dahlan's face, he could already guess what Wina's life had been like all this time, he could feel the disappointment that Wina was experiencing. Then, suddenly his chest felt like it was being stabbed by needles.

The sentence that Mr. Dahlan emphasized reminded him of someone, he insisted on pushing away that anxiety. But his heart suddenly screamed.

It's just like father's words!

Puang Matoa was also shocked to hear his guest's answer. Although he was used to receiving negative opinions about the calabai, he was still surprised to see a rich and educated person like Pak Dahlan make such an old-fashioned statement, especially when in the end his footing returned to the hereditary religion-dogma he had received since childhood-but they forgot the origins of the calabai people's existence... (CLB, page: 175).

Mr. Dahlan is known as a successful, educated businessman. However, his treatment of *calabai* and *bissu* was greatly influenced by DI-TII propaganda. This behavior is seen in Mr. Dahlan's way of thinking, which always places the social status of *calabai* or *bissu* in a position that deviates from the teachings of Islam, without trying to understand Islam more openly. As an educated person, Mr. Dahlan should have shown a more democratic attitude, so that his understanding of religion appears to be built from a variety of interpretations, not trapped in rigid and trapping interpretations of the Qur'an. By understanding the understanding of religion and holy books that are not free from a number of stacks of interpretations, Mr. Dahlan will not be easily provoked by misleading DI-TII propaganda.

Mr. Dahlan's hatred for *calabai* and *bissu* shows that some people or groups in the era of technological progress are still not free from DI/TII propaganda.

1. Persecution of *bissu* in the novel *Tiba Sebelum Berangkat* by Faisal Oddang and the novel *Calabai* by Pepi Al-Baygunie.

DI/TII propaganda was not enough as a tool to gain sympathy and support from the people of South Sulawesi. Also, establishing an Islamic state was not enough to be done with intention, but must be done with real, earnest actions. The role of propaganda was not only about thoughts or ideas about enforcing Islamic law in an Islamic state, but more about who would be sacrificed to prove to the majority Muslim community that DI/TII was fighting (rebellng) earnestly to establish an Islamic state.

DI/TII persecution of *bissu*, as follows.

"What's wrong, Puang?" asked Puang Matoa while gesturing for Puang Mahe to sit on the floor.

Puang Mahe sat down and calmed himself down. "I have important news, Puang." "What news?" asked Puang Matoa. "Gorilla, Puang!"

Puang Matoa leaned forward and lowered his voice unconsciously. "Gorilla?" "Word has it that the gorillas have begun a cleansing campaign. They are approaching adherents of ancestral beliefs, such as Tolotang," Aluk Tulodo, and Toriolo," forcing them, especially those who claim to be Muslim, to practice Islam according to sharia. They do not hesitate to commit acts of violence if their advice is not followed. I hear that they are now approaching the Pangkep area. They will probably arrive in Segeri soon , Puang. And..."

"That means danger for the *bissu*," interrupted Puang Matoa.

Sagena, who had been silent all this time, could no longer restrain himself. "Why should Puang Matoa and Puang Mahe be afraid of gorillas?"

"They are strong, son," answered Puang Mahe in an even voice. "Bissu is afraid of animals?" Saena asked again.

....."Gorilla is what people here call guerrillas, son," said Puang Matoa. "They are special forces that support the formation of the Islamic State of Indonesia. In the past, gorillas were soldiers. Because their commander, Kahar Muzakkar, rebelled, they also defected and fought against the Indonesian Government in Jakarta." (/CLB, pp: 112-114)

The *bissu* were gathering in *the arajang*. From the *bissu* meeting, Puang Matoa reported that the *bissu* were in danger. Their safety was being threatened by persecution by the *gurilla troops* (TII) . *The*

gurillas were cleaning up, searching for and approaching the *bissu* who adhered to traditional beliefs. Those who were found were forced to practice Islamic law. From Puang Mahe's statement, *the gorillas* did not hesitate to commit acts of violence if their advice was not followed.

The TII's persecution did not end with threats, but continued with real actions that made the *bissu* whisper in a tense silence, *the gorilla* came when the *bissu* were sleeping in the *arajang house*.

He deftly took some heirlooms stored inside the Bola Arajang. Puang Matoa immediately woke up the bissu who were sleeping in the living room. The bissu immediately gasped, but immediately fell silent when they saw Puang Matoa's signal and command. But they remained in a whisper.

"Why?"

"What is it?"

"What happened?"

"We are under attack..."

"Gorilla..."

The bissu did not dare to ask any more questions even though a number of questions were raging in their minds. One by one they followed Puang Matoa's order to jump through the back door and run as fast as they could; running as far as they could, running away from the very pungent stench of death, Saena jumped, followed by Puang Matoa Barliang.

On that fateful night, nine bissu escaped. The fate of the bissu who stayed overnight was unknown. After running far away, after the din of the commotion was no longer heard, Saena stopped and looked back. The fire had soared into the sky. It seemed like several houses were engulfed in flames. It seemed like the gorilla troops were truly going crazy. Without realizing it, his eyes were wet. For a moment he was stunned, unable to say anything, until a shout made him realize "Run!"

Saena gasped when she heard Puang Matos's jolt. She woke up from her reverie and ran as hard as she could to catch up with Puang Matoa. She ran with her mind wandering everywhere. Until her feet stumbled on a rock and her body mercilessly crashed into a tree trunk. Puang Matoa turned around when he heard Saena's scream. (CLB/page: 124).

The *bissu* maintained their beliefs, even though they had to bear the consequences. Wherever they went, they were searched for. Not found, their houses were burned. The *bissu* lived in misery. Their lives were always under threat. However, the *bissu* did not give up. Their beliefs and faith could not be controlled by anyone, including the TII which forced them to practice Islamic law. The *bissu* already knew that the TII was carrying out persecution only for propaganda.

The persecution at the *Arajang house* was the culmination of last night's events. At the *Arajang house*, the *bissu* Sessang was burned alive by the Indonesian Islamic Army (TII). He did not give up and maintained his beliefs until he met his death, as *the gorilla* forced his will to uphold the beliefs of his group.

Meanwhile, in Bola Arajang, the Islamic State special forces captured the *bissu* who did not have time to escape. Bola Arajang was destroyed and several royal heirlooms that Saena did not have time to take were destroyed.

Some were burned, some were thrown into the river. The bissu who were captured were forced to become men and had to promise not to be transvestites again, in fact some bissu were killed because they refused and went against the wishes of the gorillas.

On that fateful day, several bissu met their deaths. It was later discovered that one bissu, Puang Sessang, was burned alive in his house. (CLB, page: 125)

Persecution of *bissu* did not stand alone. Persecution was planned through a series of repeated propaganda, such as directing *bissu* to the perception that *bissu* did not behave according to Islamic law, were idol worshippers or considered *arajang houses* as places of idols. Clashing beliefs between

adherents of beliefs and Islamic law resulted in more horrific acts of persecution, such as burning bissu alive and bissu who were not susceptible to weapons were drowned in the river by being tied to large stones.

For TII, bissu were very much against religion because they were men who had violated their nature and turned into women. In addition, the arajang house was considered a place to store idols, bissu were idol worshippers. Bissu were forced to cut their long hair and forced to work in the fields, some of Puang's friends who refused eventually disappeared for unknown reasons and were even found dead in terrible conditions. I said terrible because of people's stories, so that's it. It's not clear how terrible it was . Some bissu who were not affected by steel weapons were eventually tied to large rocks and then drowned. One night, the arajang house was burned down and Puang lived there . Abba wanted to save Puang who had apparently run into the forest shortly after the fire, unfortunately Abba was trapped and captured by TII, Abba was separated from us, his family. I wasn't born at that time of course. Abba was forced into the forest and forced to fight, and Abba had no other choice. ***When DI/TII surrendered, after Kahar Muzakkar was reported killed, Abba came out of the forest carrying many diseases and infected wounds, Abba died fifteen years later with a heart wound that never healed. Abba died in 1978 when I was only one year old. Because of that I never liked soldiers , whatever type they were .*** (CLB, page: 76).

The TII persecution of bissu can also be seen in the novel *Tiba Sebelum Berangkat* through the murder carried out by TII against the community who tried to protect bissu. The effort to protect bissu from TII persecution is an indicator that TII will take the same action against bissu, such as the fear of mute Rusmi after seeing the bodies burned by TII lying in the field.

"So what do you suggest , Rusming?"

"We have to see the situation for a day or two."

"Too long," Rabiah objected, "your brother could die of torture in the forest."

"What else can I do?" Bissu Rusmi prepared his excuse, "moreover, my own life is still under threat, I am still not safe. If they see me, they will catch me and kill me (TSB/page: 126).

Spiritually, bissu have an important position. However, socially and politically during the DI/TII rebellion, bissu have lost their bargaining power. Bissu have no shelter. Power is in the hands of TII. Even so, bissu still maintain their beliefs and continue to carry out the *attriolog ceremony*, a tradition that deviates from religious teachings which is the reason for TII to carry out a crackdown on bissu.

"We will not abandon what has been the legacy of our ancestors."

"You are violating religious values, you are worshipping idols and you are violating your nature as men by being such sissies." The sentence ended with spitting on the floor.

"We are bissu, and will always be bissu," Puang Matua Sakka asserted and before he could finish his sentence a bullet hit his chest. He did not move, the bullet fell to the floor without managing to rip his clothes or even his skin. Puang Matua Sakka drew his dagger and the other TII had scattered into the arajang house. That was when bissu Rusmi saw her ex-lover also charging. Andi Upe was there, and a fight was inevitable between the bissu and Andi Upe's troops, between daggers and rifles and machetes. ***What happened next was a reality that confirmed that not all bissu were truly immune, only a few were lucky and blessed by the Gods. Several bissu collapsed with holes in their chests and wounds on their heads and bodies.*** Three soldiers were killed, one of them by Bissu Rusmi, his dagger stabbed an attacker right in the chest - and not long after, the bissu felt cornered, several people ran through the back door when they saw Puang Matua Sakka being caught. Bissu Rusmi had no other choice, he had to run or his life would end. He felt several bullets hit his body but they were ineffective. How long could he survive? When he decided to run, he turned his face to see his friends being slaughtered and Puang Matua Sakka being captured and who knows what kind of treatment he would receive (TSB, pp: 117-118).

2. Persecution of bissu in the novel *Tiba Sebelum Berangkat* by Faisal Oddang and the novel *Calabai* by Pepi Al-Baygunie after the DI/TII rebellion.

DI/TII propaganda, its impact was not only felt by the community in 1950, but also after the rebellion. In the era of technological advancement that was touted as an open era, bissu and *calabai* still experienced persecution from the community or groups exposed to DI/TII propaganda in the past.

Envy people can do anything . That sentence sunk into his heart. Initially, only a handful of buyers visited Grandma Sagena's stall, even when the other stalls were closed. Suddenly the shop was busy and liked by many customers. Of course, this fact cannot be accepted by other stall owners...

"Get out, Saidi," someone shouted loudly. Saidi, who was in the shop with Grandma Sagena, immediately rushed out of the shop. Grandma Sagena followed him with a pale face. During her time trading in the shop, no one had ever shouted loudly in front of her shop. Grandma Sagena and Saidi were shocked to see people already gathered in front of the shop.

Grandma Sagena tried to stay calm. "What's going on?"

Someone shouted fiercely, "Saidi must leave this village!"

Another chimed in, "He's a bad luck charm!"

"Before," shouted a stall owner, "this stall was as quiet as a graveyard. Since Saidi came, Nenek Sagena's stall has become busier. Meanwhile, our stall is getting quieter. This transvestite must be the culprit. He uses reading!"

Saidi said quietly, "I don't use reading, sir!"

"Shut up, Calabai," the stall owner snapped, "don't try to dodge!" "Calabai are not allowed in this village!" someone shouted fiercely.

"Yes, calabai is cursed by God!"

"Calabai brings bad luck!"

"Drive the calabai out of our village!"

Saidi saw sparks of anger in the eyes of the villagers and shop owners when they said "they can't be in this village", "calabai is cursed by God", and "calabai brings bad luck". However, the peak of his anger was clearly visible in the dreaded sentence, "Expel the calabai from our village!"

....."Leave this village, Calabai!"

"If we still see you here tomorrow morning, we'll burn this shop down!" CLB/page: 67-68.

Saidi, an individual who in his life journey was destined to become a bissu. Saidi is a *calabai* , before becoming a bissu he experienced many challenges in life, including persecution by the villagers. Since coming and living with Grandma Sagena, Grandma Sagena's stall which was initially quiet is now busy again with customers, on the other hand the neighbor's stall which was initially busy is again quiet with customers. This incident of course cannot be accepted by the villagers. Saidi also cannot deny being accused, a bringer of bad luck. By the villagers, *calabai* is cursed by God and brings bad luck. The bad perception of the villagers towards *calabai* that occurred, approximately eighty years ago and became a belief, now again plagues Saidi in the open era, namely DI/TII propaganda has now become a dogma for the villagers.

Persecuted by the villagers, Saidi was forced to leave Grandma Sagena's stall. However, as fate would have it, in the new place Saidi and the bissu also experienced the same persecution . They experienced persecution from former TII troops.

The old man's face that was originally radiant suddenly turned red and dark, he stared at the group of bissu with a bright red face and bright red eyes. The little child in his arms he immediately handed over to his son.

The old man turned again to the bissu and shouted angrily, "Why is there calabai here?"

The people who were busy putting out the fire stopped for a moment and turned to the old man.

The old man became increasingly ferocious. "It must be all of you who are pacilakai, who caused my son's bad luck until his house burned down. Get out of here!"

As for Saidi, who had been holding back his anger, he could not accept the old man's attitude and treatment of Puang Matoa. He was still furious and curious. When the pete-pete drove off again, he was still silent, imagining the old man's shameless attitude. He really wanted to ask why Puang Matoa was not angry at being treated like that, but he held himself back.

Suddenly Puang Masse cleared his throat. "Who is that old man Puang?"

"Doesn't Puang Matoa know?" added Puang Sompō.

"I know him," replied Puang Matoa.

"Who, Puang?" Saidi was also curious.

"Former gorilla members," said Puang Malolo Marang.

Puang Matoa was silent for a moment. "That man used to join in the attack on Bola Arajang, destroying heirlooms, torturing and killing several bissu, as I told you the other day, Saidi." (CLB, p. 167).

A child was trapped in a house fire in the city, the bissu who saw the incident spontaneously got out of the vehicle and broke through the blazing fire. With the courage of Puang Matoa Masse, the child was saved from death. However, the bissu did not know the child who was helped was the grandson of the old man, former TII troops. Seeing the man, Puang Matoa remembered the past eradication of bissu. The old man was involved in a number of bissu eradications. Although, it was no longer the DI/TII era, the old man still persecuted bissu.

In addition to villagers and former TII troops, Islamic organizations also persecuted bissu, a group with special characteristics that marked them as coming from hardline Islamic groups. Islamic organizations that have the same ideology as DI/TII. They opposed and ordered the traditional ceremony to be stopped when bissu were performing the *attoriolong ceremony*.

As the ceremony was solemnly underway, suddenly threatening shouts were heard from the highway. So noisy, so rowdy. A group of people wearing white clothes and caps moved orderly towards Daeng Mogga's house. Shout of takbir broke the atmosphere. The Mappaleppe Satinja ceremony immediately stopped. The bissu sheathed their daggers again. Their gazes were now directed to the street, watching the procession with thunderous sounds that was walking towards the house where the ceremony was being held.

The procession stopped on the street in front of Daeng Mogga's house. The police who were guarding the ceremony area immediately moved quickly to stop them from entering Daeng Mogga's yard....

A person in a white turban, robed, with a long, bushy beard, took a step forward. "We ask that this ceremony be stopped!"

The loud shouts of takbir immediately greeted the words of the man with the long beard, who appeared to be the leader of the group.

"Allah is the Greatest!"

Puang Matoa Saena and the other bissu just waited. "What you are doing is an activity that violates religion..."

"Allah is the Greatest!"

"You have damaged the faith of our society..."

"Allah is the Greatest!"

Like the others, Saidi stood without saying anything, just standing, even though his heart was aching. The people in the yard were enveloped in silence; the people outside the yard were gripped by anger. An incident like this was certainly never wanted by the residents or the bissu, but it really caught his attention (CLB/pp: 102-103)

Hardline Islamic groups strongly oppose the presence of bissu in the village settlements. They do not agree with the traditional ceremonial activities held by bissu. The arrival accompanied by threats and coercion to stop traditional ceremonies has become a form of persecution that is disturbing the bissu.

For them, the behavior of bissu is no more than that of sodomites, like humans in the time of the prophet Luth. Bissu, a group of humans who are cursed by God.

Daeng Mogga as the host stepped outside the fence. "Patience..."

"We will only be patient if those transvestites leave your house, Daeng!"

The white-turbaned man's objection was immediately greeted by shouts of takbir from the people behind him. "Allahu akbar!" "I think," added Daeng Mogga, "we can resolve this well..." ***"You should know, Daeng Mogga," shouted the turbaned man loudly, "we do not want the land of Pangkep to be inhabited by the people of Luth, people who are cursed by our God. They must repent, take off their calabai robes, and return to the right path!" "Allah is the Greatest!"***

The shout was greeted with a very orderly movement, advancing several steps until the line on the street was face to face with the police forces.

The police commander calmly raised his hand. "Go home, let us resolve this matter!" " ***They, the polytheists, must immediately leave our village, Sir Police. If not, we will take strong action*** (CLB/page: 102-103).

Arrogance and not hesitating to take the law into their own hands are characteristics of hardline Islamic organizations. The pattern used to carry out persecution is more or less the same as DI/TII, always in the name of Islam. Threats to bissu carry a message, only their religious beliefs are true, without realizing that in the modern era of openness, many bissu adhere to Islam, but still carry out the *attoriolong traditional ceremony* .

Finally, Puang Matoa Saena could not hold himself back, "If we are wrong, show us what you think is right!"

Instead of calming and cooling the heads of the people standing outside the yard, Puang Matoa Saena's words were like gasoline poured on a blazing fire .

"Who says you are not wrong? You have cheated on God, used wine for ceremonies, worshiped jinn and devils, then fell into a trance like evil spirits. Isn't that all against religion?" snapped one of them.

"We never worship jinn ," Puang Matoa answered calmly. "Instead, we ask God to save us all from danger and the threat of famine. Everything we do is solely for the benefit of the community. There are no jinn , no demons, no evil spirits. We are also Muslims, we also pray, we also fast. What is our fault?" CLB/pp: 103-104.

CONCLUSION

Bissu, a group of believers who play a role in carrying out the *attoriolong traditional ceremony* during the heyday of a number of Bugis kingdoms in South Sulawesi. With their spiritual figures who are believed to be able to convey messages and connect humans with the gods in the sky, bissu have a high social position, considered as holy people.

The important position of bissu did not bring good news to DI/TII who were fighting (rebellious) against the government of the Republic of Indonesia to establish an Islamic state in 1950. The social and spiritual position of bissu could hinder the goals of the DI/TII rebellion. Even so, DI/TII did not lose their wits. To gain sympathy and support for the rebellion among the predominantly Muslim people of South Sulawesi, DI/TII used bissu as a propaganda tool, in the following ways; (1) bissu were weakened socially and spiritually by leading opinion and directing perceptions that bissu behavior violated Islamic law, (2) spiritual activities carried out by bissu were acts that were contrary to Islamic law, idol worship that could invite the smoke of Allah, (3) if Allah's disaster came, it would not only befall sinful people, but also innocent people.

DI/TII carried out persecution by searching for and killing bissu to prove that DI/TII propaganda was not only limited to influencing opinion and directing perception, but was truly fighting (rebellious) to uphold Islamic law, sacrificing minority groups who had different beliefs from DI/TII for the sake of power.

The persecution of bissu in the 21st century is the impact and continuation of religious propaganda carried out by DI/TII in 1950. Hardline Islamic communities or groups who agree with the ideology of DI/TII and do not want to accept the differences in beliefs and faiths of bissu within the framework of the Republic of Indonesia which adheres to a democratic system are again carrying out persecution of bissu. There are three groups that carry out persecution of bissu in the era of technological and information advancement, namely; (1) communities exposed to DI/TII propaganda in the past, (2) hardline Islamic groups or groups who agree with the ideology of DI/TII, and (3) former *gorillas* (DI/TII) who are still alive and roaming in villages and cities.

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