

Pamendi': The Local Wisdom of Building Social Harmony in Multi-ethnic Society Shown in the Local History of Sumbawa in Indonesia

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Abstract

The local history of one ethnic community in Indonesia narrates how this community is developed; hence, the local history of Sumbawa tells from whom *tau Samawa* (the local term for the ethnic of Sumbawa) are derived. *Tau Samawa* were originated from the mixture of Malay Austronesian race with other ethnics in Indonesia spreading to Samawa Island. This mixture creates the local wisdom *pamendi* (reciprocal sympathy), an accommodating characteristic of *tau Samawa* in the form of feeling welcome to ethnic immigrants in Sumbawa. This characteristic is portrayed in the local historical facts starting from the Prehistory, Hinduism-Buddhism, and Islamic Era in which *tau Samawa* lived harmoniously with the ethnic immigrants.

Keywords: local history, pamendi, social harmony, multi-ethnic society

1. Introduction

Indonesia is one of the most multi-ethnic countries in the world. Indonesia should be proud of this entity since it makes this country rich in culture. However, Poerwanto (2006:1) warns that this rich diversity may make the country prone to ethnic conflicts. This can be true as these conflicts often happen in the after-independence era which becomes national concerns.

Some of these conflicts happened in Sumbawa. The first series of conflict was the physical fighting between the boys of Sumbawanese and Balinese and *merari*' (elopement) cases that often happened involving these two ethnics. The peak of the latter conflict was the big chaos on November 17, 1980. Then, the second series of conflict happened in the same time as the similar conflict in Lampung on January 22, 2013. The conflict was triggered by the death of Arminati, the university student of Universitas Samawa (UNSA). The police reported that a Balinese first police brigadier, I Gede Eka Swarjana, gave her a ride on a motorcycle, but then they had a traffic accident which caused Arminati to die. The accident happened 15 kilometres from the center of the city. This caused Sumbawanese ethnic to be in madness (Tempo.co, January 22, 2013). They did *long march* on January 22, 2013 to the central police office of Sumbawa demanding the police to reveal the truth behind the death of Arminati. This protest made some public facilities, including the praying facilities of certain religion destroyed and burned down (Kompas.com, January 22, 2013),

Some efforts, called conflict resolution, are applied to restore the harmony among ethnics which are in dispute. However, the problem happens when the points of the resolution determined are mainly based on violence (oppressive action), force (culture expose forbidden in the name of respect for other ethnic), elitism (*Rakor Muspida* (a big discussion event held by government and community leaders) and ethnic role figures). The approach used in this model of resolution is applicable for a short period which aims at reducing the conflict escalation. Suparlan (2010) suggested that oppressive action cannot be the conflict resolution since it will not stop the conflict potential that can explode anytime.

Based on this phenomenon, it is necessary to dig the local wisdom taken from the local history of Sumbawa in order to use it as a social capital to restore the harmony of multi-ethnic society. In addition, it can also become a conflict resolution applicable for long time periods. There are the facts of harmonious multiethnic society found in the local history as shown by some ethnic neighborhoods (*kampung*) in the city of Sumbawa Besar, such as kampung Jawa (Javanese), Bugis, Bima and Timor. They become the evidence that Sumbawa has been known as a cultural-diverse district since the past time and is open to ethnic immigrants. Yusuf Kalla, the vice president of Indonesia, also asserts the similar statement while visiting Sumbawa, after the ethnic conflict, on February 23, 2013. These all strengthen the interest in investigating what local wisdom of the local history of Sumbawa could maintain the social harmony in the multi-ethnic society in the past time; therefore, this wisdom can be the social capital to build the harmony of multi-ethnic society in the present time and in the future of Sumbawa.

2. Literature Review

Indonesia is a country and a nation with the diversity of ethnics. The difference between the ethnic groups is by identifying the certain characteristics of one ethnic compared with the others. The ethnic group is defined as a social unity which is based on the similar characteristics of historical background, culture and language. The boundary among the groups is certain cultural identity. From the social point of view, the different identity of the ethnic groups relates with language, belief, ancestors, life style, tradition, nasionalism, and physical traits (Conklin, 1984, in Suyitno, I., 2015:411)

Kartodirdjo, S. (1993) states that this ethnic diversity was formed through the long historical evolution which has happened since the Prehistory era. Malay Austronesians, at this time, who became the great ancestors of all ethnics in Indonesia migrated from *Nederlandsch-Indie* to Nusantara and spread to different islands. The geographic isolation in a long time period creates multiethnic society living in their own local historical area.

Then, the two eras in sequence flourish the the multiethnic diversity of Indonesian society, that are the era of Hinduism-Buddhism (Sriwijaya and Majapahit) by the presence of merchants or pilgrims and the era of Islam. Tjandrasmita, U. (2000) has studied the multiethnic society settling in the city of harbor and the capital of kingdom in Indonesia. His study is based on the local history, that is the history of ports and the capitals of kingdom in the inter-insula trading route. For instance, around the sixteenth century, there was merchant neighborhoods in the city of harbor, Banten, such as Pakojan (Middle East merchants), Pacinan (Chinese merchants), and from other ethnics in Indonesia (Ternate, Banjar, Bugis and Makasar ethnic). In the same time, the neighborhood of Javanese, Arab, Chinese, Benggala and Portuguese were found in the city of harbor Aceh. Sulistiyono, S. (2011) used the diaspora concept to investigate the multiethnic society in Indonesian history. It is stated that historically Indonesia is called as *land of diaspora*. Diaspora is an inherent part in the history of Indonesia. The historical journey of how Indonesia becomes the multiethnic society involves the growth of ethnic and race communities including Aceh, Malay, Batak, Javanese, Madurese, Banjar, Bugis, Makasar, Buton, Balinese, Ambon, Papua, Chinese, Indian and Dutch people. The ethnic and race migration happened together along with cross cultural issues with all their complexities in their new area. The historical journey of every society is influenced by internal diaspora (ethnic migration in Indonesia) and external diaspora (the migration of foreign ethnics) which make it develop into multi-ethnic society.

Using this diaspora concept, the local history journey of Sumbawa shows that Sumbawa has multi-ethnic society caused by the migration of Javanese, Bugis, Balinese, Lombok, Bima, Timor ethnic and others. The existence of these ethnic neighborhoods can be found in Sumbawa Besar, the capital city of Sumbawa district. In addition, related with the writing process of the Local History of Sumbawa, the perspective of the political history of Sumbawa brings out the diaspora of Javanese and Makasar ethnic as has been argued by Ismain, K. (2002). He mentioned the politic contact between the kingdom of Majapahit and Sumbawa and the Sumbawa invasion by the kingdom of Gowa leading to the migration to Sumbawa. Further, he described the similarity of the architecture of Bala Rea (The palace of Sumbawa) to Bala Lompoa in Makasar which is the reflection of diaspora symbol using the culture diffusion of Javanese and South Sulawesi culture (Ismain, K: 2013).

One definition of local history is stated by Abdullah, T (1979:11), which is the history of one area whose boundaries are determined by social groups under a certain geographic scope put in the 'agreement' suggested by historians. In principle, this geographic scope distinguishes the studies of local history from other history studies, such as national history. It is considered the same as a community of one "neighborhood", as stated by Widja, IG (1991). Then, the content of historical events in the local history can be investigated based on certain approaches. One of them is thematic historical approach which may involve social history and the history of culture (Suryo, D. 2001:13-14). The focus of this research is the social harmony in multi-ethnic society which is also related to the theme of social history and the history of culture.

The local attention on the local history is neither to raise the local sentiment or extreme ethnicity nor to divide the unity of nation. This history presents the educative benefits from a nation with the ethnic diversity yet bound by the similar social and cultural basis (Soebadyo, H. 1983). The urgency of local history in Indonesia puts priority on the multi-ethnic harmony supporting the government program implementing *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (the Indonesian motto: unity in diversity). This motto keeps the diversity in a group bond orienting to the future (Alfian, 2011). Therefore, the local history which contains the local wisdom as the reflection of local culture should be inherited from one generation to the other one. Life in the modern era nowadays should be enriched with the foundation of local history and culture as stated by Majid, A (2015) about the development of modernism and local culture which should be hand in hand.

3. Methodology

This research was conducted in Indonesia, that is in Sumbawa Besar, the capital of Sumbawa regency of West Nusa Tenggara province. Demographically, the people of Sumbawa Besar are heterogeneous consisting of Sumbawanese as the original ethnic and ethnic immigrants in majority, such as Javanese, Bugis, Balinese,

Lombok, Bima, Timor, Tionghoa, and others. They live in ethnic neighborhoods like *Kampung Jawa*, *Kampung Bugis*, *Kampung Irian*, *Kampung Bima*, *Kampung Timor*.

There are two subjects of the research. The first is Sumbawanese historians who are acknowledged with the multi-ethnic life in the local history of Sumbawa. Then, the latter is ethnic immigrants from Java, Bali, Madura, et cetera living in Sumbawa.

The data in this research was collected through interview method, library study method and documentation. It was analyzed interactively using qualitative method and a type of descriptive study. Then, the data description was in the form of facts of the process of social harmony of multi-ethnic society in the past time of Sumbawa. These facts portrayed what and how the local wisdom built this harmonious life.

4. Result and Discussion

The embryo of harmonious multi-ethnic life in Sumbawa can be traced back starting from the early presence of the original ethnic of Sumbawa. This original ethnic calls themselves *tau Samawa* as one ethnic unity with local tradition and language *Samawa*. Geographically, *tau Samawa* settle in the area called *Tana Samawa* in the local term referring to the west area of Sumbawa island.

4.1. The origin of *Pamendi*' and the Social Harmony in the Prehistory Era

The assumption of the early presence of humans in *tana Samawa* relates to *manusia purba species* although this is hypothetical as their physical traits and characteristics have not been identified. This is based on the research result by *Tim Arkeologi Pusat* (Central Archeologist Team) in 1980 who stated that in the Prehistory era of Glacial period, Samawa is a part of big *Nusantara* land with Sumatera, Java, Bali, West Lombok, Flores, and East area of Timor. The geographic condition which is not separated by sea makes prehistory humans easy to migrate to many areas, including *Samawa*. They once may settle in the valley of *Batu Tering*, *kecamatan Moyohulu* (Raba, M. 20012).

The early presence of *tau Samawa* is predicted in the next period related with two migration waves of Malay Austronesian to the archipelago of Indonesia. The first migration is called *Proto Melayu* happened around 1500 SM on which this sub race brings out the culture in the form of *kapak persegi* and *kapak lonjong*. This civilization spreads in destination areas, which are Sumatera, Java, Bali, Sulawesi and Borneo. The race, who is assumed as the founder ethnic of *tau Samawa*, then, spreads to *tana Samawa*. They are also called *tau Tepal* since they live in Tepal village in which they have certain physical traits and the dialect of language (Raba, M. 2012).

Now, this language still exists in the local language of Ropang, Selesek, Jeru, Tanganam, Dodo, and others used by original ethnics in the highland of south *Tana Samawa*, such as Ropang, Batu Lanteh, and Lunyuk. On the other hand, *Monografi Daerah NTB* (Regional Monography of West Nusa Tenggara) argued that the original ethnic of *tau Samawa* is Sanggar mixed with the Sasak ethnic of Lombok as it is based on the word similarity in marriage context. Therefore, it can be said that the harmonious life between the ethnic of Sumbawa with the Lombok ethnic has happened since the prehistory era (Manca, L. 1984)

Before living in the highland of *tana Samawa*, the original ethnic *Samawa* settled in low areas and coasts, but then they were forced to go to the south because of the migration force of sub race Malay Austronesian (*Deutro Melayu*), around 500 SM. It is a common thing to happen in the Indonesian archipelago. This second wave of migration brings more advanced civilization which is metal civilization, for example *kapak corong* and *nekara*.

The migration of sub race Deutro Melayu to *tana Samawa* is proven by the discovery of bronze *nekara* in the graveyard of King Seran in Seran village, Seteluk in 1932. Now it may be used by royal family as a sacred property in the ceremony of calling for rain (Proyek Pembinaan Permuseuman NTB, 1997/1998). The discovery reflects the emergence of local wisdom *pamendi*' in the form of harmonious and balanced life of the original Sumbawanese ethnic starting from the Prehistory era to the era of Seran kingdom, besides the harmonious mixture between the sub race ethnic of Proto Melayu with Deutro Melayu.

The civilization level of the original tau Samawa can be said advanced enough as *kebudayaan logam* starts to develop in the Neolithic era. In this era, humans start to settle in certain neighborhoods or villages, developing the farming (growing crops and rearing animals) tradition as a sedentary social and economic life. In addition, the religious life has more clear orientation seen from the religious ritual properties and facilities that they create. This can be seen from the sarcophagus found in Airenung village around Batu Tering. Also found in other areas of Nusantara, the sarcophagus is used as a stone graveyard (Proyek Pembinaan Permuseuman NTB, 1997/1998). These two artefacts discovery are the reflection of the existence of local wisdom *pamendi* in the harmonious life of *tau samawa* since the idea of making and using them integrate all the participation of the Sumbawanese ethnic and the immigrants under the frame of harmonious social life.

4.2. The Implementation of *Pamendi'* on the Social Harmony in the Hinduism-Buddhism Era

Migration waves to *tana Samawa* still continue after the prehistory era. The ethnic immigrants build their own neighborhood that will become *lar-lamat* land (*tanah ulayat*) led by *Nyaka*. Thus, it is also called *tana panyaka*. Whoever comes to *tana panyaka* will always be welcomed and will get the same rights and status as the principle “*tumpun aeng-aeng, tu tumpun nan tau baeng*” saying that those who find something will own it (Manca, 1984). This principle, which is the admittance and respect for ownership, is the reflection of local wisdom *pamendi'* that creates the harmonious life in *tana' Samawa*.

The development of *tana panyaka*, then, becomes local kingdoms whose authority and territory are not very big. There are 16 small kingdoms in the history of *tana Samawa*, that is Dewa Awan Kuning in Selesek, Ropang, Datu Naga in Petonang, Ropang, Airenung in Moyo Hulu, Dewa Awan Kuning in Sampar Kamulan Moyo Hulu, Ngali (Lape), Tangko in Empang, Kolong in Plampang, Hutan in Utan, Seran in Seteluk, and Taliwang in Taliwang (Manca, L. 1984). How big these kingdoms are as big as the village territory nowadays. The existence of the kingdoms makes *tanah penyaka* have the responsibility to distribute treasure to the kingdom. This is called *pamendi' tau samawa lako raja* (the reciprocal sympathy between the king and his people).

The inter-insular trade and sailing happened in the Indonesian archipelago develops further as the effect of *rising hubungan* between two central civilizations of Asia at the time, that are China and India. The geographic position of Nusantara as the central producer of the commodities for world trade has triggered various merchants from China, India, Arab, Java, Malay, Minang, Bugis of Makasar, Ambon of Mollucas and Madura are doing the trading activities actively in the inter-insular route between the west part and east part of the archipelago.

In the framework of inter-insular sailing and trade, *tana Samawa* is not immediately in this route, yet it functions as a *feeder point* of commodities into the ports of this route. *Tana Samawa* is one of local trading enclaves producing honey and buffaloes. Furthermore, it is known as a rice island because of its flourished rice harvests.

Besides the trading potential, the politic-trading relationships between kingdoms encourage other ethnics to migrate to Samawa. Thus, religion, economy and politic interest may trigger ethnic migration to *tana Samawa*.

The fact that the ethnic of Sumbawa always welcome the ethnic immigrants is the form of *pamendi' tau Samawa*. Sukardjo, a Javanese settling for 41 years in *tana' Samawa*, can feel and see it in the life of Sumbawanese society as he said in the interview (2016). He puts his statement in the form of *lawas* (*Sumbawanese poem*) as follows.

Mana si tau sabarang kayu
(whoever he is)
Lamen tak sanyaman ate
(if he can give you happiness)
Ba nan si sanak parana
(then he is your brother)
Mana si tau sabarang kayu
(whoever he is)
Lamen tak sanyaman ate
(if he can give you happiness)
Ba nan si sanak parana
(then he is your brother)

The inter-insula trade and sailing network also create the culture diffusion through sporadic contacts by the Javanese merchants to local people of Sumbawa. Then, other migration of Javanese to Sumbawa happens through politics in the era of Majapahit. The harmonious relationship between these two ethnics grows intensively when the kingdom of Majapahit makes a politic contact with the Sumbawa kingdom.

Around the year 1331-1364, that is when Dewa Awan Kuning, the supreme king of Sumbawa at the time, accompanied with his ministers, such as Rangga, Kadaruan and Adipati went to the central kingdom of Majapahit to study the the kingdom's tradition. The Majapahit king himself accompanied with Gajah Mada, Aria Damar and one kingdom official welcomes Dewa Awan Kuning in the kingdom. In other words, the harmonious relationship between these two kingdoms has started since the thirteenth century, and it lasts until the sovereignty of Dewa Majaparuwa, the last king of the dynasty of Dewa Awan Kuning, in the year 1618. This means that Majapahit has planted its influences on the Samawa kingdom for three centuries (Raba, M. 2012)

In the next period, based on Kakawin Negarakertagama, Gajah Mada mentioned the word *Hutan* in his vow. *Hutan* is one of the central local politics in Sumbawa initiated by Gajah Mada for supporting the authority of Majapahit. The expedition by *Senopati* Nala to Sumbawa in the year 1357 becomes the real action of Gajah Mada's vow afterwards (Mulyana, S.: 1984).

“*Buk*” (the writings by secretary of Sumbawa kingdom) tells the successful Nala expedition symbolized

with the diplomatic relationship between Majapahit and the kingdom of Dewa Awan Kuning. The king, then, went to Majapahit, accepting 4 scriptures about the guidance of how to rule a kingdom, which are Pala Kera, Cangkul Muda, Raja Niti, and Raja Kutara. (Manca, L. 1984)

The king of Majapahit sends out “*kiahi*” afterwards. He is the kingdom representative who is delegated as a minister in the kingdom of Dewa Awan Kuning. One of his big tasks is to divide the minister authority between Rangga and Adipati; therefore, this minister is often known as Kalibelah/ Kiahi Belah. He remarks that his dynasty is inherited from Majapahit. This causes some Javanese influences on Sumbawanese politics like the word *dewa*, the word *betara* in the king’s name and the name of dynasty, reflecting the influence level of Majapahit (Manca, L. 1984).

In brief, there are some Majapahit influences that are absorbed in the local wisdom *pamendi*’ building the social harmony. The first is that Majapahit is an agriculture kingdom that can give the influence on how to do farming for *tau Samawa*. The kingdom opens farms as can be seen from the farms in Utan, Seran, Taliwang, and Empang. Then, the influence of Hinduism belief held by Majapahit is illustrated with the place of Batu Gong in Utan. Finally, Majapahit starts teaching the government and society system to kings of Sumbawa (Raba, M, 2002).

4.3. The Implementation of *Pamendi*’ on the Social Harmony in the Islamic Era (The Sultan Monarchy)

The development of harmonious relationship between Javanese and Sumbawanese ethnic continues to the Islamisation period done sporadically by *muballigh* (Islamic priests) who mainly come from the main Islamic ports in East Java. Not only these ports become the center of Islamic spread, but they also become *city state* having autonomous authority before invaded by Mataram kingdom.

The origin of social harmony in Islamic era starts with the invasion of Sumbawa by the kingdom of Gowa. It influences the political system in Sumbawa that is similar to the system in Gowa. As one example, there is the highest governmental institution which has the *dean* of the kingdom called *Hadat*. It is called *Hadat Syara*’ in Sumbawa. In addition, the influence of Gowa kingdom can be seen in the architecture of Sumbawanese palace which is similar to the palace of Gowa kingdom.

The influence of Makassar kingdom (the twin kingdom Goa-Tallo) spreading in *Tana Samawa* starts in the sixteenth century, that is since Kareng Maroangang from Gowa firstly invaded Samawa in 1628. Almost all Samawa kings, then, start to have a relationship with the people of the kingdom in Sulawesi, and vice versa. Starting from Mas Cini, the king ruling Sumbawa in the year 1650 to 1684 got married with Kareng Panaikang, the princess of King Tallo. Then, Mas Bantan who ruled in the year 1688 to 1725 also married I Rakia Karaeng Agang Jene Sidenreng from South Sulawesi. Now the last heredity of Sumbawanese king, Sultan Muhammad Kaharuddin III, is from Makassar (Goa-Tallo).

The harmony of government bersendikan *Hadat Syara*’ in kingdoms in Sumbawa is implemented through two elements of bureaucracy, which are Dewa Masmawa and Tana’ Samawa. Sultan becomes the element of Dewa Masmawa, while Minister Telu becomes Tana’ Samawa. The source of authority comes from the king himself; however, the implementation has been put in limitations and regulated in *Hadat Syara*’. Although the king charisma is reflected through the symbols and properties of the kingdom, his authority can be taken out if he breaks the rules of *Hadat Syara*’. However, the authority of government in de facto is run by Minister Telu (The institution of *Hadat Syara*’). It is called Minister Telu because the personnels of its bureaucracy are three people, that are Dea Ranga, Dea Kalibelah, and Dea Adipati. Sultan is the highest hierarchy in the bureaucracy giving the order to this institution. If Sultan is weak, either this institution or the personnel from it, which is Dea Ranga (the highest personnel) is often present dominantly running the authority of Sultan (Ismain, K. 2002)

Related with the harmony between politics and religion, the religious community is adopted into the sovereignty of Sultan. The hierarchy of this community tells the lowest position to the highest are Bilal, Hatib, Kabir, Lebe, Penghulu, Imam and Kali/Kadi. However, Sumbawanese laymen can be in these positions because of their strong faith and knowledge in religion as inspired by Haji Ali, the role figure who gives a strong influence on the religious life of Sumbawanese people.

The social harmony can also be immediately observed in the building architecture in Sumbawa Besar. One example of the diffusion of the culture of South Sulawesi to that of Sumbawa is the architecture of Gowa palace Balla Lompoa. Balla Lompoa lies in the Sungguminasa street which is about 15 kilometres from the center of Makassar, the capital city of South Sulawesi nowadays. The architecture of Balla Lompoa has the similarity to Bala Rea located in Dalam Loka street in Sumbawa Besar (Ismain, K. 2013)

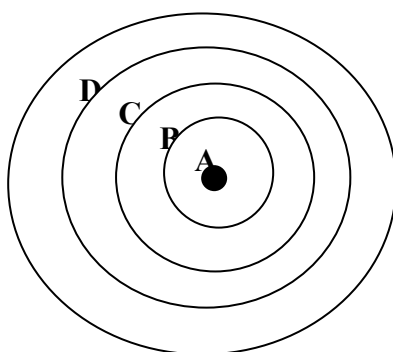


Figure 1. Bala Lompoa



Figure 2. Bala Rea

Balla Lompoa is the original palace of the kingdom of Gowa, but then Bala Rea becomes the palace of Sumbawane kingdom. Balla Lompoa in the Makassar language means a very big house, same as the meaning of the phrase Bala Rea in Sumbawane language. Both buildings have the same function, that is as a palace. In addition, they also have the same construction, that is *panggung* (description of *panggung*). Both palaces use the combination between two *panggung* constructions with two floors so that they become very big houses. All materials of the building are jati wood as the form of harmonious existence with the environment (Ismain, K. 2013). The local wisdom *pamendi* also builds the social harmony of the Javanese culture which is diffused with the culture of Sumbawa in the era of Islamic kingdom. This can be seen from the diagram of how the kingdom territory is arranged below.



Note

- A. Java: the palace and its territory inside the fort
 Sumbawa: *Balarea*, Lenang Lunyuk, Jamik Mosque
- B. Java: the capital
 Sumbawa: *Lawang Empat*
- C. Java: the most outer part of kingdom (country)
 Sumbawa: *Penganton*
- D. Java: foreign countries
 Sumbawa: Kamutar

The first circle (A) is the palace, illustrating respect and status, justice and authority, wisdom and prosperity, which are united inside the king himself who becomes the sacred main point of the center of the kingdom. The private place of stay of the king and his family is also inside the palace, and it also becomes the internal administration (*parentah jero*) which connects the king with the external administration (*parentah jaba*). The description of this circle can be seen in the surrounding of the Sumbawane palace of Bala Rea as the main building, accompanied with the kingdom square (lenang lunyuk), and the central mosque (Ismain, K.2013).

The second circle (B) is the center of kingdom called Kutaneegara, or we usually call it the 'capital'. The noble and the high government officers live in this area which is the same as *lawang mpat karang* (four-gate neighborhood) in the kingdom of Sumbawa. The phrase means that the capital is surrounded by *mpat lawang* (four doors). These gates are Lempe ruled by Dea Longan Lempe; Seketeng ruled by Datu Busing; Brang Bara controlled under the village of Kademungan; and Samapuen controlled under the village of Longan Samapuen (Ismain, K.2013).

The third circle (C) is called *agung country* in Java. The area in this circle is mostly divided into *gaduhan* (land of work). This is also happened in the area outside the capital which is divided into ten *panganton* (*regentschap*) controlled by officials as *Otak Panagnton* (Dea Ranga, Dea Kalibela, Datu Busing, Dea Longan Samawapuen, Dea Bawa, Dea Mangku, Dea Ngeru, Bumi Ngampo, Demung Kroya, and Demung Mapin). The king delegates them through Dea Ranga Panganton as Lar Lamat (Manca, 1984) or *tanah ulayat* (land of

tradition).

The fourth circle (D) is *kamutar*, the most outer part called foreign countries which are invaded by the kingdom. They are divided into two groups, which are *mancanegara kilen* (the east foreign countries) and *mancanegara wetan* (the west foreign countries). In the middle of the sovereignty, the Dewa Dalam Bawa dynasty expands the territory including three kingdoms (Seran, Taliwang, and Jereweh). These sub-territories are called *kamutar telu (de drie vasalstaten)*. However, the kingdom once had four sub-territories (*kamutar mpat*) when Lombok island (Selaparang) once belonged to the kingdom territory before invaded by one kingdom in Bali (Karangasem) (Ismain, K. 2013)

Some forms of social harmony which are the reflection of the influence of the Makassar-Samawa relationship such as follows: Makasar kingdom (Goa-Tallo) which is the kingdom close to sea giving the influence on the formation of “sea culture”, especially for people in the coastal areas of North Samawa. Goa-Tallo is an Islamic kingdom that means for more than a half century the power of Islam “has reduced” the three century-influence of Hinduism-Buddhism in Sumbawa. The Islamic government system is introduced by Goa to Samawa and becomes a part of “the culture of governance” in Samawa. The influence of Makassar which has been for almost four centuries can be seen from the tradition, language, people’s name and house in Sumbawa. In fact, since there are many similarities between Makasar and Samawa, there is a term called *Samawa Tanja Makasar*, meaning Samawa resembles Makassar. On the other words, visiting Sumbawa makes people can see both Makassar and Samawa in one area.

Then, the social harmony can be seen in the religious life. The first religion known by the society of Samawa is Hinduism. For centuries, Hinduism has influenced the life of *Tau Samawa* until the Islam invasion in the fifteenth and sixteenth century. When the kingdom of Gowa invaded Tana Samawa and brought out Islam as the religion of the kingdom in 1623, Islam starts to become the official religion of the kingdom of Sumbawa. As a result, the religion of the original population of Samawa is Islam. About 97% people of Samawa hold Islam, while others are Hindus, Christians, Catholics, and Buddhists. Nevertheless, they all live in toleration as shown with the existence of the prayer buildings of all the religions in Tana Samawa (Interview with Zulkarnain, July 2016).

The language of Sumbawanese also reflects the social harmony. There are many words in this language which are similar to those of Sasak, Balinese, Javanese, or Bugis-Makassar language as the result of social-cultural diffusion. The difference is in the accent of Sumbawanese pronouncing them, and this accent makes the words become parts of *Basa Samawa*, the language entity of Sumbawanese people.

In addition, the ethnic relationship between Makassar and Sumbawa causes the Sumbawanese alphabets called *Setra Jontal* to have similarity to lontar alphabets of South Sulawesi. Tau Samawa speak their local language (*Basa Samawa*) which becomes the local identity. Although the accent of, for example, Sumbawanese in the Ropang, Batu Lenteh, Jereweh mountain range, those in the south of Lunyuk, and those in Taliwang is different from that of Sumbawanese people living in the east or middle area, there is no difficulty in communication and understanding each other. These all belong to the language treasure in *tana Samawa*, and *tau Samawa* are proud of their cultural diversity (Raba, M. 2002)

All in all, *Tau Samawa* are always open to build social harmony by doing together approaches together on conflicts, yet they have their dignity by being independence of themselves. The equality attitude roots by welcoming/respecting ethnic immigrants as guests yang diperlakukan sangat istimewa, sebagaimana dirasakan oleh seseorang etnis pendatang. This is revealed in the *lawas* (poem) as retold by Soekardjo, a Javanese living in Sumbawa (interview on July 2016):

Ka notang sangka ke nangkang

(your presence is our responsibility)

Mole ku sunteng ke kemang

(some prayer and hope for you are the best things is when you go back home)

Lamen mampes bawa rungan

(so that you always remember all the sweet memories)

5. Conclusion

It has been proven that the local wisdom *pamendi*’ built the multi-ethnic harmony in life aspects in *tana’ Samawa*. The immigrants influence the language, culture, body shape and skin color of Sumbawanese so that *tau Samawa* who now settle in Sumbawa regency is a mixture of many ethnics living in harmony. As has been explained, the local wisdom *pamendi*’ is reflected by the welcome attitude of the Sumbawanese ethnic to immigrants. They welcome all the ethnic influences, such as those from Majapahit (Java) and then from Makassar (Goa-Tallo) and Bugis which have existed for hundred years, and, interestingly, these all live harmoniously with the Sumbawanese culture in which the local wisdom *pamendi*’ build them in one rich bond.

Thus, it is not surprising to see every ethnic who migrates and settles in Sumbawa has considered *tana Samawa* as their own land as revealed in the motto *kita srea tau Samawa* (we all are Sumbawanese). The local

wisdom *pamendi*' from the local history of Sumbawa needs to be inherited and revitalized as a social capital overcoming the conflict among ethnics in the after-independence-day era.

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