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## **Islamization in South Sulawesi and Its Institutionalisation As The State Religion (1605–1611)**

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### **Abstract**

This paper explains how changing Islam, previously the religion of the people of South Sulawesi, became the state religion (Gowa-Tallok Kingdom). Placing the right context in institutionalizing Islam in the Gowa-Tallok Kingdom can explain how Islamization in South Sulawesi took place until 1611. The historical method is used, which focuses on the causal aspects of the events being studied. The causal aspect of events is based on the narrative contained in the sources and references referred to as a marker of library research. This paper

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explains that the conversion of Islam in South Sulawesi society occurred long before Islam became the state religion. Adaptively, the people of South Sulawesi have been exposed to Islam through a network of Muslim traders and *muballigh* for 125 years. The people of South Sulawesi had been familiar with the teachings of Islam, subject to external pressures that favored the conversion of local religions to Islam. When Islam was institutionalized as the state religion, it took only 7 (seven) years to convert the people of South Sulawesi to Islam. By 1611, South Sulawesi had been Islamized, except for the mountainous areas in the north.

[Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan bagaimana proses perubahan Agama Islam, yang sebelumnya sebagai agama masyarakat Sulawesi Selatan, menjadi agama negara (Kerajaan Gowa - Tallok). Menempatkan konteks yang tepat dalam membaca proses melembaganya Agama Islam dalam Kerajaan Gowa-Tallok, dapat menjelaskan tentang bagaimana proses Islamisasi di Sulawesi Selatan itu berlangsung hingga tahun 1611. Metode yang digunakan yaitu metode sejarah yang menitik beratkan pada aspek kausalitas dari peristiwa yang sedang dikaji. Aspek kausalitas dalam peristiwa didasarkan pada narasi yang terdapat pada sumber serta referensi yang dirujuk sebagai penanda penelitian pustaka. Tulisan ini menjelaskan, bahwa konversi Islam dalam masyarakat Sulawesi Selatan telah terjadi jauh sebelum Islam menjadi agama negara (baca: Kerajaan Gowa-Tallok). Secara adaptif, masyarakat Sulawesi Selatan telah terpapar Islam melalui jaringan para pedagang muslim dan *muballigh* selama 125 tahun. Masyarakat Sulawesi Selatan telah dibiasakan dengan ajaran Islam, tunduk pada tekanan eksternal yang mendukung konversi agama lokal ke Islam. Ketika melembaganya Islam sebagai agama negara, agama negara ini hanya membutuhkan waktu 7 (tujuh) tahun dalam melakukan konversi Agama Islam pada masyarakat Sulawesi Selatan. Hingga tahun 1611, Seluruh Sulawesi Selatan telah di-Islam-kan, kecuali daerah pegunungan di bagian utara.]

**Keywords:** Islamization; conversion; community religion; state religion, Gowa-Tallok Kingdom

## Introduction

The discourse on the arrival and entry of Islam in various regions of Indonesia is an important part of Indonesian history. Referring to Ricklefs's explanation, the spread of Islam is one of the most important processes in Indonesian history but also the most obscure. He also explained that before Islam became an established religion, an important issue that needs attention is when, why, and how the conversion of the Indonesian population occurred. Some of the

important questions raised by Ricklefs are related to the lack of sources that can support research on Islam in Indonesia. Although some sources can be utilized, they still require other explanations, as the available sources tend to be uninformative.<sup>1</sup> In South Sulawesi, for example, many Indonesian and foreign historians have presented information about the arrival and entry of Islam. One important source that is very often used is Lontarak Bilang Raja Gowa and Tallok. This source provides clues about the year records and other information related to Islamization in South Sulawesi and, precisely, in the Kingdom of Gowa, also familiarly referred to as the Kingdom of Makassar. As a historical source, Lontarak Bilang Raja Gowa and Tallok is very important, so this source is always referred to in discussing the arrival and entry of Islam in South Sulawesi.

In a different context, the information needed to understand the arrival of Islam and its entry into South Sulawesi continues to evolve. The information in this Lontarak is ultimately important in how historians view the process of Islamization in this place. The Lontarak record explains that in 1603, two kings embraced Islam. In 1607, the first Friday prayer was held in Tallok Kingdom as a sign that the King of Tallok had embraced Islam.<sup>2</sup> From this explanation, the next important matter that needs to be analyzed, and, of course, the addition of more concrete sources, is related to whether the year of the entry of the two kings was the beginning of the arrival or entry of Islam in South Sulawesi. Referring to several different sources, the religious conversion that occurred in South Sulawesi basically had occurred long before the process of the two kings entering Islam. The process of converting the people of South Sulawesi to Islam is closely related to when the commercial period emerged and developed as an important marker in the economic connection between Southeast Asia and, of course, the archipelago and the European world.<sup>3</sup> In this context, Reid explains that the commercial period emerged in the mid-15th Century and reached its peak in the 17th Century. Referring to this explanation,

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<sup>1</sup> M. C. Ricklefs, *Sejarah Indonesia Modern 1200-2004* (Jakarta: PT. Serambi Ilmu Semesta, 2007), 27-28.

<sup>2</sup> Basang, Djirong, and Sugira Wahid, *Lontarak Bilang Raja Gowa dan Tallok, Naskah Makassar* (Sulawesi Selatan: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan, 1985), 8.

<sup>3</sup> Anthony Reid, *From Expansion to Crisis: Southeast Asian Global Trade Networks 1450-1680* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 1999).

it is alleged that the arrival of Islam in South Sulawesi had occurred long before the ruler of the Gowa-Tallok Kingdom embraced Islam. As an effort to explain in more detail, it is necessary to search for sources and references in making new arguments related to the arrival and entry of Islam in South Sulawesi.

The arrival and spread of Islam in South Sulawesi has become important material for scholars interested in the history of Islam in the South Sulawesi peninsula. Some historians of South Sulawesi have tried to identify the entry and development of Islam in this place. One of the main pieces of literature that generally becomes a reference in identifying the entry of Islam in South Sulawesi is a treatise written by B.F. Matthes entitled *Eenige Makassarche en Boeginesche Legendes*. This treatise was published in 1885. This treatise contains legends that occur in Makassar and Bugis society. One illustration in the treatise is about the beginning of Islam in South Sulawesi, brought about by Datok ri Bandang (*Katte Toenggalak*), a person from the central city of Minangkabau. In addition, this treatise also explains a lot about Sheikh Yusuf.<sup>4</sup> As Abu Hamid explains, the treatise written by B.F. Matthes is based on Lontarak *Riwayatna Tuanta Salamaka ri Gowa*. This lontarak came from the Kadhi of Gowa Haji Borahing Daeng Pabe. This source became the basis for B.F. Matthes in identifying the entry of Islam in South Sulawesi. This Lontarak was printed in 1860 in Amsterdam. Referring to Abu Hamid's explanation, the Lontarak was originally spoken orally and then recorded in Arabic.

As a result of the strong Islamization process, the narrative of Sheikh Yusuf was copied into the Makassar language using Arabic letters, then the Makassar language with Lontarak script. Besides writing the treatise, Matthes also collected the diaries of the kings of Gowa, which were later recorded by A. Lighvoet, *Transcriptie van de Lontara Bilang of Het Dagboek der Vorsten van Gowa en Tallo*.<sup>5</sup> The manuscript was subsequently transliterated and translated into Indonesian under the title *Lontarak Bilang Raja Gowa dan Tallok*. This source is commonly referred to as Lontarak Bilang, but William Cummings considers it not to be Lontara but rather a speech record of

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<sup>4</sup> Abu Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf Makassar, Seorang Ulama, Sufi, dan Pejuang* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 1994), 57–58.

<sup>5</sup> A Lighvoet, *Transcriptie van de Lontara Bilang of Het Dagboek Der Vorsten van Gowa En Tallo* (Leiden: Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde, 1880), 1–259.

events.<sup>6</sup> This source records thus, *Hera 1603, 22 Satemberek; Hijarak Sannak 1015, 9 Jumadelek awalak, malam jumak, Namantama Islaam karaenga rua sisarikkattang*. Year 1603, September 22; Hijri Year 1015, 9 Jumadil Awal, Friday Night, two brother kings have converted to Islam. *Hera 1607, 9 Noemberek; Hijarak Sannak 1017, 18 Rakjak, Jumak day, Nauru mammenteng jumaka ri Tallok, uru sallanta. He anne bedeng bunduka ri Tamanngalo (Tamappalo)*. Year 1607, November 9; Hijri year 1017, Rajab 18, Friday, Friday prayers began to be held in Tallok, when it began to convert to Islam. In this year it is said that the *Tamanngalo (Tamappalo)* war took place.

The records that explicitly describe the entry of Islam in South Sulawesi, as well as the two kings who converted to Islam, eventually became the basis for determining the entry of Islam in the Gowa-Tallok Kingdom. Such is the case with J. Noorduyn, *Origins of South Celebes Historical Writing*. In his article, he explains that the first person to accept Islam was the *Mangkubumi* of the Kingdom of Gowa, who also served as King of Tallo, *I Malingkang Daeng Manyonri*, or Sultan Abdullah Awwalul Islam. The next King of Gowa XIV, *I Mangarangi Daeng Manrabia*, also converted to Islam and was later titled Sultan Alauddin.<sup>7</sup>

As a foreign researcher with a strong interest in the history of South Sulawesi, J. Noorduyn's writings became a reference for many local researchers in South Sulawesi. Such is the case with Abd Razak Daeng Patunru, *Sejarah Gowa*. In his writing, Patunru quoted the same thing when discussing the first person to convert to Islam in the Kingdom of Gowa as Lighvoet and J. Noorduyn. Not only Patunru, Ahmad Sewang, *Islamization of the Kingdom of Gowa from XVI to XVII Century*, also quotes his predecessor researchers about the entry of Islam in the Kingdom of Gowa. Likewise, Abdullah, *Islamization in South Sulawesi in Historical Perspective*, explains how Islamization in South Sulawesi occurred in a top-down manner. The first party to embrace Islam was the king, who was officially followed by the

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<sup>6</sup> William Cummings, "Islam, Empire and Makassarese Historiography in the Reign of Sultan Ala'uddin (1593–1639)," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 38, no. 2 (June 25, 2007): 197–214, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S002246340700001X>.

<sup>7</sup> J. Noorduyn, "Origins of South Celebes Historical Writing," in *An Introduction to Indonesian Historiography*, ed. Soedjatmoko (New York: Itacha, 1965), 137–55.

community.<sup>8</sup> The concept that was built tends to simplify the process of religious conversion that occurred in South Sulawesi.

In contrast to Mattulada, although he accepts the explanation of the entry of the King of Gowa into Islam as a marker of the process of entry of Islam in South Sulawesi, the process of spreading Islam marks a time when Islam has been made a "state religion" ordered by Sultan Alauddin. Mattulada's explanation, on the one hand, provides a more critical space in seeing the process of entry and development of Islam in South Sulawesi; however, in a different context, Mattulada does not provide a clear explanation of the status of the people of South Sulawesi who have embraced Islam first, whether the existence of South Sulawesi people who have embraced Islam before, does not become the basis that Islam has spread in South Sulawesi. In a different explanation, Michael Laffan explained in detail the Muslim communities that developed in the archipelago. Although many early Muslim communities have stopped in this area, the existence of Islam as a state religion was only formed later. This context ultimately becomes very important to explain in this paper.

## Methods

This paper is the result of library research. The method used is the historical method which focuses on the causal aspects of the events being studied. The causality aspect of the event is based on the narrative contained in the sources and references referred to in this paper. Some of the sources and references used include: *Eenige Makassarche en Boeginesche Legendes*; *Lontarak Riwayakna Tuanta Salamaka ri Gowa*; *Transcriptie van de Lontara Bilang of Het Dagboek der Vorsten van Gowa en Tallo*; *Lontarak Bilang Raja Gowa and Tallok*; and *Origins of South Celebes Historical Writing*. In addition to these sources and references, this paper is enriched with other references to serve as a comparison in building a more critical argumentation base.

In this paper, there are several important concepts in mapping the entry of Islam in South Sulawesi, namely the "arrival" and "entry" of Islam in South Sulawesi. Both terms seem to have similarities, but conceptually, they are very different. The concept affects the

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<sup>8</sup> Anzar Abdullah, "Islamisasi di Sulawesi Selatan dalam Perspektif Sejarah," *Paramita: Historical Studies Journal* 26, no. 1 (February 2016): 86–94, <https://doi.org/10.15294/paramita.v26i1.5148>.

perspective in seeing the Islamization process itself. The two concepts, referring to J. Noorduyn's explanation, that the process of Islamization in Indonesia can be seen from two separate stages. First, the concept of "the arrival of Islam." This concept is explicitly linked to the history of trade movements throughout the archipelago. The context of the arrival of Islam explains the general situation and conditions related to the probability of various aspects, which also includes the simultaneous presence of Islam as a foreign and new product in the archipelago. This concept is general and tends to be global. There are similarities between one region and another, such as Southeast Asia, Nusantara, etc. Second: the concept of "entry of Islam." This concept is strictly related to the separate periods of each ethnic group in Indonesia. This concept applies partially to distinguish the entry of Islam into one region from another. Simply put, this concept is more specific and tends to be casuistic to each region or area in Indonesia.<sup>9</sup>

In the context of South Sulawesi, the concept of the Coming of Islam can be explained clearly, namely placing South Sulawesi as a regional entity that has a fairly strong relationship with other areas around it. South Sulawesi is placed in the territorial context of the archipelago and the larger maritime region, namely Southeast Asia. In this context, the arrival of Islam in South Sulawesi is an inseparable part or intersects with the commercial period in Southeast Asia.<sup>10</sup> In addition to placing South Sulawesi in a larger region, explaining the arrival concept must also look at the government model built by the Kingdom of Gowa. William P. Cummings explains specifically about the period of government of the Kingdom of Gowa, namely the pre-Islamic and Islamic periods.<sup>11</sup> This categorization can facilitate us in understanding the context, especially about the intersection of when the conversion to Islam occurred in the people of South Sulawesi and when Islam was institutionalized as a state religion that was followed and celebrated on behalf of the state (Kingdom of Gowa). It is different from the concept of the entry of Islam. This concept can be explicitly explained,

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<sup>9</sup> J Noorduyn, "De Islamisering Van Makasar," *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde* 112, no. 3 (1956): 247–66, <https://doi.org/https://www.jstor.org/stable/27859976>.

<sup>10</sup> Reid, *From Expansion to Crisis: Southeast Asian Global Trade Networks 1450-1680*.

<sup>11</sup> Cummings, "Islam, Empire and Makassarese Historiography in the Reign of Sultan Ala'uddin (1593–1639)."

including *networking* between agencies to introduce Islam as a new religious system product in the South Sulawesi region. The introduction of Islam in South Sulawesi had connections with other regions, such as Kutai, Selayar, Ternate, and surrounding areas.

## Results

### The Spread of Islam Until 1611

This article tries to analyze more critically how the process of Islamization or, precisely, the conversion of Islam to the people of South Sulawesi. Some literature that specifically discusses the process of Islamization in South Sulawesi is J. Noorduyn's *Origins of South Celebes Historical Writing*; this article is very popular because it refers to very important local sources, namely *Lontara Bilang*, the diary of the King of Gowa.<sup>12</sup> This literature became a reference for many subsequent authors, such as Patunru,<sup>13</sup> *History of Gowa*, and Ahmad Sewang,<sup>14</sup> *Islamization of the Gowa Kingdom in the 16th to 17th Century*, and several other writings. Some of these works have referred to the right sources but have not specifically made an in-depth comparison related to the spread of Islam in the South Sulawesi peninsula. As explained in this article, before the leaders of the Gowa Kingdom embraced Islam, the people of South Sulawesi had been exposed to Islam 125 years earlier.

This explanation is, of course, also a comparison of Abdullah's writing, *Islamization in South Sulawesi in Historical Perspective*, which explains how Islamization in South Sulawesi occurred top-down.<sup>15</sup> Namely, the first party to embrace Islam was the king, and then officially followed by the community. Abdullah's writing tends to simplify the conversion process to Islam in South Sulawesi. Regarding the pattern of Islamization, an analysis should first be carried out on the conditions and situations that occurred before 1605 and after it. Islam, which had developed before 1605, was how conversion to religion occurred gradually in society. In contrast, after 1605, Islam had been

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<sup>12</sup> Noorduyn, "Origins of South Celebes Historical Writing."

<sup>13</sup> Abdurrazak Daeng Patunru, *Sejarah Gowa* (Ujung Pandang: South Sulawesi Cultural Foundation, 1989).

<sup>14</sup> Ahmad Sewang, *Islamisasi di Kerajaan Gowa Abad Ke-16-17* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2005).

<sup>15</sup> Abdullah, "Islamisasi di Sulawesi Selatan dalam Perspektif Sejarah."



institutionalized as the state religion, so it spread quickly and reached almost the entire South Sulawesi peninsula. In this context, we need to be careful in making a conclusion about the pattern of Islam spread in South Sulawesi, especially before and after 1605.

Abdullah's writing, although citing Mattulada's writing, was quoted by Abdullah a priori and did not conduct an in-depth analysis. Mattulada is slightly different from previous writers. Although he accepted the explanation of the conversion of the King of Gowa to Islam as a marker of the process of the entry of Islam in South Sulawesi, Mattulada also mentioned the process of the spread of Islam, marking a time when Islam had been made the "state religion" ordered by Sultan Alauddin.<sup>16</sup> Mattulada's explanation, on the one hand, provides a more critical space in viewing the process of the entry and development of Islam in South Sulawesi; however, in a different context, Mattulada also does not provide a clear explanation of the status of the South Sulawesi community who had previously embraced Islam, whether the existence of the South Sulawesi community who had embraced Islam before, was not the basis that Islam had spread in South Sulawesi before the leaders of the Gowa Kingdom embraced Islam.

Specifically, the findings of this paper are that through the process of conversion to Islam, the people in the South Sulawesi peninsula had been exposed to Islam for 125 years. When the leaders of the Gowa Kingdom embraced Islam in 1605 and institutionalized Islam as the state religion, the conversion to Islam occurred more massively. Until 1611, Islam had become the majority religion of the people in the South Sulawesi peninsula. The conceptual change in the status of "Islamic Religion" which was previously only a community religion, but after 1605, conceptually Islam was institutionalized as a state religion, so that in the context of its spread, Islam had a more potent and more sporadic driving force, so that by 1611, Islam had been known by almost all people in the South Sulawesi peninsula.

### **Mapping the Entry of Islam in South Sulawesi**

As explained earlier, in the concept of the arrival of Islam, South Sulawesi has become one part of the region that intersects with other regions. Referring to Azyumardi Azra's explanation, the pattern of

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<sup>16</sup> Mattulada, "Penyebaran Agama Islam," in *Agama dan Perubahan Sosial*, ed. Taufik Abdullah (Jakarta: CV. Rajawali, 1983), 209–332.

relations between Malay-Indonesian Muslims and the Middle East has been established since the early days of Islam.<sup>17</sup> He explained that the relationship that developed between those in several regions such as Arabia, Persia, and parts of the Indian Continent came to the archipelago, basically not only in the context of trade. They also came to the archipelago to a certain extent to spread Islam to the local community. In the process, the later penetration of Islam in the 12th Century tended to be carried out by Sufi teachers or travelers who came to the archipelago in significant numbers.<sup>18</sup>

As Pelras explains, the Islamic network in South Sulawesi was basically organized through Champa – Patani – Aceh – Minangkabau – Banjarmasin – Demak – Giri – Ternate.<sup>19</sup> This network is like an interconnected chain, so this network pattern becomes a bridge through which each identified agent in the region can be traced. Several important figures have been identified in South Sulawesi, and some historians consider them to have contributed greatly to its spread in this place. Some of the figures in question are called the *Datok*, namely *Datok ri Tiro*, *Datok ri Bandang*, and *Datok ri Patimang*. All three are identified in this paper as agents who introduced Islam in South Sulawesi. According to Pelras' notes, these agents were Islamic figures from the central city of Minangkabau. They were also identified as students of Sunan Giri in Gresik, East Java. They carried out the mission of spreading Islam in South Sulawesi and East Kalimantan.<sup>20</sup> However, the time context as a reference in identifying the periodization of their existence is still very vague.

The legend of the next three *Datok* is often affirmed in the context of the entry of Islam, two major figures of the Gowa-Tallok Kingdom in 1605. The attribution of the three *Datok* in Islamizing these two great figures is often considered the beginning of their process as

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<sup>17</sup> Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII & XVIII Akar Pembaharuan Islam Indonesia* (Jakarta: Prenadamedia Group, 2018).

<sup>18</sup> Martin Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning Pesantren dan Tarekat* (Jakarta: Mizan, 1995).

<sup>19</sup> Christian Pelras, "The Bugis," in *The Peoples of Southeast Asia and the Pacific* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 1–7.

<sup>20</sup> Constantinus Alting Mees, *De Kroniek van Koetai Tekstuitgave Met Toelichting* (Santpoort (N.H): N.V. Uitgeverij, 1935); Kathryn Gay Anderson, "The Opendoor: Early Modern Wajorese Statecraft and Diaspora" (University of Hawaii, 2003).

agents in carrying out the mission of spreading Islam in South Sulawesi. Referring to Pelras' explanation, entering Islam in South Sulawesi took place long before the two great figures in the Gowa-Tallok Kingdom converted to Islam, as recorded in *Lontarak Bilang Raja Gowa-Tallok*. Pelras further explains that the Malay people, who are familiarly referred to as *Nahkoda Bonang*, indicates that Islam already existed in the people of South Sulawesi. They were given permission to live by the 10th King of Gowa, Tunipallangga Ulaweng, who ruled from 1546-1565. This data is further corroborated by the fact that they were given permission to build a mosque on the outskirts of *Mangallekana* during the reign of the King of Gowa, Tunijallo, in 1565-1590.<sup>21</sup>

Pelras also informed that there is a Muslim community living in the Siang Kingdom. This Muslim community came from the Patani-Pahang-and Ujung Tanah network. Pelras gathered this information based on Portuguese sources who came to the country in 1542. There were Makassarese or Bugis people who had converted to Islam independently. Pelras adds that a Kelantan source explains that Sayyid Husain Jamaluddin Qubra left Kelantan in 1448 and lived in Java for four years. Next, he went to Wajo and was informed that he had died in 1453. Referring to Zainal Abidin's explanation, in 1453, the name Wajo did not yet exist; it was Cinnotabbi.<sup>22</sup> Another explanation was also given by Makmur et al. that, artefactually, the existence of Sayyid Husain Jamaluddin Qubra cannot be proven. Thus, Pelras' explanation in this regard still requires additional explanation. To strengthen his argument, Pelras explains that in 1548, there was an expedition of the Demak Kingdom to Sulawesi.<sup>23</sup> This expedition failed because, in 1549, the King of Denmark died.<sup>24</sup> Around the same year, Acehese sources also mention that in 1560, Raja Abdul Jalil, son of Sultan Alauddin Riayat Syah Al-Qahar of Johor (1537-1568), is said to have

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<sup>21</sup> Christian Pelras, "Religion, Tradition and the Dynamics of Islamization in South-Sulawesi," *Archipel* 29, no. 1 (1985): 107–35, <https://doi.org/10.3406/arch.1985.2226>.

<sup>22</sup> Zainal Abidin, "Wajo Pada Abad XV-XVI Suatu Penggalan Sejarah Terpendam Sulawesi Selatan dari Lontara" (Universitas Indonesia, 1979).

<sup>23</sup> Iriyanti Agustina, *Kebudayaan dan Kerajaan Islam di Indonesia* (Pontianak: Derwati Press, 2018); Reid, *From Expansion to Crisis: Southeast Asian Global Trade Networks 1450-1680*.

<sup>24</sup> Karel A. Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek Tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad Ke-19* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 2015).

traveled to South Sulawesi with scholars from Pidie, North Sumatra.

Another source also explains that in the mid-16th Century, Syaikh Abdul Rahman arrived in Bira, and one of his sons, Pua' Janggo, became a great scholar in this area. Malay sources mention that in 1564, Shaykh Abdul Wahid bin Syarif Sulaiman Al-Patani traveled from Patani to Buton. In almost the same period, referring to the Kutai chronicles and some foreign writings, C.A. Mees refers to information about the existence of Datok ri Bandang, who previously Islamized Sulawesi, also Islamized Kutai in 1575 with the assistance of Tuan Tunggang Parangan. After successfully Islamizing Kutai, Datok ri Tiro returned to Sulawesi to continue the Islamization process.<sup>25</sup> In almost the same period, another source also describes the visit of Babullah, Sultan of Ternate, to the Kingdom of Gowa in 1580.<sup>26</sup>

The introduction of Islam in South Sulawesi occurred long before the two princes of the Kingdom of Gowa embraced Islam. In addition to a later period, the process of Islam in South Sulawesi was carried out by several agents, including Sayid Jalaluddin al-Aidid in Cikoang, who arrived in the Kingdom of Gowa in the early 17th Century. He was the son of Sayid Muhammad Wahid from Aceh and Syarifah Halisyah. Syarifah Halisyah's father was Sayid Alawiyah Jalalul Alam, the son of Sayid Muhajirun al-Basrah. He was a refugee from Basrah. Referring to Pelras's explanation, it is possible that Sayid Muhajirun was an escapee or refugee from Basrah because there was a war between the Ottoman Turks and Persia in 1514.

## Discussion

### Institutionalizing Islam as the State Religion

As explained earlier, referring to the records of Lontarak Bilang Raja Gowa-Tallok, in 1605, two kings embraced Islam. These two great men were Karaeng Matoaya, I Malingkaang Daeng Manyonri Karaeng Katangka, who at that time served as King of Tallok as well as Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Gowa, and the other was his brother. The lontarak explained in Makassarese, *Hera 1603* (1605, ed.) 22 *Setemberek, Hijarak sannak 1015, 9 Jumadelek awalak, Jumak night, Namantama Islaam karaengta rua sisarikkattang*. Meaning: On

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<sup>25</sup> Mees, *De Kroniek van Koetai Tekstuitgave Met Toelichting*.

<sup>26</sup> Pelras, "Religion, Tradition and the Dynamics of Islamization in South-Sulawesi."

September 22, 1603 AD (1605 AD, ed.). On the 9th of Jumadil Awal, Year 1015 H, Friday Night, two Karaeng (Nobles / great lords) brothers entered Islam. After saying two sentences of *shahada*, the Prime Minister of Gowa received his new name and title, Sultan Abdullah.<sup>27</sup>

This case or event is a condition when the King of Tallok has converted to Islam. The conversion of Karaeng Matoaya to Islam could basically represent his own person, and of course, as a king, his behavior and speech acted as law, so in that context, it can be explained that the Kingdom of Tallok had become part of the adherents of Islam. This context marks an institutionalization of Islam in Karaeng Matoaya as a person and as Mangkubumi of Gowa Kingdom. The institutionalization of Islam did not stop here; the Lontarak again mentions that on December 11, 1607 AD, coinciding with Tuesday Rajab year 1016 H, the son of King Muhammad Said was born, named I Mangga'rangi Daeng Manrabia. This crown prince was the nephew of King Tallok, so in the next process, he received direct guidance from his uncle, including in his choice to embrace Islam. When officially crowned King of Gowa, he received his new name or title, Sultan Alauddin. Exactly one year after his birth, as a tribute, for the first time, Friday prayers were performed in the congregation at the Tallok Royal Mosque that had been completed. Those chronologically arranged events marked an important process in which the Kingdom of Gowa-Tallok had agreed to embrace Islam. In this context, Islam no longer stands alone as a religion that is free to be embraced by anyone. Still, Islam has become the official religion of the Gowa-Tallok Kingdom.

When Islam had been institutionalized in the Gowa-Tallok Kingdom, the question was, did the agents continue to preach Islam as before, and if so, how was the pattern of preaching carried out? This context is essential because, in the next process, the element of Islamic knowledge will rise in status as part of the royal law. The teachers of Islamic knowledge were then placed in a formal position familiarly referred to as Kadhi/Kali/Kalie. This new status functioned as the guardian of Islamic rites in the royal environment and the more comprehensive social construction. As Gervais explains in his notes, these custodians of Islamic rites were fully responsible for the activities at the Mosque and, of course, within the royal court. They were placed

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<sup>27</sup> Basang, Djirong, and Wahid, *Lontarak Bilang Raja Gowa dan Tallok, Naskah Makassar*.

in a position almost equal to the king. They had ultimate control over all the religious practices of Islam within the Kingdom of Gowa-Tallok.<sup>28</sup>

In addition to the agents who had obtained formal functions and positions in the social structure of the Gowa-Tallok Kingdom, Islam as a religion became an integral part of the political, legal, and moral systems within the Gowa-Tallok Kingdom. Therefore, when the expansion of the Gowa-Tallok Kingdom spread Islam in several neighboring kingdoms, practically not everything went smoothly. Although the kings of neighboring kingdoms such as Luwu, Soppeng, and Wajo were willing to embrace Islam, through the deployment of military force, the hadat of Bone insisted on refusing to embrace Islam. The conflict between the kingdoms was intense and cost many lives. The context of this event, by the Bugis community, is familiarly referred to as *Mussu Selleng* (Islamic war).

Broadly speaking, when Islam was institutionalized in the Gowa-Tallok Kingdom, it specifically affected the pattern or way of *dakwah* interaction chosen or developed by agents who were also changing. The authority of *dakwah* is no longer entirely owned by agents or preachers. Still, the state has played the position of agents, which has power or authority over a large enough military force. This context signifies a change in the model or pattern of spreading Islam from before. Islam, previously a religion of the people, became a state religion. This condition certainly affected the pattern of movement in the process of Islamization in South Sulawesi. Changes in position or status in the process of entering Islam greatly determine changes in the model and or type of spread of Islam in various subsequent regions.

### **Re-reading Islamization in the Bone Kingdom**

The entry process of Islam in South Sulawesi can basically be simplified into two parts.<sup>29</sup> *First, the* entry of Islam through traders and preachers (in the agency system, preachers are referred to as agents or actors) with the people of South Sulawesi as the main target.<sup>30</sup> The

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<sup>28</sup> Nicolas Gervaise, *An Historical Description of the Kingdom of Macasar in the East-Indies* (London: Leigh and Midwinter, 1701).

<sup>29</sup> Noorduyn, "De Islamisering Van Makasar."

<sup>30</sup> Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII & XVIII Akar Pembaharuan Islam Indonesia*.

agents of Islamization carried out a conversion process in the people of South Sulawesi, who previously embraced local religions, turning to Islam. Anthony Reid explains that the pattern of conversion in Southeast Asian societies basically takes a very long time. Moreover, the process of conversion requires a variety of important tools that all have the potential to attract them to become Muslims. Some of the factors in conversion efforts include wealth, religious competence, military success, writing, memorization, curing diseases, and universal morals that can be predicted.<sup>31</sup> Some of these factors are very important because before the agents of Islamization came to South Sulawesi, the people of South Sulawesi basically already knew their respective religions. The process of conversion involved not only aspects of religiosity but also profane and fundamental ones. In South Sulawesi, this condition lasted for 125 years before Islam was officially promoted as the state religion in 1605.

*Second*, Islam was entered through the institutional authority of the state. In the previous explanation, the agents of Islamization were played by *Muballigh* and or traders who had more skills and knowledge about Islam. They did not have institutional authority or were still individual or personal. In the early 17th Century, the agent of Islamization in South Sulawesi underwent a fundamental change. The representation of Islamization agents was carried out by the state, precisely the Gowa-Tallo Kingdom, after the implementation of joint Friday prayers in 1607 in the Tallok Kingdom.

Another issue that needs to be explained is related to the strategy, method, or technique, as well as the approach model in conducting Islamization. When the authority of Islamization was still held by preachers and traders who had more knowledge of Islam, an important attribution that appeared was the appearance of Islam, both clothing and attitude, which was generally different from the local community. The Islamization process was more persuasive and utilized relational patterns in the intermarriage system. Although the concept of intermarriage cannot be fully used as a benchmark, such practices in South Sulawesi society occur in large numbers. This approach tends to work, but it takes a very long time. Pelras explains that the pattern or

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<sup>31</sup> Reid, *From Expansion to Crisis: Southeast Asian Global Trade Networks 1450-1680*.

approach took up to 125 years.<sup>32</sup> It was different when the conversion of Islam to the people of South Sulawesi was carried out by a state that had military authority and strong political support. Although the state exercised the authority of Islamization, the agents of Islamization continued to function as they should. Until 1611, the Gowa-Tallok Kingdom only needed 7 (seven) years to Islamize the entire South Sulawesi peninsula, except for the highlands in the north (Toraja).

Referring to this explanation, the pattern of Islamic conversion played by the Gowa-Tallok Kingdom can be made quickly. The acceleration of conversion does not mean that it does not have stumbling blocks; precisely, in that context, there is a very fundamental change in the appearance or face of Islam as a religion that has been formalized through state authority. One of the most popular cases of Islamization in South Sulawesi is the resistance of the Bone Kingdom to the Gowa-Tallok Kingdom. Conceptually, the Islamization approach model taken by the Gowa-Tallok Kingdom was rejected by the Bone Kingdom. In this context, the rejection of the Islamization model is more political, but what needs to be underlined is that the Islamization process is still ongoing in Bone society.<sup>33</sup>

### **The Kingdom of Makassar and the Shifting Authority of Islamization**

As explained earlier, the authority of Islamization aimed at converting Muslims in South Sulawesi has changed since Islam was instituted as a state religion by the Gowa-Tallok Kingdom in 1605. When Islam was institutionalized as the state religion, the various instruments related to Islamization, in this case, the preachers or agents of Islamization, were also raised in status from informal to formal. They occupied formal positions and were aligned with the king or sultan in the context of their respective authorities. They are familiarly referred to as Kadhi, Kali, or Kalie. They became the controllers of Islamic law institutionalized in the state.

When Islam has become the state religion, the state acts as an agent in the Islamization process. This context was very clear in the Gowa-Tallok Kingdom, which, from the beginning, accepted Islam as the official religion of the kingdom. The kingdoms of Gowa and Tallok

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<sup>32</sup> Pelras, "Religion, Tradition and the Dynamics of Islamization in South-Sulawesi."

<sup>33</sup> Noorduy, "De Islamisering Van Makasar."



positioned themselves authoritatively as preachers who had the right to Islamize those who were considered not to have accepted Islam as a religion. The Gowa-Tallok Kingdom took over the authority of the *muballighs* subjectively to accelerate the conversion of Islam in the South Sulawesi society.

Through this perspective, Sultan Abdullah (read: Karaeng Matoaya), who also held guardianship rights over Sultan Alauddin as a minor King of Gowa, finally took the initiative to invite the rulers of South Sulawesi to convert to Islam. Some kingdoms accepted the invitation through this strategy, but others rejected it. As the owner of the authority, the Gowa-Tallok Kingdom, utilized its military power to accelerate the conversion to Islam, which the people of South Sulawesi familiarly referred to as *Mussu Selleng*. Some kingdoms that quickly accepted the conversion to Islam were: Sawitto, Bacukiki, Suppa, Mandar on the west coast, Akkotengeng, and Sakkoli on the east coast.<sup>34</sup> This accelerated process of Islamic conversion occurred in 1608, a year after Karaeng Matoaya officially embraced Islam.<sup>35</sup> The following year, precisely in 1609, accelerated conversion to Islam occurred in Sidenreng and Soppeng. The following year, the same conversion occurred in Wajo in 1610.

After accelerating the conversion to Islam in several neighboring kingdoms, the Gowa-Tallok Kingdom next converted the Bone Kingdom to Islam. With several obstacles, La Tenrirua, as Arumpone (King of Bone), finally accepted Islam as his religion in 1611. Before this, Arumpone accepted Islam as his religion. It is alleged that La Tenri Tuppu, the previous Arumpone, had embraced Islam in 1610.<sup>36</sup> When La Tenrirua, as Arumpone, converted to Islam, it did not necessarily mean that Islam had been converted to the religion of the people of Bone, like the Kingdom of Gowa. Instead, Bone's high nobles, who were members of the *ade' pitue*, openly rejected Islam and impeached Arumpone. The impeachment of Arumpone can basically be seen as a negotiation process between the two major powers in the

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<sup>34</sup> Patunru, *Sejarah Gowa*; Abdurrazak Daeng Patunru, *Sejarah Bone* (Sulawesi Selatan: Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan, 1995, 1995).

<sup>35</sup> Pelras, "The Bugis"; Pelras, "Religion, Tradition and the Dynamics of Islamization in South-Sulawesi."

<sup>36</sup> Andi Rasdiyana, "The Integration of the Pangngadereng System (Adat) with the Shari'at System as a Bugis Way of Life in Lontarak Latoa" (IAIN Sunan Kalijaga, 1995).

Kingdom of Bone. The various factors that became the basis for converting the Bone people to Islam, who already had a previous religious system, were basically not so strong and tended not to be “important” to them. On the contrary, the conversion to Islam actually minimized their role and significantly shifted their position.

### **The Kingdom of Bone and the Authority of Islamization**

By 1611, all the kings of South Sulawesi had converted to Islam, including Bone’s La Tenrirua. Of the several kingdoms that had accepted Islam at the invitation of the Gowa-Tallok Kingdom, only the King of Bone was unable to utilize his authority in controlling the high nobles of the Bone Kingdom to embrace Islam. Instead, the King of Bone was impeached by *Ade’ Pitue* as the highest noble in the Bone Kingdom. Although in some conditions, as Reid explains, military power is an attraction for other kingdoms to participate in building better networks in order to strengthen their position, the existence of the Gowa-Tallok Kingdom in the process of Islamization in the Bone Kingdom cannot be contextualized, as between the Demak, Mataram, Banten Kingdoms against the Ottoman Turks. The Kingdom of Gowa-Tallok was in an equal position with the Kingdom of Bone, even though there was a moral agreement between the three major kingdoms in South Sulawesi, namely preaching goodness to each other among the kingdoms in South Sulawesi.<sup>37</sup> On the basis of this equality, the Kingdom of Bone maintained its position to reject the Islamization authority of the Kingdom of Gowa-Tallok.

The condition that occurred in the Kingdom of Bone did not last long. When the Kingdom of Bone was led by Arumpone La Maddaremeng (1626-1643 and 1667-1672), this Arumpone actually took over the authority of Islamization, as did the Kingdom of Gowa-Tallok in the process of Islamization in South Sulawesi.<sup>38</sup> In this context, the control of Islamization authority between the Kingdom of Bone and the Kingdom of Gowa-Tallok was slightly different. La Maddaremeng as Arumpone was stronger in placing state authority in

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<sup>37</sup> Andi Zainal Abidin, *Capita Selecta of South Sulawesi History* (Makassar: Hasanuddin University Press, 1999).

<sup>38</sup> Leonard Y. Andaya, “The Heritage of Arung Palakka: A History of South Sulawesi (Celebes) in the Seventeenth Century,” in *Verhandelingen van Het Koninklijk Instituut Voor Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde*, Volume 91 (Brill, 1981), <https://doi.org/https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1163/j.ctvbnm4wp>.

regulating and managing the authority of Islamization, in contrast to the Kingdom of Gowa-Tallok, which still gave a position to the *muballighs* or agents of Islamization subjectively in carrying out their functions as before. Although the Kingdom of Gowa-Tallok shifted the authority of Islamization from the subject of *muballigh* to the state, the shift in the authority of Islamization in the Kingdom of Gowa-Tallok did not occur radically. Both played a role and supported each other. This was not the case in the Kingdom of Bone, which resulted in a very different face of Islam compared to the previous face of Islam.<sup>39</sup>

The process of implementing Islam in the Kingdom of Bone was intended not only for the people in general but also for La Maddareng, who tried to apply his authority as King of Bone to accelerate the conversion of Islam in South Sulawesi according to his version. This process of accelerating the conversion to Islam eventually applied to all kingdoms in South Sulawesi, including the Kingdom of Gowa-Tallok. At this stage, the important thing that needs to be observed is related to the appearance of Islam. Authoritative roles in the process of spreading Islam greatly influenced the presentation of Islam. The Kingdom of Bone presented a more rigid face of Islam and was fully supported by the military power of the Kingdom of Bone. Therefore, the Bone Kingdom gave an ultimatum to all kingdoms in South Sulawesi, if they did not apply Islam as applied by the Bone Kingdom, then the Bone Kingdom would fight the kingdom.

In implementing Islam in the Bone Kingdom, La Maddareng was rejected by his mother, We Tenrisoloreng Datu Pattiro. She rejected her son's application of Islam, which was considered too rigid compared to the application of Islam in the Gowa-Tallok Kingdom. We Tenrisoloreng resisted the command of the king and his son in 1640. This physical resistance was responded by the Bone Kingdom by sending troops to Pattiro to quell the resistance. We Tenrisoloreng Datu Pattiro was pressured, and finally asked for protection from the Gowa-Tallok Kingdom. The Kingdom of Gowa, then led by *I Mannuntungi Daeng Mattola Karaeng Lakiung Sultan Malikussaid Tumenanga Ri Papan Batuna*, son of Sultan Alauddin, who had died in 1639, finally reacted to La Maddareng's policy. Sultan Malikussaid, together with Wajo forces and several other allied kingdoms, attacked La

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<sup>39</sup> Rahilah Omar, "The History of Boné A.D. 1775-1795: The Diary of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh Syamsuddin" (University of Hull, 2003).

Maddaremeng in 1643.<sup>40</sup> In this attack on Bone, La Maddaremeng, who was assisted by his younger brother La Tenriaji Tosenrima, was conquered. The end of La Maddaremeng's reign as King of Bone marked the completion of the spread of Islam spearheaded by the Gowa-Tallok Kingdom.

## Conclusion

Referring to the important question posed at the beginning of this paper, the conversion to Islam in South Sulawesi society occurred long before Islam became the official state religion (read: The Kingdom of Gowa and Tallok). Adaptively, the people of South Sulawesi had been regularly exposed to Islam through a network of Muslim traders and *muballighs* for 125 years. The people of South Sulawesi had been familiarized with the teachings of Islam, subject to external pressures that favored the conversion of local religions to Islam. In this context, some Makassarese or Bugis had already embraced Islam prior to the formal acceptance of Islam by the Kingdoms of Gowa and Tallok. Similarly, in the context of the institutionalization of Islam as a state religion, Islam only took 7 (seven) years to convert the people of South Sulawesi to Islam. By 1611, the whole of South Sulawesi had been Islamized, except for the mountainous region of Toraja.

The conversion of local religions to Islam took a long time because of the profound changes implied by the strong forms of resistance among people who were strongly attached to customs and proud of their culture. The process of Islam becoming the state religion is, in principle, not the beginning of the process of developing Islam in South Sulawesi but the end of the process of institutionalizing Islam as the religion of the people (*ummah*) in South Sulawesi.

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<sup>40</sup> Patunru, *Sejarah Gowa*.

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