

Musu' Selleng: Deconstruction of the Text and Context of Islamisation in South Sulawesi, Indonesia

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Abstract

This article explores the *Musu' Selleng* within the context of the Islamisation process in 17th century South Sulawesi. The data are presented using the historical method with a deconstruction approach to the text of historical events in the past. The Islamisation of South Sulawesi is often linked to political practices and community activities during the maritime trade network, which strengthened the position of Islam as the predominant religion in the region. This paper reveals that the unique dynamics of the Islamisation process in South Sulawesi can be elucidated through textual and contextual analyses of events. This Islamisation process holds a dual significance in Indonesia, serving a socio-religious role and a political influence that strengthens the structure and order of a community. The expansion of Islam in South Sulawesi was influenced by the three major Islamic powers, namely Gowa-Tallo, Bone, and Wajo, which positively impacted the development of Islam in South Sulawesi. Hence, the main objective of this article is to deconstruct the historical events of Islam in South Sulawesi, examining the texts and contexts that shaped their progression. The integration of the Islamisation process in South Sulawesi contributes to a nuanced understanding of the current ongoing Islamisation in Indonesia.

Keywords: Islamization, *Musu' Selleng*, deconstruction, South Sulawesi

Introduction

A text's meaning is often considered standard and binding, ensuring readers comprehend an event's singular interpretation. The formed text is inseparable from the author's use of language and reasoning construction, which produces an interpretation in the form of text. The resulting text is a narrative from the creator that relies on language use.¹ However, according to Derrida, the reader's presence gives rise to an explicit meaning for the events that took place, giving rise to various possibilities or interpretations.

Derrida focuses on language and textual interpretation of an event or, more often known, deconstruction.² In literary analysis, a text is often perceived as having a fixed and authoritative meaning, presenting a singular portrayal of events. This interpretation is intricately tied to the author's linguistic choices and narrative construction.

However, Jacques Derrida's poststructuralist perspective challenges this notion by emphasising the inherent ambiguity and plurality in textual interpretation, introducing a concept known as deconstruction. Derrida contends that the reader introduces multiple meanings for depicted events, offering diverse possibilities and interpretations. His theory underscores the importance of language and textual analysis in unravelling layers of meaning within a narrative, challenges conventional ideas of fixed interpretations, and invites readers to

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¹ T. Taufiqurrahman, A. T. Hidayat, Efrinaldi, Sudarman and Lukmanulhakim (2021), "The Existence of the Manuscript in Minangkabau Indonesia and its Field in Islamic Studies," *Journal of Al-Tamaddun*, Vol. 16, No. 1, pp. 125–138.

² Jacques Derrida (2022), *Of Grammatology*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press; Jacques Derrida (2017), "The Deconstruction of Actuality: An Interview with Jacques Derrida," in Martin McQuillan (ed.), *Deconstruction: A Reader*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 527-554.

engage with texts in a more dynamic manner. The paragraph provides an overview, but further exploration is necessary to fully grasp the nuanced intricacies of Derrida's theory and its implications for textual interpretation.³

The *Musu' Selleng* in South Sulawesi is a historical event in the 17th century with a reasonably broad meaning in the formation of texts and use of language. *Musu' Selleng*, known as the War of Islam, became a marker in the dynamics of Islam in South Sulawesi. In the texts found, *Musu' Selleng* is often connected with events of conflict, confrontation, and war involving several influential local kingdoms at that time. The regional power that emerged on the mainland of South Sulawesi manifests the legitimacy of *Tomanurung* and *Sawerigading*,⁴ with sacred foundations and values that refer to maintaining the single principle of legality of power in South Sulawesi.

Gowa-Tallo, Bone, Luwu, Soppeng, Wajo, and other kingdoms prove sacred values and legitimacy, ultimately interpreting this legitimacy through hegemony and domination over other small areas. The idea of legitimacy holds a pivotal position in the Islamisation process in South Sulawesi during the *Musu' Selleng* period. Local leaders embraced Islam to bolster their authority and strategically integrate religious and political dimensions. Embracing Islam afforded them religious and cultural legitimacy, aligning with Islamic civilisation. Simultaneously, they positioned themselves as champions of the faith to extend their influence by exercising hegemony and control over smaller regions. This led to the formation of a power structure rooted in Islamic values and cultural foundations.⁵

When Gowa-Tallo emerged as a new power that dominated South Sulawesi, this region became an open area for anyone who wanted to visit or establish commercial, political, and religious relations. However, long before Gowa-Tallo became a 'new' power in the 16th Century, Luwu was an important area to show the role of South Sulawesi in the archipelago.⁶ Since the beginning of the 16th century, dynamics in South Sulawesi have experienced prolonged turmoil. Gowa-Tallo, which emerged as a political force to exercise hegemony and domination, had to face other kingdoms such as Bone, Soppeng, Wajo, Ajatappareng, and Massenerempulu.

At its peak, the Tellumpocoe alliance was formed in 1582,⁷ resulting in complicated political, social, and economic dynamics and mobility. This alliance then led to the practice of conquering small kingdoms to expand their influence and hegemony as a local power. Interestingly, various sources state that influence and hegemony were inseparable parts of the alliance. Hence, the practice of regional expansion and development ultimately follows the context of events that occurred in the past. Specifically, the academics then connected an event *Musu' Selleng*, the Islamic War, as part of a political conflict and confrontation intertwined with religion.

However, the aforementioned conclusion is completely inaccurate when examined based on the texts found. *Musu' Selleng*, or the Islamic War, is an important point of reference for describing Islamisation.⁸ In fact, in the current context, conflict and confrontation occurred between the Tellumpocoe alliance and the Gowa-Tallo Kingdom long before Islamisation took place in South Sulawesi. The Tellumpocoe is an

³ Derrida (2017), "The Deconstruction of Actuality," pp. 527-554.

⁴ Mattulada (1987), *Sawerigading: folktales Sulawesi*, Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan, Direktorat Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional, Proyek Penelitian dan Pengkajian Kebudayaan Nusantara, p. 11.

⁵ R. Rahma (2018), "Musu'Selleng dan Islamisasi dalam Peta Politik Islam di Kerajaan Bone," *Rihlah: Jurnal Sejarah dan Kebudayaan*, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 132-140; D. Sartika, R. Harisa and H. Hasaruddin (2023), "Musu'Selleng Dalam Hegemoni Kerajaan Gowa di Sulawesi Selatan (Studi Tentang: Islamisasi Kerajaan Wajo 1582-1626)," *El-Fata: Journal of Sharia Economics and Islamic Education*, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 184-194.

⁶ Ian Caldwell (2013), "Power, State and Society among the Pre-Islamic Bugis," *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia*, Vol. 151, No. 3, pp. 394-421; F. David Bulbeck and Bagyo Prasetyo (2000), "Two Millennia of Socio-Cultural Development in Luwu, South Sulawesi, Indonesia," *World Archaeology*, Vol. 32, No. 1, pp. 121-137; Muklis P. (ed.) (1995), *Sejarah Kebudayaan Sulawesi*, Indonesia: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan, Direktorat Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional, Proyek Inventarisasi dan Dokumentasi Sejarah Nasional, p. 27.

⁷ Suriadi Mappangara (2014), "Perjanjian Tellumpocoe Tahun 1582: Tindak-Balas Kerajaan Gowa Terhadap Persekutuan Tiga Kerajaan Di Sulawesi Selatan," *Sosiohumanika Jurnal Pendidikan Sains Sosial Dan Kemanusiaan*, Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 43-54.; Puji Siswadi (2016), "Politik Islamisasi Kerajaan Gowa-Tallo Terhadap Tiga Kerajaan Tellumpocoe Pada Abad Xvii," *مجلة الإداري، معهد الإدارة العامة، سلطنة عمان، مسقط*, pp. 120-140.

⁸ William Cummings (2001), "Indonesia. Authority And Enterprise Among The Peoples Of South Sulawesi. Edited By Roger Tol, Kees Van Dijk And Greg Acciaoli. Leiden: Kitlv, 2000. P. 285.," *Journal Of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 3, pp. 451-493.

alliance of three local powers in the eastern part of South Sulawesi, namely Bone, Soppeng, and Wajo, to stem the expanding influence carried out by Gowa-Tallo in the 16th Century.⁹ This alliance is motivated by political issues and South Sulawesi society's social and religious structures.

Drawing upon concepts and terms from Jacques Derrida,¹⁰ such as deconstruction, in writing about historical events, this work aims to explore and analyse the *Musu' Selleng* event, commonly referred to as the Islamic War, by employing a comparative analysis of text and context. It seeks to consider various interpretations and historiographic perspectives regarding contemporary historical events. Additionally, the research endeavours to integrate Derrida's concepts,¹¹ particularly those related to deconstruction, to conduct a critical examination and deconstruction of prevailing perceptions and understandings of the Islamisation process in South Sulawesi. Through this approach, the author intends to unveil and challenge entrenched narratives, ideologies, and knowledge frameworks associated with this historical phenomenon, ultimately contributing to a novel comprehension of the Islamisation process in South Sulawesi.

Literature Review

Studies on South Sulawesi are often found from foreign academic perspectives, focusing predominantly on Makassar. These perspectives thereby result in bias in the interpretation of the resulting data.¹² In contrast, local academics have also contributed to the discourse on South Sulawesi, utilising the *lontara'* text to elucidate the region's historical progression.¹³

Musu Selleng

The term *Musu' Selleng*, etymologically derived from *Musu'* meaning war, *poleni musu ltemmaka-makae* (then came the terrible war) and *Selleng* signifying *Islam*, the religion of Islam, is interpreted as the Politicisation of Islam as the Trigger for War.¹⁴ In a study by Sartika et al., titled "Musu'Selleng in the Hegemony of the Gowa Kingdom in South Sulawesi (Study on: Islamisation of the Wajo Kingdom 1582-1626)," *Musu'Selleng* is explored in the Islamisation process of the Wajo Kingdom. The study notes the acceptance of Islam in Wajo as the official religion by the royal elite through *Musu'Selleng*, which the Gowa Kingdom launched. This acceptance took place on Tuesday, 15 Safar 1019, which, when converted, corresponds to Sunday, May 9, 1610, by Arung Matowa Wajo La Sangkuru Patau, who then embraced Islam with the title Sultan Abd. Rahman.¹⁵

⁹ Leonard Y. Andaya (1981), *The Heritage Of Arung Palakka*, Leiden: Springer, p. 74; Heather Sutherland (2001), "The Makassar Malays: Adaptation And Identity, C. 1660-1790," *Journal Of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 3, pp. 397-421.

¹⁰ Derrida (2017), "The Deconstruction of Actuality," pp. 527-554.

¹¹ Derrida (2017), "The Deconstruction of Actuality," pp. 527-554.

¹² Christian Pelras (1996), "The Bugis; The Peoples Of South-East Asia And The Pacific," *Great Britain: Blakwell Publishers*, Vol. 53, No. 9, p. 124; Leonard Y. Andaya (1984), "Kingship-Adat Rivalry And The Role Of Islam In South Sulawesi," *Journal Of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 1, pp. 22-42; Andaya (1981), *The Heritage Of Arung Palakka*, p. 75; David Bulbeck and Ian Caldwell (2020), "The Indigenous Fortifications Of South Sulawesi, Indonesia, And Their Sociopolitical Foundations," in Sue O'Connor, Andrew McWilliam and Sally Brockwell (eds.), *Fortifications And Fortification In Wallacea: Archaeological And Ethnohistoric Investigations*, Australia: Australian National University Press, pp. 153-186; Anthony Reid (2021), "Pluralism And Progress In Seventeenth-Century Makassar," in R.G. Tol, C. (Kees) van Dijk and G. Acciaoli (eds.), *Authority And Enterprise*, Leiden: Brill, pp. 433-449.

¹³ Muhammad Adlin Sila (2015), Anthony Reid, And Muhammad Adlin Sila, "The Lontara': The Bugis-Makassar Manuscripts And Their Histories," *Anu Press*, Vol. 156, No. 3 pp. 27-40; Andi Mattulada (2014), "Elite Di Sulawesi Selatan," *Antropologi Indonesia*, No. 48; Edward Lamberthus Poelinggomang (2016), *Makassar Abad XIX*; Mappangara (2014), "Perjanjian Tellumpocoe Tahun 1582: Tindak-Balas Kerajaan Gowa Terhadap Persekutuan Tiga Kerajaan Di Sulawesi Selatan"; Muhlis Hadrawi (2018), "Sea Voyages And Occupancies Of Malayan Peoples At The West Coast Of South Sulawesi," *International Journal Of Malay-Nusantara Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1; H. F. Ilyas (2011), *Lontaraq Suqkuna Wajo: Telaah Ulang Awal Islamisasi Di Wajo*, Jakarta: Lembaga Studi Islam Progresif; Mattulada (1985), *Latoo: Suatu Lukisan Analitis Terhadap Antropologi Politik Orang Bugis*, Yogyakarta: Universitas Gadjah Mada Press; A. Z. Abidin (1971). Notes On The Lontara' As Historical Sources. *Indonesia*, 12, pp. 159-172; A. M. Sewang (2005), *Islamisasi Kerajaan Gowa Abad XVI Sampai Abad XVII: Abad XVI Sampai Abad XVII*, Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia; Ahmad Massiara Daeng Rapi (1988), *Menyingkap Tabir Sejarah Budaya Di Sulawesi Selatan*, Jakarta: Lembaga Penelitian & Pelestarian Sejarah dan Budaya Sulawesi Selatan Tomanurung bekerjasama dengan Yayasan Bhineka Tunggal Ika; Patunru, Abdurrazak Daeng (1983), *Sedjarah Gowa*, Ujung Pandang: Jajasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara; Abu Hamid (1982), "Selayang Pandang Uraian tentang Islam dan Kebudayaan Orang Bugis-Makassar di Sulawesi Selatan," dalam Bugis-Makassar dalam Peta Islamisasi Indonesia (Selayang Pandang tentang Beberapa Aspek. Ujung Pandang: IAIN Alauddin; Abd. Kadir Ahmad (2008), *Ulama Bugis*, Makassar: Indobis Publishing.

¹⁴ Nur, M. Rafiuddin (2008), *Aku Bangga Berbahasa Bugis dari Ka sampai Ha*. Penerbit Rumah Ide, Makassar; Said, M. Ide (1977), *Kamus Bahasa Bugis-Indonesia*, Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan; Matthes, B.F. (1874), *Boeginesch-Hollandsch Woordenboek-met Hollandsch-Boeginesche woordenlijst en verklaring van een tot opheldering bijgevoegden ethnographischen atlas*. S'-Gravenhage M. Nijhoff.

¹⁵ Sartika, D., Harisa, R., & Hasaruddin, H. (2023), "Musu' Selleng Dalam Hegemoni Kerajaan Gowa di Sulawesi Selatan (Studi Tentang: Islamisasi Kerajaan Wajo 1582-1626)," *El-Fata: Journal of Sharia Economics and Islamic Education*, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 184-194.

Deconstruction of the Text and Context

Jacques Derrida's works on deconstruction of text and context are extensively used in this paper. Among them is Derrida's "Of Grammatology," considered to be the most pivotal contribution. In this seminal work, Derrida examines the intricate relationship between the structure of language and power dynamics. Additionally, another work by Derrida, "Writing and Difference" is discussed, wherein the primary emphasis revolves around a collection of essays that dive into fundamental concepts, encompassing deconstruction, *diférance*, and the intricate interplay between text and meaning. Finally, the exploration of Derrida's "Positions" by Derrida offers insights into his intellectual perspectives, shedding light on the distinctive approach to the deconstruction of texts.¹⁶

Islamisation in South Sulawesi

Islamisation in South Sulawesi during the 16th century instigated social transformations to the local community. The transformations were primarily evident in the shift of the community's religion from the previously Hindu-Buddhist faith to the newly introduced Islam. The Islamisation process in South Sulawesi followed a top-down pattern, meaning that initially, Islam was embraced by the rulers and subsequently, the population officially adopted the Islamic faith. In the context of Islamisation in South Sulawesi, this region experienced a comparatively delayed acceptance of Islam compared to other areas in the Eastern Archipelago, such as Maluku and Kalimantan. Nevertheless, longstanding trade relations with other kingdoms were already established. The Kingdom of Gowa-Tallo was among the early regions in South Sulawesi to embrace Islam and the first to officially adopt Islam as the religion of the state. The significant roles of both Ulama (Islamic scholars) and rulers played a crucial part in the Islamisation process in South Sulawesi.¹⁷

Based on the three literary works, it is apparent that Islam was utilised as a political tool in the conquest of territories in South Sulawesi. However, this observation is confined to the textual aspect based on specific historical sources, and none has considered the events in a broader context. In reality, based on the social context of that time, political conflicts in South Sulawesi had already begun before the advent of Islam. Local rulers at that time were already engaged in battles to control economic resources and trade commodities. Therefore, this research aims to conduct a comprehensive deconstruction through a text and context approach. Consequently, this article will generate alternative discourse regarding the Islamisation process in South Sulawesi. This process is not only limited to warfare but is also closely related to socio-economic aspects.

The previously mentioned various sources indicate the process of Islamisation in South Sulawesi through war or political conquest, *Musu' Selleng*, especially on the Bugis mainland. However, when viewed comprehensively, including using the *lontara'* (manuscript), the veracity of this incident is called into question and warrants further scrutiny. Some academic works posit that Islamisation in south Sulawesi transpired at the beginning of the 17th century.¹⁸ On the other hand, the outcomes of Islamisation was a biased interpretation with some works suggesting that the *Musu' Selleng* narrative is politically motivated perpetuating the image of Islam in South Sulawesi being disseminated through warfare.¹⁹ Therefore, this study assumes relevance and importance to understanding the Islamisation process in the Bugis area comprehensively, especially in the Tellumpoccoe region.

¹⁶ Derrida, Jacques (2017). "The Deconstruction of Actuality: An Interview with Jacques Derrida." In *Deconstruction: A Reader*; Derrida, Jacques (2022). *Of Grammatology*. *Of Grammatology*; Derrida, J., Rouse, H. (1982). *Positions*. United Kingdom: University of Chicago Press.

¹⁷ Abdullah, A. (2016). "Islamisasi di Sulawesi Selatan dalam perspektif Sejarah," *Paramita: Historical Studies Journal*, Vol. 26, No. 1, pp. 86-94.

¹⁸ Mattulada, "Elite Di Sulawesi Selatan"; Suriadi Mappangara; Nahdia Nur (2018), "Manuscripts, Status, and Power: The Study of Lontara Bone in the Seventeenth Century," *International Journal of Science and Research (IJSR)* 7, no. 1; J. Noorduyn (2013), "De Islamering van Makasar," *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 112, no. 3; Christian Pelras (1993), "Religion, Tradition, and the Dynamics of Islamization in South Sulawesi," *Indonesia* 57.

¹⁹ Syahrir Kila (2017), "Pelabuhan Parepare di Bawah Kuasa Gowa dan Bone," *Walasuji : Jurnal Sejarah Dan Budaya*, Vol. 8, No. 2; Bahtiar Bahtiar (2019), "Hubungan Politik Antarkerajaan: Gowa dengan Bone, Soppeng, Wajo (Tellumpocco)," *Walasuji : Jurnal Sejarah Dan Budaya*, Vol. 10, No. 2; Hot Marangkup Tumpal Sianipar, Abednego Andhana Prakosajaya, and Ayu Nur Widiyastuti (2020), "Islamisasi Kerajaan-kerajaan Bugis oleh Kerajaan Gowa-Tallo Melalui Musu Selleng pada Abad ke-16 M," *Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan Sejarah* 5, no. 4; Rahmawati (2018), "Musu' Selleng Dan Islamisasi Dalam Peta Politik Islam," *Jurnal Rihlah*, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp.132-140.

Methodology

This research adopts a structured approach, guided by the premise that discussions surrounding the *Musu' Selleng* event are consistently linked to the Islamisation process, involving warfare between Gowa-Tallo and the Tellumpocoe alliance. Hence, a historical analysis is required to unveil and reconstruct the *Musu' Selleng* event based on the text and context of the historical occurrences. This study operationalises the historical method, encompassing heuristic inquiry, criticism, interpretation or explanation, and historiography. This method is employed to establish historical facts²⁰ from past events that are credible, authentic, and academically accountable²¹ related to *Musu' Selleng* and the Islamisation process in South Sulawesi.²²

Data sources were obtained from various institutions or individuals with documents or *lontara'* manuscripts discussing the *Musu' Selleng* event. The data description phase involves verification through internal and external criticism, followed by the categorisation of primary and secondary data to create a historical narrative in the interpretation. The writing phase utilises a social sciences approach for analysis.

Furthermore, this article employs a philological approach to analyse the collected textual sources by comparing with credible sources highlighting the interconnectedness between the text and its context. Therefore, this article aligns with Derrida's Deconstruction theory, which challenges the objectivity of events based on language usage, suggesting that there is no singular meaning in the text of any written event. His concept also indicates that each produced text will give rise to binary oppositions, blind spots, and internal contradictions within the text. These are crucial markers to demonstrate the presence of difference, trace, supplement, and the text of the sequence of events produced as a text.

The Conflict and Confrontation of Local Powers in South Sulawesi Towards the 17th century

South Sulawesi holds a profound and long historical significance in the development of Indonesia. Some literature suggest that this region's genesis was initially intertwined with the existence of *To-Manurung* and *Sawerigading*, which became the forerunners of the presence of the South Sulawesi community today.²³ These two stories became central to legitimising local power, a dynamic that has evolved over the centuries, persisting into the 20th century. Consequently, conflicts and confrontations involving local forces in South Sulawesi have been documented since the 15th Century.²⁴ These became the basis of enduring legends and literary traditions that continue to shape the beliefs of the South Sulawesi people.

The local manuscript notes that *lontara* only briefly talks about the land of South Sulawesi and even begins with the word "estimated," which means the event is still discussed in academic studies. A convincing record for South Sulawesi, *Lontara' Bilang*, stands as a reference for new events around the beginning of the 16th century through a royal scribe named Daeng Pamatte who documented events in the Gowa Kingdom. From the *lontara'* manuscript, Daeng Pamatte recorded several important events in the Gowa-Tallo Kingdom, including those related to political confrontations between local kingdoms in South Sulawesi. Apart from the Gowa Kingdom, several influential kingdoms in South Sulawesi included Luwu, Bone, Soppeng, Wajo, and Tallo. The last kingdom, Tallo, later became part of the Gowa Kingdom and is known as the Gowa-Tallo Kingdom in various academic literature. The conflict and political confrontation between these local kingdoms played a significant role, rendering them an integral and an integrated part

²⁰ Machouche, S. B., & Bensaid, B. (2022), "Ethics in Muslim Writing and Research Methodology: The Case of Ibn Khaldun's Scholarly Writing," *Journal of Al-Tamaddun*, Vol. 17, No. 2, pp. 41-44.

²¹ Kuntowijoyo (2013), "Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah," *Jurnal Ilmu Sejarah Dan Kebudayaan*; Louis R. Gottschalk (1953), "Understanding History, A Primer of Historical Method," *Nursing Research* 2, no. 1.

²² Kuntowijoyo (2013), "Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah," *Jurnal Ilmu Sejarah Dan Kebudayaan*; Louis R. Gottschalk (1953), "Understanding History, A Primer of Historical Method," *Nursing Research* 2, no. 1.

²³ Wayne Bougas (1998), "Bantayan : An Early Makassarese Kingdom, 1200-1600 A.D.," *Archipel*, Vol. 55, No. 1; Bustan et al. (2019), "The Traces of Islam in Bumi Sawerigading; South Sulawesi," Atlantis Press; Christian Pelras (1975), "Introduction à La Littérature Bugis," *Archipel*, Vol. 10, No. 1.

²⁴ Pelras (1996), "The Bugis; The Peoples of South-East Asia and the Pacific"; Andaya (1984), "Kingship-Adat Rivalry and the Role of Islam in South Sulawesi"; Andaya (1981), *Herit. Arung Palakka*; Mattulada, "Elite Di Sulawesi Selatan."

of the development of mainland South Sulawesi in the future.²⁵ In the historical records of the archipelago dated back to the mid-16th century, the Gowa-Tallo Kingdom was one of the local powers that influenced the archipelago.

This region is considered a transit area for merchant sailors trying to reach the spice commodity-producing area, namely Moluccas.²⁶ This development cannot be separated from the role of King Tumapa'risi Kallonna, who built a Somba Opu Fort as a trading port for the Gowa-Tallo Kingdom.²⁷ However, in the local scope, Gowa-Tallo faced challenges from other local kingdoms in a bid to maintain its existence as a regional power with global influence.

The conditions above expanded the Gowa-Tallo Kingdom's power during the Tumapa'risi' Kallonna period. Even though there are no apparent records regarding this expansion, academics agree that when Tunijallo served as ruler of Gowa-Tallo, development was carried out to maintain the existence of Somba Opu in the maritime trade network in the 16th century. This condition was strengthened when the Malays came to Somba Opu to establish trade relations with Gowa, which resulted in the Malays being permitted to settle around Somba Opu.²⁸

Most academics provide conclusions when discussing Gowa-Tallo as a political force that often conquers territory to maintain its existence. The literature pertaining to the development of Gowa-Tallo underscores the inseparability of this political force from the region and surrounding areas. In this way, Gowa-Tallo ensured sufficient resources, especially in economic terms. Tumapa'risik Kallonna then implemented policies that sought to benefit the development of Somba Opu by expanding the interior and agricultural areas.²⁹ Towards the end of the 16th Century, Gowa-Tallo experienced rapid development, impacting its processes and dynamics. During the 16th Century, Gowa-Tallo built its political power to support economic activities in Somba Opu. This activity was then strengthened when several inland areas supplied their commercial commodities to the Somba Opu port using boats or other means of transportation. On the other hand, Gowa-Tallo experienced changes in the structure of society with the presence of Muslim Malays around Somba Opu.³⁰

The subsequent issue is the positioning of the relationship between Gowa-Tallo and the local kingdoms on the mainland of South Sulawesi. Local power relations in South Sulawesi developed in the mid-16th century through political marriage relations. Several rulers married their descendants between the local kingdoms, Gowa-Tallo, and Bone; even Tunijallo, the ruler in Gowa-Tallo, still had connections with Bone.³¹ On the other hand, this kinship relationship began with Batara Guru, who had a daughter, Karaeng ri Bone. It can be concluded that the kinship relationship between Gowa-Tallo and Bone was quite close from the beginning of the formation of local power in South Sulawesi.³²

²⁵ Sila, Reid, and Sila, "The Lontara': The Bugis-Makassar Manuscripts and Their Histories"; William Cummings (2007), "Islam, Empire and Makassarese Historiography in the Reign of Sultan Ala'uddin (1593-1639)," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 2; Cummings (2013), *The Makassar Annals, The Makassar Annals*.

²⁶ M. Nur Ichsan Azis (2013), "Ekonomi Maritim Kesultanan Makasar Abad XVII M," *THAQAFIYYAT: Jurnal Bahasa, Peradaban Dan ...* 14, no. 2; Leonard Y. Andaya (1995), "The Bugis-Makassar Diasporas," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 68, no. 1; Lombard (2008), "Nusa Jawa: Silang Budaya Bagian II (Jaringan Asia)"; Reid, "Pluralism and Progress in Seventeenth-Century Makassar."

²⁷ F. David Bulbeck (2000), "Economy, Military and Ideology in Pre-Islamic Luwu, South Sulawesi, Indonesia," *Australasian Historical Archaeology* 18, no. 2000; Bulbeck and Caldwell, "The Indigenous Fortifications of South Sulawesi, Indonesia, and Their Sociopolitical Foundations."

²⁸ Hadrawi (2018), "Sea Voyages And Occupancies Of Malayan Peoples At The West Coast Of South Sulawesi."

²⁹ Muhammad Amir (2017), "KONFLIK MANDAR DENGAN BELANDA PADA 1862," *Walasuji : Jurnal Sejarah Dan Budaya*, Vol. 8, No. 2; Cummings (2007), "Islam, Empire and Makassarese Historiography in the Reign of Sultan Ala'uddin (1593-1639)."

³⁰ Abdur Rasyid Asba (2018), "Connectivity of Perahu Shipping with Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij (KPM) in Establishing Makassar as a World Maritime Axis," in *Selected Topics on Archaeology, History and Culture in the Malay World*; Rasyid Asba (2017), "The Economic Policy of Japanese Naval Government in South Sulawesi in the Second World War 1942 -1945," *Indonesian Historical Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 2; Abd Rasyid Asba et al. (2020), "The Globalizing of Copra and Coconut Oil Industry of Makassar before the Second World War," in *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, Vol. 575, p. 59.

³¹ Cummings (2007), "Islam, Empire and Makassarese Historiography in the Reign of Sultan Ala'uddin (1593-1639)," 30-32; Cummings (2000), "Indonesia. Authority and Enterprise among the Peoples of South Sulawesi," Roger Tol, Kees Van Dijk and Greg Acciaoli (eds.), Leiden: KITLV, pp. 285.

³² Akhmad Akhmad, Usman Idris, and Leo Siregar (December, 2018), "Mitos Sawerigading (Epos Lagaligo): Suatu Analisis Struktural Dan Penafsiran," *ETNOSIA : Jurnal Etnografi Indonesia*, Vol. 3, No. 2, p. 224.

Essential actors in local power dynamics play a crucial role of strengthening regional kingdom confrontation and conflict in South Sulawesi. Gowa-Tallo, which was developing in the mid-16th century, indirectly needed territory that could support their position. One way to strengthen this position is by expanding and conquering territory, including Bone and the surrounding area. The root of this issue lies in the power relations between Tumapa'risi' Kallona and Uliyo Bote-e in Bone.³³

In the *lontara'* records, although lacking specific chronological details, before the formation of the Tellumpocoe alliance, Gowa-Tallo implemented expansionary political policies in several areas, which were important areas in the political-economic network. The expansionary power of Gowa-Tallo extended not only to mainland South Sulawesi but to other areas, such as Gorontalo and Minahasa.³⁴ In Gorontalo, Gowa-Tallo played a pivotal role in the maritime trade network and is even considered one of the ethnicities that influenced the development of Islam in the region.³⁵ Mainland Minahasa, the role of the Makassar ethnic group is quite complex because they are considered one of the intermediaries in the rice commodity trade, which is ultimately known in the Makassar-Bugis trading network in the Kema and Manado city areas.³⁶

The role of Gowa-Tallo then faced various complexities with conflicts between local authorities. Not only in the Tellumpocoe alliance, Gowa-Tallo had to face other forces on the west coast of Sulawesi, namely the Ajattapeng Confederation, to support Gowa-Tallo's position in maritime trade activities.³⁷ The Gowa-Tallo business aims to fulfil the needs of commercial commodities when the Somba Opu dealer tries to meet the needs of merchant sailors who dock at Gowa-Tallo.³⁸

The evolving socio-economic relations impact various dimensions, which are also part of the local power in South Sulawesi. Social relations influence religious development in South Sulawesi, where several important figures become catalysts for accepting religion, especially Islam. Even though it is connected to the political axis and policies of the authorities, this has implications for the emergence of Muslim community groups in Gowa-Tallo.³⁹ Thus, the political-religious issue in South Sulawesi is not the main problem of the conflict and confrontation involving Gowa-Tallo and the Tellumpocoe alliance but rather the emergence of ideas about economic domination and hegemony in regional development in South Sulawesi.⁴⁰

The new chapter of history in South Sulawesi is experiencing complex dynamics. The struggle between the local kings became increasingly out of control with the entry of foreign influences, especially the VOC, which became involved in the political arena. The presence of the VOC in South Sulawesi marked a pivotal juncture, serving as a catalyst for intensified conflicts against each other, which destroyed the influence of local kingdoms in South Sulawesi.⁴¹ In the pursuit to obtain commercial commodities, the VOC initially established economic cooperation with the rulers. They proposed to become the leading buyers of commodity supplies, however, the authorities opposed this because the activity had been going on for a long time and involved many traders who bought commodities in Somba Opu. The VOC responded to this

³³ Muhammad Amir (2019), "Pelayaran Niaga Mandar Pada Paruh Pertama Abad Ke-20," *Walasuji*, Vol. 10, No. 2.

³⁴ Muhammad Nur Ichsan Azis (2019), "Islamisasi Di Kawasan Laut Sulawesi Pada Abad Ke-19," *Jurnal Penelitian Sejarah Dan Budaya*, Vol. 5, No. 1; Adrian B. Lopian (2004), "Laut Sulawesi: The Celebes Sea, from Center to Peripheries," *Moussons*, No. 7.

³⁵ David Henley and Ian Caldwell (2008), "Kings and Covenants: Stranger-Kings and Social Contract in Sulawesi," *Indonesia and the Malay World*, Vol. 36, No. 105.

³⁶ Hasanuddin Anwar et al (2023), "Commodities and the Dynamics of Commercial Shipping Activity at Gorontalo in 19th Century,"; Ichsan Azis (2019), "Islamisasi Di Kawasan Laut Sulawesi Pada Abad Ke-19."

³⁷ Amir, "Konflik Mandar Dengan Belanda Pada 1862"; Muhammad Amir (2019), "Pelayaran Niaga Mandar Pada Abad XX," *Walasuji : Jurnal Sejarah Dan Budaya*, Vol. 10, No. 2.

³⁸ Hadrawi (2018), "Sea Voyages And Occupancies Of Malayan Peoples At The West Coast Of South Sulawesi"; Yulianto Sumalyo (2002), "Dutch Colonial Architecture And City Development Of Makassar," *DIMENSI (Jurnal Teknik Arsitektur)*, Vol. 30, No. 1.

³⁹ Cummings (2000), "Indonesia. Authority and Enterprise among the Peoples of South Sulawesi," Roger Tol, Kees Van Dijk and Greg Acciaoli (ed.), Leiden: KITLV, p. 285; Tati Haryati, A. Gafar Hidayat, and Subhan (2021), "Telaah Historis; Kedudukan Kesultanan Goa-Tallo Dalam Penyebarluasan Agama Islam Di Bima Pada Abad XVII," *Jurnal Pendidikan IPS*, Vol. 11, No. 1.

⁴⁰ Poelinggomang (2016), *Makassar Abad XIX*; Hadrawi (2018), "Sea Voyages And Occupancies Of Malayan Peoples At The West Coast Of South Sulawesi."

⁴¹ Christian Pelras (2013), "Patron-Client Ties among the Bugis and Makassar of South Sulawesi," *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia*, Vol. 156, No. 3; Sila, Reid, and Sila, "The Lontara': The Bugis-Makassar Manuscripts and Their Histories"; Leonard Y. Andaya (1984), "Kingship-Adat Rivalry and the Role of Islam in South Sulawesi," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 1, pp. 22-42.

refusal through a trade agreement, ultimately detrimental to Gowa as a trading dealer and incited Gowa's political opponents, especially Bone, to fight against it. This practice continued and almost coincided with the Islamisation process in Sulawesi.⁴²

Social and Political Dynamics in 17th Century South Sulawesi

Since the 16th Century, South Sulawesi has experienced a significant dynamic process caused by internal and external factors involving various underlying factors and elements. Periodically, political conditions initiate this development and become the primary catalyst in this process. This political process is supported by two reinforcing and binding axes which caused the dynamics in South Sulawesi society to experience a cycle of change. Therefore, there are three main elemental factors that resulted in the historical process in South Sulawesi experiencing significant dynamics, namely politics, economics, and religion.

Historical documents trace the Islamisation of South Sulawesi originated from the arrival of three Datuks from Sumatra —Datuk ri Bandang, Datuk Tiro, and Dato Pattimang—sent by the Sultan of Aceh sent in the early 17th century.⁴³ From this data, academics concluded that Islamisation in South Sulawesi occurred due to political factors carried out by the Sultanate of Aceh.⁴⁴ The peaceful channels and methods refer to an inclusive strategy involving structural and cultural adjustments, specifically within the bureaucratic framework of the ruler and the customs and traditions of local communities. This affirms that the Islamisation process in South Sulawesi occurred through the avenues of royal authority.⁴⁵ This narrative continues to evolve, influencing the positions of local powers in South Sulawesi, including the upheaval between Gowa-Tallo and the Tellumpocoe Alliance.⁴⁶

Conversely, several academics rejected this process by stating that the conflict that occurred between Gowa-Tallo and the Tellumpocoe was not based on credible and authentic historical facts, even though it was based on an event called *Musu' Selleng*.⁴⁷ The meaning of *Musu' Selleng* is understood as a political-religious conflict.⁴⁸ This view is quite reasonable considering the process and contact with Islam in South Sulawesi society existed long before the existence of local political power in South Sulawesi. However, history records that the impact was the *Musu' Selleng* between the Gowa-Tallo Kingdom and the Tellumpocoe alliance in 1608-1611, linked to the rejection of Islam.

Islamisation in South Sulawesi followed the development of local kingdoms, especially Gowa-Tallo. When the ruler of Gowa-Tallo accepted Islamic teachings, the people of Gowa-Tallo followed the ruler's religion. This was reinforced when the diary of the Gowa-Tallo Kingdom wrote that the Islamisation process was linked to war and political influence.

⁴² Pelras (1996), "The Bugis; The Peoples of South-East Asia and the Pacific"; Azis (2013), "Ekonomi Maritim Kesultanan Makasar Abad XVII M."

⁴³ Noorduyn (2013), "De Islamering van Makasar"; Cummings, "Islam, Empire and Makassarese Historiography in the Reign of Sultan Ala'uddin (1593-1639)"; Andaya, *Herit. Arung Palakka*.

⁴⁴ Lombard (2008), "Nusa Jawa: Silang Budaya Bagian II (Jaringan Asia)"; Ridhwan Ridhwan (2017), "Development Of Tasawuf In South Sulawesi," *QIJS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)*, Vol. 5, No. 2.

⁴⁵ Sewang, A. M. (2005), *Islamisasi Kerajaan Gowa Abad XVI sampai Abad XVII: abad XVI sampai abad XVII*, Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia; Dahlan, M. (2013), "Proses Islamisasi Melalui Dakwah di Sulawesi Selatan Dalam Tinjauan Sejarah," *Rihlah: Jurnal Sejarah Dan Kebudayaan*, Vol. 1, No. 1; Hasaruddin, H., Mania, S., & Anis, M. (2018), "Islamization in Sinjai in The 17th Century: The Arrival of Islam and Social Change," *Al-Shajarah: Journal of the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC)*, Vol. 23, No. 2, pp. 339-362.

⁴⁶ Idham Idham (2014), "Pertumbuhan Dan Perkembangan Islam Di Barru," *Paramita: Historical Studies Journal*, Vol. 24, No. 2.

⁴⁷ Kila (2017), "Pelabuhan Parepare Di Bawah Kuasa Gowa Dan Bone," pp. 58; Pelras (1996), "The Bugis; The Peoples of South-East Asia and the Pacific," p. 161.

⁴⁸ Kila (2017), "Pelabuhan Parepare Di Bawah Kuasa Gowa Dan Bone," p. 17; Bahtiar (2019), "Hubungan Politik Antarkerajaan: Gowa Dengan Bone, Soppeng, Wajo (Tellumpocco)," p. 251; Sianipar, Prakosajaya, and Widiyastuti, "Islamisasi Kerajaan-Kerajaan Bugis Oleh Kerajaan Gowa-Tallo Melalui Musu Selleng Pada Abad Ke-16 M.," Mattulada (1985), *Latoa: Suatu Lukisan analitis terhadap antropologi politik orang Bugis*, Yogyakarta: Gajah Mada University Press.

The primary assumption of this practice follows the pattern that occurs in the archipelago in general, which links Islamisation and political power or territorial conquest.⁴⁹ Academics showed the conclusion that Makassar reinforces Islamisation in South Sulawesi, which was carried out through war and political conquest.⁵⁰

However, the above view cannot be generally accepted because Islam existed in South Sulawesi long before the war. King Tunipallangga (1545–1565), who ruled in Gowa-Tallo, had built a mosque in Mangallekana for the group of Nahkoda Bonang, who came from Malay.⁵¹ Even though the arrival of the Malays in South Sulawesi did not directly carry out Islamisation, the influence of Islam was accepted as part of the social structure of society in the mid-16th century AD. Thus, the axis of Islamisation in South Sulawesi did not only use political influence through conquest and war but also peaceful channels with various channels and methods acceptable to the people of South Sulawesi.

Social relations in South Sulawesi ultimately have implications for the axis and process of Islamisation. Inconsistencies regarding war and Islamisation in South Sulawesi were then strengthened through the acceptance of other local powers such as Tanete, Barru, Suppa, Sawitto, Alitta, Rappang, and Sidenreng,⁵² who stated that they peacefully accepted Islam. Power relations between local kingdoms experienced progressive dynamics in which the ruler of Gowa-Tallo, Karaeng Tunipalangga, expanded his territory, despite in the end, these kingdoms broke away from Gowa-Tallo and formed an alliance known as the Tellumpocoe alliance in 1582.⁵³

The main aim of this alliance was to establish cooperative relations between local kingdoms, hinder the conquest carried out by Gowa-Tallo in the Bugis region, and maintain their existence.⁵⁴ The main reason for maintaining this existence cannot be separated from the opening of the Somba Opu chronicle in Gowa-Tallo, which welcomed sailors-merchants to establish economic relations when the maritime trade period took place in the 16th century.⁵⁵

At that time, the conflict was not only internal between Gowa, Bone, Soppeng and Wajo, but foreign intervention had its own share in disrupting the conditions surrounding South Sulawesi towards the end of the 17th century. The VOC, *Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, founded in 1602, became one of the foreign trading companies capable of intervening in South Sulawesi in the political-economic field. Even though the Portuguese had established trade relations with local rulers in South Sulawesi, this influence had no implications for South Sulawesi.⁵⁶ On the other hand, Portuguese businesses did not run well because they only focused on economic activities and trade relations. The Portuguese weakness at that time was the delay in acquiring South Sulawesi politically and religiously because they preferred to concentrate on supplying commodities to Maluku.⁵⁷ As a result, the Portuguese suffered a crushing defeat in establishing domination and hegemony in South Sulawesi.

⁴⁹ Lombard (2008), "Nusa Jawa: Silang Budaya Bagian II (Jaringan Asia)," pp. 13–10; Azyumardi Azra (2014), "Networks of the Ulama in the Haramayn: Connections in the Indian Ocean Region," *Studia Islamika*, Vol. 8, No. 2.; M. F. Laffan (2004), "The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern 'Ulamā' in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. By Azyumardi Azra (2005). Asian Studies Association of Australia Publication Series. Crows Nest, NSW: Allen and Unwin; Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004. Xi, 254 Pp. \$45.00 (Cloth). A\$35.00 (Paper)," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 64, No. 2.

⁵⁰ William Cummings (2011), *The Makassar Annals, The Makassar Annals*; J. Noorduyn (2004), "The Manuscripts of the Makasarese Chronicle of Goa and Talloq; An Evaluation," *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia*, Vol. 147, No. 4.

⁵¹ Hadrawi (2018), "Sea Voyages And Occupancies Of Malayan Peoples At The West Coast Of South Sulawesi," pp. 80–95.

⁵² Salihima, "Peta Politik Di Sulawesi Selatan Pada Awal Islamisasi."

⁵³ mappangara, "Perjanjian Tellumpocoe Tahun 1582: Tindak-Balas Kerajaan Gowa Terhadap Persekutuan Tiga Kerajaan Di Sulawesi Selatan."

⁵⁴ Bambang Sulisty (2014), "Konflik, Kontrak Sosial, Dan Pertumbuhan Kerajaan-Kerajaan Islam Di Sulawesi Selatan," *Sosiohumanika*, Vol. 7, No. 1.

⁵⁵ Azis (2013), "Ekonomi Maritim Kesultanan Makasar Abad XVII M"; Poelinggomang, *Makassar Abad XIX*; Rasyid Asba, "Connectivity of Perahu Shipping with Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij (KPM) in Establishing Makassar as a World Maritime Axis."

⁵⁶ Susanto Zuhdi (2018), "Shipping Routes and Spice Trade in Southeast Sulawesi in the 17th and 18th Century," *Journal of Maritime Studies and National Integration*, Vol. 2, No. 1, p. 31; A. Alamsyah (2022), "The Political Dominance of the Bugis in the Coastal Region of Indonesia from the 17th Century to the 19th Century," *Journal of Maritime Studies and National Integration*, Vol. 6, No. 1.

⁵⁷ Pelras (1996), "The Bugis; The Peoples of South-East Asia and the Pacific"; Reid, "Pluralism and Progress in Seventeenth-Century Makassar."

The root of the conflict with the Dutch East Indies trading company began in 1601 when the Dutch company tried to carry out diplomacy with the ruler of Makassar, Sultan Alauddin, to monopolise trade.⁵⁸ However, Sultan Alauddin rejected this effort and implemented the *Mare liberium* policy. This effort provided freedom to merchant sailors who wished to establish commercial relations with Makassar.⁵⁹

Dutch trading companies again responded to this policy by changing existing trade policies in Maluku. The Dutch in Maluku, especially under the Sultanate of Ternate, Sultan Barakat Syah (1583-1606), made this region a turning point for establishing a trade monopoly in the eastern region of the archipelago. The turning point for the Dutch, who carried the VOC flag, over the Maluku spice trade monopoly was obtained when Ternate sought help to expel the Spanish. This effort was successful with Ternate's victory with the help of the VOC, which then made it a trading company capable of monopolising the spice trade in Ternate. As a result, under the VOC flag, the Dutch could bind Ternate through a Monopoly agreement on the spice trade. Consequently, economic chaos ensued, impacting Makassar, which experienced restrictions on the supply of Maluku spices and resulted in a response from the local authorities.⁶⁰

Thus, the influence dragged South Sulawesi into a political-economic part of the Indonesian spice network under VOC control. The main implication of this incident was the intervention of the Dutch company to acquire Bandar Makassar as the main port of entry to Maluku.⁶¹ The efforts made by the VOC in 1601 continued for several years until the Dutch could see an opportunity to defeat Makassar and take control of South Sulawesi. Although the Dutch presence in Makassar was not documented before 1614, *Lontara'* indicates that in 1615, the Dutch company brought the harbourmaster of Somba Opu, Enci Oesing. A strengthening possibility for VOC relations in Somba Opu occurred after establishing the trading company that attempted to establish a trade monopoly in Makassar but was rejected by the authorities.⁶²

VOC intervention became increasingly vital in South Sulawesi after the conquest of Ternate, enabling the VOC to build trading power in Ternate since 1607. This also strengthens the assumption that the VOC sought a similar outcome in Somba Opu to control the Indonesian spice network. This turning point then provided a significant opportunity for the VOC to disrupt the economic and political stability in Somba Opu, as evidenced by the suppression of the supply of spices to Somba Opu due to an ongoing agreement with the Sultan of Ternate to monopolise the spice trade. In response, the authorities in Makassar sent envoys to reopen commercial relations.⁶³

After conquering Ternate, the VOC's position became increasingly strategic in monopolising the spice trade, thereby continuing its efforts to conquer Somba Opu. The efforts made by the VOC were quite massive in Somba Opu, sending several trade and military fleets to conquer this strategic area. Concurrently, Gowa, which controlled Somba Opu, also experienced internal conflict between local authorities, resulting in Gowa's focus being divided between maintaining its trade territory and internal political relations.⁶⁴ The political confrontation that occurred internally in South Sulawesi between Gowa, Bone, Soppeng, Wajo, and Luwu was put to good use by the VOC to take over Somba Opu.

⁵⁸ Andaya (1984), "Kingship-Adat Rivalry and the Role of Islam in South Sulawesi"; Andaya (1981), *Herit. Arung Palakka*.

⁵⁹ Poelinggomang (2016), *Makassar Abad XIX*, p. 63 .

⁶⁰ Poelinggomang (2016); Rasyid Asba, "Connectivity of Perahu Shipping with Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij (KPM) in Establishing Makassar as a World Maritime Axis."

⁶¹ William Cummings (2007), *A Chain of Kings : The Makassarese Chronicles of Gowa and Talloq, A Chain of Kings : The Makassarese Chronicles of Gowa and Talloq*; Cummings, *Makassar Ann.*; Sutherland, "Trade, Court and Company Makassar in the Later Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries."

⁶² Cummings (2007), *A Chain Kings Makassarese Chronicles Gowa Talloq*.

⁶³ Andaya (1981), *Herit. Arung Palakka*.

⁶⁴ Tristan Mostert (2021), "Suppliers, Knowledge Brokers, and Brothers in Arms: Portuguese Aspects of Military Innovation in Makassar," in *The First World Empire: Portugal, War and Military Revolution*; Adrian B. Lapian (2013), "Wilayah Maluku Dalam Konteks Perdagangan Internasional," *KALPATARU, Majalah Arkeologi*.

Gowa and Bone, who were initially allies,⁶⁵ turned into enemies when the VOC took advantage of opportunities and established relations with Bone.⁶⁶ The prolonged conflict between Gowa and the rulers of the Bugis mainland became the entry point for the VOC to divide and take over Somba Opu.

When the ruler of Gowa, Sultan Alauddin, tried to expand his territory, the influence of Islamic ideology was introduced and grew until it became the ruling ideology to be followed by the people. Gowa, which had established relations with Bone, Soppeng, and Wajo rulers, tried to attract them to follow these teachings and ideologies.⁶⁷ However, the rulers of Bone, Soppeng, and Wajo did not accept this effort. Since 1603, the Sultan of Gowa massively spread Islamic ideology in various regions, giving rise to various responses from local authorities. This period is termed by academics as *Musu' Selleng* (Bugis) or *Musu Kasallangang* (Makassar).

Revealing Islamisation in South Sulawesi: Exploring Textual Dynamics and Cultural Context of *Musu' Selleng*

Statements regarding *Musu' Selleng* or *Musu' Kasallangang* have become part of the controversy in the academic realm in South Sulawesi, especially those related to politics, the spread of Islam, and internal societal conflicts.⁶⁸ Various sources such as the Makassar chronicle or *Lontara' Bilang*, assert that Islam was the official religion in the Gowa-Tallo Kingdom since 1603. This acceptance of Islam cannot be separated from the arrival of three ulamas from Aceh, Datuk ri Bandang, Datuk ri Tiro, and Datuk Pattimang, to strengthen political relations between the two regions. They were the leading figures in Islamic practice in South Sulawesi until Central Sulawesi and Nusa Tenggara. The Datuks from Sumatra, including Datuk ri Bandang, Datuk Tiro, and Dato Pattimang, employed diverse da'wah strategies tailored to the distinct conditions of various communities in South Sulawesi. Datuk ri Tiro concentrated on Sufism education to introduce the mystical aspect of Islam, while Datuk ri Patimang prioritised education to fortify religious convictions. On the other hand, Datuk ri Bandang placed a greater emphasis on the implementation of sharia law. Through these varied approaches, the Datuks aimed to disseminate Islamic teachings and extend the influence of the Aceh Sultanate in South Sulawesi.⁶⁹

The various documents and literature concluded that Soppeng accepted Islam in 1609, Wajo in 1610, and Bone in 1611. The acceptance of Islam by these regions was noteworthy and explicitly mentioned in the Makassar Chronicle or *Lontara' Bilang*, stating “*namantama Islaam to-Soppenga* (1609),” “*namantama Islaam to-Wadjoka* (1610)” and “*na beta Bone ri Bundu' kasallanganga*”. However, the texts gave rise to varied interpretations of the data, and Derrida's perspective emphasises the necessity of attention to the emergence of the text from an event to unveil the implied meaning from the creator of the text.⁷⁰ The Makassar Chronicle, or *Lontara' Bilang*, is the primary source for analysing textual and contextual events on *Musu' Selleng*. The chronicle elucidates the relationships among Gowa, Bone, Soppeng, and Wajo by the historical events. In the 16th century, there was a conflict among Gowa, Bone, Soppeng, and Wajo. Conflicts arose between these regions initiated by the ruler of Gowa to conquer the hinterland area to collect the commodity. This conflict sowed the seeds of *Tellumpocoe' e*, marking a crucial period in the historical narrative of South Sulawesi.

⁶⁵ Mustafa Bola, Anshory Ilyas, and Judhariksawan (2019), “The Territorial Sea of the Kingdom of Gowa - Makassar,” *Journal of Maritime Research*, Vol. 16, No. 3; Cummings, “Islam, Empire and Makassarese Historiography in the Reign of Sultan Ala'uddin (1593-1639).”

⁶⁶ Pelras (1996), “The Bugis; The Peoples of South-East Asia and the Pacific”; Andaya (1981), *Herit. Arung Palakka*; Sila, Reid, and Sila, “The Lontara': The Bugis-Makassar Manuscripts and Their Histories.”

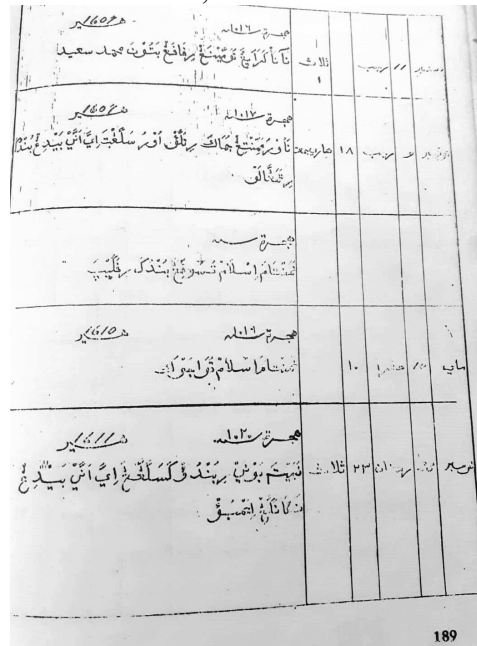
⁶⁷ Stephen C. Druce (2009), *The Lands West of the Lakes; A History of the Ajattappareng Kingdoms of South Sulawesi 1200 to 1600 CE*, *The Lands West of the Lakes; A History of the Ajattappareng Kingdoms of South Sulawesi 1200 to 1600 CE*, 2009; Pelras (1996), “The Bugis; The Peoples of South-East Asia and the Pacific.”

⁶⁸ R Rahmawati (2015), “Perspektif Baru Dalam Proses Penyebaran Islam Di Kerajaan Bone Sulawesi Selatan Indonesia Pada Abad Ke 17,” *Rihlah: Jurnal Sejarah Dan Kebudayaan*; Sianipar, Prakosajaya, and Widiyastuti, “Islamisasi Kerajaan-Kerajaan Bugis Oleh Kerajaan Gowa-Tallo Melalui Musu Selleng Pada Abad Ke-16 M”; Cummings, *A Chain Kings Makassarese Chronicles Gowa Talloq*.

⁶⁹ Noorduynd, J. (1956). *De islamisering van Makasar. Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde*, (3de Afl), 247-266; Mattulada (1976), “Ulama dan Pengajaran Islam di Sulawesi Selatan” dalam Laporan Proyek Penelitian. Makassar: Universitas Hasanuddin; Chambert-Loir, Henri. 1985. “Dato' ri Bandang. Légendes de l'islamisation de la région de Célèbes-Sud” dalam *Archipel*. Volume 29, 1985. *L'islam en Indonésie I*. pp. 137-163; Hamid, Abu (1982), “Selayang Pandang Uraian Tentang Islam dan Kebudayaan Orang Bugis-Makassar di Sulawesi Selatan” dalam *Bugis-Makassar dalam Peta Islamisasi Indonesia (Selayang Pandang tentang Beberapa Aspek*. Ujung Pandang: IAIN Alauddin; Dahlan, M. (2013), “Proses Islamisasi Melalui Dakwah di Sulawesi Selatan Dalam Tinjauan Sejarah,” *Rihlah: Jurnal Sejarah Dan Kebudayaan*, Vol. 1, No. 1.

⁷⁰ Derrida, “The Deconstruction of Actuality: An Interview with Jacques Derrida”; Derrida, *Of Grammatology*.

In the following manuscript, the Gowa Chronicle, it was written:



From the text above, the translations are as follows:

1607: *Nanianakkang Karaeng Tumenang ri Papambatunna Muhammad Said*

1607: *Nauru mammentengang Jumaka ri Tallo, Uru Sallanta, Ia mi anne bedeng bundu' ri Tamapallo*

1609: *Namantama Islam To-Soppenga Bunduka ri Pakenja*

1610: *Namantama Islam To-Wajoka*

1611: *Nabetami Bone ri Bundu' Kasallangang iya anne bedeng nakaannakang I Ambo*

Litgvoet attempted to translate the Gowa Chronicle and deconstructed historical events of the past. Several academics, such as Litgvoet, Noorduyn, Andaya, Pelras, and Cummings, offered their interpretation. Thus, this text became the main critique of interpretations, descriptions, narratives, and analyses that positioned Islam as a 'negative' event in South Sulawesi.

Several academic circles provide interpretations that the Islamisation process in South Sulawesi was carried out through war and conquest⁷¹ which then shows that Islamisation was carried out through the path of war and violence. As previously explained, Gowa, Bone, Soppeng, and Wajo had dynamic relations until the emergence of the Tellumpocco'e alliance. However, these discourses and discussions are still being debated academically.

The main basis that strengthens the rejection of Islamisation on the Bugis mainland was Gervais' report, in which the rejection occurred not due to conquest or political conflict but rather to the restrictions on habits, as well as significant changes in the daily lives of local people. Phrases such as *'prohibiting eating pork, prohibiting gambling and cockfighting, and animist practices'* were the main basis for this rejection, as the rulers needed time to accept these teachings. The controversy over the conversion process, perceived as 'forced,' is highlighted by the connotation associated with the term 'circumcision.'

The next confrontation was the conclusion of Perlas, who wrote about the *Islamic Wars* in South Sulawesi.⁷² He wrote, "In 1611, after five years of the so-called 'Islamic Wars' led by the Makassar kingdom, Bone became the last kingdom to adopt Islam as its state religion". Bone was the last kingdom to adopt Islam as the kingdom's religion between Soppeng and Wajo. If this was connected to previous sources, the wars have been linked to the conversion of ideology, Islam, because the local rulers, especially in 1570-1591,

⁷¹ Andaya (1981), *Herit. Arung Palakka*; Noorduyn (2013), "De Islamering van Makasar," p. 249; Pelras (1996), "The Bugis; The Peoples of South-East Asia and the Pacific"; Cummings, *A Chain Kings Makassarese Chronicles Gowa Talloq*.

⁷² Pelras (1996), "The Bugis; The Peoples of South-East Asia and the Pacific," p. 124.

were fighting each other. Thus, the expression of Pelras regarding the assumed 'Islamic War' is an inaccurate conclusion. This position then shows that challenging the 'binary opposition' presented by Pelras was a mistake in reconstructing historical events. Pelras' position was reinforced by Noorduyn, who indicated that the main factor in the Islamisation process on the Bugis mainland was not political but it was due to economic gains.⁷³

Een jaar na de dood van to Ridjallo 5 (dus 1591) hadden de Boneers en Goarezen een bijeenkomst in Meru (in Bone). Men besloot zich weer aan het verdrag van Tjalëppa" te houden....

Translation:

A year after To Ridjallo's death (1591), the people of Bone and Gowa met in Meru (Bone). Bone and Gowa agreed to return to the agreement in Caleppa.

Noorduyn indicated that long before the spread of Islam, there had been a conflict between Bone and Gowa, which was strengthened by an agreement in Caleppa regarding *Ulu Kana* or *Ulu 'Ada'*.⁷⁴ This agreement stated that Bone and Gowa were friendly, challenging the interpretation of political practices in the Islamisation process. The two agreements claim that the practice of Islamisation in South Sulawesi, especially among Bugis, was not based on war or politics. These two agreements then show that the birth of both agreements was based on wars over territory, not in the process of spreading religion. In these two agreements, Gowa and Bone and their alliance areas were depicted as friends who continued to maintain peace in South Sulawesi.⁷⁵

Apart from Pelras, Andaya also cited the "Islamic War," which was linked to the spread of Islam. Quoting from Andaya⁷⁶ (1981: 33):

Goa at first called upon Bone and Soppeng to embrace Islam, but they both refused. According to one source Soppeng replied by sending back a spool of cotton and a spinning wheel (Noorduyn 1955:94-5), a traditional taunt to one's masculinity. Goa then attacked Soppeng through Sawitto in 1608 beginning what became known as the "Islamic Wars" (*musu' asëllënnge* in Bugis, *bundu' kasallannga* in Makassar). At Pakenya the Goa troops were defeated by the Tëllumpocco after a three day battle and forced to withdraw. Three months later Goa launched a second attack, this time against Wajo. As had happened in the past, some of Wajo's vassals (*palili'*), such as Akkotengëng, Kera, and Sakuli, abandoned Wajo for what they believed to be the stronger power. But once again the Tëllumpocco held firm and defeated the Goa forces (Noorduyn 1955:95).

Andaya indirectly indicates that the historical narrative offered in his work has inconsistencies in information. One example of less coherence is found in Andaya's interpretation, where he asserts Sultan Malik's role in describing the political confrontation between Gowa and Bone before the conflict between Sultan Hasanuddin and Arung Palakka, supported by the VOC, unfolded.⁷⁷

In the text adapted by Ligtvoet from the Gowa Chronicle, he writes about '*bundu kasallangang*,' which is connected with the spread of Islam in South Sulawesi. Interestingly, the translation by Ligtvoet has a different way of quoting. Ligtvoet did not write the exact year regarding the acceptance of Islam in Soppeng, whereas in Wajo, Ligtvoet wrote in 1610 and in 1611 in Bone, which was marked by the term *bundu kasallangang*.

⁷³ Noorduyn (2013), "De Islamering van Makasar," pp. 247-266.

⁷⁴ *Ulu Kanayya ri Tamalate (Gowa) or Ulu Adae' ri Tamalate (Bone) between Raja Tumapa'risik Kallaonna (Gowa) and La Uliyo Bote'e Matinroe ri Iterung (Bone) in 1540 and Ulu Kanayya ri Caleppa (Gowa) or Ulu Ada'eri Caleppa (Bugis) in 1560.*

⁷⁵ Noorduyn (2004), "The Manuscripts of the Makasarese Chronicle of Goa and Talloq: An Evaluation"; Sila, Reid, and Sila, "The Lontara": The Bugis-Makassar Manuscripts and Their Histories"; Nur, "Manuscripts, Status, and Power: The Study of Lontara Bone in the Seventeenth Century."

⁷⁶ Andaya (1981), *Herit. Arung Palakka*, p. 33.

⁷⁷ Andaya (1981), *Herit. Arung Palakka*, pp. 44-47.

The main criticism that must be made here is how Ligtvoet translated from the Makassar language with the letter *lontara* to Latin. On the other hand, the context of the translation carried out by Ligtvoet, apart from academic needs, also influenced the implementation of policies carried out by the colonial government.

6

Hera 1590, Sanná 1002.
 3 Moeharrang.
 Nandidjalló(oé) karâenga Toe-nidjalló(oé); oemoeroéna 45.
 Hera 1593. Sanná 1008.
 Maka ija-anne koetaëng kaänakkanna karâenga Toe-mam-
 malijang-ri-Timoró(oé) Moezhaffar; 43 oemoeroéna.
 Hera 1600, Sanná 1009.
 Agóesoetoé. Maka anne koetaëng kaänakkanna Toewam-
 menang-ri-Bonto-biraëng; oemoeroéna 54.
 Hera 1602.
 2 Mârasá, allo arabá. Namapparé kompanija Balandaïja,
 73 taee, namappasére rêjalá 2640000.
 Hera 1603, Hidjará sanná 1015.
 22 Satêmbéré, 9 Djoemádelé-aóewalá, bangi djoemá. Na-
 mantama Islaam karâenga roewa sisáribattang.
 Hera 1607, Hidjará sanná 1016.
 11 Desêmbéré, Radjá, salasa. Naäná karâenga Toewam-
 menang-ri-papambatoenna Moehammad Sa'íd.
 Hera 1607, Hidjará sanná 1017.
 9 Nowêmbéré, 18 Radjá, allo djoemá. Naoeroe mammen-
 teng djoemaka ri Talló(oé), oeroe sallanta. Ija-anne bedeng
 boëndoeka ri Tamappalo.
 Hidjará sanná.
 Namantama Islaam toe-Sôppenga; boëndoeka ri Pakenja.

7

Hera 1610, Hidjará sanná 1019.
 10 Maï, 10 Sáppará. Namantama Islaam toe-Wádjoka.
 Hera 1611, Hidjará sanná 1020.
 23 Nowêmbéré, 23 Roemallang, salasa. Nabeta Bone ri
 boendóe kasallánganga.
 Hera 1615, Hidjará sanná 1024.
 28 Abarele, 28 Râbelé-aóewalá. Nanijalle Antji Oesing
 sabánnaraka ri Balandaja.
 12 Desêmbéré, 20 Dolo-kaëda, allo sattoe. Naäná Karaënta-
 ri-Tangallá Sietti-Marazhijah.
 Hera 1616, Hidjará sanná 1025.
 Nowêmbéré, Saóewalá. Naäná Karaënta-ri-Kassí-djala.

Year	Makassar	English
<i>Hidjara Sanna</i>	<i>Namantama Islaam toe-Soppenga; boendoka ri pakenja</i>	Islam was entered (accepted) by the Soppeng people; war in Pakenja
<i>Hera 1610, Hidjara Sanna 1019, 10 Mei, 10 Sappara</i>	<i>Namantama Islaam toe-Wadjoka</i>	Islam was entered (accepted) by the Wadjo people
<i>Hera 1611, Hidjara Sanna 1020, Salasa, 23 Novembere, 23 Roemallang</i>	<i>Nabeta Bone ri Boendoe kasallanganga</i>	defeated by Bone in the war of Islam
<i>Hera 1615, Hidjara Sanna 1024, 28 Abrele, 28 Rabele-Awoela</i>	<i>Nanijallo Antji Oesing Sabannaraka ri Balandajja</i>	The Dutch attacked Anci' Oesing.

Referring to the sources above, the translations that show political relations and Islamisation do not fully confirm the description. Political factors did not wholly influence the *Musu' Selleng* incident, but this condition was supported by community conditions and regional context, which were part of local power relations. Conflicts over influence and power in South Sulawesi did not only occur during the era of Islamisation but also took place long before the influence of Islam was accepted by Gowa in the early 17th century.

The textualisation of Islam in South Sulawesi refers to the *Lontara' Bilang* Kingdom of Gowa-Tallo, which accepted Islam in 1603. In the following process, Friday prayers were held for the first time in 1607, after which Islam became the official religion in the Kingdom of Gowa-Tallo. Interestingly, during this period, Gowa-Tallo faced political turmoil with local kingdoms in South Sulawesi, such as Bone, Soppeng, and Wajo, members of the Tellumpocoe alliance.

Referring to this text, there was a vacuum of events for four years in the Islamisation process in South Sulawesi. Initial assumptions then show that during these four years, the Gowa-Tallo Kingdom focused more on expanding the kingdom's territory and spreading religious influence. Therefore, this writing agrees with the concept presented by Derrida regarding the use of language and writing style, which influences the writing of historical events. In the end, the discourse of Islamisation in South Sulawesi through political channels, conquest, and coercion is not entirely correct in describing historical events.

Conclusion

The text and context of the development of Islam in South Sulawesi are intricately linked to the societal conditions in the past. The people of South Sulawesi who believe in legitimising figures influence their perspective and the course of the historical process up to the present. To Manurung, considered to have strong legitimacy, was then used as a tool to build local power in South Sulawesi. The emergence of Gowa-Tallo, Bone, Soppeng, Wajo, and other local powers often referred to the text and context for To Manurung's legitimacy to maintain their position.

The spread of this influence ultimately has implications for the meaning of an event. The text and contextualisation of *Musu' Selleng* described in this article find that territorial conquest, attacks, and even resorts to war were not the main basis for spreading Islam in South Sulawesi. This can be strengthened by a series of wars and conflicts between rulers long before the process of spreading Islam in South Sulawesi in the early 17th century. The war between local rulers from 1540 to 1582 is strong evidence to support that Islamisation in South Sulawesi was not spread through war. On the other hand, the emergence of the Tellumpocoe alliance in 1582 supports the rejection of this assumption. The new Islamic religion developed in South Sulawesi since Gowa accepted it in 1605, and it then became a crucial part of the introduction of Islamic teachings, which shows that the introduction of Islamic teachings was carried out peacefully. Consequently, according to Derrida's conceptual framework, the prevailing academic perspective that associates conquest with the spread of Islam in South Sulawesi is fundamentally flawed.

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