

Benteng Alla: Islamization of the Ancestral Land by Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia

A. Rahman

Master Program of History, State University of Makassar
Jl. A. P. Pettarani, Tidung, Makassar, South Sulawesi - Indonesia

*Corresponding Author: abdrahmanhistory28@gmail.com

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14710/ihis.v4i1.7900>

Abstract

Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia (DI/TII) movement, which lasted for approximately 15 years in South Sulawesi, targeted the inland areas identical to forests. This fact certainly made it difficult for Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) to trace the presence of Kahar Muzakkar's troops. Benteng Alla which was located in the interior part of Enrekang also became a target. The village, which was directly adjacent to Tana Toraja, then transformed into a pathway used by DI/TII to expand its territory to Tana Toraja without going through the main road. This area was then completely controlled by DI/TII, in which the Islamic laws enforced there. Islamic law enforcement around Benteng Alla caused the neglect of *Aluk Todolo* teachings previously adopted by the community. Moreover, DI/TII also implemented economic engineering in Benteng Alla by utilizing zakat. One of the objectives of the economic engineering implementation was to prevent the community from visiting the city while still paying attention to the education of Benteng Alla communities who had become part of their movement. However, the communities then became the target of Indonesian National Armed Forces operations that came from Toraja. As a result, Benteng Alla was emptied for several years. This article is made by applying four methods in writing history with the aim of analyzing the significance of Benteng Alla's position during the DI/TII period and to pave the pathways passed by DI/TII so that this movement spread to Southeast Sulawesi.

Received:
May 26, 2020

Revised:
June 7, 2020

Accepted:
June 8, 2020

Keywords: DI/TII; Benteng Alla; Islamization.

Introduction

The disappointment of the guerrillas who joined the South Sulawesi Guerrilla Unit (KGSS) against the Indonesian Military Forces (APRI) had made them decide to enter the forest under Kahar Muzakkar's leadership. The disappointment of the KGSS members was triggered by the rejection of Wirabuana VII Army and Territorial Command (KO-TT) under the leadership of Colonel Kawilarang at their request, which was to join APRI completely. Completely here means that all members of KGSS had to become APRI members. Desire and rejection eventually caused feud (Gonggong, 1992, p. 94). After the feud with Colonel Kawilarang, Kahar Muzakkar

was taken by Syamsul Bahri to the KGSS Battalion Bau Massepe headquarters. It was done to ensure the safety of Kahar Muzakkar under Andi Selle's control. After that, Kahar started entering the forest and headed to the KGSS Massenrempulu base under Andi Sose (Aqamuz, 2001, pp. 237-238).

While in the forest, the government actually had initiated the peace negotiation efforts. The peace negotiation was carried out in order to attract the guerrillas to join APRI through the Nation Reserve Corps (CTN). However, this effort failed. Kahar Muzakkar himself, who was a CTN member at that time, changed the name of CTN to People's Independence Army (TKR). He did that after making a contact with the DI/TII leader Kartosuwiryo in West Java and received an offer to join DI/TII (Harvey, 1989, p. 192). In fact, while they were in People's Independence Army (TKR), Kahar and his troops had conducted religious elections between Christianity and Islam in various places in South Sulawesi (Sangka, 2013, p. 14). It was actually quite reasonable because in mid-1952, Kahar and his troops had chosen the ideology of the movement and they chose Islam (Kabubu, 2017, p. 72).

Their decision to choose Islam was a sign that Kahar had accepted Kartosuwiryo's offer to join the DI/TII movement. However, Kahar did not necessarily change his movement name to DI/TII. He instead used TKR as a bridge for him to garner popular support. Before turning TKR into DI/TII, Kahar took advantage of the people of Sulawesi's resentment against the army brought in from Java. Besides taking the advantage of the situation in the communities, DI/TII also used the forest as a guerrilla area. For this reason, DI/TII was known as a movement that was identical to the forest. They carried out guerrilla movement in the forest, especially in Enrekang, where 85% of the area were mountains (Sitonda, 2004, p. 67).

Almost all of the Duri areas in Enrekang had been successfully controlled by DI/TII, including Benteng Alla Village or hereafter referred to as Benteng Alla. The area was chosen because it was adjacent to Tana Toraja, so it was used as the entrance to the western part of Tana Toraja. In addition, this village was also chosen due to its interior location that was far enough from the main road. From its geographical location, Benteng Alla would be a perfect area for DI/TII. Its perfect location that was also far from the main road made it easier for DI/TII to expand their movement up to Tana Toraja and moved from one region to another. DI/TII actually had a headquarter in Baraka as the group headquarters in Enrekang. Nevertheless, this region was seen as less strategic (Gibson, 1994, p. 73). Furthermore, DI/TII had a desire to rule Tana Toraja. Thus, DI/TII tried hard to control the border areas and Benteng Alla was the most appropriate choice because it could bring them to Tana Toraja without having to go through the main road controlled by TNI.

Formichi (2015) examined the change in Indonesia's post-reform history understanding that discussed the popular and institutional approaches to write about Darul Islam, which was the core of DI/TII movement. Formichi chose a completely different approach from history writing in the New Order era. The previous studies of Darul Islam only focused on the rebellion, while Formichi emphasized the Islamic character of Kartosuwiryo to analyze Darul Islam movements in 1940-1965. Another

study on Darul Islam was conducted by Temby (2010). Temby's study (2010) focused on Islamic countries that survived underground during Soeharto era, one of which was Jemaah Islamiyah. According to Temby (2010), Jemaah Islamiyah still had a connection with Darul Islam which was led by Kartosoewiryo. The argument was based on the collective power possessed by Darul Islam in the past which had become the identity of its members. The collective power had shaped a sense of nationalism to form an Islamic state.

Studies on DI/TII had been conducted with various approaches. However, studies on DI/TII movement in the villages or regions that had been traversed were still rarely and even never be done. One of them was a study on DI/TII movement in Benteng Alla. In fact, in Benteng Alla, DI/TII did not only pass by, but also carried out various social activities. Even though it only had the status of a village with a narrow area, we had to recognize that Benteng Alla was part of the DI/TII movement. In addition, studies on the pathways or traffic of DI/TII movements so far were still inadequate. Many writers only studied about DI/TII activities and they rarely mentioned the activities or guerrilla in the villages passed by DI/TII. During the 15 years of movement, DI/TII certainly had passed many pathways to expand its territory. These pathways were difficult to penetrate and follow even by the TNI. Aside from being steep, the lack of knowledge and skill regarding the terrain was also an obstacle for the TNI to penetrate DI/TII pathways. Based on this background, this study was conducted to analyze the DI/TII activities in the pathways that had been passed to expand the movement, namely Islamizing the community, upholding Islamic law, providing education services, and withdrawing donations and alms.

Method

This article was made by applying four stages in the writing of history, namely heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography (Sjamsuddin, 2012, p. 67). This research did not only use sources such as literature, but also information extracted from oral sources. Therefore, the writer had visited Benteng Alla to interview the people who had lived during the reign of DI/TII. To obtain information regarding the fact that Benteng Alla was the entrance to Tana Toraja, the writer also conducted interview in the village in Tana Toraja which was directly bordered with Benteng Alla, started from Rano, Buakayu, to Rantepao. Interviews were conducted with people who had witnessed and even experienced DI/TII upheaval.

Expanding and Controlling Benteng Alla Region by DI/TII

Administratively, Benteng Alla belongs to the northern area of Enrekang District. Due to this reason, Benteng Alla is directly adjacent to Tana Toraja District, precisely in Gandang Batu Silanan Subdistrict. The southern area of Benteng Alla is bordered with Baroko Village. Meanwhile, the west and east regions are respectively bordered with Rano, Tana Toraja and Pana subdistricts (Nonci, 2000, p. 12). Benteng Alla Village is divided into three villages as follows: Benteng Alla, North Benteng Alla, and Patongloan. All the three villages now are in the administrative area of Baroko

Subdistrict. However, in 1950 when the DI/TII upheaval was taking place, these three villages were still under the name Benteng Alla village. Back then, there was no road access to Benteng Alla. So far, the data regarding the number of Benteng Alla residents in the beginning of DI/TII upheaval has not been found. The population data recorded in 1963 was only 2415 people. They inhabited Buntu Dea, Redak, Lumbaja, Tangsa, and To'uwe (South Sulawesi Library and Archive Agency, 1890-1971).

DI/TII utilized the forest area as a guerrilla area for about 15 years. Benteng Alla Village condition, which was located in the highlands and around the mountain area, was actually favorable for DI/TII troops in guerrilla fighting with the TNI. With this advantage, DI/TII attempted to expand their movement activities to Tana Toraja. In addition, Benteng Alla position which was between two Toraja districts, became the entry access to Tana Toraja, particularly the western part of Toraja (Bigalke, 2016). As a matter of fact, there was another access to Tana Toraja, which was through Salubarani. Nonetheless, due to its position which was not in the main road, it was impossible for the hordes of DI/TII guerrillas to travel through Salubarani. Moreover, TNI troops also built many guard posts near Salubarani. Therefore, the only possible access at that time was in Benteng Alla region as it was in the remote mountain area and far from the main road even the city.

DI/TII expansion efforts to Tana Toraja by making Benteng Alla an access and traffic to Toraja could be said successful. Since 1950, at least five regions had been successfully occupied by DI/TII, among others: Simbuang, Bittuang, Gandang Batu, Rano, and Buakayu. These five districts were basically adjacent to each other, therefore if one of the regions were under control, then other areas around it would also be easier to reach. Bittuang District was even transformed into one of the bases of DI/TII movement in Toraja until 1955 under the leadership of Tuwo Daru (Kabubu, 2017, p. 89). Initially, TNI posts around the Toraja main road such as Mengkendek, Makale, Rantepao and Nanggala districts became the obstacles for DI/TII to enter Toraja. In practice, the control over Benteng Alla was proven as an alternative which successfully made DI/TII entering Tana Toraja, especially the western part via Rano which was adjacent to Benteng Alla.

Control over the periphery areas was actually important for the continuation of the DI/TII movement. Through inter-district boundaries, the guerrillas led by Kahar Muzakkar could easily move from one district to another (Interview with Rev. Daud Sangka, 2018). Therefore, the inter-district border areas and even the districts became favorite areas for DI/TII to carry out troop smuggling. The troop smuggling in question was to send the troops as a spy in the enemy territory and then to create chaos, especially in areas occupied by TNI (Kabubu, 2017, p. 88).

Since Benteng Alla was not as large as Baraka which as the base of DI/TII in Enrekang, Baraka was more well-known. Many areas that were actually controlled by DI/TII received less attention. In fact, these small areas had interesting stories and very important roles when they were occupied by DI/TII. The center of DI/TII movement was actually in the eastern part of Enrekang-Toraja Main Road, which included Anggeraja, Baraka, Benteng Alla, and Buntu Batu Districts. The whole area was then

called as Duri Kompleks (Pilang, 2008, p. 234). With the complete control over Baraka District, then it became the only horde territory, which was on the west side of main road. This region then became the horde traffic route to the western part of Toraja through Benteng Alla Village.

The journey to reach Benteng Alla was not easy. To reach Benteng Alla, the troops must pass through Baroko first which was a wider area than Benteng Alla. Baroko itself was the outermost area of the Baroko District. At the same time, the village became the horde territory which was closer to the main road (Interview with Minta, 2018). This indirectly made Baroko as the layer and protection area for Benteng Alla if there was an operation from the direction of Kalosi town, Enrekang. The application of multi-layered area was one of the factors why Benteng Alla was difficult to penetrate by TNI. This was a strategy that made DI/TII occupied Benteng Alla for a long time and carried out various social activities there.

DI/TII activities in Benteng Alla

Islamizing the Communities

Before the horde arrival in Benteng Alla, the Benteng Alla communities did not have an officially recognized religion yet like today. Their regions which were in the highlands and between the mountains made this place remote and backward. There were only footpaths connecting Benteng Alla with other villages (Interview with Yusuf, July 21, 2018). This condition made Benteng Alla was less affected by other regions in Enrekang, especially about the matter of understanding religion. Benteng Alla Village got a lot of influence from Tana Toraja instead. In addition to the influence of language originating from Toraja, the customs and beliefs of Benteng Alla communities at that time also came from Toraja. So, it was not surprising that before DI/TII came, the Benteng Alla communities were adherents of animism in the form of *Aluk Todolo* originating from Toraja.

One of the activities carried out by DI/TII in Benteng Alla was to spread religious teachings. They tried to eliminate animism by introducing religious teachings to the communities. At the beginning, they gave chance to the communities to choose between Christianity and Islam. Of course, more Toraja people chose Christianity because it was considered closer to *Aluk Todolo* belief (Taruk, 2013, p. 90). As a result, at the end of 1952, 15,200 people in Toraja were converted to Christianity, and it was recorded as the largest baptisms in Toraja history (Interview with Rev. Sulaiman Manguling, September 13, 2018). However, the situation did not last long because after the movement changed its name to DI/TII, Islam was the only religion they recognized. Various attempts were made to be able to influence the community. It was common for the DI/TII hordes to force people converting to Islam. This situation had made the people in the area bordering Benteng Alla, such as Gandang Batu, Buakayu, Rano, Bittuang, and Simbuang ran away. They chose to flee to Mengkendek District. Mangkendek District was considered safe because there were many TNI (Indonesian National Armed Forces) posts there (Taruk, 2013, pp. 78-79).

Meanwhile, the Benteng Alla communities were not given the opportunity to choose other religions other than Islam (Interview with Minta, July 29, 2018). Before turning into DI/TII, the guerrillas had tried to Islamize the Benteng Alla communities. This was done by DI/TII with a purpose. They realized that Benteng Alla was the most frequently traversed area to get to Tana Toraja. Therefore, this region had been prepared to fully support the Kahar Muzakkar movement, one of which was through Islamization (Interview with Baso, September 22, 2017).

DI/TII troop continued to patrol around Benteng Alla and saw the community raising pigs. The pigs were sacrificed by the community in *Rambu Solo* and *Rambu Tuka* ceremonies. DI/TII commanded the community to slaughter and eat up those pigs. The communities were given one week to eat up the pigs. DI/TII troops were not reluctant to kill those who disregarded commands (interview with Lewa, September 9, 2018). After a week, the DI/TII troop patrolled around Benteng Alla and learned that the numbers of pigs they ordered to eat were still alive. DI/TII once again ordered the communities, but at that time DI/TII did not want to see the pigs ever again within a week ahead period. (Interview with Minta, 2018). Within the time given, people tried to eat up their pigs. However, one week was too short to finish all the pigs up. Ahead of the deadline set by DI/TII, the community decided to release their pigs because they had given up. This was the only way for the community to be free from the DI/TII threads (Interview with Lewa, September 9, 2018).

After all pigs were destroyed, DI/TII started its main mission, to convert the Benteng Alla communities into Islam. They called an ulama from Sangtempe who was also a member of DI/TII. He was known as Ambe Tabang among the community (Interview with Yusuf, July 21, 2018). DI/TII Islamization mission was initiated under Ambe Tabang leadership, the ulema assigned to convert the communities into Islam. The first thing done was bathing the community so that they were considered clean and holy. After that, Ambe Tabang prepared water for prayer. Each person was asked to rinse their face with the water. The activity was performed along with salawat recitation led by Ambe Tabang. Each people rinsed their faces with the prayed-on water and did the shahada led by Ambe Tabang. Although stuttered, the community said the shahada as the first pillar of Islam. The next step was teaching the community to perform wudu, from washing their hands to washing their feet (Interview with Lewa, September 9, 2018). From that moment, Benteng Alla community began to live as Muslims.

The Islamization did not stop there. Ambe Tabang visited each house of the community to teach them more about Islam, especially salat. The house-to-house method aimed to foster a closer relationship and to learn a lot from Ambe Tabang. Ambe Tabang taught Islam to all family members during the house-to-house visit: father, mother, and their children. This was the best method considering that the Benteng Alla communities had not known anything about Islam before. Ambe Tabang taught Islam through lecturing and telling stories. The five pillars of Islam and six pillars of faith were the two essential knowledge delivered by the teacher (Interview with Lewa, September 9, 2018).

Although Ambe Tabang taught Islam through a subtle approach, all of his activities were watched by DI/TII troop. He was still accompanied by the armed guerillas who were not reluctant to kill those who refused to conform. After the process that made the community able to perform salat and live the pillars of faith as well as pillar of Islam, a mosque was built in Benteng Alla. This mosque was built by Ambe Tabang together with Benteng Alla community in To`uwe village (Interview with Minta, July 29, 2018). The mosque then became the central of Islamic activities under the guidance of Ambe Tabang. This mosque was the first to built in Benteng Alla area. Thus, the mosque within the central of Benteng Alla residence became DI/TII heritage up to today.

Upholding Islamic Sharia

One of the first forms of sharia performed in Benteng Alla was the prohibition of animism. Animism in Benteng Alla in the form of *Aluk Todolo* belief that advocated two traditional parties - *Rambu Solo* and *Rambu Tuka*, were no longer performed in DI/TII era. These ceremonies were prohibited by DI/TII because it was considered too excessive, both the execution and the offerings that required a lot of pigs. The two ceremonies were banned because DI/TII considered the ceremonies as *spre*. Besides, there was no sharia in Islam that asked people to celebrate death excessively. Since then, the traditional ceremony of *Rambu Solo* and *Rambu Tuka* were no longer performed in Benteng Alla. DI/TII watched the community all the time and would not hesitate to kill anyone who carried out the traditional party (Interview with Linta, 2018). In addition, Liang Batu burial also began to be banned. People were encouraged to bury the dead according to Islamic sharia.

The other sharia performed by DI/TII in Benteng Alla was corruption practices prohibition. A corruption case once happened in Benteng Alla. DI/TII sentenced the doer to death. The execution of the death penalty performed by DI/TII was beheading the suspect in front of the crowd in Buntu Dea Market (Interview with Bahar, July 20, 2018). Before the execution, DI/TII gathered the community in the market to witness the death sentence execution. After all people gathered, the DI/TII troops reminded the communities not to do things that were prohibited in Islam (Interview with Lewa, September 9, 2018). The death sentence execution was performed to create fear in the community. Thus, people would not perform things that were considered violating Islamic teachings.

In addition to the punishment for the evildoers, DI/TII also prepared penalties for people who did not perform prayer and fasting. The community who did not perform the two worships had to accept the consequences or imprisonment in Baroko. They were enlightened during their detention before being discharged (Interview with Tandin, July, 19, 2018). A different case was once experienced by Ambe Baso. He was caught while doing cockfighting. He was caught and dragged to Baraka by DI/TII. Since then, Ambe Baso was forced to join DI/TII and were not allowed to return to Benteng Alla during the DI/TII movement (Interview with Ambe Baso, September 22, 2017).

Providing Educational Services

By utilizing the school that was once set by the Netherlands, DI/TII provided education for people in Benteng Alla. The school was named School of People (*Sekolah Rakyat/SR*) VI Tahun Redak. However, the school was considered illegal because it was under the DI/TII control (Pilang, 2008, p.100). The teachers in that school were also teachers who had previously taught at SR VI Tahun Redak, together with them who graduated from Teachers Schools in Malua. SR VI Tahun Redak then became the only school that was utilized by the people to receive education during the DI/TII upheaval. However, the school had been moved several times due to the operations often carried out by TNI.

The school was moved several times because each time the TNI carried out an operation, the buildings were burned, including SR VI Tahun Redak. Even though it has been burned, DI/TII always built a new school for people to receive education (Interview with Yusuf, July 21, 2018). Besides formal education facilities in SR VI Tahun Redak, DI/TII also provided education for people with zero formal education experience through the illiteracy eradication program, so that people were able to read and write.

Request for Donation and Connections to City

The donations intended by DI/TII within this context were infaq and zakat which were charged to people in Benteng Alla. In its implementation, infaq during DI/TII upheaval was alms that the community had to prepare. DI/TII did not require the society to give infaq in a form of money, but could be in the form of food instead (Interview with Lewa, September 9, 2018). Thus, the donation that should have been a commendable deed in Islam was mandatory to Benteng Alla communities during the DI/TII upheaval. Technically, DI/TII troops gathered the infaq in the form of food materials by visiting the community's houses from door-to-door. Meanwhile, the amount of zakat that had been determined, which was 5-10% of the total harvest had to be deposited to Lumbaja cooperative. Lumbaja cooperative itself was built for the society, for those who wanted to sell their crops and those who could not get food materials easily (Interview with Lewa, September 9, 2018).

In addition to society and DI/TII welfare importance, another purpose of the cooperatives establishment in Lumbaja was to hold the community from moving to the city. The aims of this prohibition was to avoid an encounter with TNI. This prohibition was a burden for the society because all main sources came from the city. The prohibition of going to the city had also made the people of Benteng Alla forced to live simply. Moreover, the stock owned by the cooperatives formed by DI / TII was truly limited and did not adequately meet all the needs of the Benteng Alla communities (Interview with Lewa, September 9, 2018).

The End of DI/TII Movement in Benteng Alla

The TNI which started to frequently patrolled around Benteng Alla was a sign that the control of DI/TII in this area was weakening. This was the beginning of the end of DI/TII in Benteng Alla. In 1961, the society was taxed for land ownership of which at

that time it was known as *gross tax*. *Gross tax* was imposed by the Indonesian government on a national scale of between 10 to 10 rupiah. It was called *gross tax* because the land area in Benteng Alla at that time had never been measured, only estimated (Interview with Linta, 2018). The imposition of tax on land was actually a way for the government to integrate Benteng Alla Village into the state administration area. The imposition of a tax on land was a sign that Benteng Alla has been fully controlled by Indonesia and was no longer the territory of the DI/TII.

DI/TII was getting pressured when the Siliwangi division formed Laskar Masoso. Laskor Masoso consisted of the communities that were willing to chase the remaining DI/TII troops. Those who were part of Laskar Masosobring brought supplies in the form of rice and some other food that could be processed in the middle of the forest. Laskar Masoso was spread into scattered groups to find the remaining DI/TII troops, then handed them to TNI (Interview with Lewa, 2018).

The shooting of Kahar Muzakkar in the Lasolo River in February 1965 was a sign that the control of DI / TII which lasted for approximately 15 years had ended. Siliwangi regional military command was the driving force for the suppression of Kahar Muzakkar in early 1965. The news of the shooting of Kahar Muzakkar was then broadcasted on all radio stations. Besides, a day after the deadly shot on Kahar Muzakkar, the government printed quite a big amount of leaflets, posters, and newspapers that loaded the death of Kahar Muzakkar. TNI spread the leaflets and the newspapers to society, including the remaining of the DI/TII troops in the forest so that they knew that Kahar Muzakkar, their leader, died. The dead of Kahar Muzakkar was the last journey of DI/TII in Benteng Alla (Interview with Narra, September 21, 2017).

Conclusion

The need of expanding area at the beginning of a journey had sent DI / TII to various community activities at Benteng Alla which had become the main entrance to Tana Toraja. One of the results of DI/TII occupancy was the people of Benteng Alla who previously adhered to the belief in *Aluk Tadolo* became Muslims. Those who once lived with DI/TII troops were still Muslims today. In conditions of urgency and danger, they had abandoned old beliefs and habits. However, even though the communities were no longer adhered to *Aluk Tadolo* beliefs, several ceremonies still held, including the *Rambu Solo* and *Rambu Tuka* ceremonies. *Rambu Solo* and *Rambu Tuka* ceremonies during DI/TII were indeed removed. However, when DI/TII no longer controlled the area, the community held the two ceremonies again. The implementation had been adjusted to today's beliefs. This showed that back then the society received DI/TII along with all social activities carried out. Furthermore, DI/TII also constructed an economic manipulation through a cooperative.

Acknowledgement

This article is part of the thesis entitled DI/TII Movement in Benteng Alla, Enrekang District, 1953-1965, written in 2018 under the guidance of Prof. Dr. Jumadi, M. Si., as

one of the graduation requirements in History Education Department, Faculty of Social Sciences, State University of Makassar.

References

- Aqamuz, E. (2001). *Profil Abdul Qahhar Muzakkar: patriot pejuang kemerdekaan Republik Indonesia dan syahid NII/TII.*, Tangerang: Yayasan Al-Abrar.
- Bigalke, T. W. (2016). *Sejarah sosial Tana Toraja.* Yogyakarta: Ombak.
- Formichi, C. (2015). "(Re) Writing the history of political Islam in Indonesia". *Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia*, 30(1): 105-140. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24779831>.
- Gibson, T. Ritual and revolution: Contesting the state in central Indonesia. *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Anthropology*, 35, pp. 61-83 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23171783>
- Gonggong, A. (1992). *Abdul Qahar Muzakkar dari patriot hingga pemberontak.* Jakarta: Gramedia Widiasarana Indonesia.
- Harvey, B. S. (1989). *Pemberontakan Kahar Muzakkar dari tradisi ke DI/TII.* Jakarta: Pustaka Utama Grafiti.
- Kabubu, R. D. (2017). "Gerakan DI/TII Qahar Muzakkar di Tana Toraja 1953-1965" Tesis pada Program Magister Ilmu Sejarah, Universitas Indonesia.
- Mattalioe, M. B. (1965). *Kahar Muzakkar dengan petualangannya.* Jakarta: Penerbit Delegasi.
- Nonci (2000). Peranan Tongkonan dalam perlawanan rakyat Benteng Alla terhadap kolonial Belanda pada tahun 1905-1907 (Bachelor thesis, Universitas Hasanuddin).
- Pilang, A. R. (2008). Kepemimpinan Sanusi Daris dalam dinamika komunitas Duri Kabupaten Enrekang. (Dissertation, State University of Makassar).
- Sangka, H. L. (2013). *Rumah seratus jendela: kesaksian tentang seorang martir.* Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia.
- Sitonda, M. N. (2004). Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia di Massenrempulu (studi tentang integrasi gerilya ke Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia) (Thesis, State University of Makassar).
- Sjamsuddin, H. (2012). *Metodologi sejarah.* Yogyakarta: Ombak.
- Taruk, L. (2013). *Perhatikan dan contohlah Iman mereka: refleksi 100 tahun Injil masuk Toraja.* Rantepao: Sulo.
- Temby, Q. (2010). "Imagining an Islamic state in Indonesia: from Darul Islam to Jemaah Islamiyah". *Indonesia*, (89): 1-39. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20798213>.
- van Dijk, C. (1993). *Darul Islam sebuah pemberontakan.* Jakarta: Pustaka Utama Grafiti.

List of Informants

Abd Kadir
Abd Rahman Narra

Ambe Baso

Ba`ssi

Bahar

Christian Parebong

Lewa

Pendeta Daud Sangka

Pendeta Sulaiman Manguling

S. Minta

Tandin

Thakkalawa

Yusuf