

## **The Narrative of War in Makassar: Its Ambiguities and Contradictions**

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### **ABSTRACT**

*This article explores the ambiguities and contradictions of a prose narrative depicting a war in Indonesia. Generally known among the Makassarese as Sinrilikna Kappalak Tallumbatua or The Three Ships, the text used in the analysis is its 1993 published version in both Makassarese and Bahasa Indonesia. For the Makassarese, the Sinrilikna Kappalak Tallumbatua (SKT) is their version of the Makassar War (1666-1669) launched by Gowa against the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC). This claim presupposes that there is another text and that the Makassarese have the right to insist their own version of the war. I argue that the SKT is not a historical text of the Makassar War, but a literary artifact of narrative fragments about the kingdom of Gowa and its 16<sup>th</sup> ruler, Sultan Hasanuddin. These fragments are products of selective memory because tradition dictates what is worth recollecting from the past and historical imagination shapes how greatness and heroism are deconstructed to preserve unity among peoples who come from the same lineage of "white blood". Because the past is so remote, the narrator or composer of the SKT uses fragmentary recollection as a device in reconstructing the events and characters associated with the kingdom of Gowa and the Makassar War. The narrative of such recollection results in ambiguities and contradictions when "new" knowledge intervenes through contemporarization and historical allusion.*

*Key words: Ambiguities, contradictions, Sinrilikna Kappalak Tallumbatua, fragmentary recollection, selective memory, historical imagination, Makassar War, kingdom of Gowa, Sultan Hasanuddin.*

### **ABSTRAK**

*Artikel ini meninjau kesamaran dan perbezaan di antara prosa naratif yang memaparkan peperangan di Indonesia. Secara am ia dikenali di kalangan orang Makasar sebagai Sinrilikna Kappalak Tallumbatua atau Tiga Kapal, iaitu teks yang digunakan sekitar tahun 1993 dan diterbitkan di dalam dwibahasa; bahasa Makasar dan bahasa Indonesia. Sinrilikna Kappalak Tallumbatua (SKT) adalah versi yang digunakan ketika Perang Makasar (1666-1669), di antara Gowa menentang Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC). Kenyataan ini adalah beranggapan bahawa masih ada teks lain yang*

*mbolehkan orang Makasar menolak versi peperangan. Penulis berpendapat bahawa SKT bukanlah teks Perang Makasar tetapi hanyalah artifak kesusteraan naratif yang berkaitan dengan kerajaan Gowa di bawah pemerintah ke-16 iaitu Sultan Hasanuddin. Pemecahan ini adalah berdasarkan memori selektif disebabkan oleh tradisi yang merekodkan masa lampau dan imaginasi sejarah yang menggambarkan keagungan dan kepahlawanan pejuang rakyat dari golongan "darah putih". Disebabkan masa lampau yang sangat terasing maka, pengisah SKT menggunakan pemecahan koleksi sebagai bahan untuk menggabungkan peristiwa dan watak yang berkaitan dengan kerajaan Gowa dan Perang Makasar. Kesimpulannya, koleksi naratif ini membawa kepada kesamaran dan ketidaksamarataan apabila digabungkan dengan ilmu "baru" melalui pembaharuan dan sejarah kiasan.*

*Kata kunci: Kesamaran, perbezaan, Sinrilikna Kappalak Tallumbatua, pemecahan koleksi, memori selektif, sejarah kiasan, Perang Makasar, kerajaan Gowa, Sultan Hasanuddin.*

## INTRODUCTION

Literary theory offers a variety of methodologies in interpreting a text from different and often conflicting views (Bressler 1999). The structural analysis of a text, therefore, is a reinterpretation of its intrinsic elements, and the interpreter becomes another storyteller who is writing a "new" story. Making the past closer to the present is a retrieval process, a fragmentary recollection, which in a historian's mind suffers flaws of documentation because events were written long after they have transpired or occurred. In the absence of written sources, or even if documents are available, the reconstruction of the past from the purview of oral history seems indispensable. Thus, genealogies and folklore as texts either fill out the lacunae in documentary sources or become the only bases upon which the past could be told and put to text. This interface of orality and literacy (Ong 1982) partly explicates the divide between oral societies and secondary orality.

The *Sinrilikna Kappalak Tallumbatua* (Aburaerah Arief et al. 1993), abbreviated henceforth as *SKT*, shows the realm of the past as a continuing narrative of characters who are as amorphous as time. However, time is not entirely forgotten; it has been fixed with space and artifacts, such as tombs (Reid & Reid 1981), temples, and fortresses, which for archeologists have their own silent stories of individuals, long dead and preserved in stones. The retold story as a literary artifact becomes a living testimony of the past that is blurred and fragmented. Thus, storytelling as a genre and *sinrilik* as a traditional musical-narrative genre (Sutton 2002) capture the voice of the dead. These two genres are combined to keep the memories of prominent characters alive

as its followers recreate the past among the living. A literary critic may have the theories in interpreting these artifacts, but to make them a living testimony, he also needs an ethnographic lens. Restorying (Creswell 2008) is doing ethnography because in remembering the past, storytellers vary in their perspectives because at its core is the memory that is selective, ancestral, cultural, and communal.

The discussion is divided into five sections. The first section explicates the nostalgia of the past through memories and textualization of meaningful events into narratives. The second section presents the seven episodes of the *SKT* to demonstrate the embellishments and transitions as significant phase of interpretation. The third section explains the ambiguities and contradictions based on the variant, *I Mallombasi Daeng Mattawang Sultan Hasanuddin*. The fourth section accentuates the literary merits of the *SKT*, and the last section concludes the article.

### NOSTALGIA, MEMORIES, AND CHRONICLES

Noorduyn (1965) compares the local traditions of Java and South Sulawesi in historical writing by investigating chronicles as the primary source of historical research. Taking the *Babad Tanah Jawi*, the chronicles, diaries, and notebooks of Gowa-Tallo', Bone, and Wajo, he points out two characteristics that are part of their narrative structure: the abundance of mythical elements and prophecies. His analysis shows that the method of composition in South Sulawesi texts is accurate, reliable, and more historical. However, "the lack of chronological data connected with it represents a drawback to its usefulness as a source material." In the case of Java's historical writing, Noorduyn emphasizes that because the Javanese historical writings are long and poetical works, the tendency to wander is common, compared to a "rather dry and nonliterary prose style" which is confined to "recording facts." With these constraints, Noorduyn recommends that in using historical writings of ancient origins, one should consider "plurality of factors" and the "historical conjunctions" of two influences: the adoption of an Indian script and the Portuguese calendar.

The peninsula of South Sulawesi had fifty-odd small and large kingdoms in the eighteenth century and Luwu is the oldest (Caldwell 1998). This tradition of kingdoms and rulers in European sources is traced to Blok who states that, "before Macassar, or Bone, had so much as a name, Lohoo was the most powerful, and the largest kingdom in Celebes." Although historians have no firm evidence of the antiquity of Luwu, earlier studies attributed the decline of Luwu as a major regional power at the beginning of the sixteenth century to the "armed conflicts with neighboring kingdoms". Pelras (1996) in his comprehensive study on the Bugis confirms that Luwu is the oldest surviving kingdom of

South Sulawesi. In establishing the chronology of the traditional King List of Luwu, Caldwell uses eighteen manuscripts/lists and three short genealogies, which were tabulated and compared. He concludes that despite the “complicated process of movement between oral and written registers” which was pointed out by Pelras (1996), the similarities cannot be set aside (Caldwell 1998).

The *Bone Chronicle* presents a different strain of investigation. Macknight (1998) who considers the work as “one of the best known in the South Sulawesi historiographical tradition,” addresses the nature, purpose and date of the work. His investigation reveals that the *Bone Chronicle* is a “text itself of deliberate composition” with “the selection of information and interrelationship between various sections of the account.” Since there are many existing “complete” manuscripts, fragments or summaries, including *Sejarah Bone* (Abdulrazak 1995), Macknight concludes that indeed, the *Bone Chronicle* is a work because of their similarities. Although it is difficult to determine the date of the chronicle, Macknight suggests that it could have been written before 1678, but he prefers to leave the estimate to “the last three decades of the seventeenth century.” In Bugis, the term *attoriolong*, is “an account of the people in earlier times” and possesses a “stylized narrative structure built up by giving a more or less standard account of the reign of each successive ruler.” The explanation mentioned by Macknight on the selective nature of the rulers’ account, which also influences his dating of the work, is related to the concept of *siri’* among the Bugis. He traces it to Arung Palakka (ruled 1672-1696) who might have “commissioned” the work, and due to the antecedental events before he was installed king as well as his long reign, the chronicler was “wise to avoid the problems of too recent history.” A chronicler then is like a storyteller, but for historians, events are both chronological and factual.

Andaya (1981) underscores the word *siri’*, which embraces the idea of both self-worth and shame among the Makassarese and Bugis. In the context of the Makassar War, Andaya points out that for outsiders who are not familiar with the concept, the tendency is to ignore an act, say, asking a favour. According to him, “without appreciating all the implications of the term, a straightforward Dutch translation of a Bugis or Makassar letter by a Company (meaning the VOC) official can easily be misinterpreted or considered irrelevant.” Another term which Andaya relates to *siri’* is *pěsse* (Bugis) or *pace* (Makassar), a belief in the spiritual unity of all individuals within a particular community. This dimension in Bugis-Makassarese psyche binds them as one people and consequently, links them to their homeland. For instance, Andaya cites two sayings which express the cultural meaning of *siri’* and *pěsse*: “If it is not *siri’* which makes us, the Makassar people, one, then it is *pacce* (*Ikambe mangkasaraka, punna tasiri, paceseng nipabubulo sibatanngang*), and “If there is no longer *siri’* among us, Bugis, at least

there is certain to be *pěsse* (*Ia sempugikku, rekkua de'na siri'na ěngka měssa pěssena*).

Going back to narrative structure and historiographical tradition of the region, Macknight's findings show three major sections of *Bone Chronicle* and the *Gowa-Tallo Chronicle*. First, they are all divided into reigns; second, they begin with some apparently legendary material before lapsing into a realistic style; and lastly, they all end with events in the seventeenth century but "without describing the cataclysmic events associated with the wars of the late 1660s." This means that chronicle as narrative of rulers is a fragment in revisiting and retelling the Makassar War. Cummings (2007) who examines the chronicles of Gowa and Tallo (Wolhoof & Abdulrahim n.d.) stresses that historiographically the work stands out "not so much for the facts they contain, but for their vivid conception of how authority, kinship, rulers, and identity were intertwined in pre-colonial Makassar." According to him, these chronicles provide the basic framework about "the origins, growth, and expansion of Gowa during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries." The English translations of the chronicles of Gowa and Tallo offer historians and other scholars an invaluable foundation on which to base interpretations of Makassar as a crucial place and time in Indonesian history (Sartono 2001; Ricklefs 1993). In an earlier publication, Cummings (2002) explains the intricacies of reconstructing the historical records and the different writing genres among Makassarese as part of the development of literacy in South Sulawesi in particular. His books provide most of the information in reconstructing the historical aspect of Makassar in terms of genealogy of rulers who were allegorically mentioned in the *SKT*.

One of the early literary sources of the Makassar War is *Sja'ir Perang Mengkasar* (*The Rhymed Chronicle of the Makassar War*). Skinner (1963) edited and translated the verse narrative of Enji' Amin, the Malay-Makassarese scribe of Sultan Hasanuddin. Skinner believed that despite the Batavian approach of Stapel who documented the war, Amin's version "seems fairly reliable as to dates". This means that the genre is secondary as long as exhaustive documentation supports the investigation of texts of historical value.

#### THE SEVEN EPISODES: EMBELLISHING THE NARRATIVE STRUCTURE

The first episode, *The Scent of Deception*, provides the background of the story. It introduces the ruler of Gowa, Karaeng Tunisombaya, his councils, and other officials in his government. While he contemplates on how powerful he is, being the King of kings, he suddenly realizes that the kingdom needs to be secured. He convenes the council and asks for their support. All the members pledge their loyalty, but Karaeng

Tunisombaya orders for the fortification of his palace, Sombaopu. When the construction of the fort is completed, the king summons Karaeng Botolempangang, the Seer, to inspect the fortress. Karaeng Tunisombaya keeps on asking if the fortress is strong enough, but despite Karaeng Botolempangang's assurance, the king remains unsatisfied. Then Karaeng Botolempangang tells Karaeng Tunisombaya that one day, a resident of Gowa will bring down the fortress and break into Gowa. To prevent the prophecy from happening, the king ordered to kill pregnant women, infants, toddlers, and children. Despite the carnage and cruelty, the prophesized enemy has grown up and ready to play the raga. The threat to Gowa's greatness is elusive, so Karaeng Botolempangang has to find a way to reveal the enemy. He suggests to Karaeng Tunisombaya to hold a feast. When the day is set for it, the king invites all the young nobles in the palace. Karaeng Tunisombaya sits comfortably in his throne and looks at the crowd and the group of nobles playing the raga. He notices that his son, Karaeng Andi Patunru, the Crown Prince, is not in the hall. Karaeng Tunisombaya goes to his son's chamber to wake him up and prod him to join the merry-making. The prince ignores his father, but after awhile, he dresses up, and joins the competition. He is the best player, and he kicks the ball so high that it lands on his father's lap. When Karaeng Botolempangang sees this, he shouts that Karaeng Andi Patunru be killed. The festive atmosphere turns bloody as the nobles try to kill Karaeng Andi Patunru who fights back. The palace hall becomes a war zone as men fight each other. Some nobles protect the prince from being hurt until it is safe for him to escape. With his half brother, Karaeng Patta Belo, they flee from Gowa and from then on, they live in fear. This episode has 79 paragraphs.

The second episode, *The Sorrowful Soul*, plays up the transformation of the accused Crown Prince of Gowa from a grieving prince to a vindictive son who seeks to avenge his innocence. From Gowa, he and his brother are pursued by Karaeng Tunisombaya's men who followed their tracks and are determined to kill them. In their escape, some village men remain loyal to the Crown Prince, however, they are outnumbered by those who believe that he is the prophesized enemy of the kingdom. The brothers manage to evade their pursuers and arrive in Maros. Then, they proceed to Bungorok, Lakbakkang, Sidenreng, Bone, Balanipa, Bantaeng, Lemo-lemo, and Bira. Karaeng Andi Patunru pleads his innocence to all the sultans and asks them to bring him back to Gowa. All the sultans express their sympathy, but nobody has the courage to fight against Gowa. While they celebrate the presence of the Crown Prince in their abodes and palaces, they invoke their ancestral link to Gowa and allegiance to the monarch, Karaeng Tunisombaya. Desperate of finding an ally, Karaeng Andi Patunru and Karaeng Patta Belo continue their journey to Buton where they find solace under the protection of the sultan. But, the news spread in Gowa

that they are hiding in Buton, so Karaeng Tunisombaya sends an expedition to capture his exiled sons. The expedition fails because the sultan of Buton hides Karaeng Andi Patunru in a well, and when the Gowa men interrogate him, he denies the presence of the two brothers. Karaeng Andi Patunru's self-vindication intensifies upon realizing that Gowa will never stop until they capture him and his brother. Symbolically, Karaeng Andi Patunru's transformation is described through images of darkness and light when he is hidden in the well. The plea for innocence has crystallized into exacting revenge, but the sultan of Buton could only protect Karaeng Andi Patunru from Karaeng Tunisombaya's men, not to violate the unwritten law of loyalty to Gowa. Having pledged his protection to the Crown Prince, the sultan of Buton has been their guardian for three years. This episode is the longest in the narrative and is composed of 260 paragraphs.

The third episode, *The Quest of Gowa's Rival*, describes the continuation of the journey motif of Karaeng Andi Patunru and Karaeng Patta Belo in their search of Gowa's rival. After having been refused by the sultans whom they ask to fight against Gowa, the sultan of Buton suggests that they proceed to Bonerate. From Bonerate, they cross the Sea of Flores to reach Dima and Sumbawa. The sultans ignore their plea since they share Gowa's adat. Their next destination is Bali where the sultan expresses the same sentiment. The Raja of Bali accompanies them to Bulengleng, and after introducing them to Raja Bulengleng, Raja of Bali returns to his kingdom to be reunited with his wife. Left on their own, they stay in Bulengleng but have to move on because Raja Bulengleng refuses to fight against Gowa. From Bulengleng, they set sail to Semarang, then to Solo, where they are given a grand welcome. Despite Karaeng Andi Patunru's plea for mercy to Raja Solo, the latter tells him that he cannot betray Gowa. Raja Solo suggests that they should go to Holland because it is the only country that could topple Gowa. The episode ends with Raja Solo's promise to take Karaeng Andi Patunru and Karaeng Patta Belo to Holland. This episode has 223 paragraphs.

The fourth episode, *The Rival of Gowa*, details the voyage to Holland, Gowa's rival. It begins with the preparation for the voyage until a ship anchors on Solo's port. Raja Solo negotiates with the captain on the cost of their journey. From Solo, they set sail to Holland, arriving there after eleven days and eleven nights. Raja Solo, Karaeng Andi Patunru, and Karaeng Patta Belo meet the king of Holland. Karaeng Andi Patunru informs the king that he has been accused in Gowa, and that his purpose of meeting the king is to ask him to fight against Gowa. The king of Holland suggests that they should go to Batavia since he cannot decide without the approval of the Dutch General in Batavia. A letter from the king ensures that they will be entertained once they reach Batavia. When they arrive in Batavia, Tuan

Palaming, the Dutch General, welcome them. Raja Solo returns to his kingdom, while the two princes stay behind to be trained in preparation for the war against Gowa. The episode ends with Karaeng Andi Patunru's plan to repay Tuan Palaming if they succeed in the war. This episode has 63 paragraphs.

The fifth episode, *Prelude to War*, gives the preliminaries of the plan to wage war against Gowa. After a year in Batavia, Karaeng Andi Patunru, Karaeng Patta Belo, and Tuan Palaming attack Pariaman as their opening salvo. Pariaman surrenders, and after declaring their victory, they make plans for the big day to leave Batavia and set sail to the east, Gowa. Ten days after the attack in Pariaman, they decide to show their force within Gowa's waters with three ships. They position the ships in strategic areas and fire their cannons. Gowa is threatened, and the attack has demoralized the whole kingdom. Karaeng Tunisombaya is shaken, so he convenes the two councils and consults the Seer to read the signs. The council and Karaeng Tunisombaya decide to negotiate with Karaeng Andi Patunru, but both parties fail to reach an agreement. The episode ends with Gowa's official declaration of war against Karaeng Andi Patunru and the Batavia soldiers. This episode has 108 paragraphs.

The sixth episode, *The Hundred Ships*, details the war between Karaeng Andi Patunru and the Dutch General, Tuan Palaming, against Karaeng Tunisombaya and his nobles. The war episode is divided into eight stages. In each stage, both parties meet and fight, and retreat and resume the fight. The Gowa commanders are like bulls in charging the enemies, the soldiers from Batavia. Gowa and its neighboring places are devastated. The war drags on for seven years; many die, and an epidemic strikes Gowa. Planting and harvesting seasons delay the war, and the Gowa enemies have to return to Batavia to repair their ships because the Gowa nobles sink them using chisel and hammer. Gowa seems to win, so they celebrate. Then, they go to the battlefield again. The episode ends with Karaeng Tunisombaya conceding defeat. To make his decision official, he calls the council to appeal for their support. This episode has 163 paragraphs.

The seventh and the last episode, *The Fall of a Kingdom*, describes the fall of the kingdom of Gowa. After the decision to surrender, Karaeng Tunisombaya sends his spokesperson to inform Karaeng Andi Patunru of their decision. Karaeng Andi Patunru, Karaeng Patta Belo, Tuan Palaming, and the soldiers from Batavia disembark from their ships to meet Karaeng Tunisombaya and his nobles in the palace. They are given a warm welcome with Dutch music in the air. The Queen of Gowa takes Karaeng Andi Patunru in her arms while Karaeng Patta Belo is lost in the crowd of well-wishers. Tuan Palaming and Karaeng Tunisombaya settle the cause of the war. Karaeng Tunisombaya blames Karaeng Botolempangang's prophecy, but invokes the law of Gowa that



Karaeng Andi Patunru can return to Gowa but not in his palace. The episode ends with Tuan Palaming and Karaeng Tunisombaya signing a pact of unity that both are brothers. After a few months, Tuan Palaming and his men settle in Ujung Pandang. Peace reigns in Gowa. This episode has 53 paragraphs.

#### AMBIGUITIES AND CONTRADICTIONS

Ambiguities and contradictions form part of ethnographic imagination which states that “the meaningful world is always fluid and ambiguous, a partially integrated mosaics of narratives and images” (Comaroff & Comaroff 1992). There are many variants of the Makassar War, and through intertextuality, these texts share narrative elements, but the portrayal of characters and recollection of events differ in length, depth, and language. In my desire to integrate oral history and ethnography in my research, I recorded a variant (in Makassarese) which was sung by Sirajuddin Daeng Bantang. Below is the English translation of his story.

#### SUMMARY OF *I MALLOMBASI DAENG MATTAWANG SULTAN HASANUDDIN*

Andi Patunru and Patta Belo were being chased from Gowa. Karaeng Sombaya ordered his men to bring his sons in front of him because they would bring down Gowa’s fortress. The King’s men searched all places, but the brothers had already fled to Butung. While there, they asked the help of the sultan of Buton to fight against Gowa. The sultan refused because Gowa was a powerful kingdom. He suggested that the brothers proceed to Batavia, the military headquarters of the Dutch. Batavia would give them boats, warriors, weapons, and ships. The brothers set sailed to Batavia with heavy hearts.

When they reached Batavia, I Tuan Tumalompoa, a Dutch official, said, “I will help you to wage war against Gowa if you attack Pariaman first.” The two brothers replied, “What you have just said is true. We will go to Pariaman.” Then, a Dutch ship with some Dutch men, Andi Patunru and Patta Belo set sailed to Pariaman. The attack was quick, and Pariaman surrenders. They confiscated the government heirloom and brought them to Batavia. After a few years, the three ships under the command of Cornelis Speelman set sailed to wage war against Gowa and to bring down its fortress, including Barombong’s. They entered Bira, Jeknepono, Bantaeng, then Sanrabone. Facing Somba Opu, they stormed the fortress with cannon balls. Fighting ensued for days and the battleground was filled with corpses like rotten fish. Then the Bate Salapang Gowa and nobles joined the Gowa fighters in driving away the enemies. The Bate Salapang on horses used swords and long bladed knives against the Dutch soldiers. The bloody confrontation lasted for

many days. To end the war, a peace treaty, also called *Cappaya Bongaya*, was signed between the Dutch and the King of Gowa. The treaty stipulated that Bone and Gowa were brothers and they had to respect each other. This brotherhood had been carried on for generations, and the eminence of the whole kingdom was ensured by uniting Gowa, Bone, and Luwuk. The signing of the *Bongaya Treaty* took place on the eighteenth, sixteen hundred sixty seven, and that was how the story about *Karaeng Tunisombaya* ended.

#### CONTEMPORIZING THE MAKASSAR WAR

In contemporizing the Makassar War, Sirajuddin Daeng Bantang focuses on the brothers, Andi Patunru and Patta Belo, who are condemned by Gowa. *Karaeng Sombaya*, the king of Gowa, orders their arrest because they pose a threat to his kingdom. In tracing the brothers' journey to find Gowa's enemy, Daeng Bantang sings his own story by describing the major events in a straightforward language where the journey motif is short: Gowa, Butung, Batavia, Pariaman, Batavia, then Gowa. He identifies the Dutch official in Batavia as I Tuan Tumulompoa, who sets a condition to the brothers that they should attack Pariaman first before they attack Gowa. He also mentions Cornelis Speelman, the Dutch admiral, who leads the Dutch fleet to Gowa. Moreover, he delineates the cause of the war between Bone and Gowa, with the inclusion of Luwuk, and the resolution of the conflict is through a peace treaty, *Cappaya Bongaya*. With the treaty, Bone and Gowa are brothers, and the unity has been carried on for generations. Except for the month, he remembers the date and the year when the treaty is signed.

In his interpretation, he inserts historical facts in his narrative. It can be speculated that his educational background and profession (pansinrilik, poet, and ethnic choreographer) greatly influence his recollection of the war. However, it can also be argued that the other elements in his story are based on Bugis and Makassar oral traditions. His sketchy recollection of the war shows that he only emphasizes the core of how the war is imagined and interpreted in the *sinrilik* as a genre of history-writing. Historical names appear: the Dutch, the *Cappaya Bongaya*, Cornelis Speelman, Gowa, Bone, Batavia, Pariaman, Bira, Jekneponto, Bantaeng, Sanrabone, Barombong and Sombaopu. On the other hand, he assigns Makassar names to other four characters, namely, *Karaeng Somba* (the king of Gowa), Andi Patunru and Patta Belo (the brothers), the sultan of Butung (no name), and I Tuan Tumulompoa (the Dutch General).

From Sirajuddin Daeng Bantang's version of the Makassar War, he recasts oral traditions in contemporary Makassar society by resolving the conflict between Bone and Gowa under the *Cappaya Bongaya* or the *Bungaya Treaty*. Despite the sketchy nature of his recollection, his story

retains the link of orality, which is demonstrated by the names of Andi Patunru, Patta Belo, I Tuan Tumalompoa, and Karaeng Sombaya to the contemporary images associated with the Dutch, Bone, Gowa, and Luwuk. Arguing further that the source of Sirajuddin Daeng Bantang's *sinrilik* is the *SKT* or any of the seven lontarak variants, he does not only summarize the major events but also alludes the characterization of Karaeng Tunisombaya in the title of his variant, *I Mallombasi Daeng Mattawang Sultan Hasanuddin*. His aim is to bring back the heroism of the ruler of Gowa during the Makassar War by invoking the power of naming in Makassarese context. In *Sejarah Gowa*, the rulers' names have four parts: Makassarese name, royal name, karaeng-title, and Arabic name. The chronicler usually refrains from speaking the ruler's Makassarese name, and when he does (for the main purpose of inscribing such name in written form), it is always followed by a clause, "may I not be cursed." Sirajuddin Daeng Bantang calls the hero of his narrative as *I Mallombasi* (Makassarese name), followed by *Daeng Mattawang* (royal name), then *Sultan Hasanuddin* (Arabic name). He deliberately omits the karaeng-title, *Karaeng ri Bontomangape* because such title is eclipsed by Sultan Hasanuddin's august title in the *sinrilik*, *somba*, thus *Karaeng Tunisombaya*.

Sirajuddin Daeng Bantang, being a Makassarese, shares the same cultural meanings associated with the naming of Gowa's rulers, and his recollection of war illustrates how the past is eulogized. If the present were to judge the defeat of Gowa in the Makassar War, with Sultan Hasanuddin as the Gowa ruler, the past brings back other individuals related to his reign. However, if Sultan Hasanuddin is named Karaeng Tunisombaya, these individuals are elevated into the realm of symbolic interpretation, thus forgiving the past of its mistakes and restoring the proper relationships between communities and polities. The Makassarese view of history writing is significantly centered on their ancestors. This explains why Daeng Sirajuddin Bantang detaches himself from history and creates his own version of the story, whose title bears the name of the ruler during the Makassar War, yet in the narrative, calls the character Karaeng Tunisombaya.

The historical facts speak for themselves, for instance, the Dutch as Gowa's enemy, Buton as one of the places attacked by the Dutch, Sombaopu as one of the places bombarded by the Dutch soldiers, and Cappa Bongaya as the evidence to end the war. These are real events, and the readers who have read earlier studies on South Sulawesi cannot take them as "imagined" or fictive fragments of the past, Bugis-Makassarese, or otherwise. But beyond these facts are layers of meaning why the treaty is between Bone and Gowa. More significant questions can be asked. First, why did Andi Patunru and Patta Belo flee from Gowa? What crime did they commit? Second, why did they escape to Buton and ask the sultan of Buton to wage war against Gowa?

Third, why did they proceed to Batavia, attack Pariaman, and finally attack Gowa?

Answers to these questions lead to other ambiguities and contradictions, and the challenge to shed light on how these gaps can be bridged seldom take a unanimous ground. For always, historians believe that the answers are through documentary evidence; but it can also be argued that documents need to be interpreted. All data, regardless of their nature are incoherent unless somebody organizes them either to confirm, falsify, or reinvestigate. I argue that historical imagination does not operate in a vacuum; it comes from all knowledge available to the storyteller, composer, chanter, or singer of events and people. To demonstrate this, the next part provides answers on how historicity reaffirms the contemporarization of the Makassar War.

### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF BUTON

Both the storyteller of *SKT* and Daeng Sirajuddin Bantang mention Buton. In the *SKT*, Buton is one of the places where Karaeng Andi Patunru and Karaeng Patta Belo spend three years to seek the help of the sultan to fight against Gowa. But the sultan refuses to fight because according to him, “Gowa has made me a great sultan,” and “Butung has no weaponry and no warriors to fight against Gowa. Waging a war is not only costly but also an act of treason because Buton is under the control of Gowa.” According to Dutch and Makassar sources, the flight of Arung Palakka, his family, and a few followers to the island of Buton occurred sometime at the end of 1660 or the beginning of 1661.

According to Andaya (1981) the importance of Buton in the context of the Makassar War is that when the news reached Gowa that Buton was already under the control of Arung Palakka, Sultan Hasanuddin and his council wanted to negotiate for peace. Such decision was also prompted by the surrender of three Gowa commanders, namely Karaeng Bontomarannu, Sultan Bima, and the Opu Cening of Luwu to Speelman. These two events did not augur well for Sultan Hasanuddin’s leadership, yet some nobles resisted to negotiate by declaring that they were ready to defend Gowa to the last. Gowa’s attack in Buton was a great loss for Karaeng Tunisombaya because aside from the surrender, the Dutch and Arung Palakka disarmed 5,500 Gowa defenders. Around 400 were made slaves and the rest were left to die on a small island between Muna and Buton, which Speelman re-christened “Conqueror’s Island.” Buton was a strong ally of Gowa, but on 31 January 1667, the sultan of Buton signed a treaty of friendship with Speelman.

With this brief historical background of Buton’s relationship with Gowa, the surrender in Buton, the casualties, and the defection of the sultan weaken Gowa’s alliances to fight the Dutch. Buton is a debacle in Dutch documents, but in the *SKT*, the storyteller’s recollection shows

a contrasting event. When Karaeng Tunisombaya knows that his two sons are hiding in Buton, he does not act immediately because “the sultan (Buton) was protecting them,” an ambiguous statement because later, when a merchant informs the king about the presence of the two princes in Buton, he convenes the Councils and orders their arrest. Gowa sends “forty-two boats with one-hundred fifty Gowa defenders in each boat” to attack Buton. When the expedition reaches Buton, Karaeng Andi Patunru wants the sultan to fight the Gowa defenders, but the sultan has another idea. He hides the Crown Prince in a well. The Gowa defenders search the whole kingdom for seven days, but they fail to find Karaeng Andi Patunru. To test sultan Buton’s words that the Crown Prince is not in Buton and that he is loyal to the king of Gowa, he is made to swear. Those who participate in the search return to Gowa cursing because they expect “a bloody war against Buton.” Instead, the search is futile, and they console themselves “of having served the kingdom and the king.”

The storyteller’s historical imagination contradicts with the account of Speelman who documented the war that he and the Bugis warrior, Arung Palakka, waged against Gowa. For the storyteller, the Gowa defenders who are sent to Buton number more than six thousand, which is quite close to the 5,500 in Speelman’s account. The contrast of how Buton is remembered solely depends on the representation of the event. Speelman’s responsibility is to send a convincing report to the Batavia headquarters; the *SKT* storyteller’s is compelled by tradition to conceal the defeat because war is divisive. The gravity of the situation rests on the sultan’s pledge of loyalty, which is more meaningful to the Makassar-Bugis whose story as a people is grounded on treatises of their ancestors. To break this ancestral link for the sake of accuracy endangers the future. Daeng Sirajuddin Bantang emphasizes this point. According to him, the *sinrilik* aims to preserve unity rather than fragmentation. The cultural meaning of local heroes through centuries (Robinson & Mukhlis Paeni 1998) provides vignettes of historical and social lenses of understanding and appreciating the past.

#### BATAVIA, PARIAMAN AND GOWA

The attack in Pariaman depicted in the *SKT* and Daeng Sirajuddin Bantang’s story is not mentioned in the Dutch documents. Although the two stories agree that Pariaman is strategic in waging war against Gowa, the *SKT* storyteller imagines it as a joint-venture of the Dutch General and Karaeng Andi Patunru whose headquarters is in Batavia. In Daeng Sirajuddin Bantang’s version, it is the condition set by I Tuan Tumulopoa, the Dutch official, with Andi Patunru and Patta Belo before he agrees to join them in attacking Gowa. Both stories describe the attack in Pariaman as quick and the sultan surrenders and his

properties are seized. From a military perspective, both stories try to show that Gowa is a powerful kingdom. To penetrate its strongholds, a careful planning has to be done. In fact, according to Speelman's accounts, when Arung Palakka was trapped in one of his careless raids in Makassar, he asked him (Speelman) for reinforcement to divert the Makassar defenders. This shows that diversionary tactic is resorted to in the course of the war, especially in areas where the enemy is strongly positioned.

Although this diversionary plan to attack Pariaman is recorded in Speelman's account, the Dutch fleet's target was Bantaeng, based on the report of Stapel (Skinner 1963; Andaya 1981). This attack marks the opening salvo of the Makassar War, a military strategy that coincides with Speelman's reports. The purpose is to wreak havoc to the king of Gowa and his nobles, and the bloody confrontation historically happened in Bantaeng, while in the *SKT* and Sirajuddin Bantang's story, the attack was launched in Pariaman. This contradiction of places can be reconstructed by contrasting European (mainly Dutch) and Bugis-Makassarese indigenous accounts in terms of military and cultural aspects of warfare. For the Gowa kingdom, power is maintained through kinship system of "older-younger brother" ties, and Bantaeng is a younger brother who remains loyal to the king. From the perspective of fostering unity and strengthening Gowa's dominance, Sirajuddin Daeng Bantang is compelled by tradition to illustrate this unifying system. However, for the Dutch, if they attack Bantaeng, it will weaken Gowa's alliance network. While atrocities are part of any war, victory or failure is streamlined according to what unites people against Batavia's perspective of taking economic control in East Indonesia. All these pretensions of goodwill in the name of brotherhood serve the mighty and the powerful, the Dutch and Gowa. Wars are for kings and generals, and in the background are those who vow allegiance to their power.

#### THE CAPPAYA BONGAYA OR BUNGAYA TREATY

The 1667 Bungaya Treaty is crucial in determining the nature of the war between the Dutch and Gowa in the *SKT*, and between Gowa and Bone in Daeng Sirajuddin Bantang's story. Amidst the shifting loyalties of Gowa's wartime allies and the challenges of the Gowa's military might against the forces of Tuan Palambing, Karaeng Andi Patunru, and Karaeng Patta Belo, the common resolution of the war is shown by forging brotherhood through a peace treaty. In the *SKT*, it can be inferred from the demands of Tuan Palambing that the signing of the agreement occurred in 1667. Daeng Sirajuddin Bantang's story explicitly mentions the same year, 1667. The major difference lies in the parties involved. The *SKT* storyteller says, the agreement is between

Batavia and Gowa, while Daeng Sirajuddin Bantang's story says, "Bone and Gowa."

Historically, on November 13, 1667, the peace settlement took place in Bungaya, a small village near Barombong. It was held in an open field with two parties facing each other. Sultan Hasanuddin and his nobles occupied one area while Speelman, the negotiator in behalf of the VOC and other officials took the other side. The negotiation took time because an interpreter went back and forth to translate the message from Sultan Hasanuddin's area to Speelman's area. Exasperated by this pendulum movement of the interpreter, Speelman proposed to use Portuguese. He also suggested Karaeng Karunrung to assume the role as negotiator because he was the most capable in the use of Portuguese. Sultan Hasanuddin agreed, and so Karaeng Karunrung, the Tumabicara Gowa, became the negotiator on behalf of the Makassar kingdoms of Gowa and Tallo. Then Speelman made known the Company's twenty-six demands. While the demands were being read aloud, the Makassarese were restless and they asked for a few days to discuss the demands. At first, Speelman refused to give them time because it would delay the proceedings. Finally, he gave the Gowa officials only one day. When the Gowa officials reviewed the demands, they realized that some would take time to be implemented. Sultan Hasanuddin's nobles and supporters were polarized; some secretly wanted to ally with the Company, and others remained loyal to Sultan Hasanuddin.

The following day, Gowa's delegation appeared saying that they had been empowered to discuss some of the twenty-six demands. On November 15, 1667, Gowa appointed Karaeng Lengcese and Karaeng Bontosunggu "as envoys with full powers to conduct negotiations with the Company" (Andaya 1981). The negotiations were extended until November 16, 1667. Speelman, annoyed by the "piece-meal" process of satisfying the Company's demands, gave Gowa an ultimatum that if the treaty would not be sealed in the presence of Sultan Hasanuddin on 18<sup>th</sup> of November 1667, the "negotiations would be discontinued." The Bungaya Treaty was signed on November 18, 1667 in the presence of Sultan Hasanuddin, who was welcomed "in the official Makassar fashion." Because Gowa was unable to fulfill some of the Company's demands, Speelman insisted on the inclusion of three new articles. But the treaty was officially sealed on November 25, 1667 with the last signatory, Karaeng Tallo. With the Bungaya Treaty, the twin kingdom of Gowa-Tallo with Sultan Hasanuddin and Karaeng Tallo, faced more challenges against the Dutch-Bugis alliance of Cornelis Janssoon Speelman and Arung Palakka. Two years after the treaty, Gowa lost in the war.

In Sirajuddin Daeng Bantang's story, these dates are not clear, but his reconstruction of the Bungaya Treaty, with Bone as one of the signatories, validates the politics of the kingdom of Gowa. The role

played by Arung Palakka in the Makassar War was not simply to collaborate with the VOC. Arung Palakka's motivation for war should be contextualized within the Bugis-Makassar cultural concept of shame or *siri*'. Oral tradition is embedded in the people's shared customs and beliefs, and without Bone in the treaty, the Makassar War will just be a mirror of the Dutch's victory over Gowa. With Arung Palakka and Bone in the narrative, the past is not totally forgotten. Some fragments are remembered, either to affirm the ties between Bone and Gowa in the ancient realm or to contemporize heroic figures: one fought with the VOC yet his kingdom fell while the other collaborated with the VOC yet restored his people's pride and dignity. In the voices of Sirajuddin Daeng Bantang and the narrator of SKT, it was the story of Karaeng Tunisombaya and his son, Karaeng Andi Patunru that the Makassar War is recollected.

#### THE LITERARY MERITS OF THE EPISODES

In *The Scent of Deception*, the language is both literal and symbolic, and it sets the whole narrative in motion like a top that spins on any surface, unraveling subtly a tale of deception as interwoven in the course of events that constitute the narrative. "Scent" connotes a widespread ironic effect, not the soothing effect of fragrance. The deceptive motive of Karaeng Botolempangang poisons the kingdom, for which Karaeng Tunisombaya, the King of Gowa, has no antidote. Hypothetically, the King takes the prophecy as an alibi of his weak disposition, but when poison is linked with fragrance, the ironic effect surfaces, thus "scent of deception." Poison like scent is imperceptible, slow and deadly because when inhaled by everyone, its effect spreads in the whole body. The prophecy deceives the king, the kingdom, and the people. It also sets the ironic plot of the narrative because the king believes in the prophecy, an abstraction of the kingdom's problems. With the prophecy, the conflict is man against an idea, which later leads to man against man.

The characterization of the major character, Karaeng Andi Patunru, is delineated in *The Sorrowful Soul*. He is the prophesized enemy, the Crown Prince, the son of Karaeng Tunisombaya. Born from the King's marriage to I Bajira Bajik Areng, Karaeng Andi Patunru is proud of his lineage as the grandson of Rampegading. In this episode, Karaeng Andi Patunru's flight or self-exile from persecution, his longing to return to Gowa to avenge the injustice done to him, and his ceaseless search for alliances to challenge Gowa's greatness provide the background of the war. The tension starts to build up after Karaeng Botolempangang identifies him as the prophesized enemy. Nevertheless, his self-vindication transforms him from a petulant Crown Prince to an escapee, a wanderer, a stateless person, a voyager, and an astute war strategist. Karaeng Andi Patunru's wish to return to Gowa signifies the redemption



of his *jiwa*, to reclaim his dignity and honor which he has lost through his flight. Together with his half-brother, Karaeng Patta Belo, who remains by his side throughout their torturous journey, Karaeng Andi Patunru remains loyal to his lineage and remembers his mother, siblings, and homeland.

When the hero is alienated from his roots, he embarks on a journey. *The Endless Quest* illustrates the epic nature of storytelling using the common recurring motif of the hero's quest. The plot is ironic because Karaeng Andi Patunru, the Prince of Gowa, fails to find Gowa's rival in the kingdoms of Sidenreng, Bantaeng, Bira, Butung, Bonerate, Dima, Sumbawa, Bali, Buleleng, Semarang and Solo. This episode describes the characters' skill in sailing by avoiding whirlpools and raise anchor as soon as they reach the port of destination. The formulae of raising anchor, welcoming the Crown Prince, sharing his grieving heart and appealing to the sultan/raja to fight against Gowa, offering Karaeng Andi Patunru a woman to marry and settle down, sharing Gowa's customs, and departing to embark on another journey strengthens the narrative's cohesive elements of a story. This journey provides ethnographic details of the other polities within and outside Gowa as well as illustrates the kinship system and concept of brotherhood.

The rites of passage signify a hero's fate, and Karaeng Andi Patunru has transcended the Western stereotype because his role is not to defend the country, but to destroy it. The storyteller reconciles self-vindication by foreign aggression – the Dutch. The effect euphemizes the issue of betrayal to collaboration. This journey of seeking Gowa's rival is depicted in *The Greatest Rival*. The episode narrates the journey of Karaeng Andi Patunru, Karaeng Patta Belo, and Raja Solo from Solo, Indonesia, to Holland. Because Holland is a foreign land, which cannot be crossed using sail boats, and the place is new with a different climate, the king of Solo waits for a big ship to anchor on his port. When the ship with map and telescope arrives, he informs Karaeng Andi Patunru and Karaeng Patta Belo that they are ready to sail to Holland. Karaeng Andi Patunru asks the King of Holland, who has a wife named Sitti Aminah, to wage war against Gowa, but the king suggests that they should go back to Indonesia, because Holland's artillery is in Batavia. This is an imagined voyage to make the narrative incredibly adventurous and to heighten the quest motif of crossing strange seas. All conquests in world history started with an imagined territory and from there, "civilization" becomes a construct of today's development and progress.

After Gowa's rival is identified, the narrative reaches its denouement in *Prelude to War*, a brief description of the princes' stay in Batavia and their collaborative efforts with the Dutch General, Tuan Palaming. In Batavia, Karaeng Andi Patunru and Karaeng Patta Belo are trained as fighters for one year. The Dutch General, Tuan Palaming, assists them, and he is pleased because the brothers meet his

expectations. Waging war against Gowa needs more than physical strength, so another year is spent in preparing the artillery and ships. Although Batavia is ready to go the east, the General comes up with a military strategy. He attacks Pariaman, a smaller kingdom. To convince the readers that Batavia has the capacity for warfare against the mighty Gowa, this episode sets the rhythm of the ultimate mission of Karaeng Andi Patunru - to go back to Gowa. Meanwhile in Gowa, Karaeng Tunisombaya foresees the imminent danger of his kingdom, so he convenes the Council and consults the Seer.

The penultimate episode, *The Hundred Ships* illustrates the war between Gowa and Batavia, but the narration suffers from narrative incoherence in terms of chronology of events. Instead of describing the war in a military fashion, the narrator intersperses it with matters concerning Gowa's survival. The narrator adds pathos to Karaeng Tunisombaya's characterization by portraying him as old and frail, describing the Batavian soldiers Dutch ships and yet the king remembers one of his karaengs who went fishing while the war was going on.

Against the backdrop of a seemingly endless war, *The Fall of a Kingdom* describes the events leading to Gowa's surrender to the Dutch. The critical point of the war happens when the Batavia soldiers surround the coastlines from the north (Tallo) to the south (Sanrabone). The Dutch fleet is loaded with artillery, and the cannons keep bombarding Gowa's bastions. Despite the effort to sink the Dutch ships, Gowa is running out of food and fighters. After seven years, Gowa decides to end the war, and Karaeng Tunisombaya and the Advisory Council surrender to the Dutch. Karaeng Andi Patunru's case is discussed, and after a lengthy deliberation, the Dutch General intervenes. Both parties reach an amicable settlement, and the people of Gowa coexists with the Dutch.

## CONCLUSION

The two texts show similarities and contrasts. From the 992 paragraphs of the *SKT* in Bahasa Indonesia, the summary captures the significant details related to the Makassar War. Similarly, the embellished episodes strengthened the narrative elements and bridged the gaps of the fragments into a coherent and cohesive text. In *I Mallombasi Daeng Mattawang Sultan Hasanuddin*, the story started with Karaeng Tunisombaya's men chasing his two sons, Karaeng Andi Patunru and Karaeng Patta Belo. The rebellious character of the Crown Prince and his search for Gowa's rival are subordinated to the plot. For Sirajuddin Daeng Bantang, the *sinrilik* he performed in my presence, demonstrates that he remembers the order of events, the characters, the conflict, and the resolution of the conflict. It must be emphasized that his interpretation is part of a longer narrative he himself wrote. When he

showed me the whole text during the interview, prior to the recording, the expectation was for him to sing by recalling the story in its entirety. Perhaps the absence of a ritual that usually goes with the chanting was a factor. Researchers who have recorded longer narratives prescribe a reenactment of a ritual that heightens the atmosphere, which is instrumental in elevating the experience from the physical to something spiritual. Since the purpose of the recording is to stress how the events of the Makassar War are contemporized, Sirajuddin Daeng Bantang's abridged story helps substantiate the notion of counter-currents that if linked with the other ethnographic data, forms the basis on how the ambiguities and contradictions take grounds.

My ethnographic journey started with the word "Mengkasar" in Skinner's *Sja'ir Perang Mengkasar*. The shift of locale from Malaysia to Indonesia brought me to *Makassar*, the capital city of South Sulawesi. What was conceived to be an easy way to identify the lapses in narration turns out to be an amalgam of bigger issues, both methodological and conceptual. When the late Mappaselleng Daeng Maggau was interviewed in 2005, he made it clear that the Makassarese have their own version of the Makassar War, different from *Sja'ir Perang Mengkasar*. This statement speaks volumes because at that time, my text was the same *sja'ir*. It was only after the interview that my research assistant provided me a copy of the *Sinrilikna Kappalak Tallumbatua*. Daeng Maggau's claim that the composer of *Sja'ir Perang Mengkasar* was not a Makassarese leads to a number of questions on authenticity and authorship. Further enquiry on Enji Amin, the *sja'ir's* author, revealed that he was indeed a Makassarese-Malay.

Since the *SKT* has seven *lontarak* variants, the next puzzle was to settle the issue of origin in terms of source and the spread of the narrative about the war. If history-making is first and foremost an oral genre as far as the Makassar War is concerned, and as stressed by Cummings (2002), writing was introduced in South Sulawesi in the late sixteenth century, there must be a *lontarak* of the *SKT*. For this endeavor, the interview of Pak Aburaerah Arief, the main editor of the *SKT* yields another issue on written source. Sadly, because of constant borrowings, he could no longer locate his *lontarak*. In the course of the interview, he identified Karaeng Andi Patunru as the historical Arung Palakka, the Bugis prince who collaborated with the VOC. Another point he clarified was the war in Makassar. He said that the first major attack of the Dutch against Gowa happened in Buton, and he remembered the words of the old folks that a hundred ships attacked Buton. Pak Aburaerah's interpretation coincided with the *SKT's* plot, but the storyteller of the *SKT* toned down the attack in Buton as an exercise in futility because Karaeng Tunisombaya's men were ordered to hunt the two princes whom they have heard to be under the protection of the Sultan of Buton.

The ethnographic data deliver a strong impression that the narrative of the Makassar War has been recast in various ways. Despite the unresolved issue on *lontarak* source, it is clear that the story has been handed down from generation to generation. When a certain story has spread, it shows a communal ownership and becomes the story of the people, in this case, the Makassarese' version of a war of two great powers: Gowa under Sultan Hasanuddin, the 16<sup>th</sup> ruler against the VOC) under the command of Cornelis Janzsoon Speelman with the collaboration of Arung Palakka, the Long Haired Prince of the Bugis.

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