

3. SOME ASPECTS OF MACASSAR-BUGINESE HISTORIOGRAPHY

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1. *Introduction*

Population and culture. The south-western peninsula of Celebes is inhabited by four Indonesian peoples which are closely related in culture: the Macassars in the south (over 700,000), the Buginese to the north of them (over 1½ million), the Luwurese still farther to the north, and the Mandarese in the north-west. Some characteristics they have in common are: all four of them are wholly islamized, use a non-European script originally derived from an Indian script, and occupy themselves largely with navigation, trade, and fishery. The interior, between the Luwurese and Mandarese territories, is inhabited by the South Toradjas, who, though in several respects also related, lack the above-mentioned characteristics. Except for the Luwurese, who formed a single large state, which expanded its influence far into the interior of Celebes, they were organized in several states of different size, as for instance Goa and Tallo' in the Macassar region, Bone, Wadjo', Soppeng, Sidenreng, and Tanete in the Buginese part and the seven Mandarese states. Within the borders of these larger states and subordinate to them smaller ones were situated, as for instance Pammana in Wadjo', and Timurung and Mampu in Bone.

Their political history, too, though for the greater part consisting of feuds, wars, treaties, and pacts between and against the various states, shows the coherence of these peoples. Although already in the Javanese *Nagarakrtagama* (1365) some place-names of these regions are mentioned, e.g. Bantayan, the modern Bantaeng (Bonthain on the maps), it was not until the sixteenth century that they entered into the light of history. In the first part of that century Portuguese merchants and priests for the first time came into contact with them, but they found that Moslem merchants from Malaya and Sumatra were already there. In the beginning of the next century Dutch and soon afterwards also English merchants came to Macassar, which, being the principal port of the rapidly expanding commercial state of Goa, was more and more becoming the centre of the whole region. In the years 1605 till 1607 Goa, together with its ally Tallo', officially adopted Islam and from 1608 till 1611 islamized the principal Buginese states by force, in this way establishing its hegemony over the peninsula for which during the sixteenth century it had contended in vain, especially with Bone. In 1667 Goa was subdued by the Dutch Company

(Treaty of Bungaya), with help from the Buginese, and thenceforward the Dutch held the peninsula under control, favouring Bone as their principal ally. In the eighteenth century several attempts by Goa to rise to power again were crushed, but in the nineteenth century it was the powerful position of Bone which compelled the Dutch to wage several 'Bone-wars' to maintain their position. The last of these, in 1905, established Dutch dominance until the outbreak of the Pacific war.

The languages of the four peoples, though closely related, differ rather considerably. Their literature, however, especially their historical literature, has much in common, and may consequently be treated together. The literature of the Buginese, the largest of the four peoples, is the most important as to volume, but one has to reckon with possible Macassar influences from the important state of Goa and foreign influences penetrating via Macassar.

Historical writing is still highly regarded by many groups belonging to these four peoples, but we have to confine ourselves here to Macassar and Buginese historiography, since about the other two next to nothing is known as yet. This does not mean that the former has been sufficiently investigated: actually, in both languages only one text has been published in transcription together with a translation, and only two major prose texts have been published in the Macassar-Buginese script without any translation. Thus, owing to the limited material available, no definitive or general conclusions can be reached as yet.

On the other hand certain results have been obtained thus far: in an article by Professor Cense, which gives a general picture of the various genres of Macassar and Buginese historiography with some details characteristic for each of these, in an article by R. A. Kern about a Buginese historical poem, and in an inquiry into historical writing of Wadjo' till the end of the eighteenth century. These are interesting enough to justify calling attention to this writing as a third kind of Indonesian historiography, ranking in importance with the Javanese and Malay historiographical traditions.

The beginnings of historical writing. Although many of the chronicles known to us are sometimes largely devoted to the sixteenth century, none of them can be said to have originated in that century: the chronicles of Tallo', Bone, and Goa, as well as the earliest chronicle of Wadjo', end with events from 1641, 1660, 1670, and 1650 respectively, and, we may assume, therefore, that their composition was later than those dates. On the other hand, the diary of Goa and Tallo' contains correct dates from the beginnings of Islam (1605) onwards. So at least some contemporaneous annotations must have been written down in the first part of the seventeenth century. And during the sixteenth century historical interest must have existed to some extent, if details regarding this time have been recorded

from oral tradition at a later date. Written documents now lost, dating back to these years may have existed. The Indian origin of their script at least shows that these peoples knew the art of writing already before their adoption of Islam, otherwise they would have adopted the Arabic script along with Islam. The chronicle of Goa states that under the reign of Tumapa'risi'-kallonna ($\pm 1511-1547$), the first more historical king of Goa, his minister and *shahbandar* Daeng Pamatte' 'made' the Macassar script. About the kings who reigned before this time this chronicle records nothing more than their names, because, as it says, at that time writings (*lontara'*) did not yet exist. The initial parts of most chronicles, in treating of these times (before ± 1500), do show more mythical and legendary traits, telling for instance about the first king of the dynasty, who descended from heaven: the *manurung*.

As the chronicle informs us, under the reign of Tunidjallo' (1565-90) official clerks, *palontara'*, were appointed in Goa, who may have been charged, *inter alia*, with noting down contemporaneous events.

For the time being, however, it is safest to assume that Macassar and Buginese historical writing dates from the seventeenth century.

2. Sources

Diaries. 'The keeping of diaries, still practised several decades ago, is a practice which, as far as I know, is nowhere in Indonesia so generally adhered to as among the Macassar and Buginese peoples, except among those groups of the population which are influenced by the Macassar-Buginese culture such as the Bima-people and the Malay at Macassar.' The importance of this statement by Cense lies in the fact that originally this practice of keeping diaries must either have been an invention of these peoples of Celebes themselves or an imitation of a non-Indonesian example, e.g. of a Portuguese' custom, as Crawford suggests.¹ But apart from its origin its widespread acceptance also requires an explanation.

There are diaries kept officially at the court of ruling princes as well as diaries of private persons. The pages of the book to be used were subdivided beforehand with ink-lines so that dates and short notes could be readily filled in. Often pages were left blank, to be used for longer annotations. The official diaries contain annotations concerning state affairs, expeditions, treaties or birth, marriages, and deaths in the royal family, etc. The annotations of private diaries are often of less general importance, but can give a picture of all sorts of social relations and circumstances. A special category of annotations concerns supernatural events, such as the return to life of a dead person, and natural phenomena, such as solar and lunar eclipses, earthquakes, comets, etc. Probably these phenomena were considered to be portents. Prescriptions for neutralizing the unfavourable

¹ *History of the Indian Archipelago* (1820), ii, 382.

effects of portents, such as earthquakes, lunar eclipses and certain animals and birds entering into villages or houses, are to be found in Buginese manuscripts.

The notes are usually dated either according to the Christian as well as the Moslem calendar or according to the Christian calendar only. In the former case internal harmony of this double date is a sufficient guarantee for the authenticity of the information. The names of the European month are often in Portuguese. Some diaries from Bone are at present in the archives of the British Museum in London.

Texts of treaties and correspondence. The pages left empty in the diaries were sometimes used as a letter-book for correspondence which, often by means of envoys with verbal messages, was carried on between states, and they contain, *inter alia*, records of the negotiations eventually leading up to formal treaties.

The texts of numerous treaties, concluded in the course of time between the various states, have been handed down in writing either separately or in a chronologically arranged series. In Goa the *ulukanya* '(the book of) the treaties', were officially kept by the chancellor of the state. Part of these old treaties, consisting mainly of concise formulas or metaphorical expressions, has been preserved. Most of the older treaties can only be dated approximately, by means of the names of the kings mentioned in them. The most important treaties were named after the place where they were concluded, sometimes also with symbolical names, e.g. 'Breaking steel at Unnji' or 'The cloths tied together at Topatjě'do' or 'Planting stones at Timurung'. Perhaps, and certainly in the last case, these names are reminiscences of symbolic acts performed at the conclusion of the treaties. In Goa from time to time pacts with vassals were renewed, on which occasion often their previous history was shortly retold.

Genealogies and lists of rulers. Genealogies of dynasties, either in the form of pedigrees or as enumerations of names of married persons and their offspring, generation by generation, sometimes contain short tales about the principal persons mentioned. Likewise, lists of rulers sometimes contain short notes about their reign.

3. *Chronicles*

Apart from separate tales about historical episodes, the above-mentioned historical writings were the main written sources for the authors of the chronicles of the various states. They are only partly historical sources in the strictest sense, because many of them are only known from the chronicles themselves, which are often no more than copies from copies, often rewritten by the copyists and rendering the distinction between fiction and authenticity very difficult.

The chronicles formed a literary genre, written in a simple prose-style,

their composition, style, and choice of words were to a great extent left to the taste of the author or the copyist. Moreover, they contain almost no dates. Chronological details are given in time-distances (years, months, or days), also in those chronicles whose authors had diaries at their disposal, e.g. those of Goa and of Tallo'.

As to their composition, most of them are not strictly chronological, but devote a chapter to each ruling prince of the dynasty concerned, and, as e.g. those of Goa and Tallo', enumerate successively his names and titles, his age at important stages of his career, his expeditions and conquests, the qualities of his character, and his wives and children. In this way there is not much room left for chronology nor for detailed descriptions. The chronicle of Bone is less 'systematically' rubricated and pays more attention to chronology and anecdotes. The chronicle of Tanete is still more anecdotal, it is also the longest one known, but it contains almost no chronological data, nearly always introducing a new subject with such words as 'After some time . . .'

The chronicles mentioned so far are probably more or less official versions, as no other redactions exist and not one of them has been continued in later times. The little chronicle of Timurung also tells part of the history of Bone, which it continues till \pm 1800, but only because the kings of Bone were at the same time hereditary princes of Timurung.

The main historical writings from Wadjo' differ from the above mentioned chronicles in two respects, owing probably to the lack of a strong centralized government of a hereditary dynasty (the chief rulers were chosen). The rewriting and continuation of the chronicle of Wadjo' has gone on from the seventeenth century up to the present. There are four great chronicles: one from the seventeenth, two from the eighteenth century, and the last great compendium was completed shortly before the last war, next to several shorter ones from the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Secondly, these great chronicles on the whole are not compiled into chapters and sections but are chronological throughout. The extension of the chronicle does not only mean continuation of the story into later times, but also enlargements at the beginning and elsewhere. E.g., each time more details are told about the foundation of Wadjo' and even about the history previous to that, and the eighteenth century versions are interspersed with genealogical passages concerning the families of the three highest hereditary chiefs.

Something of the chronicler's method in using his sources can be seen from a comparison between a long text concerning the history of the notorious Arung Singkang of Wadjo' during the years 1735-42 and the corresponding passage of the chronicle. The writer shortens his material, but not by summarizing what he thinks of less importance, but by leaving it out completely, often without even indicating how long a period of time

he passes over in silence. Writing tales in separate scenes only loosely knit together, as if sculpturing reliefs on temple walls, is a well-known Indonesian style of story-telling.

The chronicler never lets us know the reasons why he tells us one thing and passes over another, nor does he give his judgement nor, for that matter, any moral lessons.

But he sometimes does tell his reasons for writing history at all, at the beginning of his story, e.g.: 'because it is to be feared that the old princes would be forgotten by their posterity', or 'unacquaintedness with these things would bring about that we would think that there is no heaven above us or that foreigners would think that we are but common people'.

These sayings characterize the attitude of the chroniclers towards history. Although they are mainly concerned with the kings and princes and their exploits, they do not regard them (apart from the mythical first kings) as semi-gods endowed with superhuman powers, but as human beings who by birth and position are the leading forces in history. Sometimes they show a bias to give more credit to their own country than is justified, but on the whole they are only interested in facts. Especially when they write about their own time or about the recent past, their historical writings are quite reliable, as sometimes can be demonstrated from a comparison with the information in contemporary Dutch documents. Kern has shown this for the Buginese historical poem (*tolo*) treating of two Dutch expeditions against some Buginese states in the years 1824 and 1825, and written in 1842. An inquiry into the historical writings of Wadjo' has led us to the same conclusions for a large part of these writings, especially for the above-mentioned text about Arung Singkang. The modern historian concerned with the history of South Celebes (and of Indonesia in general) can by no means dispense with the historical literature, diaries, and chronicles in particular, which originated in this region itself.

4. *Origin*

One of the first conditions for a sound historiography is a reliable system of chronology. The Moslem calendar has been used as the main chronology since the country's islamization, although it was already known before that time. It is not the calendar commonly used in the Moslem world, and which reckons by cycles of thirty years, but one which knows cycles of eight years, and may differ from the former by one or two days. This system, however, has never yet been fully investigated.

There are indications that before the adoption of Islam the Christian calendar was officially used, probably adopted at some time from the Portuguese, since the names of the European months, used in the older Macassar and Buginese diaries, are clearly of Portuguese origin. Next to

these there existed an old Buginese calendar, which had the considerable shortcoming of not numbering the years or indicating them in any way, but which reckoned by solar years.

Analysis of the chronicle of Goa brings to light that 1511, the year of the conquest of Malacca by the Portuguese, was the first synchronical date which could be established by the Macassars, and that it was used as the starting point for building up a chronology of Macassar history.)

Presumably this question of chronology has been, next to the introduction of the art of writing, the main impulse in originating Macassar-Buginese historiography. Without a suitable breeding-ground, however, it would have had no success, as is shown by the example of Ambon's history-writer Ridjali, who, being a fugitive Moslem living at Macassar, around 1650 wrote a history of his native land at the instigation of Goa's Chancellor of the state, but who never had any followers.

Among the stimulating factors may have been an existing oral tradition such as e.g. the South Toradjas possess reckoning their history by generations, and pseudo-historical epopees such as the extensive pre-islamic Buginese mythical epic *La Galigo* which tells of gods and heroes in seven successive generations. All this, however, is still too little explored to hazard any conclusions.

There are no indications of influences from other Indonesian regions. The peculiar characteristics of Javanese historiography as presented by Berg, as well as the tales and words and expressions clearly borrowed from Java by which some Malay historiography shows its indebtedness to Javanese literature, are lacking in the Macassar-Buginese historical writings. On the other hand, the main characteristic of the latter, its objectivity and concern for facts, appears in other domains of this culture as well, as is shown by the annotations on maps for navigators, the precise data about weapons, houses, ships, etc., in notebooks, and the inventories drawn up by administrators of estates.

The historiography of South Celebes must, I think, mainly be regarded as an independent phenomenon.

Addendum

In response to questions asked at the Seminar Dr. Noorduyne sent the following notes on his paper:

Wajarese historical writing is of some importance because of its bulk and its character. Though mainly concerned with its own people (just like Malay and Javanese historiography) it also contains incidentally many data concerning Malaya, Java, and Bima. The chronicle of Tanete for example contains an elaborate description of the part the Buginese took in the expedition against Kartasura during the Chinese troubles in Java.

Some Buginese tracts deal with the eighteenth-century Buginese conquistadores operating in Malaya. Winstedt's characterization of the historical writing by Raja Ali—himself of Buginese extraction—*mutatis mutandis* fits excellently with the best Buginese writings.

The oldest chronicles—judging from their individual unity of composition and style—make the impression of having been written as entities. This appears clearest in the chronicles of Goa and Tallo', in which the author sometimes anticipates later happenings, and even once sends his readers from one chronicle to the other for the treatment of a certain point. On the other hand the work edited by Noorduyn has its final part borrowed from an existing treatise, which was perhaps adapted, whereas its middle part was written as a liaison.

Did prototypes of the eldest known chronicles exist? This point has not yet been studied.

About the eight-year cycle no sufficient data are as yet available.

The remaining historical writings deal with material partly older than the seventeenth century. A rough sketch of the sixteenth century could be drawn. Concerning literal tradition before 1605 for the moment no positive answer can be given.

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BKI=*Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van het Koninklijk Instituut voor taal-, land- en volkenkunde* ('s-Gravenhage).