Social Science Diliman (July-December 2013) 9:2; 26-48

Reframing and Decolonizing the Narrative Genre of *Sinrilik* from Makassar, Indonesia

Ivie Carbon Esteban
UCSI University
Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

ABSTRACT

This article draws on the *sinrilik* prose tradition of Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia. The major concern is to explore the contentious relationship of history and literature by examining the narrative structure of the *Sinrilikna Kappalak Tallumbatua* (1993) and its English version, *The Kingdom with a Thousand Hollow Ships*. My theoretical orientation leans on the notions of fragmentary recollection and historical imagination as narrative techniques. I argue that historicizing and contemporizing the *sinrilik* are conceptual frames of decolonizing the Western canons of assumed principles of knowledge on what constitutes a text and how to analyze it. Although the Malay world with its grand narrative of colonialism and resistance is one of the ideal sites of the *Other* in cultural studies, literary criticism on the other hand remains Western in its conventions. In this essay, I propose ethnohistorical literary criticism as an alternative framework to probe into the text as a literary artifact. The composer's (or scribe's) depiction of the war launched by the kingdom of Gowa against the *Vereegnigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC) or The Dutch East India Company in the sixteenth century offers a glimpse on how the tension between Gowa and Bone is symbolically recounted and resolved. Since symbols are consecrated by tradition or by collective memory, the composer embellishes the story with two historical figures. Sultan Hasanuddin, the 16th ruler of the Kingdom of Gowa (ruled 1653-1669), and Arung Palakka (ruled 1672-1696), the Bugis warrior and later the "overlord" of South Sulawesi, are alluded to in the characters of Karaeng Tunisombaya (the King of Gowa) and Karaeng Andi Patunru (the crown prince), respectively. The greatness of Gowa, its defeat and downfall, and the collaboration of the Bugis with the VOC have become part of the people's lore where selective memory supersedes historical imbroglio. Gowa's injustice towards the Bugis is relived and Arung Palakka, known as the "long-haired prince," is ambiguously characterized as Gowa's crown prince, Karaeng Andi Patunru, who was falsely accused of treason. Decolonizing the *sinrilik* also attempts to highlight the cultural meanings of *jiwa* (soul) of the crown prince and of Gowa's downfall within the Bugis-Makassarese worldview.

Keywords: *Sinrilik*, frame analysis, ethnohistorical literary criticism, *jiwa*, Makassar War, kingdom of Gowa, VOC, Malay world, Bugis-Makassarese

ISSN 1655-1524 Print / ISSN 2012-0796 Online

The Malay-Indonesian classical literary and manuscript tradition has been studied exhaustively by Western and Malaysian scholars (Braginsky, 1993; Cense, 1966; Derks, 1994; Muhammad Yusoff Hashim, 1992; Philips, 1981; Sweeney, 1980, 1987; Winstedt, 1969). Concentrated on but not limited to court narratives (Creese, 2004; Errington, 1975; Ruzy Suliza Hashim, 2003) and poetry (Wolters, 1982), the studies showed a rich panorama of the Malay world, both physical and abstract. These narratives of empires and kingdoms were made more ''different and strange'' from an orientalist point of view because they were written in indigenous scripts. Thus, in the words of Hoesien Djajadiningrat (1965), "wherever there have been kingdoms in Indonesia, historical traditions have been maintained" (p. 17). Scholars who have interpreted these scripts and/or manuscripts were not only familiar with the people's culture; they were also experts in understanding, speaking, and writing the people's language.

Cummings (2002), quoting Raffles's "Ugi or Mengkasar Alphabet" (1965 [1817]), mentions two types of alphabets: *jangang-jangang* (Old Makassarese) and *lontaraq beru* (new Makasssarese). Both were based on Indian models of alphabetic scripts. PostIslam influence includes the *serang* script, a slightly modified Arabic script (Cummings, 2002, pp. 43-45). Traditional writings in South Sulawesi are aptly called *lontarak* (*lontara*, *lontaraq*) because they were originally written on leaves of the *lontar*. Extant texts are almost all on paper (Reid & Reid, 1988, p. 14). Today, *lontarak* generally refers to all writings that use the Bugis-Makassarese scripts. For example, chronicles, stories, epics, and poems that were copied from earlier sources are still called *lontarak* as long as the traditional scripts are used. A comprehensive review of traditional scripts in Nusantara is also found in Muhammad Yusoff Hashim (1992).

From manuscript tradition, the realm of antiquity has been transformed into textualizations, performances, and narratives that are a repository of people's knowledge (Havelock, 1963; Wolters, 1982). As this knowledge is transmitted, the logics of orality and literacy (Goody, 1987; Ong, 1982) have also reshaped the lenses of cultural studies (Clifford & Marcus, 1986; Creese, 2004; Forshee, 2001; Gibson, 2005; Harnish, 2006), and history and literature (Skinner, 1963; Wolters, 1982). Moreover, as scholars attempt to reinterpret the vastness of the Malay world's fertile literary and historical tradition (Hamzah Daeng Mangembam, 1979; Koentjaraningrat, 1965; Mohammad Ali, 1965; Morrison, 1998; Sartono, 2001), the field of ethnography has also blossomed into different discourses aimed at refunctioning ethnography in contemporary anthropology (Clifford & Marcus, 1986).

THE *SINRILIK* AS NARRATIVE GENRE

In South Sulawesi, a genre called *sinrilik* became popular in the 1970s to the 1980s as a "vehicle for government propaganda" (Sutton, 2002, p. 107) and as Makassarese literature or *sasta* Makassar (Mukhlis et al., 2003; Parawansa, Sugira, Djirong, & Andul, 1992). The *sinrilik* centers on emotions that identify them as "Makassarese" and this emotional overtone is traced back to the centuries-old subordination of the Makassarese to the Dutch and the Bugis. The *Sinrilikna Kapallak Tallumbatua* (Aburaerah, Toll, & Zainuddin, 1993) or *The Three Ships* attests to this tension when the storyteller delineates the king of kings, Karaeng Tunisombaya, as Sultan Hasanuddin, the 16th ruler of Gowa, whose surrender marks the end of the war in the narrative. At the same time, the storyteller embellishes the narrative with the cultural hero of the Bugis, Arung Palakka, who collaborates with the Dutch, but reinvents him as Karaeng Andi Patunru, the crown prince of Gowa. Apparently, behind each *sinrilik* is a story and music of the past. For instance, the *bosi timurung* songs have a deep, underlying sacredness or melancholy, while *pakesok-kesok* songs tell of historic battles, heroic exploits, and romantic intrigues which are positive reflections of Makassarese strength, integrity, and determination. Andaya (1981, cited in Esteban, 2010) associated the word *sinrilik* with the Bugis-Makassarese words *siri*, embodying both "self-worth and shame," *pesse* (Bugis) and *pace* (Makassar) which means "spiritual unity of all individuals within a particular community" (Esteban, 2010, p. 132). Any text with the word *sinrilik* implies the complex nature of shame and kinship, which is both personal and communal.

This positive depiction of the Makassarese is also recorded in Skinner's (1963) *Sj'air Perang Mengkasar* (The Rhymed Chronicle of the Makassar War). Unlike the *Sinrilikna Kappalak Tallumbatua* which was written in prose, *Sj'air Perang Mengkasar* was in verse. These two narratives describe the same war and both storytellers position themselves as loyal subjects of Gowa. The *pansinrilik* or the person who performs it in *Sinrilikna Kappalak Tallumbatua* obviously is loyal to his King, while the scribe Entji' Amin in *Sj'air Perang Mengkasar* uses pejorative descriptions towards the Bugis warriors and the Dutch soldiers and documents the war to please his King.

According to Sutton (2002), one of the first surveys done on South Sulawesi's performing arts is credited to Kunst. In his capacity as the Dutch government musicologist, Kunst made short research trips to Java and other islands in the early 1930s. His report of Sulawesi was brief, consisting of two paragraphs and a list of instruments. In the same report, Kunst mentioned Makassarese *sinrilik*, a "vocal form" (Sutton, 2002, p. 18), which is generic and may mean: (a) handed down by

word of mouth or orally transmitted; (b) chanted; or (c) sung. Concerned with the persistence and adaptation of musical genres, dance, and cultural politics in lowland South Sulawesi, Sutton conducted a comprehensive study on the *sinrilik*, which he categorized as "Makassarese oral literature" and "narrative music" (Sutton, 2002, p. 105). Thus, taking this cue from him, the *sinrilik* has narrative elements even if one takes away its musical qualities.

THE MAKASSAR WAR

The Makassar War (1666-1669) has been described by historians as one of the fiercest wars ever experienced by Western powers in the Indonesian archipelago. The war was a protracted one, spanning almost half a century (mid-1500s to late 1600s) of economic rivalry over the Spice Islands (Moluccas) between the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and the Kingdom of Gowa, of local rulers' shifting alliances with the seaborne empires of the Dutch, the British, and the Portuguese, and of agreements and treatises by the VOC with the local rulers. Being "the largest and best organized" (Skinner, 1963, p. 1) trading company, with its headquarters in Batavia, the VOC set up a small factory in Makassar in 1609, a strategic move to extend its economic policy to monopolize spice trading in the Indonesian archipelago. Skinner (1963) explains that to describe seventeenth-century Indonesia as a "Dutch" century obfuscates the "part played by the great Indonesian Sultanates of Mataram, Bantam, and Macassar" (p. 1), which in the case of Makassar's genealogy of Gowa rulers, covers three reigns. The most influential of these sultans was Tumamemang ri Gaukana, also known as Sultan Alauddin (ruled 1593-1639), the 14th Gowa king, who "afforded the English East India Company a warmer welcome" (Skinner, 1963, p. 1) than its archrival, the VOC.

Makassar was already a thriving entrepot of spice trading in the early 1600s, which was "a direct threat to VOC's policy of monopoly" (Skinner, 1963, p. 2). Alarmed by Makassar's success as "the biggest independent spice market" (Skinner, 1963, p. 3) in terms of customs duties, the VOC asked Sultan Alauddin to "refrain from trading with the Spice Islands" (Skinner, 1963, p. 3). Sultan Alauddin's magnificent reply was:

> *God created the land and sea: the land he divided out amongst men, but the sea he gave to all. No one has ever tried to forbid men the sea. If you do so, you will be taking the bread out of our mouths – and I am not a rich King.* (Skinner, 1963, p. 3, italics mine)

Such pronouncement did not mean anything to the VOC so to show their military might, they declared war against Gowa. Although the war was uneventful and

dragging, the VOC pacified South Ceram, a state loyal to Gowa. The Dutch ''victory'' had an overwhelming effect because Sultan Alauddin was persuaded to sign a treaty in 1637 recognizing VOC's interests in the Spice Islands. In 1639, Sultan Alauddin died, and his son Tummamemang ri Papambatuna, Sultan Malikussaid (ruled 1639-1653), became the 15th Gowa ruler. Under Sultan Malikussaid, Makassar continued its economic activities in the Moluccas amidst competition with the VOC. Two smaller states in the Moluccas, namely Ceram and Ambon, were loyal to Gowa but such loyalty for the VOC was a violation of the 1637 treaty. In 1653, Sultan Malikussaid wrote a letter asserting Makassar's rights in Ceram and Ambon. The letter was ignored; instead, the VOC's Batavia headquarters declared another war against Gowa on October 21, 1653, just as Sultan Malikussaid's reign was ending (Skinner, 1963). He died on November 5, 1653, and his son Sultan Hasanuddin (ruled 1653-1669) was installed as the 16th Gowa ruler.

The following year, Makassar was blockaded, a shocking event for the young sultan who had inherited an ailing kingdom. In 1655, Sultan Hasanuddin signed a treaty "to temporarily settle the tension" (Skinner, 1963, p. 3). After successive breeches of the 1637 treaty as well as the 1655 treaty, Governor-General Maetsuycker sent an ultimatum to Sultan Hasanuddin who responded with counter demands, one of which was for the VOC to "raze the fortifications they had set up in Menado" (Skinner, 1963, p. 4). The demand was an affront and a challenge to the VOC's dominance. In 1660, the VOC prepared for war with an expedition of 31 ships and 2,600 men in Makassar, capturing one of the main forts, Panakkukang. Sultan Hasanuddin was forced to ask for an armistice and, subsequently, to sign another treaty. Among the provisions of the treaty were for Makassar to leave Buton, Menado, and the Spice Islands; to expel the Portuguese; and to pay for the costs of the war. Once these conditions were complied with, the VOC would return Panakkukang. Sultan Hasanuddin failed to satisfy the conditions, especially the expulsion of the Portuguese. Consequently, Panakkukang was destroyed and the VOC took Makassarese hostages to Batavia. The sultan had no choice but to finally ask the Portuguese to leave. Despite the total expulsion of the Portuguese, diplomacy between the VOC and Makassar was short-lived. The extended military campaigns of the VOC in Makassar led to internal factions among the kingdom's subjects who ultimately turned against Sultan Hasanuddin. One of these was the Bugis warrior, Arung Palakka. Moreover, the VOC managed to win over the sultan of Ternate who signed over to the raja of Buton the island of Muna, which Sultan Hasanuddin claimed as Makassar's property (Skinner, 163, pp. 4-5).

Another incident was VOC's yatch *De Leeuwin* that ran aground on one of the islands off Makassar. The Dutch representative, Verprest, was refused access to the wreck.

Meanwhile, freshly minted Dutch coins were said to be circulating in Makassar. Without the permission of Sultan Hasanuddin, Verprest sent a sloop, a small boat with one mast, to investigate the wreck. The boat was attacked and the crew murdered. Negotiations were made in 1666 between the VOC and Sultan Hasanuddin. The mission failed, and Batavia received a report that the Makassarese were preparing to send an expedition to Ternate. To demolish Makassar's ambition to be at par with the VOC, the Makassar War was officially declared on December 19, 1666 when an expedition of 21 ships and 600 Dutch troops, together with Bugis and Ambonese auxiliaries, were sighted off the coast of Makassar. Military combat ensued in 1667, from January to October. The main Makassar forts were stormed, and on November 18, 1667, Sultan Hasanuddin signed the Peace Treaty, also known as the Bungaja (Bungaya) Treaty (Skinner, 1963). According to Andaya (1981), the treaty was a premature one because the war broke out again in 1668 and 1669. Sombaopu, the royal citadel of the Gowa's chain of rulers, was stormed from June 15 to 24, 1669 (Andaya, 1981; Skinner, 1963). Sultan Hasanuddin, however, abdicated on June 17, 1669. The Kingdom of Gowa finally lost its luster under a new ruler, Tummamiliang ri Aluq, Amir Hamzah (ruled 1669 to 1674), the 17th Gowa ruler. He was Sultan Hasanuddin's son, Sultan Malikussaid's grandson, and Sultan Alauddin's great grandson. Peace treaties were signed from July 21 to 27, 1669 between Sultan Amir Hamzah and the VOC.

THE FRAMEWORK: ETHNO-HISTORICAL LITERARY CRITICISM

Cummings (2002) argues that the Makassar War (1666-1669) has changed the course of history writing in the eastern Indonesia archipelago. Beyond the call of historical evidence, Wolhoff & Abdulrahim (n.d., as cited in Cummings, 2002) claim that "the chronicles of Gowa and Talloq are the most important historical sources for the study of pre-colonial Makassar" (p. vii). In precolonial Makassar, Gowa and Talloq were known as "twin kingdoms," with one king. When the 13th Gowa ruler, Tunipasuluq (ruled 1590-1593) was deposed, Karaeng Matoaya of Talloq (ruled 1593-1623) installed Tunipasuluq's seven-year-old brother, Sultan Alauddin, as the 15th Gowa ruler. Karaeng Matoaya was Sultan Alauddin's uncle and, for the rest of Karaeng Matoaya's reign, he groomed the new ruler and "supervised the rebuilding of a Gowa empire that Tunipasuluq's actions had threatened to destroy" (Cummings, 2002, p. 30). How powerful was Gowa then? What manuscripts were used by historians? My purpose of raising these questions is not to provide definite answers; rather, I am trying to support Cummings's view that it is only through "careful translations" that scholars can

> examine how the chronicles were narratively constructed, how their structure and form related to their content, and how chronicle writing was connected to

> social formations and social changes during pre-modern period. Such translations can also facilitate investigations of Makassarese notions of history, identity, power, religion, society, and a host of other ethnographic topics. Careful and critical examinations of the chronicles as a whole or individual reigns or themes can yield valuable information about Makassarese perceptions of their social world. (Cummings, 2007, pp. vii-viii)

One of the perplexing events in the history of Gowa as a mighty kingdom is the abdication of the 16th ruler, Sultan Hasanuddin, shortly before Gowa fell into the hands of the Dutch in 1669. Any historian cannot ignore this historical fact, which can be interpreted as a sign of weakness. I would like to argue that Sultan Hasanuddin's decision to abdicate does not make him a weak ruler; rather, it is an act of allegiance to Gowa's chain of kings, starting from Sultan Alauddin, his grandfather, to Sultan Malikussaid, his father. Beleaguered by treaties of his predecessors and by Bugis uprisings, Sultan Hasanuddin knew that a war with the VOC would precipitate a political crisis within his ranks. Thus, despite Gowa's imminent downfall, Sultan Hasanuddin renounced his monarchial claim and invoked the "purity" of Gowa's genealogy of rulers. This could only be fulfilled if he entrusted the throne to Amir Hamzah, his son. Perhaps it is more glorious to accept defeat as long as the perpetuation of Gowa as the symbol of power in South Sulawesi lives on. Noorduyn (as cited in Andaya, 1981) describes the hegemony of Gowa in maintaining peace and order in Eastern Indonesia through Sultan Alauddin's efforts to unite the other sultans. In 1624, he reminded them "to leave to Goa (Gowa) any enemies from overseas and to take up arms only against those who wished to destroy Islam" (Andaya, 1981, p. 37). This is the reason why Sultan Hasanuddin felt betrayed when he learned that Arung Palakka collaborated with the VOC whose interests were economic and not a threat to Islam.

Sultan Hasanuddin was 22 years old when he succeeded his father, Sultan Malikussaid. Hasanuddin ruled for 16 years. On the other hand, his son, Sultan Amir Hamzah, was 13 years old when he became the 17th ruler of Gowa. Hamzah ruled for five years. Both father and son died young. Sultan Hasanuddin died in 1670 at the age of 39, while Sultan Amir Hamzah died in 1674 at the age of 18. Going through the list of rulers of Gowa from Amir Hamzah showed short reigns (two to three years), with the exception of Karaeng Sanrabone (the 19th ruler) who ruled for 32 years. Two of the rulers were deposed and one ruler abdicated. In Cummings's list (2002), the last entry was Tumamemang ri Pasi (also called Karaeng Kanjilo, Sultan Sirajuddin, and Tummamaliang ri Talloq). He ruled from 1712 to 1735. Perhaps it is this chain of kings and power struggle between Gowa and Talloq claimants to the throne that have inspired the imagination of Bugis and Makassarese alike to relive the past and

derive their own interpretations of Gowa's fall through the Makassar War. It is also possible that the narrative alludes to other events prior to the war.

To date, there are seven variants of the *Sinrilikna Kappalak Tallumbatua* listed in the Catalogue of Universitas Hasanuddin, Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia. All texts are in microfilms. Briefly, out of the seven manuscripts, five use either *sinriliqna* or *sinrili*; one bears the title *Riwayat Kappala Tallumbatua*, while the other is titled *Kapalla Tallumbatua*. These manuscripts have similar storylines: "the dispute between Andi Patunru with the King of Gowa"; "the war of the King of Gowa with Andi Patunru"; "the prediction of Bonto Lempangan that Andi Patunru will bring down the fortress of Gowa"; "Bonto Lempangan's prophecy that one day, the fortress will be destroyed"; and "Gowa's fortress and the prediction of its downfall." However, only one manuscript contains the *sepak raga* where the enemy of Gowa (Andi Patunru, the king's son and crown prince) was revealed and ordered to be killed. From purely historical facts of the war (the kingdom Gowa against the Dutch/VOC), both economic and political, the oral dimension of events (as well as their actors and agents) have become a hybrid "genre" of what is history and what is worth preserving as direct and indirect descendants of rulers in precolonial Makassar.

White (1987) theorized that historical texts share the elements of literary texts, and his contention, according to Wood (2009), was that "historians were actually writing forms of fiction" (p. 2). Although Wood acknowledges that this development has been the trend since the late 1980s when historians in the United States began concentrating on cultural history to accommodate issues on gender and race, he also argues on the "epistemological skepticism and blurring of genres" (Wood, 2009, p. 2). Since historical relations between literature and society necessitate a rhetorical activity, Krupat (1992) reformulated his view of ethnohistorical literary criticism, which is "an interdisciplinary mix of anthropology, history, and critical theory" (Krupat, 1992, p. 4) into ethnocentrism. As a literary critic, I argue that the *Sinrilikna Kapallak Tallumbatua* "is not a historical text of the Makassar War, but a literary artifact of narrative fragments about the kingdom of Gowa and its 16th ruler, Sultan Hasanuddin" (Esteban, 2010, p. 129). Based on my analysis (see Esteban, 2009), the narrative has historical facts (The Makassar War, the Gowa Rulers, the VOC, and Bugis resistance against Gowa) but its cultural meanings are more relevant to present-day Bugis/Makassarese than the historical demise of the kingdom at the hands of the Dutch.

Historical consciousness develops out of the simple awareness of one's immediate environment. In ancient times when "knowledge" was oral, the epic was the receptacle of "noble deeds" of gods and demigods whose stories in modern times became

"myths." Attempts were made to "demystify" the epic, to use Claude Levi-Strauss's terminology, to sift the "real" from the "unreal," or to render them as sources of historical interpretations, and the results had benefited humankind in assigning meanings to possibly all forms of knowledge. Campbell (1949) extensively interpreted the motifs in comparative mythology, and his contributions were identified as esoterical, devoid of historicity, and therefore, unscientific. Although all fields of knowledge experience rise and fall, Wilson (1999) cites six reasons to protect history from the purported crisis, namely, change, time, otherness, perspective, collective memory, and ambition (pp. 2-7). Among these reasons, the one that has a strong influence on historical interpretation is his idea of collective memory. According to him, "the collective memory of the past allows us to understand ourselves as part of a society formed through time" (Wilson, 1999, p. 5), and time as an element guides theorization, leading its way to include ethnography because after more than three centuries, the Makassar War (1666-1669) in the psyche of the present-day Makassarese remains alive but reformulated and deconstructed.

The blurring of genre boundaries demonstrates that historians and creative writers complement each other in interpreting events, both past and present. Such a close relationship can be extended to ethnography and literature. This interpretive lens gives impetus to the historicizing, contemporizing, and interpreting of the *Sinrilikna Kappalak Tallumbatua* as an oral-based narrative depicting the Makassar War (1666-1669) launched by the Kingdom of Gowa "against the Bugis and Dutch forces"

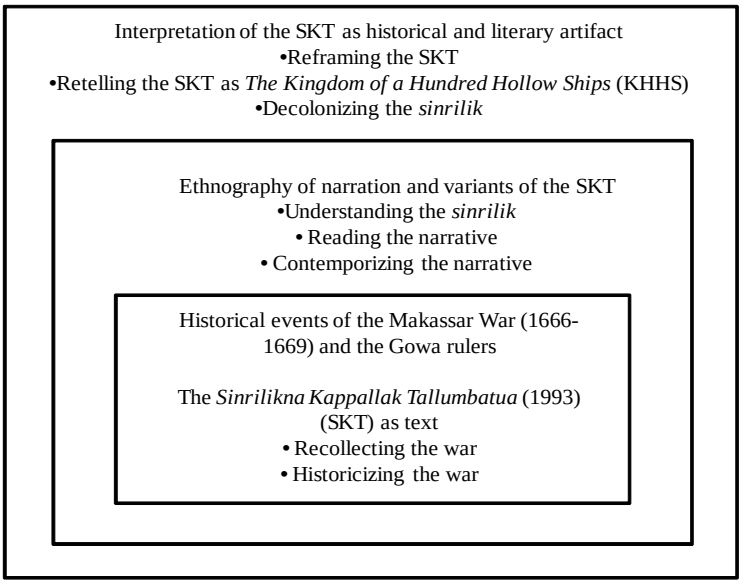

Figure 1. Interdisciplinary Framework: History, Ethnography, and Literature

(Andaya, 1981; Cummings, 2002; Sutton, 2002). The theoretical foundation leans on "the belief that social reality itself can be both lived and realistically comprehended as a story" (White, 1987, p. x), and once narrativized, these stories are valuable sources of historical interpretation (with no intention to prove them as historical texts). Essentially too, by explicating the narrative discourse of Makassarese view of history writing, the study inevitably strengthens the function of narratives as "vessels containing the once-spoken words of Makassarese ancestors" (Cummings, 2002, p. 4). With narratives, the past comes into view, which is essentially memory and heritage, if not "historical writings" (Noorduyn, 1965). It is this confrontation between history and memory that reshapes the past into a comprehensible present amidst its complexity and duplicity.

THE *SINRILIKNA KAPALLAK TALLUMBATUA*: SEVEN EPISODES

The first episode, *The Scent of Deception*, provides the background of the story. It introduces the ruler of Gowa, Karaeng Tunisombaya, his councils, one of which is the *Bate Salapang* or the Nine Banners, the advisory council of Gowa composed of rulers of the nine original polities who first form the core of Gowa (Cummings, 2002, p. 237), and other officials in his kingdom. While Karaeng Tunisombaya 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 proclaims 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. On his last inspection, 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 immediately orders the killing of pregnant women, infants, toddlers, and children. Despite the carnage and cruelty, the prophesized enemy has grown up and is ready to play the *raga*, a game played by nobles using a rattan ball, similar to *sepak takraw*, which is common in Indonesia and Malaysia.

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 that a feast be held. When the day for it is set, the king invites all the young nobles to 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, "Kill him!" 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 half brother are pursued by Karaeng Tunisombaya's men who follow their tracks and are determined to kill them. In their escape, some village men remain loyal to the crown prince. They are outnumbered, however, by those who believe that he is the prophesized enemy of the kingdom. The brothers manage to evade their pursuers and arrive in Maros. They proceed to Bungorok, Lakbakkang, Sidenreng, Bone, Balanipa, Bantaeng, Lemolemo, 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 to find an ally, Karaeng Andi Patunru and Karaeng Patta Belo continue their journey to Buton where they find solace under the protection of the sultan. The news, however, spreads 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 can only protect Karaeng Andi Patunru from Karaeng Tunisombaya's men, so as not to violate the unwritten law of loyalty to Gowa. Having pledged his protection to the crown prince, the sultan of Buton becomes their guardian for three years. This episode is the longest in the narrative and is composed of 260 paragraphs.

The third episode, *The Quest for Gowa's Rival*, describes the continuation of the journey motif of Karaeng Andi Patunru and Karaeng Patta Belo in their search for

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* (tradition). 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, the raja of Bali returns to his kingdom to be reunited with his wife. Left on their own, the brothers stay in Bulengleng but have to move on because Raja Bulengleng refuses to fight against Gowa. From Bulengleng, they set sail for Semarang, then to Solo, where they are given a grand welcome. Despite Karaeng Andi Patunru's plea for help from Raja Solo, the latter tells him that he cannot betray Gowa. Raja Solo suggests that they go to Holland because it is the only country that could defeat 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 for Holland, arriving there after 11 days and 11 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 welcomed once they reach Batavia. When they arrive in Batavia, Tuan Palambing, the Dutch general, meets 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 Palambing 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 Palambing 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 east, to 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 demoralizes 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 Palambing, against Karaeng Tunisombaya and his nobles. The war episode is divided into eight stages. In each stage, both parties meet and fight, retreat, then resume the fight. The Gowa commanders are like bulls charging at 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 chisels and hammers. 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 Palambing, 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 Palambing 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 to his palace. The episode ends with Tuan Palambing and Karaeng Tunisombaya signing a pact of unity that both are brothers. After a few months, Tuan Palambing and his men settle in Ujung Pandang. Peace reigns in Gowa. This episode has 53 paragraphs.

UNDERSTANDING THE *SINRILIKNA KAPPALAK TALLUMBATUA* AND THE VARIANT

From a literary-folklorist and ethnohistorical point of view, the cultural dimension of Makassar's history in the seventeenth century presents a contentious departure from a purely historical approach. The argument that history is literature, if one takes "historical text as a literary artifact," informs this study by interpreting the *Sinrilikna Kappalak Tallumbatua*. The major characters are Karaeng Tunisombaya, the august ruler of the kingdom of Gowa and "the king of kings," and Karaeng Andi Patunru, the crown prince of Gowa. Central to the narrative's theme is the prophecy of Karaeng Botolempangang, Gowa's seer or fortune-teller. According to him, Gowa

will not fall under the hands of an external enemy, an ironic twist because the "prophesized" enemy resides in the kingdom. Amid suspicion and intrigue among the members of the Gowa court, the crown prince, Karaeng Andi Patunru, fulfills the prophecy. His banishment within the territorial jurisdiction of Gowa, his journey to the neighboring kingdoms, and his voyage in search of Gowa's rival in Nusa Tenggara strengthen the ancient ties of all the kingdoms as subordinates to Gowa's power. Tuan Palambing, the Dutch general stationed in Batavia, takes command, and the seven-year war against the Kingdom of Gowa takes an ironic turn. The Dutch take control of Gowa, and Karaeng Andi Patunru is reunited with his mother. The conflict between father and son is projected through Tuan Palambing's question: What law did Karaeng Andi Patunru violate? Karaeng Tunisombaya answers that the crown prince is innocent and puts the blame on Karaeng Botolempangang's prophecy. Karaeng Andi Patunru has finally returned to Gowa not to usurp his father's throne, but as the Son of Gowa. He has redeemed his *jiwa* which he has lost in his banishment but brought a foreigner, Tuan Palambing, the Dutch general, who has led the Dutch soldiers in the war against Karaeng Tunisombaya. Karaeng Andi Patunru retreats from the scene, and a mutual agreement of respect and goodwill is signed between the Tuan Palambing and Karaeng Tunisombaya. The narrative ends: "*Batavia is Gowa and Gowa is Batavia*" (italics mine).

One variant that I used in my analysis is *Tubarina Butta Gowa I Mallombasi Mattawang Sultan Hasanuddin (de vaantjes van het ooosten)* or *The King of Gowa I Mallombasi Daeng Mattawang Sultan Hasanuddin (The Fighting Cock of the East)*. The *pansinrilik*, H.M. Sirajudddin Daeng Bantang used this version in his performance. His text was based on a 1930 *lontarak*, which he transcribed into Makassarese. The same *lontarak* text was translated by the Balai Pustaka in Ujung Pandang into Bahasa Indonesia in 1988. Sirajuddin Daeng Bantang's narrative has the same characters with *Sinrilikna Kappalak Tallumbatua*, except for the Dutch official who is called *I Tuan Tumalompoa*. Structurally, Daeng Bantang's version and the *Sinrilikna Kappalak Tallumbatua* share the same plot and conflict. The main difference lies in Daeng Bantang's perspective of contemporizing the narrative by alluding to historical figures like Sultan Hasanuddin, the 16th ruler of Gowa, and Cornelis Speelman, the Dutch admiral who took command of the Dutch fleet during the Makassar War. Although both narratives end with a pact of brotherhood, Daeng Bantang's narrative is historically grounded on the Bungaja Treaty of 1667 (Andaya, 1981). The treaty stipulates that Bone and Gowa are brothers and they have to respect each other. This brotherhood has been carried on for generations, and the eminence of the whole kingdom is ensured by uniting Gowa, Bone, and Luwuk. Daeng Bantang's narrative ends: *"Gowa is Bone and Bone is Gowa"* (italics mine).

The composer/writer of the *Sinrilikna Kappalak Tallumbatua* ends the narrative with "*Batavia is Gowa and Gowa is Batavia*" to bring an end to the war. However, his homage to *Gowa* (and its rulers) *and Batavia* (the capital of the Dutch empire, north of present-day Jakarta, Indonesia), also suggests some contradictions. Does the narrative depict political resistance (by waging war) against the Dutch empire's economic ambitions in East Indonesia, or is the war a ploy to justify Gowa's weakness (due to internal problems) and subsequent defeat and downfall against a rival that is as powerful as her? In contrast, *Tubarina Butta Gowa I Mallombasi Mattawang Sultan Hasanuddin (de vaantjes van het ooosten)* or *The King of Gowa I Mallombasi Daeng Mattawang Sultan Hasanuddin (The Fighting Cock of the East)* ends with *"Gowa is Bone and Bone is Gowa."* One may ask, why Bone and not Batavia? Andaya (1981) explains that Gowa (or Goa) rose to power in the middle of the seventeeth century and became the most powerful and extensive empire in the history of the archipelago. People thought that Goa was invincible, but the unexpected alliance between the Company (VOC) and the Bugis enemies of Gowa brought Gowa's glorious reign to an abrupt and violent end in 1669.

This alliance has left historical scars among progressive Bugis-Makassarese who question Indonesia's notion of heroism and patriotism. While Sultan Hasanuddin, the ruler of Gowa, was declared as one of the national heroes (*pahlawan kebangsaan*), the Bugis warrior Arung Palakka was simply described as *pahlawan kemanusiaan* (hero of the people/humanity). Sultan Hasanuddin fought against the Company; Arung Palakka connived with the Company, which led to the fall of the mighty Gowa. *"Gowa is Bone and Bone is Gowa"* is one way to reconcile the antagonism between Bone and Gowa and to forge unity between them against a common enemy, the VOC. With the downfall of Gowa, the Dutch gained control of Makassar, and Arung Palakka became the overlord of South Sulawesi. He also became the King of Bone and ruled for 24 years (1672-1696). Arung Palakka died at the age of 61. He was buried in Gowa.

REFRAMING *THE KINGDOM OF A HUNDRED HOLLOW SHIPS* IN FOUR NARRATIVES

I use the term reframing to enhance the prose structure of the *Sinrilikna Kappalak Tallumbatua* (SKT) and to draw a line between the primary text (in Bahasa Indonesia) from my English text, *The Kingdom of a Hundred Hollow Ships* (KHHS). I came up with four narrative frames: rulers, resistance, revenge, and reconciliation. The first frame, *narrative of rulers*, looks into the expository elements of the narrative by analyzing setting. The second frame, *narrative of revenge*, probes deeper into the ideational values of the narrative by analyzing conflict. The third frame, *narrative of resistance*, explores the factors that propel the narrative to heighten the

confrontation between the Gowa forces and the Dutch by analyzing character. The fourth frame, *narrative of reconciliation*, weaves all the elements by recapitulating the conflict and point of view, and stating the narrative's theme.

The Narrative of Rulers

In this frame, plot is analyzed based on the major events from which the cause and nature of the conflict are traced. To explicate the cultural significations that the Makassarese ascribe to the Makassar War, the narrative of rulers is foregrounded because cultural memory rests not on the war itself but on how the ancestors have built the kingdom through centuries and why such legacy should be remembered and revered. Since the kingdom of Gowa is remote from most readers not only in space but also in time, setting is analyzed in terms of the narrator's concept of Gowa's greatness. Lastly, to dramatize the tension between the ruler of Gowa, Karaeng Tunisombaya, against his son, Karaeng Andi Patunru, conflict is explained by emphasizing the function of the prophecy in the whole narrative. These assumptions lead to the formulation of ambiguity of action and contradiction on the greatness of Gowa.

The Narrative of Revenge

In this frame, the plot is analyzed from where the action stops in the narrative of rulers. To justify the rift between father and son, the events are plotted based on Karaeng Andi Patunru's flight from Gowa as well as his wanderings within the territorial jurisdiction of Gowa, and eventually, outside Sulawesi. Three maps support the journey of Karaeng Andi Patunru, but in this paper, only one map is included (Figure 2). Moreover, to show how the tension between father and son has intensified, conflict is analyzed by focusing on Karaeng Andi Patunru's portrayal as the protagonist whose idea of vindicating himself has transformed his apotheosis of an antihero. Lastly, the ambiguity of effect and contradiction of vindicating the "self" are explained within the construct of the prophecy.

The Narrative of Resistance

In this frame, plot analysis is extended to Karaeng Andi Patunru's quest to find Gowa's rival, his collaboration with Tuan Palambing, the Dutch general, and subsequently, the outbreak of the Makassar War. To show that Karaeng Andi Patunru is fated to be condemned from the perspective of Gowa's *adat,* he collaborates with Tuan Palambing because he wants to return to Gowa to prove his innocence. Since the stages of the war are central to the plot, eight maps also substantiate the analysis (Figure 3). To shed light on the portrayal of Karaeng or King of Gowa, also

called Karaeng Tunisombaya during the war, other characters are also analyzed, including Karaeng Andi Patunru who is now considered a traitor to his homeland. Lastly, point of view is analyzed by giving greater attention to the storyteller's perception and recollection of events and characters involved in the Makassar War. These elements are integrated in elaborating the ambiguity of reference and contradiction of redeeming the *jiwa*.

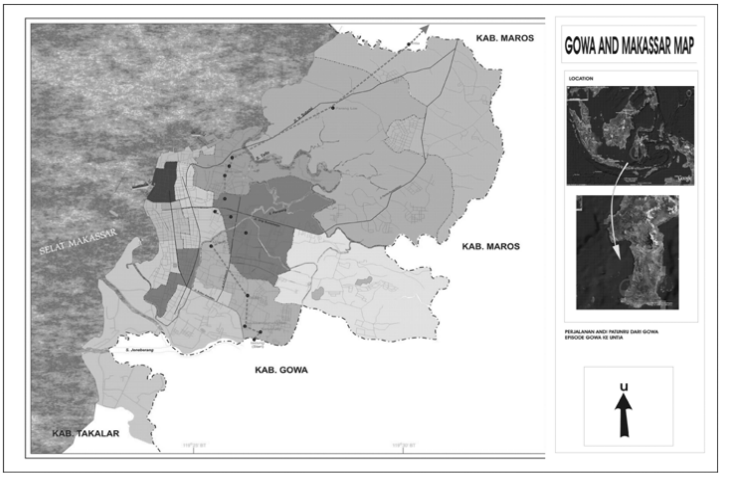

Figure 2. Karaeng Andi Patunru's Flight from Gowa to Maros. (Source: Esteban, 2009, p.135.)

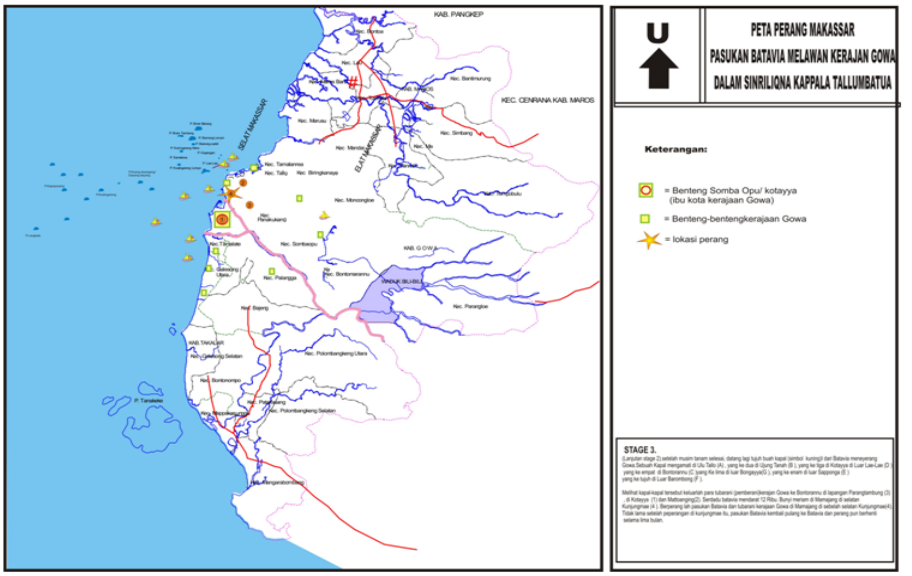

Figure 3. The Third Stage of the Makassar War (Source: Esteban, 2009, p. 159.)

The Narrative of Reconciliation

In this frame, the plot is sketched based on the events that led to negotiations between Gowa and the enemies as well as to the falling action of the narrative structure. To highlight the Makassar War, the same maps (stages of the war) show the composer's eye for details as he reconstructs the events from memory. Lastly, to link reconciliation with conflict, the theme is explained by emphasizing the resolution of the war based on the prophetic vision. The ambiguity of intent and contradiction of reconciling identity are formulated to establish the importance of ancestry and unity among the Bugis-Makassarese.

DECOLONIZING THE *SINRILIK*

The *Sinrilikna Kappalak Tallumbatua* (SKT) is first and foremost the creation of the composer/writer. In Makassar, the seven variants of the SKT are owned by individuals who claim some kinship ties with any of the rulers in South Sulawesi. For instance, in 2005, I interviewed a lecturer from Universitas Hasanuddin, Sirajuddin Daeng Bantang, who has a text about the Makassar War in Bahasa Indonesia. In his analysis, Andi Patunru (the same character in SKT and the other seven variants) is Arung Palakka. Among other interesting things that the lecturer did was to trace his roots to the Bone rulers as shown in his self-drawn genealogical chart. By the same token, Sirajuddin Daeng Bantang's text also delineates a very strong link with Sultan Hasanuddin, who according to Dutch sources, was described as fierce in battle, thus earning him the title, "the fighting cock of the East" (Andaya, 1981; Hamzah Daeng Mangemba, 1979). Moreover, the late Mappaselleng Daeng Manggau, the father of *sinrilik* (Sutton, 2002) claimed that Skinner's *Sja'ir Perang Mengkasar* is not the "true" story of the Makassar war.

In explaining the historicity of the Makassar War in the context of Dutch colonialism (Boxer, 1965; Ricklefs, 1992), I analyzed the plot of the narrative element through the journey of Karaeng Andi Patunru (See Esteban 2009 for the maps of the hero's flight from Gowa until his sea voyage to Holland). The long journey can be traced, and in my dissertation, the places are drawn. As shown in *The Kingdom of a Hundred Hollow Ships*, the storyteller's perspective has been maintained, but the timbre of narration is distinct. It purports to show that by embellishing the narrative, a new text emerges so that the interpretation will have its own voice. Symbols are consecrated by tradition, and I believe that the tombs of Sultan Hasanuddin (along with the other rulers of Gowa) and Arung Palakka, echo not only my voice as an outsider/critic but also of those who visit and pay homage them.

CONCLUSION

My reading of the *Sinrilikna Kappalak Tallumbatua* (SKT) as *The Kingdom of a Hundred Hollow Ships* (KHHS) is part of the interpretive process of weaving "languages." The English text reflects a new historical imagination where I describe Gowa as a powerless kingdom. The metaphor of *hollow ships* refers to the Dutch ships. The use of exaggeration (*hundred ships* while in the SKT there were only *three ships*) signifies a departure from the SKT's historicity. Except for the language (SKT in Bahasa Indonesia and KHHS in English), both texts can be used interchangeably. One complements the other. To sum up, reframing and decolonizing the Bugis-Makassarese version of the Makassar War are concepts that I have used interpreting the *sinrilik*. The assumptions are as follows:

1. **The greatness of Gowa**. The storyteller/writer/composer wants to protect the greatness of Gowa (or the Sultanate of Gowa) by concealing the ruler's weakness (Karaeng Tunisombaya) and asserting common ancestry (all the sultans refused to fight against Gowa, an older brother). The SKT variant, *Tubarina Butta Gowa I Mallombasi Mattawang Sultan Hasanuddin (de vaantjes van het ooosten)* or *The King of Gowa I Mallombasi Daeng Mattawang Sultan Hasanuddin (The Fighting Cock of the East)* delineates the interstate brotherhood among Bugis and Makassarese in the treaty by saying, *"Gowa is Bone and Bone is Gowa."*

2. **The purity of race**. The *Sinrilikina Kappallak Tallumbatua* is an allegory of the purity of race (Gowa fell because the crown prince betrayed the King). The storyteller/ writer/composer inserts the prophetic dimension of Gowa's downfall. Although the VOC is the historical enemy, Gowa's defeat is dramatized by the betrayal of the crown prince who collaborated with the enemy. Had the crown prince been loyal to his father, his king, Karaeng Tunisombaya, Gowa might have won the war.

3. **Indigenization as a motif**. The Islamic tenets and indigenization of the Dutch king as wearing *songkok* and the queen of Holland as having an Islamic name, Sitti Aminah, contribute to the Malay perspective of the SKT storyteller/writer/composer. In his mind, a great kingdom should have a powerful enemy, and only the Dutch empire can equal Gowa's power.

4. **Reconciliation as theme**. Despite Gowa's defeat, the legacy of the King of Gowa as a just ruler lives on, and he is reconciled with the crown prince. In the SKT, the storyteller/writer/composer downplays the father-son reconciliation. What is highlighted in the narrative is the agreement between the Dutch general and the king of Gowa. It is the queen who welcomes the crown prince.

5. **The *jiwa* of the crown prince**. The prophecy is fulfilled, and the *jiwa* of the crown prince is redeemed. His plea to vindicate himself is symbolic of his return to Gowa.

My informants in Makassar and Bone asked me one question: *Do you consider Arung Palakka a traitor to his people*? Historical accounts clearly mention that he collaborated with the VOC (Andaya, 1981; Skinner, 1963), but in the *Sinrilikna Kappallak Talumbatua*, Karaeng Andi Patunru was the crown prince who betrayed his father, Karaeng Tunisombaya. All stories about kingdoms, resistance, and reconciliation will be reborn through historical interpretations and literary metaphors. As White (1987) maintains, to narrativize real events as history serves the ideological function of what is meaningful to the present. Repressing this desire to remember the glorious past of the once mighty kingdom of Gowa through fragmentary recollection may foment racial tension. Similarly, a nation without collective memory may be reduced to believing the historical "evidence" of treachery against common ancestry. Today, remnants of such memories are in the tombs of the Gowa rulers and Arung Palakka who are visited by both Makassarese and Bugis. For the Bugis, the portrait of Arung Palakka with the caption "*portret sang pembebas*" is their icon of liberation and heroism while for the Makassarese, the royal tombs of their ancestors, with the portrait of Sultan Hasanuddin, remain a symbol of Gowa's narrative or rulers. These cultural legacies are in the narratives of the *Sinrilikna Kappalak Tallumbatua*, the *I Mallombasi Mattawang Sultan Hasanuddin*, and *The Kingdom of a Hundred Hollow Ships*.

REFERENCES

Abdulrazak Daeng Patunru. (1995). *Sejarah Bone*. Makassar, Indonesia: Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan.

Aburaerah, A., Toll, R., & Zainuddin, H. (Eds.). (1993). *Sinrilikna kapallak tallumbatua*. Jakarta, Indonesia: Yayasan Obor Indonesia.

Andaya, L.Y. (1981). *The heritage of Arung Palakka: A history of South Sulawesi (Celebes) in the seventeenth century*. The Hague, Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff.

Boxer, C.R. (1965). *The Dutch seaborne empire 1600-1800*. London: Hutchinson.

Braginsky, V.I. (1993). *The system of classical Malay literature*. Leiden, The Netherlands: KITLV Press.

Bulbeck, D. (1998). Construction history and significance of the Makassar fortification. In K. Robinson, & P. Mukhlis (Eds.), *Living through centuries: Culture, history and social life in South Sulawesi* (pp. 67-106). Canberra, Australia: Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University, and The National Archives of Indonesia.

Caldwell, I. (1998). The chronology of the King List of Luwu'. In K. Robinson, & P. Mukhlis (Eds.), *Living through centuries: Culture, history and social life in South Sulawesi* (pp. 29-66). Canberra, Australia: Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University, and The National Archives of Indonesia.

Campbell, J. (1949). *The hero with a thousand faces*. New York: Bolligen Foundation.

Cense, A.A. (1966). *Old Buginese and Mecassarese diaries. BKI*, *122*, 416-498.

Clifford, J., & Marcus, G.E. (Eds.) (1986). *Writing culture: The poetics and politics of ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California, Berkeley.

Creese, H. (2004). *Women of the kakawin world marriage and sexuality in the Indic courts of Java and Bali*. New York: M.E. Sharpe.

Cummings, W. (2002). *Making blood white: Historical transformations in early Makassar*. Honolulu: University Hawai'i Press.

Cummings, W. (2007). *A chain of kings*. Leiden, Netherlands: KITLV Press.

Derks, W. (1994). *The feast of storytelling on Malay oral tradition*. Jakarta, Indonesia: RUL.

Errington, S. (1975). *A study of genre: Meaning and form in the Malay Hikayat Hang Tuah*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

Esteban, I.C. (2007). Narrative of tombs in Gowa, South Sulawesi and some insights on the *Sinrilikna Kappalak Tallumbatua*. *Discourses on culture and identity: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. Selangor: Pearson Malaysia.

Esteban, I.C. (2009). *The Sinrilikna Kappalak Tallumbatua and ethnographic narratives of the Makassar War*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Institut Alam dan Tamadun Melayu, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Bangi, Malaysia.

Esteban, I.C. (2010). The narrative of war in Makassar: Its ambiguities and contradictions. *Sari-International Journal of the Malay World and Civilisation*, *28*(1),129-149.

Forshee, J. (2001). *Between the folds*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Gibson, T. (2005). *And the sun pursued the moon*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Goody, J. (1987). *The interface between the written and the oral*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Gorak, J. (1991). *The making of the modern canon: Genesis and crisis of a literary idea*. London: The Athlone Press Ltd.

Hamzah Daeng Mangemba. (1979). *Sultan Hasanuddin dan ayam jantan dari Benua Timur*. Makassar, Indonesia: Perpustakaan Universitas Hasanuddin.

Harnish, D. (2006). *Bridges to the ancestors*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Havelock, E. (1963). *Preface to Plato*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Hoesien, D. (1965). Local traditions and the study of Indonesian history. In Soedjatmoko, Mohammad Ali, G.J. Resink, & G. McT. Kahin (Eds.), *Introduction to Indonesian historiography* (pp.74-85). Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Koentjaraningrat. (1965). Use of anthropological methods in Indonesian historiography. In Soedjatmoko, Mohammad Ali, G.J. Resink, & G. McT. Kahin (Eds.), *Introduction to Indonesian historiography* (pp. 299-325). Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Krupat, A. (1992). *Ethnocriticism: Ethnography, history, literature*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Lord, A. B. (1971). *The singer of tales*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Mochtar Lubis. (1987). *Indonesia: Under the rainbow*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.

Mohammad, A. (1965). Historical problems. In Soedjatmoko, Mohammad Ali, G.J. Resink, & G. McT. Kahin (Eds.), *Introduction to Indonesian historiography* (pp. 1-23). Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Morrison, J.H. (1998). A global perspective of oral history in Southeast Asia. In P. Lim Pui Huen, J.H. Morrison, & C. G. Kwa (Eds.), *Oral history in Southeast Asia: Theory and method* (pp. 1-16). Singapore: National Archives of Singapore and Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Muhammad, Y. H. (1992). *The Malay sultanate of Malacca*. D.J. Muzaffar (Trans.). Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

Mukhlis Paeni, et al. (2003). *Katalog induk naskah-naskah Nusantara Sulawesi Selatan*. Jakarta, Indonesia: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia (ANRI), The Ford Foundation, Universitias Hasanuddin, and Gadjah Mada University Press.

Noorduyn, J. (1965). Origins of South Celebes historical writing. In Soedjatmoko, M. Ali, G.J. Resink, & G. McT. Kahin (Eds.), *An introduction to Indonesian historiography* (pp. 137-155). Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Ong, W.J. (1982). *Orality and literacy: The technologising of the word*. London: Methuen.

Parawansa, P., Sugira, W., Djirong, B., & Andul, R.J. (1992). *Sastra sinrilik Makassar*. Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.

Philips, N. (1981). *Sijobang: Sung narrative poetry of West Sumatra*. Great Britain: Cambridge University Press.

Reid, A., & Reid, H. (1988). *South Sulawesi*. California: Periplus Press.

Ricklefs, M.C. (1993). *A history of modern Indonesia since c.1300*. London: MacMillan.

Ruzy Suliza Hashim. (2003). *Out of the shadows: Women in Malay court narratives*. Bangi, Malaysia: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

Sartono, K. (2001). *Indonesian historiography*. Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Penerbit Kanisius.

Skinner, C. (1963). *Sja'ir perang Mengkasar (The rhymed chronicle on the Macassar War)*, by Entji' Amin. The Hague, The Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff.

Sutton, R. A. (2002). *Calling back the spirit: Music, dance, and cultural politics in lowland South Sulawesi*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Sweeney, A. (1980). *Authors and audiences in traditional Malay literature*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Sweeney, A. (1987). *A full hearing: Orality and literacy in the Malay world*. Berkeley: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, University of California Press.

Vansina, J. (1985). *Oral tradition as history*. London: James Currey.

White, H. (1987). *The content of the form: Narrative discourse and historical representation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Wilson, N.J. (1999). *History in crisis? Recent directions in historiography*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Winstedt, Sir Richard. (1969). *A history of classical Malay literature*. London: Oxford University Press.

Wolhoff, G.J. & Abdulrahim. (n.d.). *Sejarah Goa*. Udjung Pandang (Makassar), South Sulawesi: Jajasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan Tenggara.

Wolters, O.W. (1982). *History, culture, and region in Southeast Asian perspectives*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Wood, G.S. (2009). The purpose of the past: Reflections on the uses of history. *Historically Speaking*, *10*(1), 1-6.

Ivie Carbon Esteban <ivieces@yahoo.com> is an assistant professor in the English Language and Communication (ELC) Department, UCSI University, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. She received her PhD in Malay Studies (Manuscript Tradition and Oral Literature) from the Institute of the Malay World and Civilization, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia in 2009. Her research interests are literary criticism, oral literature and narratology, myth and collective memory, cultural studies, ethnography of communication, discourse analysis, and EFL/ESL and critical literacies. She coauthored the book *Folktales of Southern Philippines* (Anvil, Philippines, 2011), and her book chapter *Narratives of Tombs in Gowa, South Sulawesi and Some Insights on the Sinrilikna Kappalak Tallumbatua* was published in *Discourses on Culture & Identity: An Interdisciplinary Perspective* (Pearson Longman Malaysia Sdn. Bhd, 2007). Some of her articles have been published in *The NIEW Journal* and *Sari: International Journal of Malay World Studies*.