Issue of Reconciliation: A Case in Makassar Sinrilik Kappalak Tallumbatua Oral Literature

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to reveal the issue of reconciliation as an instrument of peace that is used as a background for the creation of the Sinrilik Kappalak Tallumbatua. Therefore, a discussion of the background of the creation of the SKT, especially the Makassar War which took place in 1666-1669 and involved the figures of Sultan Hasanuddin, Arung Palakka, and the Dutch VOC or Makassar, Bugis, and Dutch will certainly be more helpful in revealing the sinrilik story. To find this out, a view put forward by Teeuw (1984) about cultural conventions in literature and Culler (1977) views of cultural codes. As a sign system, literary works will not be well understood if it is only based on the literary code, but must also involve the cultural code contained and visible in it. This study utilizes two models, namely field research and literature. The method used in this research is qualitative method. Qualitative method is a research procedure that produces descriptive data in the form of written and spoken words, both from people and observed behavior. The technique used for data collection in this study was through interviews and recording. The results of the study show that (1) reconciliation is used as an enforcement of the self-esteem of the two major tribes in South Sulawesi (2) reconciliation is used as a tool of peace in the two large tribes in South Sulawesi in XV - XVI centuries competed for glory.

Keywords: Reconciliation, Oral Literature, Sinrilik, Kappalak Tallumbatua, Creation.

1. INTRODUCTION

Sinrilik is an oral literatures in a form of lyrical prose which performed by sing/rhymed, either accompanied by musical instruments or not. Matthews (1885: 777) noted that sinrilik is a kind of poetry and can be equated to syair in Malayan language. Based on several studies on sinrilik, however, it was concluded that sinrilik is different from poetry or syair since it do not contains rhyme or couplet patterns. Those studies concluded that sinrilik is a kind of prose and categorized as lyrical/rhythmical prose (Basang, 1965; Inriati-Lewa, 1996).

The understanding of a literature work could not be completed without knowledge on sociocultural aspects that became the background of the literature work. In this context, Teeuw was emphasized the importance of cultural insights in order to understand literature works, especially in the research of traditional Indonesian literature. For this interest of literature analysis which involved cultural insights, Teeuw referred to the cultural convention in literature, and Culler discussed about cultural code (1984: 100). As a system of sign, literature works could never be understood if we relied only on literature code but should also consider the cultural code which contained and seen inside the works.

Sinrilik Kappalak Tallumbatua (SKT), which contains historical aspects of South Sulawesi peoples, requires language, literature, and cultural codes for its interpretations. Therefore, the discussion of its creation background, particularly about Makassar War in 1666 to 1669 which involved Sultan Hasanuddin, Arung Palakka, and Dutch VOC (or Makassar, Bugis, and Dutch, respectively) surely would be helpful in reveals the story of sinrilik. The stories and events in SKT strongly influences the peoples of South Sulawesi.

1.1 Method and Data Collection Technique

Method used in this research is qualitative. This qualitative method is a research procedure which results in a descriptive data in a form of written or oral words, either from the peoples or their observed behaviours. Basically, the method in this research uses two types of research models, which are, field research and literature studies.
The technique for data collection in this research is interview and recording. Collected data are field notes, structured interview results, transcription of records, notes of deep interview results, and relevant object pictures/photos. Literature studies was conducted to obtained data in form of books, articles, researches, and other documents that related to the research of oral literature.

1.2 Results

Mattulada (1998: 234) assumed that Sinrilik Kappalak Tallumbatua was created around 1672 by a Gowa poet at Katangka. In that time, Arung Palakka was considered himself as the eminent ruler of South Sulawesi and made Bone as the headquarters of his power. Arung Palakka has intend to pave a way of the establishment of a strong and glorious Bone-Gowa alliance under his control to become a strong and united South Sulawesi land. In that time, Gowa’s king was Amir Hamzah I Mappasomba Daeng Nguraga (1669-1674). The relationship between Arung Palakka and Amir Hamzah was become closer. This was marked by exchange visits between Gowa and Bontoala. According to Andaya (2004: 400), SKT is a folktale that the time when it firstly told is unknown. But, based on it’s precisely description about the factors which led to Gowa fall, there is a probability that this story was created not far away from the events which told in the story. In 1930s, a written text of this story was made based on a pasinrilik performance.

In SKT version 1, Andi Patunru figure was described as a son of Karaeng Tu Nisombayya –Gowa’s king— who fled to Butung (Buton), Bali, Dima (Bima), Solo, and finally to Batavia. In Batavia, he met the Dutch and then together they war against Paraiman. With a help from the Dutch, then, he was back to Makassar to fight his father and restored his pride and dignity. Andi Patunru was became a winner because of Dutch assistances. South Sulawesi peoples immediately known that Andi Patunru is no other than Arung Palakka who in Makassar war, with a help of Speelman (Dutch), defeats the strongest kingdom in eastern Indonesia.

In SKT version 1, it is explained that the action of Andi Patunru was driven by the Boto Lempangang, a forecaster, who accused him will destroy Gowa kingdom. That is why, Andi Patunru was brought Dutch troops to fight against Gowa kingdom in order to restore and uphold his pride. In siri' culture, a pride is very important to uphold and defend. To defend his pride or his siri', a men even willing to lost his life or kill other’s even they are his own family.

2. DISCUSSION

Things that become the issue of the reconciliation of sinrilik Kappalak Tallumbatua, an oral literature in Makassar ethnic, based on the text version 1 and version 2, are as follows.

2.1 The Glory of King and Kingdom

In XV to XVI centuries, there was continuous competition between Bone kingdom, as a patron of pangngaderreng Tana Ugi, and Gowa kingdom which became a patron of butta Mangkasara. This competition was conducted through the expansion of each territory, either through peacefully diplomatic way or conquest ways, in order to seize the advantages and, thus, become the main player in political, economy, and war forces in South and Southeast Sulawesi.

The way Butta Gowa expands its territory seems more aggressive and expansive, but still gave autonomy discretion to the area under its rules. As Butta Gowa became a twin Gowa-Tallo kingdom in the beginning of XVI century, its effort to take control Bone land has become stronger. This Gowa-Tallo twin kingdom was also called as Makassar Kingdom with its central was located at Somba Opu (Mattulada, 1998: 92-95).

In mid-sixteenth century, the sequence of wars between Gowa and Bone has begun to determine which one was more eminent. Gowa, in the end of XVI century has already had a large territory and almost covered all South Sulawesi. Physically, Butta Gowa was indeed ruled the land, but culturally, pangngaderreng Bone influences was widely embedded and followed by most of the peoples. The competition between Gowa and Bone was still continued in XVII century. Andaya (2004: 14) noted that XVII century was characterized by hegemony competition between Bone and Makassar-Gowa kingdoms. In 1644, there was a war which strengthens Gowa domination over Bone and decreased Bone status from subordinate area became servant of Gowa (Andaya, 2004: 53). Under the rules of 15th King of Gowa, Sultan Malikussaid with Tu Mabbicara Butta (Mangkubumi) Karaeng Pattingalloang, Butta Gowa was able to expand its territory with its power concentrated in South and Southeast Sulawesi. This was a preparation to face Dutch VOC forces by constructing blockhouses alongside Makassar coast.

When the 15th Gowa’s King was passed away, in 1655, his son, I Mallombasi Daeng Mattawang Sultan Hasanuddin, was ascended the throne and replace his father task as a Tu nitogosa the power holder in Butta Gowa by his ± 24 young age, and assigned as Tu Mabbicara Butta (Mangkubumi) was Karaeng Karunrung, the son of Karaeng Pattingalloang. Both of them were inherited a strong kingdom with its developing trades.

At that time, the political competition at South Sulawesi has ended, with Gowa as the winner. Gowa kingdom, with its great sea forces, was doing its expansion to outside of South Sulawesi. The alliance of
Arung Palakka and Dutch VOC, however, led to the end of Gowa supremacy (Andaya, 2004: 58). Arung Palakka, prisoners, and trench workers, which amounted to ± 10,000 men, were started their rebellion against Gowa kingdom. This rebellion was aimed to liberate Bone from Gowa oppressions, and to restore its pride and dignity. All of the forces were deployed to regain the power from Gowa. Arung Palakka felt pity to see his countrymen miseries (Bone) which were forced to work hard by foremen from Gowa (Ali and Amal, 1989: 22-23).

In the early- to mid-seventeenth century, South Sulawesi witnessed great historical events. At that time, there were three important figures in the course of history, which are, Sultan Hasanuddin, Karaeng Karunrung, and La Tenritatta Arung Palakka. Three of them were lived in a close training and friendship, they were playmates, and reached them teenage together. Arung Palakka was known by his adept in weapons and raga. By Tu mabbicara Butta Gowa Karaeng Pattingalloang, Arung Palakka was being taught all things that he needs to be a prince. Arung Palakka was trained to play spear, machete, pencak silat, sepak raga, and other kind of arcade games includes trapping a deer while he riding a horse (mattado jonga). In sepak raga game, it was said that Arung Palakka was very adept and unmatched in that time (Ali and Amal, 1989: 19).

Arung Palakka, however, was not bear to see the contumely of Gowa ruler on Bone peoples. Therefore, in the mid of September 1660, when Sultan Hasanuddin and his kingdom officials held a big party at Tallo, Arung Palakka used this chance to mobilize all workers from Bone to escape from Gowa. This was the beginning of Arung Palakka’s resistances on Makassar kingdom and this event marked the beginning of “Makassar War”.

When he found out about this, Sultan Hasanuddin, and all officers of Makassar kingdom, were very upset and sent a war fleet to arrest Arung Palakka. After stayed in Butung for a while, Arung Palakka was prepared to go to Batavia, in November 1663, to meet the Dutch. Arung Palakka and his armies made an agreement with the Dutch to war against and conquest Makassar kingdom with different purposes. Arung Palakka wants to liberate his land, whereas the Dutch want to eliminate the obstacles in their trade, since Makassar kingdom was considered as smugglers’ nest.

In 1666, the Dutch’s war fleets and armies led by Arung Palakka and Arung Belo were departed toward Makassar to conquer Butta Gowa. There are fierce battles between Gowa’s army who defend their main fortress in Makassar city and the joint forces between Dutch, Arung Palakka, and Arung Belo. Makassar was besieged, both by land and sea, and resulted in great loss of Makassar armies. This situation was unfavourable for Makassar kingdom. Eventually, the Dutch offered a peace negotiation. In November 18th 1667, a peace agreement called Bungaya Treaty was signed between the Dutch and Sultan Hasanuddin.

In SKT version 2, the story told about Sultan Hasanuddin who faced against with Arung Palakka. In this story, Arung Palakka was said to be the uncle of Sultan Hasanuddin. As we know, Sultan Hasanuddin was the 16th king of Gowa and brought this kingdom into its heyday. In the middle of seventeenth century, Gowa had already become one of strongest, biggest, and highly respected kingdom.

Sultan Hasanuddin was known as a brave, honest, firm, and very wise man. At that time, there is no man who could match the brilliance and adeptness of Sultan Hasanuddin in rules the government. Sultan Hasanuddin was also had a great influences and respected by his subordinate kings and young noblemen. Under the rule of Sultan Hasanuddin, the 16th King of Gowa, the tension between Gowa kingdom and Dutch were increasingly pointed as the sultan was very firm and resistance to Dutch’s pressures.

Arung Palakka, which became the opponent of Sultan Hasanuddin in SKT version 2, was known as a Buginese which Andaya (2004: 9) said that his role in the second half of seventeenth century was very dominant. In 1672, he became Arumpone and used a title in Arabian language, Sultan Sa’aduddin. Arung Palakka was born around 1635 in Lamatta village, at Marioriwawo Soppeng area, as La Tenritatta. From his mother he accepted a title as Datu Marioriwawo and when he became a young man in Gowa palace he was titled as Daeng Serang. After he succeeds to liberate his people from forced labour at Makassar, he was titled as Arung Palakka. During Makassar War and thereafter, he was known as To Unru or To Appaunru “The Conqueror”.

In SKT version 2, Arung Palakka was called puniana or kuntilanak by Sultan Hasanuddin and his followers since he was considered has given Gowa land to the Dutch. Nevertheless, in this SKT, Arung Palakka clearly recognized that Gowa land is belonging to Sultan Hasanuddin. Arung Palakka gave the land to the Dutch because he did not know that the land is belonged to Sultan Hasanuddin’s nephew. When he met Sultan Hasanuddin, which is the son of his brother and considered as the owner of Gowa land, Arung Palakka gave back the land to its eligible owner.

In SKT version 1, the main character is Andi Patunru, which are a title gave to Arung Palakka during and after Makassar War. Andi Patunru is become the son of Karaeng Tu Nisombayya the King of Gowa. Tu Nisombayya is overconfident to the prophecy of Boto Lempong which said that Andi Patunru will destroy and raze Gowa land. And thus, he ordered all his men to
hunted and killed Andi Patunru. So, Andi Patunru and his younger brother, Patta Belo, were run to avoid this.

In their escape to several places—includes Buton—Andi Patunru and Patta Belo were asked for help in order to fight against Gowa. There is no one, however, who was willing to help because Gowa was considered a great and unmatched kingdom.

Nakana Karaeng ri Butung/,
“Manna sanganja ulungku/ sampulo ulungku/ tena erokku/ kabutta Gowa/ butta sannak lompona/, butta takkulle ni bati-bati///.” (brs. 199 – 201 Vs. 1)

“Karaenga of Butung said, “Even though I have eight, or even ten, heads, I have no dare, because Gowa land is a great land, a land that could not be matched.”
(lines 204-226 Vs. 1)

There are no visited lands which willing to help, and on the suggestion of Buton King, they were asked to go to the Dutch for help. Eventually, Andi Patunru and Patta Belo decided to ask for Dutch help in Batavia for together fight against Gowa. The Dutch, with pleasure, accepted this request.

And then, Dutch, Arung Palakka, and Patta Belo armies was departed to Gowa land on thirty ships, and three of the ships were the biggest.

After war which occurred in months, eventually, there was a treaty signed between Karaeng Tu Nisombayya and the Dutch. This event ended the war and marked the beginning of Dutchmen occupations at Gowa and Makassar land to established trade agencies and warehouses for trade goods.

The change of Andi Patunru and Patta Belo who became the sons of Karaeng Tu Nisombayya King of Gowa, from Bugis Bone-Soppeng men into Makassar man, in SKT version 1, implies that the charisma of Gowa’s King and his kingdom were so great for Andi Patunru (Arung Palakka). Therefore, by making himself (Andi Patunru/Arung Palakka) a Makassar man and a son of Karaeng Tu Nisombayya, he wanted recognition and possess a greatness and grandeur of Gowa land.

This implies that Andi Patunru/Arung Palakka was recognized the greatness of Gowa’s King and his kingdom. Similarly, the Dutch was also recognized the greatness and bravery of Gowa peoples.

Eee akpalampa kana tongiseng I Tuang Tu Malompooa/, “Maka siapai jaina kappalakna/ nasabak anjo kappalakna Balandayya/ jaini nitialianggang ri kappalakna butta Gowa/ka tau butta Gowayya/ sannak ngaseng baranina ri tamparanga aksibakji///.” (brs. 308 – 311 Vs. 1)

“I Tuan Tu Malompooa says again, “So, how much ships left? Since so many Dutchmen’s ships were already sunk by Gowa’s ships because the peoples of Gowa is very brave in fight on the seas.” (lines 319-322 Vs. 1)

Therefore, the Dutch is recognized the greatness of Gowa’s armies, particularly its naval forces. This was proved by the Dutch itself, as so many of their ships were sunk by Gowa’s fleets.

2.2 The Upholding Of The Pride

During XV to XVI centuries, there was a continuing competition between Tana Bone—Bugis land—and Butta Mangkasara (the lands of Makassar peoples) in expanding their territory. The expansion by Tana Bone on the lands alongside the coast of Makassar Strait was alarming. Therefore, those lands highly relied on the protection of Butta Gowa. This situation forced the Gowa’s armies to control the watershed at southern Makassar Strait.

The King of Gowa, Tu Nipallangga Ulaweng (1546-1565) was tried to expand his territory by besieged Tana Bone. He, then, declared war against Tana Bone that ruled by Arumpone La Tenrirawe Bongkange (1560-1578). Even though the war was occurred for years, there was no winner yet, and the King of Gowa, who led his armies in the war, was became ill and back to Gowa. For Butta Gowa, this 10th King is credited by his efforts to equip the fortress with weapons, starting the production of bullets and munitions, and strengthening naval forces (see also Andaya, 2004: 32-33). However, he also sown the seeds of hostility on his conquered lands, particularly to Tana Bone.

Sultan Hasanuddin, Karaeng Karunrungr, and Arung Palakka were playmates. Three of them are the main figures who brought South Sulawesi through various historical events from the beginning until the middle of seventeenth century (Mattulada, 1998). In 1660, 10,000 Bone men were forced to dig a trench along the line of defence at Makassar port, from the northernmost fort at Ujung Tana to southernmost fort at Barombong.

The Buginese considered this as an insult from Makassar peoples. This touches the sense of siri’ and pesse of Buginese workers, includes Arung Palakka who was ordered to do the job. Arung Palakka felt pity and shamed to see Bugis peoples became forced workers and enslaved by Makassar peoples. He starts the rebellion because he wants to liberate Bugis peoples from the oppression and their shame on Butta Gowa authority. Arung Palakka was determined to restore and uphold the sense of pesse in a form of solidarity amongst those who were oppressed. Arung Palakka movement was aimed to gather all forces and retake the power from Gowa. Then, the resistance and rebellions on Makassar kingdoms
were begun. Arung Palakka and forced workers of Bone, as well as all escaped prisoners of war, were determined to liberate themselves in order to restore and uphold siri' and liberate their Bone-Soppeng land as a pesse call on the slavery by Butta Gowa. In order to do that, they were willing to lost their lives for siri’ and pesse.

Arung Palakka and his prepared armies, and combined armies led by Datu Soppeng and Arung Bila, were started the fight against Gowa armies. They made an agreement to ally and signed a pact that called as Pincara Lopie ri Attapan or “The Pact of Crossing Boats at Attapan” in order to conquer Butta Gowa. The war against Makassar armies was begun, and in the first and second wars the Bugis were lost. In the third war, Bugis armies were also lost and repelled, even Arung Palakka and his followers were run to the mountain. Eventually, Arung Palakka was decided to left Sulawesi and sailed to Java because he does not have any place to live anymore at Bugis land, Bone and Soppeng were already lost and no longer able to continue the fight.

Arung Palakka was decided to search peoples who are willing to help him fixing Bone and Soppeng, and fight against Gowa land forces. Arung Palakka and his several followers were managed to escape from Gowa armies and securely sailed to Butung (based on historical source, this event was occurred around 1660-1661) (Andaya, 2004). In December 25th 1660, Arung Palakka and his followers were departed from Gunung Cempalagi coast and supported by 400 peoples (Ali and Amal, 1989: 37). Knowing about this, Sultan Hasanuddin ordered his fleets to ask about this situation to Sultan Buton. Sultan Buton, however, did not say that Arung Palakka was in his territory. Gowa armies were tried to find Arung Palakka and even told to punish the ruler of Butung as he allowed Arung Palakka and Bugis fugitives stayed in his territory.

With the help of Sultan Buton, Arung Palakka and his armies were arrived in Batavia to meet the Dutch. In that place, Buginese armies were still trained and prepared to fight against Butta Gowa. When Arung Palakka was asked to help the attack to Minangkabau rebellions at Sumatera west coast, he was readily agreed. This was also to demonstrate the war skills of Buginese since the Dutch was promised that if they are succeed, the war against Gowa will be conducted. The war at Minangkabau had made Arung Palakka became increasingly famous of his bravery in war. Therefore, the company/Dutch was become more confident that Arung Palakka and his armies were could be useful in war against Gowa as it was inevitable.

And so the expedition to Makassar was prepared by the Governor General and Council of Indies at Batavia. Speelman and Arung Palakka was together staked themselves in this expedition. Arung Palakka and his followers were determined to win the war in order to restore and uphold their pride (siri’) which had already gone and deprived by Gowa authority. For Arung Palakka, it was a holy task to restore the honour of Bugis peoples which deprived by Makassar peoples.

In SKT version 1, Andi Patunru and Patta Belo was said to be two brothers who were the sons of Karaeng Tu Nisombayya King of Gowa. Because of the accusation from Boto Lempangang to him, he was ordered to be hunted and even be killed by his parent. Karaeng Tu Nisombayya King of Gowa was believed in words of boto which said that Andi Patunru will destroy Butta Gowa. This is the cause why Andi Patunru starts the war. Bringing their heartache and disappointed, Andi Pattunru and his brother, Patta Belo, left Butta Gowa to ask for helps from several land to fight against Karaeng Sombayya, his own parent, and his own homeland. But no one land who dare to fight and war against Gowa land. Eventually, Andi Patunru went to Batavia to meet Tuan Tu Malompoa/Dutch and asked their help to fight together against Butta Gowa.

The action taken by Andi Patunru in SKT version 1 was solely to restore and uphold his pride (siri’) and his grief (pesse) which rose because of words of Boto Lempangang and Karaeng Tu Nisombayya. The desire to uphold the honour and dignity, which contained in siri’ which driven by the accusation and to heal the pesse because he dispelled from Gowa land were the main reason why Andi Patunru was fight against Karaeng Tu Nisombayya and Butta Gowa, even though they were his own parent. In Bugis-Makassar culture, siri’ or pesse were the “heart” of ideology of Bugis-Makassar peoples which then become the soul and spirits for each person in society. Therefore, the glory and downfall of a man is determined by how far they could maintain and defend his siri’ in his life (Abdullah, 1985: 56-68).
The uphold of the pride was also demonstrated by Andi Patunru to Tuan Tu Malompoa/Dutch when he asked to fight against Pariaman land. Thus, before Tuan Tu Malompoa grants Andi Patunru request to war against Butta Gowa, previously the skill of Andi Patunru and his loyal followers was being tested in Pariaman war. To uphold his pride, Andi Patunru fulfills the demand and succeeds to conquer Pariaman land.

In SKT version 2, the upholding of the pride was also conducted by Sultan Hasanuddin in order to get and retake his land which already gave to the Dutch by Arung Palakka. Sultan Hasanuddin asserted that he is the owner of Butta Gowa. Therefore, Sultan Hasanuddin had to retake the land even though he had to fight and war. Sultan Hasanuddin was prepared to uphold his siri’.

Besides the upholding of pride it is clearly asserted in SKT version 2 that the most eligible ruler at Butta Gowa is only the descent of Karaeng Tu Nisombayya. It is clearly noted that the true owner of Butta Gowa and have the right to rule the land is Sultan Hasanuddin. This is the confirmation and recognition on power legitimation which has given to Sultan Hasanuddin as the right and true man for holding the throne of Butta Gowa.

The recognition to Sultan Hasanuddin that he is the only man who has the right to rule and lead Butta Gowa was also stated by Arung Palakka. One of the sign of this rights is because Sultan Hasanuddin was the man who has batea, sudanga, and salokoa ri of Butta Gowa. Besides that, this recognition could be seen from the epithet and surname gave to Sultan Hasanuddin (lines 314-321, 338-341 Vs. 2).

The Dutch was also recognized that the only man who has the right to possess and rules Butta Gowa is Sultan Hasanuddin. The Dutch said this after they saw the bravery of Makassar men who loyal to Sultan Hasanuddin in their efforts to reclaim Butta Gowa.

3. CONCLUSION

After we discussed the background of the creation SKT reconciliation issue, both version 1 or 2, it is seen now that as an oral literature work of Makassar ethnic, it demonstrated a close relationship between the literature and the community. This is because literature works are served as information storage, particularly historical data about past time. However, in relation to SKT stories version 1 and 2, it should be noted that, beside historical facts, oral tradition is also contains cultural facts. But we should be able to distinguish which historical information that contains historical facts and that contains cultural and political biases. This could be seen in SKT version 1 which says that Andi Patunru is the son of Karaeng Tu Nisombayya King of Gowa. In fact, Andi Patunru is none other than Arung Palakka, a Bugis descent, and who became Arumpone at Bone in 1672-1696. Similarly, SKT version 2 which says that Arung Palakka and Sultan Hasanuddin are two relatives, as uncle and his nephew.

There are two main issues which become the background of the creation related to the issue of reconciliation of Sinrilik Kapallak Tallumbatua as an oral literature work of Makassar ethnic. There are two major things that become the background of its creation related to the issue of reconciliation First, the greatness of the king and his kingdom. Second, the upholding of pride and solidarity which contained in siri’ and pace or pesse for the two big Bugis and Makassar tribes in South Sulawesi.

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