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The Dynamics of Resistance and Emulation in Makassarese History

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This article situates historical struggles for supremacy in early modern Makassar within a framework of intrafamily rivalry in which cooperation and competition coexisted. Through a reading of two texts, it examines the connections between resistance and emulation in a society that viewed social and political relationships within the structuring context of kinship. These contradictory impulses produced tensions fostering cycles of alliance and rivalry characteristic of centre-periphery dynamics in South Sulawesi.

In a wide-ranging and provocative article, Tony Day has raised the question of whether Southeast Asian historiography would be better off analysing the region in terms of family, kinship and gender relations of power rather than in terms of highly structured institutions such as states and bureaucracies as well as categories such as centralisation and administrative cycles.¹ While this shift of focus offers attractive possibilities, it is no simple matter. The analysis of power relations, too, can rely inadvertently on assumptions about the nature of rivalry and opposition. In the case of local political dynamics, for example, it is commonly assumed that rivals are engaged in acts of clear resistance to the threat posed by others. In political landscapes characterised by a multiplicity of competing centres in particular, it is often assumed that there is a structural principle at work in which peripheral polities work to assert their autonomy and to reject the advances of centralising domains.

This article takes up Day's challenge by examining the complex historical and historiographical relationship between Gowa and its subordinate neighbours in South Sulawesi. It examines how family relationships shaped political relationships, and does so via a critique of the assumption that competing polities were locked into oppositional relationships or zero-sum rivalries. In a region where political and social relations were conceptualised (not merely expressed) in terms of familial, kinship relations, it is misleading to represent political rivalries as being between two *opposing* sides. More than anything, it is this tendency to assume that conflict positions social groups as opposites that leads to misplaced readings of resistance and oversimplifications of political dynamics. Resistance, it will become clear, need not imply rejection, and often entails acts of emulation. This is particularly so in an area like South Sulawesi, known for its inhabitants' preoccupations with rank and status-rivalry.²

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1 Thanks go to Campbell Macknight for his keen eye, and to an anonymous reviewer, though all shortcomings in this article are of course mine alone. Tony Day, 'Ties That (Un)Bind: Families and States in Premodern Southeast Asia', *Journal of Asian Studies*, 55, 2 (1996): 384-409.

2 An excellent introduction to social relationships in South Sulawesi is found in Christian Pelras, 'Patron-client ties among the Bugis and Makassarese of South Sulawesi', in *Authority and Enterprise among the Peoples of South Sulawesi*, ed. Roger Tol, Kees van Dijk, and Greg Acciaoli (Leiden: KITLV, 2000), pp. 15-54.

We examine here a pair of texts containing descriptions of Makassarese politics from outside the perspective of Gowa, Makassar's dominant power and the architect of the 'official' chronicles that dominate studies of the region's history.³ The first text records an oral history of the kind that circulated beyond the confines of Gowa's court. It narrates an account of Gowa's origins at odds with the history promulgated in the *Gowa Chronicle*. The second text records a history once performed orally by a professional storyteller to entertain and instruct audiences. While the first appears to offer a resistant or subaltern history, the second provides insight into the dynamics of familial politics and gives us purchase to better understand the ambiguities of the first text and the tensions governing Makassarese social life. Together this analysis provides a revised picture of the nature of 'resistance' in a Southeast Asian society where social and political relationships are viewed within the structuring context of kinship.

Makassarese history according to the *Gowa Chronicle*

The history of Makassar, South Sulawesi in the early modern period is easily confused with the history of Gowa, its dominant power. The turbulent histories of its many neighbours and rivals are frequently forgotten or relegated to a footnote since Gowa—even if briefly—did establish its suzerainty over the region. More than Gowa's half-century of political mastery in the seventeenth century, however, it is the legacy of historical manuscripts from Gowa and its ally Talloq that is chiefly responsible for this equation of Gowa with all of Makassar. The publication and widespread availability of royal chronicles and other historical sources from the courts of Gowa and Talloq have allowed the events noted in these sources to structure our knowledge of the period. This perception is changing only slowly. Narratives of the rulers of these two polities, along with their achievements, conquests and details of events during their reigns, make their story the framework through which we analyse early modern Makassarese history. Inevitably in such circumstances, the histories of other Makassarese polities—even important ones such as Bantaeng and Maros—appear subordinate. This subordination partially reflects historical reality, and partially results from the methodological problem of incomplete sources, but it has become difficult indeed to separate Gowa's textual or archival dominance from its historical preeminence. Indeed, in the *Gowa Chronicle* and *Talloq Chronicle* these two modes are inextricable.⁴

Historical manuscripts as much as the pasts they related were the focus of political legitimation in early modern Makassar. The *Gowa Chronicle* and *Talloq Chronicle* narrate a shift in the Makassarese political landscape as a mosaic of local communities and federations among approximate equals was transformed into the splendid, unique and sacred foundation for a new social and political order dominated by Gowa and its close ally Talloq.⁵ Other pasts and claims were swept away in this new written history. The *Gowa Chronicle* begins by relating the marriage between a wandering noble named Karaeng Bayo and a mysterious woman who descended from the heavens known as a *tumanurung*. From their sacred and auspicious marriage the rulers of Gowa claimed

3 Makassar here refers not to the city (formerly Ujung Pandang), but to the southern part of the peninsula historically inhabited by Makassarese speakers.

4 No completely satisfactory edition of the chronicles yet exists. The chronicles are discussed in J. Noorduyn, 'The Manuscripts of the Makassarese Chronicle of Goa and Talloq: An Evaluation', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* [henceforth *BKI*], 147, 4 (1991): 454-84. Citations here are to the most commonly used versions: Drs. G. J. Wolhoff and Abdurrahim, *Sedjarah Goa* (Ujung Pandang: Jajasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara, 1959), and Rahim and Ridwan, *Sejarah Kerajaan Tallo' (Suatu Transkripsi Lontara')* (Ujung Pandang: Lembaga Sejarah dan Antropologi, 1975).

5 Though this close partnership, too, was partly the product of later historiographical needs; see William Cummings, "'One Ruler but Two Peoples': Re-Making the Past in Seventeenth-Century Makassarese Chronicles', *BKI*, 155, 1 (1999): 97-120.

descent. Proof of this resided in possession of sacred regalia or *kalompoang* bequeathed to their offspring by Karaeng Bayo and the *tumanurung*. Indeed, some sources suggest that the *kalompoang* were of such potency and significance that whoever possessed them was the rightful ruler of Gowa. True descendants of the founding couple could also be identified by the white blood that flowed in their veins, in contrast to the red blood of commoners. After describing the awesome origins of Gowa, the *Gowa Chronicle*—paralleled by the *Talloq Chronicle*—catalogues the reign of each successive ruler, including their wars, accomplishments, wives, offspring and the major developments and events that occurred during their reigns.

Overall it is an impressive history, detailing the rise of Gowa from humble origins to become the dominant force in the eastern archipelago during the first half of the seventeenth century.⁶ Makassarese considered the chronicle manuscripts themselves sacred *kalompoang*, and this augmented the privileged status that Gowa enjoyed. It gave Gowa and Talloq exceptional advantages in determining how later Makassarese historical accounts would view the past, advantages of which Gowa and Talloq's nobility were well aware. In contrast to communities without such illustrious historical texts, writing enabled Gowa to elide the oral histories of older prestigious centres in Makassar whose glory was preserved only in oral traditions. This social struggle to shape and define the past suggests that there are other histories of which we are unaware, other voices that cannot be heard above Gowa's own. It seems to indicate the depths of discontentment and tension that may lie hidden beneath the surface of Gowa's historical dominance and historiographical pretensions.

With the shrinking reach of the Gowa court under the thumb of Dutch colonial rulers; the efforts of European missionaries, officials and scholars to unearth and record oral and written traditions; and more recently the Indonesian nationalist campaign to preserve local culture, some of these secret histories have come to light. One of the most remarkable comes from Bulukumba. Like the *Gowa Chronicle*, it tells of the origins of the kingdom of Gowa and its *kalompoang*, but its story is different indeed.

Another version of Makassarese history

The history presented below comes from Bulukumba, a small Makassarese polity about which we know very little. The Gowa and Talloq chronicles only mention Bulukumba as a place they subdued on four separate occasions. We can estimate roughly when these conquests took place, as they are listed among the deeds of Gowa and Talloq's rulers. The first was in the 1540s during the reigns of Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna of Gowa (r. c. 1510-46) and Tumenanga ri Makkoayang of Talloq (r. 1540/3-76). Bulukumba was conquered again by Gowa's Tunipalangga, who reigned from 1546 to 1565. This second conquest thus followed fairly soon after the first, presumably reinforcing Bulukumba's subservience or perhaps in response to open defiance. After another generation or two had passed, Bulukumba chafed under Gowa and Talloq's rule once more, for the ruler of Talloq Karaeng Matoaya (r. 1593-1623) twice led expeditions that conquered Bulukumba during the early seventeenth century. The narrative recounted here seems to be an oral history that, judging from the manuscript, was first written down in the twentieth century.⁷ Previously unpublished, this 'Story of Maturaga' (*Pau-Paua Maturaga*) is not contained in any of the large codices produced by

6 The primary accounts of this period in South Sulawesi history in English are Leonard Y. Andaya, *The Heritage of Arung Palakka: A History of South Sulawesi (Celebes) in the Seventeenth Century* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981) and a pair of articles by Anthony Reid: 'A Great Seventeenth Century Indonesian Family: Matoaya and Pattingalloang of Makassar', *Masyarakat Indonesia*, 8, 1 (1981): 1-28, and 'The Rise of Makassar', *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs*, 17 (1983): 117-60.

7 I collected the manuscript, which is of unknown date and provenance, during my research in Makassar in 1997.

the courts of Gowa and Talloq, a fact which may further incline us to credit Bulukumba with a fierce sense of independence from Gowa. This interpretation of Bulukumba and its adversarial relationship to Gowa is bolstered when one reads the text.

At one time there was a *karaeng* named I Maturaga.⁸ This I Maturaga was not like other *karaengs* in the nature of his character. Often he was called an ordinary, working person. Often he worked fields or herded buffalo. Yet, he was called a *karaeng* too because he behaved according to *adat* toward commoners in his house. Karaeng Maturaga was famous for his bravery and honesty, for the fairness of his decisions. He was never unjust and never lied. He was very knowledgeable and clever. He cared for his household and cared for the land. Thus he was liked by all his people.

One day Maturaga was sad-hearted. He felt sick because someone had destroyed the taro he planted in the fields. He arrived at the feeling that perhaps there was someone from this, his community, that did not like him but was afraid to tell him. Then he ordered the *anrong tau* to search everywhere. Perhaps his thinking was true, perhaps not. Also someone went to guard all the fields at night. Still nothing was found or seen. After each watch they went to the *anrong tau* and told what they had seen. The *karaeng* was very upset.

Thus he himself wanted to go guard the fields. He told all the people of his community that he did not want help: only he alone would go because there was something else he had in mind. That Friday's eve there was a soft rain. Lightning was infrequent. It was very dark: though something was pointed out right in front of your eyes you could not see it. After guarding some time he heard a low rustling sound, as if many things were moving in a crowd. He stood up to look and was surprised by what he saw because it was as if thousands of pigs were moving in a crowd. Flashing by, his eyes would just stop on one and it would quickly go by. Karaeng I Maturaga watched until morning, waiting for their arrival again. It did not happen. Reaching the field huts he was surprised and amazed thinking about what took place at night. After returning to his house he told all the people. Then all the people knew what the pigs did.

After the next night all the people arrived to guard the fields, but they were not ravaged because everyone was on guard. Until morning they guarded. The pigs never arrived. It went on like this for seven nights. Then said the *karaeng*, 'I will guard alone this coming night.'

That night the *karaeng* went alone to guard the fields. He brought a spear and a large knife from his personal guard. The middle of the night came. All the pigs came rushing in like a great flood. All the pigs passed close to the field huts. He hacked at all of them until he became tired from striking. Then he took the spear and stabbed but not one could he kill or wound. He became tired from the striking and hacking, so tired from the stabbing that he fell asleep because he was so tired. After morning came he awoke and quickly went to see the crops. He was very angry to see what the pigs had done. Everything was uprooted. After returning to his palace he spoke to all the *anrong tau* and his household. He instructed everyone that he again would go alone to await the pigs at nighttime. He prepared well, then went bringing the *kalompoang* spear. That Friday's eve there was a bright moon. He arrived at the field houses. There rose in his heart the feeling that certainly there is one who leads the pigs who is magical. 'Why can they not be eaten by iron? But with this iron, my *kalompoang* spear, there is nothing invulnerable that it cannot pass through because it too is sacred and powerful.' After not waiting very long the pigs indeed appeared. In the glimmering rays of the moon visibility was good. Right before him was a white pig. It was the largest. Right there close to the field huts

8 *Karaeng* is the most common Makassar title for a ruling noble. Another title mentioned in this text is *Anrong Tau*, which refers to leaders of small communities or individual villages.

Karaeng I Maturaga watched the white pig. Taking his *kalompoang* in hand, the *karaeng* hurled the spear. And that spear stuck in the centre of the armpit of the white pig, who ran away with the spear. It would not come free because of the barbs at the end of the spear's tip. Karaeng I Maturaga was startled because it ran off with his *kalompoang* spear. Not being aware of himself enough to jump onto the white pig, he followed after the pig until far to the east, through mountains, into a forest. Arriving there I Maturaga became very tired and very sleepy until he fell asleep. When it became morning he awoke from sleep. The footprints of the pigs mixed with drops of blood from their leader could be seen clearly. He tracked and followed them until he came to a very deep hole in a stone. Going close to the hole he looked down. He thought that if it was indeed true that the pigs disappeared inside it and this hole was followed down it would be extremely difficult to go down after them, even more so if a person wanted to return back up. He returned to his house surprised, thinking about what had happened. After arriving at his house he summoned together all the *anrong tau*. He told them what had happened at night. Karaeng I Maturaga and his household and the *anrong tau* then agreed. He would go seek the *kalompoang* spear because only the *karaeng* is magical, only he may hope to go down and take the spear. He then ordered people to go into the forest to find rattan that were large and long in order to make a basket. And also in connection with that to make a rope to let out by hand because it was clear that the *karaeng* was going down to the Underworld to seek the *kalompoang* spear.

Everything was prepared to be used to go down. Karaeng I Maturaga went accompanied by the people bringing supplies of rice, bringing the rattan rolled up, carrying the basket that would be ridden down to the Underworld. Together all went into the forest and up the mountain. There were none feeling what can be called tired because during the trip their voices told stories. All very much wanted to arrive quickly to see Maturaga lowered down to the Underworld. Then they arrived at the hole. Each looked down, shuddering, seeing that it was very deep and the bottom distant. After resting from being out of breath, the basket was tied, then connected to the end of the rattan. Then it was connected and let down to gauge the depth to the Underworld. It was measured until the measuring-gauge touched bottom. It was 400 arm-spans deep. Everyone checked the knots on the rattan.

It was pulled until taut. After everyone checked it, they went to tell the *karaeng* that, 'It is ready, Karaeng.' Said the *karaeng*, 'Hold tight and I will descend.' Then the large basket was held tight. All the people lined up to hold the rattan. Then said Karaeng I Maturaga, 'Ready, you. Hold firmly the rattan. Listen well, all. If I pull once on the rattan, that means I have arrived at the bottom. If I pull twice, that means haul it up. If I pull three times you must all pull me up quickly.' After giving commands, he went into the great basket and the basket was lowered down.

After some time Karaeng I Maturaga arrived down in the Underworld. He pulled on the rattan once, and all the people above stopped feeding down the rattan. Below it was very beautiful to look at. It was just the same as the lands and things above on top in his community. Where he landed just below there were the roots of a tamarind tree close to a well. There were animals like ducks, chickens, buffalo, cats, and also like birds.

Just there as well were seven girls taking water from the well. Karaeng I Maturaga crept up close to the seven girls. But the girls knew and felt that someone from the earthly world had come. Thus quickly they took water and returned to their house. But there was one who still stayed looking around. She was the youngest. This water-taker was surprised and could not move because Karaeng I Maturaga was there close to her. The girl just stood there startled and also ashamed because they had only just then seen each other. Karaeng I Maturaga asked the girl, 'Why is the community quiet like this? There are no sounds, but there are ducks and

birds. Nothing is making a sound. Why were you taking water? What is your name? What is the name of this community?' Then answered the girl, 'This community is called the Underworld. I am called I Bungko because I am the youngest sibling. There are no voices here because people are mourning. Our *karaeng* returned from travelling above in the earthly world where he was stabbed by a sharpened bamboo trap. He has not ever gotten his health back. He is always forgetting. He is very hot and then cold. He shivers.' Then the *karaeng* realised in his heart that this person was certainly the wounded pig. He then told I Bungko, 'I will heal him.' She quickly filled the earthenware water pot until it was full of water and carrying it on her head quickly arrived up at the palace. Then she put down the water-jar and went to tell her father. Before this she did not tell I Maturaga that she was the child of the wounded man. He heard that there was a person there who could heal him. He then ordered his youngest child to go summon Karaeng I Maturaga.

I Maturaga was then in the palace of the Karaeng of the Underworld. He arrived up in the palace of the Karaeng of the Underworld and was invited into the bedroom of the Karaeng of the Underworld. He saw the wound of the Karaeng of the Underworld. Karaeng I Maturaga was very happy because he saw his spear in the wound. He became certain that the white pig was the *karaeng* of the people below in the Underworld. Of the spear, only the tip remained because the shaft was broken off. The spearhead would not come out because it was hooked into the flesh. When the spearhead was moved the Karaeng of the Underworld immediately fainted. Then spoke Karaeng I Maturaga to the household, 'Hang seven layers of mosquito nets, then heat water until it boils.'

Seven layers of mosquito nets were hung, and after that water was boiled. Then I Maturaga ordered everyone to go outside the bedroom. All the people went outside. I Maturaga bolted the bedroom door, then went to the Karaeng of the Underworld. He poured hot boiling water into the wound of the Karaeng of the Underworld. The Karaeng of the Underworld died. I Maturaga yanked out the spear, then took all the *kalompoang* of the Karaeng of the Underworld, like the Saloko [the crown of Gowa], two swords named Tanruq Balanga and Sudanga, nine wavy daggers, and a blowpipe. Then I Maturaga told the household that, 'These *kalompoang* were given to me by the Karaeng of the Underworld because he was so happy to be restored back to full health. No one may enter the chamber in the next seven days if they are not summoned by the Karaeng of the Underworld.'

Then I Maturaga brought back the *kalompoang* spear along with the *kalompoang* of the Karaeng of the Underworld, like the Saloko of the Karaeng of the Underworld with the two swords Tanruq Balanga and Sudanga, nine wavy daggers, and a blowpipe. He went straight to the basket and got in. Reaching it, he entered the basket and immediately yanked twice, then yanked again three times. Then all the people of Karaeng I Maturaga pulled fast, and he arrived up quickly.

Upon reaching the surface of the land he ordered his household to close the hole. His people buried the mouth of the hole and rolled large stones until the hole was plugged so that pigs could not pass up to the world. After plugging the hole by which the pigs passed, Karaeng I Maturaga returned home accompanied by his household. The pigs that had not yet returned down to the underworld had their passage blocked. They stayed above in the world, entered the forest, and became forest pigs. Now on the former hole a hall was built. It was called Tanatoa in Kajang.

A Makassarese man told the Dutch Bible Society linguist B. F. Matthes this same oral history in the nineteenth century. In that version, the man here called Maturaga was a simple gardener, and because of his intrepid deed, the ruler of the land married the gardener to his daughter. After his father-in-law died, the former gardener became the ruler of Gowa, the first to possess Tanisamaang (a sacred golden chain) and Sudanga (Gowa's sacred state sword). The story Matthes heard ended with the conclusion that these *kalompoang* thus existed before the coming of the *tumanurung*.⁹

The name Maturaga derives from *makuraga*, which means to deceive, cheat or trick. This text is a curious blend of customary reverence for rulers mixed with a critique of the origins of royal power. The entire story can be read as a counter-history that subverts the official history of the *Gowa Chronicle*, with deception and trickery replacing the ennobling account of intermarriage with a heavenly *tumanurung*. Gowa's rulers were not likely to dismiss such a story as a harmless trickster tale like the Kancil stories told by Malays that celebrate clever deceit. Such an alternate history was a serious matter, casting doubt on the purity of the Gowa ruling line's descent and thereby the legitimacy of their overlordship. In similar circumstances, Gowa rulers were not reluctant to punish those who spread stories that contradicted the version of history in the *Gowa Chronicle*, and even resorted to burning offending manuscripts.¹⁰ From this perspective, the story of Maturaga represents what James Scott calls a 'hidden transcript': a manifestation of a subaltern political consciousness that is rarely made public, but instead is concealed behind a façade of compliance and submission.¹¹

Throughout the text there are inversions of the historical claims made in Makassarese royal chronicles consistent with other hidden transcripts that Scott analyses. Whereas in the *Gowa Chronicle* the source of the sacred *kalompoang* and white blood is the heavens, here it is the land, particularly the Underworld. In the *Gowa Chronicle*, the *kalompoang* are given; here they are seized. The *Gowa Chronicle's tumanurung* tale is replaced by an older South Sulawesi tale of seven siblings, emphasising equality rather than hierarchy. Where the *Gowa Chronicle* explains the origins of the kingdom of Gowa, this text tells of the origins of the *kalompoang*, which—rather than Gowa's rulers—are seen as the sources of authority and potency in the land. Finally, whereas most rulers are august and mighty, Maturaga is 'not like other *karaengs*', and herds his own buffalo and works his own fields. More remarkable still, this humble, honest, 'commoner' *karaeng* commits violence against a sacred ruler, killing him and stealing his *kalompoang*. In the version Matthes related, the gardener marries the daughter of the local ruler, 'achieving' a rank which in the ideology of white blood the *Gowa Chronicle* asserts can only be 'ascribed.' In light of such themes, it is not surprising that the rulers of Gowa threatened grave punishment for any who told such a history. In a series of inversions, the story of Maturaga undermines the historical foundation of Gowa and the justifications for the privileges claimed by Gowa's nobility.

It is also possible to identify an irony here in how Gowa's own origin narrative was turned against it. In this interpretation, the *Gowa Chronicle* records a specific narrative charter about why

9 B. F. Matthes, 'Boeagineesche en Makassaarsche Legenden', in *Dr. Benjamin Frederick Matthes: Zijn Leven en Arbeid in Dienst van het Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap*, ed. H. van den Brink (Amsterdam: Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap, 1943), pp. 384-5. Another version of this tale comes from a manuscript in Bantaeng. In this version, it is not Maturaga that follows the wounded pig into the underworld, but Lakipadada, the brother of Karaeng Bayo, whom the *Gowa Chronicle* says married the *tumanurung* and established the kingdom of Gowa. The Bantaeng tale differs from the one related here in that Lakipadada does not intentionally kill the ruler of the underworld by pouring boiling water into his wound. See the summary in Wayne Bougas, 'Bantayan: An Early Makassarese Kingdom 1200-1600 A.D.', *Archipel*, 55 (1998): 108-9.

10 See William Cummings, *Making Blood White: Historical Reformations in Early Modern Makassar* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, forthcoming).

11 James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

Gowa should be regarded as preeminent, but which contained within it the seeds of challenge. Gowa's historical claim bolstered a motif widespread in South Sulawesi about *tumanurung* who descend to earth and found communities or bequeath powerful objects to humans. Gowa's own success made that historical charter more potent than ever. In making this historical claim about the *tumanurung* and *kalompoang*, Gowa in essence made the same narrative available to others, who could then borrow Gowa's own foundation story and proclaim their equal eminence. The emulation of Gowa on the part of Bulukumba's local nobility, however, is not necessarily an act of independence or an outright rejection of Gowa authority.

The efforts in many Makassarese communities to resist submission to Gowa as it expanded during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were balanced against the growing perception that Gowa was a potent and dynamic polity with whom links were prestigious and advantageous. To be subordinate to Gowa was at the same time to share in its aura of magnificence. This is not an apology for Gowa, but an invitation to look more closely at the cultural values that shaped relationships between communities in Makassar. Above all, 'resistance' is not a universal category with a logic and meaning that transcends time and place.¹² As an empire, Gowa's influence over most of Makassar did not last long enough or contain the structured linkages necessary to harden into a regulated and systematic overlordship to which a definite oppositional or subaltern mentality could arise. The genesis of such a mentality must be sought in the eighteenth century as the weight and realisation of Dutch colonial rule made itself felt. Even here, Dutch colonial officials were frequently cast in the roles of fathers and elder brothers, and learned to capitalise on these relationships.

As well as a tale of resistance, the story of Maturaga can also be read as an effort at mimicry, an attempt by other Makassarese to borrow tropes and themes from Gowa's noble-centred history in order to assert their own significance. It was this motivation that seems to have prompted many communities to 'borrow' Gowa's *tumanurung*, historiographically including this figure in their origin stories. To re-shape the story of the origins of Gowa, its rulers, and *kalompoang* established a link with Gowa. It allowed other Makassarese to harness and participate in some of its magnificence. To make Maturaga a humble, familiar *karaeng* might be a mark of empathy as much as canny subversion. In this reading, resistance and the desire to share Gowa's potency and prestige become entangled, their motives multiple. While from the perspective of Gowa's rulers such a co-opting of the past was a threat to their unique status, we should pause before seeing in the composition and telling of such stories an unambiguous act of resistance.

In this spirit we turn to a second narrative about conflict over the authority and legitimacy of the rulers of Gowa. Grasping the way in which Makassarese cast their understanding of political relationships in terms of family relations that can be marked by competition and even violence, I will argue, affords us a better position from which to appreciate both the story of Maturaga and the dynamics of Makassarese politics.

Family and rivalry

Political and social relationships between individuals and communities across early modern Southeast Asia frequently were expressed in an idiom of kinship. Familial ties provided a recognised metaphorical framework that could be transferred to other, less familiar and thus less secure social

12 A skillful reading of the ambiguities that surround interpreting actions that may or may not constitute 'resistance' in an Indonesian context is found in Ann Laura Stoler, "In Cold Blood": Hierarchies of Credibility and the Politics of Colonial Narratives, *Representations*, 37 (1992): 151-89.

relations.¹³ Among Makassarese (and many other cultures in the region) father–son ties were one of the dominant kinship metaphors used to construct, bolster and express social and political relations between allies. At numerous points in its history Gowa was conceptualised as the father of the subordinate communities that constituted its children. This is evident, for example, in a letter the ruler of Gowa sent to the Dutch governor-general to seek pardon after Gowa's 1669 defeat. The Karaeng Gowa states that he would send 'his children' to Batavia as an indication of his desire for forgiveness, but that because of the sickness and disruption in the wake of the war 'it has not been possible to find out the names of all the king's children'.¹⁴ All of Makassar formerly under the *karaeng's* control constituted one family, and its fragmentation could be described best in terms of losing one's children.

It is particularly interesting in this context that Arung Palakka, the Bugis leader whose efforts alongside the VOC led to Gowa's final capitulation in 1669—and who was thus one of Gowa's greatest historical foes—is conceptualised in the Makassarese epic tale *Sinriliq Kappalaq Tallumbatua* as the Makassarese son of the ruler of Gowa. It is this epic that provides a second narrative against which we can read the concept of resistance. A *sinriliq* is a story—often a historical story—sung to the accompaniment of a kind of two-string Makassarese violin known as a *keso-keso*. The *Sinriliq Kappalaq Tallumbatua* (hereafter *SKT*) is probably the most best known of all *sinriliq*, and though its origins are unknown, it continues to be performed in Makassar to this day, regaling listeners with the story of its protagonist.¹⁵

Known in this tale as Andi Patunru, Arung Palakka's tumultuous struggle to restore his name and honour and supplant the ruler of Gowa is converted into a generational struggle for power, pitting father against son. The *SKT* comes to an end when Andi Patunru's aims are achieved and a new social order established amidst the ruins of his father's ill-fated empire. Put slightly differently, Andi Patunru's refusal to subordinate himself to Gowa and his subsequent rebellion against Gowa are essential in the creative act of building a new social and political order: resistance and mimicry or emulation here seem inseparable. From this perspective, the *SKT* offers an insightful vantage point from which to further explore the issue of resistance and voice in Makassar.

Viewed in its entirety, the *SKT's* narrative structure resembles Arnold van Gennep's classic model of a rite of passage arranged into the three phases of separation, transition and incorporation.¹⁶ The *sinriliq* tells the story of how Andi Patunru, the son and heir of the ruler of Gowa, flees Gowa under threat of death for accidentally causing pieces of a broken window to fall onto his father, undergoes a liminal period of exile in which he travels to a dozen kingdoms in the archipelago searching for allies to help him return and defeat his father in war, and finally following his victory is returned to society with a changed status.

This minimal skeletal framework of expulsion, exile and redemptive return provides the singer

13 Yet this transfer was not always easy, particularly when Indonesians attempted to incorporate Dutch colonial authorities within the framework of kinship ties and obligations. Detailed accounts of the effort to do this in other parts of the archipelago during the early modern period are found in Barbara Watson Andaya, *To Live as Brothers: Southeast Sumatra in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993), and Leonard Andaya, *The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993).

14 The Dutch translation reads 'doch wij en konnen nog niet uitvinden de naamen van die konings kinderen, alzo onder de mensch veeltijds ziekten komen en sterften'. Francois Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*, vol. III (Amsterdam: J. C. van Kesteren, 1862), pp. 154–5.

15 See Leonard Y. Andaya, 'A Village Perception of Arung Palakka and the Makassar War of 1666–69', in *Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia*, ed. Anthony Reid and David Marr (Singapore: Heinemann for Asian Studies Association of Australia, 1979), pp. 360–78. The published text of *SKT* is *Sinrillikna Kappalak Tallumbatua*, ed. Aburaerah Arief and Zainuddin Hakim (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 1993).

16 Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960).

of the *sinriliq*—the *pasinriliq*—numerous opportunities to elaborate on events, lengthen episodes by adding details, and include a variety of cultural prescriptions and social commentary. He can use the occasion to deliver cultural instruction, model courtly behaviour, praise noble actions and condemn ignoble ones, reflect on the nature of social relationships, reinforce social strictures dictated by custom, allude to parallels or contrasts between the tale and the audience's social order, and much more. It is a flexible story that can be shaped to suit the *pasinriliq*'s purposes, to accommodate the expectations and desires of that particular audience, and which will never be performed precisely the same way twice.

The expulsion and eventual return of Andi Patunru mark the initial disruption and final repair of the social and familial order. Father and son have been set against each other in a dramatisation that reflects the nature of political and social relationships in Makassar. Succession itself was never a simple matter of primogeniture—the declared preference of rulers was important, as were the relative ranks of his sons derived in part from the ranks of their various mothers, the accomplishments and political deftness of the candidates, and the judgements of the chief nobles of the realm. So too succession took place only following the death of the reigning *karaeng*. An ambitious son was thus in an ambiguous position once he reached adulthood: he owed his father allegiance, but the fulfilment of his potential from birth and victory over his rivals for the throne could only come at his father's expense. At the close of the *SKT*, Andi Patunru displaces—though he does not kill—his father as the dominant authority in South Sulawesi, relegating the ruler of Gowa to a subordinate status. The social fabric is stitched back together, but only after a civil war costing the lives of thousands.

The tragic dimensions of the story are softened by the reaffirmation of Gowa's cultural values and the celebration of its harmonious social order. This resolution is quite at odds with the fragmentation and debilitation that followed in the wake of the final conquest in 1669, from which Gowa never recovered. Indeed, the divergences between the history the *SKT* relates and what from other sources we know 'actually happened' are striking. Some of these disjunctions have been mentioned already. The historical Bugis leader Arung Palakka is transformed into Andi Patunru, son of the Makassar ruler of Gowa. Similarly, the tidy and affirming conclusion of the *SKT* bears little resemblance to the turmoil and decline Gowa experienced under Arung Palakka's uncompromising overlordship. We can add other divergences to these.

First, in keeping with the textual fate of Arung Palakka, the Dutch and Bugis are far more marginalised in the *SKT* than they were in the seventeenth-century struggle. Both as major powers and in terms of the individual Dutch and Bugis figures in the *sinriliq*, they do little to propel the story and are often little more than scenery whose presence we can easily forget as the tale unfolds. Obviously this accords poorly with what took place, for the Dutch and Bugis comprised one entire side of the conflict. Second, a relentless cultural reworking takes place throughout the *SKT* that converts distant people and places to replicas of Makassar and extinguishes all signs of cultural difference. To hear the Dutch governor—general pronounce traditional Makassar sayings and act as a Makassar head of state is a delicious irony for modern readers. Each kingdom visited within South Sulawesi as well as across the archipelago—including those on Sumbawa, Bali and Java—becomes a reflection of an ideal Makassar polity replete with clothing, regalia, royal audiences, attitudes, observations and speech based on Makassar models. Each is a carbon copy of the other, and even the Dutch are distinguished from Buton, Bima or any of the rest only by their superior armed might. In the *SKT*, all the world is but Makassar writ large.

At all stages the demands of the *sinriliq* take precedence over any impulse to relate facts

objectively. These disjunctions make the *SKT* a questionable source for the kind of historical account that most historians seek to fashion, but they are extremely enlightening for my purposes. Whatever the *SKT*'s referential value, it is illuminating that in the hands of the *pasinriliq* it becomes a parable of intrafamilial relations and a primer in negotiating social relationships. This is especially evident in the final scenes after the ruler of Gowa realises that surrender is preferable to mass starvation. Inviting his estranged sons—Andi Patunru and his loyal brother Patta Belo—to return home, the ruler of Gowa reunites the family and brings to a close the civil war. The depths of Andi Patunru's emotion at being reconciled and reunited with his family are expressed in his first act upon coming ashore after a truce is declared and he enters the Gowa palace: he embraces his mother and begins to shed tears. But the reconciliation is an unusual one, for while Andi Patunru does not displace his father, neither is he returned to the position of heir to the throne. That falls to Patta Belo, while Andi Patunru will become Arung Palakka, the ruler of Bone. The awkwardness of this resolution of family conflict results from its incompleteness. Though acknowledging his mistakes, the ruler of Gowa only defers the question of succession and how the implicit rivalry between him and his sons will be resolved.

Also at the close of the *SKT*, the Dutch and Gowa sign a treaty promising to be 'good siblings' to each other. Throughout the *sinriliq* the political relations between polities are conceptualised as familial. The wife of Bali's ruler advises nobles to treat their subjects well because they are members of the family: 'Protect all of your slaves, all your people, for they are all truly your siblings' (*katutui ngasengi atannu anrong taunu iaminta sanngataya sarikbattang tojeng-tojeng*). The ruler of Solo is made to describe how Solo is older than Gowa, which is like a younger sibling, while Sumbawa and Buleleng are even younger siblings (*taoi Jawa andiki Gowa na andikanngang Sambawa onjompa butta Buleleng Gowa bungku na adakna nialleang*). Elsewhere all the nobles who swore fealty to the ruler of Gowa are described by him as 'my first cousins, my uncles, my third cousins, my nephews, my second cousins' (*cikalingku purinangku pintakku kamanakangku pindukku*). Finally, Sidenreng is referred to as a child of two lands, Bone and Gowa, though Gowa is the higher of the two (*butta Sidenreng anak rua butta narakkai ri Bone ri Gowa tinggiinji ri Gowa ri Bone tongi*).¹⁷

The conceptual structure undergirding Makassarese social and political life derived from kinship models that were themselves metaphoric extensions of organic life in the natural world. The family or community was commonly seen as being tied to the soil like a clump of bamboo, while unity of purpose and a sense of identity as a community were often expressed using botanical metaphors. For example, *aqborong-borong*, 'to be clustered like a wood or clump of bamboo', was used to describe people being and acting together. Similarly, *paqbulo sibatangngi*, 'to be the same stalks of bamboo', suggested a group united and of the same mind. *Aqbulo sibatang* means 'we are of the same stem of bamboo.' *Bulo-bulo seqreji reppeq* described people who are as alike as bamboo that has been split. In some areas of Makassar the local ruler was titled *batang-benoa*, the stem or trunk of the land. In such a context, the Malay scribe Enci' Amin could comfortably praise the ruler of Gowa as ruling over and protecting his people 'like an olive tree spreading its shady leaves'.¹⁸ A story told about the federation of nine communities under Gowa's authority described the newly elevated ruler as the stem and the nine communities as gourds attached to him. If the stem breaks then the gourds suffer, but the gourds can also grow strong and sever their ties from the stem if they choose. The story also described their ruler as the wind and themselves as leaves, but cautioned that

17 *Sinrilikna Kappalak Tallumbatua*, pp. 87, 106, 31, 42. In the interests of consistency, I have altered the way glottal stops are transcribed in this edition from *-k* to *-q*.

18 A. A. Cense, *Makassaars-Nederlands Woordenboek* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1979), pp. 67, 129, 141; *Sja'ir Perang Mengkasar*, ed. and trans. C. Skinner ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1963), p. 185.

he can only blow them down when they have already turned yellow and the proper moment has thus arrived.¹⁹ Organic metaphors about natural processes such as planting, growth, harvest and death on the one hand, and about relationships between plants (symbiosis, competition) and plant parts (roots, branches, stalks) on the other hand, provided a logical way of understanding family structure and by extension political structure within communities and kingdoms.

In this cultural context, 'resistance' takes on a particular meaning within a constellation of beliefs about the nature of families and social relationships. In early modern Makassar, resistance and attraction were two faces of the same coin. As Gowa drew increasing numbers of Makassarese into its orbit, and as they recognised that politically, socially and culturally Gowa was the centre of their world, Makassarese both pulled away from and pushed toward Gowa. Makassarese were both desirous of the honours, status and possibilities that Gowa represented and reluctant to accept the subordination that Gowa demanded. In a society increasingly sensitive to issues of status and hierarchy, and one in which both individuals and communities competed as rivals for higher social positions, these tangled motives should come as no surprise. For the rulers of Gowa, histories like that of Maturaga were a threat to their assertions of preeminence, but for other Makassarese emulation of and opposition to Gowa and its history-making flourished hand-in-hand. Rather than being opposites, they are inextricably tied together. Each always entails the other, for they form the sinews of all social relationships. The story of Maturaga and even the brief notations in the *Gowa Chronicle* that its rulers 'conquered' Bulukumba refer to a far more complex, 'bound-together' social relationship than we might initially suspect.

This complexity stemmed from the location of political and social relationships within the structure of kinship. Kin are bound by blood to each other as *ceraq assi* or 'blood and flesh' that cannot be repudiated. The shared birthplace or community is referred to as *passolongang*, 'the place where one's blood flows'. The ultimate expression of alliance, inseparability and acceptance of a shared fate is captured in *sicerakkang*, 'to be bound together in blood'.²⁰ True severance of ties with one's family is exceedingly rare, and means a complete exile in which one essentially ceases to be a person. The resolution of the SKT and the depth of the struggle Andi Patunru undergoes to restore his rightful position in Gowa are a testament to the cultural importance of blood ties to one's family. At the same time, as we have seen, competition and status-rivalry between (male) family members—most notably brothers, but also between father and sons—is an inherent part of Makassarese social life. Challenge and belonging are inextricably linked, and from their interplay the social order is generated.

Conclusion

Cycles of expansion and contraction in the struggle for supremacy have long been recognised as one of South Sulawesi's defining historical features. Politics jockeyed with each other for a domination that inevitably proved temporary.²¹ Heather Sutherland has described this political system as one 'which was always expanding or contracting as centrifugal and centripetal forces asserted themselves' and in which any momentary lull 'was often resolved by violence, which created a temporary equilibrium, soon disturbed by new assertions'.²² On personal, local and regional levels

19 *Cerita Rakyat Daerah Sulawesi Selatan* ed. Andi Halilintar Lathief (Yogyakarta: Institut Press, 1984), pp. 44-5.

20 Cense, *Makassaars-Nederlands Woordenboek*, pp. 715, 836-7.

21 For accounts of this flux over long periods see Andaya, *The Heritage of Arung Palakka*, and Christian Pelras, *The Bugis* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996).

22 Heather Sutherland, 'Power and Politics in South Sulawesi: 1860-1880,' *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs*, 17 (1983): 161.

the struggle for preeminence between rival individuals, patron-client blocks, polities and federations never seemed to reach lasting resolutions. Social and cultural values that place enormous influence on status, and the unceasing effort to maintain and enhance one's status, are often cited as the forces behind this historical pattern.

While the significance of status-rivalry cannot be doubted, this historical pattern also owes a great deal to the way in which political and social relationships (and rivalries) were understood in familial terms. The politics of marriage alliances is the clearest example. In his quantitative analysis of Makassarese politics, David Bulbeck demonstrated that marriage alliances and the politics of marriage were central to success in these rivalries, for the ability to attract wives indexed power. 'The more powerful the patrilineal royalty,' he writes, 'the larger its following of attached noble patrilines. In short, securing the patrilineal succession stimulated political expansion, to such a degree that the power of any monarch was closely related to his number of wives.'²³ Marriage, however, was not the only aspect of kinship that shaped Makassarese politics and facilitated ongoing cycles of assertion and resistance.

This article situates historical struggles for dominion in Makassar within a cultural frame of intrafamily rivalry in which cooperation and competition coexisted. This ambiguity permeates the story of Maturaga, for example, which can be read simultaneously as a Bulukumba-centred effort to resist Gowa's advance and pretensions as well as a desire to mimic Gowa's position and authority. Emulation and resistance emerge as contradictory impulses producing tensions that in turn fostered the dynamic of ebb and flow characterising Makassarese politics. Casting Makassarese polities such as Bulukumba in the role of a subaltern resisting and rejecting Gowa's authority—and reading the story of Maturaga as an oppositional counter-history—comes at the expense of a more nuanced understanding of Makassarese politics. Attention to family, kinship and gender relations of power is indeed, as Day suggests, a valuable antidote to the assumptions built into institutional analysis, but as the Makassarese case suggests, it too carries baggage of which historians must be aware.

23 F. David Bulbeck, 'The Politics of Marriage and the Marriage of Polities in Gowa, South Sulawesi, During the 16th and 17th Centuries', in *Origins, Ancestry and Alliance: Explorations in Austronesian Ethnography*, ed. James J. Fox and Clifford Sather (Canberra: Australia National University, 1996), p. 311. For discussion of the similar role of marriage in Bugis politics during roughly the same period see Ian Caldwell, 'Power, State and Society Among the Pre-Islamic Bugis', *BKI*, 151, 3 (1995): 394-421.

