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Syair Perang Mengkassar: A Historiography Through *Sufistic* Poetry

ABSTRACT: “*Syair Perang Mengkassar*” (*Mengkassar war poetry*) tells the history of the Makassar war that took place between years of 1666 to 1669. The war of the Makassar party consisting of Goa and Tallo (both are commonly called the Makassar) which includes Malay, Wajo, Mandar, Bima, Sumbawa, Dompu, and Minangkabau as well as the Portuguese and the British against the Dutch with allies of Buginese, Soppeng, Ternate, Ambon, and Buton. The war ended with the victory of the Dutch. In explaining this war, the author (Enci Amin) puts Sultan Goa and his allied as the right side, while his opponents described as perverted thieves, heretics, ghosts, demons, and the devil. This is interesting because the authors of traditional history usually support the winning side. Besides, at a glance of this verse same as the other of traditional historiography. But if observed carefully, it would seem that he has differences with other similar works, including a nature of the Sufi (mysticism in Islam). This paper seeks to explain the background and methodology of writing, so this poem deserves mention as Malay *Sufistic* historiography. The poetry written by Enci Amin, a Johore Malay and Makassar ancestry with his subjectivity to Malay culture. “*Syair Perang Mengkassar*” was still appearing as traditional historiography of the king sentries’ style. King was placed as an ideal figure, either in thought, behavior, feelings, and religion. The poetry combines history with religion, even adopting a description of the view of history as a struggle between good and divine truth against evil and the devil.

KEY WORDS: “*Syair Perang Mengkassar*”, history of the Makassar war, Goa and Tallo, Buginese, the Dutch, and good and divine truth against evil and the devil.

INTRODUCTION

As a written heritage, the *Syair Perang Mengkassar* (Makassar war poetry) is interesting to study, because it is combination of literature works, historical, and religious of Malay language and Malay letters about a kingdom that has its own language and letters. At that time, Goa has its own letters, namely *Lontara Jangan-jangan*’s letters and

has own language that is Makassar language. The poetry was written by Enci Amin, a Johore Malay and Makassar ancestry with his subjectivity to Malay culture.

The *Syair Perang Mengkassar* recounts the events of war that happened between 1666 to 1669. The war between the Makassar party, which consist of Goa and Tallo on one side (both are commonly referred to Makassar)

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which includes Malay, Wajo, Mandar, Bima, Sumbawa, Dompu, and Minangkabau as well as Portuguese and British against the Dutch with its allies: Bugis, Soppeng, Ternate, Ambon, and Buton. This war ended with the victory of the Dutch and its allies. However, in explaining this war, Enci Amin puts Sultan of Goa as the party and its allies fear, trepidation, thieves, misguided, heretics as a ghost, devil, satan, and poor.

This is interesting, because most traditional writers of history written as a compliment to the winning side. This paper attempts to explain what the background and methodology of the author; so, this historiography is referred to as the Malay sufistic historiography. The discussion of this paper will begin by explaining the overall war of Makassar, and background of Enci Amin wrote the historiography in favor to the Sultan of Goa with his work, particularly for his work will be discussed sufistical methodology dimensions.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Makassar war occurred as a result of the Dutch ambition to monopolize the spice trade in the Moluccas. Therefore, the Dutch prohibits the trade of Makassar to Maluku. At the time, Makassar was the largest empire in Southeast Asia, which embrace free and open trade has increased the variety of advantages. The sailors and merchant of Makassar sailed to the Moluccas for selling local products, namely rice and textiles from Makassar and subsequently exchanged or bought spices eventually sold to Moluccas or Java. At the time, Makassar sailors have been sailing around the archipelago as can be seen from the *Amannagapa* Shipping Law.

Business of spice in the 15th century, even before, was crucial matters. At that time, the commercial shipping was done in sequence starting from the Moluccas to Makassar, the next to Java, thereafter to Malacca and from Malacca next to India, then to the Persian and Arabic areas, finally to Egypt or Turkey, and from Egypt to the Romanic (Italy) in Europe. Minimum of nine merchants who benefited from commercial shipping from Europe to the Moluccas, including Spanish, Portuguese, and

the Netherlands. The urge to sail, for many bull, was certainly due to a huge advantage. The desire to benefit a very large European nations, namely Spain, Portuguese, and the Netherlands, set to sail to the East. They are willing to spend money greatly and willing to fight to obtain spices for sale in the European market (*cf* Poelinggomang, 1991; and Sulistyo, 2007).

The cruises of Spanish and Portuguese have started in the 15th century as part of the crusades. Hence, they sailed with the fleet with a large number of soldier for fighting the Muslim kingdoms where they met. Thus, Bartholomeus Diaz (Portuguese), after successfully finding the *Tanjung Harapan* (Hope Cape) at the end of the peninsula of Africa continent in 1488; ten years later, in 1498, Vasco Da Gama crossed the Indian Ocean and arrived in Calicut, India. Finally, in 1511, Alfonso de Albuquerque arrived in the Malay Archipelago to destroy and occupy the Malacca.

Refugees occurred on a large scale; and consequently, there developed the coastal cities in the shipping lines from the Malacca towards Maluku. Growing the cities in the north coast of Java (Banten, Jakarta, Cirebon, Demak, Jepara, Surabaya, etc.); Banjarmasin in South Kalimantan; and even in coastal towns in South Sulawesi. It may be that the ancestral of Enci Amin was one of the refugees who settled in Goa from Malacca. When the Portuguese reached South Sulawesi, at that time the kingdom of Goa still has not embraced to Islam, therefore, there was no fighting, but friendship and trade between them.

Netherlands came to the archipelago about a century later. On June 27, 1596, the Dutch expedition led by Cornelis de Houtman arrived at Bantam in West Java. On March 20, 1602, the Dutch established the VOC (*Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* or Dutch East India Company), then, still in the same year, they established a trade office in Ambon, eastern Indonesian archipelago. VOC imagined a very large profit by selling spices directly from the Moluccas to Europe. The advantages that have been obtained about nine merchants will take it's own. Realization in Makassar traders, VOC bans on trading in the Moluccas to get the spice monopoly.

This prohibition is very detrimental to the kingdom of Goa, since the spice trade is an important source of income. The nobles lost a source of income from this trade. Similarly, rice farmers lose money, because their products cannot be sold to the Moluccas. Trade ban detrimental to the entire population of the kingdom of Makassar social layer. This is the beginning of the conflict between the Goa kingdom and the VOC.

The real war started in 1666, when the economy of Makassar was in crisis. On the other hand, when the VOC gained a new ally, namely the kingdom of Bone (Bugis), Buton, and Ternate. Third ally supported the VOC, due to revenge or their competition with Goa kingdom in the fight over power hegemony in East Archipelago. The political development of Goa kingdom has led to continual hostility with Bone led by Arung Palakka. The focus of Enci Amin attention was war since 1666.

On the Vision and Mission of Writing. The *Syair Perang Mengkassar* (Mengkassar war poetry) has been written between the years completed after the war ended until death of Sultan Hasanuddin. The reason is that the first verse does not mention the death of Sultan Hasanuddin on June 12, 1670; and the second is mentioning that Arung Palakka as derived from *Tunderu To Unru* (Buginese), which means conqueror. In other words, he (Enci Amin) has learned that Arung Palakka was the winning of war.

Enci Amin is the title of nobility of the kingdom of Johor and Malay. So, Enci Amin ancestors are migrants from Johor who have been married to Makassar women. It may be more appropriate said that his father of Malacca, which at that time had collapsed and was replaced by Johor. Historically, there is no grudge between his country and VOC (*Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* or Dutch East India Company) with its allies of the Bugis kingdom. VOC was ruling in Malacca in 1641, with captured it from the Portuguese. In the race for Malacca, VOC was aided by Johor. Meanwhile, Johor accommodated the migrants from Malacca kingdom, which be occupied by the Portuguese in 1511.

But in his work, Enci Amin was clearly siding with the Sultan of Goa, which was the

enemy of the Dutch. One of the consideration was due to his admiration to the Sultan Hasanuddin as a king who was wise and has had perfect knowledge and religion. Actually, most works of historiography in ethnocentrism form mark praised her king and state, but Enci Amin instead praised other tribe or nation. He willingness to accept another nation as his own nation. In this case, Enci Amin did not write merely as a form of imagination. He wrote with his awareness by describing the events as it were actual event.

As Muslim, Enci Amin started his verse by saying *Bismillah*, which is synonymous with "in the name of God". That way, he wrote poetry as a part of worship, so that accounted for God in the Hereafter. Later, in order that, he wrote praise and affection for the Sultan, the hero, nobility, and heroism in particular for the people of Makassar and its allies in general.

In accordance with the tradition of historical writing at that time, this poem was written without mentioning the incident. The use of poetry written by Malay language on the 17th century and teachings of Sufism, contained in *Syair Perang Mengkassar*, makes this work difficult to understand by most people. But, increasingly in the review, it will be in getting the beauty and appear to be more weighty. The reader can understand the historical context of the poem, if Makassar has been understood in the context of war entity.

The poem consisted of 534 verses that each paragraph consisted of four sentences. The version known today is C. Skinner, as editor, with 2,136 lines long poem that tells the war between the VOC and the kingdoms of Goa, which took place between 1667 to 1669 with the beautiful language (Skinner ed., 2008).

Malay language and letters wider scope than the use of the native language. The use of Malay letters allows to read various tribes, mainly Muslim nation, because the letter is true Malay Arabic script used to write the holy book of Al-Quran punctuation omitted vowels. Malay language, at that time, had become the *lingua franca* or intermediate language, which is commonly used in trade between the tribes and peoples of the Indonesian archipelago.

It can be estimated that Enci Amin was really know Sultan Hasanuddin, because he

was close to the King of Makassar (Gowa-Tallo), as scribing who recorded the negotiations/agreements made by the Sultan Hasanuddin with the Dutch representatives. C. Skinner called Enci Amin as a clerk at the end of the sequence of Sultan Hasanuddin team, when they has been negotiating with the VOC representatives (Skinner ed., 2008). But, more than that, as scribing later, he (Enci Amin) has many works of writing to the state of Makassar. In all of his works, base on the promise of objectivity of truth in the poem, he promised to be true to the Sultans of Makassar (Gowa-Tallo).

*Jujur adalah sifat hamba Allah // Jikalau
aturnya banyak dan salah // Janganlah apa tuan
menyumpah // Demikianlah adat hamba Allah //
Mengindar ia khilah dan salah.*

*Mana yang kurang tuan tambahi // Janganlah
kami tuan sumpahi // Dimanan boleh seperti
pengganti // Mangarang kitab berpeti-peti
(Skinner ed., 2008:20-21).*

Translation:

Honestly is the nature of a servant of God // If
the rules are many and wrong // Do not any you
curse please // Thus indigenious servant of God
// Evade her mistake and wrong.

Whichever is less host add // Do not you curse us
in angry // Where should such a replacement //
Authored books such as crates.

Enci Amin claimed to have written to the Sultan, whose numbers of crates. It is interesting here to be explored again that there are still a lot of his work that has not been read and studied, due to it cannot be found anymore. In addition, he (Enci Amin) showed a careful knowledge on the royal princes; he looked also the Makassar war from religious perspectives, namely the war between good and evil.

The Context of Syair Perang Mengkassar (Makassar War Poetry). Makassar war poetry can be placed as a result of literary and historical works. This poem consists of 534 verses, that each paragraph consists of four sentences. The poem has had also 2,136 long lines. Each sentence consists of four words, even though there were five words but very rarely. Verses of poetry attributed

to the equation vocals at the end. A writing skills needed to integrate historical facts, vocabulary, and life. This number is certainly an achievement in itself, because it is difficult today, we find the story of the history that was written with poetry, all of it. The synopsis, according to C. Skinner ed. (2008), in a sequence based on the opinion of the temple from the beginning to the end is following here:

Verses 1-12: *is doxology, or praise, views about the true nature of life, and the intention of writing.*

Verses 13-24: *offerings, flattery to the Sultan of Goa and personality.*

Verses 25-28: *statement of the author to write correctly.*

Furthermore recounts the beginning of the war in verses 29-21.

Verses 29-40: *preparation and departure VOC expedition to Makassar.*

Verses 41-66: *Makassar people pledge allegiance to the Sultan and hatred to the Dutch, as in the Christian; who regard it as the evil and misguided.*

Verses 67-91: *an exchange of letters between the Sultan with VOC.*

VOC expedition to Buton (verses 92-135).

Verses 92-135: *the defeat of the troops under the command of Makassar, Karaeng Bonto Marannu.*

VOC expedition visited the Moluccas (verses 156-148).

Verses 136-143: *Sultan of Ternate join the expedition.*

Verses 144-148: *praise for the Sultan of Goa, as the true side.*

Rebellion of Bugis people (verses 149-206).

Verses 149-174: *the Sultan of Tallo beat the Bugis in Mampu.*

Verses 175-183: *the victory of Mengkassar which led by Sultan in Pattiro.*

Verses 184-203: *the winning back to Makassar.*

Verses 204-206: *the Prince of apology about lack of accuracy.*

The first Makassar war (verses 207-423).

Verses 207-222: *VOC fleet arrived around Makassar: Bantaeng was attacked.*

Verses 223-239: *Speelman insulted envoy.*

Verses 240-247: *Makassar in preparing attack.*

Verses 248-282: *battle on the first day-each-bombardment.*

Verses 283-290: *bombing continues.*

Verses 291-292: *authors beg to be remembered.*

Verses 293-306: *an efforts of VOC to dominate Batu-batu was broken.*

Verses 307-324: *VOC attacked Galesong on 18-19 August 1667.*

Verses 325-366: *VOC landed in Batu-batu: a fierce battle raged.*

Verses 367-385: *Makassar casualties.*

Verses 386-401: *peace talks; panic.*

Verses 402-414: *praise for the Sultan of Goa and Tallo.*

Verses 415-423: *peace agreed.*

VOC in Ujung Pandang (verses 424-459).

Verses 424-435: *VOC settled; Makassar people sick.*

Verses 436-448: *some Karaeng of Makassar defected to VOC and join in the attacks to Sanrabone.*

Verses 449-459: *reinforcements sent from Makassar to Sanrabone under the leadership of Karaeng Jarannika.*

The second Makassar war (verse 460-513).

Verses 460-471: *VOC attack to Sanrabone was repelled.*

Verses 472-477: *British Trade Representative burned VOC; but the attack was repelled.*

Verses 478-486: *the battle continues.*

Verses 487-513: *raid against the remaining defenses Makassar; fort was destroyed; Makassar troops retreated to Goa.*

Verse 514: *moral story.*

Verses 515-519: *last peace treaty of the Makassar war.*

Verses 520-524: *the conclusions of the author, about the story of the Makassar hero who gained Islam Makassar.*

Verses 525-534: *the author reveals his identity and apologize for the last time (Skinner ed., 2008).*

A thorough of description demonstrated their focus towards Makassar war. After express praise, then discussed about Makassar war. The war begins with a meeting between General *Welanda* (Netherlands), *Kornilis Sipalman* (Cornelis Speelman), with *Tunderu* (Arung Palakka) in Buton. *Kornilis Sipalman* was promising *Tunderu* (Arung Palakka), as warlord, to becomes the Bugis King if he can beat the Makassar kingdom. This is the cause of the deadlock of negotiations between the Makassar parties and the Dutch, because *Tunderu* (Arung Palakka)'s ambition to become the Bugis King (Skinner ed., 2008).

At that time, Goa was at the height of glory. He lived in Somba Opu accompanied by Daeng ri Boko, which serves as the port officer. Goa has not to expand territory again. Sultan Hasanuddin has position as Supreme King, who supervises at least 23 Kings, who lived around Goa and Tallo regions. The kings have title as *Karaengs*, *Daengs*, and *Datus*. Among them are: (1) *Karaeng Poko*, (2) *Karaeng Lengkes*, (3) *Karaeng Old Garasi*, (4) *Karaeng Madjanang Sultan Brother*, (5) *Karaeng Pajalingan*, (6) *Karaeng Bonto Sungu*,

(7) *Karaeng Balo*, (8) *Karaeng Mandale*, (9) *Karaeng Mamu*, (10) *Karaeng Mabela*, (11) *Karaeng Patungan*, (12) *Karaeng Tompong*, (13) *Karaeng Ketapang*, (14) *Karaeng Jaranika*, (15) *Daeng Marewa*, (16) *Karaeng Laksamana*, (17) *Karaeng Sanderabone*, (18) *Datu Lenang*, (19) *Karaeng Patene*, (20) *Datu Amar King*, (21) *Datu Maharajalela*, (22) *Daeng Marupa*, (23) *Bontoala King*, (24) *Mandar King Balanipa*, (25) *Luwu King*, (26) *Daeng ri Boko Old Harbor Master*, (27) *Karaeng Bangkala*, (28) *Datu Gagah*, (29) *Karaeng Lenang*, and (30) *Karaeng Layo*. Sultan's territory covers Bantaeng, Mandar, Luwu, Manado, Bima, Sumbawa, Dompu, Sulu, and Brunei. Thus, if the Kings subordinate outside the Makassar region also in total will reach 25 Kings (*cf* Abdurazak, 1995; Gising, 2002; Skinner ed., 2008; and Sulisty, 2012b).

About the Sufism of Hamzah Fansuri.

There are similarities between the poetry of Makassar war with sufistic poetry of Hamzah Fansuri from Aceh. Hamzah Fansuri lived about half a century before the written of Makassar war poem by Enci Amin. Therefore, Enci Amin imitated the poem; and this cannot be considered as a crime of plagiarism in the modern academic world. In religious circles, there was a belief in the sacred texts and sacred that embraced his followers; therefore, this equation proved that Makassar war poetry is sufi poetry (Reid, 2002; and Sulisty, 2012a). The equation was as follows in lyric of Makassar war, which has had 146 sounded verse.

Syair Perang Mengkassar (Makassar War Poetry):

*Syah Alam raja yang adil // Raja khalifah
sempurna kamil // Wali Allah sempurna kamil //
Lagi arif lagi mukamil (Skinner ed., 2008:148).*

Translation:

The Shah Alam is a just king // Caliph king as
perfect man // The representative of God as
perfectly man // He is a wise and also a good man.

Syair Hamzah Fansuri (Poetry of Hamzah Fansuri):

*Syah Alam raja yang adil // Raja qutub yang
sempurna kamil // Wali Allah sempurna wazil //
Raja arif lagi mukamil (cited in Sulisty, 2012a).*

Translation:

The Shah Alam is a just king // Centerd king
as perfect man // The representative of God as
perfectly man // He is a wise king and also a good
man.

Our Perfect Caliph King, it means that Sultan is believed to be the leader of a perfect man in the world at the level of oneness with God, made possible by understanding the fundamental truth (absolutely true). This view is related to verse 14, which describes the Sultan who knows fourteen sciences, namely the science needs to be understood to reach the level of perfection.

Tuangku Sultan yang amat ghana // Sempurna arif lagi bijaksana // Mengetahui ilmu empat belas laksana // Mendapat hakikat yang amat sempurna (Skinner ed., 2008:77).

Translation:

The lord Sultan is very vicious // Perfect, wise,
and sagacious // Knowing the fourteen sciences
and like // Got the truth that very perfect.

Additionally, it was prove the relationship with Islam that developed in Aceh clearly visible special. The verses of Enci Amin certainly have taken from Hamza Fansuri work, who lived earlier than the late 15th century and early 16th century, during the time of Sultan Iskandar Muda. There was only one word different, i.e. on the second line. The equation is certainly legitimate, not plagiarism as it applies to the academic community in the modern world.

In religious circles, there is an exception to a sentence that is sacred. Among them valid trust, if it is considered deviant heretics and misguided. Enci Amin poems is certainly complementary knowledge about Islam that has been developed as teaching by Dato Ribandang and others in the early years of the 17th century. However, the extent to which the relationship between Hamzah Fansuri on sufism, who later to be declared heretical by Sultan Iskandar Tsani, a substitute for Sultan Iskandar Muda in Aceh (Lombard, 1986).

In addition, there was also a relationship with Shaykh Yusuf al-Makassari expressed as a child of the Goa King, who lived in the

next period. At that time, in South Sulawesi was also developing the traditional belief that worship of *Saweri Gading* and *Lagalligo*; and there was confidence about *To Manurung* (cf Cence, 1970; Kasseng *et al.*, 1986/1987; Kern, 1987; and Andaya, 2004).

Sultan Hasanuddin, in Enci Amin view, was a sufis or a sufic mysticism in Islam, and may be he was a follower of Sufism; so, the *Syair Perang Mengkassar* (Makassar war poetry) can also be categorized as "sufis poetry". Many terms like *wasil*, *mukamil*, *billah*, *bijak*, and *khalifah* are a term commonly used by adherents of sufism or mysticism in Islam. In the poem, there is a compliment to the Sultan Hasanuddin extends for 28 verses, as the introduction of his work. Sultan Hasanuddin was revered, cited in C. Skinner ed. (2008), as follows:

Junjunganku raja yang budiman // Terlalu tahu Hadist dan Firman // Akan sabda Nabi sangatlah aman // Baginda lah kekasih Nabi akhir zaman (syair 15).

Baginda itulah raja yang salih // Dari ada awal sudah terpilih // Membaca Quran sangatlah fasih // Beroleh pangkat yang amat lebih (syair 16).

TuanKu Sultan yang amat sakti // Akan Allah dan Rasul sangatlah bakti // Suci dan ikhlas di dalam hati // Seperti air ma'al hayati (syair 17).

Daulatnya bukan barang // Seperti manikam sudah di karang // Jikalau dihadap segala hulubalang // Cahaya durjanya gilang-gemilang (syair 18).

Raja berani sangat bertuah // Hukumnya adil kalbunya murah // Segenap tahun zakat dan fitrah // Fakir dan miskin sekalian limpah (syair 19).

Sultan Gowa raja yang sabar // Berbuat ibadah terlalu gemar // Menjauhi nahi mendekatkan amar // Kepada pendeta baginda berajar (syair 20).

Translation:

My dearest good king // Too know the *Hadith* or words of Prophet Muhammad and verses of Al-Quran // About the Prophet said, his majesty will be quite known // His majesty is beloved by the Prophet till end time (verse 15).

His Majesty is the king that the pious // Since early he has been selected // Reading the Qur'an was so fluent // He got the status rank very much (verse 16).

My dearest Sultan is very sacred // To God and Prophet are his so devotions // Sacred and sincere in his heart // Like the water as sources of life (verse 17).

His sovereign is not stuff // Like precious stones in the coral // If it is confronted by all commanders // Gloomy light becomes the bright and brilliant (verse 18).

King dared very auspicious // His legal is fair and his heart is philanthropist // He gave tithe every year // To all pious and needy greatly overflow (verse 19).

The Goa Sultan is a patient king // Doing worship is too fond // Avoiding the prohibition and close to command of God // The king learned more to the priest (verse 20).

The King, who be expressed as ideal type, is the same as the view of Ahmad al-Badawi, a sufistic figure, which stated that whoever did not have knowledge, then he is not worth, both in this world and the hereafter. Anyone who was not generous, then he did not have part of his property. Whoever was not God's compassion for the beings, he was not entitled to the help of God. Those who were not patient, then he would not have survived in many ways (cited in Sulistyono & Paeni, 1994; and Sulistyono, 2010).

Sultan Hasanuddin was highly respected by his people. Wherever he went, people voluntarily accompanied him. Enci Amin stated it, when traveling was always lacks the flute and gending; when in battle, the king put himself as the supreme commander who led troops parent.

When the peace talks took place, following the defeat of Goa on November 13, 1667, Speelman filed 26 charges. The nobles of Goa feel strongly objected to the request of Speelman that the Sultan should lead the negotiations. The whole nobility of Makassar expressed willingness was present in the negotiations, replacing the Sultan. But, Cornelis Speelman rejected the request of the nobles. About 128's love and tenderness of Sultan also appeared when the Sultan asked that all the kingdoms differentiated bad debts to the people, but that he also refused a request to hand over slaves in 1,500, but it will be paid with money (Andaya, 2004).

Overview on the gentle disposition, and different from the authoritative ideal figure, is different from *Sawerigading*, in picture of Nurhayati Rahman (2006); and in the works of William Frederick & Soeri Suroto (2008) on *Bontoriu* as General latter, a brave of Bone royal, hard, cruel, and blood thirsty (like killing), but became a fugitive of Netherlands, bloodthirsty world and women. The Dutch soldiers, that did not know that he was actually for months became a guide for the Dutch soldiers, then, were hunting him. In the end, he was arrested for claiming that he was a General that they were looking for him (Frederick & Suroto, 2008).

Frederici may want to argue that Bone, when conquered in 1905, was no exception demoralized the people close to the Sultan. *Bontoriu* character in a novel by Frederici, a former Assistant Resident of Bone. Also different with *Sawerigading* that figures on him only black and white thinking, emotional, could not withstand the fury, teach materialistic, people gauge manners, and dignity of his clothes. The story begins with the royal customs violations. He loved and wanted to marry with his twin sister, as cited in Nurhayati Rahman (2006). Furthermore, mythology on *Sawerigading*, he has voyaged to China in searching of the first *Wecudai*, who faced the same with *We Ternri Abeng*. During this cruise, *Sawerigading* has performed various acts of cruelty and violence. Both of them just think that was not black and white for sure (Rahman, 2006).

On the contrary, Enci Amin described the Makassar war as a battle between two sides: good and evil. The war was between truth against error, between the way of God blessed against heresy (deviated) from the true teachings of the religion demons and devils. In this context, the right side was covering of Makassar, Malay, Wajo, Mandar, Bima (Sumbawa), and Minangkabau, as the Muslims, against the wrong party along with Netherlands and its allies like Bugis, Soppeng, Ambon, Ternate, and Buton. Although there were dynamics and changes of coalition, for example, the King was able two times defected to the Bone (Bugis). *Karaeng* Bangkal and Luyo from Turatea, at first on the part of Makassar,

but eventually defected to the VOC (*Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* or Dutch East India Company). About a win, for Enci Amin as cited by C. Skinner ed. (2008), it has been confirmed in verses one and two. It was read as follows:

Rahman itu suatu sifat // Tiada bercerai dengan kunci zat // Nyatanya ia tiada bertempat // Barang yang bebal sukar mendapat (Syair 1).

Rahim itu sifat yang sedia // Wajiblah kita padanya percaya // Barang siapa mendapat dia // Dunia akhirat tiada berbahaya (syair 2).

Translation:

Compassionate of God is an attribute // It is not divorced from the key of essence // In fact, it is not placed // A bad matter is hard to get (verse 1).

Merciful of God is available attribute // We have to belief it // Whoever gets it // World and Hereafter no harmful (verse 2).

This verses explained that an attribute of God is *rahman* (compassionate) and loving it does not have a place. This means that God can give anything to anyone. However, Enci Amin said that *rahman* is also reminded, that attribute is difficult given to one of the fools (disobedient); here is actually addressed to all people, including Muslims themselves for piety and closer to God. Without it, *rahman* will bias and given to someone else. Furthermore, an attribute of God is also *rahim* (merciful) that is only given to the people who believe in One God (Ghani al-Taftazani, 1985).

Sultan Hasanuddin, who was a lover of Prophet Muhammad (messenger of God in the end time), according to Enci Amin, he would get the merciful of God. Parties of Sultan Hasanuddin were on the fortunate, despite losing the war. It appears at the verse 126. This verse was commenting on the defeat of Makassar in battle in Buton (cited in Skinner ed., 2008).

Pekerti Welanda Bugis yang serau // Banyaklah Mengkassar dibuangnya ke pulau // Dimurkai Allah juga engkau // Di akhirat kelak tergagau-gagau (syair 126).

Translation:

The characters of Dutch and Buginese were bad matters // More Makassarese were trowed away to the island // God will be angry with you // In the hereafter, you will also be gropes (verse 126).

Welanda, another name for the Dutch, must be punished in the hereafter. In the sufism perspective, there is the view that people who are close and merge in God, his/her spirit is not dead. At the end of time will gain the victory. It seems clear in the verse that tells of the war in Buton, the Makassar suffered a great defeat. After days of fighting became very tired and eventually give up Bonto Maranu. They, Makassar army numbering between 5,000 to 9,000 people, are imprisoned and banished to an island, eventually dying of starvation, although Bonto Maranu managed to escape. From this story, Enci Amin wrote as follows (cited in Skinner ed., 2008).

Jikalau ada daulat raja yang besar // Selamat juga negeri Mengkassar // Dimenangkan Allah daripada si kuffar // Disanalah kelak ia membayar (syair 129).

Translation:

If there is a strong power of the king // It will be save also the Makassar country // Be winner by God against the infidels // It was there that he later paid (verse 129).

When the battle ended with the defeat of Makassar, it was developed the belief that the war was not limited in the world. God may not let the people, because the behavior and properties of the Dutch and the Buginese were cruel and misguided. Surely, they caused anger of God character. Hereafter, they will surely tortured screaming of God. King of Luwu, for example actually deliver its promises, will split their head in the afterlife, although it has managed to become the ruler of the world.

Enci Amin tells the heroic fighters of Makassar, who never flinch and full of courage, though driven from strongholds, like Sanderabone, Connect Java, Ujung Pandang, etc. Even eventually left Sumba Opu to Goa, in rural areas, very large number of casualties on both sides, however, more severe in the Makassar, because the Dutch managed to master the oceans. The fields in the interior destroyed by the Buginese militia, resulting in a crisis of food ingredients. As a result, ten thousands of people died of starvation in Makassar. Many nobles, who defected to the VOC (*Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* or

Dutch East India Company) because of hunger, were also their skeletons. The war, then, was stopped because of hunger, especially for women and children.

Poem closes with the defense to argued that all fighters, they are the Makassarese and Heroes, are lucky. In verse 528, Enci Amin stated as follows (cited in Skinner ed., 2008).

*Enci Amin itu punya kalam // Menceriterakan
kaum Islam // Barang yang mati beroleh Islam //
Kemudiannya itu wallahu'alam.*

Translation:

Enci Amin has had the pen for writing // Telling
the Islamic society // Who were dead to get the
peace // And later, it is only God whose know.

In connection with the above verse, Enci Amin declared that the Islamic fighters, after the Makassar falled, especially all Muslims everywhere, were hoping to die in Islam; and they have had a guarantee to go to Heaven. Enci Amin said that without Islam, the life in the Hereafter will be miserable as well as they will get the punishment. Similarly, with the poetical matters, Enci Amin builds the religious spirit that gives confidence to the forthcoming of God's justice in another life, i.e. after life in the world.

War is a part of worship; and religious war against the infidels who are barbarian like thief and dog are a must for the Makassarese Muslim. It seems Enci Amin to realized that the nation was not in question, but the actions and beliefs are wrong against God; therefore, if the people he mentions adding the reason why innocent, for example the Christians Dutch, Heretics Buton, Thieves Bugis, and others (Skinner ed., 2008).

CONCLUSION

Syair Perang Mengkassar (Makassar war poetry) still appear as traditional historiography with the king style centries. King was placed as an ideal figure, either in thought, behavior, feelings, and religion. Enci Amin changed the tradition of writing Buginese and Makassarese about *To Manurung* story begins. He also pioneered the tradition of writing by using the Malay language and the Arabic script. He combined history with

religion, even adopting a description of the view of history as a struggle between good and divine truth against the evil and devil. Right side, though defeated in the war, but in hereafter shall triumph. Everything is packed with rational thinking, logical, no myths, legends; and also is packed with beautiful language in the form of poetry. Poems dense with historical facts, but there is still no mention of the traditional characteristic of year figures.

Enci Amin should presumably be classified as a philosopher of history on Islamic Malay in Archipelago, as did St. Augustine, even Otto van Freissing, to the Middle Ages in Europe; there seems to be even-dimensional superiority that Enci Amin not sort out the facts. In Malay historiography, Enci Amin preceded Raja Ali Haji, who mentioned his name as a "prince". His superior to the works of Sultan Agung and Sultan Amangkurat in Central Java, because all descriptions are rational and empirical. Despite this is certainly not comparable to modern Western historians, such as Valentijn and others.¹

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¹**Statement:** I would like to declare that this article is my own original work; so, it is not product of plagiarism and not yet also be reviewed and published by other scholarly journals.

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