

The Political Dominance of the Bugis in the Coastal Region of Indonesia from the 17th Century to the 19th Century

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Abstract

The inter-royal conflict and the control of Makassar by the VOC in South Sulawesi in the 16th to 17th centuries had a major impact on the socio-political development of the Bugis. This condition made the Bugis make a large-scale migration. Bugis local culture also spread to various regions along with the migration process. The control of Makassar port by the Dutch colonial made the Bugis feel driven from Makassar. In this migration process, there are groups that choose to trade. While the rest settled outside Sulawesi. The Bugis became nomads in various regions of the archipelago, mostly living in coastal areas, which later built up political power. In their development, they became successful nomads, especially in the political field, especially in some coastal areas, such as Bali, West Kalimantan, East Kalimantan, South Kalimantan, Sumbawa, and in the Malay Peninsula. The Bugis managed to establish good communication with the local population. They are also a highly respected community group in overseas territories.

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Introduction

Stories about the Bugis can be traced to the work of A.A. Cense, "Old Buginese and Macassarese Diaries" (1966). The Bugis have migrated to various parts of Indonesia. They also had a role in the wars in Java in the 17th and 18th centuries and had a political role in the Riau Islands-Lingga. This work describes the note in Sure Bilang that tells that Arung Palaka allied with the VOC against Goa in the 17th century (Cense 1966, 416-28). Julianti L. Parani's work "*Perantauan Orang Bugis Abad ke-18*" (2015) describes the role of the Bugis in political dynamics in Johor and Riau Lingga and the role of the Bugis in Mecca in the 19th century.

From a political perspective, political dominance for Bugis migrants cannot be separated from the social and political situation on the mainland of South Sulawesi. The various wars that have plagued South Sulawesi since the 16th century have had a major impact on the nobility and the common people. The beginning of the 16th century was the beginning of the conflict in South Sulawesi. The Gowa and Bone Sultanates fought each other for influence and power, both on land and in the sea of South Sulawesi. The Bone Sultanate built a coalition with the Sopeng and Wajo Kingdoms (also known as the Tellumpocoe alliance or the Bugis kingdom coalition), to face the Gowa Sultanate. In the end, this conflict was won by the Bone alliance. A peace treaty was then signed in 1565 (Mattulada 1974, 8).

In 1585, the Gowa and Bone Sultanates were again in conflict, resulting in a prolonged war. The war between the two sultanates lasted until the next century. In the early 17th century, the Gowa Sultanate was able to conquer and Islamize several Bugis kingdoms. In 1643, the Bone Sultanate came into conflict with the Wajo Kingdom because Bone had controlled the territory of Wajo. The Wajo Kingdom formed a coalition with the Gowa Sultanate to attack the Bone Sultanate. The coalition forces of Wajo and Gowa succeeded in overthrowing Bone's power. Gowa took power in Bone, but

this condition did not last long. Arung Palaka managed to reclaim Bone from Gowa, then he came to power in Bone in 1667 (Mattulada 1974, 10).

Arung Palaka's control of Bone is seen as a new milestone in South Sulawesi's history. Arung Palaka, who was always assisted by the Dutch in gaining power, continued to cooperate with the Vereenigde Oost Indische Compagnie (VOC). This cooperation provided benefits for the VOC. The Arung Palaka troops and the VOC managed to burn and destroy Makassar and the surrounding areas. The Dutch together with Arung Palaka succeeded in urging the King of Gowa to sign the Bongaya agreement (Buton, n.d.). Gowa experienced a decline after the Bongaya agreement. Makassar Port as the economic center of South Sulawesi people has been controlled by the VOC (Alamsyah, Supriyono, and Mualimin 2020, 163). In 1670, Arung Palaka continued its hegemony by attacking the Wajo Kingdom. Bone managed to defeat Wajo and finally gave birth to a peace agreement. Arung Palaka succeeded in uniting all Bugis kingdoms (*Tana Ugi*) (Mattulada 1974, 11).

Several conflicts that occurred in the period from the 16th to the 17th centuries had a negative social, economic, and political impact on all levels of South Sulawesi society. The Bugis were one of the groups that had been greatly disadvantaged by this prolonged conflict, so they migrated to earn a better life (Alamsyah, Supriyono, and Mualimin 2020, 164). They sailed to various regions in Indonesia. There were some people who were immediately successful, but some others were not. However, most of the Bugis managed to become successful immigrants. They had strong political, social, and economic control in overseas lands. Some Bugis managed to become kings and local rulers in overseas lands. While overseas, they still maintained their ancestral culture. In several aspects, the dominance of Bugis overseas could be seen. However, the dominance of the Bugis placed more emphasis on mutually beneficial ways of cooperation. On that basis, this article will provide an explanation related to how the Bugis migrated and why they were successful overseas, and how the Bugis dominated overseas so that they had political access in various coastal areas in Indonesia.

Method

To carry out an explanation of the research question, the historical method was employed. This method was used systematically to summarize complex situations, people, meanings, events, and ideas of the past that had influenced and shaped the present (Lune and Berg 2017, 305). The historical method consists of four stages, starting with heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography (Garraghan 1946). The first step taken was heuristic, which was the process of finding and collecting sources, information, and traces of the past (Lorenz 2015, 132) in the form of books, journals, articles, and online sources.

Secondary sources that have been found were critiqued or verified for validity. The criticism was related to the authenticity and the credibility of the sources (Abdurahman 2011, 105). The next stage was to interpret the facts and the interrelationships of the facts obtained. The last process was to carry out historiography to reconstruct the past according to the traces found (Herlina 2020, 30) to narrate the political domination of the Bugis in the coastal areas of Indonesia from the 17th to the 19th centuries.

Supporting Factors of Bugis Political Domination

The political domination of the Bugis in various parts of Indonesia cannot be separated from the Bugis culture. The Bugis have a philosophy about migration that reads *kegisi monro sore' lopié', kositu tomallabu se'ngereng*, which means where a boat is stranded, life is established (Kesuma 2019, 194). This philosophy encourages Bugis to be more enthusiastic about living overseas. They become convinced and motivated to become successful people outside South Sulawesi. The Wajo Bugis had a philosophy that encourages migration to various regions, namely *Maradeka to-Wajo'e ade'mi napopuwang*, which means that the Wajo people are free, only the law is their ruler. If the law cannot be enforced, then the Bugis will migrate from their area to other areas. This is meant as a form of protest against the cruelty of the regime or the ruling king (Zid and Sjaf 2009, 48). At that time, the

rulers or kings in South Sulawesi conflicted with each other, causing chaos in various aspects of life. Uncertain conditions encouraged the Bugis to migrate.

According to the Bugis oral tradition, there is a belief that the Bugis aristocrats actually knew there would be a war in the South Sulawesi region. Against such conditions, the nobles tried to save their crown princes by equipping them with boats, equipment, and their people. These crown princes were sent to areas that had been conquered by the Bugis tribe who had diplomatic relations with the Bugis kingdom. On the way to migrate, some boats did not reach their destination because the wind direction changed all the time. This condition made the Bugis nomads spread to various regions in Indonesia (Suryanti, MZ, and Rahmah 2020, 107).

Bugis migration was also driven by the *siri'* culture, which means shame. *Siri' lanri anggaukanna anu kodi* means to be ashamed when doing a disgraceful act. The concept of *siri'* can be understood in three senses. First is the sense of shame. Second, it is a driving force to destroy anyone who has offended someone's sense of honor. Third, as a driving force to work and try as hard as possible (Safitri and Suharno 2020, 106). The *siri'* culture encouraged the Bugis to live a better life by migrating and trading to improve their economic status or social status. They were persistent and they never gave up on achieving their goals. Bugis also had a high sense of honor. This can be seen in the case when facing the arrival of the Dutch in South Sulawesi. The Bugis were not willing to submit to the VOC's rule. In the 17th century, the VOC succeeded in controlling the area of South Sulawesi, thus threatening the existence of the Bugis. The VOC forced the Gowa Kingdom to sign the Bongaya agreement. The important point that disadvantaged Makassar in relation to this agreement was that only the VOC had a monopoly on trade so that European and other traders could not trade in Makassar and the VOC was exempted from export and import duties. To strengthen its position, the VOC also formed an alliance with Bone. This condition put pressure on Bugis traders, thus encouraging them to migrate or trade outside the South Sulawesi region (Haeriyanti, et al 2020, 79).

Bugis migration was related to seeking solutions to personal conflicts, avoiding humiliation, and avoiding unsafe conditions. Bugis also wanted to escape from unsatisfactory social conditions, as well as things that were not desirable due to acts of violence committed in their place of origin. Bugis migrated not only due to economic factors but also due to other factors. Non-economic factors that encouraged Bugis to migrate included lack of peace of mind, war, and loss of independence (Zid and Sjaf 2009, 48). The Bugis were synonymous with migration culture because of their expertise in sailing. This was related to shipping and trade laws, such as employment contracts, partnerships, cargo or passenger wages, and debt.

Bugis thought that wandering was more than just the pursuit of profit, but also an attempt to seek knowledge as well as wealth to improve one's destiny. This can be interpreted as a way of dealing with one's own destiny, reflecting their complex view of the relationship between personal nature and destiny. This reflected the view of the life of ordinary people, which was different from the attitude of royalty and always based on a hierarchical assessment (of fellow human beings) based on the descent (Zid and Sjaf 2009, 50).

The Bugis's spirit of migration was a manifestation to face new challenges. Bugis were motivated to live a better life so they were persistent in facing various challenges. Those who migrated were individuals who suffered in their original place of life so they decided to migrate. The purpose of wandering was to find a better life in a new place. Bugis had a passion for survival in coastal areas because of their socio-cultural system. When they wanted to escape from an unfavorable socio-cultural system, the best option was to leave South Sulawesi (Budi 2015, 72).

Bugis migrated to various regions in Indonesia and abroad. They almost always established Bugis settlements in every area they came to. Bugis settlements could be found in Sumbawa, Ende, Flores, Surabaya, Gresik, Batavia, Jambi, Indragiri River Delta, West Coast of Johor, Sabah, Lindu (Southeast Central Sulawesi), Donggala, Banawa, Kalili, Pulau Laut, Pagatan, Pasir, Kutai, Samarinda, Bulungan, and Mount Tabur (Zid and Sjaf 2009, 49). Bugis were known as nomads who were able to survive long in new areas. They did not only manage to survive, but also to dominate in various fields. Bugis had succeeded in adapting to their environment in the context of social adaptation. Barth argued that every community always tried to adapt to the environment in which it

was located. These adjustments were necessary and had to be made so that they could continue to survive and develop, even though later this development made them move away from their original characteristics. Finally, the same community could look different because of these adaptation factors (Barth 1982).

When the VOC controlled Makassar in the 17th century, they also had a trade monopoly. At that time, Makassar was a very profitable center for producing and trading spices, wood, and cotton. Makassar's flagship product was Makassar oil (Makassarolie) which was used for hair care for rich people and Dutch masters. In addition, the VOC also wanted to get rid of competitors from other Asian and European traders. Political and armed conflicts between the kingdoms of South Sulawesi and the intervention of the VOC were the main causes of the migration of the Bugis (Alamsyah, Supriyono, and Mualimin 2020, 163). Most of the Bugis migrated to various coastal areas of Indonesia. The political domination of the Bugis on various coasts of Indonesia will be discussed below.

The Political Dominance of the Bugis on the Coast of Indonesia

Bugis recorded to have migrated since the 15th century. They migrated to the east coast of Sumbawa Island. They settled and established settlements in that place. In its development, they had succeeded in playing an important role in the fields of trade, religion, and shipping (Husain, Khusyairi, and Samidi 2020, 334). In the 17th century, the Bugis formed an autonomous village in the Kutai area. Bugis who lived in Kutai were actively involved in trading activities. The Bugis village in Kutai was led by a man with the title *Pua Adu*. *Pua Adu* was democratically elected by all residents in the village and formed the People's Representative Council. The existence of the Bugis in Kutai caused problems and they were not liked by the people and the Sultan of Kutai. As a result, the Bugis were often attacked by the Dayaks, but they won the war. Apart from the Dayaks, the Kutai Sultanate also carried out attacks on Bugis villages. The Bugis fought back until they were able to dethrone the Sultan of Kutai.

Before the Bugis village in Kutai was established, the Bugis village in Samarinda was established first. The Bugis village in Samarinda has a larger population than the one in Kutai. In the 17th century, the Bugis already had their own village and were engaged in trade. They had a leader as a liaison between the Sultan and the Bugis. When a Bugis village was attacked by the Dayaks, they were able to stop it. This village was autonomous and the sultan had no authority in the internal affairs of the Bugis (Parani 2017, 7-8).

In the 17th century, the Bugis had already established settlements in Sumbawa. They made Sumbawa a power base after the fall of Makassar. The kingdom of Sumbawa received the Bugis well and had close relations. In Sumbawa, the Bugis helped the King of Sumbawa in the battle against the Karangasem kingdom on Lombok. Thanks to his assistance, the Bugis occupy an important social and political status in Lombok (Suwita 2016, 50). Bugis traders established an autonomous settlement in the Bima area. They took rice from Sumbawa to be sold to various parts of Indonesia. The Bugis settlements made the people of Bima uneasy, but the King of Bima was unable to expel the Bugis. The King of Bima asked the VOC for help in expelling the Bugis and thus succeeded in expelling the Bugis from Bima (Parani 2017, 9). The Bugis managed to dominate the local population but were unable to beat the VOC's domination, so they were expelled from Bima.

In the 17th century, a group of Bugis led by Daeng Menambon cooperated with Sultan Mohamad Zainudin (Sultan Sukadana) to reclaim the Sukadana area from VOC control. In 1698, the Sukadana Sultanate was attacked by a joint expedition between the VOC and Landak. Sultan Zainudin was forced out of the palace due to the attack so the VOC appointed a trusted person as the new Sultan in Sukadana. In exile, Sultan Mohamad Zainudin devised a strategy to reclaim his palace. Sultan Mohamad Zainudin who was assisted by a group of Bugis led by Daeng Menambon managed to reclaim the palace of the Sukadana Sultanate around the end of the 17th century or the beginning of the 18th century. As a form of return, Sultan Zainudin married his daughter, Puteri Kesumba, to Daeng Menambon. Daeng Menambon later became the 14th Sultan of Mampawa.

Daeng Menambon became the Sultan of Mampawa because Princess Kesumba had a lineage from her mother who was the daughter of the Sultan of Mampawa. Daeng Kemasih, the brother of Daeng Menambon, later married the sister of Sultan Sambas. Daeng Kestill received the title of Prince Mangkubumi. He was later sworn in as the Sultan of Sambas replacing his brother-in-law (Parani 2017, 22) (Firmansyah 2021, 115).

In the 17th century, based on oral stories in North Bali, it was stated that the Bugis had come to North Bali. Bugis continued to come to the North Bali area in the following years. They were mostly traders. They then set up a settlement in North Bali. The Bugis had good relations with the Balinese. The Bugis also helped the Balinese kingdom attack Blambangan in an effort to fight the VOC. In Bali, the Bugis have a high social, economic, and political position in North Bali (Khusyairi, Latif, Samidi 2016, 121-132).

In the 18th century, the Bugis had established a settlement on Serangan Island (the main port of the Badung Kingdom), which was approved by the King of Badung. The Bugis who lived on Serangan Island were about 100 families headed by a *Matoa* (tribal or village head). Bugis settlements also spread to Tuban and Tanjung Bena. The Bugis occupied a well-established social and economic position in Badung thanks to their trading skills and courage. The Bugis king also took personal guards from the Bugis who settled on Serangan Island (Suwitha 2016, 55). At that time, the Bugis began to establish settlements on the coast of Ende. They controlled the coastal area of Ende with a larger population and took an important role in sea trade (Pradjoko 2014, 16).

In the 18th century, a Bugis named La Maddukelleng and his troops landed in Pasir, East Kalimantan. La Maddukelleng then married the daughter of the King of Pasir named Andin Anjang. La Maddukelleng's wife was a potential successor to power in Pasir after the King of Pasir died. However, some parties refused Andin Anjang to be crowned the Queen of Sand. La Maddukelleng did not accept this refusal, he and his troops attacked and conquered Pasir. La Maddukelleng was crowned king of Pasir from 1726 to 1736. La Maddukelleng who became king in Pasir encouraged the migration of the Bugis to Pasir. This condition was a result of the residence of the majority of the Bugis in Wajo being controlled by the Bone Kingdom. The Bugis made a massive migration to Pasir. They set up a settlement on the banks of the Muara Kendilo River. This settlement was always growing to become a dense settlement. These Bugis settlements also spread to Tanah Kutai and Samarinda (Budi 2015, 73). At this time, the Bugis began to establish settlements (To-Ugi) in the Central Kalimantan region. Bugis settlements continued to grow every year. The Bugis succeeded in establishing economic, trade, agricultural, plantation, and fishery networks. The dominance of the Bugis was seen in various fields, so it could be said that the Bugis community had an important role in Central Kalimantan. Around the 18th century, they were engaged in economic networks and developed trade, agriculture, and plantations (Suryanti, MZ, and Rahmah 2020, 106-7).

In 1735, a Bugis nobleman named Punna Dekke left Pasir to sail to the Kusan River region in an area called Pamagatan. Punna Dekke met the King of Banjar to ask for permission to build a Bugis settlement in Pamagatan. The King of Banjar agreed to Punna Dekke's request, but on the condition that he had to maintain security at the Pamagatan estuary from pirate attacks. Punna Dekke founded a Bugis village called Pagatan (changed from Pamagatan). Pagatan village under the control of the Bugis developed into a bustling area in trading and shipping activities. The Bugis people in Pagatan worked as fishermen, rattan processors, and traders (Budi 2015, 73).

In the 19th century, the Bugis had established settlements on Komodo Island. Most of the Bugis who live on Komodo Island worked as traders and fishermen. The oral story that developed on Komodo Island states that the ancestors of the residents of Komodo Island came from Bugis land. Local oral stories say that the Bugis taught the local people how to make boats. These records show that the Bugis had a high social position on Komodo Island. Some Bugis people who live on Komodo Island worked as pirates. According to a report by the Dutch government, Bugis pirates anchored their ships on Komodo Island (Pradjoko 2014, 17). Bugis pirates who chose to lean on and live on Komodo Island were rational. Bugis people have a family relationship between Bugis people, or a high sense of tribal primordiality. Bugis pirates who came to the Bugis village on Komodo Island were welcomed openly and received protection.

In the 19th century, the Bugis had settled in the Sarawak region, North Kalimantan. They had established settlements and mingled with the local community. They partly traded, some were pirates. Those who became pirates were respected by the local community. The Bugis were becoming increasingly feared because they often form coalitions with the Illanun pirates (Bird 2013). Their acceptance of the Bugis might be due to the cultural view they have, namely the *siri*' culture, which means being ashamed or having a sense of shame. It can be interpreted as "being embarrassed when doing a disgraceful act or the spirit of working hard and as hard as possible" (Zid and Sjaf 2009, 48).

Political Domination in the Malay Peninsula

The Bugis people played an important role in the historical development of Johor. The Bugis were traders who were invited to Johor. They succeeded in becoming the main rulers in Johor (Parani 2015, 15). In the 17th century, Bugis people began to arrive in the Johor region. The Bugis came to Johor thanks to the success of Daeng Mangika who was able to defeat Johor's enemies. The Bugis founded the first village in Klang, Selangor. This area was a bustling tin mining area. This Bugis village was led by Daeng Lakani (Parani 2015, 18).

In the 18th century, Raja Kecil (the Little King), the ruler of Siak, wanted to attack the Johor Sultanate. He wanted to attack Johor because of the competition between Minangkabau traders and Malay traders in Siak. The Little King of Siak tried to build an army by seeking support from various parties, one of which asked the help of the Bugis (Asril) group, namely Daeng Perani, Daeng Marewa, and Daeng Pali. The Little King promised the position of Yamtuan Muda (Ruling King) to the three people if he succeeded in becoming the Sultan of Johor. The three Bugis then left for Selangor to seek support for the Bugis association in Klang. The Little King then canceled the agreement with the three Bugis because he had the support of the Johor Admiral (Parani 2015, 22-23).

These three Bugis did not like the treatment of the Little King who unilaterally canceled the agreement. Daeng Perani was sent to meet the Little King who had succeeded in controlling Johor. Daeng Perani was greeted unfriendly by the Little King. Daeng Parani had a grudge against the Little King's unfriendly behavior. He plotted revenge against The Little King and waited for the right time. Daeng Parani and the Bugis in Selangor made preparations for the attack on the Little King. Daeng Parani managed to take control of the Johor palace, but the Little King managed to flee to Bintan Island. Daeng Parani troops managed to defeat the Little King so he fled to Lingga Island. Daeng Parani and his brother were given strategic positions by the new king of Johor. On 4 February 1721, the Bugis (mainly in Selangor) entered into a treaty of friendship with the Malays (Parani 2015, 25-26). The Bugis made friends with the Malays because of their services in helping the king of Johor ascend the throne. The Bugis people had special rights in the Malay Peninsula.

The Bugis group led by Daeng Marewa (Young King of Johor) had a strategic position in Johor. Politically, several Bugis managed to occupy strategic positions in the Sultanate of Johor. Militarily, the Viceroy had a strong military force consisting of merchant ships and their crews who were trained in warfare. The Bugis military power was also supported by the Bugis who settled in Johor. Economically, the Bugis controlled trade in all ports belonging to the Sultanate of Johor (Parani 2015, 27).

The Bugis also married women from Malay aristocratic groups to strengthen their position in Johor. This marriage accelerated the integration of the Bugis into Malay society. Daeng Perani married Tengku Tengah (the eldest daughter of Sultan Abdul Jalil), Daeng Marewa (Heir Apparent) married Intjeh Apo (widow of Sultan Mahmud Syah), and Daeng Manompo married the brother of Sultan Sulaiman. Other Bugis people also began to marry Malay women (Parani 2015, 29).

Daeng Marewa died in 1728, he was succeeded by another Bugis, namely Daeng Pali or Daeng Chelak. Daeng Pali was appointed as the Heir Apparent of Johor in 1729. Daeng Pali strengthened the position of the Bugis in Johor by strengthening the Bugis-Johor friendship treaty. Daeng Pali made the Bugis landlords in the Johor region (Parani 2015, 34). Daeng Pali died in 1745, and his position as the Heir Apparent of Johor was replaced by Daeng Kemboja (son of Daeng Perani). Daeng Kemboja was sworn in as the Viceroy of Johor in 1748 and married a Selangor princess. Daeng

Kemboja also renewed the friendship agreement between the Bugis-Malays. Daeng Kemboja became the ruler of the Sultanate of Johor after the death of Sultan Sulaiman and his descendants. The position of the Bugis in Johor was getting stronger and harder to beat by the Malays (Parani 2015, 49-50).

In the 18th century, the Sultanate of Johor was controlled by Bugis powers. The king of Johor was only a puppet of the Bugis rulers in Riau. In this period, the capital city of the kingdom of Johor was moved to Riau Lingga. In 1811, Sultan Mahmud III passed away and a power struggle took place in the Sultanate of Johor (Abel 2016, 30). The Bugis rulers chose Tengku Abdul Rahman as the new Sultan of Johor. However, Tengku Hussein, as the eldest son, did not accept the appointment of Tengku Abdurahman, his younger brother, as the Sultan of Johor. He felt the position was his right. When Tengku Abdurahman was appointed by the Bugis rulers as the Sultan of Johor, Tengku Hussein was getting married in Pahang. To seize power, Tengku Hussein asked for British help and was approved. On the other hand, to maintain his power, Tengku Abdul Rahman was supported by Bugis and Dutch forces. This battle was won by the Tengku Hussein-British coalition. The Treaty of London 1824 divided Johor in two, Tengku Hussein ruled over the Johor region on the Malay peninsula under British protection, and Tengku Abdul Rahman ruled in Riau-Lingga with the Bugis rulers (Chaerullah 2011, 45).

Conclusion

The Bugis' migration was one of their cultural characteristics. This migration demonstrated that they have a maritime spirit, which was important in supporting political dominance in a number of overseas areas. Massive migration occurred during a protracted conflict in Sulawesi. Because of this, the Bugis sought a new life outside of Sulawesi. The VOC's takeover of the Makassar port made the Bugis feel exiled from their homeland. This had accelerated the movement of the Bugis to Indonesia's coastal areas. Those who migrated were mostly successful in politics and were involved in international political dynamics. The political roles of the Bugis were carried out when there was an internal conflict in the kingdom, as was done in several areas in the Malay peninsula and in some parts of Indonesia, such as in Riau-Lingga, Johor, West Kalimantan, South Kalimantan, East Kalimantan, Bali, and Sumbawa. This success was based on the ability to establish communication and build cooperation with local authorities. The Bugis were also respected by local residents in several coastal areas in Indonesia.

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