

# Proceeding 5

*by Nuraidar Agus*

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# From Ujungpandang to Rotterdam: Transfer Power and Name of Fort Based on Lontara

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## ABSTRACT

Benteng Ujungpandang or Fort Rotterdam constructed in the 16<sup>th</sup> century is the only inheritance fort of Kerajaan Gowa-Tallo that still exist and well taken care until 21<sup>st</sup> century nowadays. Benteng Ujungpandang is a monumental building which located in the west coast, in the suburb of Makassar City. This fort was seized by VOC in 1667 after they conquered Gowa in Perang Makassar. The power transfer from Gowa to VOC caused the name change of Benteng Ujungpandang into Fort Rotterdam. The news about Benteng Ujungpandang were found in local source in South Sulawesi namely *Lontara Bilang* (diary) and *Attoriolong* (chronic). *Lontara* script had recorded the traces of forts in Makassar from time to time, including Benteng Ujungpandang after Perang Makassar. This study discusses the power transfer upon Benteng Ujungpandang from Gowa to VOC that brought along the name change of Benteng Ujungpandang into Fort Rotterdam. This study applied philological approach by referring to four *Lontara* scripts as the source of data namely *Catatan Harian Bone* (ms A), *Catatan Harian Gowa-Tallo* (ms B), *Lontara Kronik Gowa* (ms C), and *Lontara Sakke' Bone* (ms D). Supported data from books, magazines, research result and scientific articles were also included in this study. The results of study show that: 1) Benteng Ujungpandang was built by Raja Gowa in the 16<sup>th</sup> century to mark the rise of maritime power of Kerajaan Gowa-Tallo; 2) the name change was initiated by Spellman as the Governor of VOC when he converted Benteng Ujungpandang as the center for political activity and VOC authorities in South Sulawesi; 3) Benteng Ujungpandang had its function significantly after VOC and *Arung Palakka (Bone)* won Perang Makassar in 1666-1667. Under the authority of VOC, Fort Rotterdam functioned as the fortress of VOC, residence of Dutch Governor, center of military command, offices, and prison for the elites.

**Keywords:** Fort, Ujungpandang, Rotterdam, Gowa, Makassar.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The idea of constructing Benteng Ujungpandang and with the other 13 (thirteen) forts of Makassar in the 16<sup>th</sup> century that lined up along the west coast of South Sulawesi was the fact that the aristocratic of Kerajaan Gowa and Tallo had a forward-looking insight. The construction of

Makassar forts had its long story and marked the development of South Sulawesi society in which Makassar had been connected in various context world widely during that time.

The fall of Melaka to Portuguese in 1511 impacted the economic and political development of Nusantara kingdoms, including Makassar. Melaka as a trading center in Malaka Strait had

connected to Makassar in this period. It made a chance for Kerajaan Gowa-Tallo to become a great maritime kingdom and trading center in Southeast Asia (Rahman, 2013). Therefore, twin kingdom of Gowa-Tallo initiated new city and trading port namely Sombaopu.

Sombaopu was established in such a way, therefore, in a short period of time Sombaopu had become the center of economic and political power in the eastern Nusantara after the fall of Melaka (Reid, 1983). Besides, a strategic geographical location was also a supporting factor that shaped Sombaopu as the fort of spices trading in the medieval XVII.

Pelras (2005) stated that the rise of Kerajaan Gowa and Tallo in the medieval of 16<sup>th</sup> century was socially and politically reasonable. He added, the Makassar and Buginese were considered the most apt to take over the regional change after the fall of Melaka in 1511. This appraisal was based on the modern insight characteristics of the Makassar and Buginese which opened to new comers and their high capability to adapt. They also economically minded by seeing the trade opportunities. The modern characteristic of Buginese and Makassar has lived throughout history; thus, it can become their assets to compete in achieving economic opportunities. This modern characteristic was important in the realization of Sombaopu as a regional port city. Consequently, Sombaopu became the most important trading center in the Southeast Asia particularly in the second term of 17<sup>th</sup> century.

Before functioning as a port city, located in the West Coast of Sulawesi Selatan, Sombaopu was occupied as the castle of Kerajaan Gowa which previously located in Tamalate hill. Afterwards, Sombaopu was designed into a city in a fort which later named as Benteng Sombaopu. At the same time, there were 13 cities established in line from southern to the northern part of Makassar City. Just right in the brink of Makassar City, there was a fort namely *Bataya Ujungpandang* (Benteng Ujungpandang). Bulbeck (2013) states that Gowa king, Tumaparrisi' Kallonna (1511-1548) was known as the founder of defense forts of Makassar coast, including Benteng Ujungpandang, which later known as Fort Rotterdam.

The construction of Makassar forts, including Benteng Ujungpandang was intended to become the maritime defense infrastructure of twin

kingdom Gowa-Tallo, initiated by Karaeng Tumaparrisi Kallonna. He recalled the situation of Melaka as the social and economic impact. The Malays lost the control of economy and politic in the Southeast Asia, especially its role in spices trading of Nusantara. The conquest of native kingdom Melaka by Portuguese (Europe) had become a warning alarm for Gowa-Tallo kingdoms to not to off guarded and soon to take over the role of Melaka in shipping and trading. At the same time, Tumaparrisi' Kallonna also considered the potential threats of Europe trading corporate namely VOC.

Tumaparrisi' Kallonna planned the infrastructure construction of economy based on port and coast cities. The agenda of Makassar forts construction had been planned continuously from a king to the next king of Gowa. Therefore, Tunipallangga (1548-1566) continue the improvement of the prior forts initiated by Tumaparrisi' Kallonna. The wall of Benteng Ujungpandang was constructed by Tumaparrisi' Kallonna from clay; then continued by Tunipallangga who reconstructed the fort walls to be sturdier. Tunipallangga changed the wall of the fort from clay into bricks made.

One century after Benteng Ujungpandang was built, the war of Makassar broke in 1666-1667. The war of Makassar is the turning point of Gowa kingdom greatness which fell due to its defeat from VOC and Bone. The fall of Gowa was marked by Perjanjian Bungaya which followed up by the power replacement to VOC and Bone. Sagimun MD (1975:59-60) said that the transfer of power impacted the change of fort name from Benteng Ujungpandang into Fort Rotterdam. The history recorded that in Perjanjian Bungaya (*Bongaish Verdrag*) on 18<sup>th</sup> November 1667 stated the authority transfer upon Benteng Ujungpandang from Gowa-Tallo to VOC. When VOC possessed Benteng Ujungpandang, they altered the name into Fort Rotterdam. The history of the name change of Benteng Ujungpandang due to the power transfer was a social-politics dynamic that keep an interesting narration to be known, but the study about the transfer power is still limited.

The traces of Benteng Ujungpandang or Fort Rotterdam can be found in colonial and local sources of South Sulawesi. Local sources can be found in two corpuses namely *Lontara Bilang* (Diary) and Attoriolong (chronicles) of Bugis and

Makassar that provided information about the dynamics of power transfer and name change of



Photo : Front Gate of Benteng Ujungpandang, Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century  
Source : BPCB Sulsel 2017

Benteng Ujungpandang. Besides providing local information, *Lontara* scripts has a specific characteristic in telling the story of its object. *Lontara Bilang* is not only the most authentic source of data for South Sulawesi treasury, but also presents events and figures just the way they are. The simple style in story telling of Bugis and Makassar is different with the writing style of Javanese and Malay scripts which tend to be allegory and hyperbole. The script style of Bugis and Makassar had been studied by the European scholars that they found the *Lontara* script was arranged based on story and long historical records with high objectivity.

Related to the objectivity of *Lontara*, Cense (1972) stated that the source of Bugis and Makassar is very interesting because it has a high value and very important as the source of South Sulawesi local history. Moreover, Cense said that the records of facts of Bugis-Makassar was shorter and more realistic compared to the other historical stories in the other regions of Indonesia.

Based on the description above, this article discusses three aspects related to Benteng Ujungpandang such as the raise of maritime power of Kerajaan Gowa-Tallo which implied the establishment of Makassar forts, including Benteng Ujungpandang; the background of name change of Benteng Ujungpandang into Fort Rotterdam; and the function of Benteng Ujungpandang which was significant under the authority of VOC and Arung Palakka (Bone) as the winner in Perang Makassar.

## 2. METHOD

This article investigated Benteng Ujungpandang based on local source by applying philology approach. *Lontara* script is the primary data of this

research. The *Lontara* script was divided into two genres of text namely diary including *Lontara Bilang Bone* (Ms A) and *Lontara Bilang Gowa-Tallo* (Ms B); and two chronicle corpuses namely *Lontara Kronik Gowa* (Ms C) or rol 30/16 ANRI collection and *Lontara Bone* (Attoriolong Sakke' Bone) (Ms D). All of the information that obtained from the *Lontara* scripts were categorized as the primary source of data which later synchronized by the required secondary source of data.

## 3. DISCUSSION

This article discusses three aspects namely the idea of Makassar forts construction, Power transfer from Gowa to VOC that implied the name change of Benteng Ujungpandang into Fort Rotterdam, and Benteng Ujungpandang or Fort Rotterdam under the authority of VOC.

### 3.1 The Idea of Makassar Forts Construction

Generally, the construction of Benteng Ujungpandang with the other 13 forts of Makassar along the west coast of South Sulawesi by Raja Gowa in the 16<sup>th</sup> century marked the rising of maritime power of Kerajaan Gowa-Tallo. Ms C (Gowa Chronicle) writes that the idea of Makassar forts constructions was initiated by Raja Gowa IX, Karaeng Tumaparrisi' Kallonna. Ms C mentions at first, the walls of the forts were made of ordinary clay. But later, in the next step, Karaeng Tunipallangga reconstructed the clay walls by replacing them with bricks. The use of bricks was aimed to strengthen and improve the endurance in fending the attacks from enemies. As Bulbeck (2013) affirms that Tumaparrisi' Kallonna (1511-1548) was the initiator of fort construction as the defense infrastructure of Makassar coast. There were 14 forts constructed in the coast including Benteng Ujungpandang and the other 13 forts. All of the forts are the walls of coast defense, except Sombaopu and Kalegowa. Sombaopu and Kalegowa forts were used as the palace for the government of Kerajaan Gowa.

The information in this script (Ms C) is about the construction of Benteng Ujungpandang, Benteng Sombaopu and the other forts. As can be seen in the following text of Ms C:

“(Tunipallangga)...Yitopa unge’  
manciji éwangeng battowa ri  
Bénténg Lompoé/ Yito unge’



powerful gun powder, it can be assured that those weapons could not break through the thick wall.

*Lontara Bilang Bone* also records the history of Benteng Ujungpandang from time to time which started in Perang Makassar in 1666-1667. *Lontara Bilang Bone* stated that the Benteng Sombaopu faced a better fortune than other forts such as Benteng Kale Gowa, Benteng Tallo, Benteng Sanrabone, Benteng Barombong, Benteng Ujungtana, Benteng Mariso, Benteng Bontomarannu, and Benteng Bayoa. These poor forts were abandoned, left in ruins, and acknowledged only by its name.

It is important to present the construction period of the forts particularly Benteng Ujungpandang which constructed in the same era with Benteng Sombaopu, Kalegowa, Tallo, and Sanrabone. There was a possibility that there were one or two other forts that constructed when Tumaparrisi' Kallonna ruled in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The other forts were renovated in the second phase of the 16<sup>th</sup> century under the reign of Tunipallangga such as Benteng Pana'kukang— along with some forts which constructed in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. It was mentioned that they functioned merely as the defense base particularly in Pana'kukang zone and along Sungai Garassi (Van der Chijs in Bulbek, 2005).

What were the grandeur of Benteng Sombaopu and Benteng Ujungpandang look like and how was the situation in the middle of XVIII? An interesting story about it was recorded in an overview by Domingo Navarette. He was a Spain wanderer who visited Ujungpandang City in 1657-1658. He said, port of Makassar had been famous and became the trading center. This port was crowded by sailors who visited it from various places in Nusantara such as Siam (Thailand), Cambodia, England, France, Denmark, Portuguese, Netherlands, and Spain. Navarette estimated that there were 3000 of Portuguese from Melaka which defeated by Netherlands in 1641 who settled up in Makassar. During that time, Sombaopu became the political, economic, and religious power (Miller, 2011). He added, Benteng Ujungpandang was located in Makassar City which had a pleasant vibe in the afternoon because of its natural gardens in the middle of the city. Benteng Sombaopu was governed by the aristocrats of Gowa-Tallo less than one century, but in 1667 it had to be governed under the authority of VOC.

### **3.2 Transfer Power and Name Change of Benteng Ujungpandang**

Gowa Chronicle (Ms C), Bone Chronicle (Ms D), Gowa Diary (Ms A) and Bone Diary (Ms B) mention the power transfer from Gowa by VOC and Bone as the impact of Perang Makassar. The defeat of Gowa in the war resulted the confiscation of vital objects in Makassar, including the defense forts. History recorded that after Perjanjian Bungaya '*Bongaish Verdrag*' or *Cappaya Ribungaya* which signed in 18 November 1667, VOC declared that Benteng Ujungpandang was handed over from Gowa-Tallo to VOC. Under VOC government, Benteng Ujungpandang's function was also changed from defense fort into VOC residence.

Article 11 in Perjanjian Bungaya decreed Benteng Ujungpandang must be emptied from forces of Kerajaan Gowa and given to Dutch Company (*Kompeni Belanda*) VOC in good shapes. Meanwhile, the villages and lands around Benteng Ujungpandang were also the objects that had to be given to VOC. VOC took over Benteng Ujungpandang to make it as their main residence and command center of VOC forces. The villages around Benteng Ujungpandang were called "*Stad Vlaardingen*" which later included in the region of Ujungpandang City. There was also lodge of Dutch Company (*Kompeni Belanda*) which established by Vespreet a few years before Perang Makassar. The lodge was reconstructed in the same location after VOC took over Benteng Ujungpandang. The change of authorities of Benteng Sombaopu to VOC was written in the Acquisition of Benteng Ujungpandang which became an important reason of Dutch Company to stay in Makassar.

As Bulbeck (2013) states that VOC chose Benteng Ujungpandang as residency due to their intention to keep staying in Makassar in protected situation. Furthermore, the Company conducted a permanent control program, destructed all of Makassar forts in the coast, except Benteng Sombaopu which maintained as the residence of Sultan Gowa.

Benteng Ujungpandang had its significant function after Perang Makassar under the governance of VOC, Cornelis Janszoon Speelman. After the sign of Perjanjian Bungaya, Speelman knew very well what to think and do. In the urgent situation, he planned on strategy to stabilize his

position in Makassar. Therefore, at the same time, Speelman chose Benteng Ujungpandang as his residence and office. The fort was improved and completed with sufficient weaponry. The cannons of VOC which used in Perang Makassar were upgraded, placed at the top of the fort walls. War equipment were set by Speelman to equipped fort defense and attack enemies.

Speelman had just won Perang Makassar with his partner, Arung Palakka, when he occupied Benteng Ujungpandang. The status of Benteng Ujungpandang was confiscated fort based on Article 11 of Perjanjian Bungaya which stated: *"Benteng Ujungpandang in the north part must be emptied from Gowa forces to be later handed over in good condition to Dutch Company (VOC) that will reside its forces in the fort. The villages and lands around Benteng Ujungpandang were given to Dutch Company. The lodge of Dutch Company constructed by Vespreet is rebuilt in this place"* (Sagimun, 1975). According to Speelman decree as the head of VOC, thus Benteng Ujungpandang was determined as VOC residence, government office, military command center, trading, jail for political prisoners, etc. Melancholy situation of Benteng Ujungpandang was begun under VOC government, Cornelis Speelman in 17 November 1667.

When VOC took over and occupied Benteng Ujungpandang, they also changed the name of 'Benteng Ujungpandang' into 'Fort Rotterdam'. The choice of Fort Rotterdam as the new name for this port due to personal will of Cornelis Speelman who adopted one of the city names in Netherlands, 'Rotterdam'. Rotterdam was Speelman's birthplace in Europe. Some references stated that when Benteng Ujungpandang was handed over to the Dutch, a massive renovation was done including addition of housings and churches in the fort area (Sagimun MD, 1975).

Power and name transfer had a long story and history of Benteng Ujungpandang use as the colonial residence. Different with the other 13 forts, including Benteng Sombaopu, they became less crowded day by day, and at last abandoned. Benteng Ujungpandang or Rotterdam, had its new history with a more important position and significant function. If in its early days Benteng Ujungpandang was a defense fort, when Perang Makassar ended, this fort reached its more complex function in politics, social, and economy.

Ujungpandang City got its new chapter by convincing and replacing the history of Sombaopu as the main city of Gowa after the fall of Sombaopu in 1667. The area around Benteng Ujungpandang was named *Stad Vlaardingen* by VOC. *Stad Vlaardingen* became more crowded day by day. People from various classes, including the allies of Dutch, native tribes such as Java, Malay, Bugis, Buton, Ternate and Makassar lived and interacted in this city. Ujungpandang had replaced Sombaopu's role and transformed as big city and power center of social, economy, and politics.

Afterwards, Bulbeck says that Arung Palakka and Speelman truly had no intention to destroy some of Makassar forts, including Benteng Sombaopu. Even when Bugis and Dutch forces occupied Sombaopu in 1669 as the impact of Perang Makassar, they left it that way. As the time went by, there were some rebellions and they made the forts such as Pana'kukang and Sombaopu as the defense base. Due to the riot impact of the fort existence, fort destruction became Speelman and Arung Palakka agenda because the rebellions were consolidated in these forts.

### **3.3 Fort Rotterdam Under VOC Governance**

As mentioned previously that Benteng Ujungpandang which later known as Fort Rotterdam reached its function significantly after VOC took over it in Perang Makassar in 1666-1667. Under VOC governance, Fort Rotterdam functioned as the defense center, residence of Dutch Governor, center of military command, offices, and prison for the elites. This fort held an important role for the colonial because this fort was set as the trading center, government center, and defense for the colonial.

After 1667, there was no improvement in Makassar situation as Speelman hoped. The situation got worse caused by the attacks from Karaeng Karunrung and other authorities of Gowa who rejected Perjanjian Bungaya. In 20-21 April 1668, there was an outbreak war led by Karaeng Karunrung who attacked Fort Rotterdam. The clashes happened defiantly. Ms B records that forces commander of Arung Palakka, To Gelli was the victim in this war, '*nariposso*' To Gelli' which means 'To Gelli was killed'. A series of war led by Karaeng Karunrung was held until 4<sup>th</sup> May 1668.

The reordering of weaponry for Fort Rotterdam defense was based on the riots and security consideration for the Company's protection from any attacks. Consequently, the Company did the efforts to ensure the ability of the fort as the residence to fend off dangers, particularly from Gowa elites and their allies who against the handover of the fort. Hasanuddin continuously spied out any chance to held an attack. Three allies of Hasanuddin who helped in the war but they did not sign namely Karaeng Lengkesé', Karaeng Karunrung, Maharajalela, and To Sengngeng Arung Matowa Wajo. They are considered as a threat by the Company because they had thousands of loyal soldiers. They could make an attack toward VOC residences in Benteng Ujungpandang at any time (Mattulada, 1982).

When occupied by VOC, it was not only the name of Benteng Ujungpandang that changed, but it was also renovated into European architecture style in its walls and style. The fort was strengthened and became a modern fort that was more resistant from sophisticated gunpowder weapons (bgs = *ubba'*). Ramadhan (2020) notes the additional parts of the forts constructed by Speelman such as defense bastion of main artillery, defense trench outside the fort, and not-so-high-and-thick walls. Improvements were made as the best defense strategy of colonial to strengthen Benteng Ujungpandang. A. Suhartiyah Umar (2003) said the architecture style of Fort Rotterdam adapted the architecture style of Netherlands in Renaissance period (XV-XVII) that took gothic style as its characteristics.

The idea of Benteng Ujungpandang construction by VOC became the solution to anticipate the fort's weakness and to protect it from cammon attacks. The engineers applied a permanent fort form which walls were made of bricks and faced toward trench. The trench was broadened in order to avoid the enemies from using the fort wall ruins which off and fell to break into the fort. The supporting defense concept was stationing many powerful firepower cannons at the top of the fort tower.

Ms C also writes down the improvement of weaponry to support Fort Rotterdam defense about the installation of cannons above Fort Rotterdam:

1669 3<sup>rd</sup> January: *naripalélé mariangngé duwaé* (Two cannons were placed inside the fort)

1669 6<sup>th</sup> January: *narirui mariang Cempagaé, dua, lompoé* (Two Cempaga cannons were placed at the top of fort)

The establishment of Fort Rotterdam as defense fort was the result of Speelman's doubt who assumed that the agreement would not run smoothly. Speelman was always worried with the security situation, thus, he asked reinforcements from Java. Ms C records '*nangka to Jawa*' in 5<sup>th</sup> November 1668, which means the coming of Dutch reinforcements from Javanese who landed in Makassar. At the same time, Speelman made a consolidation so Fort Rotterdam was always stand-by and alert. The former cannons in the operational of Perang Makassar were repaired and re-stationed at the top of the fort walls as the stand-by weapons that ready to attack at any time.

Speelman's concern came true a few times later. Karaeng Karunrung never lost his desire to fight against VOC. Ms C states that in 5<sup>th</sup> August 1668, Karaeng Karunrung provoked a clash by smuggling his soldiers to the side of Fort Rotterdam. It is also mentioned in Ms C that seven days after in 12<sup>th</sup> August 1668, Karaeng Karunrung carried out a massive attack. The other massive attack was carried out in 27<sup>th</sup> August 1668. Unfortunately, Karaeng Karunrung was beaten by Bugis forces of Arung Palakka and Speelman. Ms B mentions Karaeng Karunrung was defeated and 27 cannons were confiscated by Arung Palakka from him. When Karaeng Karunrung decided to step back, Arung Palakka and his whiz soldiers broke into opponents. Karaeng Karunrung was conquered and Karaeng Bontomajannang was shot in the war.

Fort Rotterdam successfully functioned as defense fort that powerfully confined any attacks. Therefore, it became a safe residence, colonial offices, military command, prison for political prisoners under the governance of VOC and Dutch Government. After Indonesia independence, the name of Fort Rotterdam was replaced into Benteng Ujungpandang to legalize its return to Negara Republik Indonesia.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

16<sup>th</sup> century was the time of Benteng Ujungpandang and other forts construction as the defense of maritime power. 14 forts were constructed, including Benteng Ujungpandang, as the marker of maritime power which located along the west coast of South Sulawesi with 10 kilometers length. Beside Benteng Ujungpandang, the authority of Gowa-Tallo also positioned Sombaopu as the trading city and port, the biggest fort and defense center.

Perang Makassar was the climax that defined the future of Benteng Ujungpandang, whether its position or function. When VOC won Perang Makassar, VOC occupied Benteng Ujungpandang and took over it into their possession. VOC turned Benteng Ujungpandang into their residence and changed the name into Fort Rotterdam to represent the European context. Furthermore, Benteng Ujungpandang or Rotterdam replaced and took over the position of Benteng Sombaopu. Benteng Ujungpandang became the power symbol of VOC and the Dutch Government when they ruled in South Sulawesi. History phenomenon marked the new era of Benteng Ujungpandang and distinguished it from Benteng Sombaopu and other forts which abandoned and lost its function caused by Perang Makassar.

#### AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTIONS

The author has their respective contribution and contains in the research process, such as designing research, collecting data, analyzing data, to compile papers.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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#### Data Source Script

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- [2] MS B Diary of the Kings of Bone;
- [3] MS C Lontara Patturioloang Gowa Collection ANRI roll 30/16)
- [4] MS D Lontara Attoriolong Bone (Text Edition, Hadawi 2029)

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