

From Palace to Public Sphere: Historical Trajectories of the Pajoge Dance as a Bugis Performing Arts Identity (1880–1941)

Shafa Nurazizah¹, Asep Imansyah², Marsella Yulistiani³

^{1,2,3} Department of History, Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Universitas Padjadjaran, Indonesia

Article History

Received : February-2026

Revised : February-2026

Published : March-2026

Corresponding author*:

Shafa Nurazizah

Contact:

shafa22005@mail.unpad.ac.id

Cite This Article (IEEE Style):

Nurazizah, S., Imansyah, A., & Yulistiani, M. (2026). From Palace to Public Sphere: Historical Trajectories of the Pajoge Dance as a Bugis Performing Arts Identity (1880–1941). *Jurnal Ilmiah Multidisiplin*, 5(02), 78–86.

DOI:

<https://doi.org/10.56127/jukim.v5i02.2667>

Abstract: The background of this research stems from cultural issues in Indonesia, which still tend to be consumptive in nature, with art often viewed merely as entertainment without considering its historical value. This condition opens up space for research to examine how colonialism influenced the form, function, and public perception of Pajoge dance, particularly in Bone between 1880 and 1941. This study aims to explain the dynamics of change in Pajoge dance, which underwent significant transformation when performed outside the palace environment. This study uses the historical method proposed by Sartono Kartodirdjo, through the stages of heuristics, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography. The analysis is reinforced by Parsons' structural functionalism to understand the role of Pajoge in building Bugis cultural identity. The results of the study show that Pajoge initially functioned as a symbol of status and legitimacy of palace power, but underwent a transformation when performed in public spaces due to political intervention and social change. The study recommends the need to recontextualize Pajoge as a cultural heritage that reflects the historical dynamics and identity of the Bugis.

Keywords: Pajoge Dance, Bugis, Colonialism, Performing Arts, Cultural Identity

INTRODUCTION

Culture is both an identity and a reflection of a nation's identity. There is no man without culture, and conversely, no culture without man, no society without culture, no culture without the people of Kistanto [1]. However, cultural development is often viewed as nothing more than consumptive objects. As in the article written by Susanto [2] entitled our cultural problems of art, current trends point to a concentrated pattern of cultural viewing. Art and culture are often enjoyed exclusively for entertainment or commodities, without an in-depth discussion of the history of the culture's birth, the values it contains, and the changes it encounters in the course of the age. As a result, cultures simply walk on their own without any apparent direction. Culture is left to its own devices, while artists are left without a sure guide. Therefore, proper social strategies and clear technical guidelines are needed so that all can understand their role in overcoming cultural limitations.

In Indonesia's study of art and culture, attention has been focused more on the art itself, such as its shapes, techniques, and creative expressions. Meanwhile, the historical side of cultural art receives little attention and limited focus in academic research. This makes cultural art history relatively unknown, and its position is often considered less important than other branches of history. Kuntowijoyo [3] notes it is still very rare for historians to examine and write about the history of culture. While the scope of a cultural history study may highlight the overall cultural development in a region or state, at the same time understanding how social, political, and national identity are reflected in the arts [4]. One of the efforts to preserve Indonesian culture is by protecting historical sites [5]. In this case, archives that are processed into a cultural historical narrative are needed as an effort to overcome the limitations of research in this field so that the historical aspects of Indonesian arts and culture can be well documented.

Traditional performing arts, in all their various forms, can always be linked to specific events. These arts often undergo changes in meaning; for example, what was originally only performed during magical rituals has, over time, become mass entertainment [6]. Just as the identity of ronggeng has been distorted since colonial times, Ronggeng, which is synonymous with sacred culture in agrarian communities, has been drawn into the industrial dimension by colonial interests [7]. A similar thing happened in the history of Indonesian arts and culture, one of which is the Pajoge dance from South Sulawesi, which has not been thoroughly researched from a historical perspective, especially in the colonial context. The lack of historical research means that many aspects that influenced the practice of Pajoge dance during the colonial period have not been well documented. This also opens up space for perceptions and interpretations by the community that are sometimes negative towards the dance and its performers.

This study was conducted to examine the transformation of Pajoge dance from the Bugis palace environment to its shift to the public sphere between 1880 and 1941. This study is interesting because not many have conducted in-depth research on the role of Pajoge dance in the colonial context. In addition, this study aims to answer the following questions: What was the position and function of Pajoge dance in the Bugis royal court before it shifted to the public sphere? What is the historical trace of Pajoge dance from 1880 to 1941? How did colonialism shape the artistic identity and social changes of Pajoge from 1880 to 1941?

The benefit of this research lies in its contribution to enriching historiographical studies that can reflect the dynamics of art and cultural history. Changes in artistic practices, such as in Pajoge dance, are understood not merely as the impact of colonialism or modernity, but as a process that shows the direction and meaning of identity transformation. Thus, historiography is not limited to recording events, but also interprets change as part of the reconstruction of national cultural identity.

RESEARCHMETHOD

The study employs historical methods with the approach to social science presented by Sartono Kartodirdjo [8]. Historical methods are testing and analyzing the traces and relics of the past. The stages taken in historical methods include heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography. All of these stages will be integrated with the social concept of representation by the hall and its structural functionality by Talcott Parsons [8].

The first step was heuristic in gathering and finding both primary and secondary resources related to the discussion. The source media is done online through several accessible library sites such as Google books, delpher, and others. By searching related sources, such as books on art and cultural history.

The second step is that a critique is also often called the verification of the historical source to study the authenticity of the source. This criticism involves checking previously acquired sources and following codes of verification of historical sources. Critics are made through library studies in the digital library with internal and external criticisms.

The third step is interpretation as an interpretation stage of facts obtained for meaning. In doing historical research, there are two interpretations of analysis (deciphering facts) and synthesis (unifying facts). Facts are described first.

The final stage is historiography that does writing on ancient imaginative reconstruction with sources that have been obtained. The compilation of historiography was done by arranging the facts in chronological order through systematically arranged writing. An analysis followed by concepts of Stuart Hall and Talcott Parsons.

The concept of representation according to Stuart Hall explains the conceptual framework used to understand how meaning and understanding of cultures are produced, communicated, and maintained through language, symbols, pictures, and marks [9]. Because the authors' studies focused on textual analysis in the Dutch newspaper, the concept of Stuart Hall became relevant. Especially its understanding of the text as an index [10].

Whereas the concept of a structural functionality by Talcott Parsons means defining society as a functionally integrated system of entities, meaning that people adjust to change in the environment to achieve balance [11]. Both concepts were used as an analysis of the historical Pajoge during the Dutch Indies.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Beginnings of Pajoge Dance Performances in the Bugis Palace

Pajoge dance is one of the traditional dances typical of the bone, a society of Bugis in South Sulawesi. This dance is believed to have appeared since the reign of tenri tuppu matinroe ri sidenreng, the 10th king of bone, who ruled for nine years, dating from 1620-1611. By this time the queen had a Pajoge dancing group run by her father, lapattawe matinroe ri bettung, the 9th king of bone (1596-1603). Since then, this tradition has flourished in Bugis society and continues to be preserved by bone society in southern Sulawesi [12].

Initially, the Pajoge dance was known as a performance at the royal family's wedding. The dancers came from among the common girls who were directly chosen by the nobility (ana 'sacks). However, on several occasions it was also repeated by men dressed in female costumes (calabai). Holt's book notes that he had witnessed a Pajoge dance performance played by both female and male dancers. In the custom of the palace of Bugis, this dance is viewed as part of a ritual performed only at the marriage ceremony [13].

Early traces of the dance art traditions can also be traced to the ancient text of La Galigo, the great literary Bugis that depicts the worlds of nobility and the traditions of culture. While not mentioning Pajoge explicitly, the text shows the symbolic value of women, ceremonies, and dancing arts as part of the legitimacy of the palace power. This context provides the cultural background for a Pajoge appearance as a palace of social and religious significance because it mentions women with Bugis dancing at weddings in the text. Thus, the beginning of Pajogewas inseparably linked with the function of the palace as a cultural center that through dance attempted to affirm the social status, honor, and relationship of the hierarchy between its subjects.

The Pajogedance then progressed well into the reign of the 30th king of bone, we fa Fatimah Banri (1871-1895). During his reign he was known as the founder of the change in women's dance attire, bodo ponco's clothing, which originally went from one knee to another was modified to an ankle length [14]. The change suggested a renewal of aesthetics and fashion in the palace surroundings, while also showing an active role of female royalty in establishing a theatrical identity with Bugis. In this context, the development of the Pajoge dance involves not only the aspects of motion and function, but also closely related to material cultural transformation, particularly clothing that emphasizes the sacredness and elegance of palace art.

The Position and Function of Pajoge Dance as an Art Form in the Bugis Palace

Art is defined as human creations that produce symbolic forms of human feelings [15]. Pajoge contains many meanings in various aspects such as language, dance, and other elements. Etymologically, the term "pajoge" comes from the root "joge" in Bugis, which means "dance" or "shake". The society of Bugis refers to Pajoge in three meanings at once. First, as a dance name called "joge"; Second, at the start of the pa-, it becomes a noun meaning "dancer"; Third, with the prefix of the pa- also, "joge" can serve as a verb meaning "dance" or "put on a show." These three meanings are complementary and inseparable, representing the unity between the dancing, the dancer, and the performance itself [12]. Pajoge dancers can be both males and females, with a special makeup and headdress called djungge. The accessories are ornamentation made of colored paper or the like. Meanwhile, professional female dancers in this tradition are known as Pajoge, who confirm their identity as palace artists and the symbol of the cultural elegance of Bugis-Makassar [16].

The Pajogedance is divided into two types: makoge (pulled by women) and the angkong (pulled by a calabai or wadam called a woman's looking man). Pajoge flourished in the royal bone region and spread to the surrounding areas, such as wajo, soppeng, and barru counties. In those days, each customary ceremony arrangement was usually accompanied by a Pajoge Makkunrai from the bone. The rules for the number of dancers in the show are always even—four, eight, ten, twelve, or more adjusting to the needs of the performers. According to Najamoddin's description, Pajoge Makkunrai dancer is determined in the

number of between four and twelve or more, as needed. The selection of the dancer was carried out by the royal family with certain criteria. A Pajoge dancer must be female or unmarried and have makkelong singing abilities. In addition, dancers have to be reasonably bushy, fair-faced, and well-behaved. This, too, is recorded on Claire Holt's travel log to Pompania, where she was offered a Pajogegroup known as labondeng, which is a group of dancers with a body containing bodies. Pajoge display is also usually accompanied by about twenty verse titles accompanying his dance movement [14].



Figure 1. The Pajoge Dance Performance of 1880 (Source: tropenmuseum collection retrieved on October 14, 2025 at 2 PM)

Pajoge dance underwent a significant change during the islamization of the bone empire, especially when Sultan Muhammad Shaleh (the 13th king of bone, 1631-1644) presided. The king bone, also known as a cleric, played a key role in spreading islamic teachings, and thus the people of bone widely accepted and observed islamic values in daily life [12]. This change of belief has led to a new view among the Bugis that dancing women's engagement is strictly taboo. As a result, the position of the female dancer (Pajoge Makkunrai) was replaced by a male called Pajoge Angkong, who was a calabai group of dancers (men who looked like women) and was known as bissu (the minister who carried shamans). The shift is also affected by the high need for the Pajoge group in the extravagant ceremony of royalty, where the number of female dancers is no longer adequate. The presence of Pajoge angkong then gave rise to changes in the performance elements, according to the characteristics of the male dancers [17].

These tax collectors' presence is closely tied to the profits' position of culture. The bissu played a central role as practitioners of ceremonial customs, including royal and ceremonial rites. They are viewed as sacred because they are believed to be capable of serving as intermediaries between heaven and earth and correlations between kings and people. In the days of bone, it even recorded the presence of forty qualified bissu to be present in the royal ceremony. These conditions show that the changing positions of the role of the Pajoge dancer are due not only to religious and practical factors but also to the social structure of the culture of the Bugis that puts bissu in a most honorable position [14].



Figure 2. Pajoge Angkong (Source: Holt, 1939, retrieved on 14 October 2025 at 2 PM)

The development of the Pajoge dance during the colonial period was greatly influenced by the presence of the VOC, which began to exert its influence in the Bugis region. Pajoge Makkunrai, which was originally only performed as part of a series of aristocratic wedding ceremonies together with Pajoge Angkong, later developed into a form of entertainment that enlivened night markets. Nevertheless, the palace tradition maintained the authenticity of Pajoge's function, whereby whenever an aristocratic family held a celebration, the king would organise a performance known as *mapajogei rajae*, and the dancers presented were always from the Pajoge Makkunrai group. This is in line with the Bugis cultural view that highly respects women's honour, so that at that time women were not allowed to leave the house except for absolutely urgent matters. Therefore, Pajoge Makkunrai was only allowed to perform in the palace (Sao Raja), while public spaces were more often filled with Pajoge Angkong [12]. The change in the performance space of Pajoge dance from the palace to public spaces marked the beginning of a broader shift in cultural meaning. Whereas previously Pajoge was only associated with philosophical aristocratic ceremonies, by the end of the 19th century, this dance began to appear in various more open social spaces.

Historical Traces of Pajoge from 1880 to 1941

Between 1880 and 1941, the Pajoge dance underwent a shift in meaning and space. Pajoge was not only performed within the palace but also entered a more open public sphere, even becoming part of the popular media and a symbol of Bugis culture at that time. This historical trace can be traced through contemporary newspaper reports.

In 1881, the Pajoge dance was performed during a diplomatic event, namely the visit of two Russian nobles, Grand Duke Alexander and Sergius, nephews of the Russian emperor, who visited Sulawesi after stopping at several other places. They arrived on the Russian steamship *Tamara*, and upon their arrival in Celebes, the governor of Celebes and his subordinates welcomed them, and they immediately visited the local sultan. The Pajoge dance was performed to welcome the guests and was presented as a symbol of Eastern exoticism and an honorary performance during official visits [18].

Pajoge was also performed as entertainment at the opening of a folk festival in Makassar. At that time, the Dutch government contributed 150 guilders to organise a folk festival to celebrate the coronation of Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands. Among the entertainment presented were horse racing, Pajoge performances, and so on [19].

Pajoge was also one of the livelihoods of the Bugis people at that time. The dancers were paid 50 cents if someone chose and approached them [20]. Pajoge was also invited to gambling parties to celebrate the Chinese New Year. The dancers were described as having their hair tied at the back of their heads, smeared with oil to resemble two rolls, and decorated with fan-shaped paper called *djoenggè* at the back. The fans stood upright behind her head and were hung with strings of yellow and white beads. Her forehead and eyebrows were black because she wore *dadasa*, while her lips were bright red from chewing betel nuts [20].

Pajoge also enlivened the opening of the night market in Makassar on 26 August 1939. The opening of the night market was attended by government officials such as Mrs. Burger and the mayor of Brunei. Mrs. Burger symbolically cut the ribbon to mark the opening of the night market, which was closed with refreshing drinks at a European restaurant [21]. Whereas previously Pajoge dance was mostly performed within the palace or at certain ceremonies, at this moment Pajoge appeared alongside various other forms of entertainment, ranging from Mandar and Toraja dances to Chinese Wayang. Pajoge underwent a transformation from palace art to public art that was synonymous with Bugis identity and enlivened the modern entertainment scene during the colonial period.



Figure 3. Pajoge Dance Performance at the Night Market (Source: Holt, 1939, taken on 15 October 2025 at 10:00 a.m.)

In 1941, Pajoge became a symbol on postage stamps, telegraphs and telephones, with information printed in newspaper reports. Various dances became symbolic of the value of the stamps, such as 2 cents for the Menari dancer from Ambon, 2.5 cents for the Nias dancer from Sumatra, 3 cents for the Legong dancer from Bali, 3.5 cents for the Bedoyo dancer from Solo, and 5 cents for the Pajoge dancer from South Sulawesi [22].



Figure 4. Coverage of the Pajoge Stamp (Source: Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad, 1941, retrieved on 15 October 2025 at 10:30 a.m)

The selection of the Pajoge dance as a symbol for Dutch East Indies stamps can be understood through Stuart Hall's theory of representation, which views meaning as not naturally occurring but rather constructed through language, signs, and media [23]. This representation has a double meaning: on the one hand, it can reinforce the Figure of the Dutch East Indies as a culturally rich land, while on the other hand, it reproduces power relations by placing local culture as an ornament that can be regulated, selected, and used in order to fulfill Dutch political interests in line with the ethical policy for the indigenous community. Therefore, the representation of dance on stamps can reinforce the Figure of the Dutch in embracing Eastern culture and showing sympathy for the culture of their colony.

Colonial Discourse in Changing the Social Identity of Pajoge

In the mid-19th and early 20th centuries, colonialism as a legal practice had a significant influence on science and the social and cultural aspects of society. European ethnographers traveled to the East to understand the culture and customs of their colonies, but in reality, they could not escape political and economic interests. The ethnographic records they produced illustrated the East as exotic and shaped representations of the East as primitive and innocent. This pattern was later criticized by Edward Said through the concept of Orientalism, namely the way the West studied the religious, cultural, and social life of the East in order to understand, describe, and dominate the East [24]. The knowledge studied served as a discourse that had political and ideological objectives, not merely an academic field. Edward Said argues that Orientalism creates a dichotomy in which the East is irrational, primitive, and inferior, while the West is represented as rational, progressive, and superior. This view permeates Western literature, art, and academia, and influences how Eastern civilizations are perceived and treated [24].

One of Pajoge's notes during the colonial period was recorded in a brief report of a Dutch ethnographer's

journey to the interior of Sulawesi in 1857-1861, which was published periodically in the *Makassarsch Handelsblad* newspaper. The Dutch ethnographer recorded his travels while exploring the interior of Sulawesi. He recounted his experiences during a month-long stay at the residence of To Marilalang in the Amali area. During his stay, he witnessed many entertainments performed by To Marilalang, the local Bugis leader, in welcoming him as a guest in Amali. The entertainment he witnessed included deer hunting and the Pajoge dance. The ethnographer wrote that To Marilalang, as the king of Bone, trained his slaves to dance and sing in high-pitched voices, which disturbed him and made his head feel like it was about to explode [25].

Illustrations of the naive and innocent Bugis people were also recorded in contemporary newspapers. The Bugis people were represented in this way because they had bought several beautiful baskets that he was selling. These prayers and expressions of gratitude were described as a form of innocence, because the profits from the sale enabled them to buy rice to continue their lives [26].

Several notes indicate that descriptions of Pajoge and the daily interactions of the Bugis people are framed within an Orientalist context that is laden with representations. The theory of representation mentioned by Stuart Hall defines representation as something that does not necessarily have meaning; it is we who process and construct meaning ourselves through language and signs [23].

In this case, Stuart Hall defines representation theory as a constructionist approach, which argues that meaning is formed through language and that the background of meaning depends on a social group's knowledge and understanding of a sign. In this case, reality and media texts are part of the representation that can construct the meaning of a group. The representation of Pajoge is also recorded in a short story entitled "Lessons from the Buffalo" written by a Dutchman named E. van Lidth de Jeude. In short, he describes the exotic and feminine Pajoge through the story of a Dutchman named Charles de G, who was reprimanded by a buffalo or native who saw him playing with dancers at a party. The conversation between the buffalo and Charles in the story's dialogue describes Pajoge as a dance that has rules to respect the dancers.

"If a padjogé dances with a man, it is considered a great insult if someone else tries to walk between the couple or dares to touch the dancer. In that case, the male dancer has the right to stab the offender with his keris. The audience would simply say: *matè-ni waledja tedong*, meaning: 'he died because he was trampled by a buffalo', in other words: 'it was entirely his own fault' [27].

Based on Stuart Hall's theory of representation, meaning is influenced by the knowledge and understanding of the subject writing. Therefore, the depiction of Pajoge from a Western perspective seems to emphasise only its erotic and entertainment aspects, while the Buffalo's rebuke shows that the dance actually has spiritual, symbolic, and social meanings in the local culture. This shows how the meaning of Pajoge is constructed differently by two regimes of representation, namely Western colonial representation, which tends to be dominant, and local representation, which is rich in cultural meaning.

Talcott Parsons views society as a network of interrelated relationships within an integrated social system that constantly strives to achieve equilibrium [12]. In this context, the change in the position and function of the Pajoge dance can be understood as part of the community's adaptation mechanism to achieve this equilibrium. A similar phenomenon can be seen in the changes in the Ronggeng Gunung performance, which has undergone shifts in the space and form of the performance. This shift was influenced by the policies of the Department of Culture and Tourism in the 1970s, which sought to introduce traditional arts, so that the Ronggeng Gunung performance, which was originally only performed in courtyards, began to be performed in big cities [28].

The same applies to Pajoge. Its historical traces in colonial records and contemporary newspapers are framed through representations of indigenous socio-cultural aspects that emphasise the "exotic" side. Therefore, the colonial discourse on Pajoge did not merely record reality but also constructed and placed the Bone community in an inferior position. Pajoge not only served as a record of performing arts but also as evidence of how colonial power shaped, shifted, and even redefined the socio-cultural identity of Bone at that time. While Pajoge was previously mostly performed in palace settings, over time this dance

shifted to become a public spectacle featured in various events, such as night market openings, folk festivals, welcoming European guests, and even the release of new postage stamps.

CONCLUSION

Pajoge dance, as a Bugis palace performing art, initially served as a cultural art form that could strengthen the legitimacy of aristocratic power while also becoming a symbol of social status. Pajoge was performed in a series of palace wedding ceremonies, with the dancers selected directly by the aristocracy. The role of Pajoge was not merely entertainment but part of a ritual rich in cultural, philosophical, and social values of Bugis society.

Between 1880 and 1941, after the Dutch took control of the Dutch East Indies and coexisted with the Bugis people, Pajoge transformed from an exclusive palace art to a much more inclusive public space. The Pajoge dance was not only performed at royal wedding ceremonies but could also be seen by the public through performances at night markets, folk festivals, and even colonial diplomacy. This change reached its peak when Pajoge became a representation of the Bugis community's identity on a Dutch East Indies postage stamp in 1941. This trace shows the shift in the identity of Pajoge, from an expression of aristocracy to a broader cultural identity as well as an entertainment commodity that strongly represents the Bugis people.

Colonialism played an important role in reconstructing the meaning of Pajoge through Orientalist discourse. Based on Stuart Hall's theory of representation, which defines reality and media texts as part of representations that can construct meanings for a group. The discourse of Pajoge in colonial media is illustrated as exotic and erotic, in contrast to its spiritual and symbolic meaning in local culture.

The representation discussed in reporting on Pajoge broadly shows a power relationship that places the Bugis people in an inferior position but at the same time demonstrates the ability of performing arts to adapt. The transformation of Pajoge proves that despite being influenced by colonial intervention, this dance has survived as a medium of social interaction and a symbol of Bugis cultural identity. Thus, Pajoge's journey from the palace to the public sphere reflects a complex historical process in which performing arts not only reflect socio-cultural dynamics but also become an arena for the negotiation of identity between local traditions and colonial hegemony.

This study only examines and focuses on colonial sources that tend to contain Orientalist texts, so further studies are expected to explore more local archives. For the community and students, it is hoped that this scientific work can open up a new understanding of Pajoge and enable them to see Pajoge dance not only as entertainment but also as a historical and cultural identity that needs to be understood in terms of its social and symbolic meaning. As for local governments and cultural actors, the results of this research can be used as a basis for formulating preservation strategies that are not merely oriented towards tourism but also emphasise educational and historical values so that Pajoge remains relevant for future generations.

REFERENCES

- [1] Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad, "Nieuwe Frankeerzegels," p. 56, Oct. 7, 1941.
- [2] De Indische Courant, "Opening Pasar Malem," p. 18, Sep. 2, 1939.
- [3] De Locomotief, "Reizen door den Indischen Archipelago Ke Sulawesi," p. 59, Mar. 11, 1906.
- [4] De Locomotief, "Zuid Celebes," p. 50, Mar. 11, 1907.
- [5] Het Nieuws van den Dag, "Couran Vertellin," p. 7, Mar. 31, 1928.
- [6] C. Holt, *Dance Quest in Celebes*. Paris: Libr. G.P. Maisonneuve, 1939.
- [7] L. Iftikhar and S. Sadia, "Edward Said and Orientalism: A Critical Analysis of Western Scholars and Writers," *Jihāt-ul-Islām*, vol. 18, no. 2, pp. 1-11, 2025.
- [8] J. Jamilah, "Pertunjukan Pajoge Makkunrai pada Masyarakat Bugis di Sulawesi Selatan," *Jurnal Panggung*, vol. 26, no. 1, pp. 35-46, 2016.
- [9] N. Kartika, R. D. Dienaputra, S. Machdalena, and A. Nugraha, "Batik Pasiran: Wujud Kearifan Lokal Batik Kampung Pasir Garut," *Panggung*, vol. 30, no. 4, 2020.
- [10] N. Kartika, R. D. Dienaputra, S. Machdalena, A. Nugraha, A. S. Suryadimulya, S. Yulawati, and R. Hidayat, "Ngalaksa Traditional Ceremony as a Local Wisdom to Maintain Community Social Interaction," *Studies in Media and Communication*, vol. 12, no. 3, pp. 63-71, 2024.
- [11] N. Kartika, R. D. Dienaputra, S. Machdalena, A. Nugraha, A. S. Suryadimulya, S. Yulawati, and N. Sriwardani, "Sintren as a Traditional Performing Art in Mirat Village," *Mudra Jurnal Seni Budaya*, vol. 39, no. 2, pp. 167-176, 2024.

- [12] S. Kartodirdjo, *Pendekatan Ilmu Sosial dalam Metodologi Sejarah*. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 1992.
- [13] W. Kauderen, *Games and Dances in Celebes*. Leiden: M. Nijhoff, 1925.
- [14] Kuntowijoyo, *Metodologi Sejarah*, 2nd ed. Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana Yogya, 2003.
- [15] H. Latief and H. L. Sumiyani, *Tari Daerah Bugis*. Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan Nasional, 1999.
- [16] Makassarsch Handelsblad, "Beknopt Verslag," p. 31, Apr. 16, 1880.
- [17] R. Martiara and M. Jamilah, *Pajoge: Perempuan Penari dalam Masyarakat Bugis*. Yogyakarta: Cipta Media, 2021.
- [18] S. Masyuninga, A. Suryaman, and P. D. Wahyudin, "Ronggeng: Genealogi Perempuan Penari dari Masa Kolonial hingga Era Mutakhir," *PARAGUNA: Jurnal Ilmu Pengetahuan, Pemikiran, dan Kajian Seni Karawitan*, vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 41–48, 2025.
- [19] F. B. Mattes, *La Galigo*, trans. Muhammad Salim. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor, 2017.
- [20] H. Y. Muslihin, O. H. Pranata, W. Nurlaela, and C. Cahyana, "Hambatan dan Tantangan Proses Pelestarian Budaya Lokal dalam Konteks Seni Tradisi Pencak Silat di Tasikmalaya," *JORPRES (Jurnal Olahraga Prestasi)*, vol. 17, no. 2, pp. 99-108, 2021.
- A. N. Mustawhisin and W. Hartanto, "Sejarah Kebudayaan: Hasil Budaya Material dan Non-Material Akibat Adanya Pengaruh Islam di Nusantara," *SINDANG: Jurnal Pendidikan Sejarah Dan Kajian Sejarah*, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 54-66, 2019.
- [21] N. Radja, "Teori Representasi Stuart Hall," 2024.
- [22] M. A. Sholichah, D. M. Putri, and A. F. Setiaji, "Representasi Budaya Banyuwangi Dalam Banyuwangi Ethno Carnival: Pendekatan Teori Representasi Stuart Hall," *Education: Jurnal Sosial Humaniora dan Pendidikan*, vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 32-42, 2023.
- [23] S. Hall, *The Work of Representation*. London: SAGE Publications, 1997.
- [24] Soerabaiasch Handelsblad, "Brieven Uit Macassar," p. 173, Jul. 30, 1898.
- [25] E. Suhaeti, "Perubahan Bentuk dan Fungsi Pertunjukan Ronggeng Gunung," *Panggung*, vol. 22, no. 4, pp. 1-24, 2012.
- [26] M. Susanto, "Problem Budaya Seni Kita," *Kompas.id*, 2019. [Online]. Available: <https://www.kompas.id/artikel/problem-budaya-seni-kita>. [Accessed: Oct. 1, 2025].
- [27] Tropen Museum, "Padjoge Cilebes," 1870. [Online]. Available: <https://amsterdam.wereldmuseum.nl/en>. [Accessed: Oct. 1, 2025].
- [28] R. Turama, "Formulasi Teori Fungsionalisme Struktural Talcott Parsons," *EUFONI: Journal of Language, Literary and Cultural Studies*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 58-69, 2020.