

Chris Pingak.
A Twentieth Century (Church) Historian and Anthropologist in Southeast Sulawesi
(Indonesia)¹

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Introduction

Occasionally one hears complaints from some historians that in the archives of the Dutch mission the voices of Indonesian Christians are rarely, if ever, heard. One may hear the same complaint about the archives of the Protestant Church in the Netherlands Indies (or Indies Church, *Indische Kerk*). There too it is rare to hear the sound of an Indonesian voice. It was chiefly the Dutch missionaries and reverend ministers of the Indies Church who corresponded with their Boards in the Netherlands and Batavia (present day Jakarta) respectively. They sent reports *about* their indigenous fellow workers – evangelists, teachers, parish preachers, active members of the congregation and others – but reports *from* the latter seldom found their way to those in charge of church and mission. And the few papers by Indonesians which did reach their offices were almost without exception concerned with technical questions, such as pensions, years of service, transfers, leave and similar matters. In Dutch archives one rarely, if ever, encounters documents in which Indonesians, whether asked to do so or volunteering an opinion, report on their work or present their view of events in their country, their church or the area of their mission.

This is not to say that Indonesians were idle in this respect. On the contrary, there certainly are authors who have left for posterity their experiences with, and thoughts about, the work of church and mission. This article will pay attention to one of them: Chris Pingak from Kolaka in Southeast Sulawesi (Indonesia),² whose active period spans the first three decades after the Japanese invasion. He belies the complaints about the “invisible” Indonesians.³

Who was Chris Pingak?

Pingak was a pioneer nationalist of the first order, who with great vigour dedicated himself to Indonesia’s independence. He wanted nothing to do with the Federal Republic of Indonesia as envisaged by Van Mook. But he also belonged to a generation of Christians which had grown up and been educated under the colonial government and which was used to the Dutch way of thinking and acting. His importance and influence was local. He did not belong to the group of prominent Indonesian Christians who have gained a national reputation and to whom historians have paid proper attention.⁴

Pingak was born on the 19th of November 1913 in the village of Kolaka, which had been the seat of the Dutch administration for the sub-division of the same name since 1906, and which was situated on the west coast of Southeast Sulawesi. The indigenous name of this region is Mekongga. His father, a Manadonese, had been a teacher at the government school on the island of Rote, to the west of Timor; after his transfer to Kolaka he married a woman of Tolaki aristocracy, the local elite. After he had completed his education at the teachers training college in Bandung, Pingak jr was appointed as teacher at the indigenous government school in Kolaka in 1933. Apart from an interruption from 1935 to 1942, when he taught in Mandar (West Sulawesi), he remained active in Southeast Sulawesi in various positions for the rest of his life. After he had

¹ Translated from the Dutch by Truus Daalder-Broekman, Adelaide, Australia.

² Sulawesi was formerly known as Celebes.

³ For a general history of Southeast Sulawesi, cf. De Jong, *Nieuwe hoofden*. The history of the Dutch mission in Southeast Sulawesi is discussed in: De Jong, *Vreemden op de kust*.

⁴ Pingak, who was only of local importance, is not mentioned in Van Klinken, *Minorities*.

again worked as teacher in Kolaka from 1942, in 1952 he became the (first) Chairman of the new Regional Parliament of Southeast Sulawesi, the *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Sulawesi Tenggara*, one of the most senior and most influential administrative positions in the region. In 1960 he was appointed to Head of the Schools Inspectorate in Kolaka and at the same time as acting Head of the local office of the Ministry of Education and Culture (*Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan*) in Kolaka. From 1966 till his retirement in 1971 he was a member of the Executive of the newly constituted province of Southeast Sulawesi.

As well, he served three terms as a Member of the Synod of the *Gereja Protestan di Sulawesi Tenggara (Gepsultra)*, the Protestant Church in Southeast Sulawesi, which had evolved out of the missionary work of the Dutch Mission Society (NZV).⁵

His written legacy can be found in the archives of this Church, which is located in the synod office in Kendari (Southeast Sulawesi). In his function of Member of the Synod he was, together with Dr M.C. Jongeling, responsible for volume X of the series *Benih Yang Tumbuh*, which documents the organisational history of the *Gepsultra*.⁶

Pingak's work

This article will not pay attention to Pingak's actions during the Japanese occupation and the struggle for independence (1942-1950)⁷ or to his activities as a Member of the Synod. Below I will only have a look at his work as a historian and anthropologist, for in both fields he has left a significant body of work. However, with a few exceptions none of it has ever appeared in print. It chiefly consists of papers read by him at conferences and symposiums he helped to organise. His most important work falls into three groups and consists of:

History:

“Serajah daerah Mekongga, MS in typescript, Kolaka, 1959, 6 pp. [A history of Mekongga]

“Jawaban pertanyaan angket untuk mengungkap tabir serajah ‘Haluoleo’”, MS, Kolaka, 1976, 8 pp. [Answers to a list of requests for clarification of the history of ‘Haluoleo’, a mythological figure]

“Data-Data Serajah Gereja Protestan di Sulawesi Tenggara (GEPSULTRA)”, MS in typescript, Kolaka, 1968, 87 pp. [Information about the history of the Protestant Church in Southeast Sulawesi (Gepsultra)]

“Bahan sejarah asal-usul suku Mekongga di Kecamatan Lasusua Kab. Dati II Kolaka”, MS, n.d., 5 pp. [Material about the origin of the Mekongga people in the Kecamatan Lasusua, Kabupaten Kolaka]

“Mekongga”, MS in typescript, n.d. [On Mekongga culture]

Dokumenta Kolaka. Makassar: Pemda Kubupaten Kolaka, 1963 (printed)

Anthropology and traditional religion:

“Kalo”, MS, 1954, 1 p. [A ring of plaited rattan used in various circumstances]

“Kepertjajaan suku Tolaki”, MS, 1954, 10pp. [The religion of the Tolaki people]

“Permudjaan pada ombu / sangia”, MS, 1954, 4 pp. [the worship of the gods and ancestors]

“Njanjian Tolaki”, MS, 1954, 1 p. [Note about Tolaki songs]

⁵ Jongeling, *Laporan*, 21.

⁶ Jongeling, *Laporan*, “Kata pengantar”.

⁷ This episode is discussed in De Jong, “Een kerkhistoricus”.

“Beberapa tanda alamat orang Tolaki”, MS, 1954, 3 pp. [Explanation of a number of signs and taboos of the Tolaki (such as bird calls, snakes, stars, objects, experiences, dreams etc.)]

“Pelantikan Bokeo di Mekongga”, MS, 1954, 2 pp. [The investiture of the sovereign of Mekongga]

“Pertanian dan hubungan kepertjajaan suku bangsa Tolaki” MS in typescript, 1960, 26 pp. [Concerns the interrelation of agriculture and religion among the Tolaki]

“Susunan wilayah dalam keradjaan Tolaki dahulu”, MS, 1967, 1 p. [The composition and hierarchy of the population of Tolaki, which existed in the past]

“Laporan singkat ketika mengantar benda-benda bersejarah ex kerajaan Mekongga ke Taman Miniatur Indah di Jakarta”, MS, 1975, 3 pp. [Brief account of the removal of historical items from the former sovereignty of Mekongga to Taman Mini “Indonesia Indah” in Jakarta]

“Sekapur sirih”, MS in typescript, 1986, 41 pp. [Discussion of six adat rituals]

“Kalosara”, MS, n.d., 6 pp. [A ring of plaited rattan used in various circumstances]

“Adat istiadat kepercayaan / sistern keyakinan Tolaki di Sultra”, MS, n.d., 11 pp. [The adat and traditional religion of the Tolaki in Southeast Sulawesi]

Islam:

“Tinjauan Islam tentang kebudayaan Tolaki di Mekongga dan perkembangannya”, MS, Kolaka, 1977, 9 pp. [The view of Islam with regard to the Tolaki culture in Mekongga and its development]

Pingak’s historical work

Even early on Pingak concentrated on collecting historical and anthropological material about the indigenous Tolaki population of Southeast Sulawesi, and in particular of the Mekongga region. His work deals with a variety of aspects of the Tolaki culture and history. The most important title, apart from his extensive work in the area of church history, is *Dokumenta Kolaka*, which appeared in print in Makassar in 1963. Besides, Pingak was one of the chief authors of *Serajah Daerah Sulawesi Tenggara*, up to now the most important historical work about Southeast Sulawesi published locally.⁸ It describes the history, culture and adat of the original population and chiefly uses oral history as source, at least for the time before 1900. Because of this, myth and history, fiction and historical reality, can hardly be separated, something the editors admit, and take into account when reaching their conclusions. Similarly they show extreme reserve with respect to the interpretation of rock-drawings found in caves, and other physical remains. The cautious statement that the present-day Tolaki are descendants of migrants from the north was confirmed by later research.⁹

An important theme of this book, which, from the time of the oldest myths and popular legends, runs as a thread through the history, is the interaction of the Tolaki, a semi-nomadic people of hunters-gatherers-planters in the interior of Southeast Sulawesi, and the Islamic coastal population of fishermen, traders and seafarers, chiefly originating from South Sulawesi and Buton. For that matter, Pingak treats this topic with some ambivalence both in *Serajah Daerah Sulawesi Tenggara* and in *Dokumenta Kolaka* and in other papers. He throws light upon the cultural and dynastic identity of the Tolaki themselves, but pays hardly any attention to the religious, cultural and economic rivalry which dominated for centuries their relations with the coastal population.

⁸ Cf. below, “Literature”.

⁹ De Jong, *Nieuwe hoofden*, chapt. 2; Bhurhanuddin, *Sejarah*, 16.

Although in present-day Indonesia it is of course not politically expedient to bring back memories of this rivalry, Pingak's approach does signal the absorption, in its completed form, of not only elements from pre-Islamic Buginese and Butonese mythology, but also from Islam, in the consciousness of the Tolaki. With the constants in Tolaki mythology and history, which encompass themes such as the Creation, the Flood, dwarves, giants, giant iguanas, gigantic birds of prey which bring death and destruction, and two-headed water buffaloes, stories about gods descending from heaven, the supernatural descent of rulers, the triumphal entry of Islam in the oldest Tolaki courts, the relationship of the most important Tolaki chiefs with real or legendary rulers from South Sulawesi, Bungku and Buton, and similar subjects have become interwoven. Pingak even dates the entry of Buginese Islam in Konawe, once the most important inland Tolaki kingdom, more than two centuries before this took place in reality, viz. in 1610 instead of in the middle of the nineteenth century.¹⁰ By doing so he aligned Tolaki history with the history of South Sulawesi. Pingak shows, sometimes willy-nilly, how, in the prevailing description of the integration of foreign religious representations and values in the culture and religion of the Tolaki the personal piety of their rulers, as well as their merits in the spread of Islam were (and are) made much of, as was (and is) the case in the historiography of South Sulawesi, where since the beginning of the seventeenth century a comparable process of Islamisation has taken place.¹¹ In Islamic eyes the presence of Islam in Southeast Sulawesi was given legitimacy through this "royal pathway", while for others the continued existence of many elements of the characteristic pre-Islamic religion, culture and adat of the Tolaki was explained and accounted for. Thus the worship of old gods such as Ombu Samena, Omba I Losoana Oleo, Ombu I Tepuliano Oleo, Ombu I Lahuene and Ombu I Puri Wuta could be presented as deficient, veiled early stages of the worship of the Allah preached by Mohammed. Some pre-Islamic elements of the Tolaki culture kept their old forceful message, as became obvious in 1945, when resistance erupted against Dutch people who returned and their allies. At that time the story circulated that the war banner of Laduma Sangia Nibandera, the ruler who, as a vassal of Luwuq in South Sulawesi, was said to have brought Islam to Konawe, had the same colours as *Sang Merah Putih* (the Republican flag), i.e. red and white! Pingak and many others ardently hoped that the raising of *Sang Merah Putih* in Kolaka on the 17th of September 1945 would also signal the beginning of the renaissance of the (interest in) Tolaki culture.

Pingak as church historian

The above gives something of a picture of the political, cultural and religious framework within which Pingak carried out his (church) historical work and which coloured his perspective on the past and present of Southeast Sulawesi and his church, the Gepsultra. After a brief history of the church had appeared, written by G. Sonaru, one of the first Gepsultra ministers, which was mainly based on the memories of the first indigenous Christians, the Synod in 1965 commissioned Pingak to edit a comprehensive history of the church. This book was to appear on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the 1916 arrival of Hendrik van der Klift, the first missionary in Southeast Sulawesi. It was Pingak's intention to give it the title of *Kenang-kenangan Injil di Sultra Setenga Abad* (Memories of a half century of the Gospel in Southeast Sulawesi). The manuscript was, however, never printed, and up to the present has been preserved in the archives of the Synod, under the title "Data-data Serajah Gereja Protestan di Sulawesi Tenggara

¹⁰ Pingak, *Dokumenta Kolaka*, 90-92.

¹¹ Patunru, *Sedjarah Bone*, chapt. vii, 75.

(GEPsultra)”. In this work Pingak describes, in eight chapters, the history of the mission and the Gepsultra which evolved out of its activities, up to about 1960. The manuscript contains elaborate lists of names of congregations, places and persons, from which it is clear that one of his aims was the preservation of essential facts and the names of the first Tolaki Christians for posterity. Not only in traditional religion, but also in the church the *nenek moyang* (ancestors) were the centre of attention and held in high esteem. The last chapter, chapter nine, contains a number of appendices, one of the most important of which is the first church order, i.e. a set of rules governing the life of the church, of 1957.¹²

A. The first phase

In a succinct and business-like manner Pingak discusses the arrival of Protestant Christianity in Southeast Sulawesi in the first chapters. He correctly dates this to the time of the first European and indigenous civil servants and military men, who entered the peninsula when colonial rule was being established in 1906-1907. Most of these civil servants and military men belonged to the Indies Church, the same church to which Pingak’s father belonged. Subsequently, from 1916 a number of missionaries of the Dutch Mission Society arrived, about whom Pingak writes with some endearment and – particularly in the case of one of them, Hendrik van der Klift – with respect. Pingak does not deny that there is a connection between the coming of Christianity and the “pacification” of Southeast Sulawesi by the Dutch colonial rulers, but this fact does not in any way imply a disqualification of the church. In his opinion the colonial authorities and Dutch missionaries were only the *alat* (instruments) used by God to make His Will known in Southeast Sulawesi. With regret he is forced to state that even in his time the idea, which had taken root at the beginning of the century (and which was in fact an age-old idea), that Christianity was *agama Belanda*, a Dutch religion, was still strong: “agama Kristen itu dianggapnya adalah agama Belanda, yang diciptakan oleh bangsa Belanda dan yang berbau Belanda adalah kafir” – “Christianity is considered to be a Dutch religion, invented by the Dutch, and everything that is Dutch smells of paganism”.¹³

This is an important theme, possibly the most important theme in Pingak’s church historical work, in the sense that he tried to remove this excess baggage from Christianity. His mission was on the one hand to convince his non-Christian countrymen that there was absolutely no reason not to accept and respect Christianity and its followers on equal terms, and on the other hand to hearten his fellow believers and to encourage them to go through life with head held high. The impeccable “war record” of many Christians in the years 1942-1950 was a potent, and in Pingak’s view, convincing argument in this.

To substantiate his cause Pingak tried to emphasise the discrepancies in the interests and motives of the mission and those of the Dutch colonial rulers. He even argued that the mission fought its gravest conflicts not with the Islamic leaders and the Tolaki chiefs, but with the colonial Government. According to Pingak, the Government would at first have resisted the coming of the mission to Southeast Sulawesi, and, once the mission had obtained permission to establish mission stations, it would have experienced much opposition from the authorities. This was, he claims, particularly the case for the more social aspects of the mission’s work, such as the development of clinics and schools for the indigenous population. Pingak enlarged this theme both by means of his line of reasoning and by his selection of factual material, to such an extent

¹² Pingak, “Data-Data”, 63-70.

¹³ Pingak, “Data-Data”, 9.

that he risks being at odds with the historical truth. For mission and Government in the main did pursue the same aims – to emancipate and civilise the population – even though it cannot be denied that on several occasions conflicts arose between the two. However, these were not related to the general principles underlying the approach to the indigenous population, but to the whims and quirks some civil servants exhibited as soon as they were in contact with the mission. Pingak objected to the (supposed) anti-mission disposition of the authorities the more because it was exactly the practical side of missionary work – which encompassed agricultural advice, the training of indigenous teachers, food aid, improvement of kampong hygiene, medical assistance and such like – which for a part of the population overcame the suspicion of Christianity.

B. The Japanese period and after

The conclusion in *Serajah Daerah Sulawesi Tenggara* was that the years of occupation had, in spite of everything, done a great deal of good, not least because the Japanese had strongly fostered and developed the “jiwa kepatriotan dan keberwiraan” (“the spirit of patriotism and bravery”) of the people, especially the young, which the Dutch had always suppressed.¹⁴ However, in his “Data-Data” Pingak is less markedly pro-Japanese, although an explicit condemnation of the Japanese reign of terror is lacking. The greatest enemies of the Christians in the years 1942-1945 were not the Japanese, nor the leaders of the Islamic part of the population, but the apostate Christians, the (unknown) instigators of the anti-Christian “fluister kampanyes” (“whispering campaigns”) and those who were after the possessions of the mission.¹⁵ He shares the view which is popular among many Indonesian and Dutch church historians that the initial upheaval among the indigenous Christians as a consequence of the sudden disappearance in 1942 of the Dutch missionaries with their, in indigenous eyes, almost inexhaustible financial reserves, was the responsibility of these missionaries themselves. They were considered to have neglected to form an indigenous executive, and to provide the evolving church with a sound financial foundation, an accusation which is not entirely justified. Soon, according to Pingak, it became obvious that the Tolaki Christians were fully able to carry all responsibility, and to manage and develop their evolving church, in his view aided in this by the Japanese.¹⁶ After the war a similar nationalistic spirit appears to have been in evidence among the indigenous Christians as that felt by the fighters – among whom he counts himself – of the pro-Republican *Gerakan Merah Putih* (The Red-White Movement). Insofar as there were still enemies of the church and Christianity, these were to be found in the circles of misguided nationalists and those who for diverse, but never explicitly stated, reasons stuck to their view that these Christians were “berjiwa Belanda”, i.e. “had a Dutch soul”.¹⁷ According to Pingak, the church and Christendom in Southeast Sulawesi struck out, united and joyfully, just as the brothers and sisters in the whole of Indonesia, on the new course indicated by Sukarno, “revolusioner dan progresif, yang perjuangannya dijiwai oleh falsafah Negara Panca Sila untuk mencapai tujuan yaitu hidup adil, makmur dan bahagia” (“revolutionary and progressive, in which their struggle was inspired

¹⁴ Bhurhanuddin, *Sejarah*, chapt. viii.

¹⁵ Pingak, “Data-Data”, 16.

¹⁶ Pingak mentions the Japanese Reverend Minister Shusho Miyahira and his successors. In Makassar they were in charge of an organization called *Selebes Kristokje Rengokai* (SKR, Society of Christians in Celebes (Sulawesi)). Its task was to ensure the support of the indigenous Christians for the Japanese war effort. In exchange the Christians received freedom of worship, though limited, and some protection against possible harassment of Muslims and the Japanese army.

¹⁷ Pingak, “Data-Data”, 14-19.

by the national Panca Sila philosophy, whose aim was a just, prosperous and happy life”).¹⁸ Dutch missionary workers were still welcome in Southeast Sulawesi, albeit in the modest and almost invisible role of advisers.

The critical attitude which Pingak displayed with regard to the Dutch period is absent when he describes the years after 1950, the year when Southeast Sulawesi (with the whole State of East Indonesia) was incorporated in Sukarno's Republic. His work becomes conformist, with the Panca Sila determining the actions and thoughts of the churchgoer as well as the politician and civil servant Pingak. Because of this, his historical work rapidly loses its significance. Questions such as how the Gepsultra coped with modern times, how the church came to grips with the integration of Southeast Sulawesi into the new Indonesia, the question whether the initial fear of Javanese domination was justified, what was the role of the church in the national and international oecumenical movement, how the church kept going during the *Darul Islam* rebellion (1950-1965), how the influx of Javanese, Balinese and other migrants in Southeast Sulawesi was handled, about all these matters Pingak leaves us in the dark.

Evaluation

The beginning of this contribution drew attention to serious drawbacks attached to the archives of the Indies Church and the Dutch mission, or rather to the work of the composers of the archives, i.e. reverend ministers, synods, administrators and missionaries. This drawback is their one-sided “European” view of the world around them. This objection is well-founded, and causes significant problems for users of the archives. However, it is possible to ask too much of these archives. This one-sidedness was not strange, given the assignment, objectives and position of the missionaries and their colleagues in the community. Their aim was not the description of a foreign culture and its representatives, but the conversion of the indigenous population to reformed Protestantism. In this light the formation and development of an archive can be as much the subject of scholarly research as the world about which it provides (some) information. Just as the Dutch archives are, apart from sources of information, also an expression of the spirit of the times, and reflect in their tone and composition the church- and political relations of those days, the archive of the Gepsultra, and more in particular the Pingak dossier in this archive, does the same. His written legacy betrays the position in which he, and many of his contemporaries and fellow believers, found themselves. After World War II the influence of Indonesian nationalism and of the Panca Sila ideology was predominant and inescapable. Publications, seminars and other cultural, religious and church statements in Southeast Sulawesi (and in the whole of Indonesia) were closely monitored by the state and, if necessary, censored. Pingak even played a pivotal role in this monitoring and educational work. These statements unmistakably bear the hallmark of a certain pride in the newly achieved independence. The fact that the Tolaki finally formed part of the “Bangsa Indonesia” (Indonesian Nation) was a source of great satisfaction for Pingak, and for many of the intellectual and political elite of his time. The study of their own history, religion and adat, which had been at the service of the revolution, would from that moment on be for the benefit of the “pembinaan en pembangunan nasional” (“national education and development”).

The insights into the (church) history and culture of Southeast Sulawesi acquired with this mentality are often of limited significance for the modern observer, and then chiefly to the extent that he/she is interested in the attempts of the central Government in Jakarta to transform the

¹⁸ Pingak, “Data-Data”, 19.

gigantic cultural and religious patchwork quilt which Southeast Sulawesi and the rest of Indonesia were (and are) into an ideologically and politically united entity, which guaranteed the continued existence of the nation, or at the very least did not endanger it.

In this process the hierarchically structured polytheism of the Tolaki contracted to a vague monotheism. In many people's consciousness the various gods merged into the one Tuhan Yang Maha Esa, on whom they, Muslims, Christians and others, could project their own Supreme Being. The rituals charged with magical powers, which had their origin and meaning in the contact with gods and ghosts, life and death, under- and upper-world, war and peace, faded to expressions of art and culture, or at best were transformed to manifestations of a new ethos of national pride and unity. Judging from the written work Pingak has left behind, he was an enthusiastic participant in this process of turning living religion and culture into folklore.

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