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Islam, Empire and Makassarese historiography in the reign of Sultan Ala'uddin (1593–1639)

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During the reign of Sultan Ala'uddin (r. 1593–1639), the Makassarese of Gowa and Talloq initiated a new form of historical writing known as lontaraq bilang. This article argues that this genre represents an Islamic form of historical writing that simultaneously integrated distant places and events within the structure of Makassarese history and Makassarese people and practices within the umma and the structure of Islamic history. Examining this islamisation of history writing yields new insight into premodern Makassarese notions of empire, social change, and religious identity. Lontaraq bilang are an important source of insight into how Makassarese grappled with what it meant to be Muslim and how processes of islamisation were transforming (or should ideally transform) their society.

During the seventeenth-century reign of Sultan Ala'uddin, the Makassarese kingdom of Gowa became the heart of an impressive premodern empire. Its imperial reach came to encompass the major kingdoms of the south Sulawesi peninsula and extended overseas to the Lesser Sunda islands. An economic as well as a political centre, Gowa's status as a maritime trading power made it the most powerful polity linking the Java Sea to the west with the spice islands of Maluku to the east. This empire was self-consciously and explicitly Islamic, for in 1605 Ala'uddin had spoken the *shahadah* profession of faith – 'There is no god but Allah and Muhammad is the messenger of Allah' – under the tutelage of his uncle and advisor Karaeng Matoaya of Talloq, Gowa's closest ally. By the time of Ala'uddin's death in 1639 he had ruled Gowa for nearly half a century and made it the most powerful empire that eastern Indonesia had seen. The Dutch East India Company (*Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*) had been fought to a standstill, and while historians know that Gowa's defeat at its hands in 1669 would be calamitous and definitive, at the time there was no reason to assume that the golden age Ala'uddin's prosperous reign inaugurated would soon end.

Historians have two main Makassarese sources with which to investigate Sultan Ala'uddin and his reign. The first are the *patturioloang* or royal chronicles of Gowa and Talloq and the second are the *lontaraq bilang* or 'counting manuscripts', texts much like modern day planners whose entries recorded significant events. *Patturioloang* have been comparatively well used by historians, providing the basic narrative structure and

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factual content for the telling of Makassarese history.[1] However, *lontaraq bilang* have languished, possibly because their narrative form and apparently straightforwardly referential content makes it seem as if there is less to explain or interpret.[2] Historians have dipped into these sources to retrieve information, but no study of the genre and either its historical or historiographical context has been attempted. This article performs such an analysis on the *lontaraq bilang* entries during the reign of Sultan Ala'uddin (r. 1593–1639), concluding that the advent of this new genre represents an Islamic form of historical writing that aligned Gowa's past and present within what Makassarese conceived of as the broad stream of Islamic history. Examining this islamisation of history writing yields new insight into the premodern Makassarese notions of empire, social change, and religious identity.

The moment of inscription

There has long been debate over the historicity of Indonesian historical texts, but Makassarese histories traditionally have been considered reliable and sober.[3] One effect of this has been to insulate south Sulawesi's historians from debate within the larger discipline of history over the degree to which texts – both the sources historians use and the historical narratives they construct – can mirror the reality of the past itself.[4] Do the histories we write accurately portray the past, or are these narratives products of our conceptual, linguistic, and cultural frameworks with only a tenuous connection to the past?

One answer to this representational conundrum is to stubbornly ignore the issues and implications and go about treating Makassarese historical texts as straightforwardly referential, reliable, and sober. But to do so is to miss an extraordinary opportunity to explore Makassarese ways of thinking about history, society, identity, Islam, and a host of other topics. If we refrain from indulging in dogmatic forms of postmodernism that pessimistically conclude that the past is unknowable and in all likelihood fundamentally different from our narrative constructions, questions about the relationship between narrative and reality become a productive opportunity.

1 See Dg. Patunru Abdurrazak, *Sedjarah Gowa* (Ujung Pandang: Jajasan Kebudajaan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara, 1969); Leonard Andaya, *The heritage of Arung Palakka: A history of south Sulawesi (Celebes) in the seventeenth century* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981); William Cummings, *Making blood white: Historical transformations in early modern Makassar* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002); Anthony Reid, 'A great seventeenth century Indonesian family: Matoaya and Pattingalloang of Makassar', *Masyarakat Indonesia*, 8, 1 (1981); and Anthony Reid, 'The rise of Makassar', *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs*, 17 (1983).

2 William Cummings, 'Historical texts as social maps: *Lontaraq Bilang* in early modern Makassar', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 161, 1 (2005).

3 On the first point see J. D. Legge, 'The writing of Southeast Asian history', in *The Cambridge history of Southeast Asia Volume 1: From early times to c. 1800*, ed. Nicholas Tarling (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 1–50 and Soedjatmoko *et al.*, ed., *An introduction to Indonesian historiography* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965). On the second point see A. A. Cense, 'Old Buginese and Macassarese diaries', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 122, 3 (1966) and J. Noorduyn , 'Origins of south Celebes historical writing', *An introduction*, ed. Soedjatmoko *et al.*, pp. 137–55.

4 F. R. Ankersmit, *Historical representation* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001); Hayden White, *The content of the form: Narrative discourse and historical representation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987).

Lontaraq bilang, we shall see, are constructions whose form and content possess their own logic in how they engage and represent the Makassarese past and present. As historians and historiographers they will well repay our attentions.

In appearance, Roger Tol described this genre as 'more or less similar to a condensed form of the modern executive diary'.[5] The annalist typically wrote the year at the top of each page, placed a vertical column for the names of months and days (both Gregorian and *Hijri* or Islamic dating) along one side of the page, thus making horizontal spaces for entries. Early *lontaraq bilang* had very few entries each year, suggesting that when the genre began this preformatted grid was not yet used. Who these annalists were is difficult to determine, since these texts, like other Makassarese texts, are with few exceptions anonymous. But literate and privy to events taking place at Gowa and Talloq's courts, their authors were certainly from the kinship networks surrounding the royal halls.

There is no canonical *lontaraq bilang* text. A. Ligtvoet published a transcription and Dutch translation of a Makassarese *lontaraq bilang* manuscript currently catalogued as Or. 236 in KITLV.[6] This text is a handwritten copy of VT 25 in the Indonesian National Library. Ligtvoet's work has come to be the standard text that subsequent scholars have consulted, preferring it to an Indonesian translation by Kamaruddin of the same manuscript published more recently.[7] This is unfortunate because this later edition contains numerous entries not found in Ligtvoet. For example, there are 123 entries in Or. 236 during the 1630s, all of which are in Kamaruddin's edition but 28 of which are not found in Ligtvoet. There is also the problem that sometimes the Makassarese text is given but no translation provided in either work, or vice versa, which makes these texts problematic for scholars working only with the translations. There are also entries in VT 25 not found in either the Dutch or Indonesian editions. The translations of entries in this article are based on the Makassarese text in VT 25.[8]

In her work on medieval European historiography, Gabrielle Spiegel argues that historians should focus analysis on 'the moment of inscription, that is, on the ways in which the historical world is internalized in the text and its meaning fixed'.[9] This is useful advice, so without further ado let us examine and interpret the initial entries in the most well-known *lontaraq bilang* text.

From these initial entries we can deduce a great deal about their moment of inscription, beginning with answering the question of when an anonymous writer commenced this history. Six of the first seven entries are marked with the term 'purportedly', *kutaeng* or *bedeng* in Makassarese. The first writer put these entries in

5 Roger Tol, 'A royal collection of Bugis manuscripts', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 149, 3 (1993): 618.

6 A. Ligtvoet, 'Transcriptie van het Dagboek der Vorsten van Gowa en Tello', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 28 (1880).

7 H. D. Kamaruddin *et al.*, *Lontarak Bilang Raja Gowa dan Tallok (Naskah Makassar)*, 2 vols. (Ujung Pandang: Proyek Penelitian dan Pengkajian Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan La Galigo, 1969, 1986).

8 See Cummings, 'Historical texts', for additional information on these and other extant *lontaraq bilang* manuscripts.

9 Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *The past as text: The theory and practice of medieval historiography* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), p. 24.

1545[10]	this year Tunijalloq purportedly born; he lived to be 45
1572	this year Karaeng ri Barombong purportedly born; he lived to be 70
1573	this year Karaeng Matoaya purportedly born; he lived to be 63
1586	this year Karaeng Tumamenang ri Gaukanna [later Sultan Ala'uddin] purportedly born; he lived to be 53
1590	Karaeng Tunijalloq cut down at the age of 45
1593	this year Karaeng Tumammaliang ri Timoroq Mudhaffar[11] purportedly born; he lived to be 43
Aug. 1600	this year Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng [Karaeng Pattingalloang] purportedly born; he lived to be 54
2 Mar. 1602	the Dutch Company [Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie] established; 73 people amassed 2,640,000 reals
22 Sept. 1603[12]	the two brother-karaengs [Matoaya and Ala'uddin] embraced Islam
11 Dec. 1607	Karaeng Tumamenang ri Papambatuna Muhammad Said [Malikussaid] born
9 Nov. 1607	Friday public prayers begin in Talloq for the first time; this year purportedly took place the war at Tamappalo
1609[13]	the people of Soppéng embrace Islam [after] battle at Pakenya
10 May 1610	the people of Wajoq embrace Islam
23 Nov. 1611	Boné defeated in the war of islamisation; this year I Amboq purportedly born

retrospectively (presumably at the same time) based on personal memory, oral report, or calculated backdating. The death of Tunijalloq is recalled precisely, for it was a decisive moment that did not need to be estimated. The 1602 entry for the Dutch East India Company, or VOC, undoubtedly dates from a later period, and was interpolated into the *lontaraq bilang* because of its significance to later Makassarese history combined with Makassarese convictions about the significance of origins.

The next entry is the famously erroneous dating for the 22 September 1605 conversion of Karaeng Matoaya of Talloq and Sultan Ala'uddin of Gowa.[14] It is risky to read too much into what after all could simply be scribal error, but it is nevertheless

10 In this article I give Gregorian calendar dates wherever possible, indicating in a note when the date is calculated from a *Hijri* date.

11 This is an apt place to explain that noble Makassarese bore several names. Most commonly these included a personal name, a royal name signified by the title *Daeng*, and a *karaeng* name that indicated their high birth. Upon installation as ruler of a given community they took the additional title of *Karaeng* of that community; becoming, for example, the *Karaeng* of Talloq. The most revered also received descriptive posthumous titles or names such as Tumammaliang ri Timoroq, or 'He who returned from Timor' and Tunijalloq, or 'He who was cut down.'

12 The *Hijri* date given is 9 Jumadilawal 1015, which converts to 12 September 1606. J. Noorduyn, 'De Islamisering van Makasar,' *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 112, 3 (1956) concluded that the correct date was 22 September 1605.

13 No date is provided for this entry, but based on Bugis sources Ligtvoet concluded that this must have taken place in 1609. Ligtvoet, 'Dagboek', notes 86–7.

14 Noorduyn, 'Islamisering van Makasar'.

hard to imagine that the writer would have got the date wrong by two years if he was recording contemporaneously. The first fully dated and presumably reliable entry is for the birth of Ala'uddin's son and later successor Muhammad Said, on 11 December 1607. The next entry comes from the same year, and apparently took place slightly before Muhammad Said's propitious birth. On 9 November 1607 Friday prayers were begun in Talloq and, purportedly, a war was fought in Tamappalo. We also read that the people of Soppéng embraced Islam after their defeat in battle, an undated event that probably took place in 1609. The improper chronology and use of *kutaeng* or *bedeng* suggest that these events too were recorded by the writer afterwards rather than contemporaneously. It is when Gowa and Talloq forced the people of Wajo to accept Islam on 10 May 1610 that the *lontaraq bilang* entries become more chronologically ordered, carefully dated, and freer of the tentativeness of purported events.

The momentousness of this date is worth underscoring, for it is clear that entries related to Islam are a prominent feature of the early *lontaraq bilang*. This was a landmark event marking a new chapter in the tumultuous rivalry for dominance between Gowa and the major Bugis states of Wajo, Soppéng, and Boné. From this perspective, the *lontaraq bilang* were initiated within a specific historical context involving the spread of Islam and the concomitant expansion of Gowa's empire. Indeed, the second contemporary entry on 23 November 1611 records Gowa's defeat of Boné in their war of islamisation (*bunduq kasallannganna*). Historically, it is quite possible that the 1607 war at Tamappalo also involved the spread of Islam by force of arms. For that matter, historiographically it is quite possible that the entry describing the 1609 defeat of Soppéng and their forced embrace of Islam was recorded in 1610 as well.

Considered together with the entries describing Matoaya and Ala'uddin's initial conversion and the formal marking of the beginning of Friday prayer services in Talloq, it is remarkable how the *lontaraq bilang* focused on marking watershed dates in the history of Islam's spread. This is the essential clue to understanding the genre's origins. This was a time when Gowa's and Talloq's rulers were feverishly active in recreating the social and political landscape around them in the image of an Islamic society. The function of *lontaraq bilang* was to commemorate this transformation, and from this perspective the timing of the advent of this new history was not accidental. It was a specific response to a change that Makassarese understood as crucial to their identity and history. Initiated around the time the wars of islamisation bore fruit and south Sulawesi's irreversible conversion to Islam begun, *lontaraq bilang* were a way of marking the expansion of Islam.[15] Ultimately this is of greater significance than the exact date when the *lontaraq bilang* were begun.

15 It is also noteworthy that Makassarese historically wrote using a modified form of Arabic script known as *serang* when they wished to emphasise or impart an aura of religiosity to a text. Using *serang* itself connoted that a text is Islamic. From this perspective it should be mentioned that VT 25 is written in the *serang* script. While this suggests a connection between the genre and Islam, other *lontaraq bilang* manuscripts were written in the conventional Makassarese script. Unfortunately we do not have access to original seventeenth-century manuscripts which could confirm the suspicion that the first *lontaraq bilang* texts employed *serang* and thus in appearance was 'Islamic'.

With this historical context in mind, one can also consider the historiographical dimension of *lontaraq bilang*'s moment of inscription. In Makassarese eyes all histories, by definition, began with accounts of origins.[16] Thus in addition to focusing on turning points in the spread of Islam in south Sulawesi, the contents of the early entries also deal extensively with the births and deaths of rulers. This genealogical component comes as no surprise given the central importance of rulers in the lives of Makassarese and their pivotal role in historical chronicles. *Patturioloang* were structured as elaborate genealogies relating the history of Gowa's and Talloq's chains of kings. It was the lives of rulers that defined eras and marked the passage of time. This conception of the past dominated Makassar at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The writer of the *lontaraq bilang* incorporated this reverential, genealogical aspect of Makassarese historical thought by adding the births of seven of the most prominent Makassarese (all but *Karaeng* ri Barombong were rulers of either Gowa or Talloq) and the death of one.[17] While *patturioloang* and *lontaraq bilang* on the surface have substantial differences in form and purpose, the perception that the lives of rulers are an inescapable structural feature of the past is an important continuity between the two genres. Nor should we forget that conversion to Islam itself was a practice initiated and encouraged by Gowa and Talloq's rulers. With this overview of the *lontaraq bilang* in place we can move on to examine how this new genre of history evolved after the wars of islamisation against the Bugis concluded.

Marked events, signifying patterns

After this moment of inscription the concerns, contents, and functions of *lontaraq bilang* did not remain static. We can gain a sense of the genre's evolution by examining the 30 entries that over the next two decades recorded significant moments in the history of this Muslim kingdom.

Adjudicating between the Gregorian and *Hijri* calendars used by the *lontaraq bilang* annalist is difficult. It is not possible to conclude that one or the other calendrical system is accurate. On balance the *Hijri* dates are more reliable. Six entries have no Gregorian date; only two have no *Hijri* date. In terms of chronology, in numerous cases the *Hijri* dates seem more dependable because they better match the sequential order of the entries, but again this is not always so. For several entries there is no obvious reason to prefer one date over the other, and I have not tried to rigorously impose one dating system as superior. Overall, however, there seems to be a tendency for the annalist to prefer the Islamic calendar. The more important considerations are what this tendency and the high frequency of contradictory dates tells us about Makassarese society in the early seventeenth century.

16 This is a widespread feature of many Austronesian societies. See Peter Bellwood, James J. Fox, and Darrell Tryon, eds., *The Austronesians: Historical and comparative perspectives* (Canberra: Australian National University, 1995) and James J. Fox and Clifford Sather, eds., *Origins, ancestry and alliance: Explorations in Austronesian ethnography* (Canberra: Australian National University, 1996).

17 It is also worth considering the extent to which the inclusion of these moments within what was a text concerned primarily with Islam was in itself a subtle act of incorporation that implicitly and retroactively islamised Karaeng Matoaya and Sultan Ala'uddin's predecessors. Such an act would have been in keeping with what we know of Makassarese desires to claim the earliest possible link to Islam.

28 Apr. 1615	*sabannaraq* [harbourmaster] Anciq Using taken by the Dutch
12 Dec. 1615	Karaeng ri Tangallaq Sitti Maradiah born
Nov. 1616	Karaeng ri Kassiqjala born
Apr. 1616[18]	I Loqmoq ri Mandalleq went over to Bima and conquered Bima with only nine vessels; this purportedly was the year Karaeng Matea ri Bima born
1 Oct. 1618	ritual with the bamboo held and something was seen resembling a banner[19]
30 May 1618[20]	the Dutch first occupied Jakarta
Oct. 1619[21]	Tumamenang ri Papambatuna [Malikussaid] circumcised; Karaeng ri Maroanging went over to Bima and conquered Bima and Sumbawa
3 Nov. 1619[22]	Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng [Pattingalloang] and I Bissu Caqdi divorced; Karaeng ri Sumannaq then called her his wife; this was the year Tamalate [a royal hall of Gowa] was built
5 Nov. 1619[23]	there was feasting at Tamaqrappo [a royal hall of Gowa]
1620	in the winds there were people who went *amuk*; this year I Daeng ri Kasammeng purportedly born
25 Mar. 1621[24]	Portuguese ship known as a galley raced
17 Mar. 1623	Karaeng ri Maroanging died
18 Aug. 1623	water first taken from irrigation canals in Pareq
14 July 1624[25]	Samanggi opposed; those living there were unprepared[26]
12 Apr. 1624	there was a council in Malang
13 Aug. 1624	Tumamenang ri Papambatuna [Malikussaid] first titled Karaeng ri Lakiung
Aug. 1624[27]	nine ships arrived

18 Unusually, no *Hijri* date is given for this entry. Coupled with the fact that the events on *Bima* were reported later, that Karaeng Matea ri Bima's birth estimated, and that the entry is chronologically out of order, it is possible that this entry was interpolated into the text, probably in 1617 or 1618, possibly in 1619. Noorduyn suggests that the date should be read as April 1618, which is equally likely. J. Noorduyn, 'Makasar and the islamisation of Bima', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 142, 3 (1987): 328.

19 This entry refers to some kind of rite being carried out, but without more information the meaning of the phrase '*kaparekang ri pattonga naniaq niciniq kuntu bate*' is difficult to determine.

20 The *Hijri* date 2 Zulkaedah 1028 in the text converts to 10 October 1619. The correct date is 30 May 1619. Makassarese would have learned of this date later and interpolated it into the text, apparently making the simple mistake of writing the wrong year. Possibly the annalist learned of it by October and the date 2 Zulkaedah 1028 corresponds to its moment of inscription.

21 This is calculated from Zulkaedah 1028. The Gregorian date June 1618 could be accurate as well, though Noorduyn, following Ligtvoet, agrees that the most likely year is 1619. Noorduyn, 'Makasar and the islamisation of Bima', p. 327.

22 This date is calculated from 26 Zulkaedah 1028 given in the text.

23 This date is calculated from 28 Zulkaedah 1028 given in the text.

24 This date is calculated from 1 Jumadilawal 1030, which is more likely correct than the Gregorian date 23 March 1620 given in the text.

25 No Gregorian date is given. This date is calculated from 28 Ramadan 1033.

26 This seems to be the sense of *nabali Samanggi naempoi tumalaqbe-laqbe*.

27 The *Hijri* date Muharram 1035 converts to October 1625, which is equally possible.

1 Mar. 1626[28]	east to Buton went Karaeng Matoaya with the Karaeng [Ala'uddin] and conquered Buton; this conquest was the first
15 Apr. 1626	a grandparent of Karaeng ri Bontoa born who was only four months older than the mother of Karaeng ri Balloq
3 July 1626	the karaeng [Ala'uddin] returned from Buton, having stopped in Bima, conquering Bima, Dompu, Sumbawa, and Kengkelu [Tambora]; people wed [in accordance with Islamic custom]; this was purportedly the year that Shaykh Yusuf was born
6 Apr. 1628[29]	Karaeng ri Tabaringang died
7 June 1628[30]	Karaeng ri Ballaq Jawaya died; Karaeng Tamasongoq born
14 Oct. 1627	Karaeng ri Lengkeseq born
7 Aug. 1627	Karaeng ri Katinting born
7 Aug. 1628	Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq born
4 June 1629	marriage of Karaeng ri Lakiung [Malikussaid]
Feb. 1629	lead coins [introduced]
13 Nov. 1629	Datoq Hafid died
13 Aug. 1630	Matinroa ri Talloq died
21 Aug. 1630	Arung Matoa I Toali cast out [as ruler of Wajoq]; a decision was requested regarding their land by the people of Ponre

To answer these questions, let us assume that we are not dealing with calendrical incompetence on the part of our annalist. A few mistakes are easily understood, but the steadfast inconsistency witnessed here suggests another explanation. I think the annalist did not consider getting the date precisely correct very important. That is to say, in the early years of this genre what was significant about the events chosen for inclusion in the text was not their precise position along a time line. Chronological accuracy was less valued than we might expect when first viewing these premodern executive diaries. In another perspective, the column with Gregorian and *Hijri* dates was not the focus of the text; that honour belonged to the information about people and events. So what was the writer of the *lontaraq bilang* accomplishing by recording this information and why was he doing it?

I believe what we witness over the early decades of the seventeenth century is a changed perception of dating and time and, in particular, the relationship between Makassarese and universal systems of marking time. We do not need to argue that this is a cognitive change of the sort suggested by Eviator Zerubavel.[31] The perception that concerns me is a social one about how Makassarese converts viewed their connection to the Muslim umma as a whole. Rulers remained the lodestone of their communities,

28 The date given in the text is 2 Jumadilakhir 1036, which would be 18 February 1627. Ligtvoet 'Dagboek,' p. 89 suggested and Noorduyn, 'Makasar and the islamisation of Bima', p. 327. confirmed that based on other evidence a copyist probably mistakenly wrote 1036 in place of 1035 for this and the next two entries. This is the source of the date conversion used here.

29 This is calculated from 1 Syaban 1037. Also possible is the text's Gregorian date October 1627.

30 This date is calculated from 4 Syawwal 1037 given in the text.

31 Eviator Zerubavel, *Time maps: Collective memory and the social shape of the past* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

but alongside this heroic conception of history developed a sense that the place of Makassarese Muslims in the umma and in Islamic history needed articulation.[32]

Muslims and Christians both reckoned time by universal calendars that, theoretically, could locate any and all events along a linear path. The world now possessed a Beginning and an End. The decision of the early *lontaraq bilang* writers to employ both of these calendrical systems was a deliberate choice that evidences their desire to place events and people in Makassar within a wider context. It is this intent that is striking. This is an example, I think, of how the form of a text can be deceptive to modern eyes. We should not mistake the appearance of accuracy and specificity – columns of dates – for accuracy and specificity. Including an event such as the 5 November 1619 feasting at Tamaqrappo or even the explicitly Islamic circumcision of Tumamenang ri Papambatuna in October 1619 within the text was itself a means of locating it within the context of universal, calendrical time. Its precise location was less important than the fact of its inclusion. Precise dates aside, we can even legitimately question the importance of sequential accuracy in the entries as well. After all, *patturioloang* reign narratives do not relate events in chronological order, and this was the dominant historiographical style when the *lontaraq bilang* were begun.

The genealogical entries of births and deaths help make this point. Being granted a textual place within the *lontaraq bilang* was recognition that an individual was of high status. It meant they were considered likely to have a decisive influence on the Makassarese around them because of their social position. Inclusion marked status and potential significance. The entries between 1611 and 1630 included many more non-rulers than did the first series of entries. All were important figures, usually close kin of the rulers of Gowa and Talloq, and their appearance in the *lontaraq bilang* presents us with a social map of the status rivalries that permeated Makassarese society.[33] The three instances of 'purportedly' that we encounter in this section are best interpreted as later additions to the text estimating the birth dates of individuals who had achieved prominence. Shaykh Yusuf, born around 1626, is a perfect example of this, for it was only toward the end of the century that this Sufi master gained fame as an Islamic scholar and enemy of the Dutch throughout the archipelago.

In an analogous fashion what events and which people were inscribed in the *lontaraq bilang* was a politically aware decision rather than a neutral judgement of historical significance. As we shall see, it was only later that the fit between Gregorian and *Hijri* dates became closer. The apparent confusion and inconsistency of dates is a clue to how Makassarese adopted textual practices from (most likely) the Portuguese and the Malays and put them to uses which were not entirely novel or removed from

32 We see this trend in *patturioloang* as well. As reign accounts progress in the Gowa and Talloq chronicles there is increasing concern to provide specific dates. Indeed, there is a dramatic change in the amount of calendrical information over the course of Ala'uddin's reign in particular. While at the beginning we are not told the date of his birth, at the end of the account of his reign we read, 'This *karaeng* lived to age fifty-three. For forty-six years he ruled then died. Above in Cikkoang, while inside Jongaya, illness came to him on the ninth night of the month of Safar, on the tenth night of June, on Sunday night. Once it was day on Sunday he was brought down to his home. On the twelfth of the [Islamic] month, on the fifteenth night of the Christian month, on Wednesday, at the stroke of one in the night, he died, 1639 of the Christian calendar, 1049 of the Islamic calendar.'

33 See Cummings, 'Historical texts'.

the original, but which clearly were adapted to local needs and purposes. Makassarese found use in these imported calendars and systems of temporal reckoning for integrating their society into the global community of believers. They did not import Islamic genres of historical writing from the Middle East wholesale with the possible exception of the Makassarese compilations of guidelines from renowned ancestors known as *rapang* which resemble Arabic *hadith* and *akhbar*.[34]

In addition to what this examination of dates and calendrical systems reveals, several themes also emerge from a consideration of the contents of these 30 entries. The genealogical expansion of the text to include a somewhat wider array of individuals has already been noted. A second evident theme is overseas conquest. In particular, Makassarese naval expeditions brought the islands of Buton and Sumbawa into the ambit of Gowa's expanding empire. In early 1626 Karaeng Matoaya and Sultan Ala'uddin personally led a voyage eastwards to Buton. Buton was an important source of slaves traded in the archipelago and occupied a strategic position athwart the shipping lanes leading to the spice islands of Maluku. Matoaya and Ala'uddin conquered the island and accepted the formal submission of its local rulers. Soon afterward they departed Buton and sailed south and west to the island of Sumbawa. Four main kingdoms on the island – Bima, Dompu, Sumbawa, and Kengkelu (Tambora) – all succumbed quickly to the Makassarese forces. But this was not the first time that Matoaya and Ala'uddin had conquered Bima. A decade earlier Sumbawa had been the first overseas target of Gowa after its defeat of the Bugis lands of Soppéng, Wajoq, and Boné. In roughly 1616, 'I Luqmuq ri Mandalleq went over to Bima and conquered Bima with only nine vessels' and then again in 1618 or 1619, 'Karaeng ri Maroanging went over to Bima and conquered Bima and Sumbawa.' There is uncertainty about the dates, but clearly it took three wars and the personal attention of Matoaya and Ala'uddin before the kingdom of Bima accepted Gowa's overlordship.

Entries describing the defeat of Bima in the *lontaraq bilang* are particularly important because the explicit purpose of the conquest was to spread Islam. This was the first extension of Gowa's and Talloq's wars of islamisation (*bunduq kasallannganna*) outside of south Sulawesi. We know a considerable amount about this effort from other Makassarese historical texts and European sources that have been analysed by J. Noorduyn.[35] One such Makassarese text describes how the kingdoms on Sumbawa 'were defeated as infidels, were made to embrace Islam, and were all enslaved by the karaeng except for Sanggar, which the karaeng freed because it had been the first to allow them to land'. It was after the second expedition that Islamic practices began to be enforced. There was significant resistance to the Makassarese proselytisers and internal political divisions between those who accepted the new faith and those who refused. The same Makassarese text describes the tribute obligations of the defeated kingdoms. It also describes how Makassarese established *mokkeng*, from the Arabic word *muqim*, meaning 'inhabitant' in Bima. This referred to people the ruler of Gowa appointed to attend the Friday prayer service, ensuring that the minimum number of 40 people demanded by

34 Cf. Tarif Khalidi, *Arabic historical thought in the classical period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) and Chase F. Robinson, *Islamic historiography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). See also Cummings, *Making blood white*.
35 Noorduyn, 'Makasar and the islamisation of Bima'.

dominant Shafi'i interpretations of Islamic law were present for the service to be valid. The text relates, 'He [Karaeng Matoaya] established the Friday service in those overseas countries. The karaeng hope to gain reward by appointing *mokkeng* and then setting them free. Just those people called *mokkeng* were free, and the commoners were slaves.'[36]

Gowa's expanding empire certainly had many motivations, and we would be remiss if we failed to acknowledge the political and economic benefits that accrued to Matoaya and Ala'uddin, but there is no doubt that the extension of Gowa's authority was conceived of as a fundamentally Islamic act of faith. Having joined the umma, Matoaya and Ala'uddin took seriously their religious obligation to extend the community of believers. The author of the Talloq *patturioloang* praised Matoaya for precisely this, recording that 'This karaeng [islamised] the people of Makassar until they became Islamic. Except for Luwuq, he [islamised] the Bugis throughout the Bugis lands, except only for the unbelievers [highland groups].' Their conquests stemmed from religious certainty. Empire and Islam were two sides of the same coin, and they came together both in the expeditions to Sumbawa and in the entries of the *lontaraq bilang* recording these expeditions.

Before leaving this period behind, we can also note other patterns in the entries related to Gowa's Islamic empire. There is a moderate concern with the Dutch East India Company (VOC). In addition to the 1602 entry marking its origins (which could date from this period), the annalist records that on 28 April 1615 their Malay harbour master Anciq Using was seized by the Dutch and that on 30 May 1618 the VOC occupied Jakarta. The 1615 conflict between Gowa and the VOC over maritime trade in Maluku spices initiated a long period of simmering hostilities punctuated by military conflicts between the two rivals. The 1630s would see more violence, but Makassarese concern about the Dutch was evident long before, as the Dutch replaced the Bugis as the greatest threat to Gowa's imperial ambitions.

There are also entries recording Gowa's imperial role within south Sulawesi. The political significance of the 5 November 1619 feasting at Tamaqrappo is uncertain, but the confrontation at Samanggi on 14 July 1624 (previously subjugated by Tunipalangga in perhaps the 1550s or early 1560s) and the 12 April 1624 report of a council at Malaang almost certainly involved the steady expansion of Gowa's dominance. As the overlord for an increasing number of communities, Gowa became involved in adjudicating local disputes such as that on 21 August 1630, when the people of Ponre requested a decision about their land. These and other entries offer tantalising glimpses into the changing political landscape of south Sulawesi under Ala'uddin and Matoaya.

Islam and empire, 1631–1639

By 1631 Gowa had become a very different place than it was two decades before when the *lontaraq bilang* was initiated. In 1610 Sultan Ala'uddin was a 17-year-old young man dependent on his uncle and patron Karaeng Matoaya; in 1631 he was now a mature ruler sure of his grip on power, confident in his abilities, and possessed of a remarkable history of victories in expanding Gowa's authority and influence. Karaeng Matoaya, though still alive, had abdicated Talloq's throne and his position as *tumabicarabutta* or

36 Both translations are made from the Makassarese published in Noorduyn, 'Makasar and the islamisation of Bima', pp. 317–18.

chief advisor of Gowa in favour of his equally capable son Tumammaliang ri Timoroq. Reading the *Talloq Chronicle* makes clear the extraordinary changes that took place under Matoaya and Ala'uddin: there is a long list of communities that had been conquered and now acknowledged Gowa and Talloq's supremacy, a long list of military innovations in such areas as building ships and forging firearms, and a long list of advances in areas as diverse as writing and woodcarving. What had begun as a fairly unpromising reign by a young boy following the expulsion of his elder brother and successor Tunipasuluq flourished beyond what anyone could have expected. By 1631 Ala'uddin and Gowa had reached the pinnacle of their influence in eastern Indonesia.

At about the same time the *lontaraq bilang* changed as well. After averaging one to two entries per year for the preceding two decades, beginning in 1631 we see large numbers of entries recorded. There are 16 entries for 1631 alone. Whether this can be explained by simply positing that a new, more dedicated annalist succeeded one much stingier with his words is difficult to determine. It may be that something changed in Makassarese society that encouraged a more intensive interest in recording significant events. Here are the entries for 1631:

12 Jan. 1631	Karaeng Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana Hasanuddin born
15 Jan. 1631	birth of Karaeng ri Panaikang
30 Mar. 1631	I Daeng Kalling died below[37] in Segeri; she was known as the mother of Karaeng ri Tangallaq
2 May 1631	there was rain like thread
14 May 1631	birth of I Tamammempo, a child of Tumatea ri Banten
24 May 1631	it was forbidden to pay interest on debts
3 June 1631	a wife of Karaeng ri Popoq gave birth to his oldest son named I Liba who lived just twenty-nine days
25 June 1631	a wife of I Daeng Kalula had a daughter named I Taniq
22 Aug. 1631	a wife of the ruling karaeng [Ala'uddin] died
4 Sept. 1631	Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana Abdul Hamid born
15 Sept. 1631	Macciniqdanggang built; sixty-five nights after it was built the karaeng [Ala'uddin] went up into it
28 Oct. 1631	word came of the death of Matinroa ri Bantaeng
13 Oct. 1631	'Javanese'[38] area burned to the ground; 556 houses were consumed
13 Nov. 1631	Anciq Sumaileq arrived from Mataram bringing I Maisanannga
17 Nov. 1631	the karaeng [Ala'uddin] went up into Macciniqdanggang
3 Nov. 1631	Karaeng ri Lakiung [Malikussaid] and Karaeng ri Tangallaq returned to each other [after having divorced]

37 Makassarese adverbs indicating spatial orientation may puzzle readers familiar with the geography of south Sulawesi. In English, 'up' is associated with north and 'down' with south. These are arbitrary conventions. In Gowa, 'up' (*naiq*) generally corresponds to south and 'down' (*naung*) to north. For a detailed discussion of these complex systems of spatial orientation see Horst H. Liebner, 'Indigenous conceptions of orientation of south Sulawesian sailors', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 161, 2–3 (2005).

38 'Javanese' is an umbrella term Makassarese used to refer to peoples from the western Archipelago, and usually indicates Malays.

Immediately striking, and as the dearth of notes testifies to, beginning in late 1629 the annalist's use of Gregorian and *Hijri* calendars consistently coincides or matches. In no cases do the dates differ by more than a month; most refer to the same day or are but a few days apart.[39]

One possible theory is that Datoq Hafid, who died on 13 November 1629, was the annalist in charge of the *lontaraq bilang* and that he was succeeded by a more diligent writer who began, fittingly, by recording his predecessor's death. Lacking other evidence this can be no more than conjecture. If true it indicates that the *lontaraq bilang* genre either originated with or at least was influenced by Datoq Hafid's Malay background. There was a thriving Makassarese Malay community in Makassar during Sultan Ala'uddin's reign that had close links to the ruling families of Gowa, Talloq, and other coastal Makassarese communities. The 13 October 1631 conflagration in the Javanese quarter refers to this Malay community, for Makassarese used the term 'Javanese' to refer to all those from the western archipelago, primarily Malays. It would be a diffusionist error, and sloppy scholarship, to simply argue that this genre was imported by Malays to Gowa, however. *Lontaraq bilang* certainly do not resemble Malay historical genres such as *hikayat* and *sy'air* (nor for that matter do *patturioloang*). As the previous section indicated, there is significant continuity between Makassarese *patturioloang* and *lontaraq bilang* despite striking surface differences in form. What is intriguing and suggestive about this theory is that Malays certainly are well known for their role in spreading Islam to Makassar. The presence of a Malay community was impetus for Tunijalloq (r. Gowa 1565–90) to build the first mosque in Mangallekana and encourage Muslims to make the *hajj*, for example. It was a Mingangkabau Malay named Katte Tungallaq who led Karaeng Matoaya and Sultan Ala'uddin in their profession of faith in 1605. Malays frequently served as religious officials and teachers in seventeenth-century Makassar as well. This would at least provide contextual support for the argument that *lontaraq bilang* represent an islamised genre of Makassarese historical writing. To bring this theory to a close, if Datoq Hafid indeed was a *lontaraq bilang* annalist this is best interpreted as testament to the deep connections between Malays and Makassarese and the two-way process of acculturation taking place during Ala'uddin's reign.

Like *patturioloang*, from their beginning *lontaraq bilang* displayed an interest in marking the births and deaths of powerful nobles because history was conceptualised and society organised genealogically. But births and deaths began to take on an added significance, for they now also marked the boundaries of the growing Muslim community in Makassar. We see an increase in the quantity and quality of genealogical information recorded. Instead of children simply 'appearing' we now get information on genealogical relationships. For example, on 3 June the 'wife of Karaeng ri Popoq gave birth to his oldest son named I Liba who lived just twenty-nine days' and on 25 June the 'wife of I Daeng Kalula had a daughter named I Taniq'. It is difficult to be certain, but in a society where Islam spread through kinship and patron-client ties, these details about relationships may have gained in importance during the course of

39 Before 1629 only four entries had closely corresponding *Hijri* and Gregorian dates: 10 May 1610, 23 November 1611, November 1616, and 3 July 1626.

Ala'uddin's reign. Important relationships with kingdoms such as Mataram did make their appearance in the *lontaraq bilang* as Gowa and Talloq forged ties with other Muslim kingdoms. Later entries from Ala'uddin's reign contain a growing number of entries marking these relationships as envoys and messengers from Aceh, Maluku, Banten, and elsewhere arrive and depart Gowa. *Lontaraq bilang* recorded these missions and in so doing affirmed the significance of Gowa within the network of Muslim kingdoms spanning the archipelago.

Linked to this concern with the boundaries of the umma was a growing concern with how Makassarese Muslims should behave. We can begin to sense around this time interest in and possibly debate over the role of Islamic practices, requirements, and prohibitions in Makassarese society. Christian Pelras posited that there were elements of Islamic doctrine that rulers from south Sulawesi judged incompatible with indigenous beliefs, delaying conversion to Islam until the beginning of the seventeenth century.[40] While this is unlikely to explain the timing of Matoaya and Ala'uddin's conversion, he is correct that Makassarese had to find ways to overcome potential conflicts and incorporate Islamic requirements into existing practices. For example, maritime trade played an important role in providing revenue sustaining Gowa's empire. We know this from a variety of sources, including the entries here noting that Ala'uddin had a royal hall constructed near where these transactions took place named 'Watching Trade' or *Macciniqdanggang*. Yet the Islamic law's concern over usury also prompted Ala'uddin and Matoaya to decide that it would be forbidden to pay interest on debts. The inscription of this decision on 24 May 1631 recorded Ala'uddin's desire to further islamise Makassar and was an instrumental textual act that itself helped achieve this end.

Given the increased number of entries beginning in 1631 it would be tedious to translate all of them until the one recording Sultan Ala'uddin's death on 15 June 1639. More illuminating in identifying historical patterns is to highlight the entries which deal with the practice of Islam and the entries concerned with Gowa's overseas empire. The two themes are in fact related and given their prominence can tell us much about both *lontaraq bilang* and the last decade of Ala'uddin's remarkable reign.

19 Apr. 1632	tobacco intoxicating
20 May 1632	Tumatea ri Banten went overseas on the *hajj*
16 Sept. 1632	people mustered and called up for Friday prayers[41]
17 Sept. 1632	people mustered [for Friday prayers]
2 Mar. 1633	at the stroke of 8 was the birth of I Maqmiq; her Arabic name was Syafiah; her royal name was Daeng Sannging
17 Sept. 1635	mosque constructed in Bontoalaq
4 Aug. 1636	the karaeng [Ala'uddin] went down to dwell at Bontoalaq
13 Feb. 1637	the birthday of I Tuang ri Dima

40 Christian Pelras, 'Religion, Tradition and the Dynamics of Islamisation in South Sulawesi', *Archipel* 29 (1985): 107–35.

41 'People mustered' is probably a reference to the 40 *mokkeng* needed to make the service valid. Care was being taken to ensure the validity of the service by mustering the *mokkeng* the day before the prayer service took place on Friday.

There was great concern on the part of the annalist to mark important steps in Gowa and Talloq's islamisation. This particularly involved tracking the adoption of what was considered proper religious practices. Most obviously, it was for this reason that the 1605 conversion of Matoaya and Ala'uddin was included. This was also true for the commencement of Friday prayer services in Talloq in 1607, Tumamenang ri Papambatuna's circumcision in 1618, the use of Islamic wedding rites beginning in 1627, and the forbidding of interest on debts in 1631. All of these are in addition to the multiple entries tracing the advances in the wars of islamisation to spread the faith in and beyond south Sulawesi. This steady progress of islamisation clearly continued during this period. In rapid succession in 1632 there apparently was a public declaration about how tobacco interfered with Islamic teachings about sobriety, the first Makassarese man (that we know of) was encouraged to embark on the pilgrimage to Mecca, and people were pointedly assembled for Friday prayer services. We read the first reference to an 'Arabic name' given to a newborn, and indeed Muslim names make ever more frequent appearances in the *lontaraq bilang* during Ala'uddin's reign. Ground was broken on the construction of a royal mosque in Bontoalaq in 1635, and Sultan Ala'uddin made a point of temporarily going and living nearby the following year. Finally, the birth of a Sufi teacher known as I Tuang ri Dima, who was famous in Makassar in the 1680s and 1690s, was later added to the text. We can conclude from these entries that it was important to the text's annalist to make explicit Gowa's Islamic character and identity. The *lontaraq bilang* is thus not simply a neutral record of events, but rather an interested account or argument that through its entries demonstrates the commitment to Islam found in Makassar. Indeed, in the hands of this and succeeding Muslim writers, *lontaraq bilang* always retained this close association with Islam.

Yet at the same time there was resistance to the proselytising of Gowa and Talloq's rulers. One European account tells how a brother of the ruler of Gowa opposed conversion and on the eve of the first Friday prayer service slaughtered pigs inside the mosque and smeared their blood on the walls and doors.[42] Though this particular story may be apocryphal, there was tension within Makassarese society over the place of Islam, particularly its relationship to local animist traditions.[43] It would take a century for this tension to subside, and local religious practices only begin to be mentioned in the *lontaraq bilang* in the eighteenth century. Indeed, the 1632 entries noting that people were mustered for Friday prayer can also validly be read as evidence that a full generation after conversions began Ala'uddin had difficulty gathering believers for the service. Makassarese awareness that mosques and religious services were contested sites also emerges from accounts of European efforts to establish Christian churches and prayer services in Makassar. Makassarese interest in religious ceremony and the importance they accorded it is reflected in a 1617 report of Portuguese Jesuit priests. Though they initially arrived intending to make converts secretly, this proved impossible and Sultan Ala'uddin himself attended and witnessed their mass on several occasions. The Jesuit report makes clear that Muslim leaders opposed Ala'uddin's presence at the Christian services, and he soon stopped attending. Ala'uddin declared

42 Pelras, 'Dynamics of Islamisation', p. 121.
43 Leonard Andaya, 'Kingship-*Adat* rivalry and the role of Islam in South Sulawesi', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 15, 1 (1984): 22–42.

to the priests that he would remain a friend of the Portuguese, but would never allow his subjects to convert.[44]

From this perspective we cannot forget that the *lontaraq bilang* are a conscious effort to incorporate Makassarese society into the umma and the course of Islamic history. Their author does not simply include Islamic events because they meet an (uncertain) qualification of significance. The genre was explicitly and implicitly associated with Islam. It is important to read the 1632–39 *lontaraq bilang* entries about Gowa's ongoing efforts to maintain its expanding Islamic empire in this light as well. Gowa's concern with Buton and Bima, the recently acquired overseas lands on either side of the strategic route to Maluku, continued throughout (and indeed beyond) Sultan Ala'uddin's reign.

13 Nov. 1632	it was reported that the Bimanese revolted
25 Nov. 1632	Karaeng ri Buraqne sailed over to Bima to put out the revolt
7 Apr. 1633	Karaeng ri Buraqne arrived from Bima
21 June 1633	Bimanese came personally; the karaeng [Ala'uddin] spoke and they agreed
9 Mar. 1634	a manuscript arrived from Buton commemorating their oath at Bau-Bau
3 Apr. 1639	I Daeng ri Bulekang went over to Buton
15 June 1639	at the stroke of one we were left by Karaeng Tumamenang ri Gaukanna Sultan Ala'uddin
12 Aug. 1639	news arrived that the Bimanese intended to fight

Bima's relationship with Gowa was tumultuous. Indeed, the 1632 revolt against Gowa's rule took place not long after the third Makassarese conquest of Bima recorded earlier in the *lontaraq bilang*. We know from Dutch harbour records from Batavia that a Makassarese armada of some 400 vessels devastated the kingdom, destroying houses and sending people fleeing into the hills. So thoroughly was the revolt crushed by Karaeng ri Buraqne, and so in awe of Gowa's power was the ruler of Bima, that he barred the VOC from trade in Bima.[45] Even the formal act of submission by envoys from Bima on 21 June 1633 did not end the desire of many to escape Gowa's overlordship, for shortly after Ala'uddin's death news arrived of another impending revolt.

Buton's striving for autonomy from Gowa was only slightly less vehement. The 1634 entry describes another formal token of submission according to a treaty presumably signed after Ala'uddin and Matoaya conquered the kingdom in 1626. But this placid surface is perhaps deceptive, for again Dutch records note the 11 October 1632 arrival in Batavia of a ship from the ruler of Buton asking for Dutch assistance against Gowa.[46] In fact, Buton and the waters around it was the site of naval battles between Dutch and Makassarese ships for much of 1634. A report received on 28 April

44 Hubert Jacobs, ed., *The Jesuit Makasar documents (1615–1682)* (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu no. 34, 1988), p. 9.
45 *Dagh-Register Gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant Passerende Daer ter Plaetse als over Geheel Nederlandts-India, 1624–1682* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1887–1931), 1631–34, pp. 174–5.
46 *Dagh-Register* 1631–34, p. 108.

1634 described an armada of 500 Makassarese vessels, great and small, which had recently scoured and subjugated Buton.[47] During 1634 the VOC attempted with only limited success to blockade Makassar and close down its activities in Maluku. Often it seemed that the Dutch had a better chance of interdicting ships off Buton, and restless Butonese nobles assisted these efforts as best they could in hopes of freeing themselves from Gowa's rule. It is likely (as Kamaruddin assumed) that I Daeng ri Bulekang's voyage to Buton was at the head of a fleet of warships trying to enforce compliance and submission on the unruly kingdom.[48]

Conflict with the VOC – itself the subject of numerous entries during the 1630s – was one reason that Gowa's imperial role is so prominent in the *lontaraq bilang*. Several dozen entries track the efforts of Sultan Ala'uddin and Tumammaliang ri Timoroq to maintain or extend their authority over south Sulawesi. Armed expeditions to Toraja, Kabaena, and Mandar; envoys from major kingdoms in the archipelago such as Maluku, Mataram, and Aceh; and messengers from the Sula and Banggae islands, Luwu, Mandar, Boné, and Ambon all find their place in the text. In short, the *lontaraq bilang*'s author continued to feel that marking Gowa's empire and the status of its relations with other polities was essential. Just as it was a record as well as a manifestation of Gowa and Talloq's Islamic identity, it was also a record and a manifestation of Gowa's imperial ambitions.

Sultan Ala'uddin died on 15 June 1639 at the stroke of one. Not long afterwards, and perhaps that very day, we can imagine that *lontaraq bilang*'s annalist went back and added to the beginning of the text that Tumamenang ri Gaukanna, as he would be posthumously known, lived to age 53. Gowa's Islamic empire would last through the reign of his son Sultan Malikussaid but be dismantled during the turbulent rule of his grandson Sultan Hasanuddin. Historically and historiographically Ala'uddin's long reign was marked by extraordinary accomplishments, and analysing the textual legacy of this period helps us appreciate the extent of the changes that he and Karaeng Matoaya oversaw.

Conclusion

An important, perhaps even essential, element of islamisation is coming to grips with the place of the newly converted society in the broad stream of Islamic history and society. New genres of writing appear at precisely such moments of social transformation. The *lontaraq bilang* were initiated as part of this process. While they drew on existing Makassarese ideas about history as the conceptual lodestone for the present, and while they grew to incorporate a wide variety of events judged significant, in inspiration they can be considered an Islamic form of Makassarese historiography.

Lontaraq bilang functioned to place Makassar in a much wider social universe. The concern with religious practices, innovations, and events, as well as the continuous effort to spread Islam throughout Gowa's empire are both dimensions of this effort. The genre accomplished this by simultaneously integrating distant places and events within the structure of Makassarese history and by integrating Makassarese people and

47 *Dagh-Register* 1631–34, p. 295.
48 Kamaruddin, *Lontarak Bilang*, p. 100.

practices within the umma and the structure of Islamic history. They were both public records of a new identity and instruments intended to help bring about this transformation.

Histories, of course, have their own history, and *lontaraq bilang* are no exception. The explicitly Islamic dimension of these texts became somewhat occluded as more kinds of events were included in their pages. Nevertheless, the social need of seventeenth-century Makassarese converts to articulate their place in the umma remained. This is fortunate, as it means that historians concerned with contemporary understandings of religious change and its implication possess a revealing source of insight into how Makassarese grappled with what it meant to be Muslim and how that was transforming (or ideally should transform) their society.

This form of historical writing proved to be enduring and popular in south Sulawesi, and the *lontaraq bilang* certainly did not suffer the fate of *patturioloang*, which Makassarese abandoned following the Dutch conquest in 1669. The later historical development of the *lontaraq bilang* genre must await additional study to see how it evolved in content, purpose, and social meaning in the centuries following Sultan Ala'uddin's reign. Yet this initial investigation does make clear the value of examining the connections between narrative form and factual content within the text, as well as the complex intersection between historiographical practice and social life outside the text. Both tasks are long overdue.