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### *Introduction*

When, after three years of warfare, the Makassar kingdom was finally conquered in July 1669 through the immense efforts of the Dutch VOC and its Bugis allies under the command of Admiral Speelman, its capital, Makassar, was no longer the bustling emporium it had been in the heyday of the kingdom, when its thriving commerce had made it the backbone of the empire. It still remained, however, a harbour of great regional importance. People of diverse extraction settled in the newly built town in order to take part in commerce, which ranged from local and regional to distant overseas activities.

Foremost among these were the merchants from the Bugis state of Wajoq, located approximately one hundred miles northeast of Makassar. Renowned for their commercial activities, the Wajorese merchants had been in Makassar prior to the war, but had fled and stayed away after the conquest for fear of plunder and enslavement. Wajoq was, moreover, one of the most loyal allies of the Makassar kings. It refused to submit even after Makassar itself had been defeated. Even then the Wajorese people resisted the Bugis and Dutch troops under Arung Palakka of Boné for more than a year until their capital, Tosora, finally fell in December 1670 after a three-month siege (Andaya 1981:139-42).

Continuous warfare had devastated the country of Wajoq. Wajorese written accounts inform us that people fled their homeland because of famine and starvation. Some went to adjacent regions, such as Énrékang and Luwuq in the north; others to overseas places such as Bima and Sumbawa on the island of Sumbawa in the south; or to Pasir and Kutai on eastern Borneo. Still others went to Banjarmasin in southern Borneo, to Mandar and Kaili on the west coast of Celebes, or to Selangor in Malaya. After peace was restored, many of them resettled in Makassar, where they had their own district – the Kampong Wajoq – and their own head, who held the title of *matoa* (lit. 'old', 'elder').

In accordance with the customs of the Bugis and Makassar people, the *matoa*, and perhaps other members of the Wajorese community in Makassar, kept written records of what they considered to be the most important events of their time. While other manuscripts presumably existed and some stray notes are found elsewhere, the most extensive and most coherent of the extant notes about the Wajorese people in Makassar and their *matoa* are preserved in a single Bugis manuscript.

Dr B.F. Matthes, who was engaged in extensive research on the language and literature of Makassar during several decades in the middle of the 19th century, found this manuscript in the possession of a former *matoa*, La Uséng Daéng Matoneq, and had a copy of it made by his clerk, La Siri. The copy is held in the library of Leiden University, NBG 106 in the collection of Makassar and Bugis manuscripts. It is unknown if the original is still in existence in South Celebes, or how exact a copy NBG106 is of the original. Matthes may have compared the copy with the original and corrected it. He made some corrections, but these are minor ones and occur rarely in the manuscript. It is likely that he had the copy made for his own study purposes. Evidently, he instructed his clerk to use wide spaces between the lines. Matthes used these spaces, as well as the margins, for his own annotations, translations, and additional explanations. He included quotations from the manuscript in his Bugis dictionary (without mentioning the source) and drew some selected data, summaries, and translations from it for his booklet about the Wajorese people, especially those of Makassar (Matthes 1869). Presumably, he also consulted with local experts. Several difficult passages in the text can only be understood through the explanations Matthes wrote next to them. In various places, he added additional information which he had obviously obtained from individuals who were knowledgeable about matters of trading and shipping.

In his catalogue of Makassar and Bugis manuscripts, Matthes devoted two and a half pages to manuscript NBG 106 (Matthes 1875:40-3). He identifies twenty long and short sections which deal with various subjects. Like other Bugis manuscripts, this one is a kind of notebook, in which the owner copied everything which was of interest to him. In this case, the greater part of the contents concerns Wajoq, including the Wajorese merchants' community of Makassar. The contents of the manuscript are briefly summarized in the following survey (page numbers of the manuscript are given in brackets).

- Words of wisdom of former *arung matoa* (rulers) of Wajoq (36-48)
- Customs of Wajoq and other countries (48-58, 138-148, 188-240, 263-274, 329-343)
- Lists of the *arung matoa* of Wajoq (121-133, 240-251)
- The wars of Arung Séngkang in Wajoq and adjacent regions between 1736

and 1754 (148-181)

- An account of the Krim war (22-35)
- A narrative about the marriage of Ali and Fatimah (274-303)
- A narrative about a wise king of Sang, that is Syam, or Syria (303-329)
- The conquest of Rompégading in Makassar by the British in 1814 and the role played by the Wajorese people from Makassar in the conquest (2-12); notes about the family of La Koda who, during that time, was the *matoa* of Wajoq in Makassar (12-22); the Wajorese people in Makassar and their *matoa* (58-121) and some orders from the king of Boné, Matinroé ri Mallimongeng, to the Wajorese people in Makassar (251-263).

It is clear that some passages written in the first person emanate from La Koda, the father of La Uséng, the owner of the manuscript. One may speculate as to whether more of the manuscript emanates from La Koda, including passages not written in the first person.

The next portion of this article is an attempt to summarize, as faithfully as possible, those passages of the manuscript which deal with the Wajorese community in Makassar. This is preceded by a note on chronological data in this text and one about the position of the king of Boné versus the Wajorese, and is followed by an analytical commentary. A few stray notes from another source have been added to the summary of manuscript NBG 106 presented here. They concern the Wajorese in Makassar during the years 1743, 1752-1757, and 1772-1775, and are to be found in the last pages of a manuscript describing the wars of Arung Séngkang in Wajoq. This manuscript is held in the Leiden University Library as Or.1923 VI.

### *Chronological data*

During the more than one and a half centuries covered by the notes in the manuscript, fourteen *matoa* consecutively led the Wajorese community in Makassar. The number of years during which a particular individual functioned as the *matoa* is given for most of them and, for some, the date of their appointment is recorded as well. The first date of appointment mentioned is 13 Rajab 1135, that is 20 April 1723. On that day the fourth *matoa*, Amanna Moming, assumed office. The three preceding *matoa*, according to statements in the manuscript, occupied this position for a total of 57 years (10, 21, and 26 years, respectively). The year 1671 is the earliest date on which the first *matoa* could have been appointed after the definitive defeat of Wajoq in December 1670 with the overthrow of its capital at Tosora. Since there are 52 years between 1671 and 1723, 57 years as the cumulative total for the collective tenure in office of the three previous *matoa* is too high by five years. There-

fore, one or more of the statements in the manuscript concerning their respective terms in office must be erroneous. It is unlikely that there is an error in the data given about the third *matoa*, Amanna Gappa, who must have served as *matoa* for 26 years; that is, from 1697 to 1723. These dates correlate with the statement that on 5 February 1698, he concluded an agreement with the Chinese and Malay captains (see sub 3j below). Thus, it may be assumed that it is the information about the first and/or second *matoa* which contains inaccuracies. Uncertainty as to when these *matoa* assumed office has been taken into account below by citing double dates for their first and last years in office.

A second chronologically uncertain period is that which falls between 1772 – the year in which the ninth *matoa* assumed power – and 1811, the year in which the thirteenth *matoa* was appointed. The manuscript contains no chronological data about the three persons who functioned as *matoa* in the interim. This also applies to the period after 1811. However, the name of the individual in office is mentioned annually in the Dutch government's almanacs from 1833 to 1913. The names and dates of the several *matoa* in this period will be listed from this source.

Despite these uncertain factors, the information in the manuscript can be situated within a broad chronological framework according to the absolute or relative chronological data contained in the manuscript. In it, all events are grouped around the successive *matoa* or, in one instance, in a period which had no *matoa*. No further chronological data are given. But another pertinent fact is that several of the kings of Boné are mentioned by name in the manuscript, and it is known when they reigned.

#### *The kings of Boné as Ranreng of Tua*

Through a coincidence of circumstances, the kings of Boné stood in a direct authority relationship, which they effectively exercised, to the Wajorese community in Makassar. In the first place, the kings of Boné had inherited the function of *ranreng* of Tua, which was one of the three highest hereditary functions in Wajoq. La Patauq (1696-1714) was the first king of Boné to serve simultaneously as *ranreng* of Tua. The principle of succession for this office was hereditary in both the male and the female line. The position devolved to La Patauq's father (Pakokoé), via his mother (Khadijah Da Selleq), a daughter of To Ali, who was then a *ranreng* of Tua in Wajoq (see Noorduyn 1955:108-9, 111).

In the second place, ever since the reign of Arung Palakka (1672-1696), the kings of Boné owned a palace in the village of Bontoalaq in Makassar. They resided there for years and years, although their kingdom lay considerably

to the north. In Bontoalaq, however, they were able to maintain direct and frequent contact with the Dutch governors and the VOC office at Fort Rotterdam (Benteng Ujungpandang). In this way, they could effectively demonstrate their leadership over the allied Bugis and Makassar realms connected to the VOC.

Their Wajorese title enabled them to claim the same authority over the Wajorese living in Makassar as a *ranreng* of Tua residing in Wajoq exercised over his subjects there. The difference was that in Wajoq a *ranreng* of Tua formed part of a large hierarchically structured board of rulers, called the Forty Lords. There were two other *ranreng* next to him, the *Ranreng of Béttémpola* and that of *Talotenréng*. They were the heads of the three districts or sections (*limpo*) of Wajoq. Each *ranreng* had a lord ensign-bearer as his second-in-command. Together these princes were known as the Six Lords and, as such, they formed the highest board of rulers within that of the Forty. The Six Lords elected the Arung Matoa of Wajoq, who was their president and the highest ruler of the country, but his function, contrary to all others, was not hereditary. These seven princes, together with thirty other lords and three envoys, formed the Board of Forty.

Even if the king of Boné was, by virtue of his *ranreng* title, theoretically part of such a structure, he was also free from it and, in actual practice, was not hampered by it in any way. In Makassar, far from Wajoq, he could exercise his authority effectively – because of his powerful position as the mightiest king of the region – and legitimately, because of his Wajorese title. The Wajorese recognized and accepted him as such. They rendered him services and sought his protection. Protests and debates arose from time to time over the extent to which they found his demands reasonable.

#### *Order of matoa*

This section lists the order of individuals who occupied the office of *matoa* and the major events of their years of office in the Wajorese community of Makassar.

##### 1. To Pabukiq (c.1671-1676/1681)

When the Wajorese people were in agreement about appointing a *matoa* they chose to appoint To Pabukiq, who came from Béttémpola. After To Pabukiq held this function for ten years, he died.

The obligations of the Wajorese people to their *matoa*, which had been established for To Pabukiq, were reaffirmed for his successor and are recorded in the paragraph about the latter (sub 2c below).

##### 2. To Pakkalo (1676/1681-1697/1702)

a. This *matoa* came from Ménggé, one of the four parts of the Wajorese *limpo* Tua (Noorduyn 1955:38).

b. First, a summary is presented about Wajorese trading activities in Makassar. The more their trade increased, the greater became the number of foreign traders. Chinese, Dutch, and native (lit. 'black') people came to Makassar to do business. The reasons for this were that Boné and the VOC worked together harmoniously, and rice was cheap in Makassar. For one *real* one could buy 80 sheaves of rice or, during the harvest season on the fertile plain of Maros to the north of Makassar, 90 or even 100 sheaves.

Several Wajorese people were rich in merchandise. Some owned big sea-going ships, such as *konténg* and *padéwakeng*, others were ship captains and sailed far and near over the sea. There were traders who traveled to and from Tosora in Wajoq, shop owners (*paggaddé*) who sold cloth, household goods, etcetera, and pedlars (*paléléang*) who visited villages and hamlets throughout the country.

c. After To Pakkalo had been *matoa* for three years, the Wajorese people, during a meeting in their house of worship (*langgar*), established in the presence of To Pakkalo the five regulations previously agreed upon with To Pabukiq, when he had been appointed as *matoa* of the Wajorese traders.

These read as follows:

I No one may bid higher on merchandise than the *matoa*.

II The *matoa* has the right to participate in a purchase for trading purposes made by one or more of the Wajorese people: He may do this without personal financial involvement and may profit or lose from it. Matthes explains: Only when the goods are sold does the seller go to the *matoa* and offer him a share in either the profits or the losses.

III The *matoa* may give goods and merchandise valued up to 100 *real* in commission to a ship captain and have him sell it on behalf of the *matoa*. The captain must hand over the revenues to the *matoa*, whether or not he has already received the money, since he is not allowed to sell on credit. Matthes adds to this: If the ship is wrecked, including the merchandise or the revenues from it, the *matoa* loses his money, unless the goods, in contradiction to the rules, were sold on credit and the profit had not yet been collected.

IV The Wajorese people take care of the housing of the *matoa* by building him a house or, if need be, by repairing or replacing his old one. This includes the chopping, supply and working of the wood, and any other work necessary to finish the house completely. The *matoa* does not have to supply food for the workers who build his house. When construction begins he only has to give them packages of steamed sticky rice (*sokkoq*) and porridge with rasped coconut and melted brown sugar, such as that used in small pastries (*palliseq béppa*).

V If one of the Wajorese traders dies, a buffalo is purchased from his inher-

itance and slaughtered. Regardless of whether the *matoa* is invited to this occasion, a piece of meat from the buffalo and side dishes are brought to him. Matthes adds: The buffalo is slaughtered by the family on the third day after a death has occurred. During this time prayers are held for the deceased. On any other occasion for which a buffalo is slaughtered (wedding, circumcision, or other festivity) the *matoa* must be given a piece.

d. To Pakkalo further stated in the meeting, that because the Wajorese people sail large vessels and make distant voyages to Tana Bareq (the western country, namely Pulau Pinang), Palembang, Bangkulu (Bengkulu), Batavia, and Java, the *matoa* has many worries and, we may add, he is of the opinion that he deserves compensation for that.

The Wajorese people, therefore, also agreed to promise the *matoa* that: a. if he sets a wholesale tradeship to sea he will be granted priority of chartering. The compensation for the freight to Tana Bareq and Batavia was five *real* per one hundred; b. when a Wajorese ship from overseas arrived in Makassar, one had to pay one *real* to the *matoa* even if the ship had to be beached.

e. After To Pakkalo had been *matoa* for twenty-one years, he died.

### 3. *Amanna Gappa* (1697-1723)

a. This *matoa* came from Pallékoreng, one of the four parts of the Wajorese *limpo* Talotenréng (Noorduyn 1955:38).

b. During this time Idris, the king of Boné, that is La Patauq Idris Azimuddin (1696-1714), the nephew and successor of Arung Palakka, was also *ran-reng* of Tua.

c. There were also Bugis people from Boné and Soppéng who traded in Makassar, but only the Wajorese trading remained profitable.

d. Three days after Amanna Gappa was appointed *matoa*, a team of buffalo was slaughtered and the banner of the Wajorese in Makassar (named *sakka-leng*, chopping board) was smeared with blood.<sup>1</sup> Matthes adds: After this, the meat was served as a treat to the crowd which had gathered for this event.

e. The seven obligations of the Wajorese people to the *matoa* were reconfirmed. The content of these, to a great extent, resembled the ones promised to To Pakkalo. The most significant differences are mentioned verbatim

<sup>1</sup> The sanctification of the banner by smearing it with the blood of a slaughtered buffalo was a regular ceremony on important occasions, especially as a preparation for going to war.

below:

1. The *matoa* is like a scarecrow (*pajo-pajo*), whenever something is put up for sale, no one may exceed his bid. (Matthes explains: All other bidders are scared away by the *matoa* like birds by a scarecrow on sown land.) If someone else gets the same deal at a later date, he has to offer it to the *matoa* for the same price. (This regulation is a more detailed version of I above.)
2. If Wajorese people buy and sell merchandise quickly, before the *matoa* has seen it, they must inform the *matoa* and share the profit equally with him. (This regulation is the same as II above, but formulated a bit differently.)
3. This regulation (which guarantees the *matoa* priority of chartering for ships) is the same as in a. above (sub 2d).
4. The *matoa* is allowed to give in commission merchandise valued up to 100 *real* per ship to Tana Bareq or Batavia without paying for freight or expenses. His commissioned merchandise shall only be loaded on Wajorese ships, even if there are ships from Java or Makassar available. (This regulation deals with the same subject found in III above, but it differs in details.)
5. This regulation (paying one *real* per incoming ship to the *matoa*) is the same as in b. above (sub 2d).
6. This regulation (to provide for the housing of the *matoa*) remained the same as in IV above.
7. This regulation (to hand over a piece of buffalo meat on funerary occasions) is the same as in V above.

f. It was also put into writing that traders, shopowners, and pedlars could not violate one another's commercial boundaries; wholesale dealers could not trade in retail and retail traders could not act as pedlars; shopowners had to buy from wholesale dealers and pedlars from shopowners; only the wholesale dealers could buy from the Chinese and Dutch.

g. Violations of these rules are punished by requiring the violator(s) to provide twenty packages of sticky rice and pastry filling for communal consumption in the house of worship. Repeated violations are punished in the same way. After the third violation, the offender will be banned from trading. If the offender repents, he is granted a pardon. The leaders will bring him to the *matoa*, and, after a communal meal, the youth will play the *raga*-ball game<sup>2</sup> in front of the *matoa*'s house.

<sup>2</sup> The *raga*-ball game was played on this occasion according to Matthes' interpretation of the text or, possibly, according to information he received from knowledgeable people. On the other hand, since the word *raga* is not mentioned in the text, it may have been the kicking game which was played. In both games there were two parties involved, but only two individuals playing at the same time.

h. A day after the ceremony of the banner (see 3d above), they went to the *ranreng* in Bontoalag (the king of Boné, who had his palace there) to announce to him what had been agreed upon. The *ranreng* urged them to adhere strictly to the terms of agreement and the old customs and to inform him of any violations.

i. After being *matoa* for eight months Amanna Gappa was summoned before the *ranreng* because a Dutch translator<sup>3</sup> sent by the governor had arrived. The governor wanted to appoint someone whom he could trust to be chief of all the traders. 'And you, I mentioned to him,' said the *ranreng* to the *matoa*, 'and I thus desire that all trading Bugis, whether from Boné, Soppéng or Luwuq, subordinates or chiefs, be under your authority, except when matters concerning trade are not involved'. The manuscript does not record whether or not Amanna Gappa was actually appointed to this position, but that seems to be implied. La Nongko, the eighth *matoa*, held the same position (see 8c below).

j. Amanna Gappa concluded an agreement with I Wakko, Captain of the Chinese, and Anceq Cuka, Captain of the Malays. The agreement stated that if there were Wajorese trading disputes in Kampong Cina, then the Captain of the Chinese, together with the *matoa*, would administer justice and vice versa if the Chinese came to trade in Kampong Wajoq. A similar agreement was concluded between the Wajorese and the Malays. The agreement between the three captains was concluded on Thursday, 24 Rajab 1109 (Wednesday, 5 February 1698).

k. Freight costs were:

From Makassar to Johor and further west to Kedah – 6 *real* per hundred weight; from Makassar to Aceh – 7 *real*; from Makassar to Sulu, Kutai, Banjar, and Pasir – 4 *real*; and to Sukodana – 5 *real*. To Palembang, Bangka, and Balitung – 6 *real*; from Garassiq west to Batavia – 5 *real* (except for cotton, tobacco, or difficult to stow merchandise); from Tana Manggarai to the west to Bali – 4 *real* with the same exceptions; for bought people (slaves) – 1 *real* per person, but 1/2 *real* per person if one sells these slaves and buys merchandise with the revenues and sells this merchandise at a different place than where one started; if it involves a return voyage (for example Makassar–Buton) – 4 *real*.

l. People were of the opinion that the regulations from the first *matoa* were expanded by To Pakkalo, and completed by Amanna Gappa.

<sup>3</sup> The Dutch often used their chief translator for communicating with the native princes.

m. The chieftains (*ina tau*) agreed that only Wajorese should live in their *kampong* in Makassar. That decision was made when Penna To Denra was Arung Matoa of Wajoq. (He probably reigned from 1699 to 1702; see Noorduyn 1955:125-6; Patunru 1964:62, 90).

n. During the time of Amanna Gappa, people decided to replace the house of worship (*langgar*) in Kampong Wajoq with a mosque. The *kadi* was Guru Kajala, father of La Nongko, when Sultan Azimuddin Idris was king of Boné and *ranreng* of Tua (that is, prior to 1714, when this king died).

o. This king of Boné also said to the governor that the Wajorese were not slaves and neither was their country.

p. Amanna Gappa was someone whom the people respected. He was never gruff or grim, but always sincere and honest. He only considered what was agreed upon by the chieftains and asked Allah day and night for the best for his people.

q. The Wajorese rendered four kinds of services to the king of Boné:

1. they hauled wood if he needed poles for his house;
2. they performed menial chores in his house;
3. after the king passed away, they carried the funeral bier;
4. if the king went to the city (Makassar) or to Goa (the capital of the Makassar kingdom), no Boné man would enter Kampong Wajoq to summon the Wajorese. An envoy would inform the *matoa* only of the king's intentions.

r. Amanna Gappa passed away after being *matoa* for 26 years.

#### 4. *Amanna Moming* (1723-1729)

a. This *matoa* came from Utting and belonged to the *limpo* Méngé. He was appointed *matoa* on Thursday, 13 Rajab 1135 (20 April 1723).

b. All seven regulations applied to Amanna Gappa were continued for Amanna Moming.

c. During his reign a palace was built in Kampong Wajoq for To Tenri (who was Arung Matoa of Wajoq from 1713 to 1736). This was completed on Tuesday, 3 Rabi II 1139, 17 November 1727.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The Arung Matoa called La Saléwangeng To Tenrirua Arung Kampiri is well known for the many measures he took to strengthen his country internally. By raising levies in cash and in kind

d. Amanna Moning died after serving as *matoa* for six years and nine months.

5. *To Tangnga* (1730-1732)

a. He originated from Séngkang and assumed the duties of *matoa* on Sunday, 21 Jumad I 1142 (Tuesday, 11 January 1730).

b. As a judge (*pakkeda*) he was righteous and well disposed toward the Wajorese.

c. He had a wife from Pallékoreng, called Wé Temmarenneq.

d. He upheld all Amanna Gappa's regulations and it ended badly for violators.

e. After being *matoa* for two years and ten months, he died.

6. *To Dawéq* (1732-1735)

a. He became *matoa* on Monday, 22 Rabi I 1145 (Saturday, 12 September 1732).

b. During his time a village meetinghouse (*baruga*) was erected in Kampong Wajoq.

c. After he had been *matoa* for three years, Arung Séngkang came to Wajoq and a war broke out between Wajoq and Boné. The Wajorese from Makassar hurried to Tosora to help Wajoq. To Dawéq also came, but he was attacked between Arateng and Bélawa and killed by the enemy.

d. He was *matoa* for three years and one month when he was killed in action. According to the notes, then, this would mean he died in 1735. Since Arung Séngkang, however, arrived in 1736, this date must be too early (Noorduyn 1955:128-9).

e. Hereafter follows a summary of the wars of Arung Séngkang:  
During the first phase, the disagreement centered around the question of

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he was able to establish various special funds to give alms to the poor and to extend loans to merchants. Here occurs the first indication that he also maintained relations with the Wajoq merchants in Makassar. The two dates mentioned for the completion of his palace in Kampong Wajoq are mutually inconsistent. The Muslim date given is equivalent to Friday, 28 November 1726; the Christian one to Monday, 2 Rabi II 1140 A.H.

whether or not Arung Palakka's decree of 1670 (in which Wajoq was subjected to Boné) would be binding, or if regulations from the tripartite alliance between Boné, Wajoq, and Soppéng (agreed upon in 1582 in Timurung) should be re-introduced (as Wajoq demanded). After 13 months of fighting Boné gave in. Seven months of peace followed, until an envoy from Karaeng Bontolangkasaq in Makassar came to Wajoq to ask for help against the Dutch (Noorduyn 1955:133).

The allies advanced to Makassar via Makoci (Maccongki), where a certain Arung Paku was slain for having killed Karaeng Bontolangkasaq's son, and then via Maros to Goa, the capital of the Makassar kingdom. The Makassar people, however, were not unanimous, and several of them sided with the Dutch. After 65 days of battle, the Wajorese and Makassar admitted their defeat and retreated. Goa was conquered by the Dutch and the Wajorese returned to Tosora.

The Dutch and Boné armies attacked Tosora; they came by ship and camped in Lagusi. Despite heavy cannon fire, the Wajorese refused to surrender. They only wanted peace so that the Wajorese merchants could go back to Makassar and trade as before. The enemies retreated. Everything was stipulated and put into writing.

The Wajorese came back to Makassar. There was an acting-*matóa* called Daéng Sitaba, but once again the people decided to appoint a *matóa*.

f. In manuscript Or.1923 VI (pp. 41-2) the following is related concerning the return of the Wajorese merchants to Makassar after the war of Arung Séngkang. On Thursday 10 Sawal 1155 (Saturday, 8 December 1742) Wajorese sent its envoy La Taning to Makassar to inform the Dutch that the Wajorese merchants were returning to Makassar, as in the time when there was peace in the country. The Wajorese requested to be allowed to reclaim their run-away and stolen slaves and their outstanding debts which they had left behind when they returned to Wajoq.

After twelve days, La Taning arrived in Makassar and went to see the governor in the fort two days later. He conveyed his message and the governor agreed to all of it. Then he set out to reclaim debts and dun debtors. After forty days, he returned to Tosora. Soon afterwards the first Wajorese ships were in Makassar again.

#### 7. To Patteq (1745-1753)

a. He was appointed ten years after To Dawéq's death, on Saturday, 22 Jumad I 1158 (Tuesday, 22 June 1745).

b. The rulers of Boné, beginning with Queen Matinroé ri Tippulué (Batari Toja d. 1749), summoned the Wajorese from Makassar before them and ad-

monished the *matoa* to comply with the established customs and not to wrong Boné. The *matoa* took an oath and received as proof a sealed document (*cap*).

According to a note in Or.1923 VI (pp. 42-3), this occurred under Matoa To Patteq in Bontoalag on 3 Jumad II 1165 (Thursday, 18 April 1752), when the king of Boné was preparing to return to his capital to be inaugurated.

c. After seven years To Patteq abdicated. Three years and five months after his abdication a successor was appointed.

According to Or.1923 VI (p. 43) To Patteq abdicated on 6 Du'l-hijja 1166 (Thursday, 4 October 1753). In neither one of the sources was there a reason given for his abdication.

#### 8. La Nongko (1757-1772)

a. La Nongko belonged to the *limpo* Méngé and assumed the office of *matoa* on Monday, 4 Jumad I 1170 (Tuesday, 25 January 1757). He lived in Kampong Bandang, but after his appointment he moved to Kampong Wajoq. After completion of his house, the Wajorese banner was sanctified with blood, and the regulations of Amanna Gappa were confirmed.

b. Several days later the Wajorese went to Bontoalag to confirm the agreements with the *ranreng*. They received a sealed proof of this with the seals of both Boné and Wajoq.

c. Many of the Wajorese, however, did not live in Kampong Wajoq, but in Kampong Bandang, Buton, Melayu, or elsewhere. The *ranreng*, however, wanted them to live together in their own *kampong*, and the *matoa* urged them to do so. As a result, the *kampong* and market became populous and lively again. However, La Tilang, a grandson of the *matoa*, frequently committed acts of violence, so that many of the Wajorese left their *kampong* again. This caused the market to decline. They continued to think highly of the *matoa* and truthfully adhered to the agreements concluded with the previous *matoa* because all the Bugis traders still recognized the *matoa* Wajoq as their leader in all matters concerning trade.

d. According to Or.1923 VI (pp. 43-4), some people in Pammana were fined twenty small baskets (*bakuq bodo*) with packages of sticky rice because, coming from Batavia to trade, they had sold tools (*paréwa*, which also means 'weapons') directly to pedlars (*paggiling*). This fine was imposed in accordance with what already had been stipulated with general consent at the time of *matoa* Amanna Gappa. The rice was eaten in a communal meal on the verandah of the mosque on Friday, 6 Jumad II 1170, (Saturday, 26) February 1757, when La Nongko was *matoa* of the Wajorese.

e. After being *matoa* for fifteen years, La Nongko died.

According to Or.1923 VI (p. 44), La Nongko died on Sunday 13 (read: Monday 3) Muharram 1186, 5 (read: 6) April 1772. A bier for important persons, with a white canopy and covered with carpets, was used to lay his corpse to rest. He had been *matoa* for fifteen years. Twenty days after his funeral it was agreed to appoint La Madeq as *matoa*.

9. *La Madeq Penna Padaq* (1772- ? )

a. He came from Patillaq (near Tosora in Wajoq) and was appointed *matoa* on Monday, 25 Muharram 1186 (28 April 1772). He lived in Kampong Bandang.

b. He restored the Wajorese mosque, which had deteriorated because it had not been used for worship for a long time and because rains and storms had decayed all kinds of woodwork. The *kadi* of Bontoalaaq required the Wajorese to conduct their Friday worship in Bontoalaaq instead of in Kampong Wajoq. That is why the religion there was doomed. The *imam*, To Temmeq, returned to Wajoq. After not having worshipped for five years in the mosque in Kampong Wajoq, money was raised and wood, stones, and chalk were bought for its restoration. After forty-eight days of labour, the restoration was completed and a Friday service was held. Aji Patillaq was the *imam*, and once again there was a *katib* and a *bilal*.

According to Or.1923 VI (p. 45), the restoration of the mosque was begun on Saturday 10 Safar 1187 (Monday, 3 May 1773) and after 48 days of work a Friday service was held in it again. The wooden pillars had been replaced by pillars of brick.

c. After completion of the mosque, the *matoa* held a conversation with the king of Boné. The Wajorese were required to live in their own *kampong* and the *matoa* agreed to this. There were not more than ten houses in Kampong Wajoq, and the *matoa* himself lived in Kampong Bandang. But he had a house built for himself in Kampong Wajoq (although he kept his house in Kampong Bandang for his people), and summoned the Wajorese living in Kampong Melayu to follow his example. After more than a year, however, not more than twenty houses were added. The *matoa* told the Datu of Baringeng (who was then the king of Boné and *ranreng* of Tua, after succeeding his sister Queen Batari Toja in 1749) that the Wajorese did not want to return to their *kampong*. They had several objections:

1. they were not forced to render any services where they were presently living;

2. because of his frequent absences from Makassar, the king of Boné could not prevent arbitrary measures from being taken against them;
3. the *matoa* was unable to bring their affairs to a successful conclusion because he did not wish to take into account opinions expressed by others during a meeting;
4. they enjoyed living in Kampong Melayu and did not want to pay the moving costs;
5. they were not accustomed to being ordered about when there was no consensus among them.

Moreover, they claimed that the *matoa* must have misunderstood the king of Boné, because the king knew the customs of the Wajorese very well. The Wajorese blamed the *matoa* for resigning himself to all the king's wishes. Only after the death of this king was peace more or less restored.

d. According to Or.1923 VI (p. 46), the king of Boné, Abdurrazak Jalaludding Tolébaé Arung Bakkeq, died on Monday 6 Rabi II 1189, 5 June 1775. He had built a palace in Makassar in the Kampong Tessililu ('not forgetting each other'); he had ordered rice to be planted in this *kampong* and had named it Mallimongeng ('desiring'). Therefore, he was given the posthumous name of Matinroé ri Mallimongeng ('he who died in Mallimongeng'). He was buried in Bontoalaaq to the west of the mosque. Wajorese men carried the front of the bier and men from Pammana and Timurung – districts allied to Wajoq and Boné, respectively – carried the back of the bier. The bier had nine supporting poles and there were eight ceremonial umbrellas. For ten days, Wajorese religious students went to recite religious songs in the royal palace, although the Wajorese were not accustomed to reciting prayers at graves and were very strict about preserving their customs. But the relatives of the deceased king, during these days, alternately bore the costs of the mortuary ceremonies as far as they wished to join in; two by two and helping each other, each pair contributed forty monetary units for alms. The Wajorese religious students were invited and came to recite prayers.

e. Six months after the death of the king, the *matoa* expressed his displeasure to the Wajorese chieftains with the following complaints:

1. despite the fact that they are Wajorese, they bring their mutual disputes before the king of Boné, and that is forbidden;
2. previously resolved matters are contradicted later on;
3. some set up shop in Kampong Wajoq and then leave again;
4. they neglect the services they must render the *matoa* according to the terms of obligation;

5. they do not help one another with their work afloat and ashore;
6. if a Wajorese ship departs for Java, they use another for their cargo, although the ships both depart on the same day;
7. there are too many private worries and, as a result, matters of general interest are left unfinished.

A meeting about this was held for three days. The *matoa* requested the 'matoaship' to be assigned to someone else. He also did not want his people to go to the king of Boné without his prior knowledge. Ultimately, everyone agreed to respect the wishes of the *matoa*.

The *matoa* was informed of their decision at his house by Penna Ésa. People wanted him to be their leader. Thus, the *matoa* decided not to step down. But he returned to Wajoq and handed over the affairs of the *matoa* to Penna Ésa. When the Wajorese became annoyed and could not wait any longer for him to return to Makassar, they appointed Penna Ésa as his successor.

#### 10. Penna Ésa

This *matoa* was constantly ailing, suffered from being incontinent, and because of his illness, stepped down after a while with everyone's approval.

#### 11. To Kenynyang

a. In his time an attack on the people of Bélawa (a place in Wajoq) was launched. Half of the Wajorese fought, the other half stayed behind.

b. He did not succeed in bringing unity to the Wajorese and that is why he, with their approval, stepped down.

#### 12. La Kaséng or Kattéq Kaséng

a. During La Kaséng's time an attack on Sidénréng was launched by Boné (the Samparaja, the Boné banner) but at Ségéri the army of Boné was stopped by Arung Pancana and the Karaeng of Tanété. The Wajorese therefore stayed home and were ordered to guard Makassar.

b. He confiscated property from some of those under his authority. A Wajorese – one Uaqna Wéwang – did not accept this and gathered together the other discontented Wajorese. This caused dissension. That is why La Kaséng stepped down.

c. Kattéq Kaséng was appointed *matoa* because of his courage, so that no harm would befall any of the Wajorese. During the entire month of Ramadan he invited people over in the evening to break the fast.

In contrast to these praiseworthy qualities, one also found many faults with him.

d. For a long time the Wajorese were not unanimous about who should succeed him as *matoa*. The king of Boné forbade the Wajorese to set sail as long as there was no *matoa*. That is why they held another meeting and finally chose La Koda.

13. *La Koda (1811-?)*

a. La Koda was from Boné, as well as from Wajoq. He was a grandson of Matoa Penna Ésa. He declined at first to accept the appointment as *matoa*, but when people would not accept this he agreed. The king of Boné also wanted him as *matoa*. He was elected on Friday, 11 Rabi I in the year Dal-akhir 1226, 5 April 1811.

He was born on Tuesday, 12 Safar 1170 (Monday, 6 November 1756). He married I Nisa on Thursday, 14 Safar 1189 (16 April 1775). They were married for 32 years and had five children. I Nisa died on Thursday, 18 Rajab 1221 (Wednesday, 1 December 1806).

b. The king of Boné, Muhammed Ismail (1775-1812), asked the Wajorese in Makassar to lend him money, but they refused. He became very angry and did not allow the inland Wajorese to trade with those in Makassar. He had them work on a wall around his palace, repair fishponds, build houses that would not be occupied by him, and construct roads.<sup>5</sup> He also forced them to pay money for the merchandise from the Chinese *wangkang* (the large merchant ship which came over yearly from China with silk fabrics and other costly items), while, as usual, their only means of payment were birds' nests and *tripang*. Contrary to the terms of their contract with the Chinese, the king of Boné conceded to the demands of the Chinese and made them pay with money.

c. Shortly afterwards there was discord between the British Governor, Commander Phillips, and the king of Boné. The king of Boné was attacked by troops with rifles and cannons and he fled to Kaluku-bodo, where he met Karaeng Bontomasuji, and went on to Boné via Manipi. When the Wajorese discovered that the king had disappeared, they hoisted a white flag on the teakwood building in Lompogengrang. The people from Timuring also did

<sup>5</sup> All this forced labour clearly exceeded the limits of the services (listed in 3q above) which the Wajoq under Amanna Gappa had agreed to render to the king of Boné.

that in their *kampong*.<sup>6</sup> The Matoa Wajoq went to the governor and was pardoned. The Wajorese were now accepted as subjects of the British East India Company. As a result, even people from Boné pretended to be Wajorese; many of them sought and received protection under the guise of being Wajorese.

The governor ordered the *matoa* to prevent the Wajorese from fleeing. On the advice of the *matoa*, he issued a written order and had it delivered to everyone who had gone to Pangkajéné, the isle of Laia, Marana, and Maros (to the north of Makassar), which stated that they must return to their own houses under the protection of the British Company, which would then guarantee their property.

Shortly thereafter, the governor announced to the *matoa* that he was discharged as *matoa* and appointed a Captain of the Wajorese in Makassar, just as the Malays had their captain. The authority of the Captain of the Malays extended south from Kampong Bandang; the authority of the Wajorese Captain extended north from Kampong Bandang, west to Lompogenrang, and north to the *kampong* of the king of Boné as far as Ujung Tana. Later on, authority over Kampong Buton, Data, Timurung, Malaka, Luwuq, and Ujung Tana, Rompégading, Mallimongeng, Kuri, and Pulo Laia, was also granted to him. The Wajorese captain himself took the minutes of the conferences he had with the governor and the chief translator, I Pasé Daéng Patokkong, during which time he had to defend the promises of the governor versus the claims of the Chinese captain. He also had to do this after the British Governor, Commander Phillips, died suddenly on Saturday, 20 Du'l-haj 1229, 3 December 1814.

14. *La Uséng or Huséng La Wéwang Daéng Matoneq*

a. He was the youngest son of La Koda, his predecessor, and I Nisa, and was born on Wednesday 14 October 1795, 30 Rabi I 1210. He was called La Wéwang (which means 'commotion' or 'movement') because on the day he was born people were agitated about the forthcoming campaign to Ségéri.

b. He was the second Captain Wajoq in Makassar. He died, as Matthes noted in the introduction to his book of 1869 about the Wajorese, 'in these days in high old age'. Thus, he was about 70 years old. According to Matthes, he had already resigned as captain.

c. In his time, La Paridang Daéng Sisala was the first lieutenant of the Wajorese (Matthes 1869:35; Van der Brink 1942:560).

<sup>6</sup> According to information obtained by Matthes (NBG 106:39) this Kampong Timurung was located to the north of Kampong Bandang in Makassar, but in his own time it was part of Kampong Wajoq.

15. *La Paridang Daéng Sisala (1848-1849)*

In his time, La Dolo, the grandson of La Kaséng, was lieutenant of the Wajorese.

16. *La Dolo (1850-1878)*

a. In his time, La Hamda, was lieutenant. He had no successor after his resignation.

b. La Dolo remained captain 'to this very day' (Matthes 1869:35).

17. *Boso Daéng Patappa (1878-1886)*

18. *Supu I Jenna Siti (1886-1901)*

19. *Abdul Kadir Daéng Patokkong (1901-1906)*

20. *Abdul Razak (1906-1913)*

*Commentary*

In the Wajorese historical notes summarized so far, attention is only indirectly placed on the trading activities and practices of the Wajorese in Makassar. Although these activities remain in the background, they constituted the economic means of their existence and the reason for the Wajorese presence in Makassar, far from their country of origin. The subject of these notes is mainly the organization and fate of their home base in Makassar, with an emphasis on the position of the *matoa* and the vicissitudes of the persons who successively held this position in the Wajorese community.

It is no wonder that the *matoa* occupy such an important place in these notes. The notes are from a manuscript owned by one of them, who succeeded his father in this capacity, and one may assume that the notes originate from the circle of successive *matoa*.

The position of the *matoa* with respect to the Wajorese community, as it emerges in the notes, resembles to a certain extent the position of the traditional Bugis king *vis-à-vis* his people. In both instances, the mutual relationship was based on a social contract which embodied mutual rights and duties. These were affirmed when a new king was inaugurated. This also applies to dynasties which, in most Bugis states, were strictly hereditary in character. On the one hand, the function of the Wajorese *matoa*, which was not hereditary, was very similar to that of the head of the Wajorese kingdom, the *arung matoa*, who also did not have a hereditary successor but was

appointed and deposed by the six highest nobles in the country. On the other hand, familial ties were especially characteristic of the later Wajorese *matoa*. La Uséng succeeded his father, La Koda, who was the grandson of the Matoa Penna Ésa.

The obligations of the Wajorese towards their *matoa* were firmly set forth in the five, later seven, commitments which were ceremonially reconfirmed each time a new *matoa* assumed office. The inauguration of a new *matoa* was comparable to the inauguration of a king.

Matthes provided information about this in his book on the Wajorese, which he did not derive from the manuscript but probably from verbal accounts, although he does not mention his source. It is interesting to compare the traditional dialogue between the elected and the chieftains with the dialogue employed during the inauguration of the kings, such as those of Wajoq, Boné, and Luwuq. The traditionally existing pattern was also employed for a newly installed position, such as that of the head of the Wajorese traders in Makassar.

But there was also variation, and the Wajorese position, in particular, was substantially different from that of the other kingdoms. The king of Luwuq, for example, had to promise at his inauguration that he would listen to the complaints of the people, would give those who were in trouble with the law an opportunity to explain their grievances, would not impose his will upon the people if it did not conform with customary law, and would not commit any act injurious to the people. This inauguration formula opens with the statement that neither the king nor the people possess a torchlight, meaning that without previous warning from the people, the king is supposed to take steps which will lead to the prosperity of the people.<sup>7</sup> This metaphor established the monarchic principle.

When a new Arung Matoa of Wajoq was chosen he was asked to protect the people and had to promise similar things as the king of Luwuq, but in the traditional dialogue he first makes the objection that he is poor, to which the reply is that Wajoq is rich ('because of our decisions based on consensus'); then that he is stupid, to which the reply is that Wajoq is wise (he need make no statement without first hearing the judgement of the council of princes); and finally that he is timid, to which the reply is that Wajoq is brave (there are the military commanders who will go wherever he orders them) (Noorduyn 1955:53). This dialogue makes it clear that the man chosen as *arung matoa* is, it is true, 'the highest ruler', but only on the grounds of what his country, his people and their representatives signify. His fundamental dependence on those who have chosen him is here laid down.

<sup>7</sup> Based on an interview in 1975 by Andi Zainal Abidin with Andi Opu To Siniléle, a former high official of the Luwuq court (Zainal Abidin 1984:151).

We encounter a similar phenomenon in the dialogue which the Wajorese in Makassar perform with the man whom they have chosen as their *matoa*, as reproduced by Matthes (1869:31). He too must first excuse himself as being too weak and foolish to be able to accept the proposed appointment as *matoa*, only to be finally persuaded by the chieftains to make himself available.

The position of the Wajorese *matoa* in Makassar is thus comparable to that of the Bugis princes and chieftains, and there seems to be no special connection with trade or shipping.

However, if one looks at the contents of the seven rights of the *matoa*, then the connection between the *matoa* and trade and shipping is predominantly evident. Five of the seven commitments concern privileges in the trading area: one cannot bid higher than a *matoa*; the *matoa* is allowed to take part in the purchases of others; he has a preference in freighting; he is allowed to give merchandise in commission; and receives tribute money (a symbolic fee) from ships putting into port. His material existence is ensured by the regulation which states that the people must take care of his housing. His position as head of the entire community is symbolically acknowledged by the stipulation that the *matoa* must be offered a piece of every buffalo slaughtered for a feast.

A remarkable aspect of the notes is that nowhere is it clearly stated what the duties of the *matoa* toward his community were *vis-à-vis* his rights. The actual duties of his position or why it was so important for the community to have its own *matoa* are likewise not recorded. In only one instance do we find a hint about this. That occurs when To Pakkalo, the second *matoa*, indicates that he has many worries because the Wajorese sail big ships and travel far (2d). What were these worries? Did the *matoa* have administrative tasks?

An important task was probably to settle trading disputes among the Wajorese traders. This is suggested by the agreement made between Amanna Gappa, the third *matoa*, and the captains of the Chinese and the Malays about mutually solving disputes that involved the members of their respective communities (3j). When To Tangngaq, the fifth *matoa*, is praised for his righteousness as a judge (5b), this points in the same direction.

Another aspect of the *matoa*'s role was to function as the representative of his people before a higher authority. This was mutually advantageous or perhaps even more beneficial for the side of higher authority, since it was to their advantage to be able to maintain a relationship with one segment of the population via one person. This is evident when one of the VOC governors in Makassar appointed the third *matoa*, Amanna Gappa, as head of not only the Wajorese, but all the Bugis in all matters concerning trade; or when British Governor Phillips created a bond between himself and La Koda by appointing him as Captain of the Wajorese – just as captains had been appointed for the Chinese and Malays. The difference must have been a mat-

ter of allegiance rather than rights and duties. When the *matoa* became a captain, he was no longer the head chosen by the people, but an appointee of the colonial governor.

The *matoa*'s role as representative is even clearer with respect to the king of Boné. Strictly speaking, although this monarch frequently spent extended periods of time in his own palace in Bontoalag in Makassar, he had no say over the Wajorese living in Makassar, which was outside the territory of Boné. It was only through an accident of circumstances that the Boné kings, because they functioned simultaneously as *ranreng* of Tua, held a position in the government of Wajoq and, thus, were able to exercise authority over the Wajorese in Makassar. They used this situation to their own advantage. They exacted menial labour from the Wajorese (3q); they forbade the Wajorese to set sail as long as they had not chosen a new *matoa* (12d); they exercised influence on the election of a *matoa* (13a); they had the *matoa* appear before them after his appointment as *matoa* to affirm the institutions and customs (3h); to that end, they later issued stamped written proof as evidence of this (7b, 8b); they insisted that the Wajorese live in their own *kampung* (8c, 9c); but they also defended them against the VOC governor (3o) and served as their intermediary (3i). The Wajorese put up with all this. On occasion they even took their internal disputes to the king of Boné, despite the fact that this ran counter to their *adat* (9e.1). The ancient Bugis pattern – that people oriented themselves to the person who manifested the greatest concentration of power (to a great extent, a matter of pragmatic opportunism) – can be recognized here. The same situation is apparent when the king of Boné was defeated by the British army. The *matoa* completely oriented themselves to the British government in Makassar. They helped the governor to pacify the country after the military operations. They managed to obtain a position of privilege for themselves. The *ranreng* of Tua was no longer relevant.

The *matoa* was the center of the community, but not at all the single figure of authority. The members of the community were referred to as his *anaq eppo* (children and grandchildren) or, in the realm of commerce, his *anaq pasaq* (market people). In important communal matters, he dealt with the community leaders or chieftains, the *ina tau*, who chose and appointed the *matoa* and with whom he had to consult. This is also clearly the case in instances where the chieftains are mentioned only summarily in the manuscript. The style of these notes resembles closely the traditional pattern of the state chronicles of the former Bugis and Makassar kingdoms in which all the information is arranged according to each successive monarch and is introduced by an expression such as: 'During the reign of this monarch, it also happened that [...]'. This chronicle style suggests that more authority is attributed to the *matoa* in the notes about the Wajorese in Makassar than they actually possessed.

For example, when the *langkaraq* (house of worship, *langgar*) was replaced by a mosque during the reign of Amanna Gappa, the decision to do so must surely have been made by the entire community. The same must have been the case when a *baruga* (village meeting house) was built in Kampong Wajoq around 1735, during the time of the sixth *matoa*, To Dawéq; or – under Amanna Moming, the fourth *matoa*, a *salasa* (palace) was built for the Arung Matoa of Wajoq (4c). Only the restauration of the mosque, in 1773, is attributed, in so many words, to the initiative of the *matoa*, La Madeq (9b).

The fact that it was not always easy for the *matoa* to come to an agreement with the chieftains or with individual members in the community, or create harmony among them, is apparent from the difficulties the various *matoa* at the end of the eighteenth century had with their people: La Madeq (9c), To Kenynyang (11b), and La Kaséng (12b). The causes were partly incidental in nature, and partly due to the fact that these individual *matoa* lacked certain abilities. There also seemed to be a general tendency toward disintegration. The old Kampong Wajoq gradually became uninhabited. The Wajorese traders settled in other sections of the city, mainly in Kampong Bandang and Kampong Melayu. The advantages of this must have been compelling to those concerned because the Wajorese traders could not be induced to return to Kampong Wajoq – neither by order from the king of Boné nor at the instigation of their *matoa*. From the objections raised by the Wajorese against returning (9c), one can ascertain that they lacked competent leadership and expected arbitrariness and excessive corvee from the court of Boné. They refused to be ordered about, and wanted only to act when decisions were based on general consensus. This great emphasis on consensus (*assituruseng*) and custom (*abiasang*) is the starting point which characterizes all the communal activities of the Wajorese. One senses here the awareness of freedom (*amaradé kang*) which was a keystone in the Wajorese way of life. This was not always understood by the royalty of Boné and, conversely, there were special abilities required of the Wajorese *matoa* in order to carry out this function adequately.

The position of *matoa* obviously required a personality of such great dimension that the appropriate person was not always available. Amanna Gappa, the third *matoa*, was clearly such an individual. He held the position for more than a quarter of a century, and was praised for the outstanding qualities in his character in a way comparable to the acclaim applied to monarchs in state chronicles. In view of his prominent position among the successive *matoa*, it is curious that the Bugis maritime laws, for which Amanna Gappa is known even today, are not mentioned anywhere in the manuscript. When the regulations of Amanna Gappa are mentioned, they refer to the seven rights of the *matoa*. Seeing that these were later attributed to him although they had already been put into effect by his predecessors and were

only finalized by him, it is possible that something similar occurred with Amanna Gappa's maritime laws. One may be certain that he cannot have done more than codify them. The substance of these laws must have existed and been in effect prior to Amanna Gappa. The year 1676, cited by Matthes without mention of source and traditionally accepted as the year of their codification, must be too early if they were codified when Amanna Gappa was *matoa*, as is claimed in the introductory paragraph of the laws.<sup>8</sup> For the 'matoaship' of Amanna Gappa, which was also the period of his foremost activity, did not fall in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, but in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. In all probability, the maritime laws must date from this period. At that time, Amanna Gappa was not only *matoa* of the Wajorese but of all the Bugis traders in Makassar as well. On the other hand, the codification is dated on Monday 17 Muharram 1087 (Tuesday 1 April 1676) in the text of the laws published by C.H. Thomsen in Singapore in 1832. If this precise date is correct, the laws may have been codified by Amanna Gappa before he became *matoa* or by another *matoa* and later attributed to Amanna Gappa. Both cases serve to emphasize the exceptional position of Amanna Gappa.

As to why the Bugis traders settled permanently in Makassar, one can only conclude that they obviously found the most favourable business opportunities there. As for the Wajorese, they lacked opportunities for overseas contacts in their own country because it had been held by Boné since 1670. Boné, moreover, had occupied Cénrana, located at the mouth of the big river which runs between Wajoq and Boné to the Gulf of Boné, and even used it as the royal residence. For these reasons, Boné was able effectively to control Wajoq's external relations.

The Wajorese community in Makassar was not only a homebase for the overseas traders, but also an outpost for Wajoq itself. They always retained close ties to the mother country. They were grouped according to the same divisions as they were in Wajoq, which consisted of three *limpo* each subdivided into four parts. When the mother country ran into trouble, as it did during the campaigns of Arung Séngkang, the Wajorese rushed from Makassar to help Wajoq. But afterwards, the Wajorese traders returned to their base in Makassar.

In conclusion, an attempt may be made to pull together the implications of the text for interpreting Wajorese notions of how authority is properly exercised in the context of trade. Because this text does not contain any ref-

<sup>8</sup> The Bugis writer La Side, who, in 1969, devoted a brief article to the maritime laws of Amanna Gappa, based almost entirely on Matthes' work on this subject, apparently agrees that the date 1676 is too early for their codification. He is inclined to accept a date of 1696, the year that La Patauq became king of Boné (La Side 1969:11-2).

erence to the situation aboard commercial ships, our discussion will be restricted to the circumstances ashore. No additional information can be found in the maritime laws of Amanna Gappa because no reference at all is made in them to the Wajorese in Makassar.

An important matter, in the first place, is that the commercial activities were clearly seen as a separate field of endeavour, distinct from other matters in social life. The *matoa* was invested with real authority and executive power both within the Wajorese community and outside of it as its representative. As the head of the Wajorese merchants he was, for instance, authorized to deal on an equal footing with the heads of similar communities, such as those of the Malay or the Chinese in Makassar, and to conclude treaties with them on trading matters. However, his authority was, at least in principle, limited to matters involving commerce only, as was implicitly stated at his appointment and explicitly, for instance, when the Wajorese *matoa* was requested by the VOC governor to head all Bugis merchants, including those of non-Wajorese extraction. A model of strict separation between economic, political, and intellectual fields, such as those are represented in the dichotomies of *punggawa-sawi* (employer-employee), *ajjoareng-joaq* (leader-follower), and *anréguru-anaq guru* (teacher-pupil), respectively, seems applicable to the position of the Wajorese *matoa* in Makassar, and possibly in other commercial towns.

In practice, a *matoa* personally possessing real leadership capacities may have been able to extend his sphere of influence to other matters, such as taking the lead in the restoration of the local mosque. In part, this may be attributed to the fact that he had no counterpart or colleague to whom responsibility could be delegated. No one, for example, held the position of what may be termed 'village head'. The only leaders mentioned besides the *matoa* are the *ina tau* (lit. 'mother of people', and in this summary translation rendered as 'chieftains'). They presumably were the heads of kin groups and, as such, were the representatives of the Wajorese community in relation to the *matoa* and collectively the highest authorities in matters not concerning trade or religion.

It is difficult to estimate whether the conditions described were typically or exclusively Wajorese as no evidence whatsoever is available for other communities in Makassar or elsewhere. It is clear, however, that the range of authority was determined by ethnic or sub-ethnic criteria. The Wajorese *matoa* was requested to represent other Bugis merchants of different extraction, such as those from Luwuq, Soppéng, or Boné, but not the non-Bugis such as the Malay or the Chinese. Each of these groups had their own leader who was titled captain. In principle, this division was also territorial. There were Kampong Wajoq, Kampong Melayu, Kampong Cina, and Kampong Timurung. The ethnic principle, however, remained basic. When many

Wajorese people gradually left their *kampong* and moved to live in other parts of Makassar they remained members of the Wajorese community, and could be entreated to return. They continued to have their familial and sentimental connections with other Wajorese in their homeland or elsewhere. Still there was less coherence among them when they were living spread out over the town, and there were fewer possibilities for the authorities to reach them. This was one of the main reasons why the *matoa* tried to get them to return (although it sometimes happened that he himself lived elsewhere and had to return to Kampong Wajoq after his appointment). In particular, this was the reason why the king of Boné wanted them concentrated within their *kampong* in order to facilitate his special authority over them. Also, it was one of the main reasons why they themselves refused to return.

The absence of any aristocratic person, or any reference to aristocratic prerogatives in the Wajorese community and among their *matoa*, perhaps deserves to be emphasized in the case of a society such as the Bugis which is generally well known for its strong and all-pervading rank distinctions. Matthes' expression for one of the conditions a *matoa* had to meet is that he should be 'of good family', which clearly is of wider extension than aristocracy as a requirement.

Since the *matoa* was elected by the people it is clear that there was no hereditary succession. If there seems to emerge a tendency to the contrary in the late 18th century, when one *matoa* was the son of his predecessor and the grandson of an earlier *matoa*, this was noted as being a result of the election rather than an intended change in the rules.

The fundamental principle governing the Wajorese community – in Makassar as well as in Wajoq itself – was consensus, for which the Bugis term *assituruseng* (general agreement) was used. This term indicated a concept which may well be thought of as one that was basically democratic. It applied also to their relation with the *ranreng* of Tua who, at that time, was also king of Boné. His position and his rights were recognized on the basis of mutual agreement and traditional custom and consensus on behalf of the Wajorese. If there were excessive demands on his part – as happened occasionally – it was the king of Boné who exceeded the limits agreed upon by the *ranreng* of Tua.