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Thee Kian Wie

A GREAT SEVENTEENTH CENTURY INDONESIAN FAMILY: MATOAYA AND PATTINGALLOANG OF MAKASSAR*)

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IKHTISAR

Sebagian besar tokoh Indonesia yang terkenal dari abad ke-17 adalah raja-raja yang perkasa dari segi militer, tetapi kurang berhasil membangun negara atau masyarakatnya secara permanen. Dalam sejarah perkembangan kerajaan Makassar ada beberapa tokoh yang menarik bukan saja karena mereka mengalahkan lawan, tetapi juga berhasil membangun negara dengan cara persuaian yang baik, pembagian kekuasaan yang dianggap memuaskan, dan keterbukaan terhadap ide-ide baru. Yang paling menonjol adalah Karaeng Matoaya (1573 - 1637), raja Tallo' sejak tahun 1598, dan anaknya Patti-ngalloang (1600 - 1654). Selama 1598 - 1654, zaman perkembangan Makassar yang paling cemerlang, mereka mengurus pemerintahan Makassar sebagai *Bicara-butta* (perdana menteri). Ada tiga tujuan penting dari kebijaksanaannya yang ingin dicapai:

1. Membangun kekuatan militer dan ekonomi dengan mengambil segala teknik baru dari para pendatang (Melayu, Portugis, Inggris, Belanda, Cina).
2. Menarik perdagangan dengan jujur dan terbuka terhadap segala bangsa, asal keamanan tidak terganggu.
3. Menghormati otonomi daerah-daerah taklukannya (terutama Bugis), dan mengadakan pembagian kekuasaan dalam negeri (terutama antara Goa dan Tallo').

Matoaya mengambil kekuasaan melalui kudeta tahun 1598, setelah Raja Goa Tunipasulu' bertindas sewenang-wenang. Ia meningkatkan produksi beras untuk ekspor, membuat uang mas, dan berhasil menjadikan Makassar sebagai pusat perdagangan rempah bagi pedagang yang menentang usaha monopoli Belanda (terutama Melayu, Portugis dan Inggris). Ia menerima Islam dan membawanya hampir keseluruhan Sulawesi Selatan, tanpa meninggalkan sikap toleran terhadap kebudayaan Bugis/Makassar lama dan terhadap agama Kristen yang dibawa Portugis. Di bawah pimpinannya, Makassar mulai menguasai daerah yang luas sampai ke Toli-Toli dan Sumbawa. Hal ini dilakukan tanpa kehancuran dan pertumpahan darah yang hebat seperti penaklukan yang dijalankan Mataram atau Aceh.

Pattinngalloang terkenal sampai ke Eropa karena keahliannya dalam bidang matematika, ilmu bumi dan astronomi. Ia menguasai bahasa Portugis dan Spanyol secara lancar, mempunyai perpustakaan yang baik dan selalu mencari pengetahuan baru untuk membangun negara. Kemungkinan besar dialah pemimpin dari kepulauan Indonesia pertama yang menganjurkan diterjemahkan karangan asing dalam bidang teknik, kegunaan peta dalam pelajaran, dan susunan buku harian negara.

For most Indonesians, and not only Indonesians, the past is remembered primarily through its great men. It has long been this way — the holy graves, *kramat*, of the great are everywhere venerated, and chronicles celebrate the deeds of saints and mighty rulers. The preoccupation of the nationalist movement and subsequently the Indonesian Government with defining *pahlawan* (heroes) suitable to be upheld as paragons of the national struggle, has ensured that history has continued to be seen by the Indonesian schoolboy as a progression of great men (and recently of a few women).

*) I am most grateful for the comments of Campbell Macknight, Christian Pelras and Abdurrahim on earlier versions of this paper.

Not surprisingly, given the priorities of the nationalist movement and the Dutch education of its leaders, the majority of the officially sanctioned heroes of modern times have been prominent opponents of the Dutch — many featured in colonial textbooks precisely because they were the losers in some significant Dutch victory. They have not always been historical models appropriate for the more complicated tasks of modern development, nor have they necessarily been people much loved by their subjects at the time.

This is particularly true of the seventeenth century, which threw up a number of very powerful Indonesian military rulers, who sought to unify their conquered domains by all means possible, and to concentrate economic as well as political power in their own hands. The preeminent cases in point are Sultan Agung of Mataram (1613-45), Sultan Iskandar Muda of Aceh (1607-37), and to a lesser extent Sultan Abdu'l Fatah of Banten (1651-83). I have argued elsewhere (Reid, 1979) that the nature of the concerted monopolistic attack the Dutch were launching on the Asian trading system was probably a factor which encouraged the emergence of these centralising rulers in the 17th Century. All of them were intolerant of the private trade of their own subjects, and sought to obtain a position where the court alone would be able to bargain with the powerful foreigners over the terms of trade. They thereby established large fortunes and powerful armies, centralised power in their own hands to an unprecedented degree, and at their best imposed more predictable legal processes. But these changes never survived the death of the over-mighty monarch in whose hands all power resided.

Personally these famous rulers hardly offer an attractive example for young Indonesians. Iskandar Muda filled those around him with terror of sudden death, and devised hideous tortures and humiliations for all who failed to please him. Generals who failed were frequently emasculated and forced "to eat a plate of turds" in public, while one nobleman whose fighting cock defeated one of Iskandar Muda's reportedly suffered an even more humiliating death. (Pieter van den Broecke, 1963, I, 175-6; see also Best, 1934, 172; *Letters Received* III, 196 & VI, 74 & 78; Beaulieu, 1666, 58-63). Sultan Agung has similarly been described as 'a ruthless and brutal king' (Ricklefs, 1978, 5) as well as a highly effective one. He too brought terrible destruction to all the areas he conquered, in particular the once-flourishing cities of Java's north coast.

The historian might be inclined to excuse such tyrannical excesses on the part of a Shih Huang-ti, an Ivan the Terrible, or a Henry VIII on the grounds that these rulers were dragging their reluctant subjects along a path which we could later see to be leading towards the modern nation state. In the case of Iskandar Muda and Agung we have to record the opposite verdict. They appear to have ruled not by establishing enduring political institutions but by personal terror, which provoked a natural reaction in the opposite direction after their deaths. Aceh moved as far as an oligarchic style of government under a succession of queens — 'the very name of kinge is long since become nautious to them, first caused

through the Tyrannical Government of their last kinge, and indeed, by the account they give of him, he was the cruelest Tyrant that many ages afforded'. (Bowrey, 1903, 296). Agung's empire similarly appears by historical hindsight as 'a fragile construction basically held together by the threat of defeat and devastation' (Ricklefs, 1978, 5), so that much of the turbulence of the succeeding century might be attributed to the reaction against the succeeding centralization he had imposed. Moreover, Agung completely destroyed the vigorous commercial and maritime spirit of the Javanese, condemning them to isolation from the major technical and economic innovations of the seventeenth and later centuries.

Part of the problem for the modern national historian is that too little is known about the more quietly creative figures in Indonesian history to bring them out of the shadows. Happily, however, there are a few personalities even in the seventeenth century about whom we have sufficient data to show them as both personally attractive and historically creative. The most striking, to my mind, were members of the ruling family of Tallo', in South Sulawesi, particularly Karaeng Matoaya and his son, Pattingalloang. They laid the basis for the greatness of seventeenth century Makassar through not ruthlessness but rather an extraordinary combination of intellectual eminence and political wisdom.

Of course the expectations of kings were already very different in South Sulawesi, where the obstacles to tyranny were many and strong. South Sulawesi society is based on a very strong tradition of autonomy on the part of the *wanua* or local community, which is united around some sacred objects which are, like the chiefs who serve them, of heavenly descent. The customary rulers of the political units which formed in the 15th-17th centuries out of federations of these *wanua* lost validity if they ruled otherwise than in accordance with the *adat*, and the *adat* itself insisted that the autonomy of the *wanua* be respected. (Andaya, 1975; Peirras, 1971).

Within this tradition Goa (Makassar) is usually considered the ruling dynasty most influenced by outside ideas of exalted kingship. Nevertheless the rise of Goa to hegemony in South Sulawesi and beyond was marked not only (as in other maritime states) by conquests made possible by the technology and wealth derived from foreign trade, but also by a series of solemn contractual engagements with other local communities.

For our purpose the most important of these relationships was that with Tallo', only a few kilometres to the north. The traditions of both Goa and Tallo' trace the origin of the Tallo' dynasty back to a brother of the Goa ruler Battara Gowa, an origin which fitted the requirements of the later political relationship very neatly (Sedjarah Goa, 13-14; S.K. Tallo', 5-6). The reliable history of Tallo', however, goes no further back than about 1500. The early sixteenth century rulers of Tallo' appear to have been distinguished by their international travels. Two rulers in succession are said by the chronicles to have visited Melaka,

as well as Banda and Flores. The Tallo' dynasty may therefore have been more closely connected than Goa's with the trading community which linked the spice islands in the east with Melaka and Java in the West. The second of the two much-travelled rulers, Tunipasuru, was said to have been skilled at building *prahus*, and to have stayed for a time in Johor to collect a debt due to him (S.K. Tallo', 7-9; Pelras, 1977, 255).

It was also this ruler who made a solemn treaty with the expansionist ruler of Goa, Tumaparisi Kalonna (1512-48?), after warring against him for some time without success. Thereafter Tallo' participated in all Goa's wars, which were rapidly carrying it to preeminence in the Makassarese area of Southwest Celebes.¹ Anyone who brought animosity between Goa and Tallo' would be cursed by God', declared the chronicles (Sedjarah Goa, 21).

We do not hear of any decisive Tallo' influence upon the affairs of the kingdom, however, until 1566, when the Goa King, Tunipalangga, died in the third year of his war against the leading Bugis state of Bone. Tunipalangga's brother took over command of the armies, but was killed in battle forty days later. At this point the Tallo' ruler, known posthumously as Tumenanga-ri-Makkoayang, took charge. He arranged the succession of the slain king's 21 year old son, Tunijallo', a choice certain to please Bone, since Tunijallo' had spent two years at the Bone court hiding from the wrath of his father, one of whose women he had abducted. Not surprisingly, a peace was quickly negotiated between Goa and Bone which would last for eleven years. The king of Tallo' formally installed the young Tunijallo' on the Goa throne, married the new king to his daughter, and in return was appointed as *Baligau*, or chief minister, of the Goa Kingdom, (Sedjarah Goa, 29, 39-42 & 49; Speelman, 1670, I, 51). This role of far-sighted diplomacy, particularly towards the Bugis, was to be a hallmark of the Tallo' family through the next three generations.

While Tumenanga-ri-Makkoayang lived, the influence of Tallo' in the affairs of the joint kingdom was great. At his death (probably in the 1580's), however, the very existence of a separate Tallo' dynasty became threatened. Tumenanga-ri-Makkoayang's heir and successor was his eldest daughter, the wife of the Goa ruler Tunijallo', and the Tallo' chronicle records that 'they ruled together as husband and wife'. (S.K. Tallo', 14). Tunijallo' was killed in 1590 by one of his immediate followers, after having recommended unsuccessfully the old bloodstained policy of warring on the Bugis. His successor was the eldest son of the Goa-Tallo' marriage, a headstrong young man known to history as Tunipasulu' ('he who was overthrown'). He presumably attempted to unite the two dynasties in his person, and appears to have trampled on the treasured autonomy and privileges of the Makassarese chiefs. The Goa chronicle records that he 'also became raja in Tallo', and that he 'forbade subjects to honour two masters'. Moreover, it was not only Tallo' liberties which were threatened. The Malay trading community, key to Makassar's wealth, began to move away from the port, as

did many members of the Makassarese elite. 'In the reign of Karaeng Tunipasulu', innocent people were suddenly just killed..... He did many other evil things, which are better not to be discussed'. (Sedjarah Goa, 55-6. See also Speelman, 1670, I, 52; Patunru, 18-19).

In this way the Goa chronicles explain and endorse the only recorded overthrow of a Goa ruler, when Tunipasulu' was forced to flee to Luwu in 1593. While the chronicles are universally hard on Tunipasulu', however, they equally agree in their praise for the man who organized his overthrow, Karaeng Matoaya.¹ of Tallo'.

Matoaya was therefore the second great Tallo' figure, after his father, to play a dominant historic role in the affairs of Makassar. Born about 1573, he was the son of Tumenanga ri Makkoayang by the latter's fourth wife, a Bontomanai woman of the *gallarrang* (village head) class (S.K. Tallo', 13). His dynastic credentials to the Tallo' throne must therefore have been modest, and certainly less than those of his older half-sister I Sambo, daughter by a Goa prince, who had succeeded to the Tallo' throne and married King Tunijallo' of Goa. Nevertheless Matoaya must have been a capable and ambitious youth, for at the age of 16 he was already given responsibility for organizing the system of obligatory service for King Tunijallo'. At the latter's death in 1590 Matoaya, though about the same age as the youthful new King, appears to have been given further responsibility as effective Chief Minister of Goa. (S.K. Tallo', 14-15).

Matoaya must therefore have been a party to many of the policies which shook the constitutional basis of the state under the headstrong Tunipasulu'. Although Matoaya presumably reaped the goodwill of chasing out the arbitrary king, he did not reverse all the changes which had taken place. For example, the Goa chronicle declares that Tunipasulu', was the first (Goa ruler) to be made raja by the Marus people'. (Sedjarah Goa, 56). Marus was the great ricebowl to the north of Makassar, which, according to Speelman, was entirely subjected, and 'shared out in villages and allotments among the Makassarese nobility, who have each developed their plantations here insofar as they had men available each year'. (Speelman, 1670, I, 11, who attributes this to Tunijallo', though from the chronicles it seems likelier that the subjection took place in two stages). If this subjection really occurred under Tunipasulu', it certainly was not reversed by his successors.

Similarly Tunipasulu's short and seemingly violent reign is credited with institutionalizing the *Bate Selapang*, the nine traditional chiefs who formed the original kernel of the Goa state, giving each a fixed jurisdiction and a banner (*bate*) (Sedjarah Goa, 55).

¹ In reality this title was not used until after the acceptance of Islam 15 years later, but it is convenient to stick to it in view of the succession of titles he bore; Palakkaya, I Mallinggaang, I Daeng Mannyonri, Karaeng ri Kanjilo, Karaeng ri Segeri, as well as the later Islamic title Sultan Awal-ul-Islam (the first Muslim), and the posthumous one of Tumenanga ri Agamana.

it is difficult to understand this except in the sense that the challenge Tunipasulu' posed to traditional autonomies gave rise to a new insistence on defining them clearly, perhaps in solidarity against him.

Undoubtedly the short reign of Tunipasulu' did involve considerable upheaval, and resulted in a monarchy both stronger and more centralized, now drawing much of its economic strength from the Marus area. This greater centralization probably explains why the Goa chronicles conclude that the two following rulers, who appear the most cultivated and mild of Makassar kings, were 'beloved by the village heads (*gallaranna*) and by the people, but the princes (*rianna karangga*), high state officials (*tumalalang*), and great men (*tumalompoo*) preferred Tunijallo' (Sedjarah Goa 61; also 69-70).

After arranging the overthrow of Tunipasulu', Matoaya placed on the throne of Goa the seven year old I Mangngaranggi (ruled 1593-1639), more conveniently known by his later Muslim name Ala'ud-din. The youngster was a brother of Tunipasulu', a son of Tunijallo' by the same privileged Queen, Matoaya's half-sister I Sambo. At the same time, according to the Tallo' chronicle, I Sambo herself yielded the kingdom of Tallo' to her younger brother, so that Karaeng Matoaya became king in Tallo' (S.K. Tallo', 14). As ruler of Tallo', chancellor (*Tuma'bicara-butta*) of Goa, and guardian of his young nephew, Matoaya was now in a completely dominant position in Makassar. It was he who laid the foundations of the 17th century greatness of Makassar, guiding the state through Islamization and the arrival of the English and Dutch. But because he sought not personal glory but to build abiding conventions, his influence endured. He was the primary architect of the Goa-Tallo' dual monarchy, as well as the policy which respected the autonomy of the Bugis states.

Like his father, who had established the first peace between Goa and the Bugis, Matoaya continued this policy of seeking alliances rather than conquests. During Tunijallo's reign wars against the Bugis states had resumed, and in 1582 the leading Bugis states of Bone, Soppeng and Wajo' had concluded the so-called Tellumpocco alliance of mutual support against Makassar. Wajo' had previously been a conquered state, 'the slave of Goa', so its defiance attracted the special wrath of Tunijallo'. With the death of this king peace was again restored. Wajo', the former vassal, now became a true and loyal ally of Goa.

The Wajo' chronicles place this new alliance in the short reign of Tunipasulu' of Goa (1590-3), but significantly they credit Matoaya, not Tunipasulu', with bringing it about. Karaeng Matoaya journeyed to Wajo' to visit the old and greatly respected Arungmatoa (elected King) of Wajo'. He addressed the Bugis elder statesman:

'I have come here, father, because it is said that you are a hero, that you have reached a great age, and that your crops are always abundant, that you have children and grandchildren. Do me the favour of accepting

a small token from me, two armbands, and accepting me as your son, and teaching me, so that we may be fortunate; [tell me] how I too can reach such a great age, produce such abundant crops, and obtain children and grandchildren, for I am the Karaeng who looks after the affairs of the country there in Goa'.

The Arung-matoa [of Wajo'], to U'da, said, 'How can the will of God be understood, in order to lengthen our lifespan and obtain abundant crops? As for your desire to be accepted as my child, that I shall do only when the countries of Goa and Wajo' are allies'.

Karaeng Matoaya replied, 'Just for that reason have I come here, because I want to unite the lands of Goa and Wajo' in an alliance, and also because I want to be accepted as your child'.

The Arung-matoa said, 'The one God (*Dewata*) is a witness of this. I say this to you: because I have been upright towards God and my fellow men, I have reached a great age and obtained children and grandchildren. And I have good rice-crops because I make no threats to God'.

Karaeng Matoaya asked, 'What is it, father, to be upright towards God and our fellow men?'

The Arung-matoa replied, 'This is my uprightness towards God: that we do no evil towards what he has created, if we do evil against his creation, God is angry with us. And this is uprightness towards our fellow men: if they do evil towards us, we forgive them and admonish them, for we and our fellow men wish each other no evil. If I go to war, I pray about it to God, and it happens as God wills.

And this is not to threaten God: that it is fixed in our hearts that we only exist because God has made us; that it is fixed in our hearts, that we can only do something when we are convinced that God approves it'. (Noorduyt, 1956, 259-61).

This remarkable exchange was probably not committed to writing for more than a century after it took place. We should not therefore be surprised if it belongs later than (as the context suggests) the beginning of Tunipasulu's reign, nor if the wisdom of the old Arung-matoa became refined over the years into the collective wisdom of Wajo' political experience, with more of Islam in it than was really probable before Wajo' had any substantial contact with any of the great world religions. Nevertheless it is highly significant that the chronicler chose to embody this advice to future generations of statesmen in a dialogue between the greatest of Wajo's leaders and the Karaeng Matoaya, undoubtedly the Makassar prince most widely respected in South Celebes as a whole. The Wajo' writer is clearly saying that Matoaya could not have achieved such wisdom; and could not ultimately have led South Sulawesi towards the truths of Islam, had he not had the good sense to sit at the feet of the great Arung-matoa of Wajo'. The exchange also helps to explain to later generations the basis of the Goa-Wajo' alliance which began with these two statesmen and endured until Makassar fell almost a century later. It was the happiest example of cooperation between Makassar and Bugis on a voluntary basis, and we may trust the chronicler when he puts much of it down to Matoaya's tact in approaching the Arung-matoa as his 'father'.

If Karaeng Matoaya of Tallo' expressed this agreeable filial respect for the Wajo' ruler, he himself enjoyed it from his nephew, the young King of Goa whom he had placed on the throne. He did indeed 'look after the affair of the country', which now included the whole Makassar-speaking area, from his position as Chan-

cellor. According to the later conqueror of Makassar, Speelman, a new understanding was formed between Goa and Tallo' in his time, under the formula *dua raja satuan* (two kings in one). Tribute from conquered areas was to be divided into 5 parts, with two shares each for the Goa and Tallo' courts, and the fifth to go to whoever was the older of the two rulers — which for the next half-century meant Tallo'. (Speelman, 1670, III, 57). Although the Goa ruler had formal primacy as sovereign (the English later referred to him as 'the Great King' or sometimes 'emperor'), this was largely balanced by Ala'ud-din's respect for Matoaya as the more wise and experienced.

The first substantial European account of the relations of the two rulers is a Dutch one of 1607, when the Goa ruler was just 19. It reports:

The King of Tello, who is the most respected there (although there are many kings there), is a fair-skinned man about forty years old; he is very industrious, which he shows in the building of fine houses, and fustas. He is also one of the most politic there are in this land, which he shows in his government. He has his subjects in greater subjection; also the nobility, and other people who are also kings, whom he manages so to draw to him by his amicable conversation that they love him like a father, as the King of Battargoa [i.e. Goa] (who is higher in birth than he) himself said to us, that he regarded him as a father, because of the good advice he daily had from him. He demonstrated that he is gifted with intelligence and understanding through various discourses which they had with him, in which he frequently astonished them. (Van der Hagen, 1646, 82).

Six years later, when the Englishman Jourdain described Makassar, Ala'ud-din had taken over sufficiently to be regarded as 'the King of Makassar' at least in foreign eyes, but still, 'The uncle of the King, the King of Tello, had been the King's protector in his minority, and therefore the King doth much honour him, and will do nothing without his council'. (Jourdain, 1905, 292-3).

It was during the regime of Karaeng Matoaya and his protégé Ala'ud-din that Makassar became not simply a minor Indonesian port and the strongest of several South Sulawesi states but the most important power between Java and Luzon, with hegemony over most of Sulawesi, eastern Borneo, Lombok and Sumbawa. That this occurred at a time when the arrival of the Dutch and English companies brought great disruption to the pattern of Southeast Asian trade and politics is no small tribute to the sagacity of Matoaya and his colleagues.

In terms of export produce Makassar was not particularly well endowed. Its major asset at this time was the rice of the Marus area, which appears to have been developed under Matoaya's guidance so that a substantial marketable surplus was regularly available. The Dutch source quoted above relates of Matoaya.

Throughout the whole country in every town and market-place he has erected fine barns full of rice, which is not allowed to be sold until the new crop is in, so as to suffer no shortage in any unreasonable year. He is very diligent in drawing trade to his country, to which end he expressly keeps an agent in Banda whom he provides every year with rice, cloth, and everything which is required there in order

to get as much mace in his country as possible, and so to draw some merchants to him. (van der Hagen, 1646, 82).

The Tallo' chronicle credits Matoaya with developing artificial water-courses, perhaps also in the interests of a rice surplus (S.K. Tallo' '16). The fertility of the fields was always a test of a good ruler in South Sulawesi, and Matoaya received more than conventional praise: 'During the government of this raja rice flourished, crops flourished, fishing was abundant, there was plenty of palm-wine'. (S.K. Tallo' '18).

Together with slaves, rice had already been the major South Sulawesi export in the 1540's, (Schnurhammer II, 522-3; Wessels, 1925, 6-7). For the 16th Century Portuguese only the slaves were of real interest, but it was the rice which provided the basis for the more crucial Malay trade with the Moluccas. An increasing number of Malay traders, predominantly from Patani and Johor, made Makassar their base for acquiring the rice which they would exchange in the Moluccas for the nutmeg, mace and cloves which were the great items of world trade. The enormous expansion of this Makassar-based spice trade in the early 17th century, to fill the gap left by the collapse of Javanese trade to the Moluccas, was therefore made possible by Matoaya's encouragement of rice production in the Makassar area.

Although the growing Malay community of Makassar (in practice of very diverse Indonesian and Indian origins, but defined at least by speaking Malay and practising Islam) dominated this trade, Matoaya made sure that the Makassarese themselves played an increasingly active role in it. 'The King of Makassar' himself (Matoaya or Ala'ud-din?) was in Banda on a trading mission in 1609, and ships belonging to Matoaya were reported trading to Melaka in the West and Amboina in the East (Wybrandt van Waerwijk, 1646, 35; P. van den Broecke, 1963, 58).

Around 1600 a number of factors caused major changes in the pattern of Southeast Asian trade from which Makassar was able to benefit. The Portuguese lost their most reliable base in Java when Balambangan fell to a Muslim force. With it went their major source of rice for Melaka and the Moluccan trade. Makassar was a logical alternative, and Matoaya made the Portuguese welcome. It became still more necessary to the Portuguese as Dutch pressure on them in the Moluccas intensified. By 1607 the Dutch had taken the major Portuguese bases in the Moluccas, and Makassar became the safest place for Portuguese to buy the nutmeg and cloves they required.

The bitter enmity which the Dutch bore the Portuguese posed problems for every major S.E. Asian port, and not least Makassar. The consistent policy of Matoaya and his protégé, however, was to maintain an open door to all traders, and forbid any the monopolistic position they sought. When the Dutch made their first contact by letter in 1607, they received the reply that they were most welcome to come to Makassar to trade provided it was without any armed force, for the news had spread of Dutch attacks on the Portuguese

wherever they found them. The Dutch opened a factory in Makassar the same year, but their efforts to stop the Makassarese supplying rice to Portuguese Melaka and supporting the free spice trade with the Moluccas, were firmly resisted. In a meeting between Matoaya, Sultan Ala'ud-din and two Dutch envoys, Ala'ud-din insisted, 'My country stands open to all nations, and what I have is for you people as well as for the Portuguese'. (Stapel, 1922, 11-12). A few years later, in 1615, when a Dutch envoy tried to tell the Makassarese that the Dutch had a monopoly in the Moluccas and Makassarese trade was forbidden there, he received the famous reply from the King:

God made the land and the sea; the land he divided among men and the sea he gave in common. It has never been heard that anyone should be forbidden to sail the seas. If you seek to do that, you will take the bread from the mouths of people. I am a poor King (Stapel, 1922, 14).

This was a clear declaration of a *mare liberum* principle, but also of a policy vital to Makassar. Makassar was becoming the major market in S.E. Asia for Moluccan spices, especially valuable to Portuguese, Spanish, English, Danish, Chinese and Indian merchants who found themselves subject to Dutch attacks if they ventured to Banda or the Moluccas to collect the spices at source. Makassar became the champion of an open-door policy of free trade, which it was the intention of Coen and the V.O.C. to crush. The Malay and Makassarese traders based in Makassar took the risks of running the Dutch 'blockade' to buy from the Moluccans, who in turn took great risks to defy the Dutch stranglehold. As some Muslims of Hitu stated, they would prefer to sell their nutmeg for one quarter *real* to the Makassarese than for two *real* to the Dutch, so hated did the latter become. (Stapel, 1922, 17n.). The English records are filled with testimonials to the hatred which the Dutch drew upon themselves by their ruthless bid for monopoly. An old orangkaya of Banda, for example, told George Cockayne.

that it makes old men to weep, and will the child that is unborn, saying as God hath given them a country to them & theirs so He hath sent the Hollanders as a plague unto them, making wars upon them and by unjust proceedings seeking to take their country from them. (Cockayne to Smythe, 16 July 1615, *Letters Received* III, 140).

Where Aceh had responded to Portuguese and later Dutch attempts at monopoly by trying to establish a counter-monopoly of its own, Makassar under Matoaya committed itself firmly to this free trade principle. It thereby won the support not only of the Moluccan traders seeking to escape the Dutch, but also of foreign buyers. The English established a factory in 1613, the Danes in 1618, while a Chinese junk reached the port the following year - the first of many. (*Letters Received*, III, 136-7). Later Golconda and Aceh also established their agents in the city, the Portuguese presence grew into a sizeable colony, while a Spanish official representative from Manila was in the city at least around 1615 and in the 1640's.

It was no accident that the friendly hand offered to the Dutch to trade on similar terms should ultimately be rebuffed. Already in 1614 a V.O.C. commissioner to Makassar recommended that the factory be withdrawn and Makassarese trade in the Moluccans attacked whenever possible. Before this recommendation could be put into effect, however, a violent incident speeded the outbreak of hostilities. In April 1615 the Dutch factor, Abraham Sterck, boarded a visiting V.O.C. vessel determined to leave the city because of the King's alleged failure to protect him from insults at the hands of the Spanish. Before withdrawing the Dutch factory, however, he wanted to force the King to repay certain debts, and conspired with the ship's captain to lure some Makassarese nobles on board and seize them as hostages against the debt. When the Makassarese resisted, about seven were killed, including a nephew of the King. Two survivors, the Shahbandar of Makassar and another relative of the King, were taken off to Banten with the Dutch factors. (Stapel, 1922, 13-14; *Letters Received*, III, 132-5, 146-7, 273, & 286-9).

The anger of the Makassarese at this outrage risked involving more than the Dutch alone, since the English factor unwisely identified with the Dutch and sailed off with them. Furious at the tragic effects of these quarrels among Christians, Ala'ud-din reportedly 'made a vow that never any Christian should have trade in his country'. (Skinner to Denton, 12 July 1615, *Letters Received*, III, 134). The English and Portuguese spared no efforts to assuage the ruler, however, and soon returned to Makassar where they slowly learned to live in peace with one another. With the Dutch, on the other hand, war was virtually inevitable. Sultan Ala'ud-din told the English factor that he wanted to avoid further violence and would let no Dutchman ashore in future, for 'the commonalty will not be pacified but would willingly put them all to the sword'. (Cockayne to Jourdain, 17 August 1615, *Letters Received*, III, 157). Sure enough, when 15 men of the *Eendracht* (the ship which had just discovered Australia) went ashore in Makassar not knowing what had happened, all were killed. (Stapel, 1922, 14-15).

Whatever the skill of Matoaya and his young protégé in diplomacy, they lived in a dangerous world at a particularly dangerous time. Had they not been able to muster one of the most formidable military forces in Southeast Asia there is no doubt that their attempts at even-handed diplomacy would have come to naught, and the Dutch in particular would have made short work of Makassar. The restless energy and curiosity of these two rulers were therefore directed most urgently towards mastering European military techniques. As a result of the crisis of 1615 in relations with the Dutch the English factor found himself.

called every day to the King or else he comes to our house to have me resolve him as well as I can of such questions as he doth propound unto me. The King is much grieved in mind and maketh much preparation for war; all the whole land is making of bricks for two castles this summer to be finished; in the armoury is laid ready 10,000 lances,

10,000 cresses (krises) with bucklers to them, spaces (*spatia*, a type of lance) as many, pieces 2,422; 800 quoyanes of rice for store; all this is to entertain the Flemings Yesterday in my sight the King, to see his force and how many men he could make, at an instant were mustered 36,000 able men. (Cockayne to Jourdain, 17 August 1615, *Letters Received*, III, 150-2).

The building of brick walls for defence purposes was a sharp break with older Indonesian methods of warfare (Reid, 1980) but one of great importance in discouraging a major Dutch attack. Although some brickworks had been built in the sixteenth century, presumably with Portuguese guidance (Sedjarah Goa, 26), there is no doubt that Matoaya was responsible for greater extending them during this period. The Tallo' chronicle credits him with building the fortresses of Tallo', Ujung Pandang, and Pannakkukang (S.K. Tallo', 17; cf. Ligtoet, 1880, 95, which dates the Ujung Pandang walls at 1634), leaving only Sombaopu and Goa as the work of earlier Goa kings. The same chronicle insists that Matoaya was responsible for introducing the manufacture of cannons and small muskets to Makassar, while he himself was 'skilled at making gunpowder, fireworks, flares, and fireworks that burn in water, as well as being as accurate marksman'. (S.K. Tallo' 16 & 18).

Shipbuilding was another area in which the Makassarese had much to learn from the Malays, Chinese, and Europeans in their midst, and once again Matoaya is given much of the credit for technical innovation. The chronicle notes:

This was the first raja who had supports made for the mast in [the type of prahu called] *basawara*, and who for the first time had men make the *bila* [royal yacht]. In his time too, prahus were for the first time nailed together with large iron nails; for the first time the Makassarese were able to make the war prahu called a *galle* [gally], (S.K. Tallo', 16-17).

Of Matoaya's interest in shipbuilding we have confirmation from the Dutch, who noted on their 1607 visit that he,

is very industrious, which he shows in the building of fine houses, and *fustas* otherwise called *korakara* [sailing galleys with outriggers], which are so large and smartly made, that all our carpenters who have been there affirm, that there are no masters in our country who would be able to make them. (van der Hagen, 1646, 82).

While the arts of war were critical for Makassar's survival, Matoaya's interests by no means stopped there, and the chronicle is generous in praise of his knowledge of handicrafts, dancing, and so forth. One of his most remarkable innovations was the minting of coinage both in gold (the *dinara* or *mas*) and in lead. (S.K. Tallo', 18; Netscher & Van der Chijs, 1864, 185). Makassar appears to have been the only pre-colonial Southeast Asian state except Aceh to have its own gold coinage, and Makassar's was the only coinage of which the originator is personally known. In terms of the establishment of a reliable basis for commerce and capital accumulation this was of profound importance. It is significantly not until the influence of the Tallo' family was declining in the late 1650's that

we see any significant devaluation of the Makassar *mas*, which kept its value for several decades at 4 English shillings or 0.8 Spanish real (Basset, 1958, 26-7; Makassar to Banten, 22 July 1658, IOL G/10/1, 148).

Islamization

Matoaya's intellectual curiosity, and his energetic determination to put his country in the forefront of economic and technical developments, are apparent from all the above changes associated with his leadership. His name is especially revered in South Sulawesi, however, for an innovation of a different kind — the adoption of Islam. Once again we are in a position to know more about the individual personality behind this portentous change than in any other case of Islamization in the Archipelago. Makassar did not formally adopt Islam until 1605 (or 1606), the height of Matoaya's influence, and at this comparatively late date the city's contacts with both Muslim and Christian foreigners were already well developed.

The period of Matoaya's effective rule (1593 - 1610) had seen extremely rapid growth in the city's size and sophistication. By 1615, when 1260 houses were destroyed by fire without leaving a ruinous impact and when 36,000 fighting men could be called up at 24 hours notice (IOL G/10/1, 5 and 9 — and see above), the city must have had close to 50,000 inhabitants, some thousands of them Malay and Portuguese traders. But unlike the pattern in so many other trading ports of the archipelago, the foreign element had in no sense overtaken the vigorous animist culture of South Sulawesi. The love of pork and alcohol in feasting, the sacred role of female and transvestite shamans, the topless style of dress for both sexes, and the insertion of balls or pins permanently in the penis, were features familiar to the animist 'little traditions' of rural Southeast Asia, but they were rather startling in a cosmopolitan urban context. The first Dutch visitors of 1607 commented:

The men carry usually one, two, or more balls in their penis, of the same size as those of Siam, but not hollow or clinking, rather of ivory or solid fishbone, though this is now declining among them because of the change of sect [to Islam]

The female slaves whom one sees carrying water in the back streets have the upper body with the breasts completely naked, and wear trousers which come up to the navel. When they wash they stand mother-naked, the men as well as the women, by the wells, which I have seen in no other place in the Indies as I have here, (van der Hagen, 1646, 82).

Whereas other trading centres in the Archipelago adopted an Arabic, Roman, or Sanskrit script to cope with the new legal and commercial demands being placed on a written language, the Makassarese (and the Bugis after them) alone developed the indigenous Indonesian script into a vehicle for modern purposes. This relative success in adapting their animist culture to the need of a modern city is part of the explanation for the surprisingly late religious change of Makassar. The other factor is that Makassar was faced

with a real choice between the Malay/Muslim and Portuguese/Christian models, rather than having to approach the wider outside world solely as it was presented through one of these windows.

Makassar needed both Malay and Portuguese traders, and it learned much from both sources. Both Christian and Muslim dating systems were in use at the court, and Matoaya's decision for Islam is itself most frequently dated in terms of the Christian system — 22 September 1603 (though most commentators, have reinterpreted this to 1605 or 1606). Matoaya himself was assiduous in learning all he could from the Portuguese, Dutch and English, as well as from the Muslim traders. Pelras' suggestion (1977, 248-56) that Matoaya's father was a Christian convert is difficult to reconcile with Makassar sources, but it is clear at least that the family was familiar with Christian ideas. The contest for the soul of Makassar was remembered in a very strong tradition among the European community of Makassar, recorded at least from the 1640's. This had it that the leading men could not agree which of the new faiths to adopt, but feared the effects of religious division. They therefore decided to invite Aceh to send a Muslim theologian and Melaka a Christian one, and to accept that whichever arrived first in Makassar must have God's support (Rhodes, 1966, 207; Navarrete, 1962, I, 113; Boxer, 1967, 3n.; Gervaise, 1701, 124-9). The idea of such a 'race' is almost certainly apocryphal, but its probable basis is that Matoaya was sufficiently interested in Christian doctrine to invite the Portuguese to send a priest to him, which Melaka failed to do much to the chagrin of the Makassar Portuguese.

From what both the chronicles and European observers tell us, we know Matoaya to have been thoughtful, studious, and intensely energetic in the pursuit of new knowledge. Though the Tallo' chronicle is certainly not impartial about its hero, its description of Matoaya's character is of considerable interest:

This king was a man of thought and of bold action, a learned man, a man of renown, a man of many talents, he was a skilled worker and had good hands for both men's and women's handiwork, he was known to all as upright and good-natured, genial towards anyone who wanted to receive him; he was quick to understand a person's feelings and a good mixer, he knew how to listen to people; he fully understood how to conduct correspondence, and his opinions were judicious; he was adept at reading *kitab* [Islamic books], and from the time he adopted Islam until his death he never once missed the time of prayer; only at the time his foot swelled up and an Englishman treated him by giving him alcohol did he not pray for eighteen days; he performed many *sunat* prayers. (S.K. Tallo', 18-19, my translation, primarily from Abdurrahim's Indonesian).

As Noorduyun has already emphasized, such a man is likely to have decided for Islam only after considerable thought and study. (Noorduyun, 1956, 263).

There is confirmation from a Wajo chronicle that Matoaya must have weighed the rival claims of Islam and Christianity, after coming to the view that the old animist faith was not adequate for the new needs of his country. This chronicle reports a second

visit by Matoaya to the wise old ruler of Wajo just before the latter's death in 1607. Matoaya reportedly asked the old man:

'You are very ill, father. Do me the favour of telling me how many gods there are'.
The Arung-matoa said, 'There is only one God (*Dewata*), but there are many emissaries of God'.
The Karaeng [Matoaya] asked, 'Does this one God have no mother and no father?'
The Arung-matoa said, 'Just for that reason is he called the one God, that he has no mother and no father'. (Noorduyun, 1955, 263).

This exchange suggests, as Noorduyun has again pointed out, that Matoaya was considering the merits of Islamic arguments that the Christians were not true monotheists. Eventually he decided to embrace Islam, especially as it was presented by a learned ulama, Abdul Makmur Khatib Tunggal Dato' ri Bandang, a Minangkabau who had apparently studied or taught in Palembang, in Giri (East Java), and in Kutai where he is also credited with the introduction of Islam. But whatever the merits of Dato' ri Bandang, the chronicles insist that it was Matoaya himself who was primarily responsible for spreading Islam to the whole of South Sulawesi.

It was this raja who Islamized the Makassarese in the whole Makassar area, and Islamized the Bugis in the whole Bugis area, except for the people of Luwu [who had been Islamized earlier] (S.K. Tallo', 15). Matoaya's acceptance of Islam is clearly dated 22 September in all chronicles, though there is much more doubt about the year. We may accept Noorduyun's argument for 1605 as the most convincing, though a case could also be made from the evidence for 1603 or 1606. (Noorduyun, 1956, 248-66; cf. Ligetvoet, 1880, 86, & the statement of the Dutch visitors of 1607 that the King had adopted Islam 4 years earlier). Matoaya underlined his momentous change of faith by adopting as his Islamic name Sultan Abdullah Awal-ul Islam (The Slave of God, the first Muslim).

The conversion of two whole peoples as traditionally proud, warlike, and autonomous as the Makassarese and Bugis by no means followed automatically. It is possible that Matoaya's young ward, the King of Goa, became a Muslim under his influence at almost the same time, adopting the name Sultan Ala'ud-din. However the first solemn celebration of the Friday prayer in a Makassarese rather than 'foreign Malay' context, at the court of Tallo', occurred only two years later (probably 1607 - Ligetvoet, 1880, 86). There was strong opposition from many quarters, particularly on the part of highly placed women, the traditional repositories of the older religious knowledge. However we have it on the evidence of a hostile Christian source (Gervaise, 1701, 129) that Matoaya resisted the suggestions of his new religious advisers that he should impose Islam by force, and instead relied upon the influence of his example, persuasion, and favour towards those quick to convert. The Makassarese accepted the religion of the Prophet voluntarily, thereby ensuring the retention within Makassarese culture of more pre-Islamic elements than among most other coastal Indonesians.

When his own Makassarese aristocracy had followed him into Islam within three years, Matoaya turned his attention to the Bugis of the South Sulawesi states. For the first and only time in his long political career, Matoaya abandoned the policy of peace with the Bugis for what he evidently believed to be the greater good of conversion to Islam. He first appealed to Soppeng and Bone to accept Islam on the basis of a long alliance with Goa. When they predictably declined, Matoaya marshalled the forces of Makassar to attack them in what became known as the 'Islam war'. According to Bugis sources, the first Makassar attack was directed towards Soppeng in about 1608/9, but was driven out after three days' fighting by the combined forces of Bone, Soppeng, and Wajo'. Matoaya himself, the same sources allege, only escaped death through his 'fortunate constellation' (Noorduyn, 1955, 94-5). However the unity and strength of purpose was evidently much greater among the Makassarese than the Bugis, and the Bugis alliance began to disintegrate only three months after this initial success. A second Makassarese attack then found a number of Bugis states on its side, while a third, the following year, led to the death of the ruler of Soppeng and the defection to Islam first of the Sidenreng people and then of the Soppengs. In the next dry season the campaign was directed against Wajo', and now there was little sign left of cooperation between the non-Muslim Bugis states — presumably because of the mild terms consistently offered by Matoaya. After a few initial defeats, the Wajorese sued for peace. (ibid. 95-7).

As the Wajo' chronicle tells it, Matoaya simply asked the Wajo' leaders:

'Do me the favour of accepting a small token from me, that you follow Goa into Islam and that you all offer homage to the one God'.

To Appamole [the Wajo' leader] replied to King Matoaya. 'We have made the profession of faith, Your Majesty, and we all offer homage to the one God. I request that my rice be not torn out, my mats not opened, and the mice not cut out from the folds of my sarung. So will I follow Goa; when Goa goes to war we will follow as Goarese, and I will bring my victuals in my sleeves, one for the journey out and one for the journey home. When Goa is victorious in war, so is Wajo also victorious. If you go by ship then we will not follow, for I cannot sail. I will then sit in my house hoping that you win, and if Goa wins then Wajo wins also. Only then will Goa and Wajo be divided, since God has divided them'.

The King said, 'I agree with what you have said. Wajorese, I grant what you request, as you make an effort to offer homage to Allah ta'ala and to follow the Prophet Mohammad s.a.w.' (ibid. 266-7).

Matoaya then presented the leading Wajo' men with clothes appropriate for the Muslim prayer, and again according to the Wajo' source he accepted their understandable wish to have a final magnificent feast on their slaughtered pigs.

Next it was the turn of Bone, the strongest Bugis state, which similarly sued for peace in 1611. Once again, according to the Bone chronicle itself, the victorious Matoaya made no demands whatever save that the Bone leaders make the profession of faith in Islam.

The ruler of Bone, although selected specifically to resist Islam, was so won over that he became a great friend and pupil of Matoaya (Noorduyn, 1455, 98; Bone chronicle as translated by Campbell Macknight). The Tallo' chronicle, which makes of Matoaya a source of wisdom for later generations, says of this 'Islam war' that,

he did not plunder, he did not levy any indemnity or impose any tribute, he did not want to do so. Tumenanga ri Bonto Biraeng [Matoaya's son Patingalloang] used to say, "King Matoaya said to me, when I defeated the Tallumbocco alliance [Bone-Wajo'-Soppeng] I did not even pluck the leaves of the trees; I did not want to do so; I distributed about three hundred *kati*, I gave it in the form of presents of porcelain." (S.K. Tallo', 16).

After all the major Bugis states had accepted Islam, Matoaya attended a conference with their leaders, at which the terms of alliance were agreed. He gave them each a ring as a symbol of alliance, and urged them to avoid internal quarrels, 'for the enemies for the Karaeng [Matoaya] are enemies who come by sea' (Noorduyn 1955, 268-9). The peace thus established endured throughout the rest of his lifetime, a rare period in the generally stormy relationships between South Sulawesi states. Wajo's relations with Makassar became particularly close, and we know of at least one internal Wajo' dispute which was successfully referred to Matoaya to settle. (ibid. p. 112).

How much this Islamic fervour had to do with the further extension of Makassar authority by sea we do not know. As Makassar's importance as the major entrepot of eastern Indonesia grew rapidly under Matoaya, and its fleet expanded to the point it could equip expeditions of up to 1,000 vessels, political influence was bound to follow. Typically tribute was offered in trade goods — tortoise-shell from Northern Sulawesi, slaves, wax and sandalwood from the Lesser Sundas — as acknowledgement of Makassar's primary as trade centre, arbiter and protector. At least two texts explicitly credit Matoaya with the conquest of the island of Sumbawa (Ricklefs & Voorhoeve, 99; S.K. Tallo', 17), although the earliest dates for expeditions of conquest date from 1617 and 1618 (Ligtvoet, 1850, 87), when Sultan Ala'ud-din was already sharing power with him. Makassar rule overseas appears to have been relatively mild, typically relying on a subordinate Muslim trading centre — Bima in the South and Mandar in the North — to extend both religious and political influence on its behalf. By the time of Matoaya's death in 1636 Makassar's hegemony had extended in this way to embrace almost the whole coast of Sulawesi, the east coast of Borneo, and the Lesser Sundas from eastern Lombok to parts of Timor. Despite the eagerness of the Dutch to find potential rebels against Makassar, only strategically-located Buton had to be reconquered on numerous occasions (notably 1626, 1655). We know that Matoaya (then aged 53) and the Sultan both took part in the massive expedition which conquered it in 1626 (Ligtvoet, 1880, 89-90. IOL G/10/1, 39, refers to 80,000 men and 1900 vessels). The rulers must have gone too far with Bima too, in 1632, in appointing

Ala'ud-din's brother-in-law to rule directly there. The Bima people threw the Makassar nominee out, and in consequence had their lands laid waste (Stapel, 1922, 25; Ligetvoet, 1880, 93). Thereafter Bima remained a great centre of Makassar influence in the Lesser Sunda.

As the champion of Islam in South Sulawesi and beyond, we might expect Matoaya after his conversion to be hostile to the influence of the Portuguese and English. However, much had changed in Southeast Asia since the antagonisms of the previous century, and Makassar became the most striking example of religious tolerance in a generally tolerant archipelago. As Jourdain remarked less than a decade after the city had accepted Islam, 'It is a very pleasant and fruitful country, and the kindest people in all the Indies to strangers..... The King is very affable and true hearted towards Christians' (Jourdain, 294-5). As we have seen both Matoaya and Ala'ud-din were extremely anxious to learn all they could from the Europeans, both before and after they converted to Islam. They were particularly beholden to the Portuguese, who supplied most of the Chinese and Indian manufactures needed in the region and represented a substantial colony — rising to several hundred by the 1620s and perhaps 3,000 after the fall of Melaka in 1641 (Navarrete, 1967, I, 114n). Matoaya, as we shall see, must have had his favourite son largely educated by the Portuguese. Ala'ud-din, who spoke a little Portuguese himself, appears to have gone further. Among his 40-odd wives were many foreigners, and one was reportedly a 'Westerner' (Sedjarah Goa, 60). It was probably he (rather than his son Mohammad Said, born only in 1607, cf. Navarrete, 1962, 118; Boxer, 1967, 17n) who sired by a Portuguese woman Francisco Mendes, who became an invaluable, bilingual, link between Makassar and Portuguese, a member of the Order of Christ, and 'Portuguese secretary' to the Goa court from about 1637 to 1656. Here at least such things were possible, leading a Spanish Dominican later to bemoan as 'deplorable that Christian men kept Mahometan women, and Mahometan men, Christian women' (Navarrete, 1962, I, 122-3).

In 1614 Ala'ud-din even wrote to Manila to invite the Franciscans there to establish a house in Makassar, presumably to cater for the resident Portuguese rather than as a means to conversion. Significantly this request was declined not because the Makassar were Muslim but because they had received Dutch ships — a more serious offence. Five years later some Franciscans did reach Makassar, and Christian services continued to be celebrated openly there (Meersman, 1967, 91-7). With the fall of Melaka, Makassar became the principal Southeast Asian base for the Portuguese, and the Franciscans, Jesuits and Dominicans each had houses there in addition to the main Church operated by the former diocese of Melaka (ibid. 115-19). The Viceroy of Goa commented in 1638 that 'in all the Southern Archipelago there is no other ruler who protects the Portuguese with greater firmness and allows conversion to the Christian faith' (cited Boxer, 1967, 4). Certainly the

contrast with the Dutch seemed striking to the Portuguese, but the Viceroy's words should not be taken to mean Makassar could freely convert to Christianity. The 'Articles of Agreement' between the Makassar rulers and the English Company in 1624 explicitly forbade that (IOL, G/10/1, 35-6), and Catholic missionaries frequently complained that they made no progress with the native population (Meersman, 1967, 97 & 118-19). Conversions in the other direction were much more common, particularly on the part of slaves who used this device to escape their Christian masters (Navarrete, 1962, I, 122). Nevertheless there was sufficient tolerance to permit a very extensive exchange of ideas, and we know that at least a few prominent Makassar enjoyed attending the occasional sermon.

The state which Chancellor Matoaya had created, then, was a beacon of hope in Southeast Asia. Its policy of even-handed free trade for all appeared to provide a brilliant formula for dealing with the dangerous new interlopers. The English and Portuguese, even when at war with each other, accepted that they had to bury their swords in Makassar.

The King requires that both may be alike free in the port of Makassar, but is loath to displease either, and his affection is very constant to the English, so as no politic prince in Europe could, do more, but his country cannot be supplied without the Portugals, so the best we can expect is to stand in equal balance, and that neither shall annoy the other in the Kings' havens. (Batavia to E.I. Co, 18 July 1627, *State Papers* 1625-9, p. 368).

The Dutch too, despite their bitter competition with Makassar-based traders in the Moluccas, were treated with exemplary courtesy when they called at Makassar, and given no pretexts to precipitate the war they saw as ultimately inevitable. From Banten, Mataram, Aceh, Golconda, Ayutthaya, Cambodia, Denmark and France came envoys and traders.

For the people of South Sulawesi Matoaya remained the great Makassar hero, the bringer of Islam, the pioneer of many innovations, the builder of Makassar's greatness. His words of advice to his son Patingalloang were passed down as the foundation of Makassar statecraft (Matthes, 1875, 12). Although the ruler of Tallo' (where a handsome grave is also claimed as his), he was honoured in Goa almost like the founder of a dynasty for all the seventeenth century Goa rulers were buried alongside him in tombs modelled on his. Even in the chronicles of the Bugis he conquered there is nothing but praise for Karaeng Matoaya.

Patingalloang

Matoaya appears to have had ten wives, of whom at least one was a favoured slave, and another, having evidently displeased the Chancellor and been divorced, was killed at his death on 1 October 1636. He had lived long and fruitfully, and prepared the way effectively for his departure from the scene. He sired at least 29 children, of whom seven were sons by his principal wife, Iwara,

the only daughter of King Tunijallo' of Goa. The first of these died at age seven, and it was the second who would succeed him on the throne of Tallo' as Sultan Mudhaffar. Matoaya evidently groomed him for this task, as he himself moved away from the Tallo' palace to a quieter retreat in 1634, and had Mudhaffar formally enthroned eight months before his own death. (S.K. Tallo', 19-24; describes his family in complex detail). This son was principally noted for leading the Makassar expedition which conquered the coastal ports of Timur in 1641, though he died on the return journey (ibid. 26-8).

However it was as *Bicara-buita* or Chancellor of Goa that Matoaya had been able to play his unique role in the making of Makassar's greatness. He had gradually and graciously moved out of the limelight as Ala'ud-din grew into his role as Sultan, ensuring an effective division of powers between the two men. It seems probable that he had schooled his second surviving son, Patingalloang, to take over the Chancellorship, but when he died Ala'ud-din appears to have continued to rule alone until his own death less than three years later, in 1639. The Makassarese saw the two rulers as inseparable. The Goa chronicle points out that 986 days after being deprived of Matoaya, the people were deprived also of Ala'ud-din. But there is no doubt that it was the former to whom the rise of Makassar was primarily attributed (Sedjarah Goa, 61 & 65).

The new King of Goa was Sultan Mohammad Said, the 32-year-old highest-born son of Ala'ud-din. He is reported to have told the chief officers of state that he would only accept the throne if Patingalloang 'sits beside me in government, and leads the people as a whole' (Sedjarah Goa 65-6). In all probability the new Chancellor had already become virtually indispensable as the successor of his father in military and diplomatic affairs. The little the chronicles tell us of Patingalloang before he assumed the chancellorship at the age of 39 indicate that he was particularly close to both Matoaya, whose words he is often depicted quoting, and to Ala'ud-din, whose virtual adopted son he is shown to be (ibid. 60). From later reports we know that he must have been a brilliant youngster, exceptionally fluent in Portuguese and Spanish as well as Makassarese and Malay, and possessing his father's intellectual curiosity in almost every field. Already as an 18-year-old he was pestering the English for novelties aboard their ships (Staverton to Ball 18 May 1618, *State Papers* 1617-21, 166). By dint of these talents combined with his high birth he must already have accumulated numerous functions before the change of rulers. In 1632 we know he was entrusted with the Ujung Tanah area of the city as a kind of personal fief, with 1584 subjects directly under him (Ligtvoet, 1880, 93).

Because of his fluency in European languages Patingalloang emerges more fully as a character than any other Makassar leader of his day. Most unusually, Western visitors were unanimously laudatory about him, even including the Dutch. The fullest

descriptions come from Catholic missionaries in the city, and particularly Alexander de Rhodes, who visited in 1646.

The high governor of the whole kingdom is called Carim Pate-ngalao, whom I found exceedingly wise and sensible, and apart from his bad religion, a very honest man. He knew all our mysteries very well, had read with curiosity all the chronicles of our European kings. He always had books of ours in hand, especially those treating with mathematics, in which he was quite well versed. Indeed he had such a passion for all branches of this science that he worked at it day and night. To hear him speak without seeing him one would take him for a native Portuguese, for he spoke the language as fluently as people from Lisbon itself. ((Rhodes, 1666, 208-9).

Some years after his death Patingalloang's library of European books, 'which was considerable', was still kept by his son and continued to excite the admiration of visitors (Navarrete, 1662, I, 115).

Like his father, Patingalloang was particularly anxious to keep abreast of European technical innovations, and he is the first Southeast Asian we know of to have seen the importance of mathematics for the applied sciences. There were few Europeans in Makassar in a position to instruct him, but he seized greedily on the rare visitor as learned as Fr de Rhodes.

Seeing that he was pleased to talk of mathematics, I began conversing with him on the subject, and God willed him to take such pleasure in it that he wanted to have me at his palace as a matter of course thereafter.

It happened that I predicted an eclipse of the moon to him a few days before it took place. I described it all to him exactly as he saw it later. This so won him over he wanted me to teach him all the secrets of the science. I, who had in mind teaching him the science of going to heaven rather than the courses of the stars, never saw him without always throwing in many things that might move him to conversion, and even when he sometimes changed the subject I never failed to return to my objective.....

On my return to our house he sent me a Portuguese who was his great confidant, who made me a thousand protestations of friendship on his part and brought me various gifts along with a memorandum of curious articles he wanted me to bring him back from Europe, adding finally that he very much wanted to see me return and that he implored me to pass through his territory again, where I would always find proof of the high regard in which he held me. I had to be satisfied with these compliments and make him a return in kind. (Rhodes, 1666, 209-10).

Alexander de Rhodes was not the only visitor to be importuned for books, maps, and rarities from Europe. It became well known to traders that such gifts were especially welcome to Patingalloang, along with the horses, antelopes, elephants and weapons which were the more common means of impressing Asian monarchs. In 1644 the Chancellor sent to Batavia a lading of sandalwood to pay for 'various rarities, including two globes, a large world map or mappa mundi, with the description in the Spanish, Portuguese or Latin language, a book describing the whole world, atlas in Latin, Spanish or Portuguese with its maps.' (Wessels, 1926, 22; also Stapel, 1922, 40-41).

Three years later the Dutch in Batavia were still complaining that some of this order had not been supplied from Holland, notably

'two globes of 157-160 inch circumference, of wood or copper, from which the north and south poles can be placed' (Coolhaas, GM, II, 314). Eventually a 'magnificent copper globe' was sent, and must have contributed to Patingalloang's reputation in Holland, where the greatest poet of the day, Joost van den Vondel, devoted some lines to him:

Den Aardkloot zend 't Oostindisch huis,
Den Grooten Pantagoule 't huis,
Wiens aldoersnuffelende brein,
Een gansche wereld valt te klein
(East India House sends a globe to the great Patingalloang,
whose endlessly curious brain, finds a whole world too small.
(Quoted Valentijn, 1724, 147).

While the Dutch were the unrivalled map-makers of the period, Patingalloang evidently persuaded the Sultan to approach the English for help in astronomy. In 1635 Ala'ud-din gave the English factors 2-1/2 bahar (about half a ton) of cloves with which to buy a number of rarities including 'one prospective glass, the very best that may be bought for money' (Banten to E.I. Co. 31 January 1636, IOL, E/3/15, f151v.). This appears to have been a very long time coming, perhaps having to be carefully constructed in England for the purpose. In 1652 a ship finally delivered a 'Galilean Prospective Glass', to a new King of Goa, evidently for a much inflated sum. When we recall that Galileo's first telescope was completed only in 1609, and there were still relatively few operating in Britain, Makassar was doing its best to keep abreast of the Renaissance explosion of knowledge. It seems unlikely that Sultan Mohammad Said himself had much understanding of astronomy, but in any case he died soon after its delivery, so that both the telescope and the debt for it were taken over by Patingalloang. Unfortunately the great Chancellor himself died the following year, and there being no-one else in the city with the necessary knowledge and money, it was returned to the English (IOL, G/1/10, pp. 98 ff).

It is extraordinary enough that there was a scientific mind of this quality in seventeenth century Makassar, but this assumes special importance in the person of the dominant political figure in the state. It is certain that Patingalloang's habits of rational enquiry influenced the culture of Makassar in this period, and lay behind many of the innovations to which it gave rise. Some of these deserve special attention. Firstly, the only Indonesian translations we know from European technical treatises probably occurred at his behest. A Sixteenth Century Spanish text on gunnery, allegedly by 'Andraes of Monvona', was summarized in Makassar in 1635, and translated in full in 1652, shortly before Patingalloang's death. A number of other translations on gunnery, gunpowder and arms manufacture, were translated from Spanish, Portuguese, Turkish and Malay authorities, although many of these survive only in imperfect Bugis retranslations of later date (Matthes, 1875, 54 & 58; Ricklefs & Voorhoeve, 1977, 29 & 31). Secondly, the Bugis skill in making, and copying maritime charts, also unique in Indo-

nesia, has been traced back not unreasonably to the original enthusiasm of Patingalloang (Le Roux, 1935, 699-701).

The remarkable chancellor must also have had a role in the unique development of South Sulawesi historical writing. That he was extremely interested in the recording of history we know from the frequency with which he is quoted in the Makassar chronicles, and from the *Hikayat Tamah Hitu*, the writing of which he commissioned from an Ambonese refugee to whom he had given hospitality in Makassar. (Manusama, 1977, 1-2 & 223-4). We appear to possess no documents definitely written by Patingalloang, and can only infer that the most striking innovations from Western literary models probably took place under his guidance. The tradition of chronicle-writing was itself not very old in South Sulawesi, having begun in the mid-sixteenth century (Sedjarah Goa, 50). However, the most unique feature of South Sulawesi historical writing, the carefully dated diaries of important events, appear to have developed during the time of Patingalloang's influence. The diary of Goa-Tallo' has its first entry dated 1545, but all the early entries are calculations obviously made much later. Typically they give a date on which a well-known dignitary was 'probably' born, based on calculating backwards from his age at the time of his known death. Only in the late 1620's does the detailed sequence begin which indicates that events are being recorded as they occur (Ligtvoet, 1880, 85-90; also Noorduyt, 1965, 149). Each major state occasion is written down under both its Christian and its Muslim date, in a straightforward, factual style quite unlike any other form of Indonesian writing. Others could have been responsible for this innovation, but there is no likelier candidate than Patingalloang.

Like those of his Renaissance counterparts in Europe, Patingalloang's scholarly interests were linked to very practical purposes. As leader of his people in war and peace, he was particularly concerned with military technology.

Whensoever he saw a sword, he would handle it, and enquire of the Quality of it. He once took a Portuguese's Sword in his Hand, and understanding from him that it would pierce a double Buff Coat, he made him try it immediately, which the Portuguese performed, tho he hurt his Hand with the great force he put to pierce the Buff, which was upon a Chair.
Patin Galoa seeing that done, ask'd for his Bow, and adding one fold more in the Buff Coat, made such a furious shot, that he pierc'd the three Folds. All that were present stood astonish'd. (Navarrete 1962, I, 121).

In foreign policy the Chancellor was complete master, handling the most difficult problems arising from European strength and rivalries with particular skill. Despite his ties with the hated Portuguese the Dutch treated him with great respect.

he governs the kingdom and can do us much good or harm, while the King spends his time trafficking and gambling
Karaeng Patengalo had very familiar and politic discussions with Viaming about the peace between Portugal and the Spanish crown, showing himself to be a man of great knowledge, science, and understanding. (GM of 19 December 1651, Coolhaas II, 497-8).

Stapel, the chronicler of the Dutch war with Makassar, attributes the one real period of peace between the VOC and Goa-Tallo', between 1637 and 1654, largely to the wisdom and effectiveness of Pattingalloang during these years. He always received Dutch envoys well and left them convinced that war would be more dangerous than peace for both sides (Stapel, 1922, 34-5). The eventual conqueror of Makassar recorded that Pattingalloang was still regarded 15 years after his death as 'the idol' and 'the father' of Makassar (Speelman, 1670, I, 11; Stapel, 1922, 35n). His fame reached as far as Borneo, where the *Hikayat Banjar* records (p. 479) a mission from Pasir to Makassar 'in the time of Karaeng Pattingalloang' as if that in itself explained the shift of allegiance of the eastern Borneo states from Banjarmasin to Makassar.

Pattingalloang's obvious admiration for and familiarity with many aspects of European culture led a number of missionaries to believe that he was on the brink of conversion to Christianity. According to Navarrete (I, 120), he had read all the works of the celebrated Spanish Dominican, Luis de Granada (who was also translated into Japanese) and was intellectually convinced of the merits of Christianity. Navarrete claimed that he 'was wont to say that Many went to Hell out of Reason of State, and that he was one of them' (Navarrete, 1962, I, 120; also Wessels, 1925, 32-3). However, Navarrete reached Makassar only after Pattingalloang's death when legend was beginning to take over from fact, and we need probably take this wishful thinking no more seriously than in the case of Pattingalloang's contemporary, King Narai of Siam. The flavour of his relations with Christianity is reliably given by Alexander de Rhodes, who spared no pain to try to bring about his conversion.

He was so well informed on all points of our religion that he often argued them against heretics and routed them completely. He attached the Dutch particularly on the authority of the Pope and ridiculed them for trying to create a body without a head, proving to them clearly that it could only be a monster

I neglected nothing that might win for Christ this man on whom the conversion of the entire kingdom depended. He never held it against me, but he didn't thereby change for the better. I was never able to discover what this came from, because from all appearances his life wasn't bad. He had no entanglements with women. I simply came to the conclusion that I was too big a sinner to bring so excellent a project to fruition.

When I was on the point of leaving I went to tackle him one last time on the subject of his salvation. As I took leave of him I spoke with many tears and proposed to him reasons quite sufficient to touch his heart; but after my talk, which was rather long, he replied to it all with nothing more than these few words, "Well done, Father, you have discharged your duty very well." With that he bowed to me many times and kissed me several times, but on the most important subject he said not a word. (Rhodes, 1966, 209-10).

The Goa chronicle says that under King Mohammad Said, in whose name Pattingalloang governed, Makassar 'never experienced plague, serious war, or serious misfortune' (Sedjarah Goa, 69). Undoubtedly in comparison with every other reign this must have seemed a time of extraordinary peace and prosperity. Nevertheless

Pattingalloang's handling of the critical Bugis question, though it appeared brilliantly successful at the time, must be seen as contributing to Makassar's ultimate destruction.

Since under Matoaya Goa had defeated Bone in the name of Islam, it was perhaps poetic justice that Bone should seek to disturb the status quo thirty years later also in the name of Islam. An unusually devout and intransigent ruler of Bone, Arumpone La Ma'daremme, made a number of bitter enemies in the early 1640's by attempting to apply the law of the Prophet rigorously. Although slavery was central to the whole South Sulawesi social system, he began to insist that all slaves should be freed unless they were born in that condition. The Arumpone's own mother fled to Makassar to protest about this novelty. Pattingalloang or his Sultan reportedly sent to ask the reformist Arumpone whether he was acting on the commands of the Prophet, on the basis of old custom, or according to his own whim. According to the Bone chronicle it was the Arumpone's failure to answer this letter which led Makassar to declare war on him. Still more serious, however, was Bone's attack upon Wajo' and Soppeng in the name of this fundamentalist view of Islam, leading to the death of the Aru Matoa of Wajo' and a grave threat to Goa's position as *primus inter pares* of the South Sulawesi states (Noorduyn, 1955, 116-17).

Pattingalloang therefore led 40,000 Makassar troops into the field against Bone in October 1643. According to the English factors they were up against twice as many Bugis, who were creating havoc and devastation quite close to the city limits, but the superiority of Makassar arms ensured a complete victory within a month (Bantam to E.I. Company, 9 December 1643, IOL G/10/1; Ligvoet, 1880, 105). The intransigent Arumpone fled towards Luwu. The Goa chronicle relates that Pattingalloang then instructed the Aru Pitu (Council) of Bone to find another ruler from among the Bone royal house, but the Councillors came back with the request that the Raja of Goa or Pattingalloang himself should rule over them, since there were no others capable. The chronicle has Pattingalloang reject this with the words, 'There is a custom that if we choose a raja, the Bone people have nothing to do with it, and if the Bone people choose a raja, we similarly have nothing to do with it' (Sedjarah Goa, 71). In the event it seems that no king was installed, but a prominent Bugis named To Bala' was appointed as regent or Kadi of Bone, depending on the source.¹⁾

The Goa chronicles may have put these and other moderate words in Pattingalloang's mouth to emphasise that the subsequent humiliation of Bone was no part of his intentions. Similarly the chronicle goes on to have, him warn the Bone Council, 'if you

¹⁾ Sedjarah Goa, 71, and the Goa Diary (Ligvoet, 105) both have To Bala appointed Kadi, and the former adds that Karaeng ri Sumanna' was appointed regent. The description of subsequent events by the Sedjarah Goa makes it seem likelier that by Kadi was meant the person responsible to Goa for Bone affairs. We are inclined therefore to follow Noorduyn, p. 117, and Speelman, I, 54, in regarding To Bala as effectively regent.

choose a king and do not inform us I will not shield you from danger, and we will attack you' (Sedjarah Goa, 71-2). Since the Bone people are portrayed doing just that three years later, truth of these fall is identified as entirely their own fault. The truth of these allegations is impossible to verify, but the chronicle makes clear that the ruling circles in Makassar, and notably Pattingalloang himself, were well aware that the autonomy of the Bugis states could not lightly be breached.

In any event, Bone did rebel under To Senrima, and was utterly defeated in April/May 1646 by a large Goa force under Pattingalloang, supported by Wajo' and Luwu. Now for the first time the Raja of Goa was himself proclaimed King of Bone, with To Bala (or Karaeng ri Sumanna', according to Sedjarah Goa) to represent him there. Even the main Goa source concedes that for the first time Bone was plundered, 'although the plunder was returned to them because it was judged that only the Arumpone was disgraced' (Sedjarah Goa, 72-3). Speelman, writing from a viewpoint closer to Bone's, relates that Makassar 'stripped Bone of all dignity, made the whole country subservient to it, and took away all the notables' (Speelman, 1670, I, 54; see also Ligtvoet, 1880, 107; Noorduy, 1955, 118). Undoubtedly the power to which Makassar had risen made it difficult to maintain the traditional autonomy of a proud and warlike neighbouring state. It was, however, the bitterness of conquered Bone, skillfully exploited by the relentless VOC, that made possible the Dutch-led conquest of Makassar twenty years later.

By then, of course, Pattingalloang was no more. He died on 15 September 1654. He left an able son, Karaeng Karunrung (1631-85), to carry on the brilliant tradition of the family into the fourth generation. Karunrung was also fluent in Portuguese and Spanish, valued him father's fine library, and was among the outstanding Makassar statesmen and warriors (Navarrete, 1962, I, 114; Skinner, 1963, 283-4). However he was never in a strong enough position internally to ensure continuity of policy, and lacked the sure touch of his father at least in dealing with foreigners.

Only a month after Pattingalloang's death, the new king of Goa, Hasanuddin (Mohammad Said having predeceased Pattingalloang by a year), declared that he would be his own Chancellor (Ligtvoet, 1880, 113). The quasi-constitutional division of authority which had been the hallmark of Makassar's rise over the previous sixty years was at an end. Makassar came to suffer from the principal problem of the other mercantile states of Southeast Asia — concentration of inadequately-defined powers in the hands of a frequently arbitrary ruler. In the years that followed we hear for the first time a string of complaints about dissensions among the ruling elite, endemic rebellion among the Bugis, and arbitrary and covetous actions by the ruler damaging the attractiveness of Makassar for traders (IOL, G/10/1, 149, 163, 181-2, 193-4, 261-2). Makassar remained a great city until the Dutch conquest (1650-69), but it no longer had the unity nor the foresight in its direction to withstand the threats to it.

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