

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

The history of Boné A.D. 1775-1795: The diary of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh
Syamsuddin

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List of abbreviations

A.D.	<i>Anno Domini</i> (Christian Era)
A.H.	<i>Anno Hijrah</i> (Muslim Calendar)
a.m.	before noon
<i>anon.</i>	anonymous
ANRI	<i>Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia</i> (Archive National Republic of Indonesia)
Ar.	Arab
B.C.	Before Christ
BKI	<i>Bijdragen Tot de Taal, Land-en Volkenkunde</i>
BL	British Library
B.	Bugis
<i>c.</i>	<i>circa</i>
<i>cf.</i>	<i>confer</i>
D.	Dutch
<i>DAS</i>	Diary of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh
Depdikbud	<i>Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan</i> (Department of Education and Culture)
<i>DJM</i>	Diary of <i>Jennang</i> of Maros
<i>DoM</i>	Diary of <i>Maqdanrang</i>
<i>DTM</i>	Diary of <i>Tomarilalang Malolo</i>
EEIC	English East India Company
F./ Fols	Folio(s)
Fr.	French
H.	<i>Hijrah</i> , Muslim calendar
Id.	Indonesia
JAS	Journal of Asian Studies
JMBRAS	Journal of the Malaysian Branch, Royal Asiatic Society
JSEAH	Journal of Southeast Asian History
JSEAS	Journal of Southeast Asian Studies
Kg.	Kilogrammes
KITLV	<i>Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde</i>
Mak.	Makasar/ Makassar (of manuscripts)
Mal.	Malay
MS./MSS	Manuscript(s)
n.p	no pagination
OIOC	Oriental and Indian Office Collections
OR.	Oriental Record
p.m.	after noon
PBUH	Peace Be Upon Him
PNI	<i>Perpustakaan Nasional Indonesia</i>
P.	Portuguese
r.	recto of a page; reigned
RAS	Royal Asiatic Society
RIMA	Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies
<i>SUSENAS</i>	<i>Survei Sosio-Ekonomi Nasional</i>

TNI	<i>Tijdschrift voor Taal-, Land, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië</i>
UM	University of Malaya
UnHas	Universitas Hasanuddin
UP	Ujung Pandang (former name of Makassar)
v.	verso of a page
VOC	<i>Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie</i>
YKSST	<i>Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara</i>

Chapter One

Background

1.0 The research objective

The objective of this thesis is to establish what can be learnt from the diary of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh about the politics, economy, society and culture of the Kingdom of Boné from 1775 to 1795. Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's diary is one of the ten Bugis diaries held in the British Library. None of these diaries has ever been examined by a historian. Together they offer a remarkable, untapped wealth of information on life and politics at the court of Boné, the most powerful and important of the Bugis kingdoms of South Sulawesi in the eighteenth century.

1.1 Research methodology

This thesis takes an interdisciplinary approach, combining the findings of anthropology with historical and archival research. In the last two decades the historical methodology used to study South Sulawesi has moved away from a single approach using archival materials, in favour of a multi-disciplinary approach combining textual and non-textual sources. In his book *The Bugis* (1996), Pelras not only makes use of library research on indigenous Bugis manuscripts as his primary sources but also data acquired through interviews with local people; in addition he spent many years as an anthropologist observing the culture and customs of the Bugis. Bulbeck and Caldwell (2000) combine textual, archaeological and oral sources in their study of the Kingdom of Luwu. A similar approach is taken by Fadhilah and Sumantri (2000) in *Kedatuan Luwu: Perspektif Arkeologi, Sejarah dan Antropologi*.

Library research was done at a number of institutions: at the British Library, the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, the Royal Asiatic Society in London; the library of the State University of Leiden and the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology (*Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal, Land-en Volkunkunde*) in Leiden and the National Archive in Den Haag, The Netherlands; the National Archive (*Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia*) and the National Library (*Perpustakaan Nasional Indonesia*) in Jakarta; and the National Archive (*Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia*) in Makassar (formerly Ujung Pandang), South Sulawesi. In addition, I also

tracked down copies of Bugis manuscripts at the library of the University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur. Most manuscripts I consulted are in the form of bound codices; some are on microfilm.

Apart from library research, I pursued this study by interviewing local people who have knowledge of the history of the area. Most of my respondents were elderly people of noble birth who keep original manuscripts that have been passed down from their forefathers. To balance their elite viewpoints, I also interviewed local people of common birth and local academics interested in this research area. The interviews were mostly unstructured.

Throughout my fieldwork, I used the Indonesian language to communicate with respondents, in addition to the Bugis language, in which I was given an intensive course by a lecturer at the Universitas Hasanuddin, Makassar, during my first visit to South Sulawesi. When conducting interviews with elders, in particular in Boné, I was assisted by an interpreter adept at reading and writing the Bugis language. In Boné, I was fortunate to be received as a guest by a family of noble birth, whose members became some of my most important informants. Later, I stayed with a middle-class family to experience and to observe the kinds of traditional customs that are still practised among the Bugis commoners.

1.2 Area of study

The study was conducted in several places in South Sulawesi, in particular in the regencies of Boné and Gowa. Wherever possible, I tried to locate and trace the names of settlements mentioned in the diary, in addition to the names of graveyards, palace sites, recreational sites, and other historical sites located in both regencies.

1.3 The diary of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh

The keeping of diaries, written in Bugis script on European paper bound in codices, was a feature of court life in the kingdom of Boné and in the Makassar kingdoms of Gowa and Talloq. The diary of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh is a large single codex of 212 folios in a nineteenth century European binding. It was acquired by Dr. John Crawford during the Anglo-Boné war of 1814 and was sold to the British Library in 1842. Other than a brief discussion by philologists (Cense 1966; Ricklefs and Voorhoeve 1977), the diary has lain undisturbed for more than one and a half centuries.

1.4 Problems of research

The main problems in my research were to do with language. My research study focused on indigenous sources written in the Bugis language and a few in the Makasar language. Use of the Dutch language was necessary to compare and contrast the accounts of events in Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's diary with contemporary *VOC* (Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie) records such as minutes of meetings, correspondence, memoranda and diaries. Reading texts in both languages was difficult and time consuming, especially during the early stages of research.

Being female and *orang luar* (a foreigner) was a disadvantage in my effort to access information, due to the taboos and cultural beliefs in imparting knowledge or showing artefacts which some still regard as sacred. Most of the areas of study are some distance apart and transportation was a problem, especially in Boné. Access to information, especially in dealing with traditional beliefs and practices, was also limited by the circumstances in which I lived. The family in whose house I stayed for the period of my fieldwork in Ujung Pandang was highly educated. The husband had received his Masters training in Public Health from America, and other members of the family had Bachelor degrees from local universities. They observed few of the traditional cultural practices which I had come to study, as in their view these practices were a waste of money or contrary to Islamic beliefs. On the other hand, while in Boné, the people I approached about traditional practices were reluctant to discuss these with me because they were aware of the contradictions between the teachings of Islam and their own practices in relation to supernatural spirits. Only after some time did I realise that these difficulties could be overcome with small gifts of money and a change in my attitude: I had to be more accommodating to the sphere I was in, in order properly to understand the people's culture and practices, even though sometimes these were a challenge to my beliefs.

1.5 Structure and layout of the thesis

The thesis is divided into seven chapters. Chapter One explains the background to the research and introduces its aims and objectives, outlines the methodology and scope of the research study, and also explains the structure and layout of the thesis.

Chapter Two starts with a general overview of South Sulawesi, the Bugis and the regency of Boné. The writing culture of the Bugis and the traditions of knowledge reflected in the writings of the Bugis and the indigenous categories of written works are also discussed. A review of literature on the work of the Bugis is then presented.

Chapter Three provides background on the study of the Bugis language and discusses the Bugis language and the origin and development of its script. The second part of the chapter focuses on diaries as a distinct category in the Bugis writing tradition. In addition to the diary of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh, selected Bugis diaries are also examined and analysed to establish the extent to which this genre of Bugis writing can be used as a source of historical information.

Chapter Four explores what we can learn of the politics of South Sulawesi in the late eighteenth century. Particular issues, such as the history of I Sangkilang, the Gowa war and its repercussions for Boné, and disputes between Boné and the Dutch with regard to the issue of the Gowa regalia are examined. Dutch and other indigenous sources are used as a cross-reference to evaluate the reliability of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's diary.

In Chapter Five, information from the diary is used to produce an account of the economy of Boné between 1775 until 1795, and a selection of traditional economic practices, especially within the inner circle at court, is described. Other events relating to Boné's economic disputes, mostly with the Dutch Company, are outlined, and other sources are cross-referred to the diary.

The social and cultural events depicted in the diary are discussed in Chapter Six. Life at court and the activities of the author are described, and data on the customs and, to a certain extent, laws found in the diary are used to give an insight into the Bugis society within the period covered.

Conclusions as to the function of the diary and what can be learnt of the writer himself, will be set out in Chapter Seven. It was my original plan to provide an appendix containing Romanised transcription of the Bugis entries in the original language. For reason of word length, however, I was not able to do this. This material is available on request.

Chapter Two

The Bugis and their Writing Culture

“[...] The Bugis are said (and I believe with much truth) to be the greatest bullies and boasters in the Archipelago; at the same time, they are the bravest and most energetic race [...] The minds of the Bugis, like their manners, are shrewd but simple; cunning but not acute [...]” (Brooke 1848:82)

2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a discussion of the writing culture of the Bugis people. The traditions of knowledge contained within the writings of the Bugis will be discussed as they are reflected in the indigenous categories of written work. A review of literature on the work of the Bugis is also presented in the last part of this chapter.

2.1 South Sulawesi: A general overview

Sulawesi, formerly known as Celebes, is one of the four Greater Sunda Islands of Indonesia. It is curiously shaped, with a form like an orchid flower, consisting of four distinct peninsulas that form three major gulfs: Tomini (the largest) on the northeast, Tolo on the east, and Boné on the south. Sulawesi has a coastline of 5,478 kilometres and an area of 227,654 square kilometres, including adjacent islands. This island, which was formerly part of the Dutch East Indies, comprises four of Indonesia's provinces: North Sulawesi, Central Sulawesi, South Sulawesi and Southeast Sulawesi. South Sulawesi, whose biggest city is Makassar, formerly known as Ujung Pandang, covers an area of 72,781 square kilometres, which includes the islands of Selayar, Tambolungang, Kalao, Batu, Bonerate and Kalao to the south in the Flores Sea (Volkman and Caldwell 1990).

South Sulawesi is inhabited by four major ethnic groups, *suku* (Id.): the Bugis, Makasar, Toraja and Mandar. The largest group is the Bugis, who occupy almost the entire eastern half and part of the western half of the southwest peninsula of Sulawesi.

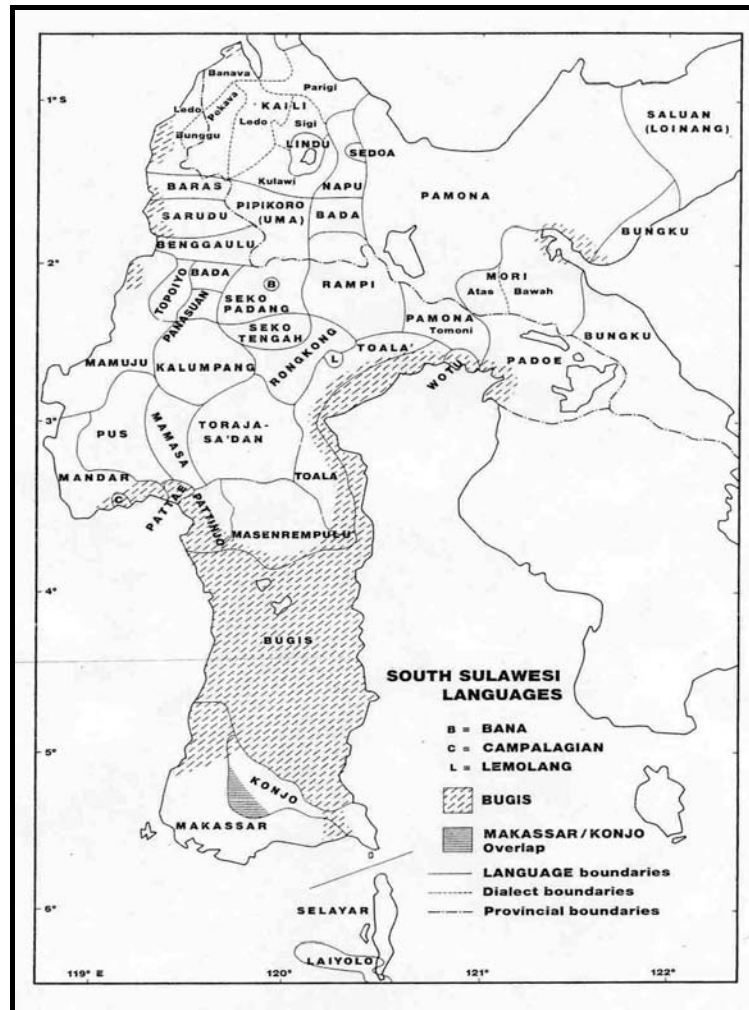
Next largest in population are the Makasar, who are found in the western and southern areas of the peninsula. The Toraja, who are found mainly in the north bordering the former Bugis Kingdom of Luwu' in the east and Mandar in the west, are the third largest *suku*. Finally there are the Mandar, who occupy the coastal and mountain areas of the north- western part of the peninsula.

According to the 1998 census, the population of South Sulawesi is 7.84 million people, of whom 51.6% are female and 48.4% male. About 15% of the total population of South Sulawesi are settled in the city of Makassar (*SUSENAS* 1998:xv, 1). South Sulawesi is administered by a governor (*gubernur*, Id.) directly appointed by the ruling party centred in Jakarta, and is divided into twenty-one regencies, *kabupaten* (Id.), each governed by a district officer *bupati* (Id.).

Although in South Sulawesi there are four major ethnic groups, according to Grimes and Grimes (1987), there are more than twenty distinct languages spoken in South Sulawesi. The five most spoken languages are: Makasar (1.5 million speakers in the South, on the island of Selayar and on several smaller islands); Mandar (300,000 speakers in the north-east region); Sa'dan Toraja (500,000 speakers in the Toraja highlands); Masserempulu (200,000 speakers inhabiting the area between the Mandar and Sa'dan area); and Bugis (more than 3.5 million speakers) (Mills 1975/1996; Volkman and Caldwell 1990). As a result of Indonesian integration, these local languages have slowly been replaced in the school curriculum by the national language of modern Indonesia – *Bahasa Indonesia* – while the local languages are now taught only as supplementary subjects.



Map 2.1: Sulawesi (Celebes), Indonesia (source: Peter Loud)



**Map 2.2: Map of languages of South Sulawesi
(Grimes and Grimes 1987:20)**

2.1.1 The Bugis of South Sulawesi

Linguistic evidence shows that the Bugis are the descendants of the Austronesians who moved to the area of Sulawesi about three to four thousand years ago, ultimately from the mainland of China (Bellwood 1995:99-103). The arriving Austronesians practised swidden horticulture, including the growing of millet, also dry-rice, and possibly wet-rice. They brought with them pottery, polished stone tools, pigs, dogs, and a tradition of dwelling in houses raised on piles (Bellwood 1985). The Bugis are primarily agriculturalists, practising intensive wet-rice cultivation, and during the dry season planting vegetable crops. The origin of the Bugis kingdom has been linked by historians and archaeologists to a systematic intensification of wet-rice farming starting in the fourteenth century (Macknight 1984). Today, the Bugis are known by outsiders primarily as sailors and traders, but this reputation is quite recent and dates from no

earlier than the late seventeenth century (cf. Lineton 1975b:177-185; Abu Hamid 1987:2-17).

In the pre-colonial period, the Bugis social system was hierarchical; in theory, every person's status was fixed according to his or her birth. In this way, the Bugis established a system of ranks based upon the idea of blood blending (Pelras 1996:169) which resulted, generally, in five social strata: king, crown prince/princess, nobles, commoners and slaves. Their kinship system was cognatic, and both men and women had equal rights in succession of power and in other areas of social life (Crawfurd 1820:74; Brooke 1848:75).

To some degree, the Bugis cultural identity is similar to that of the lowland Makasar, and many scholars of South Sulawesi treat them as one, i.e. 'Bugis-Makasar' (Abdul Hamid 1985; Mattulada 1971:264-83). Pelras (1996:13) describes these groups as "closely interconnected, not only linguistically but also through many cultural and historical links".¹ Western scholars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries tended to characterise the Bugis in terms of their manufacture and trade:

"[The Bugis are] devoted to gambling, feasting and cockfighting; they live in southern Celebes and are extremely industrious, especially in the manufacture of plaited goods and in weaving, gold and silver work, and shipbuilding." (*Encyclopaedia Britannica, Macropaedia* 1990:9)

"The Bugis are the seamen of the Archipelago, the greatest navigators and the most enterprising traders today, and in times gone by the greatest pirates as well [...]. They have an unenviable reputation for dishonesty, quick temper, and cruelty [...]." (Walcott 1914:112-3)

Despite some disparaging remarks made by earlier scholars, the Bugis are an industrious and brave people who uphold their traditional customs (*adeq*, B.) which are deeply embedded in their society, particularly with regard to the concepts of self-dignity and *esprit de corps*, popularly known as *siri'* and *pessé*.² These ideas of *siri'*

¹ The Bugis' world-view has been extensively dealt with by contemporary local scholars, for more information; see Abdul Hamid (1985), and Andi Zainal Abidin (1975, 1985/86).

² *Siri'* is a concept which embraces the idea of self-worth and shame; the shame implies a conception by an individual of his own self-worth and dignity. In the Bugis society, to indicate that someone has been made *siri'*, or ashamed, means that the person's own conception of self-worth and self-respect has been impinged. In such a case, the shamed person has the responsibility to restore his tarnished self-image by seeking satisfaction from the offending party. The norm of defending one's dignity (*siri'*) is deeply rooted in Bugis society, in not a few cases leading to death. In consequence, a saying in Bugis referring to death while defending one's *siri'* is 'to die a death of sugar and coconut milk' ('*maté rigollai, maté risantanngé*', B.). Another concept which bears a number of similarities with the idea of *siri'* is *pessé*. *Pessé* refers specifically to the belief in the spiritual unity of all individuals within a particular community. In general, it is defined as a pan-Bugis solidarity, which Andaya (1981) explains as

and *pessé* continue to be cultural features of the Bugis up to the present day. According to Andaya (1981), the recognition by the Bugis and Makasar of the essential unity of these two concepts is seen in the following saying:

“If there is no longer *siri*’ among us Bugis, at least there is certain to be *pessé*.” (Andaya 1981:17)

This statement expresses the Bugis concepts of *siri*’ and *pessé* as cultural values which unify the Bugis and which remind the individual of his place in the community. Andaya (1981) argues that these concepts of *siri*’ and *pessé*’ are important to an understanding of the Bugis society and their history, especially since the sixteenth century.

2.1.2 The regency of Boné

Boné was once the most powerful and strongest of the five major Bugis kingdoms of South Sulawesi³ reaching its zenith during the reign of *Arung*⁴ Palakka from 1660 until his death in 1696. *Arung* Palakka’s victorious alliance with the Dutch facilitated Boné’s exercise of political supremacy over other states such as Bantaeng, Lamuru and parts of Bulukumba and Soppeng.⁵ Boné’s hegemony in South Sulawesi continued until the early nineteenth century.

The regency of Boné corresponds closely with the kingdom’s traditional borders of the seventeenth century and covers an area of 4,559,000 square km (*SUSENAS* 1999:1). Watampone, the administrative capital, is located near the Gulf of Boné, about four kilometres from the port of Bajoe, to the east. Boné is divided into twenty-seven smaller divisions, *kecamatan* (Id.) or district, containing 372 villages.⁶ The 1998 census reports Boné’s population as 629,871 inhabitants. Almost all the people of Boné are Bugis, most of whom are Sunni Muslims. Today, Boné’s main revenues come from agricultural products such as rice, which is mostly grown in wet-rice fields, maize, cocoa, coconut and sugar cane; there are various kinds of vegetables such as long beans, *kangkung* or water convolvulus (*Ipomeoes reptans*), nutmeg, pepper, cloves and

“commiseration, empathy with one’s fellow men”. See Mattulada (1985; 1998:320, 2003:44-51); Abdul Hamid (1985); Andi Zainal Abidin (1999a:195-200; 1999b:1-10, 2003:11-41) and Laica (1995).

³ The other kingdoms were Luwuq, Wajoq, Soppeng and the confederation of Ajatappareng.

⁴ *Arung* is a Bugis word for lord, chief, thus, *Arung* Palakka means ‘Lord of Palakka’.

⁵ Bantaeng and Bulukumba were petty states situated at the southern part of South Sulawesi. Soppeng is located to the south of Lake Tempe while Lamuru is today located at the southern part of the kabupaten of Boné.

⁶ The Boné districts are Ajangaleq, Amali, Awangpone, Barebbo, Bengo, Bonto Cani, Cenrana, Cina, Dua Boccoe, Kahu, Kajuara, Lamuru, Lappariaja, Libureng, Mare, Palakka, Patimpeng, Ponre, Salomekko, Sibulue, Tonra, Tellu Limpoe, Tellu Siattinge, Tanete Riatang Barat, Tanete Riattang, Tanete Riatang Timur and Ulaweng.

cashew nuts. Another key source of revenue is fish farming: fish provides the people's main source of animal protein. The numerous rivers that flow through Boné's plains, such as the Cenrana, Walannae, Palakka and Pattiro, provide a good source of irrigation for agricultural purposes, and enable freshwater fish to be farmed. Fish are not only caught in the open sea, but under a government-initiated programme are reared in fresh water ponds and lakes in land while shrimps, crabs, *bandeng* or *bolu* fish are reared in brackish water along the coast.⁷ Meat protein comes from cattle and goats, while fowl are raised domestically for eggs and as table birds. Most sources of income are based on agriculture, and the majority of Boné's inhabitants are involved in this sector; a much smaller number have administrative posts.

Globalisation has improved the standard of living for the people of Indonesia, and the Bugis, willingly or not, have had to adjust to a more modern way of life. Gone is the pre-colonial stratification of the society into nobles, commoners and slaves; nowadays, a person's status does not depend entirely upon the purity of his royal blood, but also on his accumulation of wealth. Computers and internet services, television, VCR and the like have largely replaced the tradition of telling stories and prophecies, especially among the younger generation.

Nevertheless, many traditional values are still practised to the present day. Respect towards elderly people of noble birth is deeply, rooted despite their often modest financial circumstances. These elders have high social status and are consulted on matters regarding traditional practises, including the selection of suitable marriage partners. During my field research, I observed that dates for engagement and marriage ceremonies, the construction of houses and ships, moving to a new house, opening new areas for development projects, and agricultural activities are still decided in consultation with noble elders knowledgeable in the traditional lore (*kutika* and *bilang*), preserved for hundreds of years in their manuscripts called *lontaraq*.⁸

The wealth of South Sulawesi's manuscripts is manifested in the abundance of materials kept not only in Indonesia but also in Leiden, London and elsewhere, which, according to Macknight, amount to about 50,000 pages of different works. This figure, however, does not include the 4,000 copies of the Bugis-Makasar manuscripts at the

⁷ According to the census of 1998, a total of 3,101.1 hectares of brackish area has been developed for aquaculture activities in the regency of Boné (*SUSENAS* 1999:166).

⁸ Personal interview with Petta Nompok Andi Muhammad Ali on 21st September 1999 at Watampone, Boné; Petta Awampone Andi Mappassisi Andi Mappassere on 15th - 19th September 1999 at Museum La Pawawoi, Watampone, Boné; and with Andi Amapiabbang Hajah Hayati Safinang on 4th October 1999 at Laccokong, Watampone, Boné. During fieldwork, I observed the ceremony of 'breaking down soil' for a new development project as well as engagement and wedding ceremonies in and outside Boné.

National Archives of Indonesia at Makassar, which have been microfilmed under the project run by the Australia National University and the Matthesstichting (the *Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara*) (Macknight 1983:103-113). The types of knowledge contained in the manuscripts vary widely, from rules of conduct in day-to-day activities, to more formal contexts within the court circle. Social etiquette for mealtimes, courting women, erecting new buildings, agricultural activities, astronomy, marriage, rites of passage (circumcision and clitoridectomy, ear piercing), receiving guests, leave-taking before journeys, the relationship between husband and wife, life at court, genealogies, state functions, and other matters are all recorded in *lontaraq*.⁹ These manuscripts are almost encyclopaedic in range in comparison with, for example, Batak texts, which are more concerned with spiritual matters. Despite the wide range of contents of their manuscripts, however, no business records have yet been found.

As in other societies, writing serves specific purposes among the Bugis. In the Bugis case, the objective is best described as preserving knowledge, which may or may not eventually be communicated orally to an audience (Koolhof 1999:363). On the other hand, a large number of these manuscripts also serve purely as a personal aid to memory, and some of the facts were not meant to be revealed to the general public without certain conditions being fulfilled.¹⁰ Knowledge, for the Bugis, is not something that can be collected at random by anyone who feels an inclination to do so. Notwithstanding the effects of globalisation, many Bugis, especially the older generation, still preserve many of their traditional norms and values. Others, mostly of the younger generation, place less stress on these traditional norms and values, especially where they conflict with the belief and practices of the Islamic faith.

2.2 The writing culture of the Bugis

The history of the Bugis, Makasar and, to a lesser extent, the Mandar, are preserved in various traditional written genres, and even today, much historical information is also transmitted orally (Pelras 1979:272-79). The societies that produced these works regarded the spoken, and in particular the written, word as an instrument of power and

⁹ The earliest works found in South Sulawesi were written on long strips of palm leaves of the species *Borassus flabelliformis* L., known as *tal* (Sanskrit name for the *talipot* tree, *tala*), and this is reflected in the term *lontar*, derived from the word *rontal* meaning 'leaf' (*ron*) of the '*tal*' tree (*tal*) (Rubinstein 1996:129; Ginarsa 1975:90-103). In general, the indigenous word for a text written (on leaves or paper) in the Bugis script in the South Sulawesi language is *lontaraq* (*lontarak* or *lontarang*) (Andi Zainal Abidin 1971:161; Salim 1984:1).

¹⁰ During my research in Boné, on one occasion, I was asked to fulfil several pre-conditions before being allowed to see the contents of manuscripts in one of my respondent's collections. These included the slaughtering of a goat, preparation of several kinds of local cakes and the offering of money, amongst other things. However, I rejected these pre-conditions because they were against my religious beliefs.

potential power. In a society driven by status, individual claims were recorded in written texts through works of genealogy. According to Brakel (1980:35-44), events that are recorded in written form have their own substance, and such writings should be seen as products of a civilisation which had its own aims, symbols and ways of expression. In relation to the importance of recording events, Brakel (1980) points out that:

“The past happens to be reflected differently in the imagination of an unsophisticated people than in the mind of an historian [...] the purpose for which that recording is done may in fact also be the explanation of the present from the past, but in a sense other than that understood by us.” (Brakel 1980:35)

Hunter (1996:3) says that historical evidence of the early evolution of writing in insular Southeast Asia “creates a romance of its own” and that Indonesian writing systems reflect to some extent the adoption of Indic influences. The writing systems were disseminated in Indonesia during an era of maritime trade which brought with it the spread of Hinduism and Buddhism. Casparis (1975:72), however, pointed out the difficulty of dating the development of writing in areas of Southeast Asia such as in Southern Sulawesi and the Philippines as a result of the absence of royal edicts in stone or copper plate.

Caldwell (1988) has established that writing in South Sulawesi appears to have been developed about A.D.1400, among the Bugis who used it initially for the recording of genealogies. Bugis manuscripts formed the bulk of the indigenous South Sulawesi writings; Makasar texts are fewer in number and Mandar texts are fewer still. Written texts in the Arabic language in the Arabic script, and in the Wolio language of the island of Buton in the old Makasar script¹¹, have also been found; both comprise mainly poetic and religious matters (Tol 1996:213, 220; Anceux 1988:2). The Sa’dan Toraja did not have a written tradition; their traditions were transmitted orally.

2.2.1 The development of the Bugis written tradition

With the development of European trade starting in the sixteenth century, palm leaf began to be replaced by imported European paper. According to Jones (1993), the earliest extant writings on European paper from the Malay Archipelago were two letters written in 1521 and 1522, which suggest that such paper was already circulating in Asia, possibly as an article of commerce. Alfonse D’Albuquerque, in 1515,

¹¹ The old Makasar script, also known as the *hurufuq jangang-jangang*, is distinct from the Bugis script, the *hurufuq sulapa eppa*, in its number and shapes of the *aksara*. For more information, see Mills (1975:602); Nooduyn (1965, 1993); Fachruddin (1983) and Nurhayati (1998).

instructed his fellow men in Goa¹² to supply paper for use in the Straits of Ormuz to serve the Persian market. In the same period, *c.*1600, paper was already a trade commodity being offered for sale in Aceh (Jones 1993:481; Lombard 1970:61-2). The earliest reference to the export of European paper to Asia shows that at least one Portuguese godown in Goa stored significant quantities of European paper. Further evidence of European paper being distributed in the Archipelago is provided by Pigafetta's notes on his party's visit to Brunei in early 1521, during which gifts were presented to the local ruler, which included "three packets of paper, and a gilt pen and ink case" (Jones 1993:479). As in other writing traditions of the east, however, the use of paper in the earlier period was confined to the elite.

Macknight (1993:11) suggests that the motive for recording genealogical information in the written materials points to a motive for the development of the writing itself. He argues that in the society of South Sulawesi, where status is differentiated on the basis of birth, i.e. importance is attached to ascribed status as opposed to achieved status (Millar 1989), the demonstration of descent becomes a matter of great importance. Writing provides a form of permanent demonstration and is, at least in theory, beyond challenge. Macknight (1997) argues that in the Bugis writing tradition, specific genres of primarily chronicles and diaries, was to some extent influenced by external stimuli, such as the coming of Europeans to the East to buy spices. As early as the sixteenth century, the Portuguese explored the eastern part of Indonesia to look for trading opportunities, as well as for missionary purposes (Boxer 1965). After the Portuguese, the English, Danes, Dutch and Spanish arrived in Indonesian waters. It may be assumed that paper was introduced as a trade good by the Europeans, but the possibility of paper being imported from India should not be overlooked. Some VOC records of the eighteenth century indicate that paper was among other items presented by the Dutch officials to the ruler of Boné, Ahmad as-Saleh Syamsuddin (Chapter 6.5). Macknight (1997:2) points out that there has been no thorough investigation to test the presumption that it was the European presence from the early seventeenth century that led to the use of paper as the medium of writing.

Among the Bugis, knowledge of writing appears to have been restricted to the ruling elite. The diary of Sultan Ahmad as-Saleh mentions the office of the *anréguru anakarung* (B.,) who had the same responsibility as the *paqlontaraq* (B.,). *Paqlontaraq* means 'a person who is expert in writing' (Bugis manuscripts) and at the same time is also well versed in their contents. Such individuals were usually members of the high

¹² Goa was a Portuguese colony in India whilst Gowa (which occurs frequently in this study) was the most powerful kingdom in South Sulawesi from the sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century.

nobility and were responsible for educating the royal children (Safwan, et.al. 1980/1981:11). Possibly the status, power and lifestyle experienced by the upper class offered more opportunities for exposure to Europeans and other external influences. As a result of these contacts, most probably associated with trade, knowledge might have been transferred and adopted by the local elites.

Although Europeans probably played an important role in developing the tradition of chronicle writing and diary-keeping in South Sulawesi, European contact with this region was comparatively late (Macknight 1997). The earliest European account of South Sulawesi is that of Pirés (1512-1515) who, writing from Malacca, describes the people and country in brief:

“[...] the Javanese call them Bugis (Bujus), and the Malays call them this [sic. the] Celates [...] They bring many foodstuffs: very white rice; they bring some gold. They take *bretangis* and cloths from Cambay and a little from Bengal and from the Klings; they take black benzoin in large quantities, and incense. These islands have many inhabitants and a great deal of meat, and it is a rich country [...]” (Cortese 1944:222)

Regular foreign influences in Makassar were established almost a century later, around 1605-7, after the Islamisation of Gowa. After 1607, when the Dutch seized major Portuguese bases in the Moluccas, Makassar offered a safe base for the Portuguese spice trade.

In addition, the local ruler's free trade policy appeared very attractive to the Europeans (Reid 1981:1,19).¹³ The English established a factory in 1613, followed by the Danes, French and later the Dutch. Two main figures, *Karaéng*¹⁴ Pattingalloang and his son *Karaéng* Karunrung, were among the Makasar elite who were particularly interested in acquiring European knowledge and were said to have mastered the Portuguese and Spanish languages. The former, who was a 'Chancellor' of Gowa and also a king of Talloq, was said to have an excellent library of European books of various kinds, from religion to the latest developments in mathematics and optics (Reid 1981:20-1). *Karaéng* Pattingalloang also collected maps and globes, and corresponded with the Kings of Portugal and Spain (Boxer 1967:4, 98, 99). Alexander de Rhodes, a Catholic missionary who visited Makassar in 1646, described him as follows:

¹³ According to Boxer (1967:3), between ten and twenty-two Portuguese ships called at Makassar, Gowa's capital city, in the mid-1620s and sometimes as many as five hundred Portuguese were ashore.

¹⁴ *Karaéng* is a Makasar word that carries the meaning of Prince, the title given to senior nobility in Makassar and referring to someone of royal descent.

“[*Karaéng* Pattingalloang is] 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 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 1966:208-9, Reid 1988:232-4)

Over the next forty years, Makasar and Bugis court circles became intimately familiar with all kinds of Portuguese and other European materials as a result of these contacts. *Karaéng* Pattingalloang welcomed presents from European traders, such as books including the Bible, maps, globes and rarities from Europe, and he kept abreast of European technical innovations, including the Galilean telescope (Reid 1981:21). The attitudes shown by the local rulers gave scope for further innovation, especially in the writing tradition of South Sulawesi’s society as a whole. However, the European model was not restricted to books or other imported reading materials. A major activity of all the more important Europeans in South Sulawesi in the seventeenth century was the writing of letters, reports, journals, and occasionally more extended pieces, all of which involved to some extent a narrative account of events (Macknight 1997:8). Linguistic archaeology, in addition, suggests that the coming of Islam not only revolutionized the technologies of written communication (terms for manuscript writing are of Arabic origin such as *dakwat*, *kalam*, *kertas* – ink, pen and paper) but also brought along a new script, the Arabic script, to the Indo-Malay Archipelago.

2.2.2 The Bugis writings

In general, Bugis writings are extremely varied. The Bugis generally divide their writings into two basic categories: *sureq* which contains La Galigo materials, an epic literature and is regarded as sacred; and *lontaraq* which referred to all other types of works (Pelras 1979:279). The literary work of *I La Galigo* is among one of the longest literary works in the world (Gallop and Arps 1991:111; Koolhof 1999). The *lontaraq* texts contain a wide range of genres from the long heroic poems, *toloq* (B.) to short magico-mystical formulae: these include, for example, tracts on Islamic law, chronicles (*attoriolong*, B., *patturioloang*, Mak., histories of the past), daily registers or diaries (*lontaraq bilang*), genealogies (*lontaraq pangngoriseng*), and texts of treaties. Also included in this category are translations of Arabic works dealing with Islamic mysticism and jurisprudence, translations of the Qur’an as well as translations of Spanish treatises on weaponry and other miscellaneous topics (Cense 1966, 1972a;

Macknight 1984; Salim 1984). Historical texts, such as chronicles and daily registers (diaries), are usually written in a larger manuscript size. Texts containing charms, prayers and the like, are usually small in size in order to be portable, and often dirty in appearance as they were referred to frequently (Tol 1996:219).

2.3 Literature review

Europeans who have written accounts of South Sulawesi include Tome Pirés (1512-1515), Francisco Vieira (1624-1667), Gervais (1701/1971), Valentijn (1726), Forrest (1792), Stavorinus (1798), Blok (1799/1817), Woodard (1804) and Brooke (1848). When the European powers permanently established their bases in the Indonesian waters in the seventeenth century, they compiled records from which information on South Sulawesi can be extracted. The reports filed by the Dutch colonial officers who served at Makassar as Governors form substantial sources that provide a wide range of information on South Sulawesi. These reports are kept at the Netherlands National Archive in The Hague, and at the National Archive of Jakarta (*Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia*). These files record events spanning more than three centuries, from the first contact in Indonesian waters until Indonesia achieved independence in the mid-twentieth century. These records comprise of correspondence to and from the VOC headquarters in Amsterdam, minutes of meetings, reports on secret missions, trading accounts, memos, daily registers and other items.

Published material from the works of missionary groups can also be used to reconstruct the past. The most important of these are the works of Benjamin Fréderick Matthes who was commissioned by the Netherlands Bible Society to study the South Sulawesi languages, to compile grammars and dictionaries of them, and to translate the Bible. He also pioneered the scientific study of the Bugis people and its language, and made extensive journeys into the interior part of South Sulawesi. One of the earliest Bugis publications by Matthes was the *Bugis Chrestomathy* (1864) which contains miscellaneous information from the Bugis texts including a legend (*pau-pau rikadong*, B.), a number of historical writings or chronicles (*attoriolong*, B.) and other texts. The second volume of the *Bugis Chrestomathy* was published eight years later, and contained a large compilation of *adat* laws called the *Latoa*, letters and poetry, war songs (*élong*, *ossong*, *tolog*, B.), and the beginning part of the long Bugis epic, the *I La Galigo* (Matthes 1864-1872a).

Matthes' publications cover various topics such as the history of the people of Wajoq, the text and translation of the code of maritime laws of Amanna Gappa¹⁵, Muslim treatises, historical writings, *adat* regulations, letters and poems, information on the Bugis transvestite priests (*bissu*, B.) and Bugis divination tables (*kutika*, B) (Matthes 1872b, 1872c). Matthes also compiled a Bugis dictionary, *Boegineesch Woordenboek* (1874), to which he added a small supplement (1881), and a Bugis grammar (1875). This Bugis dictionary is a basic source of information for the study of the Bugis language and contains examples of the use of Bugis words in sentences, as well as ethnographical commentary. Matthes' work was based on field research and on the generous help he received from elderly women of aristocratic origin, especially from *Arung Pancana Colli'pujié* (Sirk 1983:27; Fachruddin 1999:172-183).

In addition to Matthes, the other nineteenth-century European scholar to make an important contribution to the study of the Bugis manuscripts was George Karel Niemann (c.1823-1905), a close friend of Matthes whom he had replaced in 1848 as sub-director of the Dutch Missionary Society when Matthes set off for the Indies. Niemann, who later became an academic in Holland (Poensen 1906), published in Bugis-Makassar script a text edition of the Chronicle of Tanete (Niemann 1883). In addition, he published *De Latowa (Adatrechtbundels* 1929:220-245) based on the *Bugis Chrestomathy* of Matthes' works (1864-1872), and a note on a Bugis manuscript in the *Bibliographische bijdragen* (1881:328-31). He also wrote a short review of Matthes' *Supplement* (1881), which was published in a Dutch journal (1891:339-46).

Ralph Blok, a Dutch Governor of Makassar from 1760-67, wrote a four volume work which was published in English in 1817. This book, which was based in large part upon written and oral indigenous sources, remains an important source on the history of South Sulawesi. John Von Stuben Voll, a Dutch officer who served in Makassar from 18th March 1790 until 12th January 1797, translated Blok's work from Dutch to English and added to the published book information from secret Dutch records to which he was given access. The first two volumes of the *History of the Island of Celebes* present an interesting picture of political circumstances in Makassar, and to a lesser extent of the kingdom of Boné in the late eighteenth century. This work is the closest secondary source for my period and its subjects.

Geographic and ethnographic information on the island of Celebes is recorded in the works of Gervais (1701) and Stavorinus (1798). The latter's work, *Voyages to the East Indies*, contains accounts of events in the kingdoms of Gowa and Boné in South

¹⁵ Amanna Gappa was a seventeenth century codifier of these laws.

Sulawesi in the years 1774 and 1775, and provides a picture of the political and social setting prior to the present research. Gervais' account of the kingdom of Makassar is divided into three sections: the first gives an account of the situation of the country; the second provides information on the inhabitants, their manners and customs, government and trade; the last volume discusses the beliefs of the populace.

Nineteenth century Europeans who contributed to the works on South Sulawesi include Thomas Stamford Raffles, Governor of Java during the British interregnum in 1812-1817, who wrote about the indigenous people of the region in his work, *The History of Java* (1817). Crawford, who was Raffles' assistant, includes some information on South Sulawesi in his *History of the Indian Archipelago* (1820). Although Crawford's work on the history of South Sulawesi was based upon secondary sources, he was the first person to apply backdating in constructing the history of South Sulawesi.

With the sole exception of Kern's work (1929) on the opening part of the chronicles of the Bugis kingdoms of Tanete and Boné, for thirty years after Matthes' death in 1908 little work was done relating to South Sulawesi either in manuscript collection or research into their contents. The study of South Sulawesi manuscripts gained renewed momentum when A.A.Cense arrived at Makassar in 1930 as a newly appointed language specialist (*taalamptenaar*, D.). The establishment in 1933 of a centre for linguistic and philological studies in South Sulawesi, the *Matthesstitching*, with Cense as its head, paved the way for a more directed study of the area. A decade later, over two hundred manuscripts had been collected, some of which were copied from borrowed originals. Cense's contributions to the writings on South Sulawesi are listed by Noorduyin (1978:403-413) in his article, "In Memoriam of A.A. Cense".

Another significant milestone in the study of South Sulawesi was Noorduyin's work, *The Chronicle of Wadjo'* (1955a), which was the first real attempt to judge and to use Bugis and Makasar writings as historical sources. Noorduyin made extensive use of Bugis materials and chronicles, supplemented by contemporary Dutch sources, in his attempt to establish their reliability as historical sources, as well as to reconstruct the history of Wajoq state. One of the most active scholars in the studies of South Sulawesi's language and literatures, Noorduyin left a large body of writings in which he drew upon indigenous sources (Noorduyin 1953, 1955b, 1956, 1957, 1961, 1965, 1972a, 1972b, 1987, 1990, 1991a, 1991b, 1993, 1994).

In 1975 the French anthropologist Pelras published a very useful, though brief, introduction to Bugis literature, discussing mythical, historical, legal, didactic and lyric

genres of literature. In 1996 he published a work on the Bugis people, *The Bugis*, which collects together and summarises in English more than twenty-five years of research and publications which are mostly in French. Preceding this, Errington and Millar (1983, 1989) also produced anthropological works on South Sulawesi. Millar focussed her studies on the fluid, equivocal and competitive social relations among the Bugis of Soppeng. In her thesis (1985) which was published in 1989, *Bugis Wedding: Rituals of social location in modern Indonesia*, Millar asserted the importance of kinship affiliation as the most basic type of knowledge for making judgements about social location, based upon her close observation of Bugis weddings. Her earlier published paper (1983) considered Bugis conceptions of gender and social location. Errington, another American anthropologist, also published some articles on the Bugis of South Sulawesi, discussing the social-political conceptions of the Bugis, especially of Luwuq (1977, 1979, 1983a, 1983b). Her book on the Kingdom of Luwuq, *Meaning and Power in Southeast Asia Realm* (1989), has stimulated several rather negative academic responses (e.g. Caldwell 1991).

Other foreign scholars who have written about South Sulawesi include: Lineton (1975a; 1975b) on the motivations for, and patterns of, Bugis migration; Harvey, a political scientist, who made an exhaustive study of the rebellions which upset South Sulawesi from 1950 until 1965 (Harvey 1974, 1977); Andaya (1975, 1978, 1979, 1981, 1984, 1995) and Sutherland (1980, 1983a, 1983b), who studied various aspects of South Sulawesi history; and Reid (1981, 1983a, 1983b, 1987), who drew on the findings of archaeology, anthropology and linguistics in writing on pre-modern South Sulawesi.

Following in the footsteps of Noorduy, Caldwell (1988) also used indigenous materials, mainly genealogies, for his doctoral thesis. Caldwell edited ten Bugis texts, transcribing them into Roman script and translating them into English. By combining data from other published materials, he set out a historical picture of South Sulawesi from about A.D.1400 to the first decades of the seventeenth century. In his doctoral thesis, Tol (1990) worked critically on a historical epic text written in the early twentieth century in the traditional *toluq* (poem) style and language, and translated the work into Dutch from the original manuscript, with detailed explanatory annotations.

Bugis indigenous sources have also been used as primary sources by Indonesian scholars, including Andi Zainal Abidin, whose doctoral thesis, *Wajoq abad XV-XVI*, published in 1985, made extensive use of Bugis manuscripts. Abidin's objective was to present a transcription and translation of the *Lontaraq Sukku'na Wajoq* in order to illuminate the prehistory and the first historical era of Wajoq. Prior to his thesis, Abidin

published a number of writings on South Sulawesi using indigenous materials. Most of Abidin's works were published in the local Indonesian journal *Bingkisan* (1967, 1967/1968, 1968, 1969a, 1969b, 1969c, 1969d, 1969e, 1969f, 1969g, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1976, 1982/1983, 1983a, 1983b, 199c). Amier Sjarifuddin, using *lontaraq* as his main sources, studied from the legal point of view the inter-kingdom treaties in Southern Sulawesi from the fifteenth to eighteenth century, especially from the viewpoint of constitutional and international law, in his unpublished doctoral thesis *Perjanjian antarkerajaan menurut lontarak* (1990). Making extensive use of indigenous materials, Sjarifuddin traced the treaties mentioned in the *lontaraq*.

Mattulada, a Bugis anthropologist, included a transliteration and an Indonesian translation of the *Latoa*, the Bugis customary law, in his doctoral thesis in 1975. Among other scholars who based their theses on indigenous materials, particularly the Bugis language and literature, are Fachruddin (1983, 1999) and Nurhayati (1998); both used a part of the *I La Galigo* epic for their doctoral theses, analysing it using philological and semiotic approaches. Other Bugis-Makasar scholars who have published their research findings include A. Makaraus Amansjah (1967, 1968a, 1968b, 1968c, 1968d, 1968e, 1969, 1975), Abdurrazak Daéng Patunru (1964, 1967a, 1967b, 1968a, 1968b, 1969, 1970, 1983, 1989, 1993, 1995), Andi Abu Bakar Punagi (1968, 1982/1983, 1985/86), Andi Palloge' (1989, 1990), Andi Muhammad Ali (1986, 1989, 1999), Andi Muhammad Arfah (1989), Mangemba (1985/1986), La Side (1969) and Abdul Rahim (1974). These writers have drawn not only upon old Bugis records but also upon interviews with knowledgeable people within their society, and upon their own knowledge.

Although many of these writers deal with various aspects of Bugis culture and society, Bugis diaries, which potentially provide ample materials for researchers, have attracted surprisingly little attention. Tol (1996) and Cense (1966) discuss the diaries in some of their works, while Ligtoet (1880) transcribed, translated and annotated the diaries of the Kings of Gowa and Talloq. A team of Indonesian scholars led by Sjahrudin Kaseng (1986/87) published a translation and transliteration of the diary from the Makasar manuscript *Lontaraq bilang Raja Gowa dan Tallok*, but without any critical analysis. The deficiency of research into this category of Bugis work constitutes a major gap in the scholarship on South Sulawesi.

2.4 Summary and conclusions

The Bugis are the largest four major ethnic groups that inhabit the eastern half, and part of the western part, of the southwest peninsular of Sulawesi. Like their neighbours the Makasar, Toraja, and Mandar, they are the descendants of Austronesian-speaking southern Mongoloid settlers who moved to the southwestern Sulawesi perhaps three to four thousand years ago. Although better known as sailors, traders, and even pirates, the Bugis are primarily agriculturalist and have practiced settled agriculture, both *swidden* (shifting dry field cultivation) and *sawah* (wet field rice cultivation), from the time of their arrival in the peninsular.

The Bugis have a cognatic kinship system, which allows great flexibility of social organisation and the construction of flexible lineages based on notification of women as status markers, and, possibly, membership of 'houses'. A highly status conscious people, the Bugis have established a system of birth rank based upon the idea of blood blending. This idea of ascriptive status is more important than the sex of an individual, with the result that both men and women had equal opportunities of succession to political office and other area of social life. A dynamic, but paradoxically conservative people, the Bugis place great stress on traditional customs, which are strongly based upon concepts of self-dignity and *esprit de corps* (*siri* and *pessé*, B.). Noble elders are held in high regard and are referred to for advice on major decisions, including the selection of marriage partners.

The cultural wealth of the Bugis is evident in the abundant extant written materials, much of which is now preserved in libraries in Leiden, London, Jakarta and Makassar. Writing, originally a preserve of the ruling elite, spans a wide range of genres, but there include no business records. Almost all extant Bugis works are written in Bugis script on imported European paper, although before the introduction of paper *lontar* leaf was used. Diaries (*lontaraq bilang*) comprise an important genre of Bugis texts, but as yet have attracted little attention from historians. These diaries provide a valuable opportunity to broaden our knowledge of economic, political and social life among the Bugis, especially within the court circle of Boné.

Chapter Three

The Bugis Diaries

“[...] there can be no writing of history without a history of writing.” (Yuen Ren Chao 1961:69)

3.0 Introduction

In the first part of this chapter, a number of technical terms concerning the Bugis language are defined and the sources of the research are briefly discussed. In the second part, the Bugis script is described and discussed. The last part of this chapter describes Bugis diaries as a distinct category in the Bugis writing tradition. Selected Bugis diaries are examined and analysed to arrive at a conclusion regarding the extent to which this genre of Bugis writing can be used as a source of historical information.

3.1 Philological introduction

The Bugis manuscript tradition has been examined by a number of scholars, among them Noorduyne (1955), Macknight (1984), Caldwell (1988) and Tol (1990). Through his work, on a *Chronicle of Wadjo* (1955), Noorduyne successfully demonstrated the usefulness of historical sources of Bugis historical texts by examining them against contemporary Dutch records. In his doctoral thesis, Caldwell used ten short Bugis texts, ranging from genealogies to legends of the origin of kingdoms, to demonstrate their usefulness as historical sources for the period A.D. 1400 – 1600, a period for which there are no contemporary European sources of any significance. Caldwell and Macknight (2001:142-6) also improve and expand a number of important terms used in a restricted sense when dealing with Bugis materials, such as ‘work’, ‘text’, ‘codex’, ‘manuscript’, ‘version’ and ‘variation’ (Caldwell 1988:1-4; Macknight 1984:103-113).

Macknight (1984) points out the difficulty of editing works from a manuscript rather than a printed tradition, in that a decision must be made as to the appropriate unit on which to concentrate one’s efforts. He considers this difficulty to be a particular issue in

relation to the Bugis manuscript tradition because the modern perception of a ‘work’ as the basic conceptual unit of transmission does not appear to have been equally meaningful to the Bugis scribes. Besides, there is a problem in identifying the Bugis ‘works’ because the unit of reference in which the Bugis scribes were interested was the codex into which they copied.

Although Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s diary is an original, some of the other diaries that I have consulted are copies. This raises the questions of scribal error and variations; the misreading of information from the exemplar and the addition or omission of information. Macknight and Caldwell (2001) identify six levels of variations; variants in the form of the *aksara*, script alternatives, errors of scribes, word substitutions, changes in content and changes in structure. When I compared the diary of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh (*BL MS.Add.12354*) with *BL MS.Add. 12356* (a copy of the former) over a five-year period, from 1775-1779, I found the variation only at the levels of minor word substitution and minor change in content. For example:

BL MS.Add.12354

1st January 1775:

“I started writing the diary. There is no God except Allah and Muhammad is His Messenger. *Barakallah*.” (*DAS:f.5v*)

11th January 1775:

“I have been ordered by the king to send the nobles of Boné to go to the fort to [deliver the king’s new year’s] wish to the Governor after the New Year. One slave was presented [to the Governor].” (*DAS:f.5v*)

BL MS.Add.12356

1st January 1775:

“I started writing the diary. And so my age is nineteen [years old].” (*BL MS. Add.12356:f.2v*)

11th January 1775:

“The king ordered me to send the nobles of Boné to go into the fort to wish [Happy New Year] to the Governor. One person [was presented to the Governor] as a new year’s gift.” (*BL MS.Add. 12356:f.2v*)

3.2 Historical background of the Bugis diaries

All the Bugis manuscript materials referred to in this thesis are written on imported European paper, bound in book form; such items are called codices. Many of the Bugis (and Makasar) codices found in European libraries are mainly miscellanies, most of which are remarkably diverse, although a few codices contain just a single item. The earliest known Bugis diaries is that of *Arung Palakka* (1660-1696). His diary was possibly inspired by the earlier practice of diary keeping by the kings of Gowa and Talloq (Ligtvoet 1880). After *Arung Palakka*’s death, diaries were kept by (almost) all

of the following rulers of Boné and, later, by senior ministers of state. These diaries, provide historians with an almost continuous record of events in Boné up to its conquest by the Dutch in 1905. These diaries, more than twenty in number, are kept in several locations: in the British Library (BL), in London; in the library of School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London (SOAS); in the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology (*KITLV*) in the Netherlands; and in the National Library of Indonesia (*PNI*), in Jakarta, Indonesia. Others still remain in private collections.

The Bugis diaries referred to in this research are all unpublished. According to Tol (1992:1), the extant Bugis diaries kept in The Netherlands were originated from one source, the collection of the ruler of Boné, La Pawawoi *Karaéng Segeri* (1826-1911). Tol described how the manuscripts entered the *Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (*KBG*) collection as a result of the last Boné war with the Dutch, as reported in the minutes of the board's meeting on 9th October 1905, as follows:

“Reporting the receipt from the Commander of the Expedition to South-Celebes of a pack of manuscripts, which have been found in the house of the Ruler of Boni and offering these for the manuscript collection.” (*Notulen* 1905: 99, quoted in Tol 1992:2)

Using the works of Ricklefs and Voorhoeve (1977:27-38) and Noorduyt (1984-6, quoted in Tol 1993:612-629), the various diaries which cover different years can be tabulated as follows:

<i>BL</i> ¹	<i>IOL</i> ²	<i>KITLV</i>	<i>PNI</i>	<i>SOAS</i>
	1660-1696			
1714-1718				
		1745-1762		
				1768-1777
1774-1787				
1775-1795	1776-1794			
1780-1785				
1790-1800				
1793-1796		1792-1798		
			1795-1807	
1800-1812				
1808-1809				
		1804-1819		
		1818-1819		
		1823-1843		
		1834-1840		
			1837-1842	
		1848-1851		
		1868		
		1877-1879		
		1870-1879		
		1876-1893		
		1878-1888		
		1893-1910		

Table 3.1: Years covered by diaries from Boné held in various collections (source: Tol 1993)

Taken together, the diaries represent an almost continuous stream of two centuries of indigenous historical information covering the period 1745 to 1910. At present, the following gaps (amounting to twenty-eight years) occur in the period: 1763-68, 1843-48, 1851-67, and 1869. However, during my fieldwork in Watampone, I discovered a copy of a Bugis diary in the personal possession of Petta Nompok Andi Muhammad Ali, dated 1856-65. The cover, which is heavily thumb-marked and has copious notes scribbled at the edge of the folios, suggests that the diary is an original copy.

The earliest diary yet found is the Makasar-language diary of the ruler of Gowa and Talloq, which dates from the beginning of the seventeenth century (Ligtvoet 1880;

¹ The Bugis diaries kept in the British Library once belonged to the collection of Dr. John Crawfurd in which he managed to obtain as result of the Anglo-Boné war in June 1814 (Boxer 1967). These manuscripts were sold to the British Library in 1842 at a price of £240. (Personal communication, Dr. Annabel Gallop, Curator for Indonesian and Malay Manuscripts, British Library, London, on 20th April 2003)

² In mid-1998, all collections of manuscripts from the Indian Office Library (*IOL*) were transferred to the new site, the British Library, at St.Pancras, London.

Cense 1966:422). Table 3.1 shows that the earliest Bugis diary, which covers dates 1660 up to 1696 (*BL MS. Bugis 1*), is that of *Arung Palakka Malampéq-é Gemmeqna*, the sixteenth ruler of Boné, which appears to have inspired the keeping of diaries by his descendants. No Bugis diaries from other kingdoms of South Sulawesi are known to exist, so we may conclude that the phenomenon of keeping diaries in the Bugis area was a practice peculiar to the Boné court. This practice would appear to have developed as a result of European influences, particularly the influence of the Portuguese and Dutch, who were the first to make contact via trading ports at Gowa (Macknight 1997). The Bugis diaries used in this research are written in the Bugis script.

In this thesis, each of the sources used is given a reference code made up of a combination of letters and numbers, denoting the collection or library in which it is held. In general, these are the designations by which the manuscripts are known in the libraries to which they belong. Most of the materials I have used are manuscripts kept at the OIOC, British Library; the exception is *UMLIB Mik.7*, which I have consulted in the form of microfilms kept in the library of the University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur. The sources used in this thesis are as follows:

<i>BL MS. Add. 12349</i>	A Bugis diary written from 1780 to 1785.
<i>BL MS. Add. 12350</i>	A Bugis diary written from 1808 to 9 July 1809, and July and August 1812.
<i>BL MS. Add. 12354</i>	A personal [Bugis] diary of the king of Boné written from 1775 to 1795.
<i>BL MS. Add. 12356</i>	A Bugis diary written from 1775 to 1795.
<i>BL MS. Bugis 2</i>	A Bugis diary written from 1776 to 1794.
<i>BL MS. Or. 8154</i>	A Bugis diary written from 1790 to 1800.
<i>UMLIB Mik.7</i>	Miscellany of information translated from the Bugis language into the Malay language, written in Jawi script. ³

Table 3.2: List of Bugis diaries

³ The script lacks certain consonants such as ga (گ), nya (پ), pa (ف) and ca (چ) which are found in the Jawi script. These four letters represent phonemes in spoken Malay but are not represented in the Arabic script.

The four key manuscripts used in this thesis are held in the British Library. They are as follows:

1. *BL MS. Add. 12349* - *DJM* (the diary of the *Jennang*⁴ of Maros).
2. *BL MS. Add. 12354* - *DAS* (the diary of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh).
3. *BL MS. Bugis 2* - *DTM* (the diary of *Tomarilalang*⁵ *Maloloé*).
4. *BL MS. Or. 8154* - *DoM* (the diary of the *Maqdanrang*).

Other Bugis materials and Dutch records are identified by the library in which they are kept: *ANRI UP* (National Archive of Indonesia at Makassar, South Sulawesi) and *ANRI Mak.* (National Archive of Indonesia at Jakarta for Dutch records). Besides these sources, the thesis also makes use of published sources in European and Indonesian languages, referred to and cited in the usual way. Included in these published materials are two dictionaries: Matthes (1874) *Boegineesche-Hollandsch Woordenboek*, and Said (1977) *Kamus Bugis-Indonesia*. Matthes arranges the Bugis words in groups according to their common root, listing below these are other words derived from a combination of the root and affixes: the definitions are in Dutch. Said's dictionary, which is set out in a similar fashion, contains fewer words, almost all of which are taken from modern day spoken Bugis; these differ in many instances from 'archaic' Bugis words found in the manuscript texts.

3.3 The Bugis scripts and its development

The Bugis script is a near syllabary; that is, it represents syllables, not letters. As a result, the Bugis writing system is structurally deficient or incomplete for the recording of the Bugis language, in that some elements of speech cannot be indicated by the script. The Bugis script consists of twenty-three symbols or *aksara*, each of which consists of a consonant followed by the inherent vowel /a/ [ʌ], and diacritic marks representing vowels other than /a/ added to the basic character and replacing the inherent /a/. The value of each symbol may be altered by the addition of diacritic marks placed after, above, before and below the symbol (*aksara*). For example, <◊> (Sa) produces <◊^> (So), <◊̣> (Si), <◊̤> (Sé) as in 'set', <◊̥> (Su) and <◊̦> (Se) as in "search". The basic characters of the Bugis script are listed as follows:⁶

⁴ *Jennang* is an administrator of an area or region.

⁵ *Tomarilalang* is one of the three most important positions in the administrations of Boné apart from the *Maqdanrang* and the *Maqkedangngetana* (see Chapter 6.1.1).

⁶ According to Abidin (1971:162) and Safwan et al. (1980/1981:23), the original form of the Bugis script consisted of eighteen *aksara*. He claims that the introduction of the *aksara* <∞> (Ha) is connected with Islam. It appears to have been introduced by a Muslim preacher of Sumatran origin who introduced Islam to South Sulawesi, Abdul Makmur Khatib Tunggal *Datu ri* Bandang, in the early seventeenth century. With the addition of the *aksara* (∞), it made possible the transliteration of Arabic terms into Bugis.

⌈	<i>Ka</i>	⌈	<i>Nra</i>	·	<i>i</i>
⌈	<i>Ga</i>	⌈	<i>Ca</i>	·	<i>u</i>
⌈	<i>Nga</i>	⌈	<i>Ja</i>	◀	<i>é</i>
⌈	<i>Ngka</i>	⌈	<i>Nya</i>	⌈	<i>o</i>
⌈	<i>Pa</i>	⌈	<i>Nca</i>	⌈	<i>e</i>
⌈	<i>Ba</i>	⌈	<i>Ya</i>		
⌈	<i>Ma</i>	⌈	<i>Ra</i>		
⌈	<i>Mpa</i>	⌈	<i>La</i>		
⌈	<i>Ta</i>	⌈	<i>Wa</i>		
⌈	<i>Da</i>	⌈	<i>Sa</i>		
⌈	<i>Na</i>	⌈	<i>A</i>		
		⌈	<i>Ha</i>		

Table 3.3: List of Bugis *aksara*

In the Bugis script, the velar nasal (‘ng’) and the glottal stop (‘q’) all of which are linguistically productive, are never shown. Gemination⁷ (for example, ‘tt’ as in *ttiwi* – to bring, ‘mm’ – as in *mmonro* – to live, ‘ss’ – as in *ssapa* – to look) is rarely specified, and pre-nasalised *aksara* (‘*Mpa*’, ‘*Ngka*’, ‘*Nra*’, ‘*Na*’) are used irregularly. These missing elements have important grammatical functions, as well as being necessary for the correct transcription of words (Sirk 1983; Noorduyn 1955).⁸

Little is known of the development of the Bugis script subsequent to its introduction to South Sulawesi. A large number of the extant eighteenth century manuscripts are copies commissioned by Europeans; Matthes, Ligtoet, Niemann, and others.⁹ The Bugis script has frequently been described as similar to the Rejang script of Sumatra.

Abidin also mentions that the addition of four pre-nasalized consonants, <⌈ > (*Ngka*), <⌈ > (*Nra*), <⌈ > (*Mpa*) and <⌈ > (*Nya*) into the Bugis script was attributed to a person of noble birth, Collipujé, the *Arung* of Pancana who was Matthes’ important informant (Sirk 1983:27). The additions of the *aksara* <⌈ > and the four pre-nasalized consonants brought the basic Bugis script to its present form (Abidin 1971:162).

⁷ Problems also arise because the Bugis speakers, when writing their language in Romanised characters, usually make no distinction between geminated and pre-glottalized stops, spelling both with double consonant characters. In general usage, apparently, pre-glottalization of consonants is interpreted by the Bugis as being identical to gemination or lengthening of consonants. For further information, see Noorduyn (1990:470-473).

⁸ As an example, the characters <⌈ > may be rendered: *tapa*- to roast; *tappa*- form; *tappa*’- gleam; *tampa*’- a sort of gift; *tampang*- string or tape; the characters <⌈ > may be rendered: *bébéq*- stupid, *bébbé*- to drip, *bémbéq*- goat.

⁹ In the early twentieth century, the copying of the Bugis manuscripts was continued under the direction of Dr. A. A. Cense who was the *taalamptenaar*, civil servant for language, in South Sulawesi in 1930s with the establishment of the Matthesstichting (*Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara*, henceforth YKSST). This effort was later continued by Bugis scholars such as Dr. Mukhlis Paéni in the 1980s. In 1972 and 1973, Dr. C.C. Macknight microfilmed the collection of manuscripts in YKSST and now the materials are kept in the Australia National University.

‘numbers’ or ‘dates’, are incorporated and arranged in a chronological order. In the Bugis areas, the name *sureq bilang* is the more general term. The word *sureq* occurs twice in *DAS*: in the entry for 1st January 1775 which begins “*umula massureq bilang*”; and in the entry for 28th November 1782 which starts: “*idiq matona patonangngi ri sureq bilattaq*”. As diaries record daily activities, Tol (1993; 1996) referred to the Bugis diaries as *dagregisters* (D.), daily registers, which record everyday events. Because of their succinct style, and as they record only ordinary daily events, Bugis diaries are almost free from introspection. The data recorded in the diaries are miscellaneous and concern very practical and material things. The information contained in the royal diaries covers births, marriages, deaths and other events in the royal family, but also state affairs, war expeditions, pacts, official visits and extraordinary natural phenomena (*DAS, DJM, DoM, DTM*).

There is no evidence that the keeping of diaries was practised among the Javanese¹¹ and Malays or other ethnic groups, other than in South Sulawesi (cf. Ceperkovic 1998:56-65). The only exception to this appears to be the Bimanes diary, called ‘*bo*’, probably from the Dutch *boek* for ‘book’ (Chambert-Loir 1996:75, 1999; Aliuddin 1983) but which, given by the trading and political relationships between Bima and Makassar, may have been inspired by South Sulawesi diaries.

The concept of recording day-to-day events was an indigenous response to an external stimulus: we may postulate that the Bugis tradition of writing diaries resulted from European influence, though there is still insufficient evidence in this regard. Macknight (1997:8) suggests that the strongest influence on the Makasar (and Bugis) historical writing traditions was probably the Portuguese chronicles, though he does not discount possible influence from Malay or Muslim literature (Pelras 1985:107-135; Noorduyt 1972b:11-20; Boxer 1967).

The influx of foreign influences to South Sulawesi is significant in the diaries’ layout, in which European and Islamic dates are both used: on one page of the diary, the Christian system of dating is written on the left hand side while, on the opposite side, the corresponding year according to the Islamic *hijrah* system is written. The classification is based on the months of the solar year, which are almost always denoted by their Portuguese names. Apart from that, for February 29th, the word *bisessetu* (بستت), which denotes a leap year, derived from the Portuguese word *bissexto*, is often written (Cense 1966:418).

¹¹ The only known exception is a diary written by a woman soldier at the court of Mangkunegara I. The diary covers ten full years from 1781 to 1791. See Ann Kumar (1980a, 1980b).

All extant diaries are written on European paper: there is no evidence to suggest that diaries were ever written on *lontar* leaves. Indeed, the system and style of diary writing would be difficult to adapt to a writing system based on *lontar* leaves. This is because the *lontar* leaves were arranged in long narrow strips on which was written a single line of writing. These strips were then wound onto a spool set in a wooden holder. In order to read the material, a reader had to wind the strip from one end of the holder to the other. This type of manuscript is mentioned in the Chronicle of Boné, written in the late seventeenth century, which says: “There were five in their family. As for the names of the others, they remain in the chronicles which are rolled up”. If the diary existed long before the Bugis contact with the Europeans, the reading of diary events as a source of reference or personal aid to memory would have been impractical when writing was recorded on palm leaves.

3.5 The *BL MS. Add. 12354*, the *DAS*

Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh, the twenty-third ruler of Boné, was the writer of the diary *BL MS. Add. 12354* (henceforth, referred as *DAS*), which is the primary source for this thesis. The diary’s first entry explicitly manifests the author’s conscious decision to embark on a new practice of keeping a personal record in writing a diary (*DAS*:f.5v). Although Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh frequently uses first person pronouns, the enclitic of ‘*u*’, ‘*ku*’ and ‘*kaq*’ (I, my, mine), he offers little information about himself in person. For example, in the first few pages of the *DAS*, he writes:

“1170 *Hijrah Sanat Sallallahu ‘alayhi wassallaam*. [On] the 11th *Ramadhan*, on Monday, [equivalent to] 30th May [...] I was born. God bless. I was named Ahmad [and] my Bugis name [is] La Tenritappu Toampaliweng. *Alhamdulillah*.” (*DAS*:f.5r)

Elsewhere, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh mentions his marriage in an equally succinct style:

“1188 *Hijrah Sanat* that is 1774 *Hir*. That is on [Christian date equals to] 3rd November [equals to] 28th of the month of *Sya’ban*, on Thursday, I took I Tenripada as my wife. God bless. *Alhamdulillah*.” (*DAS*:f.184v)

On the same page, he informs us of the dates of birth of six of his children; for each event the Muslim and Christian dates are written alongside, as well as the time when the children were born. For example:

“1189 *Hijrah Sanat*, that is 1775 *Hir* that is [Christian Era] 23rd October, on 27th of the month of *Sya'ban*, on Monday, after 7.00 [a.m.] Siti Fatimah was born. Her Bugis name is Batara Tungkeq [...].” (*DAS*:f.184v)

“1190 *Hijrah Sanat*, that is 1776 *Hir* that is [Christian Era] 28th October, on 14th of the month of *Ramadhan*, on Monday, after 10.00 [a.m.] Siti Salimah was born. Her Bugis name is I Manératu [...].” (*DAS*:f.184v)

“1191 *Hijrah Sanat*, that is 1777 *Hir* that is [Christian Era] 16th December, on 15th of the month of *Zulkaedah*, on Tuesday night, after 7.00 [p.m.] Muhamad Ismail was born [...].” (*DAS*:f.184v)

Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh does not record the Bugis name of his son here; later in the diary we find that Muhamad Ismail's Bugis name was La Mappatunru. Similarly, the Bugis names for his other three sons are not mentioned on this page (*DAS*:f.184v), but their names are mentioned in subsequent diary entries.

The entries in *DAS* was written by the ruler himself; only in a few places do we find different handwriting, suggesting that a different person occasionally undertook the writing of the diary. These occasions represent less than 1% of the total 5,435 entries, excluding the *Addenda* for each year.

DAS covers the period 1775 to 1795 with breaks no greater than a few days. Of all the diaries examined in this thesis it contains the greatest number of entries, with an average of twenty-two days per month, as well as the longest period.

<i>Lists of diaries</i>	<i>Average number of days of entries per month</i>	<i>Years of coverage</i>	<i>Writer or owner</i>
DAS	22 days	21 years (1775-1795)	<i>Arumponé</i> Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh
DTM	15 days	19 years (1776-1794)	<i>Tomarilalang</i> Hasanuddin
BL MS.Add. 12357	14 days	17 years (1795-1813)	La Mappatunruq
DoM	5 days	11 years (1790-1800)	<i>Maqdanrang</i> Muhd Ramallang
DJM	7 days	6 years (1780-1785)	<i>Jennang</i> of Maros ¹²
BL MS.Add. 12373	13 days	7 years (1793-1799)	La Mappatunruq
BL MS.Add. 12350	11 days	4 years (1808-1809, 1810, 1812)	<i>Arumponé</i> and La Mappatunruq
BL MS.Add. 12356	22 days	21 years (1775-1795)	<i>Recensio</i> of <i>DAS</i>

Table 3.4: List of some of the Bugis diaries and years of coverage

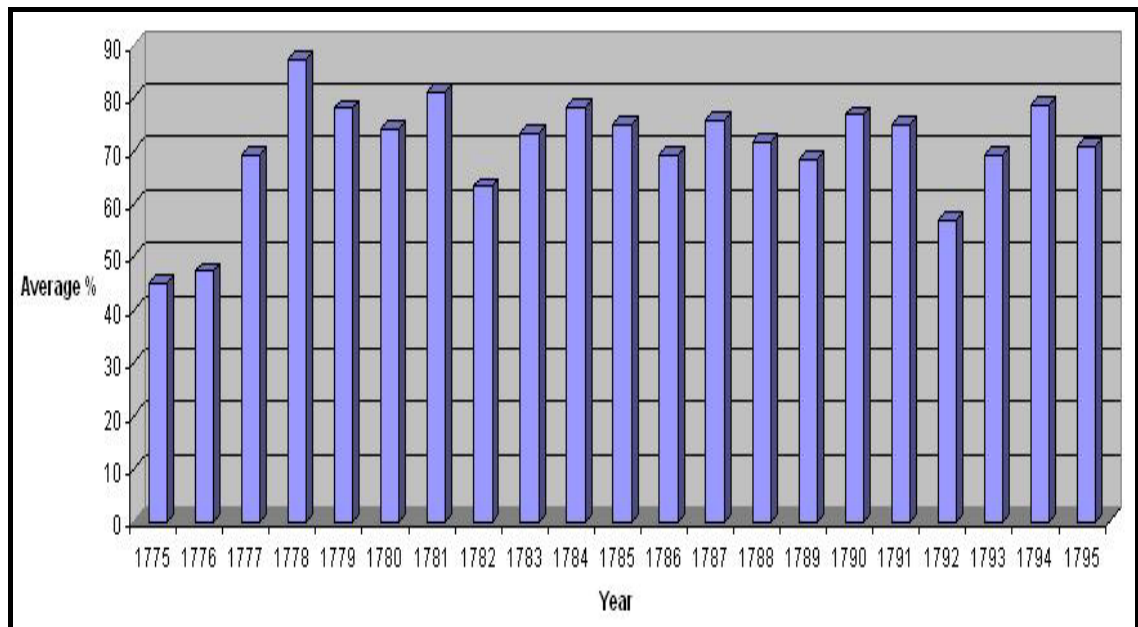


Figure 3.1: Average percentage of entries in *DAS* for 1775-1795

¹² *Arung* Tanété Daéng Marowa was appointed as the new *jennang* of Maros on 29th July 1782 to succeed the old *jennang* of Maros who died on 12th July 1782 (*DJM*:f17r; cf. *DAS*:f64v).

DAS is in excellent condition; the paper is Dutch with the watermark ‘VOC’ surmounted by ‘A’, ‘SCK’ and ‘D & Blauwe’. All the pages are strongly bound and none is damaged by weather or insects. The volume is bound in soft dark brown leather and decorated with blind stamping and tooling. The binding of the diary is decorated using frame bands, corner pieces, bud-shaped decorations and medallions (cf. Plomp 1993:570-591). This diary has a folio page size measuring 42.5 cm in length and 26.5 cm in width, with a few folios of different sizes inserted in it.

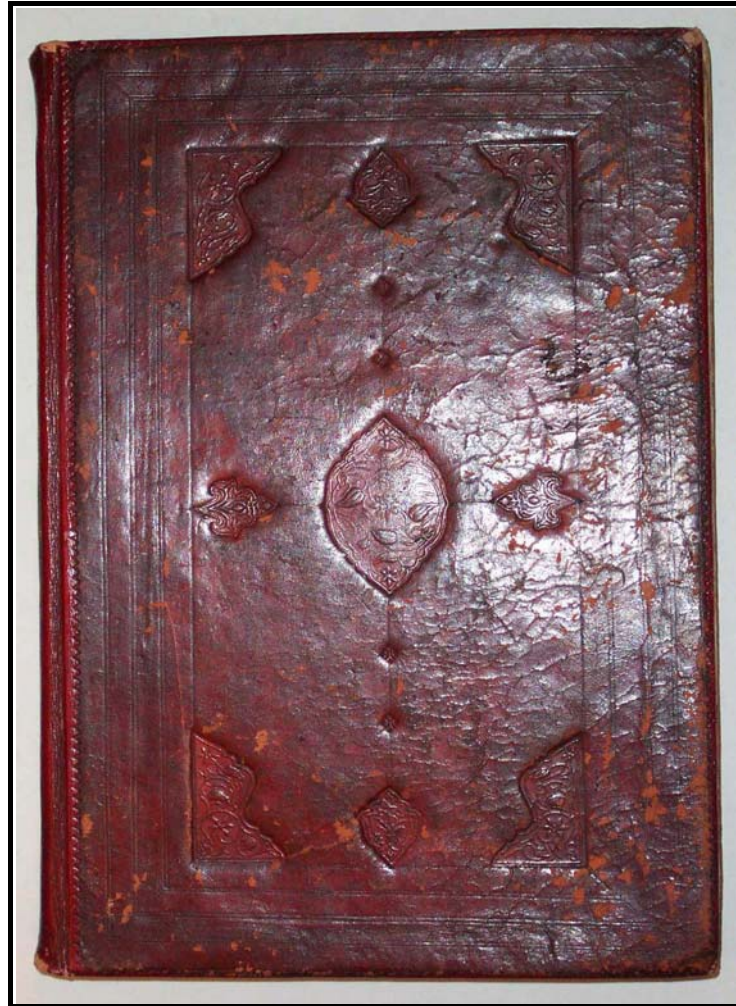


Figure 3.2: The diary of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh

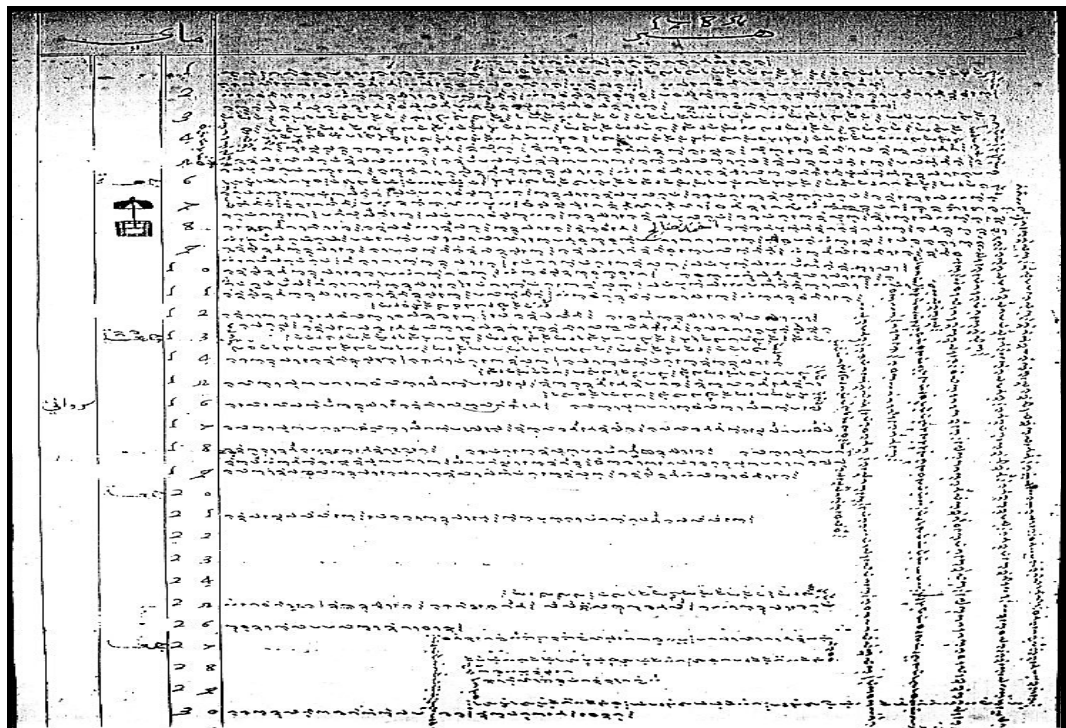
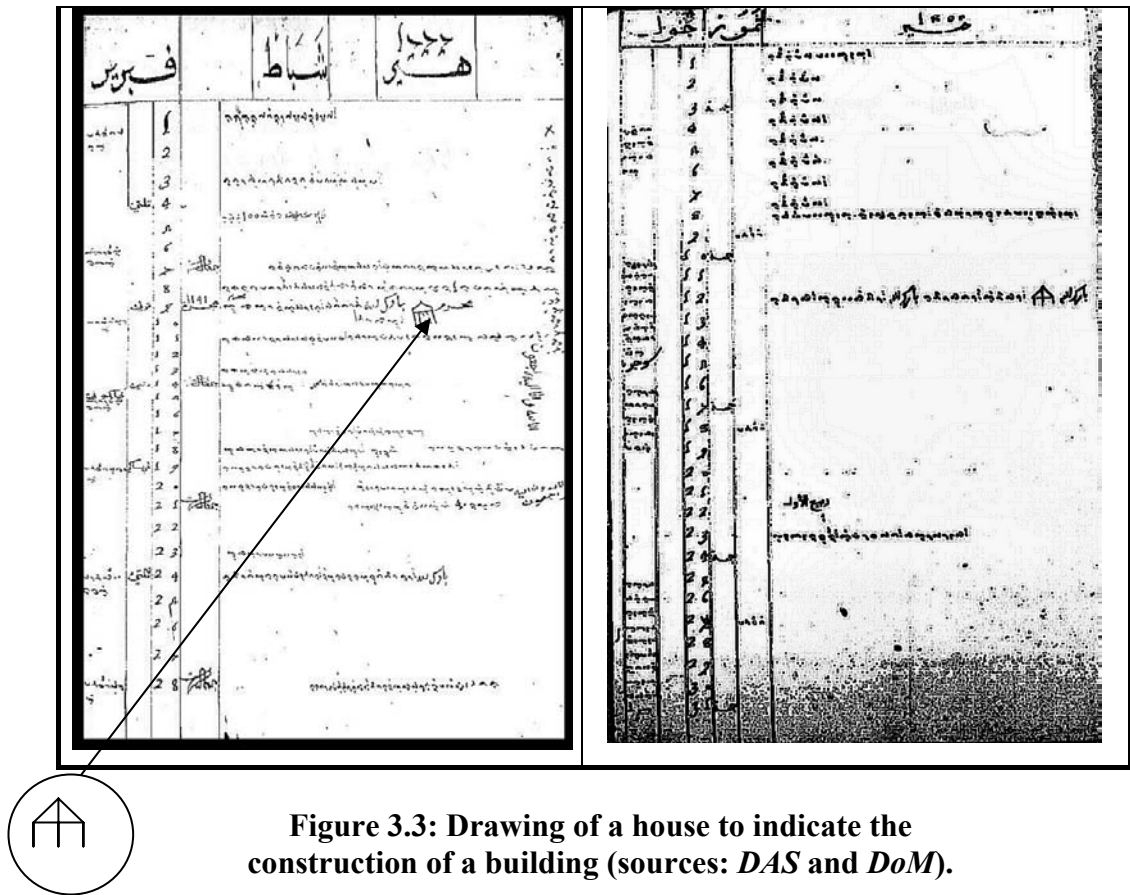
3.5.1 The script and the language of *DAS*

The manuscript is written in black ink. *DAS* is largely free from any rubrication, and red ink is used only to write Friday (*Jum'at*- جمعة, Ar.) each week. No Arabic numerals are used, except when the writer records the beginning of the new month; for instance, *Muharram* 1198 A.H. (*Anno Hijrah*) is written as (محرم ١١٩٨ هجره سنة) (*DAS*:f.67v). Most Bugis diaries contain four different types of script: Bugis, Makasar, Arabic and

Roman. *DAS* is written almost wholly in Bugis script in the Bugis language; only occasionally does the writer use the Makasar language, for example for the entries for 17th and 25th June 1779 (*DAS*:f.36r) and 22nd July 1779 (*DAS*:f.36v), which coincide with times when the writer is stationed at Makassar. A few foreign words are also found. These include: major (*maioroé*, B.) (*DAS* 6th May 1778:f.28v), admiral (*ameralaq*, B.) (*DAS* 17th August 1787:f.93r), general (*jineralaq*, B.) (*DAS* 4th May 1780:f.42v), corporal (*koperalaq*, B.) (*DAS* 7th September 1784:f.72v), company (*kompania*, B.) (*DAS Addendum* 1785:f.89r) and governor (*goronadoro*, B.) (*DAS Addendum* 1785:f.81v). There are also Dutch names, such as Deefhout (I Dépo) (*DAS* 29th July 1787:f.92v), Van de Voort (Paderoporo) (*DAS* 16th June 1780:f.43r), Barend Reijke (Bareng Riki) (*DAS Addendum* 1785:f.82r) and Raad van Indië (*Ratu pan India*) (*DAS Addendum* 1785:f.81v). Roman script is used only to write the name of the solar month and numerals.

Arabic script is not widely used in *DAS*, but is employed to write Arabic words, Muslim (and foreign) names and religious formulas (mainly connected with Islamic traditions and in private letters), such as Chapter (Ar., *Bab* - باب), Part (Ar., *Fasal* - فصل), The End (*Tammat* - تمت), and Qur’anic *ayat* (verse) which regularly follow information about certain facts. For example, when a death is recorded, it is usually written as, ‘We are Allah’s and return to Him (إنا لله وإنا إليه راجعون)”; for births, the formula, ‘May Allah lengthen his/her life’ (وطل الله عمرها/عمره) is used; for a birthday, ‘Allah lengthen my life to the length of my works’ (طل الله عمر بتولي عمالي); in reports of disasters, such as fire, ‘I seek protection against this with Allah’ (أعوذ بالله منها); in reports of natural phenomena, such as eclipses of the moon or earthquakes, ‘May He be Glorified’ (سبحان الله); of contracts, ‘Allah is sufficient witness’ (و كفى بالله شهيداً). Other formulas such as ‘All Praise is due to Allah’ (الحمد لله), ‘May Allah Bless’ (بركاته), and ‘There is no God except Allah and Muhammad is His Messenger’ (لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله) are often found in the diary entries. In addition, where Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh reports the building of his palace, a squiggle representing a house is drawn; this is found also in a number of other places in the diary (*DAS*:f.20r; f.23v; f.55v).¹³

¹³ This feature is also found in *DoM* and *DTM*.



3.5.2 The layout of the diary

The layout of *DAS* divides the page into five columns. The first and second columns consist of the Bugis *bilang* or count. The word *bilang* ('to count' or 'to calculate', B.) is a method of reckoning the auspicious time at which to carry out worldly activities. This I will discuss in Chapter 3.6. The third column contains the date of the month in the Christian calendar whilst the day of the week in the *Hijrah* calendar is written in the fourth column, with Friday, written in Arabic script, in red ink. The fifth column contains the events or activities. The date in the *Hijrah* calendar is also recorded in the fifth column, and this is only done on the first day of every *Hijrah* month.

A single page is allocated for each month, which gives limited space for each date. For each year, two pages are left blank for additional notes to be made later as the *Addenda*. At the top of the page, there are three headings: at the very left-hand corner, the months in the Christian calendar are written. In the right hand corner, the year is written in Roman numerals using the Common Era. Interestingly, in the middle of the page are written the names of the months in the historic Turkish calendar:

<i>Names of month in Christian calendar</i>	<i>Names of month in Muslim calendar</i>	<i>Names of month in old Turkish</i>	<i>Names of month in the DAS</i>	<i>Names of month in modern Turkish</i>
January	<i>Muharram</i>	<i>Kanunusani</i>	<i>Kanun Ath-Thani</i>	<i>Ocak</i>
February	<i>Safar</i>	<i>Subat</i>	<i>Syabād</i>	<i>Subat</i>
March	<i>Rabiul Awwal</i>	<i>Mart</i>	<i>Azar</i>	<i>Mart</i>
April	<i>Rabiul Akhir</i>	<i>Nisan</i>	<i>Nas Yān</i>	<i>Nisan</i>
May	<i>Jamadi Awwal</i>	<i>Mayis</i>	<i>As Yār</i>	<i>Mayis</i>
June	<i>Jamadi Akhir</i>	<i>Harizan</i>	<i>Harīran</i>	<i>Harizan</i>
July	<i>Rejab</i>	<i>Temmuz</i>	<i>Tamur</i>	<i>Temmuz</i>
August	<i>Sya'ban</i>	<i>Agustos</i>	<i>Ab</i>	<i>Agustos</i>
September	<i>Ramadhan</i>	<i>Eylül</i>	<i>Aylul</i>	<i>Eylul</i>
October	<i>Syawwal</i>	<i>Tesrinievel</i>	<i>Tasyrizal-Awwal</i>	<i>Ekim</i>
November	<i>Zulkaedah</i>	<i>Tesrinisani</i>	<i>Tasyrizath-Thani</i>	<i>Kasim</i>
December	<i>Zulhijjah</i>	<i>Kanunuevel</i>	<i>Kanūnal-Awwal</i>	<i>Aralik</i>

Table 3.5: Lists of names of months in *DAS*
(sources: *DAS*; Tsybulsky 1979)

From the above table, we can see that the names of months found in *DAS* are based on the names of the old Turkish months except for March, May and August. The old Turkish calendar is of Arabic-Syrian origin and was in used in Turkey from the late seventeenth century until 1945, when the Turks changed to modern Turkish names in their calendar system (Tsybulsky 1979:127-9). It is not clear why the *Arumponé* uses the names of the old Turkish calendar rather than the Muslim calendar.

Figure 3.5: Layout of the diary, *DAS*.

DAS also records the *windu* (eight-year, *pariamang*, B.) cycle.¹⁴ The eight-year cycle, as recorded in most Bugis diaries, was employed to reckon the weather and was commonly used as a guide for agricultural purposes. Each year has a different name, and a complete eight-year cycle consists of:

¹⁴ Interview with Drs. Muhlis Hadrawi, on 24th August 1999, at Tamalanrea, Makassar.

<i>Name of years</i>	<i>In Bugis</i>	<i>In Arabic script</i>
The year of <i>Alif</i>	<i>Alippu'</i>	ا
The year of <i>Ba</i>	<i>Ba</i>	ب
The year of <i>Jim</i>	<i>Jém</i>	ج
The year of <i>Ha</i>	<i>Ha</i>	هـ
The year of <i>Dal</i> (I)	<i>Dal riolo</i>	د
The year of <i>Dal</i> (II)	<i>Dal rimunri</i>	د
The year of <i>Zai</i>	<i>Za</i>	ز
The year of <i>Wau</i>	<i>Wau</i>	و

**Table 3.6: The *pariamang* eight year cycle
(sources: *DAS* and *DJM*)**

3.5.3 The contents of *DAS*

The diary entries in *DAS* begin at folio 5v and end on folio 156r. These entries, including the *Addendum*, encompass the largest percentage of the codex. Immediately following the diary entries are miscellaneous supplements such as *bilang*, religious notes, religious charms, personal notes, drawings, a later insertion of other notes and other miscellanies, which can be summarised as below:

<i>Descriptions</i>	<i>Number of pages</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
1. Diary entries	302 pages	74.8 %
2. Drawings	4 pages	0.99 %
3. <i>Bilang</i>	12 pages	2.97 %
4. Letters	9 pages	2.23 %
5. Songs, poems and verses	4 pages	0.99 %
6. Notes on meetings	6 pages	1.49 %
7. Personal notes	29 pages	7.18 %
8. Miscellaneous	38 pages	9.41%
Total	404 pages	100 %

Table 3.7: Contents of *DAS*

These supplements do not contain only the 'day-to-day' events, but provide diverse information and extended explanations serving to answer questions arising from the diary entries. Another regular feature of the diary is the insertion of information

pertaining to a previous date. This is a result of the time taken for news to be sent over long distances. For example, on 1st March 1777, the *Arumponé* mentions having received news that his nephew, I Budiman, has passed away. This new information is added retrospectively to the entry dated 20th February 1777:

20th February 1777:

“[...] Today, my nephew, I Budiman, passed away [...].”
(*DAS*:f.13r)

Other examples show similar instances of addition of new information, such as on the illness of the Dowager Queen, *Arung Palakka*, also known as Petta Paramparang. The diary mentions her illness on 11th January 1779:

“I went bathing at Makuri. There was a letter sent by the *Maqdanrang* informing me that Petta Paramparang’s illness is worsening.” (*DAS*:f.33v)

It appears that the day when the letter was despatched may have been the same day on which Petta Paramparang died, as in the entry four days earlier, on 7th January 1779, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh had noted the death of Petta Paramparang:

7th January 1779:

“Today Petta Paramparang passed away after 8.00 p.m. From Allah we cometh and to Him do we return.” (*DAS*:f.33v)

Another example of retrospective addition to an entry involves a fire at Boné. The *Arumponé* records the event as follows:

28th August 1778:

“[...] The night Boné caught fire, towards the east of the palace, thirteen houses were burnt down.” (*DAS*:f.30r)

2nd September 1778:

“Puang Batara Tungkeq instructed Indoq Budung to visit me and to inform me regarding the fire at Boné [...].”
(*DAS*:f.30v)

It happens sometimes that information for a certain year is not written in its proper place but elsewhere, often in the *Addendum*. For example, in the *Addendum* for 1783, the writer has inserted a letter which was written in 1785, whilst the *Addendum* for 1786 includes a letter written on 22nd September 1794. As the diary had limited space, the writer copied or inserted supplementary information in whatever space was available instead of in a strict chronological sequence.

3.6 *The bilang*

In the Bugis society, means of reckoning ‘lucky’ and ‘unlucky’ times is through *bilang* (counting, B.), whereby the calculation of the day, month and year is based upon the lunar cycles. To each year, month, day, or even time of day, is attributed a specific quality, the knowledge of which guides decision-making in Bugis activities. Matthes (1874:212) defines *bilang* as “to count, to calculate, sum up, tell, or to narrate; to calculate what time would be auspicious for an undertaking”. The *bilang* is derived from a system called *kutika*.¹⁵ Although *bilang* also function as guide for reckoning of time, they do not contain such elaborate prescriptions as *kutika*. In *bilang*, *mantra* or spells are absent and the *bilang*, unlike *kutika*, are not used as charms. In other words, *bilang* are just lists of guidelines for determining auspicious and inauspicious times by means of counting the days of week and hours of the day. Each day has its own criteria and only certain activities are good to be accomplished. The time of day is also taken into account. For instance, if one wishes to go out of the house to perform any errands, according to the *bilang pitu* (seven, B.) the best time would be before noon, as this would ensure that any job would be done successfully.¹⁶

In the Javanese *primbon*, time and practical guides to divination are usually based on three cycles out of the nine cycle; but the 5, 6 and 7-day weeks are also commonly used. The five-day, or market week, consists of these days: *Pahing*, *Pon*, *Wagé*, *Kliwon* and *Legi* (Behrend 1996:170).¹⁷ In contradistinction to the Javanese *primbon*, the Bugis *bilang* generally consists of the *bilang tellu*, *bilang lima*, *bilang aséra* and *bilang duwappulo*, which are counted according to their respective cycles: 3 and 5-day weeks, and 9 or 20-day months. Generally, the cycles for these *bilangs* are as follows:

¹⁵ According to Winstedt (1951), the word *kutika* (*pitika*, Mak.) comes from a Sanskrit word, referring to the division of the day into five periods named for Hindu deities, indicating that at least some of the knowledge contained in these texts originated in Hindu astrology (Robinson 1998:173). Matthes (1874:17) defined *kutika* as “time of day; time at which some act or other is carried out having been calculated as auspicious or inauspicious. As such used by the natives to indicate everything, be it a document, a table, a diagram, or whatever else, from which he can tell what times are auspicious and which are not”. Matthes explains that there are different *kutika* for different purposes. In general, the *kutika* contains techniques for identifying auspicious and inauspicious times for other worldly activities such as constructing buildings, undertaking journeys, holding weddings and other ceremonies for rites of passage; though it is similar to *bilang*, *kutika* appears to be more detailed, and includes the use of *mantra* and spells. Further information, see also Matthes (1872c; Tadjuddin 1991).

¹⁶ Information on the manner of counting the auspicious and inauspicious time based upon Bugis’ *bilang* was provided by my respondents Petta Rani and Petta Nompok of Jalan Ahmad Yani, Kabupaten Boné, on 27th August 1999.

¹⁷ The *bilang pitu* are perhaps designated as days in a week (Sun-Mon-Tue-Wed-Thu-Fri-Sat). For instance, for travelling, according to *bilang lima* and *bilang pitu*, bad days would be Sunday *Paing*, Saturday *Pon*, Friday *Wage*, Tuesday *Kliwon*, Monday *Legi*, Thursday *Wage* and Saturday *Kliwon*.

<i>Bilang tellu</i> (3)	<i>Bilang lima</i> (5)	<i>Bilang aséra</i> (9)	<i>Bilang duwappulo</i> (20)
1. <i>Passimara suppai</i>	1. <i>Rialai</i>	1. <i>Pobatu paorongngi</i>	1. <i>Poqjuruwatta</i>
2. <i>Golla paéroi</i>	2. <i>Dé`i</i>	2. <i>Patéréq rukkai</i>	2. <i>Pa</i>
3. <i>Pattudalleq-i</i>	3. <i>Masara ininnawai</i>	3. <i>Lalléng kowari</i>	3. <i>Jumua or gumaha</i>
	4. <i>Mappoléangngi</i>	4. <i>Téssisumpalaq timun</i>	4. <i>Wajiq or hajin</i>
	5. <i>Palai</i>	5. <i>Mangngasetti punai</i>	5. <i>Ungnga-ungnga</i>
		6. <i>Marumang sibauwi</i>	6. <i>Palettuq or talettuq</i>
		7. <i>Patiro tongngai</i>	7. <i>Angnga</i>
		8. <i>Palélé akéqarongngi</i>	8. <i>Lebboq</i>
		9. <i>Panoreng mulingngi</i>	9. <i>Lageq</i>
			10. <i>Cempa</i>
			11. <i>Tulleq</i>
			12. <i>Ariéngng</i>
			13. <i>Béruku</i>
			14. <i>Panirongngi</i>
			15. <i>Ma`uwwa</i>
			16. <i>Dettia</i>
			17. <i>Lama</i>
			18. <i>Langkaraq</i>
			19. <i>Jeppati</i>
			20. <i>Tumppakalé</i>

Table 3.8: Cycles of the *bilang* 3, 5, 9 and 20¹⁸

In *DAS*, three types of *bilang* are used alongside each other: the *bilang lima*, *bilang aséra* and *bilang duwappulo*. However, for *bilang duwappulo*, only fifteen names are found, and there is a discrepancy of names of the *bilang duwappulo* in comparison to those in Table 3.8. In *DAS*, these names are *nakaiq*, *palaguni*, *bisakai*, *jaitiq*, *sarwani*, *paddurani*, *suju'*, *pacikaiq*, *pusiq*, *mangngasaiq*, *mangasattu*, *mangngalupi*, *pobatu-paonro*, *poto-Senrijawa* and *pongalékaraja*. The placing of *bilang* in the diary's layout is also found in other Bugis diaries, with variation in the numbers of *bilang* applied. For example, in the diaries *BL MS. Add.12350*, *DTM* and the *DoM*, only two kinds of *bilang* are used: *bilang lima* and *bilang aséra*. The significance of *bilang* can be understood from the diary's layout, which explains the importance of reckoning auspicious times in the life of a Bugis.

¹⁸ Interview with Drs. Muhlis Hadrawi, on 10th October 1999, at Makassar, based upon his previous interviews with Andi Kanna' Petta Tiro from Bontorihu village in Kabupaten of Boné in 1995, and also with Teq Ummareng of Dusun Cennae Desa Watu, Kecamatan Mario ri Wawo, Kabupaten Soppeng.

According to *Pak Bilang*,¹⁹ Teq Ummareng, the *bilang lima*²⁰ is usually referred to for agricultural activities, whereas other *bilang* are used for different purposes. Petta Nompok Andi Muhammad Ali mentions that the *bilang pitu* is commonly used to denote the most auspicious time in dealing with journeys.²¹ The names of the cycles mentioned in the *bilang* are not words in Bugis daily usage. Moreover, several names of stars or asterisms are also associated with the *lontaraq bilang*; the *sulo bawié* (the pig stars), the *tuttumpajai* (the morning star), the *wara-warai* (the listless stars), the *tanra-tellu* (the sign of three stars), the *manuq-é* (the hen stars), the *waluq-é* (the four stars), the *empangngé* (the two stars), the *butteq-é* (the curled stars), the *lambaruq-é* (the ray fish or skate stars), the *woromporongngé* (the seven stars), the *tellu-tellu-é* and the *mangngiwengngé* (the shark stars) (DAS, DJM, Ammarell 1994:189-206).

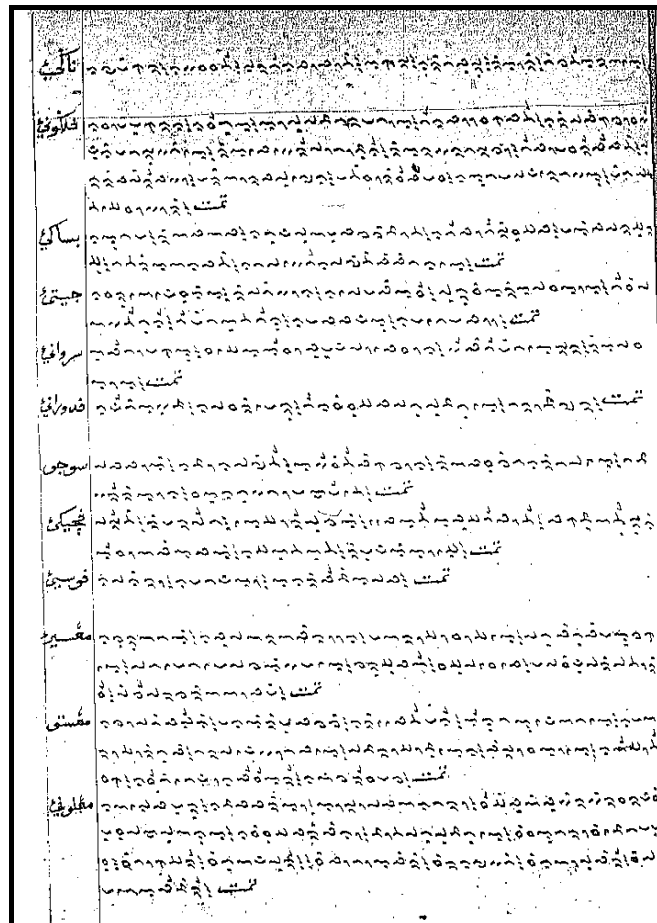


Figure 3.6: The Bugis *bilang* (source: DAS)

¹⁹ *Pak Bilang* is a person who is knowledgeable in time reckoning.

²⁰ The *bilang lima* used for agricultural activities has different names, they are: *aka* (roots which is suitable for planting root vegetables), the *batang* (the stem which are suitable for growing plants such as bamboo, sugar-cane), the *rob* (the leaf which is suitable for growing leafy vegetables), the *bunga* (the flower which is suitable for growing plants such as cloves) and the *bua* (the fruit, such as banana, mango).

²¹ Personal communication with Petta Nompok Andi Muhammad Ali, on 27th August 1999, at Watamponé, Boné.

3.7 The Bugis diary: Identifying the ‘moment in time’

For most events recorded in *DAS* and other Bugis diaries, no time of occurrence is specified or indicated. The only occasions on which times are specified are found with reference to birth and death. For example:

28th October 1776:

“After 10.00 [p.m.], Puang Batara Tungkeq gave birth to a baby girl [...]” (*DAS*:f.17r)

15th June 1782:

“After 5.00 [p.m.] the wife of the *Tomarilalang* had given birth. It was a baby boy.” (*DAS*:f.57r)

18th December 1788:

“I Waru passed away after 5.00 [a.m.], I donated 20 *réal* [...]” (*DAS*:f.102r)

16th December 1794:

“After 2.00 [p.m.] Puang Batara Tungkeq gave birth to a baby boy: it was so lucky that the baby could come out as the baby had died before he was born [...]” (*DAS*:f.148r)

In *DAS* (as in *DoM*, *DTM*) entries are positioned on the page in a way which tells the reader whether the events happened in the day or at night. As the diary’s layout gives a limited space for the recording of events, each date is provided with a single spacing. If the script is written exactly on the same level as the date, it signifies that the event took place during the day, while writing below the date shows that the event occurred in the evening or at night. Similarly, events that occurred in the early morning or before noon are recorded above the date. Because of the limited space allocated for each day, whenever there were many activities or events that the writer considered important, the writer had to find space to squeeze them in, and so tended to make somewhat more detailed notes around the edges of the pages and between other notes, consequently forming a labyrinth pattern. Such patterning in the *DAS*, and in other Bugis diaries, makes it difficult to keep track of the entry and of the indicator of time, as the lines written may turn 90 degrees or 180 degrees, and the words appear sideways or upside down, making it necessary to turn the diary around when reading it.

Date	Events
3	Early morning/ day
	Evening/ night
4	Early morning/ day
	Evening/ night

Table 3.9: Basic time division in *DAS*

The image shows a page from a historical manuscript, likely a calendar or a record book, written in Persian script. The page is divided into three main sections: 'Jol' (July), 'Sham' (August), and 'Hajir' (September). The dates are written in a cursive script, and the page includes various marginal notes and headings. The dates 1st, 2nd, 9th, 20th, and 23rd July 1778 are highlighted, showing the spacing of the script.

Figure 3.7: Spacing of the script as in an indicator of time in *DAS*
(Note the spacing written for 1st, 2nd, 9th, 20th, 23rd July 1778)

3.8 Summary and conclusions

The Bugis diaries are kept in several locations; the most important collections are those in the British Library and the *Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, in Leiden. Two diaries are held in the National Archive in Jakarta. The diaries are written in the Bugis script on imported European paper and bound in book form, and provide an almost continuous stream of indigenous historical information covering the period 1660 to 1910.

The main entries in *DAS* (like in other Bugis diaries) are characterised by a terse, matter-of-fact style. Foreign words are occasionally used, and Arabic words and formulae are written in the Arabic script. A single letter in Malay, written in Jawi script, is found in the Addendum (*DAS*:f.81v). The diary is set out in a normal chronological manner and the spacing of the writing for each day's entries provides an indication of time. *DAS* is divided into five columns, to include the dates in both Christian and Muslim form, and the *bilang* calculations. At the end of the entries for each calendar year are two folio pages containing notes referring to the year's entries. This I call the Addenda. At the end of the diary's entries, comprising fifty-one folio pages, are found miscellaneous notes, including *bilang* and *kutika*. Despite the brevity of its main entries, the diary is a rich source of information, especially on the life of the court of Boné. In the chapters that follow, I will set out what can be learnt from the contents of *DAS* and, where possible, I will contrast these findings against the evidence of other Bugis diaries and contemporary Dutch sources.

Chapter Four

The Diary as a Historical Text: Political Events

“The power of the monarch seems to have no limit; none can approach him on terms of equality, save the *aru matoah* of Wajoq, and the *datu* of Soping. The authority delegated by him to his minister appears equally arbitrary, and the *aru pitu* – the great council – is a mere tool in his hands.” (Brooke 1848:134)

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I will attempt to set out what can be learnt from Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s diary of political events in South Sulawesi during the period 1775 – 1795. Where applicable, events described in this diary will be cross-referred with other indigenous sources, and with contemporary Dutch sources.

4.1 The death of Sultan Abdul Razak and the election of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh as the Crown Prince

Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh began writing his diary on 1st January 1775. The first entry expresses his intention to start keeping a diary, and invokes God’s blessings upon this new venture:

“I started writing the diary. *La ilaha illallah. Barakallah.*”
(DAS:f.5v)

Why did Ahmad as-Salleh start writing a diary? Nowhere does he tell us of his reason for embarking on this new act. I would argue that the act of starting a diary was, in a sense, a political act. One might speculate that he began the diary in the full knowledge of his grandfather’s declining health, which was to result six months later in his death.

Keeping a diary was customary for the rulers and high officials of Boné. Why this was so, I will explore later. For the moment, it is reasonable to assume that the starting of his diary indicates Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s growing awareness that, not too long in

the future, he would succeed his grandfather as *Arumponé*.¹ At the time of his illness, the old king was living in Gowa. Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh refers to his grandfather's poor health several times during the next six months. The earliest entry is on 24th February, when he records that the king was finding it difficult to breathe (*DAS:f.6r*). This is followed by entries recording the visits of four high-ranking officials and the *Karaéng* of Gowa and Talloq. On Sunday 5th March the old king was visited by the harbourmaster and on the next day by the *Kadi*, Gowa's senior religious official (*DAS:f.6v*). On Friday 14th April the *Karaéng* of Gowa and Talloq again came to pay their respects, and six days later the *Kadi* and the *Matoa* paid a second visit (*DAS:f.7r*). From the frequency of these visits, it seems evident that Gowa's officials and allied rulers were aware of the old king's failing health. Nine days after the second visit by the *Kadi* and the *Matoa* of Gowa, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh again reports that the old king had difficulty in breathing, this time accompanied by pain, which was reflected in his protruding (*mellang*, B.) eyes. On Wednesday 31st May Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh tells us:

“I have carried out my duty in attending on the sick [king].”
(*DAS:f.7v*).

Two days later, the *Karaéng* of Gowa and Talloq returned again to visit the dying king. Nowhere else in the diary does one find a similarly frequent series of visits.

Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh, in his second entry on 5th June, describes the illness which led to his grandfather's death in the early hours:

“The sickness he suffered was not fever, nor headache but none other than difficulty in breathing.² For one hundred nights he endured the illness before he departed this life. The end.” (*DAS:f.8r*)

Within hours of the old king's death, Ahmad as-Salleh was appointed ruler. At 6.00 a.m. that morning La Passéré, one of the Boné interpreters, informed the Dutch Governor, Mr. Van der Voort, of Sultan Abdul Razak's death and of Ahmad as-Salleh's elevation to the office of *Arumponé*. Soon after, at 9.00 a.m., the Governor sent his representatives, the Company's interpreters, Mr. Raket and Mr. Voll, to convey the Company's condolences and to offer presents (*ANRI Mak.404/4:5th June 1775*).

¹ *Arumponé* is the Bugis title of the ruler of Boné. The word *Arumponé* derives from *Arung* Boné, a Bugis title parallel to the Makasar title *karaéng*, originally meaning ruler; lord; a noble of high rank.

² Perhaps the king died because of asthma. One of the notes found in the codex of *DAS* says that Sultan Abdul Razak died at the age of seventy-four. The illness he suffered showed symptoms similar to those which Ahmad as-Salleh and his children exhibited.

Possibly the Governor of Makassar did not go to pay his last respects to the old king, as neither the Bugis nor Dutch sources mention such a visit.

Three years earlier, at the age of fifteen, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh had been formally appointed as Crown Prince (*Arung Pattola*, B.) and as the young lord (*Arung Malolo*, B.) of the kingdom of Boné (*ANRI UP* Roll 16 No.11:38). This event took place in his grandfather's palace and was witnessed by three high-ranking Boné nobles: the *Tomarilalang Malolo* Hasanuddin, the *Maqkedangtana*³ and the *Arung Ponre* Muhammad Ramallang. On that occasion, the *Arung Ponre* Muhammad Ramallang, who was Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's maternal uncle, was officially appointed as his guardian. In one of the Bugis sources, it is explained that apart from the familial relationship, *Arung Ponre* was favoured by the old king as he (*Arung Ponre*) had always been faithful to the deceased king⁴ (*ANRI UP* Roll 16 No.11:38). Two Dutch interpreters, Mr. Josias Raket and Mr. Jan Hendrik Voll, were also present on behalf of the Governor during this official appointment (*ANRI Mak.144b/8:5th* October 1772).

4.1.1 The ancestry of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh

The pressing need, due to the king's advancing age, to appoint an heir to the throne of Boné was reported in both Bugis and Dutch sources (*ANRI UP* Roll 16 No.11:38; *ANRI Mak.144b/8*). In a declaration to the people of Boné, Sultan Abdul Razak justified the choice of his grandson, Ahmad as-Salleh, as Crown Prince on the grounds that he had the 'purest' degree of noble blood (*eppo rialéna Arumponé*, B.). Elsewhere, the old king expressed his hope that the appointment of his grandson as heir to the throne would engender the unification of the thrones of Boné and of Gowa (*ANRI UP* Roll 16 No.11:38; *ANRI Mak.144b/8*). The old king's preference was motivated in part by Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's genealogy: Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's mother, Wé Hamidah, was Sultan Abdul Razak's daughter whilst Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's father, La Mappapening Towappaimeng, was the grandson of the ruler of Gowa, and was subsequently the nineteenth ruler of Boné (*ANRI UP* Roll 16 No.11:38; *ANRI Mak.144b/8*) (Appendix A). Hence, Ahmad as-Salleh's genealogical relationship to the ruling family of Gowa was an important consideration in Sultan Abdul Razak's choice of him as heir to the throne of Boné.

³ The office of *Tomarilalang* and *Maqkedangtana* were among the high ranking officials in the administration structure of the kingdom of Boné. For more information, see (Chapter 6.1.1).

⁴ The *Arung Ponre*, although favoured by the old king, was a weak person, and had little influence over members of the Boné court (Abdul Razak et al.1989:217).

Mattulada (1998:303) reports that Sultan Abdul Razak had many children from his marriages to several women of noble and common birth. Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's mother, Wé Hamidah *Arung* Timurung, was Sultan Abdul Razak's daughter from his marriage to Siti Habibah, a woman of high nobility from the court of Gowa.⁵ The old king, Sultan Abdul Razak, gave Wé Hamidah in marriage to La Mappapening Towappaimeng, the *Ponggawa*⁶ of Boné, who was the son of La Massallomo.⁷ La Massallomo was the son of the twentieth *Karaéng* of Gowa (r.1709– 1711), Sultan Ismail La Pareppa To'Sappéwali, who was also the nineteenth ruler of Boné (r.1718– 1721).

Sultan Ismail La Pareppa To'Sappéwalié, the nineteenth *Arumponé* and Sultan Abdul Razak, the twenty-second *Arumponé*, were both sons of La Patau, the sixteenth *Arumponé*, by different mothers. The marriage of Wé Hamidah to La Mappapening was a diplomatic marriage aimed at encouraging and strengthening the bond between the grandchildren of La Patau.⁸ Wé Hamidah bore La Mappapening four children, of whom Ahmad as-Salleh was the only son (*ANRI UP* Roll 13.No.15:87; *ANRI UP* Roll 79b:23) (Appendix B).

Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh married his maternal cousin, Wé Padauleng, on 3rd November 1774. The marriage, which had been planned by his grandfather, was arranged with the aim of furthering the unity between the ruling families of Gowa and Boné:

“I will marry La Tenritappu [Ahmad as-Salleh] to his cousin, [Wé Padauleng]⁹, because I believe they will be able to remind each other [of the two kingdoms].” (*ANRI UP* Roll 16. No.11:38)

Wé Tenripada bore Ahmad as-Salleh seventeen children, of whom eleven were boys. In one of the Bugis sources, (*ANRI UP* Roll 2 No.7:27), it mentions that four children died while they were still small. Fourteen names are found in *DAS*, as follows:

⁵ Mattulada (1998:303) says that Sultan Abdul Razak had eighty children from numerous marriages. From those marriages, he made Siti Habibah and Siti Aishah, the grand-daughters of the famous Islamic scholar in South Sulawesi, Syekh Yusuf, his Queens. Syekh Yusuf married a woman of high nobility from the court of Gowa. He, who was also known as Tuanta Salamaka, was exiled in the late seventeenth century to Ceylon; later he was sent to South Africa and died there in a rebellion against the Dutch. Possibly Boné's diplomatic ties with the court of Gowa was prolonged and strengthened through the marriage of Wé Hamidah to La Mappapening, besides the marriage of the sixteenth *Arumponé*, La Patau, to Maria *Karaéng* Pattukangan, the daughter of Sultan Abdul Jalil, *Karaéng* of Gowa..

⁶ *Ponggawa* is a title of the Chief Commander.

⁷ From the genealogical lineage, La Mappapening Towappaimeng was Wé Hamidah's nephew, the son of her first cousin, La Massallomo.

⁸ Inter-marriage was a common strategy used by the nobles and rulers in the South Sulawesi kingdoms to create strategic liaisons, “*politik kawin mawin*” (Id.). Diplomatic marriages, according to Mattulada (1998:231), also enhanced their blood ties, *siri* and their solidarity, *pessé*.

⁹ In *DAS*, she is referred to as Puang Batara Tungkeq.

1. Siti Fatimah @ Batara Tungkeq (*Arung Timurung*)
2. Siti Salimah @ Wé Maniratu (*Arung Data*, the 25th *Arumponé*, 1823-1838)
3. Muhammad Ismail @ La Mappatunruq (*Arung Palakka*, the 24th *Arumponé*, 1812-1823)
4. Muhammad Yusof @ La Mappaselling (*Arung Panynyiliq*, the 26th *Arumponé*, 1835-1845)
5. Muhammad Abdul Karim @ La Tenribali (*Arung Ta*)
6. Abdul Muhammad @ La Pawawoi (*Arung Sumaling*)
7. Muhammad Baqiy @ La Tenrisukki (*Arung Kajuwara*)
8. Siti Mariam @ Makkalaruwé (*Arung Palengoreng*)
9. Siti Aishah @ I Mamuncaragi (*Arung Malaka*)
10. Muhammad Amirullah (deceased at the age of two years old)
11. Muhammad Sulaiman @ La Mappangéwa (*Arung Lompu*)
12. Muhammad Abdul Rahman @ La Paremmarukka (*Arung Karella*)
13. Muhammad Salleh
14. Abdul Salam (stillborn)

Another child of Ahmad as-Salleh, named as Patuppubattu *Arung Bakkabala*, was born in 1796. This information is found in a different Bugis source, *DoM* (f.46v). A Dutch source, the *ANRI Mak.354/6* in “*Geslachtslijst der Bonieren Soppengers en Tanetterezen*”, states that Patuppubattu was not the *Arung Bakkabala*, but instead was given the title of *Arung Tonra*.¹⁰ Of the thirteen surviving children of this couple, three of the children succeeded to the throne of Boné.

4.1.2 The election of Ahmad as-Salleh as the twenty-third *Arumponé*

Ahmad as-Salleh records his own appointment to the throne of Boné on 5th June 1775, the same day on which the old king died:

5th June 1775:

“The king passed away and was posthumously named ‘*Matinroé ri Mallimongang*’ (He who lies at Mallimongang, B.). *Yarji u’ ila rahmatiLlah*. I was appointed with the confirmation of the people of Boné as the legitimate ruler [of Boné] as the [deceased] king wished. [And] I reside in the palace [of the late king].” (*DAS:f.8r*)

A day earlier, the *Dagregister* of 4th June records that Governor Van der Voort had been informed by his junior interpreter, Mr. Blij, that the old king was dying. Mr. Blij

¹⁰ There are some discrepancies in accounts of the numbers of children that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh had. For more information, see also *ANRI UP* Roll 2 (No.4:55); see also *ANRI UP* Roll 2 (No.7:27); see also *ANRI UP* (Roll 79:23). *ANRI UP* Roll 13 (No.15:87) says that Wé Tenripada bore seventeen children and that six passed away when they were still small; see also *ANRI UP* Roll 13 (No.15:87, 91) in “*Asal Mula keturunan Matinroé ri Rompegading* (The origin of *Matinroé ri Rompegading*’s descendants)”.

reported that in his last conscious hours, the king had reminded those people who were present, the *Karaéng* Gowa and Talloq, the assembled nobles of Boné, his children and grandchildren, that his grandson, Ahmad as-Salleh, had been named as his successor. The *Dagregister* records the dying king's wish:

“That it was his will and desire that his grandson Latanri Tappoe or *Aroe Timoerong* would succeed him; having already been named as such, which he had also recommended to his other children and grandchildren.” (*ANRI Mak.404/4*: 4th June 1775)

Blok (1817:38-9) also reports on the election of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh as *Arumponé*. He says that as soon as the king was pronounced dead in the early morning of 5th June, the nobles of the court of Boné immediately elected Ahmad as-Salleh as the new ruler of Boné. This event took place in the presence of the deceased, in the room where he was laid out (Blok 1817:38-9).¹¹

According to the terms of the Treaty of Bongaya, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's elevation to the throne of Boné had to be approved by the Dutch Governor. The procedure of getting approval from the Company, whether for a renewal of contracts or elevation to the throne, either in Boné or in any of the allied states, always took place at Fort Rotterdam (Roessingh 1986:153; Andaya 1981:299; Andaya 1978:290). Hence, the elected *Arumponé* had to undergo two forms of recognition: that of the court of Boné, and that of the Governor, whose recognition of him depended upon endorsement from the Governor General and the *Raad van Indie* (Council of the India Government) in Batavia.

Two weeks after beginning his diary, on 11th January, Crown Prince Ahmad as-Salleh records that he accompanied a delegation from Boné to Fort Rotterdam in

¹¹ It was imperative for the appointed successor to be present during the burial ceremony. In South Sulawesi, in the late seventeenth century, after the death of *Arung* Palakka Malampéq-é Gemmeqna (the fifteenth ruler of Boné), the Bugis *adéq* was tested. Since (Bugis) custom dictated that a deceased ruler could not be removed from his residence until his successor was chosen, *Arung* Palaka's nephew, La Patau, was immediately elected by the Seven Lords, *Adéq Pitu* or *Aruppitu*, who sat in the Boné Advisory Council (Andaya 1981:296). The importance of having the new ruler appointed before the deceased was buried was also demonstrated when Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh died on 23rd July 1812:

“The official report was brought to me about ten o'clock on the night of the 23rd instant [July 1812] by the Minister (the *Tomalalong*) [sic: *Tomarilalang*] that His Highness has expired rather suddenly at 9.00 [p.m.]. But I understand privately that he really died sitting up at 2.00 [p.m.] that it was hushed up for the moment and the corpse kept in that position until 9.00 [p.m.] when the succession had been determined on. I was informed His Highness's body was without breath and that *Arung* Palakka, his eldest son had been chosen to succeed him according to the forms of the country.” (*ANRI Mak. 265/2*:25th July 1812)

Makassar, the residence of the VOC Governor in South Sulawesi, to convey the old king's New Year greetings. The Governor received the delegation warmly and, during the meeting, Ahmad as-Salleh, on behalf of the delegation, presented the Governor with a slave (*DAS*:f.5v).

From the *Dagregister*'s report on the same day, it appears that the Governor was less than impressed with the Crown Prince:

“I have tried to converse with the young king but without any success, as he seems to have little or no ability to talk on any matters of importance.” (*ANRI Mak.404/4*:11th January 1775)

As Ahmad as-Salleh's meeting with the Governor was his first official assignment, the Governor's assessment of him as inexperienced may be fair. Conversely, perhaps Ahmad as-Salleh simply did not wish to express any opinions of his own on his first encounter with the Governor.

On 14th June, nine days after the death of the old king and for the second time since the New Year, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh came to Fort Rotterdam to meet the Governor. He was accompanied by the *Tomarilalang* and other principal nobles of Boné (*DAS*:f.8r; *ANRI Mak.404/4*:14th June 1775). Their purpose was to ask the Governor to recognise that he, Ahmad as-Salleh, had been chosen as the new *Arumponé*. A further reason for their visit was to remind the Company of its responsibility to maintain him in office, should resentment surface after the death of the old king:

14th June 1775:

“In accordance with custom, we, the delegation of Boné, went to the fort [...] the [spokesman of] Boné delegation said: Sir, we, the people of Boné come to you because your brother [the old king] has left us. It was his dying wish that we inform you of his chosen successor and we promised to fulfil his wish. Our deceased king said that if whosoever should endanger his wish, it is to the Company that we must turn for protection, and in whom we place our hope of ensuring his will is done.” (*DAS*:f.8r)¹²

In response to the *Tomarilalang*'s speech, the Governor responded that the Company also hoped to see the deceased king's intention fulfilled and gave assurance that he would protect Ahmad as-Salleh against any resentment. The Governor then stressed the

¹² With regard to the new king's claim for protection; three years earlier, in 1772, at the election of Ahmad as-Salleh as the *Arung Pattola*, the interpreters representing the Company, Mr. Voll and Mr. Raket, had vowed to take suitable measures to help keep the peace and to promote the kingdom of Boné's wellbeing. It was a renewal of this promise that *Arumponé* and the delegation from Boné sought (*ANRI Mak.144b/8*:5th October 1772).

importance of maintaining a good relationship between Boné and the Company, their strong alliance serving to dissuade any adversary:

“And that is also our [Company’s] wish. Should there be a group wishing to break his [the old king’s] will, there will be no opportunities to do so, if the people of Boné and the Company are united.” (DAS:f.8r)

Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh tells us that the final agenda in the meeting was the renewing of pledges between Boné and the Company, which were sealed with the presentation of a female slave to the Governor. The *Tomarilalang*, who was acting as the spokesman for Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s delegation, clarified that the gift of a female slave was symbolic of the unity between Boné and the Company, which the new *Arumponé* sought to maintain:

“[We] also have a female slave to offer to the Governor, through whom we hope the relationship between the ruler [of Boné] and his generations with the [Dutch] Company, will be prolonged. The kingdom of Boné and the Company are thus sealed in friendship.” (DAS:f.8r)

It is likely that the visit of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh to the Governor at Fort Rotterdam, described above, was little more than a formality. An analogous situation had occurred more than seven decades previously in the 1699 election of La Patau, the sixteenth *Arumponé*. When a Boné delegation of six went to inform the Governor of the newly elected ruler, the Governor acknowledged the announcement and told the delegation that he would inform Batavia so that approval could be granted. To this, he was answered tersely by the Boné delegation: “We had not come to consult about the matter of the election, but merely to inform you of it.” (Andaya 1981:299)

On 17th November 1775, five months after his last meeting with the Governor, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh tells us that he went again to see the Governor, to inform him of his plan to travel to Boné. Why only now did he want to go to Boné, having occupied the throne of Boné for more than five months? Why did he wish to go there when his wife, Wé Padauleng had given birth to their first child, Batara Tungkeq, less than three weeks earlier? The answer seems to be that when he started to write his diary, he was living in Gowa, where he accompanied the old king on the latter’s royal visits and attended other official and family ceremonies. He also attended to the king when he was sick and stayed by his side until the old king’s last breath.

4.1.3 The 100 days of mourning

When the old king passed away, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh and other members of the court of Boné had to mourn for one hundred days, as was customary on the death of a ruler, and to carry out the appropriate funeral and memorial services. There are twelve entries in his diary with regard to memorial services performed by him and his nobles; he reports that memorial services were held on the 3rd, 7th, 10th, 20th and then every tenth consecutive day until the 100th day (*DAS*:fols 8r-9v).

Throughout the mourning period, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's activities were largely confined within the palace. Meetings with the nobles of Boné, of allied states or the Company's representatives, were held within the palace walls. His first challenge as *Arumponé* was the problem of Sidenreng and Suppaq, two northern Bugis kingdoms, which were on the verge of war, the former planning to attack the latter, which was an ally of Boné. On 20th June 1775 the *Arumponé* sent his messengers, La Udung and Daéng Silasa, to Sidenreng to seek to resolve the problem by advising the *Addatuang*¹³ Sidenreng against pursuing his plan to attack Suppaq (*DAS*:f.8r).¹⁴

Seven days later, on 28th June, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh wrote that Governor Van der Voort had sent his representatives, the fiscal officer and the harbourmaster, to seek an audience with him in order to demand the return of the islands of Kalauq, Bonerate, Laiya and Kalubi. The *Dagregister's* entry for the same date reports that the Governor sent a committee, including Mr. Raket and Mr. Voll, to the court of Boné to demand the four islands, as well as land and paddy fields belonging to the Company. In addition, they had come to demand payment of the state debt, and the return of one hundred and thirty-three guns and a flag of some sort which had previously been given to the deceased king, who was also the *Datu* of Soppeng (*ANRI Mak.404/4*:28th June 1775).

In his memoir written in 1790, the ex-Governor of Makassar, Barend Reijke, says that the deceased king of Boné, Sultan Abdul Razak, had been using the income from the islands, as well as some paddy fields in the northern province of Maros, which were on loan from the Company. In his report, Reijke comments:

¹³ The *Addatuang*, from the word *Datu*, is a title for the ruler of Sidenreng.

¹⁴ One and a half months later, on 3rd August 1775, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's diary's reports that another meeting was held, this time with the involvement of the Company. On 17th August, two weeks after the peace talks were held with *Addatuang* Sidenreng, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh informs us of the return of both Boné's and the Company's representatives (*DAS*:f.9r). Although he does not provide further information as to whether or not his mission (and that of the Company) was a success, no news concerning the outbreak of war was announced until in the 1790s, when Boné also took part in the war against Sidenreng. For further information on the Boné war against Sidenreng, see *DoM* for the year 1996 until 1998.

“Each time, when a king [of Boné] dies, [and when] a new one is elected, we [the Company] have to remind them [Boné], or else they will come to think that it is their land.”
(*ANRI Mak.169:f.10*)¹⁵

On 23rd June 1775, the *Dagregister* records that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh sent a party of his nobles, led by the *Tomarilalang*, to see the Governor. During the meeting, the *Tomarilalang* conveyed to the Governor Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s desire to retain the privilege of using this island. Despite this, the Governor insisted that the Company’s lands be returned, since they had been lent to the deceased king of Boné and were left untaxed as a favour from the Company. The Governor suggested that if the *Arumponé* and his nobles insisted on retaining them, they should forward their appeal to the Governor General and the *Raad van Indie* in Batavia (*ANRI Mak.404/4: 23rd June 1775*).

Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh evidently showed a strong desire to retain possession of the islands and lands from which his late grandfather had previously benefited, as he sent a party of his nobles for a further meeting with the Governor on 25th June. At the meeting, the envoys returned the flag,¹⁶ and announced the king’s decision not to hand over the islands Bonératé and Kalauq. They argued that those two islands were given by the deceased Queen of Boné, Batari Toja Sultanah Zainab (r.1724 -1749) to her brother, the late king Sultan Abdul Razak, on the condition that the islands should remain attached to the Crown of Boné. Since those two islands were inherited from his grandfather, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh was reluctant to return them. However, the Boné envoys told the Governor that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh agreed to return the other two islands, Kalambi and Laiya, as well as the fields on eighteen other settlements, which they would specify to the Governor as soon as the mourning period was over. As for the guns, the envoys said that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh wished to keep them for the reason of self-protection and to maintain peace in the area (*ANRI Mak.404/4:25th June 1775*).¹⁷ Eight days later,

¹⁵ In January 1757, the Governor of Makassar, Mr. Sinkelaar, had allowed the king of Boné, Sultan Abdul Razak, continued usage of the fishery on Pangempang for as long as he lived or until further notice was given. The permission was agreed as a compensation for the return to the Company of the island of Kalambi. However, the reports say of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh that he not only continued to use this facility but even believed that the fishery belonged to him. For more information, see “*Memorandum van Reijke*” (*ANRI Mak.169*).

¹⁶ The flag was given to the deceased king of Boné, Sultan Abdul Razak, who was also the *Datu* of Soppeng. The Governor had promised that when the time came, the flag would be passed to the next *Datu* [of Soppeng] who was Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s brother-in-law.

¹⁷ These guns could possibly be debts as a result of the Peneki War that occurred in the late 1740s between Boné and Wajoq. In one of the *Addenda* for the year 1778 Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh had made notes on Boné’s debts towards the Company, as follows:

“This is the Committee’s [Company] speech on the debt of Boné towards the Company, balance 718 *réal*; eleven small money, twenty guns taken by the *Maqkedangtana*, forty guns taken by [the late *Arumponé*] *Matinroé ri* Tippulué and seventy-six guns taken by [the old king, Sultan Abdul Razak] *Matinroé ri* Mallimongang, making the total of one hundred and thirty-six guns.” (*DAS:f.33r*)

on 4th July, he reports that he again sent a delegation to see the Governor with regard to his request (*DAS:f.8v*).¹⁸

Three days after the Boné representatives held their meeting with the Governor, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh informs us that he has appointed his father-in-law and maternal uncle, *Arung Ponre*, Muhammad Ramallang as the *Maqdanrang* (or *Paqdanrang*)¹⁹ of Boné (*DAS:f.8v*). Since *Arung Ponre* was also Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's former guardian, his appointment as the *Maqdanrang* could be construed as a reward from his son-in-law. At the same time, the appointment was probably a part of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's political stratagem of having around him a group of people whom he could trust in helping him to govern the kingdom.

During the mourning period, most of his activities took place within the palace precincts, and only on four occasions does his diary report duties away from the palace. The first of these was when he went to visit the old king's grave on 7th June, a couple of days after the funeral, as was customary, to offer prayers for the deceased king. This was followed a week later, on 14th June, by his meeting with the Governor at Fort Rotterdam on the matter of his elevation as *Arumponé* (*DAS:f.8r*). The third visit was to Puang La Sulé, whose wife had given birth to a daughter on 17th July. Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh reports that he went to visit him and took Puang La Sulé's wife a slave as a present (*DAS:f.8v*). Although he does not mention any relationship to Puang La Sulé, he probably had a close family relationship with him, because this visit was evidently a mark of special favour, and is inconsistent with his behaviour on other occasions. In his earlier reports, on 3rd July, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh mentioned that his grandmother, Mukmina, passed away (*DAS:f.8v*). Five days later, on 8th July, he reports that *Arung Meru*'s house caught fire; on 22nd July, he reports that *Karaéng Pattukangang*'s wife had given birth to a daughter, and on 10th August that *Karaéng Balakeri* had given birth to a daughter (*DAS:f.9r*). Although Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh informs us that his wife, Wé Pdauleng, went to visit *Karaéng Balakeri* and presented her with four *réals*, on none of these occasions does he report that he himself visited the persons concerned. Puang La Sulé therefore seems to have been especially favoured. The fourth time Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh left the palace was almost two months later, when he paid a second visit to the

¹⁸ Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh does not provide much information on the result of his request to retain the islands Bonératé and Kalauq. I was unable to locate the information from the *Dagregister* for 4th July 1775; however, the *Dagregister* on 20th September 1775 reports that the Governor told the delegates from Boné that, with regard to the return of the islands, the residents were to be allowed to stay and to keep their belongings, and to continue to be protected by the Company whose authority they were now under (*ANRI Mak.404/4:20th September 1775*).

¹⁹ Mattulada (1998:304) states that *Maqdanrang* or *Paqdanrang* also means “*pedamping*” (Id.), consort or advisor.

deceased king's grave on 11th September, two days before the end of the mourning period. During this visit he erected a tombstone at the old king's grave (*DAS:f.9v*).

It was also during the mourning period that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh mentions receiving contributory gifts, *passoloq* (B.). These contributions came from his family members, the Boné nobles and ally states, as well as from the Company, as expressions of condolence on the death of the late king. He records that the *passoloq* that he received was mostly in the form of money, ranging from as much as two hundred *réals* to a few *tail* and *suku*.²⁰ In addition to money, a few pieces of white cloth, *widang* (B.), were among the gifts that he received from some Bugis nobles from ally states. He also noted the gifts that the Company sent, through their representatives Mr. Raket and Mr. Voll:

6th June 1775:

“The Committee came and brought six *topégajang*²¹, two mugs, two glasses, two [bottles of] rosewater, a bottle of snuff and three packets of spices.” (*DAS:f.8r*)

On 13th September, the last day of the mourning period, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh tells us that he donated eighty-seven *réal* and gave a feast to a group of religious students, *santari* (B.). Later on the same day, he notes in his diary a long list of nobles of Boné and of the allied states who had received presents or contributions from him (*DAS:f.9v*). Another feast for the nobles of Boné and her allied states took place two days later, on 15th September. It was only after the end of the mourning period that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh started to carry out other duties. The earliest was on 17th September when he went to visit I Kabara, who had been bitten on the nose by a horse, and presented him with a slave (*DAS:f.9v*).

Throughout the mourning period, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's diary records a routine of receiving audiences from the nobles and accepting *passoloq*. Only when the official period of mourning ended would he be free to go back to Boné to be seen by his subjects, as custom dictated for a new *Arumponé*. On 20th September, before proceeding inland to Boné, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh went to see the Governor, who had requested an audience (*DAS:f.9v*). This time, he went with a large number of his nobles. The *Dagregister* reports the Governor's hesitancy, on seeing a large number of people, to engage in discussion with the *Arumponé* alone in a separate room as he had previously intended, for fear of his house and furniture being ruined by the *Arumponé's* many followers (*ANRI Mak.404/4:20th September 1775*).

²⁰ These are some of the names for the currency used in South Sulawesi. For more information, see Table 5.8 in Chapter Five.

²¹ *Topé* is a kind of cloth while *topégajang* is a long veil used to attach the *kris* to the waist.

On 4th November, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh informs us that the nobles of Boné assembled again to record the deceased king's wealth which, the diary says, consisted mostly of the old king's collection of clothes, including:

“[...] four pairs of buttons, two pairs of *baju sossoq*²² inclusive of a set of silver accessories. In addition, there are eleven more buttons, there are three *tai* [...]. There are eleven men's shirts with front cutting design, four long pants, four chintz *kemben*²³, two veils, three black *tapong*²⁴, two *tapong* made of silk, one *tapong* made of *kalangkari*²⁵, one *tapong* with chequered motif, [another] nine *baju sossoq*, four handkerchiefs, three flags, two *sabageq*²⁶ paintings, one *baju jeppo*²⁷, two *sarong* with chequered motif [...].” (DAS:f.10v)

During the gathering, the nobles of Boné would possibly also have discussed their plan to bring Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh back to Boné as soon as possible. Two days later, on 6th November, the *Maqdanrang* and *Tomarilalang Malolo*, together with a few other nobles from Boné, were assigned as Boné's delegates to see the Governor to inform him of their decision, and to seek the Governor's approval for this action (DAS:f.10v). The Governor disagreed with their decision and pointed out that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh should not be brought back to Boné before he received recognition from the Governor General and the *Raad van Indie* (Council of India). Advising them to postpone the plan until they had received a reply from Batavia, the Governor added that he required the presence of the *Arumponé* and the nobles of Boné close to the castle in order to be able to consult them (DAS:f.10v). The Governor asked the delegates whether the inland kingdoms could not be informed of the new king's succession by a number of nobles, who could promise that the king would visit them in person as soon as possible. Further, the Governor argued that it was his responsibility as the first ally (*bondgenoot*, D.), to ensure Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's personal safety. If Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh left for Boné before the nobles were informed of his recognition as *Arumponé* by the Dutch Company's administration in Batavia, there would in all likelihood be unforeseen consequences. Realising that the delegation of Boné insisted on carrying out their plan, the Governor finally acquiesced by saying that he could not be held responsible should anything happen to the *Arumponé*.

Eleven days later, on 17th November, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh records that he went to see the Governor for the fourth time that year. This meeting resulted from the discussion

²² *Baju sossoq* is a kind of robe (*jubah*, Ar.) worn by men.

²³ *Kemben* is a kind of belt made of cloth.

²⁴ *Tapong* is a kind of trousers which fall just below knee length.

²⁵ *Kalangkari*, from the word '*kalam*' which means pen, is a kind of double-knotted Indian cloth.

²⁶ *Sabageq* is a kind of painting.

²⁷ *Baju jeppo* is a kind of shirt with buttons usually worn by a man of noble birth.

that the *Maqdanrang* and the *Tomarilalang Malolo* had held with the Governor earlier, on 6th November. Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh voiced his concern to the Governor regarding the necessity for him to go back to Boné:

“1189 *Hijriyah*, 23rd *Ramadhan*, on Friday, I went to see my brother [the Governor] regarding the intention of the delegation from Boné to bring me back to my country. I feel unable to refuse their request and if I do not follow [their desire], I [will] have contravened two important customs of Boné. Firstly, I may not become the ruler of Boné if the nobles refuse to follow the will of the deceased king, and secondly if I fail to turn up [in Boné] I may make my subjects dejected.” (*DAS*:f.10v)

The *Dagregister* of 17th November also reports that during this meeting, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh and his nobles had appealed for the Governor’s help to bring back to Gowa the ex-Batara Gowa, Amas Madina, who had been exiled in Ceylon by the Company.²⁸ Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh mentions it was *Arung Palakka*’s²⁹ desire that he put this request before the Governor. After various trivial conversations, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh and the nobles of Boné told the Governor that his party would be taking leave in ten to twelve days (*ANRI Mak.404/4*, 17th November 1775:122-124; *DAS*:f.10v). That afternoon, the *Tomarilalang Malolo* sent La Paséré, the interpreter of Boné, to ask for the Governor’s permission to borrow some trading ships to transport the *Arumponé* and his party back to Boné. The Governor granted their request on condition that the *Tomarilalang Malolo* told him in advance which vessels he wanted to borrow. However, the *Dagregister* (*ANRI Mak.404/4*) states on 18th November that the Governor received a report from a messenger of Buton saying that the *Tomarilalang Malolo* had commandeered one of his ships without giving notice. Before the Governor sent Mr. Blij to investigate the report, another message arrived from Buton informing him that the *Tomarilalang* had taken another eight ships and had had the rudders taken off them to make it easier for the Bugis to keep watch on the commandeered ships (*ANRI Mak.404/4*:18th November 1775).

The Governor was unhappy with the *Tomarilalang*’s conduct and through his messenger ordered him to return at least five ships to their owners, once again reminding the *Tomarilalang* not to take action without the Governor’s knowledge. The next day the

²⁸ See my discussion in Section 4.2.

²⁹ *Arung Palakka*, the Dowager Queen, was a descendant (grand daughter) of La Patau, the sixteenth ruler of Boné. She was the daughter of the eighteenth ruler of Boné and subsequently the twentieth ruler of Gowa, Sultan Ismail La Pareppa To’ Sapéwali. *Arung Palakka* was married to *Karaéng Limpangan*, the king of Talloq and bore him several children, of whom La Mappababasa was one. The latter was the father of Batara Gowa (Amas Madina alias Usman). La Mappababasa died after being poisoned in 1754 (Abdul Razak 1993:77; Tideman 1908:353; Roessingh 1986:155-156).

Tomarilalang Malolo responded to the Governor's warning, saying that he was not aware that his conduct had violated the law, since all the ships that he had taken were merchant vessels (*ANRI Mak.404/4:19th* November 1775). Two days later, on the afternoon of 21st November, the Governor received a visit from the *Maqdanrang* and the *Tomarilalang Malolo*, requesting an audience for the *Arumponé* so that he could bid the Governor farewell; this the Governor granted. The *Maqdanrang* and the *Tomarilalang Malolo* also reported to the Governor that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh had appointed Muhammad, *Arung* Lalatédung, one of the deceased king's many sons, as the new *Suléwatang* of Bontoalaq, in Ujung Pandang.³⁰ At the same time, the nobles asked the Governor to keep the *Arumponé* informed of any important developments in Makassar, which the Governor promised to do.

Two weeks later, on 2nd December, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh went to see the Governor at Passi³¹ to bid him farewell. About midday, accompanied by his family and other nobles of Boné, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh set off from Ujung Tanah to Boné. The journey to Boné took about two weeks. *En route*, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh stopped at several places for a few nights. On 6th December, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's fleet arrived at Denuang, where he stopped for three days, and he records that he accompanied his wife, Wé Padauleng, for a stroll by the estuary at Denuang (*DAS:f.11r*). The next day, the *Arumponé* records, *Arung* Bulukumba came to visit him, bringing a buffalo and some rice as a present.³² On 8th December, he records that he and his party had an enjoyable time bathing and picnicking near the river of Denuang. The party continued their journey and on the next day arrived at Tiro, where *Arumponé* went to visit the grave of *Datu ri* Tiro and offered some prayers.³³ Three days later the *Arumponé* arrived at Balunruq, where he stopped for two days, and Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh tells us that he took his wife to look for *bombang* (B.), a kind of shellfish. On 15th December he and his entourage set off again, arriving at Meru, where the people gave him a feast, a buffalo and some rice. Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh arrived in Boné two days later, on 17th December (*DAS:f.11r*).

Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's arrival in Watamponé was greeted by the nobles and people of Boné who paid their respects to his wife, Wé Padauleng, in the traditional

³⁰ The office *Suléwatang* (regent) had the duty to assist *Arumponé* in governing the region. Bontoalaq was a region situated in Ujung Pandang at Makassar, but was under Boné's administration.

³¹ I assume that Passi was located near Talloq, based upon information from Abdul Razak (1993:75) who states that the twenty-first and twenty-third ruler of Gowa, Sultan Sirajuddin, died at Talloq and was posthumously known as *Tumenanga ri* Passi (Mak.), "He who lies at Passi".

³² The tradition of presenting a buffalo and rice signifies the acceptance of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh as *Arumponé*.

³³ *Datu ri* Tiro was one of the Muslim scholars who was responsible for the Islamisation of South Sulawesi in the early seventeenth century (Noorduyn 1972b). For further information on the Islamisation of South Sulawesi see Pelras (1985:107-131).

manner by giving her a *paota*³⁴ (B.), a betel leaf, as a sign of welcome, a slave and some money. The next day, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh records that he went to Bukaka to visit the grave of his ancestors and to offer prayers. On 22nd December he conducted a memorial service for the 200th day after the deceased king's death. This is the last diary entry for that year (DAS:f.11r).

4.1.4 The early months of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh as *Arumponé*

Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh spent his initial weeks in Boné dealing with matters of the kingdom's administration. On 6th January 1776 he appointed his wife, Wé Padauleng, as *Arung Cina*.³⁵ Six days later, on 12th January, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh reports on the renewal of treaties with the nobles of Boné Tenggara, Lalebbata and Ajangngaleq. During the renewal of treaties, he reminded his nobles and deputy regents of the kingdoms of their responsibilities towards him:

“On 12th January or on 20th *Zulhijjah*, on Monday, I chaired the meeting between the nobles and the [assistant to] deputy regents [*jennang*, B.] of Boné Tenggaraé and Lalebbata. This was my speech:

‘I have gathered all of you here, to ask if you could still recall your agreement; namely to serve Boné and to be together with Boné in prosperity and adversity.’

The nobles of Boné Tenggaraé replied:

‘Our memory is still strong. If Boné sinks, we too will sink and if Boné rises, we will rise too. We still remember that if Boné suffers, we will endure the burden and if Boné dies we will face the blame’.

The same speech I delivered to the nobles of Ajangngaleq. The nobles of Ajangngaleq replied:

‘Our memory firmly stands and we will not forget [the agreement] that, if Boné calls on us we will come and if Boné gives an order, we will fulfil our task dutifully. Even if Boné were to have only a strip of land, we would still obey Boné’.

(DAS:f.12v)

The next day, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh informs us that all the nobles of *Lili ri Lau*³⁶ had been called to attend an audience with him. During the assembly, he conveyed the same message to the nobles of *Lili ri Lau* as he had given to the other *paliliq* (B.) or vassals of Boné the previous day. These meetings, which Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh

³⁴ *Paota* (B.) is betel leaf which has added to it some lime, *gambier* and areca nut. When chewed, it is a mild narcotic, and turns the saliva red.

³⁵ Cina is a small principality in the peninsular south-eastern part of Boné.

³⁶ *Lili ri Lau* derives from the Bugis word *paliliq*, ‘something around a centre’ (Caldwell and Druce 1998:1) and *ri lau* means at the east (of Boné). Therefore *Lili ri Lau* are tributaries and domains located at the east of Boné.

conducted, were his first public discourse to his inland nobles since he was elected as *Arumponé*. Such meetings were crucial for his political career, in that they served to maintain the support and loyalty of his nobles and to ensure the good governance and stability of his kingdom. He explains that the reason for the meeting was to remind the nobles of Boné's *paliliq* of their duty; in particular, to stay united with Boné and to value the efforts made by previous rulers which had enabled them to live in the spirit of brotherhood. In addition, he reports that he wanted his *paliliq* to show courage, and to be suspicious of any plans intended to divide them. He also urged the nobles of Boné to abide by the customary laws and to engage in mutual co-operation (*DAS*:12v).

Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh does not only report on his political responsibilities; as head of state, he also had numerous social obligations and customary ceremonies to attend. On 3rd April 1776 he reports that the ceremony for the cleansing of the Boné regalia has begun, the first such ritual cleansing since his installation as *Arumponé* (*DAS*:f.14r). Significantly, only the ruler could initiate the ritual of cleansing the regalia, although the act of cleansing itself was entrusted to some special officials, the *bissu* (B.).³⁷ Errington (1983), commenting on the regalia, *arajang* (B.) or *gaukang* (Mak.), states that the enduring presence of the regalia was believed to have the power of protecting the realm. The rulers, as it was believed by the Bugis and the Makasars, had a vital role in ensuring the safety of the regalia, because the absence of the regalia had serious implications with regard to their subjects' loyalty (Errington 1983:232), in that political loyalty was strengthened or weakened by the presence or absence of the regalia. This can be observed from the events surrounding the uprising of I Sangkilang, which led to the demise of Gowa and its acquisition by the Dutch, which will be discussed shortly.

Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh reports that the cleansing ceremony for the Boné regalia started with the golden umbrella,³⁸ *pajumpulaweng* (B.), being taken from the special room in which it was kept into a special square, *alun-alun* (Id.), within the palace walls. For three consecutive nights, the umbrella remained outside and under guard. On the last day of the ceremony, the *Tomarilalang* together with *Arung* Majang and *Arung* Tanété

³⁷ The cleansing of the state regalia was usually performed by the *bissu*. The *bissu*, according to Matthes (1872b) were a sort of heathen priest or priestesses. Besides their main role as keepers of the state regalia, they had a significant role, for example, in furnishing remedies in cases of illnesses (Claire 1939:27). For further information on the role of the *bissu*, see Matthes (1872b:1-50; 1884:8-12); Hamonic (1975:121-134).

³⁸ The regalia of Boné consisted of: the royal crown, *Téddumpulaweng*; a *kris* (dagger), *Latéa Riduni*; the royal standard, *Samparaja*; and also the umbrella, *Pajumpulaweng*. However, the latter was originally part of the regalia of Luwu. In the Boné – Luwuq war during the reign of the fifth king of Boné, La Tenrisukki (1490 - 1517), Luwuq was defeated and the royal umbrella was seized. This was incorporated into the Boné regalia as a commemoration of when the first ruler of Boné, *Manurung ri Matajang* (±1350-1366) 'disappeared into thin air', *malajang* (B.), with his yellow umbrella. In 1860, it was listed that there were thirty-five Boné regalia kept by La Singkerru Rukka, the twenty-ninth *Arumponé* (1860-1871) (*ANRI UP* Roll 2 No.4:21).

performed the swearing of the oath of loyalty, *mangngaruq* (B.). Then Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh cleansed the royal umbrella twice with special water that had been prepared earlier (by the *bissu*), and the royal umbrella was taken back to the room. Despite being kept occupied with the demands of ritual and other matters of his kingdom's administration, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh continued his communication with the Governor at Makassar. On 6th April, having heard that the Governor was ill, he sent his messenger, the *Gellarang*³⁹ of Bontoalaq, to ask about the Governor's health and to inform the Governor of his arrival at Watampone (DAS:f.14r).

A week later, on 13th April, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh reports that one of his nobles, *Arung Pacciro*, has passed away in Boné. As a sign of condolence, he donated to the family of the deceased twenty *réal* and two pieces of white cloth, probably for the shroud, *kafan* (Ar.), and the next day he reports that he went to bury the deceased.⁴⁰ On 24th May, he marked his first anniversary as *Arumponé*. However, he does not provide information on the kind of celebration he held, if any; he mentions only his prayers to God (DAS:f.14v).

From the first two years of his reign, not much information on the state of affairs of Boné or of South Sulawesi can be acquired from reading Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's diary. He provides little information apart from reports on his somewhat monotonous daily activities mentioned above. Perhaps there were few events that aroused his interest or that he considered worth writing about, because the political situation in the Bugis and Makasar lands was stable. However, his competency and authority as ruler of a major kingdom in South Sulawesi would be tested six months later, when a challenger to the throne of Gowa appeared.

4.2 I Sangkilang: pretender to the throne of Gowa.

In 1767, accused of piracy and of having conspired with the English to undermine the monopoly of the Company, *Karaéng* Gowa Amas Madina, the twenty-sixth ruler of Gowa (r.1766-67), was imprisoned by the Dutch at Batavia and two years later, at the age of twenty, he was exiled for life in Ceylon.⁴¹ His younger brother, Mallisujawa

³⁹ *Gellarang* is the head of a village.

⁴⁰ Muslims wrap the body of the deceased with seven layers of white cloth, (Ar.) *kafan*, before burial.

⁴¹ Batara Gowa Amas Madina abdicated from the throne of Gowa after two years. His short reign was reported to be the result of his personal behaviour and inclinations, and problems with the members of Gowa's court. He absconded from the throne of Gowa and went to Bima where his mother had resided since the death of his father, who was said to have died of poison. The Dutch reported that Batara Gowa Amas Madina was involved in piracy soon after he left the throne of Gowa. He was discovered to have a close relationship with one of the English subjects, named Cella Bangkahulu; Batara Gowa Amas Madina had spent some time sailing with him to Lombok. To avoid Batara Gowa from posing any further threat to

Daéng Riboko, later known as *Arung Mampu*, was appointed as king of Gowa in his stead. However, *Arung Mampu* was unhappy with his new position and his continuing failure to get the Dutch to bring his elder brother back, and abdicated.⁴² The Gowa State Council, the *Baté Salapang*, chose *Karaéng* Tamasongo, the great grandfather of Amas Madina and Mallisujawa, as the next ruler of Gowa in 1770. *Karaéng* Tamasongo reigned unchallenged as the lawful ruler of Gowa for six years until a pretender, I Sangkilang, appeared in November 1776 (Tidemann 1908:353; Roessingh 1986). Thus began a new phase in the history of Gowa.

Batara Gowa Amas Madina's expulsion had led to discontent amongst members of the court of Gowa, especially Mangiratu *Arung* Palakka, his grandmother, who was an influential member of royalty. Blok (1817) refers to *Arung* Palakka as 'the only one who was in every respect entitled to the Boné throne, having the purest blood', and thus as the highest-ranking noble in South Sulawesi. Her part in the issue of I Sangkilang will be discussed later in this chapter.

The decision by the Dutch to exile Batara Gowa had serious implications for the kingdom of Gowa. Had Batara Gowa not been exiled, would I Sangkilang, or anyone else, have appeared and dared so boldly to claim to be the Batara Gowa? Roessingh states that the rebellion of I Sangkilang had cost the Dutch government dearly, since it lasted for sixteen long years. The Dutch government paid a high price, losing a number of men, and the aftermath saw the kingdom of Gowa paying a still higher price: it was 'economically punished' as a retribution for the cost of war (Roessingh 1986:164).⁴³ I would dispute Roessingh's statement that I Sangkilang's rebellion lasted sixteen years. The incident was a brief one, and it took the Dutch only around two and half years, from November 1776 until May 1779, to quash I Sangkilang's uprising. Nonetheless, the repercussions of the uprising were far-reaching, and were not finally resolved until 1814.⁴⁴

their interest, the Dutch designed a careful plan to capture him, which resulted in his arrest and later exile (Tidemann 1908:353-5; Abdul Razak 1993:78).

⁴² *Arung* Mampu had appealed to the Governor of Makassar several times to bring his elder brother, Batara Gowa Amas Madina, back to Gowa. His efforts were fruitless, and as a result he too left the throne of Gowa and resided at Barombong (Mattulada 1998:310).

⁴³ Not only did Gowa have to pay for the cost of war but it also lost some of its northern territories to the Dutch Company (Abdul Razak 1993:86).

⁴⁴ The issue of the *sudang* was only resolved in 1814 when the English troops attacked *Arumponé* La Mappatunru at Makassar. The *sudang* was returned to the English who later returned it to the lawful ruler of Gowa (*ANRI Mak.265/2:25*th July 1812; see *BL Board's Collections F/4/557*).

4.2.1 I Sangkilang: the persona

Crawfurd (1820), Tideman (1908), Friedericy (1933) and later Roessingh (1986) have paid attention to the uprising of I Sangkilang. Despite the fact that I Sangkilang's rebellion was sufficiently disruptive to bring about the downfall of the kingdom of Gowa, nevertheless only a scanty picture of I Sangkilang can be obtained. Crawfurd (1820), the first to mention I Sangkilang, predicted correctly that his birthplace and parentage would never be ascertained. What is certain is that I Sangkilang's claim to be the ruler of Gowa had as both its context and its product the diminution of loyalty among the Makasars, reflecting the weakness of the state of Gowa. In short, I Sangkilang's insurrection succeeded only due to the weakened nature of the indigenous state, whereby a single ruler was unable to command fully the loyalty of his people and his government.

Who was I Sangkilang? What was the basis of his success? How did he come to be accepted by the inner members of the court of Gowa, despite their knowing that in truth he was a pretender? And what was the impact of his claim? The name 'I Sangkilang' is not a real name, but an epithet derived from the word *sangkilang* (Mak.), meaning a helmsman's seat (Matthes 1885:678). Tideman (1908:361) traces the first mention of I Sangkilang's actions from Dutch records. These claim that I Sangkilang was bought as a slave a year previously (in 1775) by one of the nobles of Boné, *Arung* Patimbing, at Pasir in East Kalimantan (Borneo); the proximity of Pasir to South Sulawesi made it a popular spot with the Bugis traders. Presumably I Sangkilang would have met people from many different parts of South Sulawesi while he was at Pasir, and would have been able to gather information on current issues.⁴⁵

The first mention of I Sangkilang was on 11th November 1776, when the Company's chief interpreter, Brugman, who was carrying out some official duties at Polombangking, reported that a person named I Sangkilang had landed at Sompu in Sanraboné and had declared publicly at a feast that he was the Batara Gowa, the exiled king.⁴⁶ I Sangkilang's claim was first tested in public when a crowd demanded proof of his claim to be the Batara Gowa. Reportedly, I Sangkilang was able to convince the crowd by answering some questions pertaining to "various jewels and relatives of

⁴⁵ Pasir is situated on the coastal area of east Kalimantan. For further information on Pasir, see (anon. 1905:532ff).

⁴⁶ I Sangkilang's justification of his escapade brought high credit for his bravery and agility in the eyes of the locals. The story of his flight was used by I Sangkilang as psychological propaganda to win trust among the people that he was the 'true' Batara Gowa. According to Tidemann (1908:360-365), when Batara Gowa (I Sangkilang) was taken to be exiled to Ceylon in a *proa* from Batavia, the *proa* suddenly sank, but he managed to save himself by hanging on to the *sangkilang* and afterwards succeeded in getting back on to the boat and sailing on, until he reached his homeland (Roessingh 1986:159).

Batara Gowa”, and in this way the ‘ignorant crowd was duped’ (Tidemann 1908:361; *ANRI Mak.405/3*).⁴⁷ Such a claim, were it to prove true or to be accepted as true, posed a serious threat to the Company’s interests. The Company ordered Brugman to act decisively and to capture the claimant dead or alive (*ANRI Mak.405/3*; Tidemann 1908:361). However, before Bruggman was able to do so, I Sangkilang has already launched an attack on the Company’s troops in Polombangking, which resulted in seventeen deaths on I Sangkilang’s side (Tideman 1908:362).

I Sangkilang’s success in attracting a substantial following within a short period of time leads one to speculate that he possessed a particularly charismatic character. His appearance occurred at a moment of political breakdown at which he was able to manipulate public sentiment. It would have taken an exceptional mind and personality to manipulate an existing set of circumstances to one’s advantage so well and so convincingly. Weber refers to this process as constituting an ‘extraordinary situation’ and ‘mission’ (Cavalli 1987:317-333).⁴⁸ I Sangkilang must have possessed a certain charismatic presence or an innate skill to exploit and create mass emotions, for it seems extraordinary that people believed him to be the Batara Gowa with so little challenge. However, it appears that this growing influence was reinforced by using promises and threats to gain support from the Makasars (Tidemann 1908:361).

4.2.2 The cause of the downfall of Gowa

Three days after having sent the report to the Governor, on 11th November 1776, the Company’s chief interpreter Brugman was ambushed by I Sangkilang. Despite Brugman’s men numbering only fifty, I Sangkilang lost seventeen of his two hundred men before retreating to a village called Kampung Barana in the region of Turatéa (Tidemann 1908:362).

When the Governor heard that I Sangkilang had taken flight, he instructed the king of Gowa, Sultan Zainuddin, to either capture or kill I Sangkilang, and offered a ransom

⁴⁷ Dutch sources comment on the status of I Sangkilang in the reports prepared by Brugman:

“I am assured that the vagrant [I Sangkilang] mentioned could not be the fled king, it also seems to me unlikely that he is a son of the *rijksbestierder* of Boné, because he would then not have done service as a slave to a common prince for a year, but would certainly have gone to his grandfather, and even less so would he have caused unrest amongst the Boniers as well as the Company’s subjects [...]” (*ANRI Mak.405/3:2nd* December 1776)

⁴⁸ Cavalli (1987:328) schematises the conditions of charismatic leadership according to three conditions: firstly, the existence of an extraordinary situation or crisis in which a breakdown of crucial cultural expectations of a people has occurred; secondly, the resurgence of popular secular religions; thirdly, the emotionality of the masses, who in conditions of breakdown are capable of exhibiting regression. Under these circumstances a leader is able to integrate the ego and the ego ideal of the masses.

of two hundred to two hundred and fifty Spanish dollars. The Governor wanted to prevent I Sangkilang from escaping elsewhere, in particular to the Company's northern provinces (*ANRI Mak.405/3:7th* January 1777). The king of Gowa evidently felt some threat from the pretender, for he made enquiries and then informed the Governor that I Sangkilang was not the Batara Gowa Amas Madina. Since the king of Gowa took no further action despite the Governor's communication, I Sangkilang was able to expand his following.

By mid-December, I Sangkilang had moved to Barombong, closer to the city of Gowa. With him went the grandmother and mother of the real Batara Gowa, *Arung Palakka* and *Karaéng Béllasari*. Their conviction, only one month after his arrival at Makassar, that this confidence trickster was indeed their exiled grandson and son, also lends support to the assumption that I Sangkilang must have possessed a remarkable talent for manipulation. *Arung Palakka*, as the highest-ranking noble, was a key figure in I Sangkilang's strategy for obtaining the throne of Gowa. I will return to the involvement of *Arung Palakka* later.

The first mention that the diary of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh makes of I Sangkilang is on 1st December 1776:

“I heard news from Makassar about the arrival of *Karaéng* Gowa who was exiled to Ceylon. God knows the truth.”
(*DAS:f.18r*)

Suspicion regarding I Sangkilang's true identity, implicit in the above entry, was voiced to the Governor, with a request for more information. Perhaps feeling that the *Arumponé* had shirked his responsibilities, since Barana, in Jenépono, where the rebel dwelt, was under Boné sovereignty, Governor Van der Voort answered, somewhat irritably, that the king should look for himself (Roessingh 1986:160).

Six months elapse before I Sangkilang's activities are reported on again by Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh. On 12th May 1777 he writes that the Dutch post at Maros has been burnt down by those who claimed to be the followers of Batara Gowa (*DAS:f.21v*; *DTM:f.11r*). Nine days later, he writes that *Datu Baringang*, the military head of Boné, has recaptured Maros (*DAS:f.21v*). Three weeks on, he reports that the person purporting to be Batara Gowa has now taken control of Gowa (*DAS:f.22r*). We can deduce that within six months of first declaring himself to be the exiled king, I Sangkilang had gathered around him a veritable army and network of support. Even though his force

suffered several defeats at the hands of the troops of the Dutch and their allies, his following continued to swell in numbers.⁴⁹

In spite of the Company engaging a great many resources and much manpower in attempting to suppress the rebel, it was unable to rally sufficient military support from its allies, Boné and Soppeng, to overpower him. Prior to I Sangkilang's capture of Gowa, planned attacks were repeatedly postponed by one or other of the native forces, providing the rebels with the opportunity to increase their numbers and to flee. These postponements, greatly lamented by the Governor in his reports, were symptomatic of a general ambivalence towards the rebel on the part of the allies. The king of Gowa stated that as the Governor was unwilling to post himself on the front line, neither would he (Sultan Zainuddin) (*ANRI Mak.404/4:25th May 1777*).

The Governor's reports characterise many native troops as extremely reluctant to take up arms against the rebels. In one place, the Governor expresses his astonishment at their blatant apathy when the king of Gowa came to ask for assistance for the *Tomarilalang*, who had been surrounded by the rebel army (*ANRI Mak.404/4:26th May 1777*). It could well be suggested that the native troops saw more of an ally in I Sangkilang than they did in the Dutch Company. This sentiment is encapsulated in the following entry on *Datu Baringang*, the commander of Boné's troops:

“*Ponggawa* La Kasi told the Governor that *Datu Baringang* on his way to Maros had told *Karaéng Kanjilo* to leave because after all they [the Makasars and *Karaéng Kanjilo*] were only seeking to fight the Dutch and they [*Datu Baringang* and troops] are natives.” (*ANRI Mak.404/4:26th May 1777*)

Whilst fighting on the side of the Dutch and constantly reassuring the Governor of his loyalty to the Company, *Datu Baringang* showed himself to be duplicitous by sheltering the rebel. Twice *Datu Baringang* sabotaged allied operations: on 2nd June *Arung Pancana*⁵⁰ informed the Governor that he had been attacked by the rebels at Takéré and Paranglowé and that *Datu Baringang*, who had been following behind with his troops, had let the rebels pass; on 4th June *Datu Baringang* is reported as having aided I Sangkilang and *Arung Palakka* to flee from the pursuing *Arung Pancana*, by

⁴⁹ Although I Sangkilang's movements were impeded by the Dutch and the allies' troops, he succeeded in taking temporary control of Maros, Talloq and Gowa. Many of the native forces defected to join I Sangkilang's army, so that even the Governor was confused when, on hearing that I Sangkilang had arrived in Gowa, Sultan Zainuddin, the ruler of Gowa, requested Dutch assistance. In this state of confusion, the Governor did not know who was friend or foe (Roessingh 1986:161).

⁵⁰ The Dutch records portray *Arung Pancana*, a noble prince from Tanété, as the most dedicated person in helping the Company to oust the rebel (*ANRI Mak.404/4:19th June 1777*).

placing his own men in-between the enemy and the allied troops (*ANRI Mak.404/4:4th* June 1777).

Despite the ambushes and attacks by the Dutch, I Sangkilang and his followers emerged almost unscathed, and escaped unhindered from every battle. The ease with which Gowa was taken by the rebel force on the 15th June 1777 would also suggest some measure of collaboration from within Gowa:

“[The Governor] received a message from the king of Gowa that the rebel had unexpectedly come back to Gowa at 5 a.m. with more than one thousand men and he [the king of Gowa] was unable to oppose I Sangkilang [...] received a message saying that the king of Gowa had been overthrown and the rebel [I Sangkilang was] elected in his place.” (*ANRI Mak.404/4:15th* June 1777)⁵¹

Similarly, on the same date, the troops of To'Iraté are reported as having made no effort to oppose the enemy (*ANRI Mak.404/4:15th* June 1777).

Immediately after Gowa had fallen to I Sangkilang, a number of attacks were staged as joint initiatives between the Company's troops and native troops of the allies. During the first of these, the Company's soldiers began to scale the city wall, but found themselves without help, for

“[...] none of the natives had supported the Europeans; *Arung Pancana* and the previous *Ponggawa* La Kasi had attacked from another side but had also been forced to fall back, whilst the Boniers had just stood and stared without making the slightest move to help our side, even less so to attack the enemy.” (*ANRI Mak.404/4:16th* June 1777)

After the fall of Gowa to I Sangkilang, the *Maqdanrang* of Boné is described as having given 'cowardly excuses' for the comportment of his troops that morning, many of whom had defected to the other side, further swelling the ranks of rebel fighters. Others aided the enemy by providing them with ammunition (*ANRI Mak.404/4:20th* June 1777). The fall of Gowa on 15th June was recorded in brief by Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh:

“Today, a person who claimed to be Batara Gowa took control of Gowa. Today, the *Maqdanrang* and *Datu Baringang* set off to Gowa together with the Company's troops.” (*DAS:f.22r*)

⁵¹ The king of Gowa escaped with his family to the Company's protection, taking seven of the royal ornaments with him, but leaving behind fourteen others, including the *sudang*, which now came into I Sangkilang's possession (Roessingh 1986:172-73).

A week later, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh received his parents' messenger,⁵² who reported that his nobles (*Datu Baringang* and the *Maqdanrang*) and the Company's troops had gone to Gowa to launch a counter-attack against the rebel, I Sangkilang:

23rd June 1777:

"[...] who had taken the regalia of Gowa, therefore, *Karaéng Katangka* [Sultan Zainuddin] is no longer the ruler of Gowa since the regalia had been seized [by I Sangkilang]." (*DAS:f.22r*)

The situation in Gowa became so grave that on 27th June the Governor demanded of the Boné nobles that they declare whether they were prepared to support the Company's troops in regaining Gowa (*ANRI Mak.404/4*). Again, it seems that the nobles did all they could to thwart a speedy conclusion:

"[...] *Datu Soppeng* did not arrive until nine, making me wait for an hour before coming to me and telling me that the Boné *Maqdanrang* had said that he will consult with *Datu Baringang* to decide a date for the attack, and adding various other excuses which clearly shows that they are trying to lead us up the garden path and by no means can any measure be got of them [...]." (*ANRI Mak.404/4:28th June 1777*)

Because of the evident lack of obligation felt by the troops provided to the Company by Boné, and in particular those headed by *Datu Baringang*, eventually the Governor wrote to Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh to request that he come to Makassar (*DAS*, 17th October 1777:f.24r).

4.2.3 The key role of *Arung Palakka*

In order to gain control of Gowa, support from the grandmother of the real Batara Gowa, *Arung Palakka*, the highest-ranking noble in South Sulawesi, was indispensable to I Sangkilang and a great aid in his canvassing for followers. Mangiratu *Arung Palakka*⁵³ was the daughter of To'Sappéwali, the nineteenth ruler of Boné, who was also the twentieth ruler of Gowa. Of high noble birth, marrying the king of Talloq further boosted *Arung Palakka*'s status; she was also Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's great aunt, a cousin of his grandfather. Given her prominent position and influence at the courts of

⁵² The word *cajangngengngaq* (B.) means 'person who gave birth to me'. However, the word is also used by the *Arumponé* to refer to both his biological father and mother. It appears that at this time, the *Arumponé*'s *cajangngeng* lived in Gowa and that from the above entry there is no indication whether the *suro* belonged to his father or mother.

⁵³ *Arung Palakka* was also known as *Karaéng Paramparang*. Her personal name is unknown.

Boné and Gowa, it can be assumed that I Sangkilang's plan revolved around gaining the support of this dowager queen.

On the 8th January 1777, only two months after he first appeared in South Sulawesi, Sangkilang is reported by the Company's interpreter Blij as having sent a messenger to *Arung Palakka*, saying he would like to meet her, and asking her to specify a place to meet. Blij reported that *Arung Palakka* did not give an immediate reply but said she would first consult the *Maqdanrang* (of Boné)⁵⁴ who was due to arrive from Boné. The meeting presumably did take place, for a week later the Dutch sources report that:

“the captain of the Malays had been ordered to investigate the dealings of the *Maqdanrang* of Boné and Princess *Arung Palakka*. He reported that *Arung Palakka* still claims that the rebel Sangkilang is her grandson [...] that she could see she was no longer believed [by the court] and had therefore decided to leave the Boné court and go elsewhere.” (*ANRI Mak.405/3:14th January 1777*)

From this information it is apparent that I Sangkilang had successfully convinced *Arung Palakka* that he was her long-lost grandson, a pivotal point in the ever bolder assertion of his identity as the Batara Gowa. *Arung Palakka*'s acceptance of I Sangkilang as her grandson was felt immediately, for on the same day it is reported that *Karaéng Sapanang* had joined the rebel on her orders.⁵⁵ On the 8th March, a messenger from the Boné court sent to investigate I Sangkilang's identity reports having seen a messenger from the Queen of Talloq at I Sangkilang's headquarters at Borissaloq delivering guns, money, cloth and other supplies. The provision that was covertly given to I Sangkilang appears to have been in accordance with a pact that the Queen of Talloq had made with *Arung Palakka*. Dutch sources mention that the former had “long had a secret understanding or agreement with *Arung Palakka* through verbal and written messages” to assist the rebel (*ANRI Mak.405/3:8th March 1777*).

It was becoming increasingly clear to the Governor that I Sangkilang was a pretender. On 29th March a message from Ceylon, dated the previous January, arrived. It stated that:

“[...] the previous [king] or Batara Gowa had still been there [in Ceylon]. Therefore the notorious rebel Sangkilang who

⁵⁴ The *Maqdanrang* of Boné, Muhammad Ramallang, was *Arung Palakka*'s nephew.

⁵⁵ The exact sequence in which various nobles joined I Sangkilang can be found in *ANRI Mak.286 'Opstaan Sangkilang'*. The Dutch records also supply a list of names of those who had joined the rebel side during the submission of the hill Makasars to the Governor on July 1st 1790. For further information, see *ANRI Mak.419/1*.

pretended to be the same [Batara Gowa], could not be that prince.” (*ANRI Mak.405/3*)

In spite of the aspersions cast on I Sangkilang’s claim to be the Batara Gowa, he appears to have become all the more brazen. On the 15th of April *Karaéng* Lembang Parang and *Arung* Lipokasi had gone to see I Sangkilang to determine his true identity. On seeing them approach, Sangkilang immediately summoned them to his house and asked their reason for coming. They replied they had come to see if he was indeed the previous king of Gowa, to which, “with the greatest rudeness and whilst making various bodily gestures, Sangkilang replied: ‘See for yourself if I am not the person I purport to be’.” (*ANRI Mak.405/3:15th April 1777*) Rumours about his identity were countered in advance by I Sangkilang by sending messengers to some of the mountain regents to persuade them to come and join his cause (*ANRI Mak.405/3:30th April 1777*). During this time, *Arung* Palakka’s support of him remained invaluable. Anticipating the large measure of loyalty felt towards her by other nobles, the Governor dubbed her “the cause of all bad things that might result” (*ANRI Mak.405/3:3rd May 1777*).

However, an unexpected denouement was about to occur. In order to sustain a broad influence among the nobles, I Sangkilang entered into a marriage with a sister-in-law of *Arung* Pancana, his main military opponent (Roessingh 1986:161). It was *Arung* Palakka who performed the traditional wedding preparation of applying rice powder to the bridegroom’s body (*ANRI Mak.404/4:8th June 1777*). One might speculate whether she deliberately seized this opportunity to ascertain whether the groom was indeed her grandson, for she knew that her grandson, Batara Gowa, possessed a number of marks about his body.⁵⁶

Rumours of *Arung* Palakka’s misgivings about I Sangkilang began to circulate after the convincing discovery of the latter’s pretence. A month after the wedding took place, the Dutch sources record it was rumoured that a difference had occurred between *Arung* Palakka and I Sangkilang. *Arung* Palakka now wanted to leave Gowa, and was said to have berated him, “that the country was now ruined without any of his predictions and promises having come true, and she could not continue inside [Gowa] any more.” (*ANRI Mak.405/3:22nd July 1777*) I Sangkilang had retorted that if she, *Arung* Palakka, did not believe in his abilities, he would leave Gowa immediately; but the *Tomarilalang* of Gowa recognised that it was imperative to keep *Arung* Palakka with them, and forbade

⁵⁶ Roessing (1986:161) says that he had four scars on his body. The discovery of no such distinguishing marks must have dramatically crushed *Arung* Palakka’s confidence, after she had adopted this impostor as her prodigal grandson. Reports of the time describe her as having reacted with dismay and being completely inconsolable (*mistroostig*, D.). Despite such a concrete manifestation of the falsity of his claim, I Sangkilang nonetheless succeeded in removing her mistrust by assuring her that he was the Batara Gowa (*ANRI Mak.404/4:8th June 1777*).

his people to allow her to leave (*ANRI Mak.405/3:22nd* July 1777). A statement from a prisoner of the Dutch, *Karaéng* Mangerangi, declared that most people in Gowa no longer believed I Sangkilang to be Batara Gowa, although they dared not show their distrust out of fear of the *Tomarilalang* of Gowa and *Arung* Palakka, who were directing everything inside the city (Roessingh 1986:163). Although she had witnessed first-hand that I Sangkilang was not her grandson, *Arung* Palakka nevertheless fled to the mountains with him when Gowa fell to the Company and the allies, and whether sincere or under duress, her continued public backing of I Sangkilang still served to lend weight to others' perception of him.

I Sangkilang demonstrated a masterful manipulation of a number of factors crucial to his insurrection. He managed to obtain the key support of *Arung* Palakka, whose authority was crucial in two respects; firstly, as the grandmother of the genuine king she was in a position to authenticate I Sangkilang's identity, and secondly, she was held in high esteem by numerous influential figures in the region. At the same time, I Sangkilang sought to canvas support by advocating an uprising against the Dutch. The division between Muslims and Christians was used by him to foster support for his cause; it was reported that "the son of the previously rebellious *Karaéng* Bontolangkasa had been to the *Maqdanrang* of Boné and asked the Boniers to join the enemy, I Sangkilang, since after all the fight was only against Christians." (*ANRI Mak.404/4:29th* May 1777)

4.3 The involvement of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh in Gowa's crisis

On the basis of the events that I have highlighted so far, I would question the sincerity of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh in his role as the Company's main ally. It was noted that after I Sangkilang's first appearance, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh remained in Boné. He did not go to Makassar until a year later, leaving the Governor to struggle not only with the rebels but also with the questionable integrity of his (Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's) nobles. On the 3rd October 1777 the Governor, in conference with the Boné and allies' nobles, was concerned about the worsening state of affairs, saying that

"[...] the cause of nothing having been done was only attributable to a lack of good command on the part of the Boné military heads, since they did not seem able to agree with each other [...] The hierarchy in command was non-existent, and all attempts on my part, to attack the enemy together had been fruitless [...]. How it was of paramount importance to make arrangements as soon as possible to appoint someone in command [...]." (*ANRI Mak.404/4:3rd* October 1777)

It can be inferred from the above reports that, due to its dependence on the military assistance of the native ally troops, the Company's position was weak. As the above examples illustrate, there appears to have been a distinct reluctance among the natives to shed one another's blood. In this climate, the Governor rightly considered it crucial for the king of Boné to command his own troops in person. Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh cannot have been unaware of this, for several times in his diary he notes the disappointing outcomes of various offensives.⁵⁷ On 17th October 1777 he received a letter from the Governor requesting him to join him. The nobles met the next day and reached the decision that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh should join the Governor in Makassar. However, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh did not set off for another ten weeks (*DAS*, 29th December 1777:f.25r).

Boné's rightness in giving aid to the Dutch was challenged by its ally, Wajoq, who appealed to notions of shared cultural identity and affinity among the Bugis of South Sulawesi as a whole:

Addendum 1778:

[Date entry was written on] 17th June 1778:

"[...] that he [*Arung Matoa* of Wajoq] was shocked to hear that *Arumponé* and the royal standard had set off [to Makassar] without informing him earlier. The pact of Timurung is still strong in our minds. Whenever any one of us has to face the enemy, we do not hesitate to assist. Whenever any one of us wants to launch an attack on those outside the pact, first of all a meeting must take place to give it consideration and to avoid any action which is not agreeable [...] Because your brother is furious to hear about the killing and slashing of the children and grandchildren of *Matinroé ri* Nagauleng [...]." (*DAS*:f.33r)

As the Company's principal ally, and as a fairly newly instated king, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh had little choice but to show his loyalty and willingness to assist the Dutch, and he frequently professes his sincerity with the words: "Boné and the Company are like brothers and must never separate." (*DAS*:f.32v) For that reason, he sternly warned his nobles, his kingdom's allies and vassal states:

9th May 1778:

"[...] I gather all of you here [...] I warn you never to collaborate with our enemies [...] whoever breaches this agreement and collaborates with our enemy will have committed two offences: both to Boné and to the Company. If the vassal states violate this agreement, their punishment

⁵⁷ Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's diary entries of 28th July 1777 (*DAS*:f.22v); 18th, 21st and 24th August 1777 (*DAS*:f.23r); and 27th October 1777 (*DAS*:f.24r), to name but a few instances, record failures on the Company's side to take over Gowa.

will be five *kati* of gold. If the allied states violate this agreement, they will be fined ten *kati* [of gold]. If any of you commit an offence for a second time, I will make you plough [as slaves] [...] If soldiers are found guilty I will barter them and their wives and children in exchange for ammunition.”
(*DAS*:f.29v; *DTM*:f.18r)

However, Boné’s ally in the 1582 Pact of Tellumpocco, Wajoq, did not take part in assisting Boné, but instead sent two letters to Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh stating Wajoqs concerns over the killing of their own people.⁵⁸ Attempting to strike a balance between his commitments to the Company and to the ruler of Wajoq, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh sent the following reply:

28th July 1778:

“[...] with regard to your messenger’s outrage at *Arumponé* having commanded the *Samparadja* and at *Arumponé*’s departure [to war] without informing you earlier, and with reference to you reminding us of the law [agreement] that was set at Mallampatu [Tellumpocco] in Timurung, we had not forgotten about it. But, our understanding of the agreement differs to yours. So, you asked us to take no [military] action and then you [Wajoq] try to portray yourselves as abiding by the agreement. We cannot stand by, because they [the enemy] had done as they wished, in going against the regulations that were agreed with the Company. You are upset to see our children killing each other. I am very grateful for your good words [...] neither do we want [our people] to kill each other, because this violates our ancestors’ agreement. On the contrary, this does not apply to those who have done ill to us. Therefore, I propose that you stay out of it, and we will strive for sincerity between us [Boné and Wajoq], because with regards to the Tellumpocco [agreement], you have no place in our hearts.” (*DAS*:f.29v)

Earlier, on his arrival at Malimongang in Makassar in January 1778, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh had performed his own oath of allegiance to the Company, and begun to reorganise his troops. *DAS* records a series of visits from the *Arumponé*’s nobles, with

⁵⁸ Boné, Soppeng and Wajoq were bound in loyalty by the Tellumpocco Pact in 1582. The pact is also referred to as *Mallampatué ri Timurung* (or the burial of the stone at Timurung) to signify the alliance of the three states in 1582 during the reigns of the seventh Boné ruler, La Tenrirawé, the eleventh *Matoa* of Wajoq, La Bungkacé To’Udama and the twelfth ruler of Soppeng, Mataesso Punglipué (Andi Muhammad Ali 1986:21; Noorduyn 1955:251-2). After the formal declaration of the pact at Timurung which formalised the alliance a solemn oath was intoned, ending with the words:

“If anyone should break this agreement, may the ground on which he lives
break into bits like porcelain and be smashed into pieces like an egg.”
(Andaya 1978:279)

Each ruler then took a stone and threw it onto the ground, smashing an egg. The ceremony ended with the burying of the three stones to symbolise the agreement (Noorduyn 1955:252). For further information, see also *ANRI UP* Roll 10 No.10b.

the purpose of swearing an oath of allegiance, and in order to assign troops to the various commanders (*DAS*:f.26v).

At this point the Governor began planning a new offensive against Gowa, although his plans had already been impeded several times by the Boniers' lack of action. In the early hours of 24th June 1778, a joint attack was launched by the Company troops and the allies, and the entire city of Gowa was taken. By June 28th, when all fortifications were pulled down, the occupation of Gowa was complete. *DAS* reports that several nobles of Makassar who were on I Sangkilang's side had managed to escape, including *Karaéng* Paramparang (*Arung* Palakka) and *Daéng* Riboko. I Sangkilang had himself escaped, taking with him several of the royal ornaments of Gowa including the *sudang*.⁵⁹ *DAS* also mentions that both of I Sangkilang's wives were taken captive by the Boné troops (*DAS*:f.29r; *DTM*:f.19v).

4.3.1 *DAS*' account of events following the fall of Gowa in 1778

After the fall of Gowa to the Company and its allies, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh makes little mention of his involvement in pursuing I Sangkilang, in contrast to the detailed and extensive records kept by the Dutch administration (cf. *ANRI Mak.135*; *ANRI Mak.286*; *ANRI Mak.408/2a*). Those rebels who had been unable to escape from Gowa were taken prisoner, to be pardoned upon payment of a fine. An exception was made for the nobles (*anakaraéng*, Mak.) of Gowa (*DAS*, 30th June 1778:f.29r) who were pardoned without having to pay any fines. From this time onwards the whereabouts of I Sangkilang is barely mentioned by *DAS*; information is confined to reports of his planned attacks.⁶⁰

Several weeks after the fall of Gowa, on 11th September 1778, the nobles of Boné came to see the Governor to ask permission to escort Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh back to Boné. This was immediately declined for, in the Governor's view, the situation in Makassar was far from stable. On 27th January 1779 Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh was informed by one of his nobles who had come from Ujung Tanah at Makassar that *Arung* Palakka had died (*DAS*:f.33v).⁶¹ With the death of *Arung* Palakka, the key figure, I Sangkilang lost his main supporter. Although he still possessed the *sudang*, a symbol of power, many of his followers deserted him due to the scarcity of food and the continuing pursuit by the Dutch.

⁵⁹ See Roessingh (1986) for the list of royal ornaments.

⁶⁰ For example, on 13th November 1778 (*DAS*:f.31v) *DAS* records I Sangkilang's plans to attack Bulubulu; on the 8th of December Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh received a letter from the resident of Bantaeng, reporting Batara Gowa's plans to attack Bulukumba (*DAS*:f.32r).

⁶¹ Dutch sources report that *Arung* Palakka died at Borissaloq, on 9th January 1779 (*ANRI Mak.286 1778-1779 'Opstaan Sankilang'*)

The death of Governor Van der Voort on 16th June 1780 put an end to the Company's persecution of I Sangkilang. Nonetheless, the legacy of his uprising was a political crisis for Gowa, which was left with no ruler. It was Governor Van der Voort's successor, Barend Reijke, elected as the new Governor of Makassar on 20th June 1781, who had to wrestle with this crisis.⁶² Reijke and some of the nobles of Makassar decided to appoint *Karaéng* Bontolangkasa as the ruler of Gowa to succeed the previous king, who had died in September 1778 (*DAS*, 16th October 1781:f.52r).⁶³ Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh, after the Gowa war, arrived at Makassar again on 29th May 1781 at the request of the Governor (*DAS*:f.49v). The inauguration of *Karaéng* Bontolangkasa gave rise to discontent among the Makasars because Gowa had to surrender some of its territories to the Company, thus increasing the Company's territory (Abdul Razak 1993:86). This was seen by the natives as a sign of betrayal. On this issue, however, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh mentions only in passing that a discussion had taken place between the Company and the remaining Makasar nobles (*DAS*:f.49v).

From the above discussion, it is obvious that many important events, particularly during the first six months of I Sangkilang's rise to power, are absent from Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's diary. Their absence gives the reader of the diary an incomplete picture of the period; indeed, if one were to research the uprising of I Sangkilang solely on the basis of the diary, one would be left with the impression that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh had supported the Company to the full, and responded to its every request. From *DAS*, all we learn of this event is that Boné successfully fulfilled its duty as the closest ally to the Company. From cross-referral to the Dutch records, we know this to be erroneous, however, and must speculate therefore that he deliberately sought to portray himself for posterity as an unerring ally of the Company. By careful presentation of events, he was able to convey an image of himself as a prudent and tactful ruler, and to minimise his own role in the incident.

⁶² Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh mentioned that he went again to Makassar as requested by the Company for the official appointment of Barend Reijke as the new Governor for Makassar (*DAS*:f.50r).

⁶³ When Gowa fell to I Sangkilang, Sultan Zainuddin was dethroned and he escaped from the palace of Gowa. He requested the Company's protection and was given a place to reside at Matoanging (*ANRI Mak.404/4*:17th June 1777). One of the Dutch sources reports that Sultan Zainuddin visited the Governor and informed the latter of his impoverishment, as he was unable to take his wealth with him when he fled. Instead of getting financial support from the Governor, he was criticised by the Governor for his mistake in abandoning his kingdom and providing a way for the usurper to take control (*ANRI Mak.404/4*:17th June 1777; Friedericy 1933:494).

4.3.2 A review of I Sangkilang's rebellion

Based upon both indigenous and Dutch records, the events surrounding I Sangkilang described above give ample evidence of the central role played by *Arung* Palakka in allowing the pretender to rally support from all quarters. The *Tomarilalang* of Gowa also played a considerable role in helping I Sangkilang in his pursuit of the throne of Gowa. Of vital importance was I Sangkilang's appeal to the concept of *pessé* or brotherhood, of the Makasar people; which together with *siri'* or shame, forms the pillar of the Makasar (and Bugis) mindset (Mattulada 1985; Abdul Hamid 1985; Andaya 1981; Andi Zainal Abidin 1999a, 1999b; Laica 1995:205-8). The feeling of *pessé* was obviously manifest in the numerous defections of native troops allied to the Company, as well as their repugnance for shedding the blood of their fellow people. In addition, I Sangkilang's possession of the *sudang*, the royal regalia of Gowa, helped to prolong his influence upon the people of Makassar, in that the majority of Bugis and Makasars adhered to the tradition that whoever possessed the *sudang* was their ruler.

4.4 The regalia of Gowa: a conflict

When I Sangkilang died in 1785, the kingdom of Gowa faced the challenging problem of regaining the regalia and a number of other royal ornaments. Seven years previously, in 1778, when I Sangkilang escaped with some of his following to the mountains, he had taken along with him several of the royal ornaments of Gowa, including the *sudang*. These royal ornaments were still in I Sangkilang's possession when, in 1781, *Karaéng* Bontolangkasa, the son of the late Sultan Zainuddin, was appointed to the throne of Gowa. Hence, because the traditional custom or *adeq* (B.,) required the presence of the state regalia of Gowa, the *sudang*, in order for the newly appointed king to be recognised, the installation of *Karaéng* Bontolangkasa was not recognised by the majority of the Makasars and the Company's main ally, Boné. In 1785, instead of returning the *sudang* and other royal ornaments to the ruling court of Gowa, I Sangkilang's followers surrendered them to Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh. This act intensified the existing discord between Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh and the Company regarding the exemption of levies on royal shipping, and the dispute became more complicated when, despite the Company's efforts, he persisted in refusing to return the *sudang*.

4.4.1 The elections of the Governor of Makassar and the ruler of Gowa

In his diary, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh notes the appointment of Barend Reijke as the new Governor of Makassar, on 20th June 1781, after several postponements (*DAS*:f.50r). It appears that the most pressing matter for the newly appointed Governor was to conserve the political stability of the kingdom of Gowa and of Makassar by appointing a new ruler of Gowa at the earliest opportunity. The State Council of Gowa, the *Baté Salapang*, agreed and their choice fell on *Karaéng* Bontolangkasa, son of the late ruler of Gowa. *DAS* reports on the appointment of *Karaéng* Bontolangkasa:

15th October 1781:

“The head interpreter came to inform [me] that the Governor had agreed to appoint *Karaéng* Bontolangkasa as the ruler of Gowa tomorrow [16th October 1781] and [his decision] had been agreed by the Makasars who support the Company.” (*DAS*:f.52r)

Although the above entry does not disclose the *Arumponé*’s feelings, he appears to have been disgruntled at *Karaéng* Bontolangkasa’s being made successor to the throne of Gowa, for he did not attend his inauguration.⁶⁴ Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh does not reveal in his diary the reason for his absence, but simply reports that he sent his representatives (*DAS*, 16th October 1781:f.52r). However, the reason for the *Arumponé*’s absence and, correspondingly, his protestation against the validity of the 1781 election, is revealed in Dutch sources from November 1787, which refer to events in 1781. In a letter to the Governor General and Council of Indies in Batavia, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh cites an earlier meeting:

“We are worried about the circumstances [of the election], as we explained to the ministers on the 15th October 1781, when the chief interpreter, Diederik Deefhout, was sent by Reijke to tell us ‘let the *sultan* of Boné sit with me tomorrow because I have decided to confirm that Simarawarie [*Karaéng* Bontolangkasa] will become the king of Gowa’.” (*ANRI Mak.14h*:124)

The king recounts how he had sent two of his nobles to meet the Governor to deliver a letter conveying his thoughts on the matter:

“I cannot agree to appoint this Gowanese person as king, for the reason that Gowa is not yet a kingdom. It would be better for us both to meet with the Makasars who were [siding] with the Company and Boné and to let the Makasars [the hill-Makasars and the Gowanese] come to a mutual agreement.

⁶⁴ *Karaéng* Bontolangkasa bears the regnal title of Sultan Abdul Hadi (Abdul Razak 1993:85).

And when they have made the mutual agreement, we will support them.” (*ANRI Mak.14h:f.125*)

Somewhat surprisingly, a letter of complaint sent by Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh to the Governor General in Batavia on 21st October 1782 (*BL Mackenzie Collections* No.67:fols 77-99)⁶⁵ does not reiterate this discontent over the invalidity of the election (of *Karaéng* Bontolangkasa) which, in 1787, he retrospectively claims to have voiced at the time. It would seem that his objection to the election in 1781 was purely a matter of principle, and that he had no designs on the throne of Gowa in mind. Only when he obtained the *sudang* in 1785 did Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh recognise his uniquely privileged position *vis-à-vis* the kingdom of Gowa (*ANRI Mak.14h:f.112*). Indeed, prior to 1785, nowhere in his diary does he mention having such designs.⁶⁶

In a report sent to the Governor-General W.A. Alting in Batavia, the Governor of Makassar, Barend Reijke, described the reason for Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s absence from the election of *Karaéng* Bontolangkasa. Reijke claimed that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh contested it because he felt the inauguration did not meet the traditional requirements, in that the rest of the mountain Makasars (essentially the nobles) were not present and some of the royal ornaments were absent from the ceremony. This last point about the required presence of the royal ornaments at the ceremony is a new argument in Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s reasoning, again raising the question to what extent this new preoccupation was driven by the fact he now owned the *sudang*. Moreover, he insisted that as the Boné head of state he should have been told earlier, rather than being given only a day’s notice of the election taking place (*DAS:f.52r*). Thus, the court of Boné refused to recognise *Karaéng* Bontolangkasa as the ruler of Gowa (*ANRI Mak.14g:fols 153-159*).

The Company countered that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh had been given the chance to express his feelings to the interpreter sent to inform him of the need for the election. Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh had sent his delegation to the exchanging of contracts. Therefore, if he was dissatisfied with the election of the successor to the Gowa throne,

⁶⁵ The letter written by Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh lists fifteen issues pertaining to economy: free trade, contract debts, *verthiening* (crop tax), customs duty, king’s maintenance grant, homogenisation of the use of currency. It also raises political issues concerning the role of Boné as the main Dutch ally and the need for its involvement in all domestic matters of importance, as well as five other minor matters. These complaints were countered by the Governor of Makassar in the latter’s reply to the Governor General on 22nd July 1783. For more information, see (*BL Mackenzie Collection* No.67a:fols 77-100) and a report made by the Dutch Committee (*Raad van Indie*) on 14th July 1783 (*BL Mackenzie Collection* No.67b:f.101); see also the account made by Mr. Beth’s successor, Mr. Chasse (*BL Mackenzie Collection* No.67c:fols 111-156).

⁶⁶ My interpretation is supported by the entries written in Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s diary, on 30th March 1787 (*DAS:f.90v*) and 25th October 1787 (*DAS:f.94r*), which I consider as an act of self-legitimation by him as the ruler of Gowa (see my later discussion in this Chapter).

or if he had any claim to the throne of Gowa himself, then he should have brought it to their attention then (*ANRI Mak.*14g:fols 149-153). This supports my theory that it was only after Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh found himself in possession of the *sudang* that he began to exploit the avenues for political gain that the situation provided, by vindicating the birthright of which he had now become more conscious.

Perhaps Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's actions relating to the issue of Gowa's successor can be viewed in conjunction with his meeting with a few Makasar nobles prior to the installation ceremony of *Karaéng Bontolangkasa*. Curiously, on 25th September 1781, three weeks before the inauguration took place, he reports that in the afternoon he received an audience from a group of his court officials, consisting of the *Maqdanrang*, *Tomarilalang*, *Arung Tanété* and *Arung Tibojong*. These nobles brought along with them *Karaéng Sangata* and his son, *Karaéng Penna*. The nobles had previously requested an audience specifically to bring in *Karaéng Sangata* and *Karaéng Penna* in person with their 'contribution of fines', *sosoq* (B.). On the last entry of the date mentioned, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh also reports that he had consented to pardon *Karaéng Sangata* (*DAS*:f.51v). These names, *Karaéng Sangata* and *Karaéng Penna*, appear only once in *DAS*, thus making the identification of these individuals more difficult.⁶⁷ Cross-referring the entry with an entry taken from the *DTM* allows us to draw some conclusion as to the identity of the persons mentioned. The author of *DTM* wrote:

25th September 1781

"*Pétta Maqdanrang* and I [went to the palace to] bring *Karaéng Tamasongo* and his son, *Karaéng Pannuq* to [see] *Arumponé* [Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh]. The *Maqdanrang* ordered *Karaéng Tamasongo* and *Karaéng Pannuq* to take off their *kris*, later, they shook hands with *Arumponé*. He [*Karaéng Tamasongo*] declared that he was the *Batara Gowa*." (*DTM*:f.41r)

Cross-referencing the event from both diaries, it seems likely that *Karaéng Sangata* was the person named as *Karaéng Tamasongo* by the author of *DTM*, the *Tomarilalang Malolo*, who was present at the audience. Nobody but I Sangkilang would dare to claim so boldly to be *Batara Gowa*; thus, presumably, *Karaéng Tamasongo* alias *Karaéng Sangata* was I Sangkilang. Possibly the act of paying the *sosoq* was I Sangkilang's political stratagem, through which to ask for some kind of 'protection' from Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh, who was known to be the closest ally of the Company. The fact that

⁶⁷ It was a common practice among the Bugis and Makasars to adopt additional names, especially after the person had undergone certain rites of passage such as circumcision, marriage, or special conferment of titles from the king in recognition of their deeds in war. However, the different names or titles carried by the same person makes it difficult to confirm the identity of that person without further information.

the king of Boné was given the regalia in 1785 after I Sangkilang's death seems to lend support to the speculation that there may have been some collaboration between them in the meeting of 1781. Therefore the decision to hand over the *sudang* to the *Arumponé*, instead of to the ruler of Gowa, would not be a surprise. Furthermore, after receiving the *sudang*, the *Arumponé* appears to have been more assertive in his claim to the throne of Gowa.

As such, it is tenable that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's initial failure to persevere in making felt his discontent at the 1781 election was due to the fact that he was unable to effect any change in the situation. Only when he obtained the regalia could he turn the situation to his advantage. Indeed, it was from this point onwards that he began to assert his right of succession to the throne of Gowa (*ANRI Mak.14a*, *ANRI Mak.14b*, *ANRI Mak.14c*, *ANRI Mak.14d*, *ANRI Mak.14e*, and *ANRI Mak.14h*).

4.4.2 The question of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's dual rulership

On 15th July 1785, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh reports on the death of I Sangkilang:

“The messenger of the hill Makasars came to see *Daéng* Riboko to inform him of the death of the person who claimed to be Batara Gowa.” (*DAS:f.78v*)

DAS does not note any further details of I Sangkilang's death; the Dutch sources record that he was poisoned by one of his man-servants while eating fish (Rosessingh 1986:164; Abdul Razak 1993:86). Four weeks after the death of I Sangkilang, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh reports that he granted an audience to a delegation of the hill Makasars:

Tuesday, 16th August 1785:
“The *Maqdanrang* brought *Daéng* Riboko to bring the [hill] Makasars [nobles] [before me] to surrender the *sudang*. I met with them.” (*DAS:f.79r*)

An additional entry, in one of the *Addenda* for the year 1783, written in the Makasar language under the same date,⁶⁸ further describes the agenda of the meeting:

“1199 *Hijrah* or 1785 A.D., on 16th August, 10th *Syawal*, on Tuesday. The *Maqdanrang* came to bring *Daéng* Riboko together with the Gowa [Makasar] people who brought the

⁶⁸ Reading through Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's diary, it is clear that the scribe made a habit of putting additional information or entries in any spaces available. Since this was a common practice, it is unlikely (but tenable, nonetheless) that this more detailed entry could be a later addition made to legitimise in retrospect *Arumponé*'s claim to the Gowa throne, once the Company had begun to exert pressure for the return of the *sudang*.

sudang. *Daéng* Kasia as the spokesperson said; “We have come to see you to deliver our master’s pronouncement that Boné and Moncongga should be united. We have now reached agreement on the two [or] three issues. We inherited the accomplishments of our former master *Karaéng Tumamena ri Mangkuwaya* [literally, ‘He who lies at Mangkuwaya’]. Although this action is very hard for us to bear, we must shoulder it for the sake of the kingdom [of Gowa]. Although it is testing, [you will] uphold the *adat* of Gowa, for the sake of the children and grandchildren of *Karaéng Tumamena ri Lakiung* [literally, ‘He who lies at Lakiung’]. [It is] the King of Boné [who] will uphold the *adat* of the land [of Gowa]. And such is our hope, for you are our leader and we are pleased about this. Our feelings say that we should not doubt the unity and brotherhood within our country and whoever leads and rules our kingdom will be our master. Nothing you have said conflicts with our desires. Whatever problems we have in our minds, we will tell you, and we expect guidance and hope from you, and we think you are very worthy, because our own minds could not possibly encompass the entire *adat* of the Gowa land.” (*DAS*:f.68r)

This long entry written in the *Addenda* 1785 appears to emphasise the suitability of the *Arumponé* for the Gowa throne, and hence, was a way to legitimise his claim explicitly, yet subtly. Although Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh reports his meeting in two different entries, one in the daily entry and another in the *Addendum*, he does not mention the *sudang* physically coming into his possession. The *sudang* was not actually handed over to him on this date, 16th August 1785 (*DAS*:f.79r). A month later, on 16th September, the *Arumponé* informs us that the *sudang* was brought by the Makasars to *Karaéng Balasari*’s house (*DAS*:f.79v).⁶⁹ Why it was not kept at the royal palace is unclear, but from the diary’s entries it is evident that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh was considered, and considered himself, to be the keeper of the *sudang* from August 1785 onwards. This is explicitly mentioned in *DAS* when he writes:

28th July 1786:

“ [...] it has [now] been a year that I have had the *sudang* of Gowa. *Barakallah*.” (*DAS*:f.85v)

Another entry of similar tone reads:

6th August 1786:

“For exactly a year I have served the kingdom of Gowa. *Barakallah* [...]” (*DAS*:f.86r)

⁶⁹ *Karaéng Balasari* was *Daéng Riboko* alias *Arung Mampu*’s mother who had been invited to reside in Watampone (Boné) in 1785 by Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh (*DAS*:f.79v).

It is evident that only on 29th November 1786 did the *sudang* physically come into his possession:

“The *sudang*, I *Tanisama*, and the [other] regalia of Gowa came to me, brought by the [hill] Makasars. Therefore, I kept them [in my possession] [...]” (DAS:f.87v)

Prior to 29th November, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh did not possess the *sudang*, and therefore it is presumed that the series of meetings held with the hill Makasars on 7th and 16th August 1785 constituted a verbal agreement to surrender the regalia to him (DAS:f.79r). In May 1787, the *Arumponé* explicitly writes in his diary his claim to be the legitimate ruler of Gowa:

28th May 1787

“I instructed the *Tomabbicara Butta* [the chief justice] that; ‘Those *Anakarung* of Makassar who are held captive in Gowa should be released to accord with Boné’s wishes and ordered to serve Gowa. Whoever possesses the *sudang* is their master” (DAS:f.91v).

From this date onwards, on several occasions, he mentions bringing the regalia of Gowa, as well as that of Boné, with him during the Muslim festive season, *lebaran* (Id.), and on other royal tours, as shown in the following reports:

20th July 1787:

“I went to perform the Friday prayer. This time, on *Eid*, I brought the *sudang* along with me.” (DAS:f.92v)

Similarly;

19th September 1787:

“I took a *proa* from Ujung Tanah to Maros together with *Puang Batara Tungkeq*. I also brought along with me the regalia of Boné and of Gowa by land from Talloq. The regalia were sent [to me] by the *Anréguru Anakarung* together with *Tomarilalang*, *Karaéng Bonto* [Pataku], *Karaéng Bonto Matutapo*. Around ‘*Asar* [early evening] the regalia arrived at Marampésu.” (DAS:f.93v; DTM:f.83r)

Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s self-assumed dual status as king of both Boné and Gowa increasingly asserts itself through social contacts. In his diary, this is manifested in his mentioning of being presented with a gift of some money by *Karaéng Sanraboné* when visiting him. He writes that he was given two *réal*: one in his capacity of *Arumponé*, the other in his capacity of *Karaéng* of Gowa. The same applies to his wife, who received half a *tail* as the Queen of Boné, and another half a *tail* as the *Karaéng Bainé* (Queen of Gowa) (DAS 30th March 1787:f.90v; DAS 18th October 1787:f.94r). In this way, Sultan

Ahmad as Salleh indicates that another local ruler, too, recognised his legitimacy. Similarly, to celebrate the Prophet Mohammad's birthday, he organised two separate events on different days for the Bugis and the Makasars respectively. Another example of his self-legitimation, rather than others' legitimisation of him, occurs on 25th of October 1787:

“[An] ear piercing ceremony for I Patiku [was held]. I presented her with two slaves: one as a gift from the ruler of Boné; the other as a gift from the ruler of Gowa [...].”
(DAS:f.94r)

As a result of the hill Makasars' submission, and the surrender of the *sudang* to Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh in August 1785, two factions developed within the Makassar kingdom. On the one hand were the hill-Makasars who followed the *sudang*, supporting the *Arumponé*, and on the other the Gowanese, the Makasars who showed allegiance to *Karaéng* Bontolangkasa (Sultan Abdul Hadi). The Company's authority in the region was clearly undermined by the division; by 14th August 1787 the Company felt sufficiently threatened by the growing political instability to send a party of delegates to demand of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh that the *sudang* be given over to the Company. On this matter, *DAS* states:

14th August 1787:
“The Company's delegates; the Commisaris, the Fiscal [officer] came with the harbourmaster, with orders to demand the regalia of Gowa and other royal ornaments.” (DAS:f.93r)

It appears that from August 1787⁷⁰ the Boné court and the Company entered into a polemic, in which each disputed the right of the other to own the *sudang*. Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh continued to reiterate that the Makasars had chosen him. In 1789, a further schism shows that the situation was to erupt into an armed civil conflict between the two factions (*DAS*, 15th July 1789:f.108v).

4.4.3 The contest for the *sudang*

The dispute over the ownership of the *sudang* had enormous repercussions for Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh. Were he to gain possession of the *sudang*, it would greatly enhance his status and authority among the Bugis and the Makasars. On the other hand,

⁷⁰ It would appear from a letter written by the Boné court in November 1787, in justification of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's claimed right to rule Gowa, that Governor Reijke had been expecting the ruler of Boné to surrender the *sudang* and other regalia for some time prior to 14th August 1787. (*ANRI Mak.14h*:f.112)

it would provide the Dutch with a ready-made excuse to invade Boné should they feel that the possession of the regalia was too great a threat to their authority.⁷¹

In bringing the *sudang* to Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh after I Sangkilang's death, the hill-Makasars had acted in defiance of the Company and its regulations. According to the Bongaya Contract, the Company should have been involved in all negotiations, and hence it was to the Company that the *sudang* should have been returned, so that it could be restored to the lawful ruler of Gowa, *Karaéng* Bontolangkasa. Equally, according to the Bongaya treaty, it was to the Company that the hill-Makasars would eventually have to submit. Nevertheless, when the hill-Makasars did submit, it was with the intervention of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh, the Company's main ally. There are several possible reasons for the hill-Makasars' action in handing over the *sudang* to the ruler of Boné above anybody else. Perhaps they were motivated by feelings of shame '*siri*' and pride, '*pessé*', and a sense that delivering it to Boné was less of a surrender than relinquishing it to the Company. In any case, the hill-Makasars (and Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh) did not view *Karaéng* Bontolangkasa's instatement in the absence of the *sudang* as legitimate.

In his letter addressed to the Governor, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's own justification for the hill-Makasars having brought the *sudang* to him is as follows:⁷²

"In the beginning of the year 1785, on Sunday 7th August [...], the Makasars from the hills came to present us the kingdom of Gowa, on which occasion we were living at Boné. [...] All the above came to Boné and offered me the kingdom of Gowa saying:⁷³ 'We, the Makasars, come to Boné to submit ourselves, [...] to Boné, for in no one do we trust more to seek our well-being from the Company because we want to have a contract with the Company, and also such is our custom that we submit ourselves to the country of Boné, and that Boné champions our well-being with the Company. Moreover we give the kingdom of Gowa to the grandson of our master'. These are the words that the Gowanese brought to me [Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh] [...]." (ANRI Mak.14h:f.108-111)⁷⁴

⁷¹ The final consequences of the struggle for the possession of the *sudang* were felt a decade and a half later. For more information see (BL Board's Collection 1796-1858); see also (ANRI Mak.265a, ANRI Mak.265b, ANRI Mak.265c, ANRI Mak.265d, ANRI Mak.265e and ANRI Mak.265f).

⁷² It appears that the meeting on 7th August 1785 was just a verbal declaration of intent to surrender the *sudang*, in contrast to the diary entry on 16th August 1785 which states that the *sudang* was delivered to the *Arumponé* (DAS:f.80r).

⁷³ Dutch sources lists the nobles who came to surrender the *sudang* to the *Arumponé*; for further information, see (ANRI Mak14h:108-9); see also (ANRI Mak.419/1:1st July 1790).

⁷⁴ This statement is only found in the Dutch record. The only event that the *Arumponé* mentions in his diary for 7th August 1785 was the arrival of the hill Makasars at Daéng Riboko's house, bringing the *sudang* with them (DAS:f.79r).

The hill-Makasars' action was not unfounded; they, and later Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh too, claimed that he had the right to the throne of Gowa for reasons of genealogy. In his letter to the Company, he stressed his genealogical claim:

“Our master [*Arung* Palakka Malampéq-é Gemmeqna] who died at Bontoalaa arranged the marriage between our master who died at Nagauleng [Sultan Alimudin Idris alias La Patau, being a nephew of *Arung* Palakka] and *Karaéng* Patukangan, the daughter of Raja Gowa Sultan Abdul Jalil Shaharuddin, who abdicated to Likijong, who [then] gave birth to *Karaéng* Patukangan, our master Sultan Mohamed Saad who died at Sombaopu [*Matinroé ri* Sombaopu] who reigned over Gowa and Boné, and who was also [the] *Datu* of Soppeng. This person [...] [later] became *Ponggawa* of Boné [*Arung* Sumaling] who married the daughter of *Maqkedangtana* of Boné and she gave birth to *Arung* Baka who is married to the daughter of our master Sultan Jalaluddin Abdul Razak who died at Malimongang [*Matinroé ri* Malimongang] and this person fathered me.⁷⁵ And so we say that we and nobody else are the heirs to the kingdom of Boné and Gowa.” (*ANRI Mak.14h:fols 112-113*)⁷⁶

Supported by strong genealogical ties, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh felt that he was the rightful claimant to the Gowa throne and, as such, his possession of the regalia was legitimate. In his diary he attempts to depict his ownership of the *sudang* as a fortunate accident, stressing that it was the Makasars who came to him and not vice versa (*DAS:f.79r*; *ANRI Mak.14h:f.108-111*). Although from his own records it would seem the king never sought to profit from the possibilities offered by his genealogy before he found himself in possession of the *sudang*, this does not rule out any earlier scheming on his part. Indeed, I have previously suggested that a meeting may have taken place between Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh and I Sangkilang, some years before the latter's death. Conversely, the very absence of any explicit reference to designs on the Gowa throne may itself be indicative of a concerted effort to keep his objective hidden. After all, it is not unreasonable to expect to find his strategy for occupying the thrones of both kingdoms reflected in his diary, but it is from the Dutch sources that we derive much information concerning the dispute over the *sudang*. Where the issue does arise in Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's diary from 1787, it generally relates to demands made or meetings called by the Company, or to the conflict between the two factions of Makasar, revealing little of the *Arumponé*'s political strategy.

⁷⁵ Perhaps this is an error made by the interpreter while working on the Bugis letter. Sultan Abdul Razak Jalaluddin was not Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's father, but his grandfather.

⁷⁶ Unfortunately, such a claim of similar tone to that mentioned in the Dutch records, is absent from the diary of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh. The only entry that provides comparable affirmation is on 28th May 1787 (*DAS:f.91v*).

The Governor had enjoyed little success in his efforts to retrieve the regalia, and on 19th August 1789 he wrote in exasperation that: “[the Company has] not the slightest assurance or prospect of getting the ornaments from Boné.” (*ANRI Mak.419/I*:19th August 1789) That Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s lobbying of the Company became more forceful, asking it to recognise him as the king of Gowa, we learn mainly from the Dutch records. For example, on 24th June 1789, the Governor reports that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh had asked bluntly ‘*of ik hem als koning van Goah wilde erkennen*’ (whether I [the Governor] would recognise him as the king of Gowa) (*ANRI Mak.419/I*: 24th June 1789).

4.4.4 The submission of the hill Makasars to the Company

For a considerable period, it appeared that the Company and the Boné court had reached a stalemate in which the Company’s persistent demands were met with continued refusal and deferment. Then, towards the end of 1789, the armed conflict between the hill-Makasar and those who followed *Karaéng* Bontolangkasa served as a catalyst for action. In order to preserve stability in Makassar, the Company saw it as a matter of urgency to bring the hill-Makasars into submission to the Company without further ado. Discussions on the arrangement for the surrender took place from early 1790, but it was not until 1st July of that year that a mutually agreeable contract was drawn up, and the hill-Makasars were brought into submission. On 1st July 1790 Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh reports:

“We, the nobles of Boné went to the fort to ask for pardon for the people of Gowa [the hill-Makasars] who brought the regalia to me. Their [hill-Makasar] nobles were *Maqkedangtana* Gowa, *Baté Salapang* and the *Anakarung*. They were granted pardon. The Governor delivered his speech: ‘Don’t desert [Gowa], [but] strengthen your steadfastness towards the person in whom you all believe. The Company will not do anything which does not agree with your *adat*, and I will be pursuing that which was decided by the previous Governor’.” (*DAS*:f.113v; *DTM*:f.103r)

The Dutch sources provide a far more colourful and detailed description of the actual ceremony than do the indigenous sources. The hill-Makasars submitting themselves to the Company then made the following declaration:

“We [...] declare to his esteemed honour [the Governor] that it was very agreeable to us to hear [your words], and it is for this reason that we came to Boné and sought refuge with the grandson of our previous kings [Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh] in order to accept him as the king of Gowa. Moreover, we are

convinced that the Company and Boné will never separate from each other. Therefore it would be possible that our king [Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh] could bring us to the Company again in order, as before, to maintain the contents of the Bongaya contract and to follow it. So to that end, we, in accordance with the law of Gowa, submit ourselves to the law of Boné [...]. So, we request from God that the Company and Boné allow us to keep our land's law as before and for no change to be made in it." (*ANRI Mak.419/1:1st July 1790*)

In spite of the great difficulties in these negotiations, the Governor in his report took what little solace he could from the degradation of 'the proud Makassars' who were made to sit on the ground in front of him and the king of Boné in an unprecedented act of humiliation (*ANRI Mak.419/1:1st July 1790*). Yet the symbolic value of the ceremony of submission was considerable; the practice of making conquered enemies swear an oath of allegiance and obedience was not uncommon amongst the natives of South Sulawesi. In arrogating the tradition, the Company sought to bolster its status as the supreme proprietor of the region, in a manner meaningful to the local inhabitants.

4.4.5 The issue of the *sudang*: A hidden agenda

Within two weeks of the hill-Makasars' agreement with the Company, on 15th of July 1790, the Governor received a letter from the Boné court, which he describes as containing many trivialities, but with a veiled objective that was transparent to him. The aim was to place Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's son on the throne of Gowa and to place the royal ornaments of Gowa in the Boniers' safekeeping for as long as he (the son of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh) was still too young to reign (*ANRI Mak.419/1; ANRI Mak.117 No.26*). This issue, of placing Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's son on the throne of Gowa, had been raised two years earlier, on 24th January 1788, when on being questioned whom the *Arumponé* would like to be king of Gowa, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh had answered that he envisaged his son or nephew occupying the throne (*ANRI Mak.14c:24th January 1788*).

This advocacy of his son as a suitable ruler seems intended to present himself, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh, as the most qualified candidate. He emphasises his son's youth and inexperience, and thus, for as long as the boy is too young to rule lawfully, the need for an adult guardian to take interim responsibility for his office as king of Gowa, and to be the interim keeper of the *sudang* (*ANRI Mak.117 No.26; ANRI Mak.117 No.28*). The plan to make his young son ruler of Gowa was a strategy for expanding his influence in the political realm, by becoming the ruler of Gowa in practice if not in name. In the same letter, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh suggests that the quickest route to unity within Gowa was for the Company firstly to recognise the hill-Makasars' allegiance to him, and then to

instruct the Makasars of Mangasa (those who followed *Karaéng* Bontolangkasa) to join him as well, arguing that their laws require them to follow him. Finally, the Company must demand from *Karaéng* Bontolangkasa the royal ornament of Gowa in the latter's possession (*ANRI Mak.117* No.28:408-9).

On 17th July, two days after he received this letter, the Governor received Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh and his party. The *Arumponé* requested to speak to the Governor in private, except for the presence of interpreter Billet, and they retired to the Governor's office, where Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh asked for the door and windows to be closed and locked. He spoke to the Governor of his intention to appoint his son as ruler of Gowa, and to keep the royal ornaments in his possession until such time as the boy came of age. To the Governor, the *Arumponé's* object was transparent: while his son was a minor, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh would be the effective king of Gowa. Moreover, it was to be anticipated that when the time came to give the ornaments over to his son, he would exploit all possibilities for postponing the event, or even dethrone his son, should the latter not rule as he wished him to. And should his son die prematurely, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh would claim the kingdom of Gowa (*ANRI Mak.117* No.32:433).

In reply, the Governor categorically rejected Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's claim to have been chosen by the Makasars as their lawful ruler, because the state was also made up of the Makasars who followed *Karaéng* Bontolangkasa, and he had only been accepted by a small minority of its inhabitants (*ANRI Mak.117* No.32:436). On this issue, however, they reached an impasse. On 27th May 1794 the Governor sent a letter to the *Arumponé* reprehending him for the fact that the hand over of the *sudang* and other royal ornaments had taken place in a "scandalous and treacherous fashion" (*ANRI Mak.144b/2* No.55:121). The Dutch were also angry with the hill-Makasars' having sought to gain forgiveness from the Company through Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's intervention (*ANRI Mak.144b/2* No.55).

Given the constant rebuttal of his demands by the Company, the reliability of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's account is questionable. For example, we read in his diary entry on 24th July 1790 that, accompanied by the nobles of Boné and Gowa, he went to see the Governor and had a private discussion with him in his office. He quotes the Governor verbatim as finally having conceded:

"The Company has no choice but to legalise your position as the *Karaéng* of Gowa because you have been selected by the people of Gowa, as witnessed by the Company. And therefore, *Karaéng* Mangasa is not the ruler." (*DAS:f.113v*)⁷⁷

⁷⁷ The *DTM* dates their meeting on 26th July 1790:

However, this version of events is strongly contradicted by the Governor's own report, which characterises their meeting as fraught, and the *Arumponé*'s demeanour as irritable. According to the report, the Governor twice suggested that the *Maqdanrang* and Commandant Staringh should also be present, and twice the *Arumponé* refused to admit them. According to the Governor, the *Arumponé* lost his temper, stating amongst other things that the Makasars pestered him daily, and that their choice of him as their king had been expressed both in writing and orally. When his responsibility to give the ornaments to the Company was pointed out to him, the *Arumponé* angrily interjected that the ornaments had been offered to Reijke, but had been turned down by the latter (*ANRI Mak.419/1:24th July 1790*).

After a further exchange in which the king's replies are characterised by the Governor as 'prickly', Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh asked to be recognised as the king of Gowa, but this was refused. The Governor declared categorically that he could not agree to his request, for Boné and Gowa were two kingdoms and could not be ruled by one king (*Mak.117 No.47*). He therefore advised him to put these ideas out of his head, or find himself in breach of the Bongaya Contract. This point about the impossibility of ruling both countries at once was a new development in the Company's rhetoric, and would be a bone of contention for years to come. Even as late as 1794, the issue of dual rulership remained current (*ANRI Mak.144b/2:21-24*).

In any event, the confrontational meeting of 24th July 1790 as described by the Dutch sources is a complete contradiction of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's account of the Governor's magnanimous gesture of conceding the crown to him. Evidently one of the two accounts is to some extent fabricated, and I would suggest that, given the function of the royal diary in Bugis society, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh had much to gain by entering his own version of events in his diary, in order to endorse his political power.

An *Addendum* found in the king's diary under the year 1788, but dated 18th January 1794, summarises the discussion that took place when Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh was asked by the head interpreter of the Company to elucidate his propositions concerning the successor to the throne of Gowa (*DAS:f.102v-103r*). Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh promised to appoint a suitable successor as soon as possible; however, this promise was not fulfilled, a failure which would appear to be symptomatic of a wider strategic programme of procrastination and deferment designed to buy time for his son to reach

"We, the nobles of Boné and Gowa accompanied the *Arumponé* to the fort to see the Governor, to clarify to the Governor that the *Arumponé* is now the *Karaèng* of Gowa." (*DTM:f.103r*)

The discrepancy in dates would suggest that either a mistake was made by the author of *DTM*, or a second meeting took place two days after the king's meeting with the Governor as recorded in his diary.

maturity and to keep the regalia in the *Arumponé*'s possession. The Company had long since anticipated that the *Arumponé* would take this course of action; in a letter addressed to Willem Beth (the successor of Barend Reijke, who had finished his term in May 1790), the Governor-General in Batavia wrote:⁷⁸

“This man [the *Arumponé*] has formed a fixed plan just as we have already noticed in the previous year, to wear out the Company, make it buckle under the pressure and eventually make us tired and force us to subject [ourselves] to the local conflicts.” (*ANRI Mak.14f:619*)

In July 1791⁷⁹ the Company's records state that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh came to see Governor Beth, accompanied by his eldest son and his nobles. The *Arumponé* later met in private with the Governor and the interpreters from both parties. The growing suspicions of the Company concerning Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's contrivances became clear when he was confronted by the Governor with the following questions:

“Do you deny that you have designs on the throne of Gowa? [...] Do you have the royal ornaments in your possession? [...] Were you not the protector of the enemy of the Company? [...] Do you not agree that you cannot be the king of Boné and Makassar at once, yet you say in the same breath that you are the descendant of the previous king of Gowa and also because the Makasars gave you the royal ornaments? [...] Did they bring you the ornaments in a buoyant state or did they bring you the royal ornaments in defeat when they realised they could not stand up to the Company?” (*ANRI Mak.144b/1:340*)

He did not reply directly to these questions, but instead related how, when he was given the regalia, he had informed the previous Governor, Mr. Barend Reijke. He alleged that the ex-Governor Reijke had tried to take the royal ornaments from him by force, and had threatened him with war ships if he refused to surrender them (*ANRI Mak.144b/1:341*).

4.4.6 The *sudang*: A drawn-out affair

For a further year, little progress was made. A letter sent by the Boné court on 21st February 1793 once again highlighted the *Arumponé*'s aspiration, stating the Makasars' continued desire to have the *Arumponé* as their ruler (*ANRI Mak.119 No.26*). In response to the letter from Boné, some nine days later, the Governor replied ingeniously,

⁷⁸ This appears to be a secret letter sent by the Governor-General to Governor Willem Beth in response to a letter sent on 14th April by the latter. Although the year is not stated, based on its contents I presume that it was written *circa* 1791.

⁷⁹ The *Arumponé*'s diary records that he went to see the Governor on 16th July 1791 (*DAS:f.120v*).

manifesting a willingness to yield to the king's demand to appoint his son as the ruler of Gowa. Governor Beth now entertained the possibility of the king of Gowa abdicating the throne, emphasising, however, the need for him (the king of Gowa) to do so willingly (*ANRI Mak.119* No.27). Two weeks later, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh sent another letter to the Governor, speculating that the king of Gowa would be prepared to step down if he saw that this would make his country happy. The Governor audaciously suggested that both parties send a messenger to *Karaéng* Bontolangkasa to advise him it would be in his best interests to abdicate and to return to his previous residence (*ANRI Mak.119* No.28). In a letter of response, dated 13th May 1794, Diederick Deefhout, the senior interpreter representing the Governor, stated that the Company could not object to the Makasars if they continued to insist on having the *Arumponé* as ruler of Gowa. However, this was conditional on the demand that the present ruler of Gowa, *Karaéng* Bontolangkasa, should step down from the throne willingly, and a fair and sincere election be held to decide who should succeed to the throne of Gowa. Nonetheless, it seems that the demand may not have materialised, since, according to Deefhout, the election had not yet taken place (*ANRI Mak.144b/2* No.56:126-7).

The issue of the *sudang* was a prolonged affair, hampered by the unwillingness of either side to compromise. Why did the Company insist that the *sudang* be returned to it? The one underlying motive we can glean from the Dutch sources is the concern of the Netherlands to prevent the '*brutaale inlanders*' — the impudent natives — from undermining their authority. It was imperative for the Company to be closely involved in the administration and execution of all elections in the ally states; in practice, this meant the Company had to be kept informed at every stage of the process: not only did it approve the need for an election and the means by which it was to take place, but the new ruler, once elected, had to be recognised and endorsed by the Company. An important aspect was the conferment of the royal ornaments on the new king, which had to occur for his position to be lawful. In this case, the Company insisted moreover that the *sudang* must be given over to the rightful ruler by the Company and Boné acting in unison, and by no means could the *Arumponé* transfer it directly to the new ruler of Gowa (*ANRI Mak.95c*:26th June 1790; *ANRI Mak.419/1*:26th June 1790). Nevertheless, the regalia and some royal ornaments in Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's possession were not handed over to the Company, even after the *Arumponé's* death in 1812 (*BL Board's Collection F/4/557*).

In Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's diary, which continues until 1795, only one further entry mentions the subject of the *sudang* and the issue of the succession to the throne of Gowa. On 26th February 1795 the *Arumponé* writes that he was informed about the

arrival of a letter from the Governor, brought by the senior interpreter, asking the people of Gowa to come together to appoint their ruler. He notes in the diary his intention to give a neutral reply to the letter:

“I will not object to the Governor’s desire and neither do I want [to agree to] it. [Because] if I were to call an election, they might think that my request does not conform to the custom, and if I try to stop them, who knows [if] they will think that I am insisting on staying on the throne of Gowa, [therefore], the people of Gowa will not disregard the law.”
(DAS:f.150r)

Although Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s diary ends in 1795, the issue of the *sudang*, and correspondingly of his claim to rule Gowa, remained contentious until his death in 1812, when he was succeeded by his eldest son Muhammad Ismail Mohtaruddin *Arung Palakka*. Thomas Stamford Raffles states that on 25th July 1812 he tried to persuade *Arung Palakka* to surrender the *sudang* to him, but the new *Arumponé* remained adamant (ANRI Mak.265/2). Almost two years later, on 6th June 1814, under the pretext that some followers of *Arung Palakka* had murdered a native interpreter in British employ, the British gave *Arung Palakka* an ultimatum of ten hours in which to acknowledge British supremacy in South Sulawesi and to surrender the *sudang*.⁸⁰ The *Arumponé* refused to do either, and, in advance of the British troops who stormed his palace at Bontoalaaq, fled with a small following overland to the mountain regions north of Maros, leaving the *sudang* and other regalia into the hands of *Datu Soppeng*. These the *Datu Soppeng* gave to *Arung Mampu*, the brother of the *Batara Gowa Amas Madina*, who surrendered them to the English government in Makassar (BL Board’s Collection F/4/557:fols 1-22; BL Raffles Collection V:fols 7-18; Abdul Razak d.k.k. 1989:224-28, 1993:88; Friedericicy 1933:495-96). The *sudang* was entrusted to I Mappatunru’ Karaéng Lembangparang when he was elected as the king of Gowa (Mattulada 1998:328). Under the terms of the Settlement of Makassar in 1816, the British returned Makassar and the northern districts back to the Dutch.

4.5 Summary and conclusions

DAS does not provide us with a straightforward account of the struggle for the throne of Gowa and the possession of its regalia. Rather, the actions and involvement of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh have to be gleaned from a number of oblique and occasionally direct references to I Sangkilang and the regalia. In his diary there exists an unmistakable self-

⁸⁰ Keen to exploit the region, the British had long been angling for an excuse to wage war on Boné. Hence the Boniers’ rejection of British rule served as a welcome justification to attack the kingdom (Bastin 1954:114).

consciousness exemplified by the various omissions and embellishments I have touched upon.

I have argued that the very act of beginning to write the diary was for Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh a political one, in anticipation of the new role that he would fulfil after the death of the old king. As *Arumponé*, his first responsibility was to carry out the customary rituals, lasting one hundred days, to honour the deceased king. Other administrative affairs requiring his attention were, perhaps conveniently, mostly postponed until after the mourning period. It was upon his return to Boné that the real business of politics began for him. His diary served primarily as a repository for the pronouncements he made to his subjects, allies and vassals, and of their pledges of allegiance to him.

Cross-referral with the Dutch sources paints a far more complete picture than the diary does on its own. Especially where the Dutch account differs from the diary, more machiavellian aspects of his persona are revealed. His tacit collusion with I Sangkilang, the slow germination of his plan to claim entitlement to the throne of Gowa, and the subsequent adaptations to that plan, all of which can be inferred from cross-reference to other sources, manifest Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's character as cautious, confident and cunning. Particularly in dealing with the Dutch he is wary of outside interference: he plays his cards close to his chest.

Indisputably the diary contains much objective historical fact, and is an important source document. At the same time, it is questionable to what extent Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh manipulates information to his advantage, as we have seen in relation to his politics. The measure of objectivity in his diaries may become easier to gauge after examining what the diary contributes to our understanding of the local economy of Boné and its surroundings, which I explore in the next chapter.

Chapter Five

The Diary as a Historical Text: Economic Events

“[...] There exist no rich archives which allow the historian to know in depth the state of society as a whole, the workings of the economy, the details of daily life, the evolution of customs and mentalities. The only local sources that may cast new light on particular issues are perhaps certain diaries kept at the courts of the princes, in which they relate the daily facts and events.” (Pelras 1981:153)

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I will consider what information on the economy of Boné can be extracted from Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s diary. My study will focus on the inner circle at court and its involvement in economic activities. Where possible, I will contrast the information from *DAS* with contemporary Dutch sources and other Bugis diaries.

5.1 The economy of the Bugis: An introduction

The agricultural economy of South Sulawesi must be considered in the context of the social relations of agricultural producers and patrons. The social organisation of South Sulawesi was marked by a pyramidal hierarchy, at the apex of which was the king, followed by his nearest relatives, the crown prince and other princes of the royal family, and subsequently the distinct group of “princes born of lower queens”. The leading offices of state were held by close relatives of the king, for the obvious purpose of stabilising and strengthening his administration (Millar 1989; Mattulada 1998).¹ Other members of the state apparatus were the judges, the king’s advisors, the spokesmen, the king’s confidants, the revenue collectors such as the *jennang* (B.) who managed the royal property, and other nobles, *anakarung* (B.). The next echelon of society consisted of the freemen who were obliged to pay homage, *kasuwiyang*² (B.), to

¹ This is related to the ‘*politik kawin-mawin*’ (Id.), a network of intermarriage among the upper echelons for political reasons as well as for the purpose of maintaining royal status. Schiel (1985) states that there exist some parallels between social organisations in South Sulawesi and the Polynesian Chieftainships.

² Niemann defines the meaning of *kasuwiyang* as homage, tribute, subservience or allegiance (*Adatrechtbundels* 1929:221).

their superiors, by means of either a financial contribution or payment in kind. The most subordinate stratum consisted of slaves defined by Sutherland as “those who ‘belonged’ to someone, who had limited social and legal rights, and could be bought and sold.” (Sutherland 1983b:263)

Pelras’ study (1996) provides a valuable account of the pyramidal feudal structure as the pivotal mode of social organisation in South Sulawesi. Although the individual political systems of the Bugis exhibit some common traits, their organisation was by no means uniform. For example, the kingdoms of Wajoq and Boné were composed of confederations of a number of smaller areas of territorial and political unity, of varying size and importance. These self-governing social units were called *wanua* (B.) or sometimes *akkarungeng* (B.), ‘a place with an *arung*’. The *wanua* had its own institutions, subdivisions and sometimes even dependencies, child *wanua* (*anaq wanua*, B.), each with its own *arung* (Pelras 1996:176-9). For example, within Wajoqs confederation, Tosora was the core *wanua*, and its relationships with Wajoq and with other *wanua* are set out in written bilateral agreements.³ Each *wanua* retained its own jurisprudence, *bicara* (B.), and its own customs, *adeq* (B.). The *wanua* received protection and advice from the suzerain in exchange for fulfilment of a number of obligations stipulated in the agreement, for example tributes in kind, designated services, or the provision of a specified number of armed men in case of war.⁴

In a patrimonial or prebendal state such as Boné, the hierarchical relationship between the lowest territorial units and the great kingdoms, in existence since the earliest times, engendered the need for noblemen (*arung*) to gain supporters in order to climb the ladder of political office. The relationship between lord and follower, patron and client, was voluntary in nature and based only on an implicit contract, and could be ended at any time. Unless the client was in debt to his patron, he could at any time shift

³ Andaya explains that such relationships between various socio-political units would be expressed in terms of the subjection of a dependant to a master, the attachment of a retainer to his leader, the dependence of a child on his mother, or the alliance between brothers of equal status or between an elder and a younger sibling. For more information on these relationships, see Andaya (1978:275-95).

⁴ Originally, the kingdom of Boné had been a confederation similar to Wajoq but the central authority of the realm, the core *wanua*, had become stronger than in any other Bugis state. The selection of the king, *Arumponé* and the Chief Minister, *Tomarilalang*, was made by the Council of the Seven Lords, *Adeq Pitu* (B.). James Brooke, visiting Boné in 1843, observed that:

“The constitution is name rather than a reality at present: the country, as far as I observe, being reduced under the despotic sway of the *patamkowé* (sic.: *Petta Mangkauq*). The power of the monarch seems to have no limit: none can approach him on terms of equality, save the *Aru* [sic.: *Arung*] *Matoa* of Wajoq and the *Datu* of Soping. The authority delegated to him to his minister appears equally arbitrary and the *Aru Pitu* – the great council – is a mere tool in his hands.” (Brooke 1843:133-4)

allegiance to another *arung*. The complexity of these attachments was remarked upon by Raffles, who mentions:

“The Bugis attach themselves to their chiefs principally for their own convenience, but in some cases they have evinced a devoted fidelity. They often change their chief, but scarcely any thing can induce them to betray the chief they have left [...] Their minor associations are held together by all the attachment and warmth which distinguished the clans of North Britain.”
(Raffles 1820:clxxxiii – clxxxiv)

The patron-client relationships which underpinned the Bugis social system ensured a flow of goods downwards in return for an upward flow of services. The financial burden on the high-ranking noble families was considerable: they had to support in their houses a large number of people including slaves, servants, dependant followers, messengers, ladies-in-waiting, and kinsfolk both close and distant, all of whom had to be provided with food, and sometimes clothing. High-ranking families engaged in economic activities in order to fulfil these practical needs, as well as to signify their wealth and their political status.

Lineton (1975) shows that one of the main tasks of the traditional leaders was the redistribution of wealth. Still in evidence as recently as the mid-twentieth century, it was the practice that some goods received by members of the nobility, either as an income linked to offices they held or on the occasion of particular celebrations, would be immediately redistributed, or stored to be distributed later as needed. Hence, while the Bugis nobles were not primarily a landed class, there was a link between political power and control over land, in that the Bugis upper class obtained its wealth from collective access to political offices to which specific sources of income were attached. Caldwell (1995:398-99) provides evidence that royal lands could be given as fiefs to senior Minister of States, who were usually the ruler's close relatives. From the yields of paddy records in *DAS*, it is clear that a small privileged elite owned or controlled large areas of fertile agricultural land. Sources of income included the produce of certain lands, forest tracts and fisheries, percentages of the yields of other lands, and taxes on crops, markets, gambling, and goods entering harbours (Pelras 1996:186).

5.1.2 Description of agricultural produce

In carrying out a review of past scholarship on the economy of South Sulawesi, the gaps in knowledge are striking. Most historical accounts on South Sulawesi are derived from Western visitors, and as such are somewhat superficial accounts that focus on the

types of crops, many of which were entirely novel to them, rather than the mechanisms of economic activity proper. Nonetheless, they do provide an insight into traditional agricultural activity, as well as the increasing commercial exploitation of the region.

The earliest external accounts are of Portuguese origin, and date from the sixteenth century.⁵ The earliest European visitors to the country all eulogised its fertility, and marked out the main product of South Sulawesi as rice, a description which applies as much in the present day as it did in the sixteenth century. We learn, too, that rice had been exported to Malacca since at least 1511 (Cortêsão 1944:285). Although the trading of rice to the Portuguese did not last long, South Sulawesi became a regular supplier to the Portuguese after relations were re-established in 1559 (Pelras 1981:157).

The Dutch, who arrived in 1605, recorded how bountiful Makassar was:

“Makassar is a good ground for rice which grows there in abundance; and which can be clearly seen when one sails along the coastlines, especially in the months of March, April, May and June, when it is still in the fields [...] Further inland, there are pleasant groves of coconuts, which are planted in rows and which provide very agreeable shade for protecting oneself from the blazing heat of the sun.” (Van Soldt 1605:82, quoted in Pelras 1981:156)

Aside from the locally grown foodstuffs, which included all sorts of fruits and vegetables, other produce grown or collected for profit mentioned by these early sources were indigo and tree resins. An account from 1609 shows that various exotic crops were introduced during this period, as it mentions the presence of sweet potatoes and tobacco (Pelras 1981:157). Although they are not mentioned, other New World crops introduced to South Sulawesi included chili, groundnuts and maize following the arrival of the Portuguese and the Spaniards.

Animal husbandry was an important economic activity. Buffaloes were reared to work the land as well as for their meat, though buffalo meat was mainly eaten on festive occasions and also carried a symbolic value, indicating submission when given as a gift (*ANRI Mak.* 95:13th November 1789; *DAS*:f.114v). In 1609 the Dutch recorded fifty to sixty buffaloes belonging to a single owner. In earlier times, the animals reared for consumption would have included pigs. It is recorded in 1559 that much pork was consumed, but that by 1607 the princes of Talloq and Gowa, who had recently converted

⁵ Of these, two are of particular importance, namely that of Antonio de Paiva in 1542-43 and 1544; and that of Manuel Pinto (Pelras 1981:154). Other accounts include Tomé Pires (Cortêsão 1944) and Couto (1779).

to Islam, were making it more difficult to procure (Pelras 1981:157). Goats and chickens were also bred for consumption; the absence of cows was commented upon by western visitors, although this animal is mentioned twice in the diary of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh (*DAS*:f.88r; f.98v). A wide range of game and poultry could also be found in South Sulawesi: venison, boar, partridge, pheasants, peacocks, herons, chickens, domestic and wild ducks, and woodpigeon. Working animals included horses, used as pack animals to cross the mountains. An account in Couto (1779:86) even speaks of elephants.

5.1.3 Trade and commodities

Among the products for export, the woven goods of South Sulawesi commanded considerable acclaim across the archipelago. In 1544 Paiva (Pelras 1981:15; Jacobs 1966:285) made particular note of white cloth, which was probably cotton. Around 1600, however, it was silk fabric that was making a reputation for the country, as it still does today.⁶ The Bugis and Makassar people were also reported to be skilled metalsmiths; Pires mentions the importation of a little gold (Cortesão 1944:285), while Couto (1779:86) cites copper, iron and lead.⁷ Linked to this craft in an English report of 1605 are precious commodities such as tortoise-shell,⁸ red semi-precious stones and ‘magic stones’, gall stones that form in the stomachs of certain animals (Pelras 1981:159). D’Ataide noted that Makassar did not produce spices, but that the people of South Sulawesi understood very quickly the interests they had in serving as a go-between in the commerce between Makassar and the neighbouring islands (Pelras 1981:160).⁹

In 1511 Pires speaks from hearsay of relations between the ‘isles of Makassar’ and Java, Borneo, Malacca, the coast between Pahang and Siam, and Siam itself. It is difficult to determine who were the agents of this commerce between the Asiatic continent and South Sulawesi and its surrounding islands. D’Ataide tells us in 1534 that several small boats came from *os macaçares*, to start out for Malacca, although it is not certain that their crews were Makasars or Bugis (Pelras 1981:164). Elsewhere, Pires (Cortesão 1944:227) describes Bajau sailors from Sulawesi.¹⁰ The many different types

⁶ Textiles are discussed in Chapter 6.8.2.

⁷ Although neither lead nor copper was extracted locally, the Bugis and Makasars have long been skilled iron-, brass- and coppersmiths.

⁸ In the *DAS*, turtle-shells were mentioned as being used by the people of Bajoe as a form of payment of the ‘*kasuwiyang*’. Bajoe is situated near the coastal area of Boné; it is thus likely that the inhabitants were involved in fishing.

⁹ Trading contact with the outside world is demonstrated by the numerous finds of Chinese, Thai and Vietnamese ceramics dating from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century (Hadimuljono and Macknight 1983:66-80).

¹⁰ The ships in which the people of South Sulawesi came to Malacca and which Pires called “large and well-built”, were called *pengajavas* by the natives, a term Sopher (1977:322) compares to the Malay

of ships mentioned in western accounts suggests that the Bugis and the Makasars have sailed for many centuries, but it is unclear how early they began maritime exploration, and what distance they covered (cf. Forrest 1792:76, 80). In 1621 the increasingly large place occupied by the Makasars in commerce was noted (Pelras 1996:139), and the development of their fleet gained momentum from that point onward.¹¹ Bugis maritime commerce, which was developed by the Boné people of Cénrana, Bajoe and Kajuara, and most of all by Wajoq navigators sailing from Lake Témpé (Pelras 1996:254), did not, however, truly come into its own until the fall of Makassar in 1666-7.

One of the main exports of South Sulawesi was slaves. Sutherland (1983:264) lists the function of the slaves; in addition to providing armed men of fixed loyalty and for domestic and subsistence production, it was also ceremonial.¹² In the history of Boné, war was waged between La Maqdarammang (1631-1644), the thirteenth *Arumponé*, and his mother because he wanted to abolish the system of slavery. The Queen Mother rejected his plan of abolition and was supported in this by most of the nobles of Boné, in defence of the established way of life whereby slaves were relied upon to perform agricultural and housekeeping tasks, and also functioned as a commodity for barter. Eventually, with the aid of the king of Gowa, La Maqdarammang was defeated (Abdul Razak et al 1989:118-9; Mattulada 1998:198-200, Andi Muhammad Ali 1986:33-4).

5.2 *DAS* on the economy of Boné

DAS provides information on the agricultural economy of Boné, the slave trade, and the practice of bequests to and from the king. Direct references to economic activities and transactions are very few; it is unclear whether it was simply the case that the king was not required to be actively involved in managing his revenues because particular court officials would do it for him. It is possible that there exist separate diaries, written

panjajab or *penjajap*. This latter word, according to Winstedt (1959:140) means a type of Bugis war ship. In his Bugis dictionary, Matthes (1874:124) gives *pancaja* as the name of a type of ship, without further details. Couto (1779:87) cites the names of three types of boat; *pelang*, *lopi* and *jojoga*.

¹¹ Two basic kinds of sailing craft exist among the Bugis: the dug-out canoe (*lépa-lépa*, B.) and the planked boat (*lopi*, B.). The development of Bugis boat building evolved over a considerable period, its progress synchronous with the development of iron technology. From the seventeenth to the end of the nineteenth century, the typical Sulawesi ship was the *paduwakang* or *padéwakang*, also known as *wangkang*, as noted in *DAS*. It comes in two types, long or short, according to the shape of the hull (Macknight 1980:117-28). Horridge (1979:26-32) explains the evolution of the *padéwakang*, in terms of rigging. For further information on the different types of Bugis vessels, see also Macknight and Mukhlis (1979:271-82).

¹² Perhaps we might consider the following 1609 account of the Philippine islands as quoted by Reid (1983b:157) with regard to slavery in South Sulawesi:

“These slaves constitute the main capital and wealth of the natives of these islands, since they are both very useful and necessary for the working of their farms. Thus they are sold, exchanged and traded, just like any other article of merchandise.”

by such officials, perhaps currently in private ownership in the Bugis lands, which have yet to come to light. I have been able to obtain only one such additional source relevant to the region, the *DJM*, which covers the period 1780 to 1785, and was written by one of the court officials, the *jennang* of Maros. This forms a valuable source of information on the processes, both agricultural and economic, that are involved in the cultivation of rice, from which the majority of the court's revenue would have derived.

5.2.1 Subsistence agriculture: The cultivation of wet-rice

As indicated earlier, the earliest foreign visitors to the region were struck by its fecundity, and the vast expanse of paddy fields clearly visible from some kilometres out at sea. Then, as now, rice was the main produce of the island. Other staple foods – tubers, maize, bananas – were available to the Bugis to complement, and sometimes even temporarily to replace, rice following a poor harvest, but since the beginning of their written history rice has been central to the Bugis agricultural economy. Outside the wet rice cultivation season, during the time in between the rice harvest and the monsoon, other staple foods would be cultivated on the rice fields. From the diary we learn that the king had the following crops cultivated on his lands: maize (*DAS*:f.48r, f.82v; f.112v); sweet potatoes (*DAS*:f.100v; *DTM*:f.102v); cassava (*DAS*:f.146v); pumpkin (*DAS*:f.45r; f.56r); bitter gourd (*DAS*:f.146r); sesame (*DAS*:f.56r; *DTM*:f.102r); chilli peppers (*DAS*:f.127v); and long beans (*DAS*:f.145v). Fruits that were not grown for the king on his lands were obtained by other means: citrus fruits (*DAS*:f.34r, f.90v) and lychees (*DAS*:f.135r) were imported from China, whilst fruits such as durian¹³ (*DAS*:f.35r, f.101r) and *langsats*¹⁴ (*DAS*:f.111v, f.150v) were supplied from the orchards of the neighbouring nobles. However, the overwhelming majority of economic transactions recorded in *DJM* are related to the sale of rice, paddy, and slaves, and the letting and taxing of agricultural lands controlled by the nobility.

From *DAS* we observe that the management of the king's paddy fields was delegated to the *jennang*, a lower ranking official who also functioned as a revenue collector or overseer (*mandur*, Id.). The importance of these officials charged with the management of the king's goods and income is evident: the *pajejennangeng*¹⁵ were likened to 'the king's flesh' (Matthes 1885:248). *DAS* reveals there are various types of *jennang* with local areas of responsibility: the *jennang sawah*, in charge of managing the king's

¹³ *Durian* is a large fruit with a spiky skin and pungent yellowish flesh. In Southeast Asia it is considered the 'King of fruits'.

¹⁴ *Langsat* is a type of berry that grows in grape-like bunches. It has a sweet-sour taste.

¹⁵ *Pajejennangeng*, according to Matthes (1874:464), is 'in Boné, a title for those who are charged by the king with the management of his income and goods.'

agricultural lands (*DAS*:f.50v); the *jennang bola*, in charge of housekeeping at the palace, and who was also responsible for the welfare of the king's men and slaves (*DAS*:fols 45v; 63r); and the *jennang pasar*, who was responsible for the management of trade and the well-being of the traders in the markets (*DAS*:f.68v). They were presided over by the *jennang cilaong* of the region.¹⁶ It is not clear from the diary whether these lands were the king's alodial property (*tanah pusaka*) or lands of which he had the right to a part of the produce, and the labour of its people.

As many entries in the king's diary relate, the *jennang* of Maros¹⁷ was responsible for managing the king's lands located in Makassar. The office of *jennang* Maros appears to have been a senior post for all *jennang* outside Boné, for several times the *DJM* mentions that it is within his remit to order another *jennang* to carry out duties such as bringing the king's revenues to the palace (*DAS*:f.8v; *DJM*:f.5r). This seniority is understandable, due to Maros' prominence as a wet-rice producing area, then and to the present day. The main duty of the *jennang* Maros was to keep the king informed of his revenues. For example, on 7th July 1775, about a month after Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh was elected king, the *jennang* Maros came to see him:

“The *jennang* of Maros came to report to me that the net income for Batu Malimpung is 3000 [bundles of paddy] and that the *sedekah* [*zakat*, Ar.]¹⁸ (tithe) has been paid.” (*DAS*:f.8v)

The vast areas of paddy fields which belonged to the king and other aristocrats would be leased by small rice-growers; the yield would supply the growers with their basic needs, and some surplus for resale. The dependence on buffaloes for ploughing and the importance attributed to them is apparent from the huge number of beasts needed to plough the king's rice fields:

8th February 1780:
“[The rice-fields at] Batu Malimpung were ploughed by ninety pairs of buffaloes [...]” (*DJM*:f.2r)

¹⁶ Traditionally, *pajejennangeng cilaong*, would have been the man who introduced the Boniers to Mata Silompoé, the first king of the realm who descended from heaven, and who later departed the mortal world to higher spheres. The possessor of the title would probably be a descendant of that *pajejennang*, and still closely connected to the king. He had responsibility for everything that was taken by the king's lance, i.e. that which was conquered, whether it be territory, people or anything else. He also collected all the fruits of the land for the king, to deliver them to him upon his request: rice, salt, vinegar, betel leaves, areca nuts, *kemiri*-nuts, etc. (*Adatrechtbundels* 1929:248).

¹⁷ Maros is situated in the western coast of South Sulawesi. The undulating topography allowed the cultivation of wet rice. Most rice fields were exclusively rain-fed until fairly recently when man-made irrigation was introduced. Today, Maros is one of the main rice producing areas in South Sulawesi.

¹⁸ *Zakat* is a fixed proportion of the wealth and of all kinds of property that a Muslim is liable to pay yearly for the benefit of the poor in the Muslim community. The payment of *zakat* is obligatory as it is one of the five pillars of Islam (Muhammad Muhsin and Muhammad Taqiuddin 2001:795).

31st January 1789:

“Batu Malimpung was ploughed. I went to inspect the workers [ploughing his (the *Arumponé*’s) rice-fields]. I ordered to count the numbers of buffaloes [for the ploughing], fifty pairs in total.” (*DAS*:f.103v)

Similarly, an entry in the *UMLIB MS. Mik.7* reports the use of a large number of buffaloes to plough the rice fields:

“[And] so I ordered work to start on the king of Boné’s paddy fields called Batu Malimpung at Maros. Therefore, one hundred and ninety-seven pairs of buffaloes were used; fifty [pairs of] buffaloes [were] from the people of Palakka¹⁹.” (*UMLIB MS. Mik.7*:24-25)²⁰

The value attached to buffaloes was such that, apart from money and horses, fines could also be paid in them (*Adatrechtbundels* 1919:154). Correspondingly, the punishments set out in law for the theft of a buffalo were severe: if a buffalo was stolen and was slaughtered in a village, (Id.,) *kampong*, without knowledge of the head, all the inhabitants of the *kampong* were held to be guilty (*Adatrechtbundels* 1919:160). Similarly, if a beast were to wander into someone’s paddy field or kitchen garden and the owner or cultivator of the land hurt the animal, he had to pay the cost of the animal to its owner. There was also a heavy penalty for disguising the appearance of a buffalo (presumably in order to hide the fact that it was stolen) (*Adatrechtbundels* 1919:175).

For the nobles, buffaloes functioned as a sign of wealth. Probably for that reason, the buying and selling of buffaloes is frequently noted in the diaries, especially in the *DJM* and *DTM*, and in a number of instances in the *DAS*. The *adat* law of Boné also stipulated that the purchase of livestock from a stranger must be witnessed by the judge or the (B.,) *gelarrang*, the deputy regent. Such events are referred to frequently in *DJM* and *DTM* with the authors mentioning settling disputes over the ownership of buffaloes, for example:

24th November 1784:

“I pursued disputes between Puang Basoq and Ambéq Baloq with regards to the ownership of seven buffaloes; because both claimants failed to produce proof of ownership, therefore each of them will get their share; the grandchild of Puan Basoq [will] obtain five buffaloes whilst Ambéq Baloq gets two buffaloes.” (*DJM*:f.31r)

¹⁹ Nowhere in *UMLIB MS. Mik.7* is mentioned the owners of the other 147 pairs of buffaloes.

²⁰ Unfortunately, with a few exceptions the *UMLIB MS. Mik.7* does not provide the dates of the events. It appears that this manuscript reports selected events which might have been taken from several other diaries or records. There is a possibility that it was in the possession of a Malay who lived in Makassar - possibly at Kampung Melayu - who might have had access to other facilities in the court’s vicinity. It was probably translated from the Bugis language into the Malay language written in the Arabic script.

20th January 1776:

“*Arung* Paléngoreng [was ordered to] return the buffaloes which he seized from the brother of *suro*²¹ Pajekko [...].” (DTM:f.2r)

21st January 1776:

“*Arung* Nangka [was ordered to] return three buffaloes belong to *Matoa* Tanatengnga which he [*Arung* Nangka] had seized [and for that reason] he was fined 2 *réal* 1 *suku* and 7 *piddé*.” (DTM:f.2r)

Although the management of agricultural lands was entrusted to the *jennang*, the significance of agricultural production as an economic activity was such that the king was personally involved on occasions. In Makassar, the king reported several times having gone in person to inspect his paddy fields at Batu Malimpung in Maros to order the planting of these rice-fields and to instruct on the collections for their ground-rent. Many such examples can be found in his accounts:

17th December 1778:

“I went to inspect [my paddy fields at] Sémpa in Batu Malimpung.” (DAS:f.32r)

15th March 1779:

“I ordered [my] paddy fields at Batu Malimpung to be sown. I instructed the rental fees from my paddy fields to be collected which were [from] *Arung Pitu* 10 [*réal*], [I Wanana] 110 [*réal*], the people of Wawaniwo 76 [*réal*], the people of Banyu 40 [*réal*], the people of Padangsetan 24 [*réal*], the people of Sagiringang 37 [*réal*], the people of Bonto Tengnga 19 [*réal*], the people of Langkéang 20 [*réal*], the people of Labuang 30 [*réal*], the people of Bonto Padinging together with the people of Sanggaléaé 20 [*réal*], the people of Lékoaleq 30 [*réal*].” (DAS:f.34v; DTM:f.24r)

The entry for 15th March 1779 is a rare example of his giving an account of the amount of ground rent that he had collected. Unfortunately, *DAS* by no means constitutes a comprehensive financial record: even where sums of money are recorded, there is little or no indication of the time period to which the payment corresponds, nor whether payment was partial or in full. Similarly, in those instances where the yield of particular lands is given, the size of the area concerned is rarely mentioned. Lastly, records of payments make use of weights and measures which are difficult to quantify accurately.

²¹ *Suro* is a messenger or page.

5.2.2 Agricultural rites and the annual cycle of rice cultivation

The *DJM* is useful in providing us with a framework for the annual cycle of rice cultivation. From the diary we infer that the method used was wet-rice cultivation, which relied on natural irrigation during the rainy season. Beginning with the (west) monsoons²² in late September, the paddy fields were ploughed in preparation for germination throughout January and February, with the transplanting of seedlings taking place from February onward. This series of agricultural activities was recorded as it progressed, in *DJM* for example:

6th January 1780:
“The water [level] rose.” (*DJM*:f.2r)

11th January 1780:
“I sowed ten *gantang*²³ of [paddy] seeds.” (*DJM*:f.2r)

20th January 1780:
“The seeds [for germination of seedlings] were scattered at Batu Malimpung.²⁴ I scattered another twelve *gantang*.” (*DJM*:f.2r)

8th February 1780:
“[I ordered] the ploughing of the paddy fields at Batu Malimpung [I used] ninety pairs of buffaloes [to plough the paddy fields].” (*DJM*:f.3v)

9th March 1780:
“I began transplanting [the seedlings] at Batu Malimpung.” (*DJM*:f.3r)

According to *DJM*, after the seedlings were transplanted to the fields, weeding took place in between the planting and the harvest (*DJM*:f.24v; f.28v). Based upon the *DJM*, I deduce the paddy plants took about three to four months to mature and ripen. *DJM* records the beginning of harvesting around late June of every year, although there were prolonged dry spells on occasions (*DJM*:f.5v). Some of the newly harvested paddy grains were made into *wetté* (B.) or rice-flakes (*emping*, Id.), a traditional food among the Bugis and Makasars, and which also contributed to the king's revenues. The *jennang* of Maros records:

²² There are two types of monsoon: the east monsoon lasts approximately from the beginning of April to the end of August, and the west monsoon lasts approximately from September to late March.

²³ *Gantang* is a traditional measurement: whereby one *gantang* is equal to four *cupak*; a *cupak* is equivalent to ± three kilogrammes.

²⁴ Batu Malimpung is regularly mentioned in *DAS*, *DJM* and *DTM*. It was a popular spot for rice cultivation. Today, Batu Malimpung is known as Batu Maklumpung and is situated in Kabupaten Maros, South Sulawesi.

27th June 1780:

“I ordered the *jénnang* [of] Sagiring to bring twenty *gantang* of *wetté* to [the *Arumponé*].” (*DJM*:f.5v; *DAS*:f.43r)²⁵

While the agricultural activities of the *jennang* of Maros provide a rough schedule of the cultivation cycle, in actuality the exact dates for ploughing, sowing, and transplanting would have been calculated using numerology, or *bilang* / *kutika*. Most Bugis agricultural manuscripts, and the Bugis diaries, contain a codex consisting of such a *bilang* / *kutika* serving agricultural ends (*DAS*, *DJM*, *DTM*, *DoM*).²⁶ The most auspicious days for ploughing, sowing or harvesting having been determined through the *kutika*, each period of agricultural activity would be inaugurated with ceremonial rites, prayers and the giving of offerings. The agricultural rites would usually be performed by the *bissu* (Hamonic 1975:121), or by others such as the *sanro* (B.), a Bugis magician, the *pallontaraq* (B.), a specialist in reading old documents, or even by the king himself (Maeda 1991:539). The rite to inaugurate ploughing, *mappalili* (to go round, to encircle, B.), was performed in a designated field, usually the king’s rice field. The following entry from *DAS* refers to this event, but is economical in the information it provides:

13th December 1780:

“I went encircling my paddy-fields at Pattialaé.” (*DAS*:f.46r)

7th December 1789:

“[...] the [initiation] rite [of ploughing] at Batu Malimpung [took place]. *Barakallah* [...]” (*DAS*:f.109r)

13th December 1790:

“The initiation rite at Batu Malimpung [took place].” (*DAS*:f.109r)

Similarly succinct is an entry in *DJM* describing the same ritual; however, the Bugis word used is ‘*palélo*’ [𐌌𐌔𐌕𐌔𐌕𐌔𐌕]; probably a corruption of ‘*mappaliliq*’:

23rd June 1782:

“Batu Malimpung was encircled [for the ploughing ritual].” (*DJM*:f.17v)²⁷

Maeda (1991) writes that in the *mappalili* process, the sacred plough *rakkala arajang* (B.), is among the *arajang* brought to the fields. During *mappalili*, the sacred

²⁵ *DAS* records that *jennang* Sangaringang came to the palace on 6th July 1780, as ordered by the *jennang* of Maros to bring his income from Batu Malimpung, which was in the form of rice flakes (*DAS*:f.43v).

²⁶ Each of these diaries contains twelve pages of *bilang* / *kutika*.

²⁷ However, on 20th November 1782, the *jennang* of Maros reports that he himself encircled Batu Malimpung, which suggests that in the absence of the *Arumponé*, the *mappaliliq* ritual could be led by a junior official (*DJM*:f.19r); see also *DJM* (29th November 1783:f.25r).

plough would be flanked by gongs, drums, spears and flags. Offerings would be prepared: various kinds of rice, fruit and cake, as well as the sacrifice of animals.²⁸ The absence of detailed accounts in *DAS* of these rites is understandable considering its intended readership; ritual practice at the time was widespread, and something with which the (Bugis) reader would undoubtedly have been familiar.

5.2.3 The labour economy

The Bugis diaries *DAS*, *DJM*, *DTM*, and *DoM* show that it was customary for the *Arumponé*, the nobles, and the heads of Boné to possess domain grounds which were ploughed, planted and harvested by a group of workers. The workers' tasks also included transporting the rice from the field to the palace of the *Arumponé*, nobles or heads. However, the diaries do not inform us whether these workers' status was that of freemen or slaves. According to Friedericy (1933:524), these groups of workers were freemen who lived close to the domain lands. Their orders from the king or head on cultivating the land would be relayed by a subhead or by particular messengers. Until the king's domain grounds had been tilled and planted, nobody in the community was permitted to begin to work on their paddy fields (*Adatrechtbundels* 1929:268; Friedericy 1933:524). This regulation is shown implicitly by the dates of the following entries where orders are given by Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh to work on the rice-fields:

15th March 1779:

"I ordered [my] rice-fields at Batu Malimpung to be sown [...]." (*DAS*:f.34v)

8th March 1790:

"I ordered [my paddy fields at] Batu Malimpung to be sown. *Barakallah*. After 11.00 [a.m.], all [the rice-fields] have been planted." (*DAS*:f.111v)

Similarly, in the *DTM*, there are also entries on the orders given for his paddy fields to be cultivated:²⁹

3rd February 1779:

"I instructed my paddy fields at Laring Gellang to be planted [with seedlings]." (*DTM*:f.24v)

22nd February 1779:

"I ordered (rice-fields at) Seppaé to be planted [with seedlings]." (*DTM*:f.24v)

²⁸ Maeda (1984) has produced an elaborate explanation of the agricultural rites in Segeri and Amparita, an area in South Sulawesi. I presume that these would be similar to the ritual ceremonies practised by the Boniërs about two hundred years ago.

²⁹ I deduce that these instructions were given after the king's rice fields had been cultivated.

5.2.4 Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's ownership of rice-fields

One discovery in Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's diary is the detailing of his rice fields at Boné and at Makassar. Though he mentions the location of his paddy fields, their surface area and the number of rice plots at each location are not mentioned other than in a few instances. The eleven references to Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's paddy fields are as follows:

<i>Source</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name of place</i>	<i>Number of plots</i>
<i>DAS</i>	2 nd February 1779	Seppae, Boné	N/d
<i>DAS</i>	13 th December 1780	Pattialae, Boné	N/d
<i>DAS</i>	1 st February 1781	Tanruq, Boné	N/d
<i>DAS</i>	9 th October 1782	Bukkang, Boné	N/d
<i>DAS</i>	9 th October 1782	Lapakkanrebuleng Boné	N/d
<i>DAS</i>	9 th October 1782	Lapatong, Boné	N/d
<i>DAS</i>	9 th October 1782	Lamalino	N/d
<i>DAS</i>	30 th July 1783	Lasipinceng, Timurung	66
<i>DAS</i>	30 th July 1783	Telleq-Awolagading, Boné	380
<i>DAS</i>	30 th July 1783	Welado, Boné	366
<i>DAS</i>	30 th July 1783	Tumaéla Bulu, Timurung, Boné	N/d

**Table 5.1: Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's rice-fields in Boné
(source: *DAS*, 1775 – 1795)**

The *Arumponé* also possessed rice-fields at Maros:

<i>Source</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name of Place</i>	<i>Number of plots</i>
<i>DAS</i>	17 th December 1778	Sémpa	N/d
<i>DAS</i>	15 th March 1779	Batu Malimpung	N/d
<i>DJM</i>	16 th July 1783	Bontoréa	53
<i>DJM</i>	28 th Nov. 1784	Bakung	N/d

**Table 5.2: Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's rice-fields in Maros
(source: *DJM* and *DAS*)**

No other contextual data such as annual yields, the proportion of the yield that would be sent to the court, or the market value of the rice and paddy sold, can be derived from *DAS*.

5.2.5 The *Arumponé*'s revenues from rice cultivation

Although we know the locations of some of the king's paddy fields, there is no record of their precise acreage, and so it is not possible to estimate the yield by the area or the revenue obtained from the sale of rice and paddy. Nevertheless, it is possible to obtain a rough estimate of the yield from the number of sheaves (*tangkai*, Id.) delivered to the *Arumponé*. In most entries recording the paddy he received from the *jennang* [or from the messenger of the *jennang* or other nobles], the *Arumponé* uses the word 'asé' [𑌂𑌃𑌆] as in:

22nd April 1782:

"*Nangka Jennang Bantaeng mpawa asé 900, réalaiq 30 élli asé.*" (DAS:f.56r)

(The *jennang* of Bantaeng came to bring paddy nine hundred [bundles and] 30 *réal* from the sale of paddy.)

9th April 1785:

"*Nangka jennang Bantaeng mpawa asé 8500, wereq 100 gantanna, kaluku 160.*" (DAS:f.77r)

(The *jennang* of Bantaeng came and brought paddy eight thousand five hundred [bundles], rice one hundred *gantang* [and] coconuts one hundred and sixty.)

These are but a few of the many entries pertaining to paddy received. Matthes (1874:659) explains that when recording quantities of paddy, it is conventional to omit 'bundles' and simply to record the number. Thus, the above entries refer to a given number of bundles of paddy. However, it is unclear whether the terms 'bunches' and 'bundles' are synonymous, or whether a bundle represents a larger measure made up of a given number of 'bunches'. Matthes provides the word *wassé* [𑌂𑌃𑌆], defined as 'a bundle of paddy which consists of two *kawerrang*,³⁰ and in the inlands of ten to five [*kawerrang*], in the Government's (Dutch controlled) lands [nowadays] weighs a fixed 5 *kati* [of paddy].' (Matthes 1874:659) From this definition we take *kawerrang* to denote the smaller bunches of which a bundle, *wassé*, was composed.

Clearly, we are faced here with a number of variables. Although we have established that a large bundle or *wassé* consisted of multiple *kawerrang*, neither the conventional number of bunches in one bundle, nor the quantity represented by one bunch or *kawerrang* can be ascertained.³¹ As such, the only meaningful information we

³⁰ *Kawerrang* means: a certain quantity of paddy tied in a bunch, a bunch of paddy (Matthes 1874:47).

³¹ In his writing on the harvesting of rice, Pelras (1996:233) says that the rice is collected into bunches, six to ten bunches making one sheaf, which yields about eight kilogrammes of paddy or grain. However, it is still unclear whether the same number of bunches were also used in rice-cultivation in the eighteenth century.

possess is the measure standardised by the Dutch, equating one *wassé* or bundle to five *kati* of paddy.³² On the basis that the Dutch administration levied one tenth of the yield as a tax (*verthiening*, D.), we can infer from a Dutch record (*ANRI Mak.117:17th* December 1789) that equates three *gantang*³³ to one tenth of three hundred bunches, that one *gantang* equalled ten bunches. Here, we must presume that ‘bunches’ corresponds to *kawerrang*. Assuming, then, that one *wassé* is ten *kawerrang*, one *wassé* equals one *gantang*. Matthes informs us that, in the nineteenth century at least, the *gantang* took the fixed value of five *kati*. Thus, *wassé* and *gantang* express the same volume of weight; five *kati*³⁴: one pertains to paddy on the stalk, the other to rice grains. Based on these assumptions, I will attempt to calculate Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s revenues from paddy over a given period of time.

I will combine the entries relating to paddy revenues in the *DAS* with the corresponding entries in the *DJM*, for the period of one year, from January to December 1782, in order to arrive at an estimate of the king’s revenues from rice fields during this period. This year was selected on the basis that the data found in *DJM* appears the most complete. The revenues were derived from several areas: Pare-pare,³⁵ Timurung,³⁶ Bantaeng, Bulukumba,³⁷ and also from the area presided over by the *jennang* Maros.

³² Matthes provides no information on when exactly this usage became conventional.

³³ *Gantang* is a kind of measure for rice grains and such like. “One large *gantang* used to be in Sulawesi approximately eight [*kati*], a small *gantang* was around three and a half *kati*. ‘Nowadays’, in Makasar [in the nineteenth century], the *gantang* is a fixed five *kati*.” (Matthes 1874:58) However, this measurement, too, displays great variation, for Matthes mentions that a *gantang pasoe* at Banjarmasin, Kutai or Kaili, was twenty *kati* or more. A *gantang pitara*, used for the priest on the occasion of the *pitara* (*fitriah*, Ar., which is a gift in rice after the end of the fasting month for the priest) is four and a half *kati* (Matthes 1874:107). It can be deduced that *gantang* is a generic measure that displays local variation.

³⁴ One *kati* equals 0.6 kilogramme.

³⁵ Pare-pare is situated in the coastal area of the north west of Makassar, in Kabupaten of Pangkajene Kepulauan (Pangkep). Pare-pare is the second largest city in South Sulawesi.

³⁶ Timurung is one of the districts located in the interior part of Boné, about three and a half hours’ journey from Watampone.

³⁷ Bantaeng and Bulukumba are two Kabupaten located at the southern part of South Sulawesi.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Area</i>	<i>Amount of paddy (bundles)</i>	<i>Amount of rice</i>	<i>Amount of money</i>
9/4/1782	Pare- Pare	500	4 sacks	-
11/4/1782	Timurung	6704	-	10 réal, 2 suku
22/4/1782	Bantaeng	900	-	30 réal
19/8/1782	Pare-pare	500	2 gantang	-
11/9/1782	Bulukumba	800	-	-
8/12 /1782	Pare-pare	600	-	-
Total		10,004	4 sacks + 2 gantang	40 réal 2 suku

Table 5.3: Revenues of paddy, rice and money from Boné and other areas for the year 1782 (source: *DAS*)

<i>Date</i>	<i>Area</i>	<i>Amount of paddy (bundles)</i>	<i>Amount of rice</i>	<i>Money</i>
3/1/1782	Maros	400	-	-
18/10/1782	Maros	500	-	-
Total		900	-	-

Table 5.4: Revenues of paddy, rice and money from Maros for the year 1782 (source: *DJM*)

The king's revenues recorded in these two sources for the year 1782 amount to 10,904 'bundles' of paddy, not counting a small amount of rice and a small sum of money from the sale of paddy. Taking into account that one bundle is equivalent to five *kati*, therefore, the revenue of paddy for the year 1782 is 54,520 *kati*. This can be summarised in mathematical form:

$$\begin{aligned}
 &1 \text{ bundle equals } 5 \text{ kati} \\
 &\therefore 10,904 \text{ bundles equals } 54,520 \text{ kati (or 32,712 kg).}
 \end{aligned}$$

Comparison with the next three years, as shown below in Table 5.5, demonstrates great inconsistency in the amounts received by the *Arumponé*. This leads us to question whether other payments were simply not recorded, perhaps because they were logged elsewhere, and whether this does indeed represent the full complement of the king's annual income from his agricultural lands:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Amount of paddy</i>	<i>Money</i>	<i>Others</i>
1783	3,800 bundles = 19,000 <i>kati</i>	60 <i>réal</i>	coconuts + rice + <i>wetté</i>
1784	1,100 bundles = 5,500 <i>kati</i>	40 <i>real</i>	220 <i>gantang</i> rice + <i>wetté</i>
1785	8,500 bundles = 42,500 <i>kati</i>	-	100 <i>gantang</i> rice + 160 coconuts + <i>wetté</i>

Table 5.5: Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's revenues of paddy, rice and sales of paddy for the years 1783, 1784 and 1785 (sources: *DAS* and *DJM*)³⁸

Because the cultivation of wet rice was the main economic activity and transactions for rice and paddy the main source of earnings, it is all the more frustrating that *DAS* fails to show comprehensive figures relating to Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's income, as the tables above illustrate. The recorded quantities vary considerably from year to year and are quite modest. For example, the revenue of paddy for the year 1782 was sufficient to feed just seventy-five people for twelve months.³⁹ This is calculated as follows:

$$\frac{54,520 \text{ kati (paddy)}}{365} = 149.4 \text{ kati (paddy)}$$

$$\therefore \frac{149.4}{2} = 74.7 = 75 \text{ people.}$$

From the above calculation, I surmise that the amounts recorded here were intended merely for the subsistence of those at court. Possibly, rice and paddy intended for trade were entered into a different ledger; after all, it is difficult to see how the sum of incoming cash recorded in *DAS* could possibly support the entire royal household. We learn from the tables that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh obtained only forty *réal* and two *suku* from the sale of paddy for the year 1782 (Table 5.3), sixty *réal* for the year 1783 and forty *réal* for the year 1784 (Table 5.5). In these three years, most of the paddy sold came from his rice-fields at Bantaeng. He clearly obtained little money from his sales of paddy, and in relation to his spending patterns, it is a mere drop in the ocean.

Whilst *DAS* occasionally provides information on agricultural activities and revenues, it offers little concrete information on the sums of money involved in economic transactions. Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's motivation for including information about his rice lands in his diary is unlikely to have been a desire to maintain a

³⁸ For the year 1785, data is available only from *DAS*.

³⁹ On the basis that a person consumes one *kati* of rice per day. (Personal communication, Professor P. Boomgaard)

comprehensive financial record. Rather, these entries function as a record for posterity of the domains under his jurisdiction and of those who pay him homage or *kasuwiyang* (B.), which I will discuss in due course. Hence, though it is limited in respect of providing fiscal data, the diary nonetheless furnishes an insight into various aspects of the social economy. This theme will be continued in my examination of fish farming, lands, and the slave trade.

5.2.6 Fish and fish farming

Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's diary provides us with information on both coastal fishing and freshwater fishing (fish farming) activities. Although wet-rice farming was the primary means of subsistence, fishing was no less a basic activity of the Bugis than was agriculture. Fish is a basic element of the Bugis diet: Pelras (1996:235) lists some one hundred and twenty names of fish in Pare-pare. Sutherland (1987) mentions the historical importance to South Sulawesi of fishing, and how in the course of the eighteenth century *trepang* (*bêche-de-mer*, sea-slugs or sea cucumbers) became the major product of the eastern archipelago offered in exchange for imports from Amoy and Canton (Sutherland 2000:451; Sutherland and Bree 1984:12,19). During the eighteenth century, the number of registered boats bringing *trepang* into Makassar increased, from thirty in 1722-1723 to fifty-three in 1776-1777, and to eighty in 1786-1787. Lion comments that:

“In former times fifty to sixty *perahu*, belonging to the king of Boné, and manned by a thousand men, sailed annually to the coast (of New Holland) and the Elliots and Northumberland islands. They brought their catch, after proper treatment at the fishing site, to Timor Kupang, where they sold it to Chinese, and then returned to Celebes [...]”(Lion 1855:5, quoted in Sutherland 2000:469)

Sutherland reports that the *trepang* business grew rapidly during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, both in volume and values, and that the Makasars and Bugis were involved in two major ways: as traders purchasing *trepang*, and as gatherers and processors. Strikingly, *DAS* provides no information of the *trepang* trade or any other form of commercial fishery. Fish featured as a source of food, not only for commoners, but more especially for the upper echelon of the feudal society, and particularly the ruler. Perhaps realising the potential food supply that he could gain from fish farming, the *Arumponé* demanded that Mr. Van der Voort, who was the Governor of Makassar at the time, allow him continue to benefit from the fishing ponds, *pangémpang* (B.), located on the island of Kalambi. Although Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh fails to inform us of

the outcome of his demands, it transpires later that there were a number of other fishponds in several other places:

20th December 1776:

“I went around at Laoniq to [have a look] at the *belleg*.⁴⁰”
(DAS:f.18r)

7th March 1778:

“I went to Pannampuq to catch *bandeng* [using (B.) *jala*, a gill net].” (DAS:f.27v)

20th July 1779:

“I went to Pannampuq to catch *bolu* [using a fishing-net]. I asked La Paséré to send [some] *bolu* to the Governor’s wife.”
(DAS:f.36v)

25th May 1781:

“I brought along Puang Batara Tungkeq to the fish farm at Taipa, to [see the work of] letting water into the ponds.”
(DAS:f.49v)

Many entries found in *DAS* tell us that fishing was one of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s hobbies. In the diary, the types of fish that the *Arumponé* records eating are *bandeng*/*bolu* and *mujair* (DAS:f.36v; f.50r; f.146v). He records several of the fishing spots he uses, especially at the river estuary. At times the *Arumponé* was accompanied by his nobles, and occasionally his wife, Puang Batara Tungkeq, would also join him⁴¹:

8th June 1781:

“I brought Puang Batara Tungkeq to go fishing at Balang.”
(DAS:f.50r)

9th September 1794:

“I brought Puang Batara Tungkeq to collect [some fish] at Pili, opposite the estuary of north Kanrébiasa.” (DAS:f.146v)

5.2.7 Types of fishing equipment

The importance of fishing as a form of subsistence must not be overestimated. Whilst fish constituted a welcome source of protein to supplement the local diet, fishing had by no means been developed into a commercial enterprise. It appears, therefore, that fishing at sea or in the rivers was a private endeavour intended only to feed one’s own family. Concurrent with the cultivation of wet-rice, the paddy fields when flooded could also accommodate freshwater fish. Presumably fish entered the fields from nearby

⁴⁰ *Bellég* is a kind of fishing trap. It is one of a kind commonly used by the people of Bugis.

⁴¹ Fishing was a popular pastime for ‘Malay’ rulers in general.

rivers, although the deliberate introduction of stock to the rice fields cannot be ruled out; the fish would be caught when the fields were drained for harvesting. Any purpose-built fish farms (*empang*, B.) were privately owned by a select few; these too were operated for personal subsistence as opposed to commercial ends. The *Arumponé*'s diary reveals that he possessed some fisheries. On the 16th July 1781, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh ordered La Musa to farm fish:

“La Musa began to rear fish which I had asked him to do.”
(*DAS*:f.50v)

The running and maintenance of the king's fisheries was evidently delegated to subordinates; in the above example, La Musa. However, it would seem that use of the fisheries for a finite period might also be included in favours extended to members of his following:

20th March 1780:
“The *belléq* has been erected and named *La Manuq-manuq*. I give Puang *Matoa* Dasaréq responsibility for its management and [permission] to collect its revenues for a certain period of time.” (*DAS*:f.41v)

Similarly, we know that some of the fisheries the king used did not belong to him but to the Company, usage of them having been granted to his predecessor. During his first month as the *Arumponé*, *DAS* records a few entries concerning the Company's demand for him to return the Company's land. Mr. Blok, during his period of office as the Governor of Makassar, had extended a number of privileges to Sultan Abdul Razak. In his written memoir in 1790, Governor Reijke outlines the consequences of his predecessor's actions:

“In January 1757, the Governor, Mr. Blok had taken the island of Kalambi [and] instead [Mr Blok] had allowed that king [Sultan Abdul Razak], to have a fishery or Pangémpang there for his lifetime or until further notice. However, the present king [Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh] does not only continue to use it but will also now consider that it belongs to him.”
(*ANRI Mak.169:10*)

Several types of fish traps are listed in Matthes, but only one type, the *belléq*⁴² is mentioned in *DAS*:

⁴²*Belléq* is set on shallow coral reefs and consists of two long, converging fences of wood and bamboo, with a third one in the middle running at right angles to the coast, with a narrow opening into a circular enclosure. The fish which swim into it at rising tide cannot find their way out at ebb tide, when they can be caught with a *sodo* or scoop-net.

20th March 1780:

“The *belléq* was erected and was given the name *La Manuq-manuq* [...]” (DAS:f.41v)

In addition to traps, pole and line angling was also practised. Although *DAS* does not mention what method he used when fishing for leisure, the pole and line method is the most likely to have been used. I also base this presumption on Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s tendency elsewhere to specify precisely what type of fish and what type of trap he uses. Frequently, the *Arumponé* mentions inspecting fishing traps, or uses certain Bugis words such as ‘*majjala bolu*’, to catch *bolu* using a fishing net.⁴³ He also reports going with his parents to Pannampuq where he ordered his people to catch *bandeng* using a net (DAS:f.50r). The two types of fish specified by Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh are ‘*bolu*’ or ‘*bandeng*’, a tasty kind of saltwater fish, and ‘*mujair*’, a freshwater fish, which he mentions on 27th September 1794:

“I went to drain the fish pond at Barebbo [...] ten trunks of *bandeng* and two trunks of *mujair* were caught [...]” (DAS:f.146v)

On another occasion he reports catching fish using *pukat*, a kind of trawling net; “*ulao mappukaq*” (B.) [I went to catch fish using a *pukat*]. (DAS:f.49v) The *Arumponé* also mentions a further method of catching fish, with a *panambé*⁴⁴ (DAS:f.146v), when he reports that he went to ‘*mappanambé*’ at the old estuary of Denuang, and also at the estuary of Palléngu (DAS:f.49v). We know that the *Arumponé* liked to spend time on the water, enjoying pastimes such as fishing, boating, bathing, and picnicking by the water. Occasionally he would go hunting for crocodiles, which were common in the area:

30th July 1784

“I shot crocodiles with [my gun named] *Patawarasa*, two crocodiles at Ciléllang and one at Baku-baku.” (DAS:f.71v)

6th December 1785

“I brought Puang Batara Tungkéq to collect tax at the estuary of Laoniq [and] I shot ten crocodiles with [my gun named] *Bulé Towaé*.” (DAS:f.81r)

16th August 1790

“I boarded the ship from Ujung Tanah to go back to Cenrana. I shot seven crocodiles with *Patawarasa*.” (DAS:f.114r)

On a few occasions, the *Arumponé* reports the crocodiles’ victims:

⁴³ *Majjala* in Bugis means to catch fish by using a fishing net that is cast out.

⁴⁴ Matthes (1874:115) explains that *panambé* is like a drag net.

20th January 1784

“I heard news that my uncle has been eaten by a crocodile.
Innalillahi wa ina ilayhi roji`un.” (DAS:f.68v)

14th September 1790

“The son of my grandmother, Puang I Waru, named La Ussu was eaten by a crocodile [...] I ordered *Datu* Cinnong together with *jennang* Maru to go and search for La Ussu’s body. His body was found at Paccelang.” (DAS:f.114v)

5.2.8 Other activities relating to fisheries

In some areas, fishing played a larger part in the local economy. Panyulaq, situated in the coastal area of Boné Bay, was one of the few locations for fish retailing: the *Arumponé* records he went there to the fish auction, *palélangngé* (B.):

31st March 1781:

“I went to Panyulaq to see fish being sold.” (DAS:f.48v)

The diary also reveals a number of other types of seafood, mostly molluscs, another source of protein:

2nd January 1777:

“I went to Pajalélé to look for shellfish [*tiram* (B.), oyster].” (DAS:f.19v)

9th November 1780:

“I brought along Puang Batara Tungkeq to look for ‘*mattude garigi*’⁴⁵ at the estuary of Nipa.” (DAS:f.45v)

Frequently, too, a gift of fish would be made to the Governor’s wife when there was a surplus (DAS:f.36v). It also appears that other nobles would give fish to Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh:

25th October 1790:

“The messenger of *Karaéng* Tanete came and brought me some fish.” (DAS:f.115r)

17th April 1794:

“*Datu* Baringang came and brought me some fish.” (DAS:f.144r)

2nd September 1794:

“*Arung* Paroto came as instructed by the *cilaong*⁴⁶ to send some *wetté*, eggs, fish and fish *déndéng*⁴⁷ [...]” (DAS:f.146v)

⁴⁵ *Mattude gerigi* is a clam-like shellfish.

⁴⁶ *Cilaong* is the head of *jennang* in Boné.

The overwhelming impression given by the diary is that fishing impacted on the economy only in the sense of providing food for immediate consumption. Next I shall discuss the *Arumponé* other economic revenues, the land and the *kasuwiyang*.

5.3 Land and the *kasuwiyang*

5.3.1 Types of land

Opportunities for the upper echelon of the Bugis society to monopolise land were mentioned in the previous section. Although there is a shortage of information on the state of land ownership in Boné during the eighteenth century, insight can be gained from a record on land ownership in an early twentieth century *Adatrechtbundels* (1929:126-35). The *Adatrechtbundels* (1929) explains the situation in the Makassar area under the control of the Company in the regions of Jénéponto, Bantaeng and Bulukumba. Here, the rice fields leased out to tenant farmers, called *galung kabakukang*, were originally part of the *Karaeng's* own rice fields, *galung akarungang*. The word '*baku*' as in *kabakukang* comes from the Makasar, '*Nipa baku éroki*', which means 'Whatever my wish may be, it should be obeyed': a daily reminder of the king or ruler's ultimate domination of land.

The *Arumponé* was at the apex of the traditional Bugis hierarchy. The second stratum consisted of the regents such as *Arung* and *Karaéng* (this title was employed mainly by the Makasar nobles) who held the important political offices of *Tomarilalang*, *Paqbicara*, *Maqkedangtana*, *Maqdanrang*, *Ponggawa* and *Anréguru Anakarung*. These offices were then followed by the *Adeq Pitu* and the non-titled regents. They presided over areas covering numerous domains and territories, within which subordinate jurisdiction was delegated to the *Gellarang* or community heads.

For the higher nobles, their functions in public office brought a perquisite in the form of land. The *Adatrechtbundels* (1929) describes the customs governing the cultivation of these 'office fields'. The cultivation of 'office-fields', held by nobles such as the *Tomarilalang*, *Paqbicara*, *Karaéng*, *Datu* and *Arung*, would be entrusted to others who were allowed to keep the majority of the crop or resultant profit for themselves, as long as they cultivated the lands.⁴⁸ In addition, should the *Karaéng* or

⁴⁷ *Déndéng* is one of the Indonesian ways of preparing fish.

⁴⁸ Radermacher (1824) noted that in the Northern Provinces, prior to 1668, newly conquered land was divided among the Makasar nobles and gave them the same benefits as their existing property, namely, 'the tenths of office, and the usual dues from the inhabitants' (Radermacher 1824:153). It is possible that the quote "the usual dues from the inhabitants" refers to normal taxes, and the tenth to the so-called *cukeh*, or 10% of everything found or hunted in the area. This *cukeh* was almost universal in Indonesia, but went under different names in different places. (Personal communication, Professor P. Boomgaard)

Head and his following come to the area, the peasant farmers were obliged to render service by providing them with food such as rice and chickens. Lower heads, such as the *Matoa*, *Jennang*, or *Lomo*,⁴⁹ would generally be granted their own office-fields from the office-fields of their *Karaéng*, *Datu* or *Arung*.⁵⁰ Hence, the lands and rice-fields held by the nobles of Boné to support themselves were obtained as a gift from their immediate ruler. The following entry from *DAS* reveals the *Arumponé*'s involvement in the distribution of land:

2nd August 1783:

"I notified the *jennang* of Maros that the rice-fields possessed by the *jennang* of Sanggaléa which he received from *Puang* Gawuq [and] which were given to *Puang* Gawuq by Puwattaq *Matinroé ri* Mallimongeng would be returned as his *kasuwiyang*. [And] I allocate ten plots to *Indoq* [*Puang*] Gawuq whereas the rest would be used as his [*jennang* Maros'] food supply to pay [his] dues [*kasuwiyang*] with." (*DAS*:f.65r)

Access to land could also be obtained through the holding of office; the fields being held as an 'apanage'⁵¹ and only as long as the office lasted. It is possible that such a situation is reflected in *DAS*:

5th March 1794:

"La Marola came from Tanete and relayed [to the *Arumponé*] the words [threats] that *Karaéng* Tanete said [to him]: "[...] I could take back your land if I wanted to" (*DAS*:f.143v).

The *Adatrechtbundels* (1929:153) also mentions another type of land, the income of which could be gifted by the ruler, namely the 'apanage' or *tana pamasé*, meaning 'reward' or 'gift', *pabbéré*. It is known that such gifts were made by the ruler, *Addatuang*, of Sidenreng, usually on the occasion of a wedding. Hence, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's gift of land to his son, La Mappatunruq, on the occasion of his wedding can also be understood as an 'apanage':

11th November 1793

"The *Suléwatang* of Bontoalag came from the south [Makassar] to witness on the handing over of Palakka to La Mappatunruq [the bridegroom] by me [the *Arumponé*] [...]." (*DAS*:f.140v)

⁴⁹ *Lomo* is a lower ranking official position in the kingdom of Gowa.

⁵⁰ However, these 'office fields' were given to them as a favour so that it may have been the case that most heads did not own office-fields. The same applies to the messengers (*suro*, *sariang*, *paranung*) (*Adatrechtbundels* 1929:151).

⁵¹ The 'apanage' lands that were uncleared could become inheritable property after clearing and cultivation (*Adatrechtbundels* 1929:153).

In addition to the above account, *DAS* reports in another entry that when his daughter Batara Tungkeq bore him his first grandchild, he presented her with a lake at Banawaé:

28th May 1792

“After 9.00 in the morning, Batara Tungkeq gave birth to a baby girl. *Taullah ‘umurha*. I presented to *Arung Timurung* [Batara Tungkeq] the lake which is located in the region of Banawaé [...]” (*DAS*:f.127v)

Elsewhere, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh records giving his first grand-daughter some plots of rice-fields:

23rd October 1792:

“The initiation or ‘feeding ceremony’ for Siti Hatijah.⁵² I gave [to Siti Hatijah] my rice-fields at Kapala which are under the supervision of La Sattuq [...]” (*DAS*:f.130r)

In Boné, conquered land was called *pabaté-baté* (land obtained through war, B.).⁵³ Though the land belonging to the populace of a conquered area would remain in individual possession, its owners were obliged by law to pay 1/5 of the crop to the treasury of the conquering *Arumponé* (*Adatrechtbundels* 1929:151). The *pabaté-baté* fields could not be given to another for cultivation, because they were inherited individual possessions. They could be temporarily given to someone else to cultivate if they had been uncultivated for more than five years. After the expiry of a temporary lease, the original owner could, if he wished, re-occupy the land.

Apart from owning land, the social status of a person could also be manifested in ownership of cattle (buffaloes). However, possession of these animals was only of secondary importance: it would be exceptional for somebody to have cattle but no rice-fields. An additional sign of wealth was ownership of a *langsats*-garden, only to be found among those who already owned rice-fields and buffaloes. *Langsats* is an annual fruit crop, which usually coincides with the durian season. It is fair to assume that the *langsats* harvest was eagerly anticipated. The *Arumponé* reports in his diary that he received *langsats* from his nobles:

⁵² This feeding ceremony marks the first solid food taken by a baby.

⁵³ In Boné, the *pabaté* fields are located in the following *adat*-communities and cover the *kampung*:

- a. *Adat* community Tanete-ri-Attang: *Kampung* Calloe, Tore, Balukang, Bajoe, Lama, Cilelang, Maloe, Rompe, Biroe, Palengarang.
- b. *Adat* community Macege: *Kampung* Majang, Sangkae, Cilelang, Maduri, Pangili, Lemoapéq, Taneteboa, Maleq, Atakka.
- c. The domain Tibojong (Barobbi): *Kampung* Lembang, Teko-Teko, Cirowali, Bulue, Apala, Pajekko, Paroto, Ujung Paripung, Balangi, Bakka.
- d. *Adat* community Cenrana (north Boné): the *pabaté-baté* fields of Pallima (*Adatrechtbundels* 1929:151).

1st March 1789:

“[...] I Dolo also came by the order of the *Tomaqbicara Butta* to send *langsats* and durian [to me] [...].” (*DAS*:f.104v)

11th April 1790:

“The messengers of *Tomarilalang* [and] *Karaéng Sapanang* came to bring six trunks of *langsats* to me.” (*DAS*:f.112r)

It appears that most of the *langsats*-orchards were owned by nobles of Makassar: the *Maqedangtana* of Gowa, *Tomaqbicara Butta*, *Karaéng Bontonompo*, *Karaéng Sapanang*, *Karaéng Naugang* and the *jennang* of Bariballaq. Of the nobles of Boné, only the *Tomarilalang* is mentioned by Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh in connection with *langsats* cultivation.⁵⁴ It is striking that so few of the nobles of Boné owned a *langsats* garden, and even more so that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh himself did not possess such an orchard. However, the giving of *langsats* may well have constituted a particular form of *kasuwiyang*, which will be discussed in the next section.

5.3.2 The *kasuwiyang*

Matthes defines the word *kasuwiyang* as “homage, tribute, subservience or allegiance” (Matthes 1874:50). Kooreman (quoted in Friedericy 1933:543) explains that *kasuwiyang* was understood to be all that one was obliged to do by the custom, *adat*, and all that the king desired to demand or command. Friedericy (1933:541) defined *kasuwiyang* as something separate and additional to that obliged by *adat*, stressing that *kasuwiyang* is in the first place a service. This section explores the different forms of *kasuwiyang* and the various services rendered, as illustrated in Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s diary, in order to examine the extent to which *kasuwiyang* contributed to his revenues.

In the hierarchy of Boné society, the *Arumponé* and leading nobles were linked to their subjects and followers by a number of reciprocal duties and rights. Thus, every leading nobleman was at the centre of a network or clientele. Pelras (1996:181-2) states that when a follower acknowledged a nobleman as his lord, *arung*, he declared his willingness to comply with the latter’s request when summoned; duties that could be requested of him included joining his *arung* in war, hunting or travel, working his paddy fields, or performing some kind of domestic service such as providing drinking water, local foodstuffs or firewood. The services the subjects provided to the *Arumponé* varied according to the natural resources available locally; every community would

⁵⁴ Although *DAS* does not state so explicitly, I presume that the *Tomarilalang* was the owner of the *langsats* garden (*DAS*:f.112r). *DTM*, however, does not make any mention of the giving of *langsats* to the *Arumponé*.

know its task and would deliver that service at the appropriate time. For some, the due or *kasuwiyang* consisted in supplying a proportion of the yield of crops grown on specific lands granted by the king: the *kasuwiyang*-fields. Whilst *kasuwiyang* was mostly a payment in kind, it could also occur that the cash proceeds of a particular economic activity were received as *kasuwiyang*.

It is clear that, conceptually, the *kasuwiyang* differs from general taxation, incorporating a moral dimension in addition to the legal. It is both a matter of honour and of obedience to the *adat*. The conventionality of agreements between the ruling class and their subjects concerning the ruler's monopoly over territory and revenues is particularly evident from a Bugis manuscript, the *Mula Tattimpaqna Sidenreng* (The Opening of Sidenreng, henceforth referred as *MTS*), which marked the dawn of Sidenreng's sovereignty. It avows that the *Aqdaong*⁵⁵ has the monopoly of certain items:

“[...] The *aqdaong* of Sidenreng said: ‘I will own the salt, I will own the *sirih* [betel leaves]. I will also own the transvestites and the dwarfs. Each of you [will] also provide me with five followers whom I will appoint as special retainers in the palace.’ [...] The *aqdaong* said: ‘When you have [acquired] goods of value, send them up to the palace. When you have paid four *réal* [as tax] you may take [the goods].’ [...] The people worked the rice fields [of their *aqdaong*] once a year, they hunted pigs and deer in the great forest [for their *aqdaong*] once a year, and they caught fish from the lake [for their *aqdaong*] once a year. The yields were taken up to [the *aqdaong*] [...]” (*MTS* in Druce 1999:32-4)

Although the Chronicle of Boné (Macknight and Mukhlis, in progress) does not contain a similarly explicit contract of terms, most likely the above example is equally applicable to the other Bugis kingdoms, and the same or similar privileges were enjoyed by the *Arumponé*. An early agreement between the king and the *Adeq Pitu*, the Council of Seven, drawn up on the investiture of the king of Boné, parallels the above declaration to some extent (Saharruddin 1984:27).⁵⁶ Though the agreement does not base itself on specific examples of the ruler's power in the same manner as the *MTS*, its more abstract approach is all the more effective in communicating the king's ultimate authority in all spheres. The imagery of the declaration carries a strong symbolic meaning. The general terms in which the agreement expresses unquestioned submission

⁵⁵ *Aqdaong* was the title of the early rulers of Sidenreng. In the eighteenth century it was known as *Addatuang* (Druce 1999).

⁵⁶ See my discussion in Chapter 6.7.1.

and duty of service emphasise the all-encompassing nature of the king's supremacy and of his subjects' acceptance of their wide-ranging responsibilities towards him.

DAS reports frequently on the *kasuwiyang* the *Arumponé* receives. Many contributions are linked to the crops cultivated, although it is not always clear whether payments in rice and paddy, for example, are derived exclusively from *kasuwiyang* lands, or whether they might also derive from an individual's own revenue. For example:

31st July 1776:

"*Jennang* Timurung came and brought along for me his '*kasuwiyang*' paddy [a total of] three thousand and thirty [bundles] and two hundred *gantang* of rice." (*DAS*:f.15v)

23rd July 1778:

"To'Gangka informed me that the *kasuwiyang* paddy of *Matoa* Pare-pare totals two thousand [bundles]." (*DAS*:f.29v)

7th October 1779:

"The *jennang* Kaba and the people of Timurung informed me that their *kasuwiyang* paddy totals one thousand one hundred and eighty-five [bundles] after having deducted the *zakat*." (*DAS*:f.38r)

In addition to the payment of *kasuwiyang* in the form of crops, *DAS* also mentions receiving dues in the form of money:

17th October 1779:

"[...] The *jennang* of Pannampuq gave his *kasuwiyang*, an amount of thirty *réal*, to me." (*DAS*:f.38r)

29th March 1781:

"*Matoa* Timurung who lives at Cenrana gave me his *kasuwiyang*, one *tail*." (*DAS*:f.48v)

30th October 1795:

"[...] *kasuwiyang* money from Bajoe, one hundred *real*." (*DAS*:f.154r)

Closer observation of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's revenues reveals that the people of Bajoe, who inhabited the northwestern coastal area of Boné, submitted their *kasuwiyang* in the form of tortoise-shell. From the table below a clear pattern emerges:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Money</i>	<i>Tortoise-shells</i>	<i>Others</i>
11/10/1782	25 <i>réal</i>	Payment of tortoise-shell, no mention of weight is given.	6 <i>tail</i> gold
4/11/1784	100 <i>réal</i>	-	-
23/4/1785	100 <i>réal</i>	-	-
20/5/1786	-	1 <i>pikul</i> ⁵⁷	-
4/12/1788	200 <i>réal</i>	-	-
20/7/1789	100 <i>réal</i>	-	-
26/11/1791	200 <i>réal</i>	-	-
27/7/1794	100 <i>réal</i>	2 <i>pikul</i>	-
30/10/1795	100 <i>réal</i>	-	-

Table 5.6: Payments of *kasuwiyang* from the people of Bajoe to Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh, 1782-1795 (source: *DAS*)

From the above table, we see that the *kasuwiyang* paid by the people of Bajoe average about 65 *réal* per annum payable in money or gold, or the equivalent value in tortoise-shell. The payment was not necessarily always made annually, but the annual total owed could evidently be honoured at a later date. For example, *DAS* noted that with regard to the payment made on 26th November 1791, the amount of 200 *réal* the *Arumponé* received also included the payment for 1790, in which year no dues were paid by the people of Bajoe. The sale of tortoise-shells was lucrative, according to Sutherland (2000:458); they were among the cargoes that were loaded on the Chinese ships, *wangkang*, by the Chinese traders as trading goods from the island of South Sulawesi.

The diary reveals that, besides money, paddy, rice, tortoise-shell and gold, other payments of *kasuwiyang* were made in the form of bamboo, ships or serving maids, which *DAS* reports as:

21st September 1790:

“[The nobles of] Bonératé came and brought me their *kasuwiyang*: vessels - one *biluq* with outriggers, one large *pangkuruq* and two [smaller] *pangkuruq* with outriggers [...]” (*DAS*:f.114v)

29th January 1791:

“The people of Dulang sent [their] *kasuwiyang* bamboo to Ujung Tanah, an amount of eighty [small] bamboo trees [and] a thousand rods of bamboo.” (*DAS*:f.117v)

⁵⁷ One *pikul* equals circa 62.5 kilogrammes.

17th September 1791:

“My uncle, *Arung* Kaju, arrived from Pare-pare and he brought along with him one serving maid as *kasuwiyang* from the *Matoa* [of Pare-pare].” (*DAS*:f.121v)

If the ruler of Boné (or an *arung*) organised a celebration, his subjects or followers would be ready to attend, even if they lived some distance away: they took pride in being present at such prominent occasions which displayed their patron’s status and importance. They would contribute money or gifts and help with the preparations, and in return would be lodged, fed and entertained (Pelras 1996:182). Indeed, *DAS* mentions their contribution to the preparations for customary celebrations. Often, the occasion demanded the erection of a temporary building, such as a pavilion, or a ‘maternity ward’ for the Queen, and the royal crèche:

The ‘maternity ward’:

5th August 1785:

“The [special] house for Puang Batara Tungkeq to give birth has been constructed.” (*DAS*:f.79r)

21st May 1787:

“The house for Puang Batara Tungkeq to give birth is being erected. God bless [...]” (*DAS*:f.91v)

The royal crèche:

2nd June 1791:

“Today, the royal crèche was erected at Cenrana [...]” (*DAS*:f.120r)

The repair work on the palace:

1st May 1793:

“The roof of the extension building of the Lawelaréng [palace] has been fixed.” (*DAS*:f.137v)

The erecting and decorating of the pavilion (*baruga*, B.):

9th July 1785:

“The seating platform was set up and the *baruga* was decorated [...]” (*DAS*:f.78v)

25th July 1793:

“The wooden pole [for the *baruga*] began to be carved. *Barakallah*.” (*DAS*:f.138v)

Such events, many of them marking the rites of passage of the members of the royal dynasty, are frequently reported by *DAS*; for example:

The circumcision and ear piercing ceremony:

25th October 1787

“The contributions, *passoloq*, total 263 [*réal*]. I Patiku had her ears pierced [and] I gave her two serving maids; one from the king of Boné and another from the *Karaéng* of Gowa.” (DAS:f.94r)

For such royal celebrations it was customary that many people, both nobles and commoners, would be invited. Prior to the ceremony, the gathering or the ‘sitting together’, *tuda-ttudang* (B.), would take place for three consecutive nights before the main ceremony was performed.⁵⁸ During the *tuda-ttudang*, the organiser would put on displays of dancing and fighting, and provide the guests with food. Evidently, services such as preparing food and serving the guests, and other tasks to ensure the ceremony took place as planned, required substantial manual labour. Hence, it was expected that people would offer their (slaves’) services in this sort of situation; the assistance provided would also be regarded as *kasuwiyang*. This was accepted etiquette when organising a feast in which, the diary informs us, all the *paliliq*, domains or *wanua*, of Boné would be invited. For example:

12th August 1776

“All the *paliliq* were given a feast.” (DAS:f.16r)

In return for the invitation, the nobles of Boné and lords of the *wanua* would give a contribution, *passoloq* (B.), to the ruler of Boné:

29th July 1780

“The nobles of Boné together with the [lords of] the *paliliq* contributed 221 *réal* [and] 8 *owang*. The contribution arrived within one day.” (DAS:f.44r)

Failure on the part of the lords of the *paliliq* to attend a feast at court was punishable by the *Arumponé* in accordance with the *adat*. In conjunction with the royal feasting, a summons, *bila-bila*,⁵⁹ was sent to a *paliliq* or an ally, *passéajingeng* (B.), inviting them to attend a festival or war, and the number of knots indicated the number of days before the recipient was expected to assemble in a specified location. Any *paliliq* or ally who failed to turn up at the feast would be fined, whilst in the event of being asked to participate in war, a *paliliq* that failed to attend without good reason would be punished

⁵⁸ Usually the *tuda-ttudang* would be held for three to seven nights before the main event took place, depending on the host’s wish, which would be influenced by his social status as well as financial background. During the *tuda-ttudang*, the guests would be served with food and drink. Different kinds of local cakes were served on different nights, and each kind of cake symbolised a different meaning. (Personal communication with *Petta* Awamponé Andi Mappasisi, 22nd September 1999 and *Petta* Nompok Andi Muhammad Ali on 1st October 1999, at Watampone.)

⁵⁹ See my discussion in Chapter 6.7.

heavily (Raffles 1817:xcii). This, however, did not apply to an ally. This custom is mentioned by Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh in the entry for 14th April 1788, when the head judge of Soppeng together with some of the domains of Boné and its allies were brought to book for their failure to attend a feast held by him. Five days later, the diary informs us:

19th April 1788

“The *Maqdanrang* and the *Tomarilalang* came to accompany the [delegates of the] *paliliq* and the allies who failed to attend the feast to submit their contribution, *passoloq*, totals of one hundred [*réal*] less one *suku* [...]” (DAS:f.98r)

Failure to pay *kasuwiyang* was rare. Kooreman (Friedericy 1933:543) says that if *kasuwiyang* was not paid, the land to which a person had inherited rights of cultivation could be taken away from him. In Boné, anyone who failed to pay the *kasuwiyang* would initially be ordered to fulfil his obligations. Subsequently, he would be visited one or more times by one of the members of the *Adeq Pitu* in the name of the *Arumponé*. If this did not achieve the desired result, the head of the king’s troops, the *Pangoloé Jowa* (B.), would be sent with his troops to the obstinate head, who had to fight and was usually killed. If the head survived the attack, he would be taken captive and declared stripped off his dignity, usually along with his descendants to the *n*th generation (Friedericy 1933:541, 543). Not surprisingly, no such punishment is recorded in *DAS*.

On the other hand, *DAS* does reveal the punishment for those found to have held back the *Arumponé*’s due without consent. This offence is recorded only once, and the consequences were:

13th March 1781:

“I went to visit the *Maqdanrang*. He reported to me that the people [nobles] of *Awamponé* had agreed to confiscate all the property found in *Arung Kading*’s palace [house] including his wife and children after he [*Arung Kading*] was found [guilty of] stealing the ruler’s [*Arumponé*] *kasuwiyang* which was entrusted to him.” (DAS:f.48v)

In the time of the Gowa kings, a person who failed to fulfil *kasuwiyang* could be sentenced to a fine of two or four *réal*. If the person was unable to pay, part of the goods in his possession, including his house, warehouses or ships would be impounded, and on top of this, a fine would sometimes be levied. Nonetheless, the enforcement of these measures was not always well regulated, as it depended on the heads, subheads or the lower officials whether punishments were applied strictly or not, and the punishment varied between regions (Friedericy 1933:542).

We learn from *DAS* that there was a simple mechanism for the collection of the *kasuwiyang* contributions. For instance, the diary tells us that the Bajoe's *kasuwiyang* payments were usually brought to him by the harbourmaster. In other locations there were appointed officials for this task:

1st June 1790:

"I asked *Suléwatang* Wugi to go to the nobles of Tuwa and to inform them that when I [*Arumponé*] pass through [their vicinity], I want them [the nobles of Tuwa] to bring the *kasuwiyang* of the people of Tuwa Wajoq to me."
(*DAS*:f.113r)

Again, some two months later, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh writes:

4th August 1790:

"I met *Karaéng* Lémpang⁶⁰ whom I have appointed to take care of the *kasuwiyang* of [the people of] Tuwa Wajoq [...]."
(*DAS*:f.114r)

Just like other inherited rights over cultivated lands, the duty of *kasuwiyang* attached to particular lands would be passed down through the generations. This is illustrated in *DAS*:

7th January 1789:

"[...] I commanded them [*Gellarang* Bontoalaaq and *suro* [messenger] of Bontosunggu]: 'You are not allowed to use the rice-fields as collateral to buy something else. If you don't use the rice-fields [as your source of food or] as your *kasuwiyang* by your children and grandchildren, [I will order] the *jennang* Maros to take the rice-fields back from you.'"
(*DAS*:f.103v)

The importance of ensuring the continuity of *kasuwiyang* payments relating to certain agricultural lands is understandable, given the revenues that they could provide. It is difficult to quantify the revenue, since much of it was obtained in kind: in paddy or rice, in wood or bamboo, in manpower for the construction or maintenance of buildings, in sailing crews on ships, or in the transportation of the king and his luggage when travelling. From the previous section (5.2.1), we know Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's revenues from rice cultivation to have been relatively low, and fishing to have served only to provide food for household consumption. However, my discussion has demonstrated that *kasuwiyang*, the payment of dues in various forms, constituted a reasonable proportion of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's revenue:

⁶⁰ According to Drs. Muhammad Salim, the region Lémpang does not exist and is possibly a spelling error. (Personal communication, Drs. Muhammad Salim, 17th May 2002.)

Date	Kasuwiyang from	Kinds of kasuwiyang		
		Money	Rice/ Paddy/ wetté	Others
29/1/91	The people [nobles] of Dulang	-	-	80 bamboo trees 1000 bamboo rods
14/2/91	Khatib Kasim	210 réal	-	-
3/3/91	Arung Paciro	-	-	-
18/4/91	Bulukumba	-	1000 bundles of paddy	-
17/6/91	Khatib Kasim	120 réal	-	-
17/9/91	Matoa Pare-pare	-	-	1 serving maid
26/11/91	Ponggawa of Bajoe	200 réal	-	-
Total		530 réal		

Table 5.7: A list of kasuwiyang received by Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh for the year 1791 (source: DAS)

As an example, for the whole year 1791, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh received a total sum of 530 *réal*, in addition to a quantity of paddy, bamboo and a serving maid. Apart from the general taxation and the *kasuwiyang*, the collection of fines or penalties, *tokko* (B.), from those found guilty of committing crimes or offences against the *adat* appears to have contributed considerable revenues.

5.3.3 Land taxes and disputes over land

We have seen that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh possessed lands at Makassar which he inherited from his ancestors. Because the lands were situated under the Company's administration, he had to comply with the Company's regulations. Although most of the *Arumponé*'s agricultural land was exempt from tax payment, this was not the case for his nobles who had property in Makassar (*ANRI Mak.169*). From the Dutch records, we deduce that many Boné subjects resided in Makassar, and that they were subject to both the laws of Boné and the Company's regulations, which often led to (feigned) confusion over which tax payments were owed to whom. As a result, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh had to negotiate with the Governor over claims of land ownership and disputes over the payment of taxes in those areas under the Company's jurisdiction.

Traditionally, all that which was cultivated on the lands administered by the Company would be taxed at one tenth of its value, hence the Dutch termed the tax *verthiening*, meaning to divide by ten. A letter written to the *jennang* of Bantaeng from the king of Boné confirms that it was the custom that the *verthiening* on paddy was 10

out of 100 bunches (*ANRI Mak.117* No.53:159). Radermacher (1824:153) noted the native custom of levying one tenth of the crops on land in the Northern Provinces, prior to the Treaty of Bongaya; perhaps this tax was appropriated by the Dutch.

Although the tax levied by the Dutch seems small, it would appear to have met with much resistance. Three and a half months after Sultan Abdul as-Salleh was made king, the Company had already filed a complaint about his subjects' refusal to pay the *verthiening*. The Dutch records mention that *Datu Baringang*, the Boné's Commander-in-Chief, had forbidden his subjects to pay the taxes (*ANRI Mak.404/4:20th* September 1775). Nevertheless, the Dutch sources record that a pact was made in 1774 between the (deceased) king of Boné, Sultan Abdul Razak Jalaluddin, and the Company, with regards to the payment of taxes. The agreement stated:

“The king of Boné [Sultan Abdul Razak Jalaluddin] hereby promises on behalf of himself and his successors in the kingdom, from now on to admit the tax collectors of excise duty freely and without obstruction in order to levy toll in the *Kampung Bugis* as well as elsewhere from all arriving and departing water vessels and on all merchandise that is transported over land between here and Saperia. And also to appoint a suitable person in the aforementioned *Kampung Bugis* and another over the Boniërs in *Kampung Baru*, who in all respects must help the servants of the tax collectors and protect them from all violent acts and prevent that any ships whatsoever are left untaxed upon arrival or departure.” (*ANRI Mak.274/2:26th* February 1774)

When taxes were due to be collected, the Governor would notify the king of Boné, who would then instruct his officials to accompany the Dutch tax collectors in doing the *verthiening*.

4th August 1779:

“The Governor's interpreter came to let [the *Arumponé*] know of his intention to collect tax at Maros [...].” (*DAS:f.37r*)

6th August 1779:

“The Governor boarded a ship to go to Maros. I instructed *Suléwatang Bontoalaq*, *Arung Pasémpeq* and the interpreter [of Boné], *La Piddé*, to accompany the Governor [and his officials].” (*DAS:f.37r*)

This precaution was of advantage to both parties: the presence of the king's delegates encouraged the Boniërs to pay up; at the same time it guarded against possible abuse of the system on the part of the Dutch tax-collectors. The necessity for this safeguard was

evident from the hand-over report written by Governor Reijke upon his standing down in 1790:

“[...] for a long time we even had to carry out the *verthiening* especially in the North, armed and fearing for our lives, in order to, as has happened before, avoid being turned down by this impudent nation who stand in their paddy fields armed like Polish nobles with daggers, *assegaijs* (D.) and *blunderbuses* [...]” (*ANRI Mak.169:3-4*)

This remark made by the ex-Governor of Makassar shows us that the Company was having difficulty getting its revenues from the *verthiening*. In order to avoid further inconvenience, the Company sought to prevent everyday disputes by abolishing the rights that the Boniers had for a long time considered theirs; namely, their right to the area of Malawa at Maros, and the trafficking of goods by ship to the Northern districts and elsewhere. In addition, Reijke reports that the Bugis eventually stopped paying excise duty, both incoming and outgoing (*ANRI Mak.169:10*); in the same memorandum, Reijke mentioned a toll bar across the river, where a toll or *boompagt* (D.), was levied.

The *verthiening* had always posed a problem to the Company even in its own administrative area, for instance in Maros. In one of the sources dated 5th April 1779, after the Gowa war, Boné claimed that *Datu Baringang* was the master of Maros and that he would no longer allow the Company to collect the *verthiening*, as now he had conquered Maros it belonged to him. An entry in *DAS* records that *Datu Baringang* had taken over Maros. Perhaps this entry was designed to legitimise his claim as the master of Maros, under the pretext of his success in ousting the rebel, I Sangkilang, from there (*DAS:f.35r*). Such an act of legitimisation could be considered as a means by which to monitor the Company's activities and test its reactions in Maros. In addition, it could be interpreted as an attempt to encroach on the Company's territory. Reijke again commented that *Datu Baringang* and the Boniers had tried everything to achieve their ambition (*ANRI Mak.169:57-8*):

“Ostensibly to support us, *Datu Baringang*, a Boné prince, occupied the Northern Provinces in 1780 [sic.:1777], which consisted of the sub-department Pangkajenejéné, excepting Balotti and the communities to the North of the town of Maros as well as the territory of Sudiang. In reality, this turned out to be the beginning of Boné domination, that had as its consequence that the Company lands were successively taken away from us [the Dutch].”

The Bugis' increasing ambitions to obtain the Company's lands and the developing tensions between the Bugis and the Company were revealed by Governor Beth in his written memoir to his newly appointed successor, Mr. Chassé.⁶¹

“Still more caution ought to be observed with regard to Boné. That Nation being considerably more ambitious than any other on the Island, they are constantly busy, in various manners, to usurp every piece of ground which they can get at, and which can be of any advantage to them [...]” (Blok 1817:31)

This remark by the ex-Governor of Makassar reveals to us the Dutch opinion of the Bugis who were ruled by Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh. It shows that during his reign, little progress was made in bilateral co-operation, despite the repeated efforts of the Company. In fact, many entries in Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's diary refer to problems relating to land owned by him and his nobles in the Company's territory. The earliest such entry occurs only three weeks into his reign as *Arumponé* when, on 28th June 1775, the Company's commissioner came to demand the return of some islands:

“The [Dutch Commissioner], the fiscal officer and the harbourmaster came [to see *Arumponé*] to ask for [the return of] Kalauq, Bonérata, Pulau Laiya, Pulau Kalubi and other islands which have not been taxed.” (*DAS*:f.8r)

Shortly afterwards, on the 4th July, the nobles of Boné went to see the Governor, who had categorically demanded the return of the area of Maros and its northern districts, together with four other islands, the use of which had previously been granted to the king of Boné (*DAS*:f.8v).

Almost two years after Ahmad as-Salleh became *Arumponé*, *DAS* reports that the dispute between the Company and the Bugis over the ownership of some paddy fields was being handled by one of his nobles, *Arung Téko* (*DAS*:f.21v). In later years, *DAS* records a number of conflicts over lands that both the Company and the Bugis claimed to own. On 11th October 1778, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh informs us that he sent his representative, the *Gellarang* Bontoalaq, to the Governor to enquire about the ownership of Takalar⁶² and its surrounding area. He was informed that Takalar itself did not belong to the Company; however, the area surrounding it was under the Company's jurisdiction (*DAS*:f31r). In the following year, there remained uncertainty

⁶¹ Willem Beth succeeded Barend Reijke in 1790. On 30th April 1800, Beth handed his post as Governor of Makassar to Peter Theodorus Chassé.

⁶² Takalar is located southeast of Makassar, along the coastal area.

over ownership of lands. In the year 1779, three entries relating to claims of lands were reported by *DAS* within the space of one month:

5th March 1779

“The Governor sent Captain Koja to inform [me] with regards to the Company’s [lands] territories that were under the possession of the *Gellarang* Bontoalaq [and suggested] to bring the issue to the *Maqdanrang*.” (*DAS*:f.34v)

17th March 1779

“Captain Koja returned after having discussed [issues with regard to] all the territories [lands] of the Company held by the official of Boné.” (*DAS*:f.34v)

22nd March 1779

“The Governor sent Captain Koja to deliver the Governor’s appreciation of thanks after all the paddy fields belonging to the Company were returned.” (*DAS*:f.34v)

More entries were found in later years with regard to fulfilling the Company’s demands. To mention a couple:

13th July 1782:

I went to the fort to see the Governor after the region which had been given to *Matinroé ri* Mallimongeng, *Kampung Beru* [sic.:Baru]⁶³ was officially returned to the Company’s jurisdiction [...]. Therefore the people of *Kampung Beru*, who were slaves of *Matinroé ri* Mallimongeng, do not need to pay their obeisance [to Boné any longer].” (*DAS*:f.57v)

6th February 1790:

“La Masi arrived from Pangkajene to [inform the Company that the people [or nobles] of Boné’s have agreed to] return the Dutch lands taken by them; [however] it cannot be resolved until next year [1791].” (*DAS*:f.111r)

Disputes over the ownership of lands and paddy fields not only occurred between the Company and the Bugis, but among the Bugis nobles themselves. In recording the conflicts arising over claims of ownership and the redeeming of lands and paddy fields, the role of the diary is significant in that it functions as a royal record of land ownership. The constant challenging of property rights, and the ambiguity surrounding the status of much land, is evident from the many entries seeking to resolve conflicts and to clarify ownership status. In the diary pronouncements are made over the following:

⁶³ *Kampung Baru* is located at the south of the Fort Rotterdam.

The disputes over paddy fields:

4th January 1791:

“I ordered *Tau Tongngeng* to inform La Tallettuq and [La] Parowa that I forbade them to take La Bata’s [*Arung Tanete*] rice-fields.” (DAS:f.117v)

10th January 1791:

“*Arung Tanete* informed me that his rice-fields have been taken by La Tallettuq and La Parola, along with one [slave] whilst another [slave] was held by his brother. I ordered *Arung Tibojong* to [go] and to demand them [La Tallettuq and La Parola] to return the rice-fields and the slaves to *Arung Tanete* [...]” (DAS:f.117v)

The claims of land ownership:

31st May 1788:

The Resident of Maros informed me that *Arung Mareq* held in his possessions some lands at Lebboé and [he, *Arung Mareq*] had sold them to [the nobles of] Boné. I said that I [the *Arumponé*] have not been informed by the *Tomaqbicara* about it.” (DAS:f.98v)

28th December 1790:

“The Resident of Maros sent his interpreter to enquire regarding the rice-fields belonging to the Company that were in the possession of the Boné’s subjects who live in Maros and at Pangkajene.” (DAS:f.116r)

The declaring the status of ownership of rice fields:

13th January 1791:

“*Arung Cempa* came to show me the sealed [letter which contained the declaration of the bestowal of rice-fields] from *Puwattaq Matinroé ri Mallimongeng*, also there was the *Maqkedangtana*’s stamp [seal]. Hence, I certified the rice-fields from *Puwattaq [Matinroé ri Mallimongeng]* to him and I gave him my [seal of] endorsement.” (DAS:f.117v)

5th May 1791:

“[...] *Arung Céngka* declared he possesses twenty-three plots of rice-fields at Parang Lowe; and the rice-fields were turned into eight plots.” (DAS:f.119v)

The redeeming pawned rice-fields:

22nd November 1790:

“[...] regarding the rice-fields which *Daéng Marapo* had pawned, they have been redeemed by Puang Batara Tungkeq, a number of seventy-three plots for the price of 134 [*réal*] and

13 *owang*. The *jennang* of Maros and La Raté are responsible to pass on [the money] to the person who holds [the title of ownership] of [*Daéng* Marapo's] the rice-fields." (DAS:f.115v)

The conferment of land:

20th October 1778:

"*Karaéng* Laikang came [to me] and reported on the *kampung* of *Karaéng* Ta in Laikang. I declared: "That I [the *Arumponé*] hand over the administration [of Ta] together with the paddy fields to you [*Karaéng* Laikang]." (DAS:f.31r)

11th April 1779:

"I gave the letter of proof, (B.) *cap*, to *Daéng* Mangapu after acknowledging that he had received the land given to him by *Puwattaq Matinroé ri* Mallimongeng." (DAS:f.35r)

Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh also reports on the efforts of his nobles in claiming back land from the Company. Hence, his diary provides a record of lands received and restored by both parties:

8th March 1787:

"To'Gangka came [back] after I ordered him to see the Resident of Bulukumba. Along with him came the General who was summoned by the Resident of Bulukumba to inform me that the Resident of Bulukumba has returned the one hundred and seventy-eight plots of rice-fields belonging to *Arung* Kalibo." (DAS:f.90v)

9th December 1789:

"[...] I took back the rice-fields which were borrowed by the *Shahbandar*, a total of fifteen plots; four plots for germination [inherited] from *Puwattaq Matinroé ri* Malimongang. I ordered To'Gangka to receive [the letter of agreement] from the Resident of Maros, Burggraaf." (DAS:f.109r)

In the Dutch records, the Bugis who resided in the Company's lands were portrayed as 'trouble-makers' who always refused to pay the *verthiening* and caused problems to the Company. One record says that one of the Boné princes, *Daéng* Mamango, refused to pay the *verthiening* because the tax rate imposed by the Company was higher than the tithe of three *gantang* of rice on three hundred bunches of paddy (ANRI Mak.117 No.5). A complaint made by the people of Boné reveals the *modus operandi* of the Company's tax official, the *afscheeper* (D.):

"[...] when people came to pay their taxes [*verthiening*, D.], what happened was that the rice was measured far above the edge of the vessel and the excess shaken off. The people of Boné were not allowed to pick [up] the fallen rice. As a

result, someone who owes thirty *gantang* has to top up with another ten *gantang* extra. This is the reason they were reluctant to pay.” (*ANRI Mak.100* No.18:27th November 1794)

What the Dutch record fails to convey is that, to the Bugis, their refusal to pay tax to the Dutch was in part a way of expressing their antipathy towards them.

From the point of view of the Company, the need for revenue was often pressing, since it relied on the levies of rice to sustain its men, particularly in the late 1780s when the Dutch were at war with the English. The Fourth Anglo-Dutch war had had disastrous consequences for the Company; *VOC* debts in the Netherlands amounted to *f*.91.1 million at the end of the accounting year for 1789-1790 (Steur 1986:212). It fell to the Company’s colonies to seek ways of maximising revenues for the Dutch treasury; thus, all opportunities to tax the populace were exploited and pursued to the full. At the same time, the war against I Sangkilang in 1776-1779 and its prolonged repercussions had drained the Company’s revenues. In a letter to the king, the Governor of Makassar, Mr. Willem Beth, stressed that the Company was ‘obliged to employ all possible means in order to try to meet the pressing expenditure which is increasing because of the recent Makassar question.’ (*ANRI Mak.119* No.15:10th December 1792)

In seeking to retrieve some of its treasury to compensate for the losses occasioned in the Makassar war, Governor Beth proposed a number of ways in which the kingdom of Gowa could pay war-damages:

“[...] Either they supply certain number of slaves per year at Sp.50.00; or, for example, every household has to supply to the king every year a certain sum of money which the king should then pay to the Company for the debts; or [we] include the Makasar [the subjects of Gowa] in the annual *verthiening*.” (*ANRI Mak.119* No.25:19th February 1793; *Mak.144b/2* No.59:9th June 1794)

In spite of the pressures to obtain general provisions and export goods to boost the Dutch treasury, the Company could not always afford to accept more realistic solutions, such as accepting paddy instead of rice. It did not want to allow its allies to set their own rules, for fear of encouraging lawlessness across the region. In response to a letter sent by Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s eldest son, La Mappatunruq *Arung* Palakka, requesting the Governor to allow the people of Palakka and Kaju living in Bulukumba and Bantaeng to be allowed to pay the *verthiening* in the form of paddy instead of rice, the Governor wrote a formal reply:

“I cannot grant the request because the Company does not have enough rice. The Company cannot have different rules. The Company has to standardise the rules as your father, the king, knows that, were we to agree to your request, it would lead to tension. The Company’s ship has waited a long time to collect the tax and is disadvantaging the Company by losing its money. If you think we can get rice from elsewhere, perhaps we could give consideration to your request, especially so as to feed the Company’s employees.” (*ANRI Mak.100* No.26:27th December 1794)

The Bugis continued to thwart the Company’s collection of taxes, and Governor Beth voiced his frustrations concerning Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s protection of the tax evaders who were Bugis. Despite the Company having listed the offenders’ names for him, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh did not enforce punishment (*ANRI Mak.100* No.47:8th March 1795). The Company not only experienced problems collecting taxes among the Bugis who resided on its land, but moreover it was challenged by *Daéng* Malimpo, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s half brother, whose tyranny and attempts to usurp land had angered them:

“In the afternoon, *Karaéng* Anakbajéng came to see the Governor to inform [him] that *Daéng* Malimpo wanted to be the master of that area; *Topéjawa* [and] *Barombong* for himself.” (*ANRI Mak.95c*:30th October 1789)

Two weeks later, on 13th November 1789, about mid-day, a letter from Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh was brought to the Governor by the *Suléwatang* [of Palakka]. The letter was written in the Makasar language, and read:

“*Daéng* Malimpo has arrived in the Company’s land. He only took [occupied] a small area. However, one of the Company’s eldest subjects gave him rice and a buffalo, a sign of submission [or obedience]. After that, *Daéng* Malimpo moved further into the Company’s area. The same man said to *Daéng* Malimpo that: ‘we have got rid of our leader.’ *Daéng* Malimpo’s reply was to ask to see the new *jennang*. The *jennang* gave him somewhere to stay [...]” (*ANRI Mak.95c*:13th November 1789)

Although, in the Company’s opinion, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh should have taken firmer action against his subjects, instead he put the blame on the Company. In response to the Governor’s inquisition about his half brother, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh pointed out that it was the Company’s “eldest subject”, mentioned above, who was the cause of the problems, because it was he who had called on *Daéng* Malimpo to be the leader there (*ANRI Mak.95c*:13th November 1789). This defensive response was interpreted by the Governor, Willem Beth, as symptomatic of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s political strategy

to extend his power over the Company's land. We can see the Company's growing dissatisfaction with the king of Boné when, on 6th January 1790, the Governor reported more offences committed by the people of Boné at Siang. It was reported that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's subjects had taken by force the Company's area with the intent to persuade the people there to give their services to Boné, that is, to Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh. At the same time, one of the nobles of Boné, *Arung Ponré*, the son of the *Maqdanrang*, had seized nearly two hundred plots of paddy fields to be cultivated by the Boniers (*ANRI Mak.95c:6th January 1790*). A few other Boné nobles also committed offences in the Company's lands. For instance, at *Kampong Letta* in Maros, two Boné nobles, *Daéng Patappa* and *Daéng La Solo*, committed offences, reflecting badly on the Boné court. The only action taken was to remove them from the area, and Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh excused himself to the Resident of Maros on the grounds that:

“The two princes, La Solo and *Daéng Patappa* are not considered princes by Boné, they did not pay homage to the Boné's court but are seen as two roaming villains and bad subjects.” (*ANRI Mak.117 No.52:31st January 1790*)

In other ways, too, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh expanded his influence. Not only were lands taken by force by his subjects, but he, too, (as we learn from the Dutch records) surreptitiously encroached on land, so that Governor Willem Beth had to account to the Governor-General how it was that the rice fields at Lamojo Boko had come under the *rijksornamenten* (D.) of Boné (*ANRI Mak.14f:622-27*). In 1792, when Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh harboured pretensions to the throne of Gowa, he brazenly collected taxes from the Company's subjects in the Makasar lands. It was only when the Governor announced to him the Company's intention to collect tax in the area that he was informed the *Arumponé* had already done so:

16th July 1792:

“The Governor sent I Samau to enquire about the collection of the Company's tax in the land of Makasar. I responded that: ‘In my opinion, you are not wrong to tax the Goanese who gave their obeisance to me [...]. But with regards to *attasalo* [upper river area], it was taxed last year and I have decided that it should be taxed only once [and] not several times.’” (*DAS:f.128v*)

5.3.4 A personal conflict with the *pagter*, *Intjé'* Sadulla

The collection of taxes on the Company's lands was carried out by *Intjé'* Sadulla, also known as *Intjé'* I Dara, a Makasar in the Company's employment as a tax collector-cum-tax farmer or *pagter* (D.). According to the Dutch records, Sadulla was despised by

the king of Boné; in *DAS*, however, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh makes no mention of these feelings. The only acknowledgement of *Intjé* Sadulla's existence in the diary is on 8th June 1790, when he reports the death of Sadulla (*DAS*:f.113r). Perhaps the king's reported loathing for Sadulla was the result of problems arising from the many Bugis refusing to pay their dues to the Company (*ANRI Mak.169:10*). A letter of complaint from the *Arumponé* about Sadulla accused him of the following:

“He has meddled in our affairs and those of others by receiving letters and messages from the lesser allies, and Sadulla and his children relay all these to the Governor. It is also Sadulla who writes letters to those who are under Boné's rule and, in the name of the retiring Governor [Reijke], instructs those people what to do. So, we have to say that it is for this reason that these Boné subjects have become stubborn or reluctant to fulfil their duty towards Boné. When Sadulla was still the tax collector the Boniers complained about him a great deal because he didn't treat the traders as the Company had decreed with respect to the traders in Makassar. And so we want to add the behaviour of Sadulla and his children to our list of grievances.” (*ANRI Mak.117* No.68:26th February 1790)

On numerous occasions, the Boné court wrote to the Company to complain about Sadulla, their main accusations being his espionage for the Governor and corruption in his collection of taxes. A meeting of traders called by Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh to formulate their complaints against the tax collector complained that he consistently taxed at too high a rate. Sadulla had raised the tax rate on various imported goods, even doubling the rate of tax on gold, and had begun to tax goods that were previously exempt, such as cloth, rice for consumption, sugar and jam (*ANRI Mak.144b/1:337-339*; Sut-herland 1989:125-26). Sadulla's position was a very privileged one, which gave him direct contact with a number of influential people and placed him in a position to incite disobedience against the king of Boné. Again, these grievances were disclosed by Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh in his letter to Governor Willem Beth:

“[...] *Intjé* I Dara [Sadulla], his children and family have done wrong to me by saying all kinds of bad words about me and reporting all sorts of accusations to the Governor although I never said or did all these things. I suffered much upset and embarrassment because of the behaviour of *Intjé* I Dara and his family and to this day I feel the wounds in my heart.” (*ANRI Mak.117* No.31:429; cf. *ANRI Mak.144b/1:342-343*)

Again, it is the Dutch sources that reveal in detail the various aspects of the complaints against Sadulla and his family. The fact that, by contrast, *DAS* is devoid of

any reference to these frustrations, leads us to conclude that, as we saw previously, the diary aims to paint an attractive portrait of the *Arumponé*. It seems that he preferred to leave no record of such an antagonistic relationship for posterity.

5.4 Trade

5.4.1 The decline of the *VOC*

The importance of trade to society is twofold: it provides goods not readily available at home, and its taxation has always been one of the principal sources of wealth for political elites and for imperial powers. In the early seventeenth century, Makassar was a major trading centre that linked the trading networks of eastern and western Indonesia (Sutherland 1983b:266). Makassar's location midway on the main sea route between the Strait of Malacca, which formed the gateway to the Indian Ocean, and the Spice Islands, was one factor contributing to its rise during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In addition, the political moderation of the rulers of both Gowa and Talloq contributed to the prosperity of Makassar (Villiers 1990:149-150). This period in Makassar's commercial history saw many visiting Malay and Javanese traders, "their ships laden with cloth, porcelain, rice and silver coins", and others based in Makassar, "from where they controlled most of the shipping in every direction" (Schrieke 1955:66-72). The Makasars imported much cloth from Cambay, Bengal and Coromandel (Villiers 1990:145); in this period too, Makassar became an important market for pepper from Banjarmasin and Jambi (Meilink-Roelofs 1962:258-260).

The growing importance of Makassar as a centre of the spice trade and a market for Chinese and Indian goods attracted the Europeans to the city. The Portuguese who had first appeared in eastern Indonesia in the sixteenth century began to arrive in substantial numbers in the beginning of the seventeenth century, as a result of trading embargoes imposed by the Dutch in the eastern Indonesian islands. The Dutch built their first post (*factorij*, D.), at Makassar in the early seventeenth century, at the invitation of the ruler of Gowa, Sultan Alauddin (Poelinggomang 1993:61-2). The factory served Dutch ships with fresh supplies and other requirements on their way to the Spice Islands. Other foreign traders soon followed, establishing their own posts in Makassar: the English in 1613, the Danes in 1616, whilst Spanish and Chinese traders began to appear from 1615 and 1619 respectively (Reid 1983a:139). Having recognised the potential of Makassar as a centre of the spice trade, the *VOC* later took advantage of the domestic political tensions. In 1667, in alliance with Bugis forces under the Boné's leader, *Arung Palakka*, the Dutch then conquered Makassar, after which it served as the main Dutch watchdog guarding the eastern sea routes (Andaya 1781).

Having gained control over Makassar, the Dutch sought to obtain sole rights to trade, promoting a policy of halting other foreign trade with Makassar. The navigation rights of the Bugis and Makasar traders, and their freedom to take any passengers abroad, were controlled by the Dutch, and they were not allowed to carry on trade with the Spice Islands. In addition the trade in cloth, Chinese goods and spices came under the monopoly of the Company. The repercussions were felt by foreign as well as Bugis and Makasar traders, and resulted in the decline of commerce at Makassar (Sutherland 1989).

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the commercial position of the Dutch was waning; at the same time, their competitors, the English, were acquiring a dominant commercial position over the other Europeans in Southeast Asia. The Dutch situation was worsened by financial difficulties and problems in the *VOC*, a consequence of the fourth Anglo-Dutch war (1780-1784) (Vlekke 1959:233; Vos 1993:128ff; Poelinggomang 2003:48, 51-2).

The declining commercial position of the Dutch as a result of the war is explicitly reported by Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh, who noted the growing concern of the Company about the appearance of English ships in Makassar waters. The first of these appearances occurred on 14th March 1781, when Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh was informed by the Company's interpreter I Dépo (Deefhout) of the presence of fourteen English ships at Dima (*DAS*:f.48v). On 20th October 1781 he was told by the senior interpreter of the Company that English ships had been seen off the south-eastern coast of Sulawesi (*DAS*:f.52r). On seven more occasions, the presence of English ships is noted in *DAS*: 5th October 1783:f.66r; 10th May 1784:f.70v; *DAS* 24th May 1789:105v; 28th May 1789:f.106r; 8th April 1791:f.119r; 27th April 1793:f.137r; and 2nd June 1793:f.138r.⁶⁴

During the late eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century, it appears that Makassar's economy was dependent on two main exchange networks. In the first trade network, Indian goods, mainly textiles and opium, as well as European linen (Braam Morris 1892:169; 188; 195; 205; 218) and chintzes (Braam Morris 1892:189; 195; 205), formed the products for trade brought to the Archipelago by West Asian and English merchants. These goods were taxed at a rate as high as 41% (Sutherland 2000:458), and would be exchanged at Makassar with Mandar, Makasar or Bugis traders for sea and forest products, local textiles, Spanish dollars, and slaves (particularly before 1812)

⁶⁴ The British, since 1760s, has been looking for a strategic place to expand its trading base in the eastern part of Indonesia. Reports on the appearance of British ships in the eastern part of the Indonesian water was seen as a sign of a potential threat to the Dutch especially in the 1780s when both countries, England and Holland, waged war. For more information, see also Dalrymple's account (*BL Home/MISC/795:33-45*) and Vos (1994:115-139).

(Poelinggomang 1993:63). The slave trade, particularly in Boné, will be discussed in a later section.

The second trade network of importance for Makassar was the exchange of goods with China; this took place from the 1740s onwards. The Chinese merchants brought products such as porcelain, metal utensils, tobacco, umbrellas, silk clothing and gold thread, and they purchased delicacies such as *trepang*, *agar-agar* (seaweed), shark fins and birds' nests, as well as tortoise-shell, wax and *rattan* (rotan) (Poelinggomang 1993:63). *Kain* Mandar, a cloth produced by the Mandar people, was also greatly in demand (Leirissa 1993:85).

Besides rice, corn and sesame (*langga*, B.) (Braam Morris 1892:149-230), locally produced goods such as baskets woven from palm leaves, sacks fashioned from tree bark, and brown sugar made from the juice of palm trees, were shipped to other parts of the Archipelago. The main pattern of exchange between the Makasar and the Bugis, and the population of the marginal areas of the Moluccas, was to barter textiles and iron utensils for sea products, mainly *trepang* and tortoise-shell, which were in great demand, as were pearls. These products were then mostly sold to the Chinese in Makassar or marketed directly to Singapore. Rice, iron utensils and even alcohol from South Sulawesi were distributed to the far-off villages of the Moluccas (Leirissa 1993:85). In the less monetarised areas of the interior, the majority of trade was by barter; in Kassa in Massenrempulu, small scale barter trade still took place as late as the nineteenth century for *sirih*, brown sugar, corn and various tubers and pulses (Braam Morris 1892:180). Although Boné is not included in Braam Morris' survey, his observations on Maiwa, Duri, Kassa, Batulappa, Alitta, Suppaqq and Sawitto, seven of the minor sovereign kingdoms of South Sulawesi, parallel one another to such an extent that the export- and import products mentioned could be argued to apply across the island as a whole.

5.4.2 Types of currency used

The Spanish *réal* was the most common unit of currency across Southeast Asia. This silver coin, weighing 3.5 grams, was used by traders in the archipelago from the early seventeenth century, and had served as a model for the currency issued by other European Governments from the fifteenth century onward. It continued to hold sway as a common currency throughout Southeast Asia in the nineteenth century (Drake 1991:90).

In most regions, in so far as they were monetarised, there existed other local units of currency, so that even within one kingdom or area of administration multiple currencies would be used alongside local barter. Even where a common unit was employed across a larger area, its value would display great local variation. For example, the value of the copper *doi* (*duiten*, D.) in South Sulawesi was by no means standardised as late as the nineteenth century. According to Braam-Morris, the number of *doi manuq*⁶⁵ that made up one *rijksdaalder*⁶⁶ varied between 960 and 1050 (Braam Morris 1890:156, 170, 181, 189, 196, 206, 219).⁶⁷

In the interior of South Sulawesi in the eighteenth century, money was scarce and barter trade was widely relied upon. Examples of barter trade in *DAS* and in *DTM* are as follows:

31st October 1784:

“I bought I Buq [a slave], from Daéng Mabbani’s wife, for the price of 23 [*réal*]. I barter traded her for a buffalo.” (*DTM*:f.63v)

17th April 1795:

“[...] I bought a pair of *kaparia* guns in exchange for a slave boy.” (*DAS*:f.151r)

Only in international maritime ports was a variety of different currencies regularly used. In *DAS*, the following currencies are mentioned:

12th July 1775:

“I Taréog gave [me] 6 *kettéq ringgit*.” (*DAS*:f.8v)

16th November 1782:

“I changed 3 *tail Jawa* for 81 *réal*.” (*DAS*:f.59v)

22nd December 1788:

“[...] I also kept the [pawned] golden scabbard belonging to La Matoru for a price of 51 *rupiah* [...]” (*DAS*:f.102r)

19th April 1788:

“The *Maqdanrang* together with the *Tomarilalang* came to bring in the contributions from the *paliliq* and the vassal states who had failed to attend the [*Arumponé*’s] feast: 100 [*réal*] less 1 *suku*.” (*DAS*:f.98r)

⁶⁵ *Doi manuq* was the smallest denomination of copper coin. It was embossed with the motif of a cockerel, hence, in Dutch, *haantjesduiten* (Reid 1990:5).

⁶⁶ The Dutch *rijksdaalder* was a silver coin minted in following of the Spanish *réal*. See McCusker (1978) and Scholten (1953).

⁶⁷ This figure seems far too high. In the period referred to, one *doi* is one quarter ($\frac{1}{4}$) of a stuiver, and the *rijksdaalder* is approximately 50 stuivers. Thus, one *rijksdaalder* equals 200 *doi* (personal communication, Professor P. Boomgaard).

DTM, in addition, records:

27th November 1782:

“I gave *suro* Pajéko his salary: 2 *réal*, 4 *owang* 1 *doi*. I instructed *suro* Pajéko, [who was] accompanied by some of my guards, to pay the wages: for the interpreter: 2 *réal*, 4 *owang* and 1 *doi*; [for the] *suro* Soppeng: 2 *réal*, 7 *owang* and 1 *doi*; [for] *Suléwatang* Paju: 4 *réal*, 8 *owang* [and] 3 *doi*; [for] *Arung* Kalibo: 8 *réal*, 16 *owang* [and] 6 *doi*; [for] *Arung* Labasi: 8 *réal*, 16 *owang* [and] 6 *doi*; [and] for me: 17 *réal*, 3 *tali* [and] 3 *doi*.” (DTM:f.49r)

The variety of different currencies in circulation and the different exchange rates occasionally caused problems among the traders who traded in Makassar. In a complaint in 1782 to Governor Reijke, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh mentions that transactions between the Company’s tax-collector and the Bugis traders now took place in *rupees*, instead of the “small silver coins” they were accustomed to. Governor Reijke, who felt Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s complaint was baseless, contested the *Arumponé*’s grievances, saying:

“[...] that premature prince [Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh] [...] ought to be ashamed for stating such, because his changers sit here in the bazaar in great number. [...] It would likewise be contrary to the twelfth article of the Bongays Treaty which obliges him to trade therein.” (*BL Mackenzie Collection* No.67:89)

It was not, however, until twenty-nine years later, in 1811, that an agreement on the standardisation of exchange rates was signed by Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh and Commandant Vickerman:

“[...] on 18th *Muharram* 1226 *Hijrah* [equals to] 21st February [1811], that the exchange rate of *rupiah* with *doi* [...] illegible] or *ringgit* or *ringgit burung* and *suku* and *tali* [...] should not be reduced [by taking a commission]; this applies to people who have money exchanged, people who exchange money, buyers and sellers, all gamblers, lenders and borrowers. This must be declared to all traders and subjects of the country.” (*UMLIB MS. Mik.7:54-55*)

5.4.3 Agreements and disputes on trading

Before the nineteenth century, commercial growth in Southeast Asia was directly supervised by the chief or ruler, whose political influence increased in direct proportion to revenues from trade (Kathiritamby-Wells 1993:128). In particular, in Bugis lands, a

number of highly profitable goods were traditionally the sole monopoly of the rulers. Presumably the practice predated, probably by many centuries, its earliest formulation in writing, which is in the *MTS*:

“Now the source of the *aqdaoang* of Sidenreng’s wealth is from the sale of *sirih* [betel leaves] and the sale of salt. The trade in tobacco was a later concern. No other is allowed to sell these [goods]. Even the *anaq mattola* of Sidenreng are forbidden [to sell them]. If it is found that [these goods] have been sold unlawfully then the [offenders] will be fined.” (*MTS*, in Druce 1999:36)

In the nineteenth century, Braam Morris observed similar rights of monopoly across the seven kingdoms he studied: Maiwa, Duri, Kassa, Batulappa, Alitta, Suppaq and Sawitto (Braam Morris 1892:149-230). In all of these places, sales of salt were the exclusive preserve of the ruler, and opium and tobacco were monopolies in most. In many regions, the sale of *sirih* was monopolised by the nobility. A Bugis letter written by the *Tomarilalang* of Boné to the *Datu* of Tanete on 10th July 1795 was concerned with the sale of *sirih* by the people of Tanete at *Kampung Melayu* in Makassar. The *Datu* of Tanete claimed that he had not been warned of the prohibition on the trade of *sirih*, but the *Tomarilalang* replied that a ban had indeed been implemented, and the will of the king of Boné was not to be disobeyed (*ANRI Mak.100* No.77). It is striking that the monopoly goods were narcotics: opium, tobacco and *sirih*.

Where rulers depended on trade and rights of monopoly for part of their revenues, they had to protect their economic interests with laws governing trade. Only when their interests were threatened by outsiders did it become a necessity to record trade regulations in writing. In maritime-oriented Muslim states, aspects of the *syari’ah* (Ar.) or Islamic jurisprudence, pertaining to commerce and investment that directly concerned the ruler, can often be understood as a reaction to the increased competition in trade after the coming of the Portuguese (Kathiritamby-Wells 1993:139).⁶⁸ Nonetheless, *DAS* gives no information on whether the *syari’ah* law on trade was implemented during Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s reign or prior to it.

During the reign of Sultan Abdul Razak Jalaluddin, on 26th February 1774, a trade agreement was made between the *Arumponé* and Governor Van der Voort. The king promised to allow the Company’s tax collectors in *Kampung Bugis* to levy tolls from all arriving and departing ships, and on all merchandise transported over land between Makassar and Saperia. The king also agreed to appoint a suitable person in *Kampung Bugis* and in *Kampung Baru*, where many Boné subjects resided, to help ensure the

⁶⁸ According to the *syaria’ah* law, the taking of *riba* (Ar.), interest, was prohibited.

safety of the tax collectors. Moreover, the Boné nobles had to relinquish their right to send ships to and from Malawa, which was under the Dutch jurisdiction, under any pretext (*ANRI Mak.274/2*).

Within five years of the agreement it was necessary for the Company to reassert its authority over the traders, since illegal trading was taking place. Leirissa (1993:86) observes that some of the Bugis and Makasar traders, particularly those sailing in the Moluccan waters, did not have official permits. From the late eighteenth century onward, an increasing number of Bugis and Makasar traders were apprehended in the Seram Sea, and were often only able to show permits issued by their own chiefs. Although most were Bugis traders, others were from the islands of Selayar and Buton. Because of the increasing numbers of traders who continued to flout the regulations imposed by the Company, Governor Van der Voort issued an order on 17th April 1779:

“This is a declaration of law. [An] order to declare to all traders that you are in no way allowed to [...] unload goods at places other than in front of the house of the customs officer, as has been decided in the meeting at the palace [Fort Rotterdam] on 13th April of this year [1779], in accordance with the previous order. When you come here to this port, we want you to dock nowhere but in front of the custom officer’s house, where you must unload the goods to be checked by the customs officer. Whoever goes against this law, by bringing their *proa* to other places, and unloading their goods, we will treat as thieves [...]. However, you will be allowed to bring your ship to other places if the fiscal officer and the customs officer give permission, but even if you have been allowed to do that, you are still not allowed to unload your goods at night.” (*ANRI Mak.408/2b*)

The Company greatly limited the freedom of movement of the Bugis and other local traders, and it was not possible to gain access to Dutch trading areas and ports without a pass. In his diary, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh recorded his negotiations with the Governor on this matter:

8th May 1779:

“I Dépo came, ordered by the Governor to bring *Udanguda*⁶⁹ and *Téangngé*.⁷⁰ He informed me that traders are not allowed to approach the port at night except in their own villages.” (*DAS:f.36v*)

⁶⁹ *Udanguda* was a trade treaty between Buton and the Dutch. Buton is one of the islands located at the southern part of Southeast Sulawesi.

⁷⁰ *Téangngé* was an official in charge of managing a market or port.

10th May 1779:

“I ordered La Paséré to see the Governor to deliver my proposal not to treat all traders in the same way. Eventually, the Governor accepted the proposal.” (*DAS*:f.36v)

In the above entry, there is no information on whom the *Arumponé* sought to have exempted from this policy. Another set of entries illustrates that the Company extended no immunity to the Boné nobles, although Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh expected otherwise, as we can see from *DAS*:

25th September 1779:

“I sent *Gellarang* Bontoalaq together with interpreter La Paséré to the Governor to ask that my messenger not be taxed when the delegation leaves for *Jakattara*, as was previously the custom.” (*DAS*:f.38v)

Two days later, he sent his representatives to the Governor once again to ask that the Jakarta-bound delegation remain untaxed. They were met with a categorical refusal from the Governor (*DAS*:f.37v). Even so, a third request was made a further two days later:

29th September 1779:

“The delegates of Boné and Soppeng went to see the Governor asking him to follow the practice of our previous kings. The Governor refused and insisted on taxing my delegates, therefore I cancelled the trip to deliver the letter [to *Jakattara*].” (*DAS*:f.38v)

A note in the *Addendum* for 1781⁷¹ mentions complaints made by the Resident of Ternaté to the Governor about illegal trading by Boné subjects in prohibited areas. The Dutch official, I Dépo, was sent to inform the *Arumponé* that the Resident of Ternaté wanted to take action against the Bugis traders, but was hesitant to do so, in order not to jeopardise relations with Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh, and had therefore asked the Governor to inform the *Arumponé* of this matter. At the same time, the *Arumponé* was informed by the Governor’s messenger that four of his nobles’ ships had deliberately been left untaxed as a special favour. In reply to this communication, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh thanked the Governor for abiding by the *Udanguda* agreement, and gave his approval for the (Dutch) fiscal officer to begin collecting taxes, including from the Bugis traders. He ended his letter by rejecting notions of a magnanimous gesture on the Governor’s part, stating that he would presume that the ships bought by the delegations of Boné and Soppeng should be exempted from taxation in any event (*DAS*:f.54v).

⁷¹ There is no year reference; only the day and month is provided in the Muslim calendar: 12th *Zulhijjah*, a Friday.

The disagreement over whether the Boné delegation's ships should be exempted from taxation was raised again on 9th March 1782 through a letter sent to the Governor from the Governor General, which was reported to the *Arumponé*:

“[...] that the Boné's delegation had refused to pay tax that had been charged on their three *prau*.” (*DAS*:f.55v)

Some five weeks later, on 18th April, the king visited the Governor personally to lobby for exemption from taxation for his nobles as well as for the Soppeng delegation (*DAS*:f.57r). From the viewpoint of Boné, the Company's decision to abolish the tax exemption which was previously enjoyed by the rulers and nobles could perhaps be seen as an attempt gradually to erode the ruler's privileges. In the 1790s, under the governance of Willem Beth, the Dutch implemented a stricter trading procedure. In addition to the abolition of the tax exemption, the Governor also ordered that all local traders had to have a pass which detailed the cargo and its destination. This pass had to be produced when demanded by a Dutch official. One such pass issued by Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh is found in *ANRI Mak.100* No.66:

“This letter of pass from the ruler of Boné was carried by *Anakhoda* [Captain] Langka to Ambon in order to do legitimate trade. Its purpose is to avoid any future misunderstandings. This ship is being taken out of the region by an *Anakhoda* in the service of the king of Boné. It has two guns at the front, a crew of sixty sailors and two metal cannons, five swivel guns [D., *draaijbassen*], twelve blunderbuses [*donderbussen*], twenty-four guns, two *pikul* of gun-powder and bullets. In addition, the goods for sale are three hundred *corgies* of textiles and two slaves: one male and one female. Written on the month of *Sya'ban* 16th, 1208 *Hijrah* [equivalent to 19th March 1794].”

The diary is limited in terms of the information it provides on trade disputes between the Bugis and the Dutch. In the *BL Mackenzie Collection* No.67, however, is found a translation from Dutch into English of a reply to one of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's letters of complaint to the Governor-General in Batavia, in which the *Arumponé* listed fifteen grievances against the Company and its taxation and trading practices, and demanded that the Company grant unhindered free trade to his Bugis subjects and to those of Tanete and Buton. In his reply, the Governor declined the request, saying that, in accordance with the agreement made with Admiral Speelman, the people of Boné had been granted specific areas within which to trade; to trade elsewhere, they needed to apply to the Company for permission (*BL Mackenzie Collection* No.67:80-81). The

growing concern on the Company's part with regard to the trading activities of the Bugis in the prohibited areas is apparent in the following extract from the manuscript:

“The senior interpreter came to [see] the king of Boné, sent by the Governor to report on the Bugis traders who are trading in the areas prohibited to them. [Not only that, but] they have goods which they [the Bugis traders] are not allowed to sell. If they wish to trade there, they have to get a letter from the Company before any transaction can take place.” (*UMLIB MS. Mik.7:34*)

Another complaint put forward by Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh in his letter to the Governor-General concerned the practice of levying taxes on goods that had gone untaxed during the reign of the previous *Arumponé*. This gave rise to much remonstrance by the trade community (*BL Mackenzie Collection* No.67:88); the first complaint on this issue was lodged in 1783, and it was still a bone of contention in 1788.

DAS provides no records of the payments Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh received from the taxation of imported and exported goods. Braam Morris informs us that in the nineteenth century it was customary for taxes to be levied at the following rates: the tax on imported foreign trade goods taken to market was calculated on the number of horses or buffaloes used to transport the goods, at *f.*¼ per animal, and twelve *duiten* for goods carried by people; a small tax was also imposed by lesser nobles for the licence to chop wood and bamboo on their lands. Others, in whose jurisdiction bazaars were held, took small levies in kind from *sirih*, tobacco, areca nuts and other goods. Braam Morris observed that in general five percent was levied on all imported and exported goods (1892:149-230).

5.4.4 *DAS* on the Chinese communities

Chinese communities in Makassar exerted a great influence on external trade in South Sulawesi. Chinese traders enjoyed the patronage of the Company and local rulers; the most commercially successful and influential trader would be appointed *Kapitan Cina*, and would be charged with the task of collecting taxes on trade goods and levies on gambling and opium smoking (Kathiritamby-Wells 1993:134). The names of some of these Chinese traders are mentioned in *DAS*: Baba Pang, Baba Palengge, Baba Cing and Baba Congkeq. The name ‘*Baba*’ itself would suggest that they were *Peranakan* Chinese who had already assimilated into the cultural life of the locals by marrying local women (Sie 1990:114).

Presumably, the presence of these Chinese traders was economically advantageous to the *Arumponé*; *DAS* often records the *Arumponé* received gifts from them. Gifts giving by the traders to the ruler was a means of establishing relations and rapport with the king and other nobles, a necessity in a pre-modern society lacking bureaucratic structures.⁷² Meetings between the Chinese traders and Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh are recorded in *DAS* and gifts they brought him is noted:

1st March 1790:

“The messenger of Baba Congkeq came to bring me some [sweet] citrus fruit [...]” (*DAS*:f.111v).

16th January 1791:

“The fiscal officer, Baba Congkeq, came and brought me one *batek* veil, [also] one *sarong cap ulu*⁷³ sent to me by the son of Baba Pang and one handkerchief sent to me by I Congkeq’s sister” (*DAS*:f.117v).

11th February 1791:

“The messenger of [Baba] I Taréq together with I Basoq came to bring me some citrus fruit” (*DAS*:f.118r).

19th May 1791:

“[...] Baba Congkeq came and brought me half piece of coarse muslin” (*DAS*:f.119v).

As a fiscal officer, or *Pabéan* (B.), Baba Congkeq’s name appears most frequently. The senior position of Baba Congkeq is evident from entries found in the Dutch records as well as those in the diary of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh (*DAS: Addenda* 1788; *ANRI Mak.119* No.15; *ANRI Mak.119* No.17). Baba Congkeq held the office of fiscal officer in the Company-controlled area for at least three consecutive years:

27th December 1790:

“La Hamuq came to inform me that Baba Congkeq has been re-appointed as the fiscal officer at Sanggaléa” (*DAS*:f.116r).

Possibly, due to his position as *Pabéan* that the *Arumponé* came into contact in person with him a number of times. The measure of favour Baba Congkeq enjoyed from Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh was considerable, as can be seen from the fact that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh intervened on behalf of Baba Congkeq in a letter to the Governor General dated Saturday 30th June 1792, entered in the *Addendum* for 1788:

“I wanted to tell you personally, my brother [the Governor General], that I hope the office of fiscal at Makassar can be

⁷² I will discuss the practice of gift giving and gifts received in the following chapter.

⁷³ Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s diary recurrently made notes of him received and gave *sarong cap ulu*: *sarong* with the ‘head stamp’; of the head brand as gift.

given to Baba Congkeq because I have chosen him to do it. Since [he has been in office], the Governor at Ujung Pandang and I have not experienced any problems [from Baba Congkeq], because there are no conflicts between the traders and the fiscal officer. The fiscal officer does not meddle in the traders' activities and the traders do not create problems with the fiscal officer. Any conflicts that did occur between the fiscal officer and the traders were resolved amicably. Trade will run smoothly thanks to the fiscal officer's shrewdness. I hope that you will inform the Governor at Ujung Pandang because he is the one who should give the order to the Sanggaléan named Baba Congkeq. [...] Baba Congkeq should be given the position of fiscal officer in the land of Makassar so that trade can be run smoothly and through this the power of Boné and the Company will be unshakeable" (*DAS: Addendum* 1788).

On the 15th July 1792, the king wrote to thank the Governor for agreeing his proposition to allow Baba Congkeq to remain in his position as the fiscal officer, again praising his past achievement in the office (*ANRI Mak.119* No. 17). The continued appointment of Baba Congkeq was eventually confirmed by the Governor General in a letter dated 10th December 1792 (*ANRI Mak.119* No. 15). His period in office ended in December 1793, for the diary informs us that Baba Congkeq no longer held the office, although the name of his successor is not mentioned.

1st January 1794:

"Baba Congkeq no longer holds the office of fiscal officer"
(*DAS:f.142v*).

5.5 Slavery

In most Indonesian societies the accumulation of followers and access to manpower was the key to wealth and political advancement. As a result, individual chiefs and heads of state strove to gather men within their jurisdiction: peasants, traders and fighters. This was enforced by expanding their territory, by forcibly relocating populations or by offering security of life and goods, thus attracting settlers away from less able rulers. In a society where legal and financial institutions were lacking, a powerful patron would be the best security for the poor, and bondsmen the most valuable asset for the rich (cf. Winstedt 1961:52-56). Reid (1983b:157) comments upon the remarkable phenomenon of measurement of wealth in slaves, which he illustrates with the following quotations:

"[In Aceh]: As in the rest of Southeast Asia, the natives reckon high rank and wealth by the quantity of slaves a person owns." (O'Kane 1972:177, quoted in Reid 1983b:157)

“[In Bantén]: The one who has most [men] is held to be richer and more powerful.” (Reid 1983b:157)

“[In Johor]: Each *orangkaya* [nobles] feared to lose his slaves, which are their only wealth.” (Matelief 1608:17, quoted in Reid 1983b:158)

Slavery fulfilled a need in societies where rival chiefs were in constant competition for power over the common people. In the politically turbulent climate prevalent in Southeast Asian states until the nineteenth century, might equalled power, and slaves were easy to obtain. The constant warring in which the populace was required to participate provided an easy path into slavery, since it was the custom that the defeated would become the slaves of the conquering side (Andaya 1981). Sutherland reports that during the seventeenth century in the city of Makassar, which was under the control of the Dutch Company, slaves (defined as ‘any person who could be bought or sold’) outnumbered freemen (1983b:268).

From its very early days, the Dutch Company had complained about the shortage of manpower, and relied on slave labour to work in the docks and shipyards, in the artisan quarter and in officials’ houses, and even to fill gaps in the army’s lower ranks. Dutch ships would come to outlying areas to buy people or to demand them as part of political tribute or retribution. The Company’s endless need for labour stimulated the expansion and intensification of existing indigenous slave-trading networks. Lists of *VOC* slave population for main towns in Indonesia in the 1680s suggest that the largest single ethnic group, over thirty per cent, among the Company’s slaves were the Bugis and Makasars (Sutherland 1983b:267).

5.5.1 The terminology of slavery in *DAS*

There are numerous references to the registration of sale and redemption, sentencing to slavery, and the retrieval of runaway and stolen slaves in *DAS*. Very few of the purchases of slaves recorded in *DAS* were actually made by Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh, and it is disappointing that no conclusions can be drawn about the number of slaves he or any of his nobles owned. The only figure on which one can base an estimate is provided by Sutherland (1983b:268) who states, on the basis of Dutch sources, that in the early eighteenth century a Bugis noble by the name of *Arung Téko* possessed almost eight hundred slaves.

An attempt to quantify the number of domestic and agricultural slaves that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh owned is further complicated by the terminology he employs. When

referring to the buying, selling and giving of slaves in his diary, he consistently uses the word *jemma* (B.) or *tau* (B.), both of which mean ‘person’,⁷⁴ rather than using the conventional word for slave, *ata* (B.) (Matthes 1874:805; Mattulada 1985:325; Chabot 1996:158-59). Over twenty-one years of writing the diary, in only eleven entries does he use the word *ata* in relation to slaves. For example:

23rd September 1782:

“I made the wife of To’walu, I Songko, and four of her children back into *ata*. I also took back the letter of freedom, according to *Matinroé ri* Malimongang’s advice that they [the family] should be taken [as slaves].” (DAS:f.59v)

24th October 1782:

“I arrived at Mariso at the Governor’s fort. The *Maqdanrang* came to bring the dowry from the *tautongeng* I Ruma, a total of 90 [*réal*]. I said: ‘He has been made an *ata* again.’ ” (DAS:f.60r)

28th November 1782:

“I informed *Arung Kaju*: ‘I forbid you to make your relative named I Melati an *ata*.’ ” (DAS:f.60v)

25th September 1794:

“I gave to *Guru Polé* a declaration with my seal, to enforce the wish of my uncle, Puwanna La Ténro, that the children of *Guru Polé* should not be made *ata*.” (DAS:f.146v)

It is unclear what, if anything, the usage of *ata* is intended to denote in these instances. It appears that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s use of *ata* denotes a relationship of humility, and is employed both cordially and pejoratively. For example, when placing his daughters, princesses of royal blood, in Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s care, the *Datu Soppeng* referred to them as ‘*ata*’. Presumably this emphasised the *Arumponé*’s role as benefactor, and expressed a promise of the princesses’ obedience to him:

“The *Datu Soppeng* placed his daughters named I Tenriésa and I Tenriamparang in my care. The words that he said to me [were]: ‘Those two *ata* will come and stay with you. Only you know their well-being. I place all my faith in you. Even if a Javanese man were to propose to them and you wished them to have him as a husband, I will abide by it as long as it is for the best. This is all I want to tell you, I place my hope in you alone to marry [off] your *ata*.’ ” (DAS Addendum 1777:f.26v)

⁷⁴ Matthes’ definitions of the terms are unhelpful: he defines *jemma* as ‘de menschen’ (D.), ‘the people’ (Matthes 1874:459) and *tau* as ‘mensch’ (D.), ‘person’ (Matthes 1874:380).

The *Datu* of Soppeng's rhetoric presents the position of the king of Boné as superior to his own. By contrast, in several entries Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh refers to the Dutch as *ata*:

3rd October 1782:

"I Adéi reported to me that he has taken back the land I [the *Arumponé*] had once asked the *Puwattaq* [*Matinroé ri* Malimongang] for, and which was taken by the Dutch slaves [*ata Balandaé*, B.]. I said: 'Only with my wish will you [and your land] be separated.'" (DAS:f.60r)

9th April 1783:

"I said to I Dépo:⁷⁵ 'You are still the one who receives my orders when there is an arrangement [to be agreed] between the nobles of Boné and the Dutch slaves [*ata Balandaé*, B.].'" (DAS:f.64r)

26th May 1787:

"The interpreter, I Bévéréséq, came by the order of the Governor to report that a Dutch slave [*ata Balandaé*, B.] had been killed by La Sumang." (DAS:f.93v)

These entries do not refer to 'the slaves belonging to the Dutch'. Perhaps, for want of a better term, here the word *ata* simply means 'employees' or 'officials' of the Company. Most likely they are intended to be insulting by attributing slavish characteristics in referring to the Dutch officials in this way. It is tempting to view these entries as a means of projecting inferiority onto the Dutch, and a counterpart to Dutch assertions that the Bugis are "brutal and disobedient" (*ANRI Mak.14i:19*), and "the most despicable and ungrateful of nations." (*ANRI Mak.117* No.41)

Where the *Arumponé* refers to agricultural work carried out in his fields he tends to use the formulation "I told [x] to work [my rice-fields] at Batu Malimpung." (DAS:f.34v; f.111v) He does not specify whether they were his slaves or whether they were peasant farmers who had to pay him *kasuwiyang*. In other entries, the word *tau* is used to denote people given as a gift or reward by the ruler. However, no light is shed on what distinction is made by choosing this term over *jemma*. For example:

23rd October 1775:

"I Tenripada gave birth to a girl. I gave her *sirih salabetta* [prepared betel leaves] as a token of blessing for her new-born, [and I gave her] two *tau*." (DAS:f.10r)

⁷⁵ I Dépo, as written in Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's diary, is a phonetic rendition of 'Deefhout', a Dutch official who was an interpreter and who by 24th May 1777 had been appointed as Bookkeeper (*ANRI Mak.404/4*).

26th March 1776:

“I sent *suro Daéng* Situju together with *Daéng* Sisila to visit the Governor and to take one *tau*, to him.” (DAS:f.13r)

7th August 1776:

“La Nrumputirowa was circumcised. [The] ear-piercing [ceremony was held] for Wé Tenriésa. I gave him [La Nrumputirowa] one *tau*, one gun and money. Puwanna Batara Tungkeq gave a *jemma* to Wé Tenriésa. *Datu* Soppeng gave each of them a child *jemma*.” (DAS:f.17r)

In this last example, both *tau* and *jemma* occur in the same entry, suggesting that there is some distinction between the two types of slave. Perhaps *tau* would refer to an unskilled slave, whereas *jemma* denoted a trained house servant, as in ‘serving maids’ or ‘serving men’. It is evident, however, that both the *jemma* and the *tau* referred to by Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh were people who could be bought, owned, sold or given away.

5.5.2 Downward social mobility: from freeman to slave

Based on the *adat* as stipulated in the *Latowa*, Niemann (*Adatrechtbundels* 1929:244; Mattulada 1980:31) states the circumstances under which a person was classed as a slave:

“Someone is called a slave if he is led around as merchandise and someone buys him; if he says ‘buy me’ and someone buys him; if he was robbed of his freedom in war and is bought; if he has transgressed the customary law (*adeq*) or committed a crime against the king and has been sold.” (*Adatrechtbundels* 1929:244)

In addition, a man could be sold to make good his inability to pay his or his parents’ debts (*Adatrechtbundels* 1929:245; Mattulada 1985:31). In relation to slavery, a Kutai code, probably dating from the sixteenth century, states: “When a free man has many debts here and there, then that man is sold and his selling price is divided” (*Adatrechtbundels* 1937:320). From these sources and from the diary, we may distinguish four major paths into bondage: inheritance or sale, capture in war, judicial punishment, and failure to meet debts (cf. Reid 1983).

Because the slave trade was such a profitable undertaking, it was not uncommon for traders to capture commoners and illegally sell them as slaves. A report written by two Dutch official in 1799 described the widespread abduction of people, with slave dealers keeping their illegal captives locked in specially fortified cellars until they were able to transfer them, at night, on to ships bound for Batavia (Blok 1817:12). Despite attempts

to enforce the registration of slaves and sales, and to prevent the enslavement of freemen, abuse was widespread. Not only were people stolen from the native states (notably Boné), but they were also abducted in the city itself (Sutherland 1983b:271). Abductions of freemen are also reported in *DAS*:

23rd December 1781:

“I Dépo came and brought [some] people of Timurung and people of Ponré who had been stolen.” (*DAS*:f.54r)

18th August 1791:

“I gave to La Gaju, 200 *réal* less 10 *réal* [190 *réal*] [compensation] on behalf of the person who stole his relative.” (*DAS*:f.125v)

18th September 1791:

“I Kobisiq came and brought a person who had been stolen from his guardian.” (*DAS*:f.125r)

In addition, *DTM* also reveals freemen being stolen by nobles. In some cases the diary mentions the penalty imposed for the crime, for example:

10th January 1776

“The wife and children, five in a family, of a Jampu man named La Genni, who had been taken by *Arung* Paléngoreng was returned to him and *Arung* Paléngoreng was fined 10 *réal*.” (*DTM*:f.2r)

24th June 1776

“*Arung* Paléngorang returned Indoq Mekkoq, two in a family, [and] he [*Arung* Paléngoreng] was fined 4 *réal* [for stealing them].” (*DTM*:f.5v)

Incidents of stolen people are also recorded in the Dutch sources:

3rd October 1777:

“La Kasi came in the morning asking for help in retrieving a stolen Bonier belonging to the deceased king’s family.” (*ANRI Mak.404/4*)

17th April 1778:

“I sent Deefhout to return to the king a stolen subject who had managed to escape and who had been found. He [Deefhout] returned conveying the king’s thanks for his [subject’s] return.” (*ANRI Mak.404/4*)

There were, as already mentioned, a number of legitimate means by which a person could fall into slavery, as stipulated by the *adat*. In his reports, Blok (1817:27-9) stated that if a person had been sentenced to pay a fine and could not pay it, he had to enter

into debt-bondage with the creditor (*Adatrechtbundels* 1929:244-45). It was also possible to pay off debts by pawning wives, children, siblings or other relatives into debt bondage, although the price for a single person never exceeded twenty-five or thirty Spanish *réals* (Blok 1817:28-9). Although bondsmen did the same amount of work as slaves, every article they spoiled, broke or lost would be added to their debt, so that their debt bondage would often increase each year (Blok 1817:29). Reid stated, on the basis of pre-colonial sources on slavery in Southeast Asia, that there was effectively no difference between slavery and debt-bondage: according to several legal codes, the debtor could be sold to make good the debt (Reid 1983b:160).

When freemen became slaves as prisoners-of-war, by placing themselves under the protection of a chief or by selling themselves (or their children) to escape famine, their slave status would be passed down to their children. The status of children of slaves depended on whether Islamic law, *syari'ah* (Ar.), or customary law, was employed. According to Islamic law, all children of slave women were slaves, whilst according to the *adat*, every alternate child was free. In Boné, it appears that the law was more inclined to the *adat*. If the descendents of freemen who had become slaves failed to liberate themselves within three generations, then they would become *pusaka* (Id.) slaves or inherited slaves. The status of *pusaka* slaves would continue to apply to their progeny (Sutherland 1983b:276; Echols 1994:442). In Sulawesi, a primary distinction was made between slaves who could easily be disposed of and the *pusaka* slaves. Reid says that the *pusaka* slaves of the Mandar and the Sa'dan Toraja could neither be sold nor redeemed because their existence was too important to the dominant lineage (1983b:162); their position was typically like that of household slaves, in an intimate relationship to their master (Friedericicy 1933:106-7; Nooy-Palm 1979:45). With regard to *pusaka* slaves, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh recorded in his diary the *Matoa* La Buk kang's legacy to him:

29th August 1791:

"The *Matoa* of Pare-pare came to send *jemma* three including children, another five [*jemma*] he [the *Matoa*] kept at Pare-pare: I inherited all these *jemma* from the *Matoa* La Buk kang." (DAS:f.123r)

Governor Kroesen stated that the *pusaka* slaves had no rights, and whilst they were certainly slaves, their position depended entirely on the disposition of their master: some *pusaka* slaves were treated like family members. Most of them, however, worked hard for little food and often received rough treatment (Sutherland 1983b:276). If a master did not wish to keep a slave, he could force the man to become a debt-bondsman.

The status of slaves and the extent of their enslavement varied. On the evidence of reports by Governor Kroesen in 1863, Sutherland concludes that most slaves worked on the land of their master and received a share of the produce (Sutherland 1983b:275). A variety of housing arrangements and work patterns appear to have existed. Some slaves spent all their time living and working in their master's house, receiving minimal food and clothing. Others remained in their master's house, or accompanied him on journeys for only part of the year, being free for the rest of the year to make what living they could. Some had their own house and garden, but worked on the master's land. Others were generally independent and self-sufficient, being called upon by their master only for special festivities. Some were traders and traded for themselves, and a few were even rich enough to support their masters. Kroesen also reported cases of communal ownership, usually when slaves had been jointly inherited by members of a family; in such cases the slaves would work part of the year for each owner (Sutherland 1983b:276).

It was the custom in Bugis countries that prisoners of war became the slaves of the conquering side, and civilians often became victims of circumstances. The Dutch records reveal that during the second Gowa war the Bugis military heads tried to take advantage of the policy to enslave entire villages of commoners on a flimsy pretext, as the troops looted the people as well as their possessions:

“The *Addatuang* of Sidenreng came, saying that the slaves he had sent yesterday were not intended to reduce the debts of the Sandraboniers but for me [the Governor] to do with as I pleased. However, I replied that I could not understand how, instead of following his promise to attack the remaining and scattered rebels, he could have approved the Company's subjects being taken from their villages to be sent to me as slaves. That I had never expected such a thing but I should have suspected it as many of them had disappeared.” (*ANRI Mak.404/4:11th September 1778*)

“Burghof, who is in command of the troops at Malangkéri came to report that [the allies] had marched out yesterday to the mountains, had found many rebels near Bonto-Bonto and had attacked them, leaving behind seventeen dead and various prisoners of whom he brought six, all crushed men. The others had been stolen by the natives or had been driven to flee.” (*ANRI Mak.286: 27th October 1778*)

In *DAS* there are records of prisoners of war being brought to the *Arumponé*, which he would then redistribute among his nobles:

30th August 1788:

“The *Tomaqbicara Butta* came to bring the people of Makkajennangeng who were brought by the *suro* of Duri at Pao, a total of ninety-one persons.” (DAS:f.102r)

29th May 1793:

“*Datu* Baringang came and brought twelve *jemma*. I gave him nine [*jemma*], they were originally from Mindanao, also from Solo and from Tidung.” (DAS:f.144v)

Severe crimes such as stealing from chiefs, incest, adultery, and stealing or eloping with slaves, were punishable by condemnation to slavery, often along with one’s family (Blok 1817:12-18). In times of war, the *Arumponé* would make threats to his soldiers and subjects not to collaborate with the enemy, on pain of being made slaves, which was the king’s prerogative:

9th May 1778:

“If any of you commit an offence for the second time, I will make you [slaves to] plough. If soldiers are found guilty I will barter them and their wives and children in exchange for ammunition.” (DAS:f.28v; DTM:f.18r)

Conspiring against the nobles was also punishable by slavery, as *DAS* makes clear of this:

4th April 1792:

“I ordered *jennang* Maros to make the son of La Genoq [a slave to] pound the rice and carry water because he was found conspiring with his sister to [influence] other *jemma* to harm the children of the *Mappajung*.⁷⁶” (DAS:f.129r)

Even low ranking officials could be enslaved. An entry on 25th April 1783 notes the king’s decision to have the *Matoa* of Pulau Laiya, La Rupa, captured for failing some days earlier to meet him at a place called Gaé as arranged:

28th April 1783:

“The *Suléwatang* of Bontoalaq came to send La Wahéq who had returned from capturing the *Matoa* of Pulau Laiya. There was his [*Matoa*’s] wife and children, whom La Waheq had brought: altogether there were nine people. I gave three people to Puwanna Batara Tungkeq, one to La Mappatunruq and one to La Wahéq.” (DAS:f.64r)

Most crimes were punishable by fines (*Adatrechtbundels* 1929:279-281; *Adatrechtbundels* 1919:150-210). However, the punishment for non-payment of fines

⁷⁶ *Mappajung* is a blood relation to the nobles of the court of Luwuq.

was enslavement. This is illustrated by the following case, recorded in Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's diary:

7th September 1786:

"As for the descendant of the *Mappajung* [*Anréguru Anakarung*] who killed my horse, he will be sanctioned by the *adat* [together] with his children, there are five of them. I told the *Anréguru Anakarung*: 'The descendants of *Mappajung* should not be enslaved. However, you broke the *adat*. Only once you have paid a fine will you be freed and if you still cannot afford to pay it, you will be made [my] personal slaves.' That is my word, because they went against the *adat*." (*DAS*:f.87v)

5.5.3 Upwards social mobility from slave to favoured servant or freeman

The freeing of slaves took place for several reasons. Sometimes old and incapacitated people were freed, so that the master avoided the liability of maintaining them. It was also common practice that slaves were freed as a reward for their talents as traders, or for saving their master's honour or his life, or for their bravery in war. The freeing of slaves for the services they rendered is recorded in *DAS*, though only rarely is the nature of their accomplishment mentioned:

4th October 1786:

"I gave a declaration of freedom to La Masé after I had asked him to study the *kitab*." (*DAS*:f.87r)

8th July 1792:

"I gave Ambéq Cinampa his granddaughter named I Salesseq after she had helped *Arung Timurung* to give birth safely." (*DAS*:f.128v)

On most occasions where slaves were liberated by the king, no reason is stated:

22nd August 1776:

"I released Ambéqna La Cinampa and his daughter named I Timang. I gave proof of freedom to I Pajung, the father of La Peta, La Sinrareng, La Sinapa, I Lagiq, and the father of La Kancoq." (*DAS*:f.16r)

12th November 1778:

"I gave freedom to the daughter of I Mangngaungi named I Marahuma." (*DAS*:f.31v)

5th August 1791:

"I liberated La Singkeruq and I Sompung, the sons of I Makku." (*DAS*:f.121r)

Slaves could attain positions of trust and responsibility as envoys or leaders in war. Indeed, some slaves were accorded a qualified respect, although the majority were regarded as goods and might even be denied the status of a human being; they would therefore be unable to marry, own property or qualify for a funeral (Needham 1983:14). Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's diary illustrates the possibility of upward social mobility for members of the slave class, usually as a reward for a service rendered; the highest positions attained by his slaves were those of messenger, *suro* (B.) or trusted person, *tau tongngeng* (B.):

3rd December 1790:

"La Koda requested me to let him buy the family of Paqbariq named I Mamaq. I told him [La Koda] that he does not need to buy [I Mamaq] for I wish to [free I Mamaq and] make him *tau tongngeng*. Then I gave to La Mammaq a [sealed] letter [regarding his status] after becoming a *tau tongngeng*." (DAS:f.116r)

The position of *tau tongngeng* commanded considerable respect in Bugis society and could be bestowed on a freeman or lesser noble. For example, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh promoted *Suléwatang* Wugi as his personal *suro*:

6th August 1790:

"I informed the *Suléwatang* Wugi: 'I want another person to replace you as *Suléwatang* [Wugi]. As for you, I would like you to stay here [with me] and I will make you my personal messenger or courier, *suro*.'" (DAS:f.114r)

For a mere slave to be awarded a *tau tongngeng* position such as *suro* was a considerable achievement, and a credit to the individual's talent and ability.

It was the king's prerogative to free slaves, to make slaves of freemen, and even to make slave status permanent. The latter occurs a few times in *DAS*, and appears to be done more for the protection of the individuals concerned than out of a genuine desire to retain them as slaves to the royal household:

17th August 1794:

"I gave to *Petta Pongawa* Pawalaié *ri* Luwuq [wet nurse's] son some money: 88 *réal* to buy I Raté and his family, eight [people] in all. I promise that they will belong to me permanently." (DAS:f.146r)

21st August 1794:

"I paid 64 *réal* for the family of La Ijoq, four [people] including a child and grandchild. They were I Sauda and one of her daughters named I Tipa, another named I Buko with his grandson named I Borahi. I bought them after they

promised to be permanent [slaves]. Thus, Puwang Batara Tungkeq bought them as permanently hers.” (DAS:f.146r)

One entry records that a number of nobles of Luwuq who had been enslaved by the Dutch were bought by Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh on the Company’s diplomatic advice, presumably to save them from slavery:

22nd April 1788:

“I was advised by the Dutch through *Arung Mampu* to buy a family of six people of *Mappajung* descendance. I bought them for the price of 114 *réal*. I asked Indoq Gawoq to send the money to the *Anréguru Anakarung* at Ujung Tanah and *Arung Mampu* handed it over. I informed the *Tomarilalang* with regard to the buying of people from the Dutch, that they were truly of *Mappajung* descent.” (DAS:f.98r)

A few entries show that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh would intervene on behalf of certain people to prevent them from being made slaves. We learn that it was the king’s privilege to impose or lift slave status, and his authority was absolute. In a declaration written in November 1795, found in the *Addendum* for the year 1786, he decreed that the wish of his late uncle, Puang La Tenro, that the children of a man named *Guru Polé* should never be made slaves, should be observed. The declaration stresses the king’s ultimate authority:

Addendum 1786:

26th *Safar* 1209 [*Hijrah*] [22nd September 1794] on Sunday:

“Whoever goes against my uncle Puang La Tenro’s wish, thereby opposes my wishes.” (DAS:f.89r)

In conjunction with the entry above, it appears the pronouncement was once again highlighted to forbid *Guru Polé*’s family being made into servants or slaves:

25th September 1794:

“I gave my seal [declaration] to *Guru Polé* after I verified my uncle’s Puang La Ténro requests to prohibit the children of *Guru Polé* being made slaves [or servants] [...].” (DAS:f.146v)

5.5.4 DAS as a record on slaves

During Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s lifetime and beyond, his diary served as a valuable record for the endorsement of the status of individuals. In order to counteract to some extent the widespread practice of stealing people, the Company had implemented a law with regard to the buying and selling of slaves. It decreed that once an agreement had been reached on the price of the slave, both parties had to go with an interpreter to the

notary's office to ask for a writ of sale, for which the buyer had to pay three *rupees* to both officials (Blok 1817:13-16).⁷⁷ The safeguard of seeking a witness to a sale or transfer of ownership was also mentioned in other Bugis diaries:

27th August 1778:

"I Kudaq bought I Gona from La Salasséq for 60 *réal*. I received the payment on behalf of La Salasséq." (DTM:f.20v)

9th November 1784:

"I Logo came to have witnessed the price agreed on a To'Parigin person named La Suku whom he bought for 20 *réal*." (DJM:f.31r)

Transfers of ownership not involving a financial transaction were also recorded by Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh:

3rd November 1776:

"I gave a *jemma* named I Temma, with five of her family members to I Parelluq. Therefore nobody can contest it." (DAS:f.17v)

Exceptionally, nobles would request of the *Arumponé* that details concerning status, land ownership and inheritance rights be recorded in his diary. In relation to slavery, however, only once is it expressly stated that the *Arumponé* was asked to enter information about an individual's status in his diary:

28th November 1782:

"I told *Arung* Kaju: 'I forbid you to make your relative I Malati a slave'. He replied: '[And] she is freed together with her child as you wish. Her child is free too [now] because the mother has been liberated. Therefore, I request Your Highness to write it down in your diary.' " (DAS:f.59v)

When a slave or debt-bondsman was freed by the *Arumponé*, he would provide him with a letter as proof of his new status as freeman. The declaration was stamped with the *Arumponé*'s seal:

13th August 1790:

"I Pentu was brought before me for me to witness his status as a freeman; with him were all the *jemma* given to him by [the deceased king] *Puwattaq Matinroé ri* Tippulué. I endorsed him with my seal and [on the declaration] there was also the signature of the Governor." (DAS:f.114r)

⁷⁷ Although registration was intended to minimise abuse, it was nonetheless common practice for the buyer, the seller, the interpreter or even the slave himself to plot with one another for financial gain. It was reported that some slaves were sold several times over to their buyers, later to be reported stolen and then re-sold. By this 'off the record' business, the owner, slaves and the interpreter would profit, swindling the buyer (Blok 1817:14-5). No mention of such attempts to defraud is found in *DAS*.

26th March 1781:

“I gave to I Rala my seal [stamped declaration] after I freed his grandson named I Caqbaka. This was witnessed by *Amboq*⁷⁸ Wéna.” (DAS:f.48v)

Occasionally a former slave’s status as freeman was challenged, but could be confirmed by presentation of the appropriate proof:

14th December 1794:

“*Cilaong* had I Dako tried. La Congkeq showed me as proof the seal from *Maqkedangtana* Daéng Mallengu who witnessed the liberation of I Dako. Therefore, I told *Cilaong*: ‘Do not bring I Dako to trial again, because he has proof of being liberated.’ ” (DAS:f.148r)

Occasionally, too, the *Arumponé* would intervene in disputes over the ownership of slaves:

13th March 1779:

“The *Tomarilalang* came to send [to me] the *jémma* [belonging to] *Daéng* Mangapu who had been taken by I Bakasi. I ordered [the conflict] to be investigated.” (DAS:f.34v)

7th June 1785:

“[...] Disputes between the *Suléwatang* of Palakka and *Matoa* of Tanete. Ruled in favour of Palakka, three *jémma*. Conflict between *Suléwatang* of Ponré and *jennang* La Mana. Ruled in favour of [Suléwatang of] Ponré, two *jémma*. Conflict between Lasiq and La Sareq. Ruled in favour of La Sareq, seven *jémma* because he gave a declaration with the seal of Puwatta *Matinroé ri* Tipulué as proof. I validated it. Conflicts between La Caqdéweq and La Mammaq. Ruled in favour of La Caqdéweq, 76 *réal*. These rulings cannot be contested. [...] The three *jémma* of Ambéqna La Masi who were held by Puang La Sangaji were returned to La Masi.” (DAS:f.78r)

23rd September 1786:

“I Sabibi came, there were also I Ati and her daughter who brought along a *jémma* disputed by I Weru and her stepmother. However, both have no right to the *jémma*.” (DAS:f.87v)

In their own areas of jurisdiction, the *Tomarilalang* and other nobles would make similar pronouncements on legal disputes over slaves:

⁷⁸ *Amboq* or ‘father’ is use to address a man in a polite way by referring to his first child’s name; for example, *Amboqna* Safwan means ‘father of Safwan’.

5th November 1780:

“[Concerning] the people who were disputed by the *suro* La Toneq and To’Ankeq at Awamponé, I ruled in favour of La Toneq. Both parties reached an agreement and La Toneq received six [people].” (*DTM*:f.35r)

10th January 1781:

“[Concerning] the people who were disputed by Indoq Cangkére and a person from Menegalung, Indoq Cangkére won the case and so she was entitled to the four slaves who had been under dispute: I Paca, I Mani, I Dawa and La Warekkeng.” (*DTM*:f.37r)

Cases of theft which required the intervention of the *Arumponé* and the fines payable, are recorded in *DAS*:

9th June 1791:

“I asked La Raté to bring the *jemma* belonging to Hodopeleq⁷⁹ who was taken by the people of Wajoq.” (*DAS*:f.120r)

23rd January 1794:

“I asked La Sakka to take to the Governor two *jemma* who had been taken by I Kaséng. The senior interpreter came on the Governor’s orders to deliver the Governor’s thanks for their return.” (*DAS*:f.142v)

Dutch sources also mention the theft of slaves. Often victims of such crimes would turn to the Governor for help in retrieving their property:

“The Chinese *Peranakan*, *Intjé* Taréog, who had complained about *Daéng* Manjarongie’s theft of his slave woman, came with more complaints that the same person has stolen another slave and various goods from Lamanjan.” (*ANRI Mak.404/4*:24th June 1775)

DAS does not detail the punishment imposed for the crime of the theft of slaves, although a few entries from other diaries mention fines payable for having stolen another person’s slave. The introduction of written legal codes on Islamic models gave slaves a theoretical legal value, usually less than half that of a freeman. Even the smaller fines which had to be paid for killing, injuring, or raping a slave were seen as compensation to the owner for damage to his property, rather than to the slave (*Adatrechtbundels* 1919:157-60; *Adatrechtbundels* 1937:302-304). According to Blok (1817:5), the Supreme Council in Batavia imposed a decree in 1773 that set out punishments for the abduction and theft of free people or slaves. If the theft had been

⁷⁹ Hodopeleq is presumably a corruption of a foreign, probably Dutch, name.

committed on free people, the punishment was to be whipping, branding and banishment for life; if on slaves, whipping only, and banishment for a number of years. If the Dutch were found to commit such offences, they were sent back to the Netherlands; the Governor in Council at Batavia also imposed a higher fine of 200 *rijksdaalders* on a purchaser or detainer of freemen. Corporal punishments such as whipping, flogging and branding for the theft of people, whether slaves or freemen, is absent in *DAS*.

5.5.5 *DAS* on the economic importance of slaves

Although Sutherland says “the slaves of Indonesians had always had ceremonial and display functions” (Sutherland 1983b:264-65), the possession of slaves was important in freeing their master from manual labour, and thus marking him as a substantial citizen (Reid 1983b:166). Crawford, commenting on slavery in Malacca, stated: “You will not find a native Malay who will carry on his back his own or any man’s property, however much you may offer him for doing so” (Crawford 1856:404.). Gervaise, visiting Celebes (Makassar) around 1700 remarked upon the expression *niya ata*, meaning ‘he has slaves’, to express the socio-economic position of a person, and stated that the Makasar gentry “believe it a piece of indecency [...] to till the ground, or follow any mechanic art” (Gervaise 1971:94).

Reid (1983b:171) mentions there are numerous reports of slaves as agricultural labour in the hinterland of the trading cities: they were most widely reported in domestic functions, in construction and other manual labour, and as traders in the market. Sutherland (1983b:268) hypothesises that much of the labour used in rice growing in the northern districts of Makassar had always been provided by slaves. Among the Sa’dan Toraja (of South Sulawesi), certain types of labour, such as carrying water, cutting wood and handling the dead (both animals and humans), were typically seen as slaves’ work, whilst the most fundamental slave role in this society was indicated by the traditional label “those who are used like buffalo on the *sawah* [paddy-fields].” (Nooy-Palm 1979:86-91)

What is striking is the rapid turnover of slaves trafficked through the court of Boné, as they were re-sold or redistributed elsewhere within a few days of their purchase. Some of the slaves the *Arumponé* received or bought would stay at court, and some would be distributed to cater for his needs elsewhere:

14th April 1781:

“The *Maqdanrang* together with the *Tomarilalang* came to bring a total of sixty-four *jemma*, who were brought by *Arung*

Kaju. I gave thirteen to the *Tomarilalang* and the remaining fifty-one I kept, and told the *Maqdanrang* to send them to work in the harbourmaster's stores." (*DAS*:f.49r)

15th April 1781:

"Whereas those I kept, under *jennang bola*, were To'Ala, eight with his children and wife; I Rumia, seven with his children and wife; I Jamila, eight with her children; [and] La Madu, all totalling twenty-four people." (*DAS*:f.49r)

Some slaves would be sent to work for the harbourmaster or the *jennang bola*, as indicated in these entries, or on the *Arumponé's* rice fields. Reid relates that some sources describe bought slaves being put to work on the master's land, where the further the fields worked by the slaves were from the master's house, the more the slaves resembled in practice serfs or even tenant farmers (Reid 1983b:171). In the miscellaneous notes that form part of the diary's codices, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh mentions slaves of Timurung origin whom he had bought, and who were to be transferred from Dowali to take care of his rice-fields at Leija (*DAS*:f.184).

Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh must have possessed slaves in ample numbers. Possibly they were housed in various locations across the region, as suggested by the entry cited above, and by the following entry:

18th July 1786:

"I asked to take some of the *jemma* at Palakka, fifteen were [originally] from Maros, fourteen were from Palakka, nine had come from Tanatenga and five from Topupué, making a total of forty-three." (*DAS*:f.85v)

Radermacher (1824) states that it had been the custom since the rule of Raja Palakka (*Arung* Palakka Malampeq-é Gemmeqna) that the island Bonératé, which was given on loan to that king, was where he and his successors had their dancing girls taught and brought up. However, this is not mentioned in *DAS*.

Other members of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's family also possessed their own slaves. In miscellaneous notes written in different sections of *DAS* (f.178r-f.181v), Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh includes lists of the slaves he gave to twelve of his children: *Arung* Timurung, *Arung* Data, *Arung* Palakka, *Arung* Sumaling, *Arung* Panynyiliq, *Arung* Kayuwara, *Arung* Paléngoreng, *Arung* Malaka, *Arung* Lompu, *Arung* Karella, La Temmupageq and Pattupubatué. Each received twelve slaves from the *Arumponé* and the slaves are individually named; *DAS* also records his wife making her own purchases of slaves (*DAS*:f.146r).

By examining the diary's entries relating to slaves over a ten-year period, 1780-1789, some information on the movement of slaves through the royal court can be obtained:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Slaves received</i>	<i>Price paid</i>	<i>Slaves given away</i>	<i>Price received</i>
1780	5	0	10	0
1781	2	0	7	0
1782	4	0	3	0
1783	4	0	6	0
1784	1	0	8	0
1785	13	85 <i>réal</i> (3 slaves)	6	0
1786	8	30 <i>réal</i> (1 slave)	0	0
1787	3	0	7	0
1788	8	114 <i>réal</i> (6 slaves)	3	0
1789	4	0	5	0
	52 slaves	229 <i>réal</i>	55 slaves	0

Table 5.8: Record of slaves received and slaves given away by Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh, 1780-1789 (source: *DAS*)

In the above table, a number of things are apparent. In the first place, the number of slaves received and the number given away as gifts maintain a rough equilibrium. Second, across the ten-year period, only three purchases of slaves in exchange for money took place, and no slaves were sold by Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh. Evidently, the *Arumponé* did not seek to make a profit from the sale of slaves, neither was it necessary for him to buy them. On the contrary, the giving away of slaves could be a shrewd financial move, since a large number of slaves, especially if they were resident in the household, would mean a large financial burden as a result of their upkeep. The majority of the slaves Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh received were gifts at traditional ceremonies, for the most part from newlywed couples among his nobles and relatives (*DAS*:f.16v; f.43r), or from a foreign ruler (*DAS*:f.8r; f.16v). The *Arumponé* also received slaves as gifts from his relatives and nobles when he suffered mishaps, such as when his palace caught fire (*DAS*:f.30v; *DTM*:f.20v).

A list of all financial transactions relating to slaves in which Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh was involved over twenty-one years sheds some light on the buying and selling of slaves by the court:

<i>Date</i>	<i>Number of slaves</i>	<i>Price bought</i>	<i>Number of slaves</i>	<i>Price sold</i>
09/07/1778	I Kamumu + a child	40 <i>réal</i>	-	-
25/07/1778	I Camaq	30 <i>réal</i>	-	-
24/10/1779	Two daughters of <i>jennang</i> Panyulaq	20 <i>réal</i>	-	-
10/06/1785	Three <i>jemma</i>	85 <i>réal</i>	-	-
14/10/1786	Son of La Basoq Palari	30 <i>réal</i>	-	-
22/04/1788	Six members of the <i>Mappajung</i>	114 <i>réal</i>	-	-
29/11/1791	La Juwana	30 <i>réal</i>	-	-
08/01/1792	Daréweq's husband	30 <i>réal</i>	-	-
05/02/1792	-	-	I Soré, five in a family	140 <i>réal</i>
16/08/1792	I Ami + wife + child	100 <i>réal</i>	-	-
05/03/1793	I Karoro + child	66 <i>réal</i> 16 <i>owang</i>	-	-
15/02/1794	One <i>jowa</i>	33 <i>réal</i>	-	-
05/06/1794	I Opo and I Adaiq (children of I Laija)	2 tai = 16 <i>réal</i>	-	-
Total	Bought: 25 slaves (including children)	594 <i>réal</i> , 16 <i>owang</i>	Sold: 5 slaves	140 <i>réal</i>

Table 5.9: Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's financial transactions relating to slaves, 1775-1795 (source: *DAS*)

It appears from *DAS* that the *Arumponé's* ownership of slaves did not directly contribute cash revenue from their sale, but instead generated profits indirectly as the manpower for agricultural labour. Unfortunately, the economic value of the work carried out by one slave is impossible to quantify as, across its span of twenty-one years, *DAS* reveals little about the revenues generated by his ownership of slaves.

DJM reports that on 24th September 1783 Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh purchased two children (probably to be taken into his service). This was reported by the *jennang* of Maros:

24th September 1783:
 “*Arumponé* asked To’Gangka and *jurubasa* [interpreter, B.] La Piddé to go and pay for the purchase of the child of *Arung* Kajuara and the child of the *Suléwatang*, 112 [*réal*].”
 (*DJM*:f.55r)

This transaction is not mentioned in *DAS*, which would suggest that there were other transactions of slaves that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh neglected to record in his diary. As such, the *Arumponé's* diary exposes its insufficiency in dealing with matters

of his household economy, especially relating to the number of slaves he had, as well as the transactions in slaves that he made.

Whilst the uses of slaves were various, the specific purposes of the different slaves and the skills they possessed are not mentioned in *DAS*. Only in one entry are we told of the kind of work typically left to slaves:

4th April 1792:

“I asked the *jennang* of Maros to take the son of La Génoq to be a rice pounder and water carrier [...]” (*DAS*:f.127r)

Slaves served as a simple commodity, perhaps more so when currency was in short supply, and could be bartered for goods:

12th January 1786:

“The *Suléwatang* of Palakka came and brought me three *jemma*. The three of them said they had been exchanged for blowpipes.” (*DAS*:f.82v)

17th April 1795:

“I bought a pair of *kaparia* guns, for the price of one boy.” (*DAS*:f.144r)

Dutch sources state that Boné’s debt to the Company was partly paid in slaves:

“The *Tomarilalang* and *Suléwatang* of Boné and the *Gellarang* of Bontoalag came in the morning to pay part of the [Boné] state’s debts bringing two male and two female slaves and 800 *rijksdaalder* of cash asking it be accepted, which it was after the slaves had been inspected and found to be acceptable.” (*ANRI Mak.404/4*:12th February 1777)

No information on the reason for Boné’s debt to the Company is given in *DAS*, only that Boné owed the Company 1800 *réal* (*DAS*:f.21v; f.24v), and that when Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh became *Arumponé*, the Company reminded him of the debt (*DAS*:f.32v). The debt is explained in *DTM* (on 12th February 1777) as the result of the Pénéki war of 1757 between Boné and Wajoq during the reign of Sultan Abdul Razak Jalaluddin (*DTM*:f.10v; Rachmah et.al. 1976:163). In *DTM*, the *Tomarilalang* states that he was asked by the *Maqdanrang* to see Governor Van der Voort to settle Boné’s debt. The delegates of Boné brought along with them 640 *réal* and 1000 *doi maraja*, four *jemma* (two male and two female) as part of the debt settlement. The *jemma* were valued by the Governor at 40 [*réal*] each (*DTM*:f.10v).

Other Bugis diaries also mention the use of slaves as a means of payment. In the *DoM*, entries relating to this abound:

29th March 1793:

“La Soré gave his *jémma*, a family of two, to La Bada for the price of 50 *réal* and thus La Soré’s debt to La Bada has a balance of 190 [*real*].” (*DoM*:f.25r)

22nd April 1793:

“*Arung* Cina took I Kawari’s child because I Kawari had a debt with Jamali, the scribe, who had been bought by *Arung* Cina for 28 *réal*.” (*DoM*:f.26v)

6th March 1795:

“The *jennang* of Maros and his *suro* have received the payment of tax in [selected] *jémma*.” (*DoM*:f.39r)

Slaves were also used as a pledge in guarantee of loans of money: a loan of 100 *réal* was secured from Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh by La Paqbata against ten of his slaves (*DAS*:f.154r).

In times of war, the use of slaves as soldiers could be vital. The Governor, during the Gowa war, stated that their shortage of combatants could be overcome with the assistance of the slaves of non-military personnel of the Company:

“I have asked the townspeople [*burghers*, D.] and civil employees [*pennisten*, D.] who might agree to it to support the attack on Gowa as volunteers with their slaves, for which twenty-seven people have registered promising at least a hundred and twenty people.” (*ANRI Mak.404/4:9th July 1777*)

In many entries, *DAS* mentions slaves being given as gifts on their own, or along with money or other items. As his new-year gift to the Governor, the *Arumponé* would usually present the Governor with a slave, which in a few entries he specifies as a female slave. On some occasions the slave is mentioned as being in full dress; on others, no details are mentioned. Most likely, the female slaves were intended as objects of entertainment and as sexual partners for the high-ranking Dutch officials; presumably the choice of gift was acceptable to the recipient:

16th July 1790:

“I ordered To’Gangka to take a female *jémma* to the Admiral.” (*DAS*:f.113v)

Other occasions in the Bugis social sphere where it was customary to make a gift of slaves were the rites of passage such as births, a child’s first meal, a child’s first steps, circumcision, ear-piercing, teeth filing, engagements and weddings. It was also customary to give slaves as part of a bride price, with the number of slaves increasing in proportion to the purity of one’s nobility. For example:

12th November 1787:

“I Pipa was proposed to by *Arung Rappang*. His proposal was accepted and the bride price was given: two *kati*, two *tai*, and two *jemma*.” (DAS:f.94v)

7th April 1789:

“La Makkulawu proposed Batara Tungkeq and was accepted. The bridewealth was sent: three *kati*, three *tai* and three *jemma*.” (DAS:f.105r)

12th April 1790:

“I Masira was proposed to by I Ambo. I accepted his proposal and her bride price was sent: one *kati*, one *tai*, and one *jemma*.” (DAS:f.112r)

Slaves would also be given as a token of blessing after an illness, a miscarriage, or other misfortune:

1st September 1778:

“The *Datu* of Soppeng contributed to me one *jemma* after my palace [at Malimongang] caught fire [...] The *Tomarilalang* gave one *jemma* [to me].” (DAS:f.30v)

16th December 1794:

“After 2 o’clock [in the afternoon], Puang Batara Tungkeq gave birth to a boy [...] I gave to Puang Batara Tungkeq two *jemma* as a token of my relief that she is safe.” (DAS:f.148r)

Although infrequently mentioned by Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh, *jemma* were used as part of the nobles’ payment of *kasuwiyang* to the *Arumponé*:

13th October 1777:

“La Iwoi came to bring his *kasuwiyang*, two *jemma*.” (DAS:f.24r)

17th September 1791:

“My uncle, *Arung Kaju*, came from Pare-pare and he brought along with him one *jemma* as *kasuwiyang* from the *Matoa* [of Pare-pare for me].” (DAS:f.121v)

Whilst the diary gives some idea of the prices paid for slaves, on the whole the information is of more relevance to social organisation than to economic activity. One function of the diary was as a record of slave ownership, slave status and the settlement of disputes; the king’s role as benefactor when giving slaves, and the homage he received from his nobles and subjects through gifts of slaves, are social rather than economic aspects.

In economic terms, *DAS* reveals that slaves did not generate cash profits from their sale for the court, but instead generated indirect profits from the production of agricultural goods. However, *DAS* does not allow any conclusion to be reached about the total number of slaves owned by Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh, nor about the amount of revenue they contributed to his treasury. I will now turn to other sources of revenue for the king's treasury.

5.6 Other revenues

5.6.1 Grants from the Dutch

Close study of his diary reveals that the main source of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's cash income was the Company's annual grant to him. Dutch records inform us that on 26th February 1774 it was agreed between Sultan Abdul Razak Jalaluddin and Governor Van der Voort that the *Arumponé* would be paid one thousand Spanish dollars or *rijksdaalder* annually (*BL Mackenzie Collection* No.67:88). It appears that this grant was in payment for the assistance given by the king's employees to the Dutch tax collector at the toll bar under the Company's jurisdiction.

Despite the agreement, it seems that the promised payment to the *Arumponé* was not honoured in that form. In a letter to Governor van der Voort, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh complained that:

“The *Tomarilalang* [...] informed me that a letter had arrived from the king in the inlands consisting of complaints against the toll bar tax collector, who, despite this having been agreed, refused to pay the sweetener [*het douceur*, D.]⁸⁰ that the king should be paid annually in small coinage for the assistance of his employees.” (*ANRI Mak.405/3:17th* April 1777)

Governor Van der Voort remained adamant that no promise to make payment in small coinage had been made and that, had the agreement been such, it would have been adhered to. Moreover, there was not sufficient availability of silver coinage, and funds would only become available to the tax collector if the Bugis were ordered to pay their river tolls:

“Moreover, no payment was obtainable from here, as [money] is only ever sent here from Batavia for the common employees.

⁸⁰ The word ‘*douceur*’ is not featured in the Dictionary of Standard Dutch. Because of the contemporary French cultural imperialism, however, the word can be understood as deriving from the French *doux*, soft, to form *douceur*, ‘softness’, ‘softener’; hence, in relation to finance, ‘sweetener’ (Larousse *Dictionnaire Français* 1994).

But that I did know of a means for the king to get the money, namely for all Boné traders to be ordered to pay the tolls to the tax collector to enable him to pay His Highness [Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh], and that they could tell him this as my reply.” (*ANRI Mak.405/3:17th April 1777*)

In relation to the Dutch grants, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh informs us that he received a sum of 800 *réal*, which corresponds to the agreed sum of 1000 *rijksdaalder*:

21st June 1781:

“La Hamuq informed me that he has taken the grant from the *Pabéan* a total of 200 [*réal*], therefore there remains a balance of 600 [*réal*] that I have not taken.” (*DAS:f.50r*)

This amount was not paid in a lump sum, but Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh was required to send an official to request it from the Dutch fiscal officer, *Pabéan* (B.), on an ad-hoc basis:

8th May 1780:

“La Otong came from Ujung Pandang and there was also my money that I asked for from the *Pabéan*, an amount of 400 [*réal*].” (*DAS:f.42v*)

12th July 1782:

“I took 100 *réal* from the *Pabéan*, balance remaining eighty *real*.” (*DAS:f.57v*)

7th November 1783:

“La Hamuq came to bring my money from the *Pabéan*, 230 [*réal*], therefore I have taken all my money [from the *Pabéan*] for this year.” (*DAS:f.66v*)

In addition to the privileges he enjoyed from the Dutch Company, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh benefited from a number of other sources of income that were traditionally the prerogative of the local ruler.

5.6.2 Tax from the Cenrana river toll bar

Until the creation of macadam roads, people frequently used the rivers as their main routes of transportation, as they were faster and easier than using land tracks. The Cenrana River, the longest river in Boné, was a major waterway that provided access to Lake Témpe and the rich agricultural heartlands of South Sulawesi, and linked the interior parts of Boné to the outside world (Pelras 1996:132). Until the mid-sixteenth century, the ruler of Luwuq controlled the lower Cenrana River, but around 1560

Luwuq was defeated by Boné, which gained control over the Cenrana River (Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000:83).

The Cenrana River serviced several areas before it joined the Gulf of Boné. From Cenrana it passes through villages such as Welado, Bulu, Pattialeq, Awamponé and Pallima before it reaches the sea. Use of the river as the main channel for transportation also engendered a dominant topos of upstream - downstream in local thinking. To quote Andaya (1993:94): “people will say they are going downstream even when there is no water to be seen” and “[indicate] the situation of places by a simple reference to the ascent and descent of the river”.⁸¹

Any vessels using the Cenrana River would be subjected to freight levies and toll bars, and local noblemen were able to exercise a degree of economic and political control over the people living along a particular length of the major waterway. Owing to the significant role of the river Cenrana as the main inland trade route, it would be unsurprising if the control of activities along the main waterway was the monopoly of the *Arumponé* (*Adatrethbundels* 1919:172-3). However, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh seems to have had a direct control only on the lower reaches of Cenrana, from his fortified palace at Nagauleng. Cenrana is named as a source of revenue he received from tolls on trading. Local rulers living higher up the reaches of the Cenrana river may have imposed their own local taxes or duties on trading. A similar situation appears in Jambi in the seventeenth century where, as noblemen realised the advantage they could draw from the increased volume of trade, they set up tollhouses along the rivers (Andaya 1993:98).

DAS informs us that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh received cash from the levy on Cenrana river. The responsibility for collection of the levies was assigned to a handful of people, whom Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh frequently mentions in his diary: La Bora, La Sida and La Raté (*DAS*:f.16v; f.22r; f.44v; f.50r; f.64r). Probably they were lesser nobles, most likely *jennang*, who were led by the *Anréguru* Cenrana, the head of Cenrana. The sums of taxes Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh obtained in river tolls were not consistent from one year to the next, which is demonstrated in Table 5.10:

⁸¹ Similar to the situation described by Andaya, a concept of ‘up’ and ‘down’ is employed in South Sulawesi, oriented towards the principal administrative area, independent of geographical location. During my fieldwork in Boné (in 1999), the people from Timurung, Cenrana, Palakka, Usa and a few other inland areas would use the word *ménréq* (B.), meaning ‘to go [up]’, if they wished to go to Watampone.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1775	-	No payment
1776	220 <i>réal</i>	Three payments
1777	180 <i>réal</i>	Four payments
1778	-	No payment
1779	-	No payment
1780	338 <i>réal</i>	Six payments
1781	150 <i>réal</i>	Two payments
1782	100 <i>réal</i>	One payment
1783	300 <i>réal</i>	One payment
1784	220 <i>réal</i> + gold	One payment in cash and one payment in gold, worth two <i>tai jawa</i> . ⁸²
1785	522.5 <i>réal</i>	Two payments
1786	334 <i>réal</i>	Two payments
1787	-	No payment
1788	300 <i>réal</i>	One payment
1789	200 <i>réal</i>	One payment
1790	-	No payment
1791	-	No payment
1792	110 <i>réal</i>	One payment
1793	160 <i>réal</i>	One payment
1794	-	No payment
1795	200 <i>réal</i>	One payment
Total:	3,334.5 <i>réal</i> + 2 <i>tai jawa</i> of gold	

Table 5.10: Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's revenue from the Cenrana river, 1776-1795 (source:DAS)

Across the twenty-one year period, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh received an amount of 3,334.5 *réal* in fourteen payments, an average of 167 *réal* per year. The payments were mostly made in cash, with the exception of the entry on 30th March 1784, when the tax payment from Cenrana was in gold. The above table, however, provides no further insight into the absence of any revenues from the waterway for six and a half years.⁸³ For example, no revenues were received from Cenrana in the years 1778 and 1779. The elimination of tax and the cessation of activities along the waterway are both untenable explanations. During the period 1778–1779, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh informs us of his presence at Makassar to help the Company to fight I Sangkilang, but there is no obvious reason why payments were absent in other years. If the revenue for the preceding year was carried over to the next, the amount of revenues he received for the following year

⁸² Table 5.8 displays that 1 *tai* equals 8 *réal*, thus 2 *tai* equals 16 *réal*. However, Matthes (1874) does not give much help on the definition of *tai jawa* specifically. If 1 *tai jawa* also equals 8 *réal*, the total of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's revenue from Cenrana for the year 1784 would be 236 *réal*.

⁸³ These are for the years 1778, 1779, 1787, 1790, 1791 and 1794. Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh was made *Arumponé* in early June 1775. Thus, the first six months of the year 1775 were disregarded.

do not reflect this; in addition, the inconsistent amounts of cash he received suggest no pattern in his annual income.

Besides the levies from the river of Cenrana, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh also received taxes levied at the toll bar at Laoniq, in Boné:

6th December 1785:

“(60) I brought Puang Batara Tungkéq to collect the tax from the estuary of Laoniq.” (*DAS*:f.81r)

25th December 1785:

“I brought Puang Batara Tungkéq to gather the tax from the estuary of Laoniq.” (*DAS*:f.81r)

Although *DAS* does not explicitly note the amount of cash the *Arumponé* received, I deduce that it was 60 *réal* from the number (60) written in the entry of 6th December 1785. My presumption is supported by the similar notation used when he informs us of the numbers of slaves that twelve of his children received (*DAS*:fols 179v-181r).

DAS also informs us that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh drew additional income from the waterway by leasing ships to other nobles:

20th October 1782:

“*Karaéng* Manjaréki came from Sanraboné⁸⁴ to bring me the payment from the rental of ships, an amount of 20 *réal*.” (*DAS*:f.59r)

Although mentioned only once, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s involvement in the leasing of ships probably helped to boost his ready cash.

5.6.3 Financial penalties and gambling revenues

Within the Bugis society, social values and norms were based upon the *adat*. The importance of the *adat* was such that, according to folk belief, if a ruler were to disregard the *adat*, calamity would befall the kingdom: “the *saguweer*⁸⁵ will no longer drip down, no more fish will show themselves above the surface of the water and the rice harvest will fail.” (*Adatrechtbundels* 1929:247) Any person going against the *adat* would face social sanctions and punishments, which varied according to the severity of the offence, from financial penalties to capital punishment.

⁸⁴ Sanraboné is situated in the west coast of the southern part of South Sulawesi.

⁸⁵ *Saguweer* is a kind of drink, locally known as *nira* (Id.). It is derived from the sago palm. After fermentation, in its alcoholic guise, it is known as *tuak*, comparable to *arak*.

Abdul Hamid (1985:17-23) states that there was no exemption for kings and nobles who transgressed the teachings of the *adat* law as expressed by the Bugis saying: “*adeq-é temmakéanaq temma keéppo*”, meaning ‘the *adat* [law] does not know [distinguish] [who is] son and does not know [distinguish] [who is] grandson’. This appears to be borne out by historical facts:

“[that in Wajoq] the son of the tenth *Arung Matoa* of Wajoq (1564-1567), La Pabbélé, was sentenced to death by his father because he was guilty of rape.” (Abidin 1973:19)

“[In Boné] the son of the twenty-first *Arumponé* La Patau, named La Temmasongeq, was exiled to Buton for killing *Arung Tibojong*, a member of the *Adeq Pitu*, although his act was in response to being insulted in public by the latter.” (Abidin 1973:19)

“[In Gowa] the thirteenth ruler of Gowa, I Tepu *Karaéng* Daéng Parabbung, was dismissed and banished into exile in Luwuq, he was hated by the people and nobles because of his despotism.” (Abidin 1973:20)

From the examples above, it is clear that kings and rulers could not consider themselves beyond the reach of the *adat*. However, the *adat* was applied only in certain respects; above all, its guiding principle was that of the right of retribution. Mob justice and vigilante acts inflicted by victims of crime on their perpetrators were commonplace, and the right to commit acts of retribution against people of the same or lower status was unchallenged. The right to retribution did not, however, apply *vis-à-vis* one’s social superiors. This is, in my view, a fundamental inequality of the *adat*, and is confirmed by the different punishments imposed, which Matthes (*Adatrechtbundels* 1929:278-82) states varied according to status.

In all kingdoms in South Sulawesi there was a Council of nobles. In Boné, the *Arung Pitu* or the Seven Lords’ foremost duty of the Council was to maintain the old customs of the land, and to act as judges in both civil and criminal cases (*Adatrechtbundels* 1929:253; Brooke 1848:133-45). Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh mentions adjudicating in disputes involving his nobles, his rulings on which could not be challenged:

7th June 1785:

“I went to the *baruga* to adjudicate [...] Conflict between La Caqdéweq and La Mammaq. Ruled in favour of La Caqdéweq, 76 *réal*. These rulings cannot be contested [...]” (DAS:f.78r)

In upholding the law at the central level, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh was assisted by his nobles: the *Tomaqbicara*, the *Tomarilalang*, the *Maqdanrang*, and the *Maqkedangtana*. At the lower administrative levels, the regent or lesser nobles such as the *jennang*, *suléwatang*, *gellarang* and the *matoa* were delegated with the same responsibilities: as conciliator, mediator or judge. This is evident in *DJM*, *DTM* and *DoM*, which make mention of their responsibility to adjudicate in disputes among subjects:

11th May 1780:

“La Béta and Puang I Asiq had a dispute [and] Puang I Asiq was found innocent whilst La Béta was found guilty. *Suléwatang* Boliq was appointed to give the verdict.” (*DJM*:f.4r)

5th March 1781:

“Disputes between La Semmang and La Matti. Ruled in favour of La Semmang. The *Paqbicara* handed over twelve slaves at Pattiro to La Semmang [...]” (*DTM*:f.38r)

14th December 1793:

“Disputes between La Umma and Daikkeng. Ruled in favour of Daikkeng and the four buffaloes were handed over to Daikkeng [...]” (*DoM*:f.30v)

Where the criminal conduct was not punishable by a mandatory death sentence, corporal punishment, slavery or the confiscation of property, financial penalties appear to have been the most common punishment. *DAS* relates numerous cases where nobles and commoners were ordered to pay fines as a result of their wrongdoings:

7th June 1785:

“[...] The *Tomarilalang* came to bring the fines from the Heads of Cina, one *kati* one *tai*, Pasaka, one *kati* one *tai*, Aleq, one *kati* one *tai* and Towa, one *kati* one *tai*, because they left for their villages without asking permission.” (*DAS*:f.78r)

The amount of the financial penalties depended on two key factors: the severity of the offence, and the social positions of perpetrator and victim (*Adatrechtbundels* 1919:157). Despite the *adat*’s claim to impartiality, the differing punishments for people of noble birth and commoners would suggest an inherent duality (*Adatrechtbundels* 1929:277). Matthes states that when a freeman killed a slave, he needed only to pay the fine: he could not be killed (in retribution). In the opposite case, if a slave killed a freeman, the slave was condemned to death and there was no fine. Where two people were of the same class, and one killed the other, then the family of the victim could take revenge by applying the law of retribution on the murderer. If, however, the murderer

fled in time, and placed the matter in the hands of the judge, it would be settled simply by paying a fine (*Adatrechtbundels* 1929:276). Matthes listed the amount of compensation payable for committing a crime against the following:

- <i>Karaéng</i>	5 <i>tail</i>
- <i>Anakaraéng</i>	2½ <i>tail</i>
- <i>Gellarang</i> (autonomous)	1½ <i>tail</i>
- Commoners (male)	½ <i>tail</i>
- Commoners (female)	1 <i>tail</i>
- Slaves	¼ <i>tail</i> (<i>Adatrechtbundels</i> 1919:157)

Although Matthes was writing in 1885 and referring to the situation in Makassar, I presume that a comparable law applied in Boné, in that nobles who committed offences would meet with less severe financial penalties in relation to their means, in comparison to common people.

In the Bugis kingdoms there was even a fine known as *sebbu kati*, which had the set value of 8,888 *réal* and 88 *doi*. This penalty was payable by a king or other head, if a visiting person born of royal blood was murdered in their area. Although such a crime could only occur on the orders of the king or ruler, in practice it was the populace who paid the fine (Matthes 1874:692; *Adatrechtbundels* 1929:281). Fines were imposed not only for crimes such as murder, abduction, theft, rape and the like, but also for failing to fulfil one's duty to the king or ruler. Friedericy (1933:542) states that in the time of Gowa's kings, failure to fulfil *kasuwiyang* without a valid reason was punishable by a fine of two or four *réal*.

It appears in *DAS* that the *Arumponé* did not sit in judgement on all offences. Perhaps only complicated cases involving his own family members and nobles, or the subjects of the Company and its main interests, would be adjudicated by him:

29th February 1792:

"The junior interpreter came to bring the Bonier who was caught by the *Marinyo* [Dutch official] for stealing, and I ordered the culprit to be sent to prison." (*DAS*:f.126r)

1st September 1790:

"I ordered I Manésa, I Dowa, I Ninnong, and the medicine-man Coda to be strangled to death because they conspired to poison the food and drink of Puang Batara Tungkeq. My sister, *Arung* Tajong, reported to me that the culprits had been strangled to death." (*DAS*:f.114v)

In cases where he did not sit in judgement, reports of the rulings would be sent to him. For example:

19th April 1781:

“The *Maqdanrang* informed me of the death of La Iwu who kidnapped the child [daughter] of *Arung* Matuju and [for which] he [La Iwu] was caught and killed.” (*DAS*:f.49r)

Where the guilty were punished by financial penalties, a part of the fines was given to Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh. Braam Morris states that certain percentages of fines, levies and settlements on disputes were taken by the ruler and lesser nobles, and that these fines could vary from *f*.2 to *f*.176.80 according to the severity of the crime, and the rank and class of the accused (Braam Morris 1892:183, 199, 210).

The situation in Suppaq, described in 1907, is noteworthy. The *Datu* of Suppaq was also the head of *adat*, and, when he was away from Suppaq, he would be represented in this function by the head of justice, the *Kepala Bicara* (Id.). If he could not adjudicate a matter, the *adat* would be called together to take a joint decision. The fees payable for adjudication were a fixed percentage of the value of the goods disputed,⁸⁶ of these fees the *Datu* of Suppaq would take half, while the other half was divided among the members of the *adat* (*Adatrechtbundels* 1929:192). Although this account is subsequent to the period of this research, perhaps it is representative of the division of adjudication fees between the ruler and nobles in the Bugis kingdoms.

DAS records receiving cash from the collection of fines, ‘*panrosa*’ (B.) or ‘*rosa*’, damages, ‘*tokkong*’ (B.),⁸⁷ as well as in the form of pardon gifts, ‘*sosoq*’ (B.) (Matthes 1874:277; 523; 763). By tabulating these financial penalties for the twenty-one year period 1775-1795, we can attempt to learn how much they would contribute to his revenues:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Remarks</i>	<i>Amount</i>
1775	No data	-
1776	<i>Panroseq</i>	3 <i>kati</i> 3 <i>tai</i> + 100 <i>réal</i>
1777	<i>Sosoq</i>	-
1778	2 x <i>Tokkong</i> 1 x <i>Panroseq</i>	40 x 2 = 80 <i>réal</i> 40 <i>réal</i>
1779	2 x <i>Tokkong</i> 1 x <i>sosoq</i>	22 <i>réal</i> -
1780	2 x <i>dampeng</i>	-
1781	2 x <i>Panroseq</i> 1 x <i>Tokkong</i>	1 <i>kati</i> 1 <i>tai</i> + 5 <i>tai</i> 20 <i>réal</i>

⁸⁶ In civil disputes, the payment due to the judge was 13 *doi* for every 80 *doi* of value under dispute. The fine for theft was three times the value of the stolen goods, one third of which was given to the victim in compensation, the other two thirds of which were payment for the *adat* (*Adatrechtbundels* 1929:192).

⁸⁷ The collection of damages means that in the event of murder, *qisās* (Ar.), the culprit has to pay a certain amount of money as compensation or blood money to the family of the deceased, ‘*diyat*’ (Ar.). The amount paid depends on the status of the victim and the culprit (*Holy Qur’an*: 2:178; 5:45).

	1 x <i>Sosoq</i> 2 x <i>dampeng</i> 1 x <i>dampeng</i>	- - 1 horse
1782	1 x <i>Tokkong</i> 1 x <i>Tokkong</i> 1 x <i>Sosoq</i> 1 x <i>Sosoq</i> 1 x <i>dampeng</i>	28 <i>réal</i> 106 persons - 1 horse -
1783	1 x <i>Tokkong</i> 2 x <i>Sosoq</i> 1 x <i>dosa</i> 1 x <i>Panroseq</i>	88 <i>réal</i> - 1 <i>tai</i> (8 <i>réal</i>) 1 <i>kati</i> 1 <i>tai</i>
1784	<i>Sosoq</i> <i>Panroseq</i> 2 x <i>dampeng</i>	- 1 <i>kati</i> 1 <i>tai</i> -
1785	1 x <i>Panroseq</i>	4 <i>kati</i> 4 <i>tai</i> (from 4 <i>paliliq</i>)
1786	1 x <i>Tokkong</i> 1 x <i>Tokkong</i> 1 x <i>Tokkong</i> 1 x <i>Panroseq</i> 1 x <i>Panroseq</i> 1 x <i>Panroseq</i>	1 <i>kati</i> 1 <i>tai</i> 14 <i>réal</i> 140 <i>réal</i> 1 <i>kati</i> 1 <i>tai</i> 30 <i>réal</i> -
1787	1 x <i>dampeng</i>	-
1788	1 x <i>Tokkong</i> 1 x <i>dampeng</i>	1 <i>kati</i> 1 <i>tai</i> No data
1789	No data	-
1790	1 x <i>Tokkong</i>	88 <i>réal</i>
1791	2 x <i>Tokkong</i> 1 x <i>Tokkong</i>	176 <i>réal</i> 370 <i>réal</i>
1792	No data	-
1793	No data	-
1794	1 x <i>Tokkong</i> 3 x <i>dampeng</i>	2 <i>kati tai</i> -
1795	1 x <i>Tokkong</i> 3 x <i>dampengi</i>	88 <i>réal</i> -
Grand total	<i>Panroseq</i> = 10 x <i>Tokkong</i> = 19 x <i>Dampeng</i> = 17 x <i>Sosoq</i> = 8 x	2,534 <i>réal</i> 2 horses 106 persons

Table 5.11: Financial penalties received by Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh, 1775-1795 (source: *DAS*)

Table 5.11 reveals that, over the twenty-one years, payments of *panroseq* and *tokkong* to the *Arumponé* were the most frequent. These two categories of financial penalties amounted to 2,534.5 *réal*, approximately 120.6 *réal* per year. This total, however, does not include goods which are difficult to quantify in terms of monetary value.

The table above also shows that where Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's diary entries mention him giving pardon, '*dampeng*' (B.), there is no information on the amount of fines, if any, he received. *DAS* also tells us that some offenders were pardoned and released without any financial penalty being paid, although no information is given about their misdemeanours:

31st August 1780:

"The *Maqdanrang* together with the *Tomarilalang* asked pardon [from me] on behalf of I Lalo. I forgave him."
(*DAS*:f.44r)

23rd July 1781:

"The *Maqdanrang* asked pardon on behalf of La Pallajaréng. I forgave him." (*DAS*:f.50v)

Table 5.11 also shows that the payment of fines was made not only in cash but in goods, mainly horses and slaves, as the *adat* stipulates that up to half the value of fines may be paid in goods (*Adatrechtbundels* 1919:157). For example, on 21st November 1782, *DAS* mentions Bajo's payment for damages: 106 slaves (*DAS*:f.59v). Apart from the financial penalties, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh received 'pardon gifts', *sosoq* (B.), which were perhaps tantamount to bribery:

12th April 1777:

"My nephew, *Arung Mampu*, came to bring the reparation [as a sign of apology [*sosoq*, B.] from *Anréguru Anakarung*. I forgave him." (*DAS*:f.21r)

25th September 1781:

"The *Maqdanrang* together with the *Tomarilalang*, *Arung Tanete*, and *Arung Tibojong* came to bring the reparation [*sosoq*, B.] from *Karaéngta Sangata*, the son of *Karaéng Pénnna*, I forgave him." (*DAS*:f.51v)

Although the accounts in Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's diary mention his receiving *sosoq*, unfortunately he does not inform us what form it took, or the amount he received, except for horses:

3rd October 1781:

"The *Maqdanrang* together with the *Tomarilalang* asked for forgiveness on behalf of the son of *Karaéng Jaranikang* named I Bebang. I forgave him and he brought me a horse"
(*DAS*:f.52r)

23rd October 1782:

"The *Maqdanrang* came to bring the pardon gift from the son of *Karaéng Comoé*, I forgave him. He brought me a horse"
(*DAS*:f.59r).

Overall, from Table 5.11 we learn that however modest an income they generated, financial penalties were a source of revenue for Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh. Most were paid in cash, although in a few cases they were paid in goods instead.

DTM leads us to understand that levies were also made on gambling at cockfights, card games and dice games (*Adatrechtbundels* 1929:192; Braam Morris 1892:162-3):

18th May 1776:

“I begin to break into the savings, [*timpo*, B.] from the levies on gambling at Bakkeq; 2 *tai* [...]” (*DTM*:f.4r)

19th June 1776:

“I begin to break into the savings from the levies on gambling at Kacénég; 17 [*réal*] 1 *tali*, [...] La Onrong came and brought to me the savings from [the levies on gambling at] Bakkeq; 1 *tai* [the total].” (*DTM*:f.5v)

23rd August 1776:

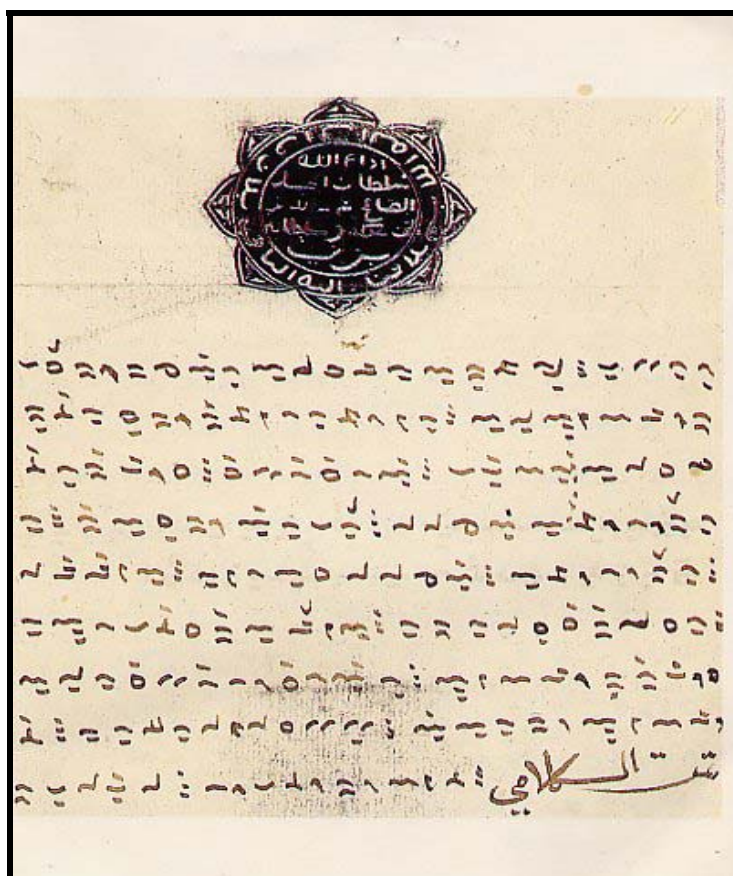
“La Onrong came to bring the collection [from gambling] from Bakkeq 1 *tai*; from Kacennég 10 [*réal*]. He also brought 7 *réal*, the tax imposed on opium.” (*DTM*:f.6v)

Braam Morris’ study of the kingdoms of Massenrempulu states that only in Maiwa did levies on gambling constitute a traditional source of income, and a monopoly right of the ruler (Braam Morris 1892:162-63). However, *DAS* does not mention receiving revenues from gaming activities. It appears that the right to levy tax on gambling was a privilege accorded to the *Tomarilalang*, in the same manner that the offices of other subordinate heads afforded them revenues through the taxation in kind from markets and forests within their area of jurisdiction, or, for example, the right to lease out fish traps (*Adatrechtbundels* 1929:192). However, it becomes clear from *DTM* that the gambling levies were only collected until 1780, when the *Tomarilalang* ordered all gambling activities to be put to an end:

5th June 1780:

“I begin to put an end to all gambling activities [at the market].” (*DTM*:f.33v)

The order to end gambling levies was most likely an order from the *Arumponé*. One Bugis source, *Add.12359*, contains the following extract of an order given by Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh, which is not dated but which may well correspond to the above entry made by the *Tomarilalang*:



[No date]:

“*Arung Bacu*’s guilt is large because he attacked the chief envoy of Boné. Therefore I wish him to be fined 1 *kati* 1 *tai*. His second fault is that all vassals have been ordered to stop gambling, but he has not consented to stop his gambling [...] Therefore I wish him to be fined another 1 *kati* 1 *tai* for that. Since he has resisted my prohibition I want the guards to seize him. This ends my words.”
(*BL MS. Add.12359:f.11r*)

This information was missing from Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s diary, and the reason for its omission is unknown. The fact that he did not take levies on gambling or decide on banning it, suggests that he may not have considered the revenues generated by gambling taxes to have been worthwhile pursuing especially as they constituted immoral earnings in conflict with his religious faith.

5.6.4 Deer hunting

From his diary we learn that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s pastimes were deer hunting, horse riding, crocodile shooting, fishing, boatings, picnicking and collecting seashells. A few entries mention him attending a cockfight and competing with his own cockerel. The frequency of his hunting expeditions would suggest that deer hunting was also a favourite pastime: between 1775 and 1795 *DAS* records forty-eight deer hunts, and to

catch around a hundred deer in one kill was not uncommon. The method of hunting was a large-scale approach and required the participation of local villagers, possibly as their *kasuwiyang* duty, as beaters to drive the herd into a temporary corral for culling (Friedericicy 1933:536, *Adatrechtbundels* 1929:270). Techniques of deer hunting are mentioned in his diary:

16th February 1781:

“I went to watch people chasing deer. Thirty deer were caught.” (DAS:f.48r)

13th February 1787:

“I went to watch people setting traps: three deer were caught.” (DAS:f.76r)

As deer hunting was a pursuit of the social elite, letting the hunted deer escape could result in a fine:

3rd December 1779:

“The *Maqdanrang* came to bring *Karaéng* Binamo [to me]. He was fined 1 *kati* 1 *tai* for letting [my] hunted deer escape at Baé. My reply: ‘Boné forgives you [*Karaéng*] Binamo because it is up to me to pardon you. If you later make the same fault, your culpability to Boné will be severe.’ ” (DAS:f.39r)

From the number of deer caught, we learn that hunting activities contributed to the upkeep of the royal household by providing venison, but not in the form of money. Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh did not go hunting every year: *DAS* reveals eight years that make no mention of his doing so. Although there appears to be an absence of hunting activity during these years, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh nevertheless mentions occasionally receiving supplies of cooked venison, *pijja jonga* (B.), as well as live deer from his nobles:

10th October 1782:

“The *Kornelis* [a Dutch official] came by the order of the Governor to bring to me one *pikul* of cooked venison from Selayar.” (DAS:f.59r)

16th October 1783:

“I Kobisiq Caqdi came by the order of the Governor to bring one *pikul* of cooked venison, (Id.) *déndéng*, from Selayar.” (DAS:f.66r)

Given the large number of deer, it is reasonable to presume that not all would have been killed immediately, but some kept alive to be fattened up for slaughter at a later

time. However, there is nothing in the diary to indicate that this occurred. Rather, it appears the meat was cooked dry (*déndéng*, Id.) in large quantities so as to preserve it.

A few more entries suggest other sources of additional, though irregular, cash income for Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh, such as the revenues from the Banawa forest in Boné, mentioned by him on the 6th March 1791 (*DAS*:f.118v) and on the 6th February 1792 (*DAS*:f.126r). Most likely this was a levy in kind of a certain share of the wood chopped in the forest.

5.7 Summary and conclusions

Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's diary entries provide useful data that allow us to make assumptions, draw inferences and make approximate calculations with regard to his income. Although *DAS* does not function as a ledger of his financial transactions, we learn from his diary that the *Arumponé* had lands and paddy fields managed by his officials, worked by the peasant farmers and by his slaves, to produce rice for the royal household. Some of this rice was converted into cash through sale, although the quantity intended for resale, and the proportion it represented of the entire yield from the king's fields, is not mentioned. Besides the rice produced on his own rice fields, as the ruler of Boné he enjoyed the privileges of *kasuwiyang* (dues) which, for the most part, was supplied in rice or paddy from the designated *kasuwiyang* fields, but equally would comprise other irregular and rather more need-driven forms of homage, such as wood for construction, or menfolk and oarsmen to accompany the *Arumponé* on journeys. In addition, *kasuwiyang* payments that might ordinarily represent a cash sum would from time to time be settled with goods and slaves. For many of these items, it is impossible to quantify the actual revenue as a cash sum.

DAS does not reveal the contemporary market value of weights of rice or paddy. However, one entry from Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's diary provides a useful clue in order to estimate revenues derived from rice and its sale:

1st February 1784:
 "I bought a *koyan*⁸⁸ of rice for 36 *réal*." (*DAS*:f.69r)

From this value, we deduce that 1 *kati* of rice was worth 4 *doi*. This calculation makes it possible to provide estimates of the value of goods that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh received in kind. Similarly, for the purpose of the following graph, the value of 30 *réal* for one slave has been applied (*DAS*, 25th July 1778:f.29v; 14th October 1786:f.87r):

⁸⁸ Matthes (1885:6) indicates that a *koyan* weighs 20 *pikul*, which is equivalent to 2000 *kati*.

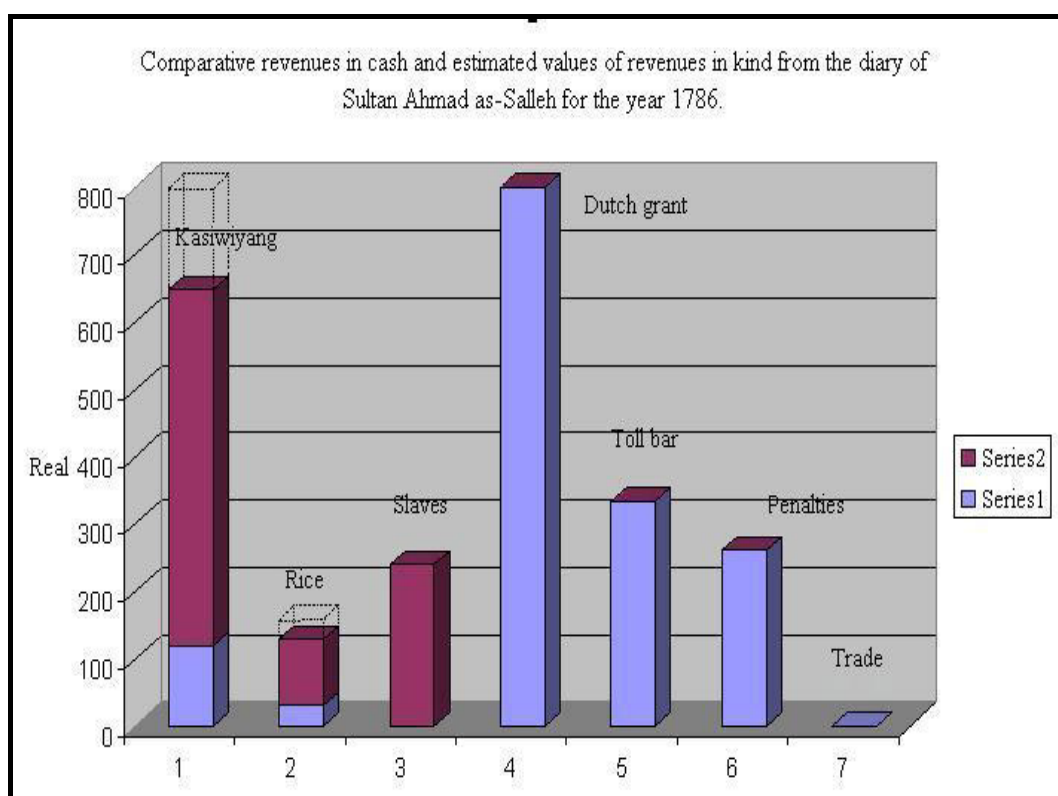


Table 5.12: The *Arumponé* revenues in cash and in kinds

Key:

Series 1 – Revenues in cash

Series 2 – Estimated value of revenues in kind

In the above graph, Series 1 represents the cash values that can be obtained from Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's diary, whilst Series 2 represents my estimation of the value of the revenues in kind that are to be found in the diary (for 1786). Particularly striking is column 1, which represents his revenues from *kasuwiyang* in the year 1786. Clearly, the goods and services provided by the populace under the guise of *kasuwiyang*, in so far as they are recorded in the diary, far outweigh any financial contributions to the court's revenues. In my opinion the total value of *kasuwiyang* received by Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh in this year would have been considerably higher. Again, with relation to rice production, the amount of paddy, rice and *wetté* that he kept from his own lands was considerably larger than that which he sold.

For Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh, the value of slaves seems to have lain exclusively in the labour they provided. The Dutch grant is the most substantial revenue, and a consistent annual sum. The fifth column represents the revenues from the toll-bar, and can be considered to have been paid exclusively in money. The sixth column represents court fines and penalties fines which was largely paid in cash. Most striking of all is the final column, which shows that no records whatsoever are found in *DAS* relating to Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's personal involvement in trade. This is surprising, because, in other kingdoms in South Sulawesi, rulers' involvement in and monopoly of certain

trades, and the levies they drew on certain goods, constituted a substantial part of their revenues. In some regions it was the custom that rights to levy tax at local *pasar* were granted to local subordinate rulers as payment for their office, and it certainly cannot be ruled out that this may have also been the case in Boné. Despite the obvious limitations when quantifying the cash value of contributions in kind, the above graph remains valuable, since it illustrates the scope for additional incomes provided in some of the categories.

Despite the diary's obvious shortcomings as an objective historical record, its contribution to our understanding of various aspects of the economy of Boné is considerable. The *Arumponé* and his immediate circle at court are shown to have had a variety of economic interests, the majority of which contained notions of social and cultural practices. Therefore the privileges of the ruler *vis-a-vis* his subjects, and of the ruling classes *vis-a-vis* the lower strata of society, are most manifest in economic activities: not only did the *Arumponé* enjoy trade monopolies on certain goods and the exploitation of certain agricultural lands, but the practice of *kasuwiyang* ensured for his court a proportion of his subjects' rice harvest, fish catch, or deer kill. Other forms of *kasuwiyang* included goods specific to particular areas, such as tortoise-shell or firewood, and benefits in kind, or labour. The *Arumponé* also derived revenues from fines (*sosoq*, *tokko* and *panrosoq*), and the economic importance of slaves as a commodity was also strongly in evidence.

In addition, the diary reveals much about the relationship between Boné and the Dutch Company. Disputes relating to trade in particular, but also to land ownership, often required diplomatic negotiations between the two powers. Through these negotiations, and the solutions arrived at, the political portrait of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh becomes more complete. We are also able to learn something of his personality from the manner in which he dealt with economic disputes, and enforced the payment of fines and taxes from his subjects. Again, the diary informs us that there was varying treatment of different members of society according to their class. Although Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh presents his running of the treasury as prudent and fair, the measure of objective truth in his bookkeeping remains questionable. Much of the information relating to economic activities tells us much or more about the society and culture of the Bugis as it does about financial matters. More than fifty percent of *DAS* is concerned on social and cultural matters, and the extent to which the diary constitutes a historical source in this respect forms the basis of the next chapter.

Chapter Six

The Diary as a Historical Text: Social and Cultural Events

“The etiquette of this court proves how despotic it has become: when the *patamankowé* sits, all sit; when he rises, all rise [...] should he ride, and fall from his horse, all about him must fall from their horses likewise. If he bathes, all must bathe too, and those passing go into the water in the dress, good or bad, they may chance to have on.” (Brooke 1848:134)

6.0 Introduction

In this chapter I will examine what can be learnt of late eighteenth century social life and culture from the diary of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh. The chapter is divided into sections on material culture and non-material culture, with a focus on the *Arumponé*'s involvement in social and cultural activities within the court inner circle. Where possible, I have cross-referenced the diary with other sources.

6.1 Bugis society: Social hierarchy

Bugis society, during the period under study, was strongly hierarchical and underpinned by the concept of “blood”. According to Bugis mythology, there were originally two kinds of humans: ‘white-blooded’ people of divine ancestry, and ‘red-blooded’ people who were either commoners or slaves (Pelras 1996:168). Status was expressed through a complex hierarchy of ranks. At the top was the *Arumponé* and his full siblings, who held the rank of *anaq mattola*, pure white blooded descendants of *tomanurung* (B.) ‘heavenly descended being’, who had founded the kingdom of Boné. Beneath the *Arumponé* and his siblings were lesser nobles whose place in this hierarchy was determined by the percentage of white blood that flowed through their veins, mixed with the red blood of commoners. An important aspect of this hierarchy was that only ruling *anaq mattola* could have *anaq mattola* children: the children of non-ruling *anaq mattola* were considered a degree lower, as *anaq sengngeng* or *anaq sangaji*. While this does not automatically produce a system of steadily declining status in the descendants

of a full blooded sibling of a ruling *anaq mattola*, over time the increasing genealogical distance between ruler and relatives must have made finding an *anaq mattola* marriage partner increasingly difficult. Despite the theoretical simplicity of the system, the reality was more complex. *Arung Palakka*¹, the princess of Boné who was married to the ruler of Talloq, had a higher degree of white blood through her mother, which meant a higher status than that of Sultan Abdul Razak Jalaluddin, the twenty-second ruler of Boné (Roessingh 1986:155-56).

Those who had no claim to white blood were divided into two ranks of freemen and two ranks of slave. Although the ranking systems and the titles used varied slightly from kingdom to kingdom, in Boné it was as follows:

1. The *anaq matolla* (children of the ruling king with the queen having an equal status, and who would be able to succeed their parents as rulers of the highest kingdoms)
 - 1.1 *anaq sengngeng* or *sangaji* (the *anaq mattola* who married a woman of equal status)
 - 1.2 *anaq rajéng* (the *anaq mattola* who married a woman of lower status)
 2. The *anakarung* (the *arung* children)
 - 2.1 *Anakarung ribola* (family members of the court)
 - 2.1.1 *anakarung sipué* (children of an *anakarung* who took a noble woman of lower degree as his wife)
 - 2.1.2 *anaq céraq*
 - 2.1.2.1 *anaq céraq siseng* (*anaq mattola* of either sub-rank who married a commoner wife - 'blood children' of the first degree)
 - 2.1.2.2 *anaq céraq duwa* (*anaq céraq siseng* who married a commoner wife)
 - 2.1.2.3 *anaq céraq tellu* (*anaq céraq duwa* who married a commoner wife)
 3. *Tomaradéka* (freemen)
 - 3.1 *Todécéng* (the good people)
 - 3.2 *Tosama* (the common people)
 - 4 *Ata* (slaves)
 - 4.1 *Ata manak* (inherited slaves)
 - 4.2 *Ata mabuang* (new slaves)
- (Aminah et al 1995:57; Saharuddin 1984:27; Abdul Hamid 1985:113-4; Mukhlis 1989:5-6)

¹ In this case, *Arung Palakka* refers to the Dowager Queen of Talloq, who was also known as *Karaéng Paramparang*. She was the grandmother of Batara Gowa Amas Madina and *Daéng Riboko* (see Chapter 4.2.3). For further information, see also Tidemann (1908) and Abdurrazak (1993).

The pyramidal hierarchy can be represented as follows:

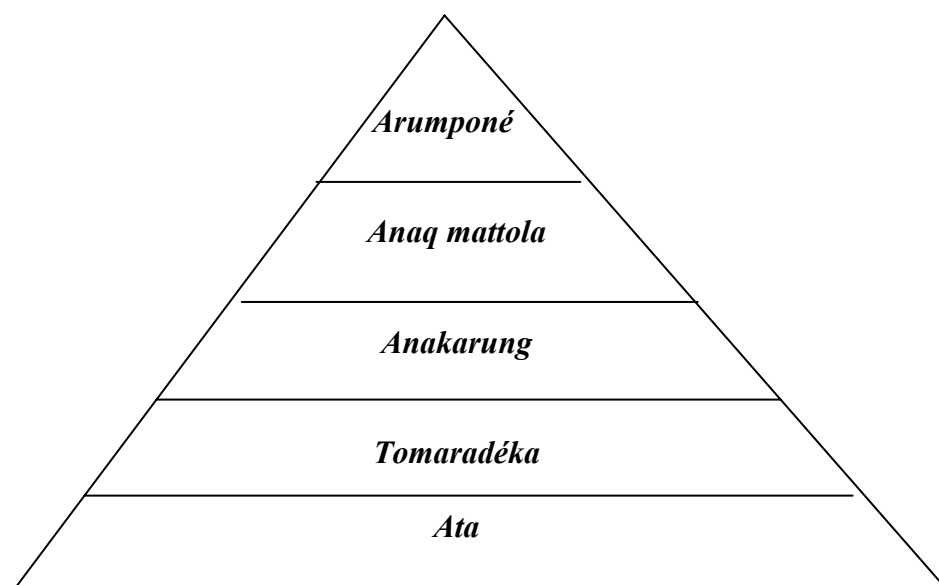


Figure 6.1: Social stratification late eighteenth century Boné

The Bugis upper class enjoyed many privileges associated with their status, namely ownership of land, domestic and household adornment, jewellery, the use of weapons, clothing of special colours, special designs of houses and so on. Peculiar objects such as albinos, dwarfs and things believed to possess power, were reserved for the possession of the king (cf. Anderson 1972:1-69). After his death, a ruler was no longer known by the names he had during his lifetime, but instead was referred to as *Matinroé ri* [...] (B.), literally “He who sleeps or lies at”, followed by some descriptive term usually indicating the place of his death or burial. Among the Bugis, it was believed that the spirits of the departed had the power to cause swelling, and stock pleas to avert this danger were usually made before the names of deceased rulers were mentioned (Caldwell 1988:42).

Within the Bugis system of social hierarchy (and in particular that of Boné), men and women of noble birth had equal rights of succession. Of the thirty-four rulers who reigned over Boné, no less than seven were women. Because the kinship system was bilateral, descendants from both the paternal and maternal lines were valued, and both men and women could occupy the throne, although preference was generally given to men. There is no evidence of a system of primogeniture: in Boné, all sons and daughters of a previous king or queen were eligible for selection as ruler (Caldwell 1995:404). The king normally chose his own heir, but his decision had to be agreed upon by the nobles, and ratified after his death (cf. Friedericy 1933:488-90). Occasionally, the ruler’s own children could be by-passed in preference for a more suitable candidates, usually a grandson or brother.

6.1.1 The social status in Boné as exhibited in official office

At the apex of Boné hierarchy was the *Arumponé* followed by the crown prince. The second stratum consisted of senior officials of high political rank. The most senior offices were the *Tomarilalang*, *Maqkedangnetana* and *Maqdanrang*; it is not clear whether any was superior to the others. The *Tomarilalang*, as the Bugis word *rilalang* (inside the palace, B.) indicates, had a close connection to the king. In Boné there were two offices of *Tomarilalang*: the *Tomarilalang Matoa* and the *Tomarilalang Malolo* (the senior and the junior *Tomarilalang*). The former was head of the advisory council and the principal intermediary between the people, via the council, and the ruler and his chief minister, while the *Tomarilalang Malolo* assisted his senior officer in all matters of administration (*Adatrechtbundels* 1929:248, 250). The *Maqkedangtana* was the ‘Spokesman of the Land’, while the *Maqdanrang*, who was also on a close footing with the *Arumponé*, was a kind of personal secretary (*Adatrechtbundels* 1929:252-53). Next in rank was the *Ponggawa*, the chief of the army in times of war, who sat on the state council on important occasions when the king conferred with them. In Boné, these high officials were chosen from the group of royal offspring of the purest blood (Friedericy 1933:478; Abdul Hafid 1999:90). Of approximately of the same level were the members of the *Adeq Pitu* whose primary duty was to maintain the customs of the land, and to act as a kind of supreme court in both civil and criminal cases (*Adatrechtbundels* 1929:253; Friedericy 1933:253).

The third stratum consisted of officials of a lower administrative and social rank such as the *Pangulu Jowa* or head of the *Jowa*, a kind of warrior-servant or police officer in the palace. This important office could be held by an *Anakarung*, noble of lesser rank, who could also be appointed by the *Arumponé* as a *Pajejenangngeng*, an official who managed his goods and income (*Adatrechtbundels* 1929:248). The office of *Pajejenangngeng* was led by the *Pajejenangngeng Cilaong*, who might be a noble of higher degree. Under the *Pajejenangngeng Cilaong* was the harbourmaster, *Sabanara* who collected for the *Arumponé* a proportion of goods arriving from outside by ship, as well as the freight tax or tax payable by captains or merchant ships for anchor fees, *labubatu* (B.). If one of the *Arumponé*’s family’s died, the *Sabanara* was also responsible for dressing the corpse and for distributing gifts (Matthes 1872b:249). The third of the senior *Pajejenangngeng* was the *Anréguru Cenrana*, literally the head of Cenrana, who was harbourmaster for Cenrana, where he carried out the same duties as did the *Sabannara* at Bajoé.

In addition to these office titles were the general titles of *Arung* and *Karaéng*. *Arung* was a common title in the Bugis lands while in Makassar *karaéng* was more common.

These highranking titles could be held in addition of their office titles as well as on their own. Both of these titles were associated with settlements of which the title-holder was the nominal or actual leader. In this sense, one could speak of the title holders constituting a landed aristocracy.

The commoners, *tau décéng* or *tau sama*, who constituted the fourth stratum of the social hierarchy, could gain achieved status by the conferment of rewards for their deeds and loyalty, although this would happen only infrequently. Among the posts open to this stratum was that of messenger, *suro* or *tau tongeng* (B.), literally ‘a man of trusted qualities’. The office is mentioned in the *MTS*:

“It is also a great custom [of Sidenreng] that the *aqdaong* has a *suro ribaténg*.² Only [the *aqdaong*] together with the *Tellulatteq* and the council of ministers may delegate the *suro ribaténg*. Even the *anaq mattola*³ are forbidden to give order to *suro ribaténg*. Now it is the law that the *suro ribaténg* may not be derided, and may not be called a liar. One *tail* is the fine paid by people who call the *suro ribaténg* a liar. The *suro ribaténg* is not punished. If the [*suro ribaténg*] is guilty of an offence, then this would be because the words that he has spoken were not the words he was given. Then his throat will be severed, or his mouth sliced off, or he will be removed from his post.⁴ [Now] four and half *tail* and forty-four people of the land is the price paid to replace the *suro* [*ribaténg* should he be killed].” (*MTS*, in Druce 1999:35)

Running parallel to this system was a religious hierarchy headed by the *kadi* or chief religious officer and judge. This post was sometimes occupied by persons from outside the kingdom. For example, during the reign of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh, *Pekki Yusuf*, who was originally from Bogor, Java, was appointed as the *Kadi* of Boné. Below him in descending order were the chief *imam*, the *khatib*, the chief sermon-giver, the *bilal*, and the *doja* (Braam Morris 1892:198-9, 224-5; Friedericy 1933:516). These religious officers are mentioned frequently in *DAS*:

5th November 1781:

“The *kadi* of Boné together with the *imam* came [to see me].
Alhamdulillah [...]” (*DAS*:f.52v)

² According to Noorduyn (1955:55) in relation to Wajoq, a *suro ribaténg* was an official envoy whose role was to take messages to other kingdoms. In the context of the present work the role of the *suro ribaténg* was to carry messages within Sidenreng.

³ *Anaq mattola* means the person who has been chosen as the next *aqdaong*.

⁴ Hikayat Iskandar Zulkarnain mentions that Raja Iskandar ordered an envoy’s tongue to be cut out because he falsified a report (Gallop 1994:105-7).

17th January 1783:

“I went to attend the Friday congregation. I ordered [*khatib*] La Butung to draw back his sermon as I consider his sermon was not suitable.” (DAS:f.61v)

13th February 1788:

“*Khatib* La Sakka together with *bilal* La Nara came to see me as instructed by the *kadi* of Boné.” (DAS:f.97r)

The manifestation of social hierarchy through official office is illustrated by the following diagram:

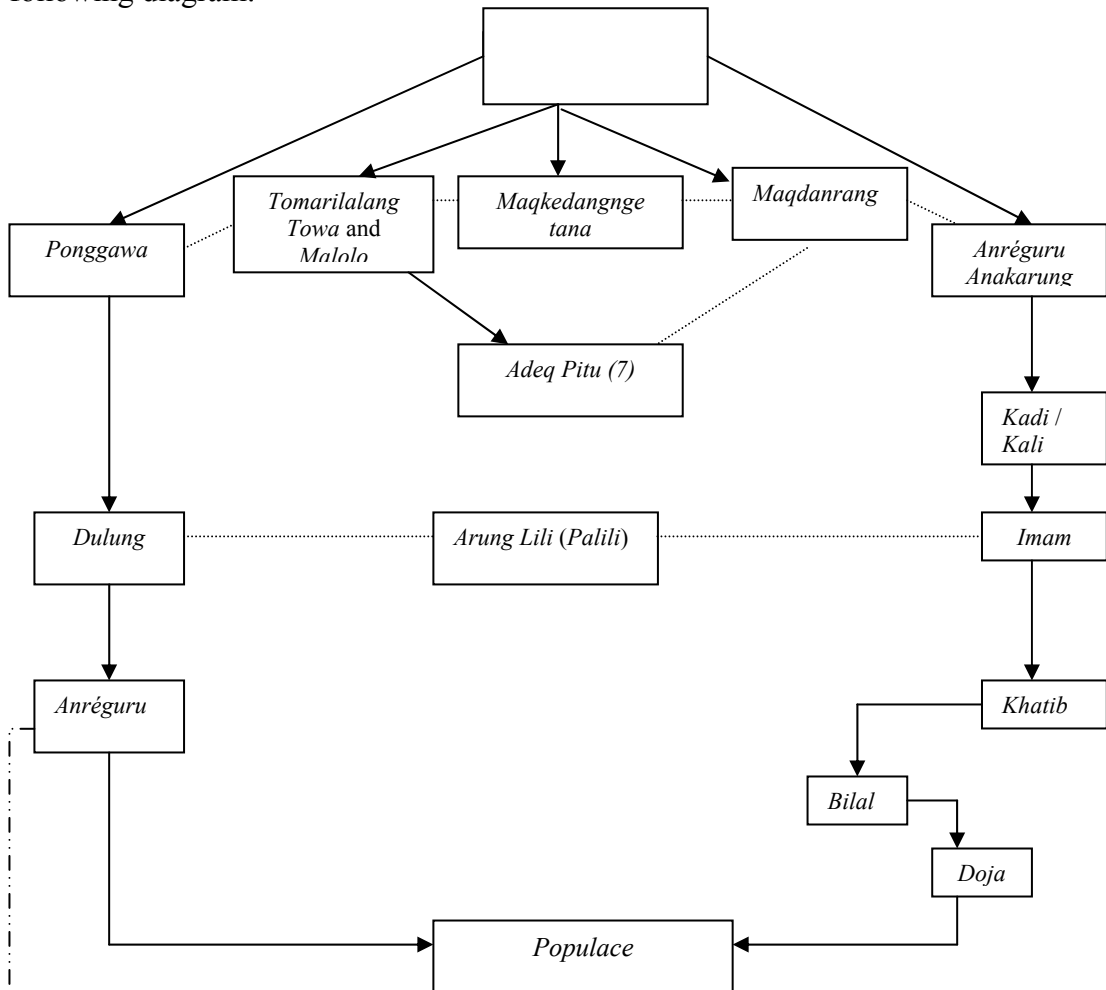


Figure 6.2: The administrative structure of the kingdom of Boné (source: Museum Benteng, Ujung Pandang)

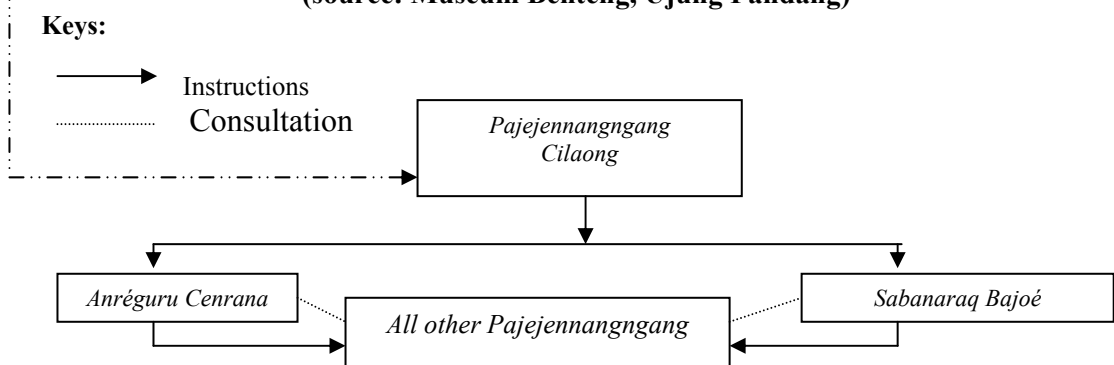


Figure 6.3: The office of *jennang* in Boné (source: DAS)

Hierarchical status was also demonstrated in official ceremonies and in the swearing of oaths of loyalty, *mangngaruq* (B.). For example, the *BL MS. Add.12355* describes the investiture of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh as follows:

“This describes [the role of the vassal states]. First to perform *mangngaruq* was Patampanua, followed by [vassals of] equal status. When it was completed, the people of Boné Tenngaé performed the *mangngaruq* [at the same time] Lili riLau held [their] spears. Then Pattiro performed the *mangngaruq*, then Sibulué, then Tellulimpoé, then Awangtaka, then Wawo Bulu. When Lili riLau had finished performing *mangngaruq*, the people of Ajangngaleq held their spears. [Next] to perform *mangngaruq* was the *Datu* of Cinnong, then the people of Mampu, then the people of Ulaweng, then Ponre, then Béngo, then Amali, then Timurung, then Sailong, then Limampanuaé, then Tellumpanué, then Enneng Bilabila, then Lappariaja. When all these people had finished performing [*mangngaruq*] the beating of drums ended. The two *Tomarilalang* then arranged the [seating] positions at the *baruga* for the people of Lalebbata and the *paliliq* [of Boné]. The end.”(*BL MS. Add.12355*:f.84r)

The above entry elucidates the rankings of the vassal states within the kingdom. It is clear that regions of higher status preceded those of lesser ones, and this hierarchy was also demonstrated in their seating positions at the pavilion, *baruga* (B.) (*BL MS. Add.12355*:f.84r).

6.2 Kinship in Boné

The Bugis terminology of kinship is quite general. There are no specific terms to distinguish among relatives of the same generation, be they female or male, brothers, sisters or cousins; all fall into a single category of sibling, ‘of one origin’, *séajing* (B.). Names expressing family relationships, however, account for age: older siblings within a generation are addressed as *daéng* (B.), and younger ones as *anri* (B.) (Pelras 1996:153; Millar 1989:25, Waterson 1986:94).⁵ However, as can be observed up to the present day, *daéng* and *anri* may also be used to address older and younger non-kin members of a generation with whom one has a close relationship. For example, where fondness between sexes occurs, *daéng* or *anri* is used as a form of address not necessarily related to age. In addition, marriage partners also use the same sibling terms;

⁵ Apparently, the kinship terminologies used to differentiate gender are more specific amongst the Sundanese and the Javanese societies (cf. Ukun Surjaman 1960).

the wife calls her husband *kakak*, ‘elder brother’, while the husband addresses his wife as *anri*, ‘younger sister’.⁶

In Bugis society, kinship terms incorporating a possessive pronoun are used as terms of address; e.g. *tettakuq*, ‘my father’, *amauréuq*, ‘my uncle’, *nénéuq*, ‘my grandfather’. Among the royal families, kin were often addressed as *Puang* (B.), meaning father, and the same term was also used for an uncle or aunt who was older than one’s father or mother. In addition, a husband may refer to his wife as ‘mother of’, followed by the name of the eldest child; for example, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh refers to his wife I Padauleng as ‘Puang Batara Tungkeq’, the mother of Batara Tungkeq, his eldest child (cf. Friberg 1993:189).⁷

For the Bugis, virtually any kinship term may be used as a term of address, to add a note of intimacy and respect. It occurs frequently in *DAS*, for example, when the *Arumponé* refers to the sister of the Dutch senior interpreter, Deefhout, as his niece:

8th June 1782:

“My niece, the sister of I Dépo, came to see me to bid farewell on her leaving to Jakettara⁸ [Batavia] [...].”
(*DAS*:f.57r)

In other instances, the *Arumponé* addresses *Nyonya* Bagiliq and *Nyonya* Mici, as his grandmother and niece:

19th September 1781:

“[...] The messenger of my grandmother, *Nyonya* Bagiliq, came [to see me] [...].” (*DAS*:f.51v)

23rd June 1781:

“The son of my niece, *Nyonya* Mici, came [to visit me] [...].”
(*DAS*:f.50r)

The title *Nyonya* is given to married women among the (Chinese) *Peranakans*,⁹ which would suggest that *Nyonya* Bagiliq and *Nyonya* Mici may not have had any

⁶ One of my respondents addressed her husband as ‘*kak*’ although she was more than twenty years older than the husband. In this respect, sibling terms involve not only seniority but also authority, coupled with intimacy and affection which the relationship implies.

⁷ While living in Ujung Pandang, I was addressed by the local people as *Indoqna* Safwan, mother of Safwan; only the elderly and the *kiyai* called me by name. However, when I was at Watampone, since I stayed with *Petta* Awampone, I was also addressed as *Puang*. Perhaps they thought that I was related to the family and had noble blood!

⁸ The diary refers to Batavia as Jakettara (cf. Sie 1990:1, 79).

⁹ In general, the *Peranakan* Chinese or the *Baba* no longer speak the Chinese language. They have developed a specific *Peranakan* culture, which is a mixture of the Chinese, local and, in Indonesia, Dutch cultures (Sie 1990:114).

consanguineal kinship to the *Arumponé*, but that the title was a token of respect, to denote the person's proper place within the (Bugis) society (cf. Robson 1987:513).

DAS reveals the various terms used by the *Arumponé*, which include *amauré*, *anri*, *anaqdara*, *bowé*, *daéng*, *eppo*, *inauré*, *ina*, *ncajiangngeng*, *nénéq*, *padaurané*, *samposiseng* and *tetta*. In the first ascending generation the *Arumponé*, as a person of royal descent, refers to his father as *tettakuq*, 'my royal one' (*DAS*; Friberg 1993:190). To refer to his mother in the diary the *Arumponé* uses the term *ncajiangngeng*, though mother is generally referred to by the Bugis as *ina*. The term for aunt or uncle is *amauré*, which is used for any kinsman of the parent's generation, without distinction as to sex, and is extended affinally to any spouse of such a kinsman. In addition, no distinction is made as to whether this relationship is from the mother's or father's lineage. The term *bowé* (Matthes 1874:229), great-grandfather or forebears, is similarly extended to any kinsman of two or more ascending generations.

In a generation, kinsmen who share at least one parent are siblings, and in cases where a father has multiple wives, or when a mother remarries, half-siblings use the same terms as full siblings, and are differentiated by age; *kakak* or *daéng* for older siblings and *anri* for younger siblings. This can be seen in the diary when the *Arumponé* addresses his half-brother, *Daéng Malimpo*, as 'my brother', *kakauq* (*DAS*:f.46r). Cousins are often distinguished with the term *samposiseng*, and the proximity of the relationship is indicated by a number, *sikali* for a first cousin, *wékka duwa*, *wékka tellu*, for a second and third cousin, and so on. One's own child is *anaq*, while the child of a cousin is *inauré* or *anauré*. Beyond the first descending generation, all kinsmen are grandchildren, *eppo*.¹⁰ This extension of kinship terms may be illustrated in a diagram, as below:

¹⁰ The kinship terminology of the Makasar also displays a clear classification according to generation: the terms *bowé*, *toa*, *purina*, *kamanakang* and *cucu* are to indicate the generation of great-grandparents, grandparents, parents, children and grandchildren. The kinship terminology among the Javanese differentiates both gender and age (Fox 1994:102-3; Robson 1987:513-14).

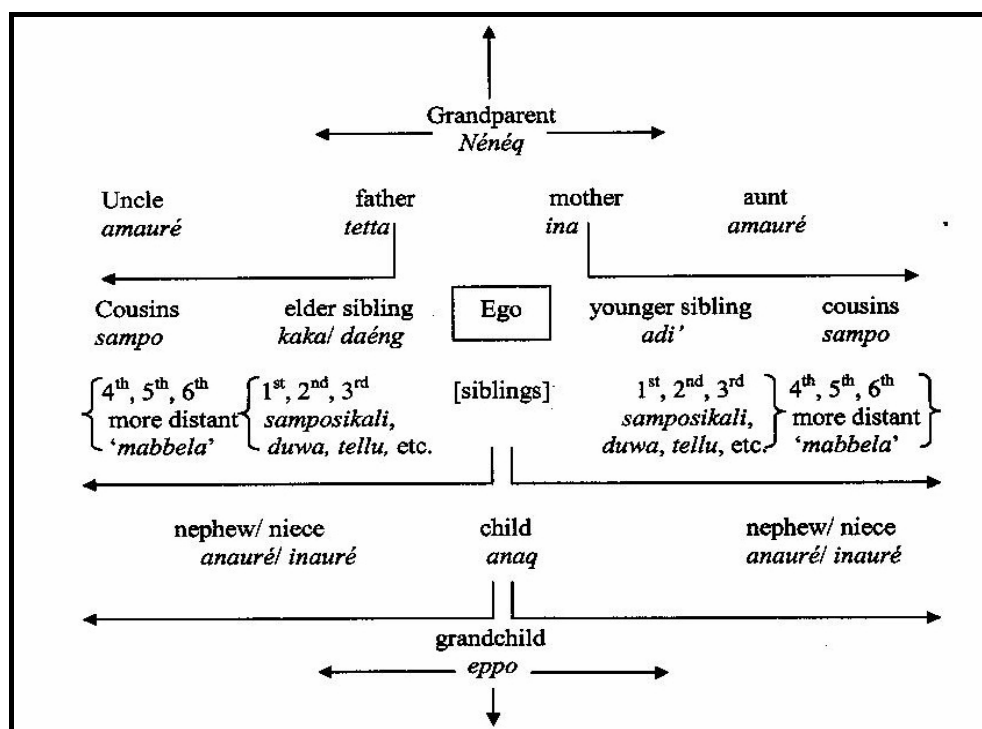


Figure 6.4: The Bugis kinship terminology (Waterson 1986:90)

DAS reveals the extensive numbers of kinsmen of the *Arumponé*: it mentions 36 *nénéq*, 3 *bowé*, 48 *amauré*, 49 *inauré*, 8 *daéng/ kakak* and 5 *anri*. The large number of kinsmen is no surprise as Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's great-great-grandfather, La Patau *Matinroé ri Nagauleng*, is said to have had two hundred wives and concubines of various statuses, and more than four hundred children (Mattulada 1998:231). One possible reason for these relationships is political: the affiliation of kinships as a result of birth, marriage or political alignments would have extended the *Arumponé*'s kinsmen (Miller 1989:26-35).¹¹ The substantial numbers of kinsmen given by the diary should be viewed with caution, as the information does not provide further identification of the consanguineal connections with the *Arumponé*. Perhaps the kinship terms of *nénéuq*, *amauréuq* and *bowékuq*, in most cases, were simply marks of respect by the *Arumponé* in addressing officials and distant relatives who were older than him.

¹¹ During my stay for the field research at Boné, many of those who bore the titles *Andi* and *Daéng* claimed to have connections with the Boné royal family. Such claims may not easily be refuted: they may be descendants of the deceased king, La Patau *Matinroé ri Nagauleng*. One of my interviewees, Andi Sappabiang Hajah Sapinang even produced her family's genealogy, which was in her safekeeping, to convince me of her status. (Interview with Hajah Sapinang at Laccokong, Watampone, on 30th October 1999.)

6.3 *DAS* on material culture

6.3.1 Rites of passage on birth

Although some Bugis sources (*ANRI UP* Roll 13 No.15:87) state that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh was blessed with seventeen children, a closer study of his diary suggests that the Queen of Boné bore him fourteen children (*DAS*). According to *DAS*, the queen gave birth every year except for the years 1778, 1779, 1783, 1784, 1786, 1790, 1792 and 1795. In addition, *DoM* reports that in 1796 the queen gave birth to another baby boy, who was named Pattupubatu.¹²

It is reported in *DAS* that prior to the Queen's confinement certain preparations were made, including the construction of the maternity house. The building was purposely constructed for the queen to reside in while waiting to give birth, and to serve as a labour room. In some entries *DAS* explains that the *Arumponé* would also join her, the two of them living together in the maternity house, which had been furnished with all necessities, such as mosquito netting:

10th August 1781:

"The [maternity] house [as a place] for Puang Batara Tungkeq to give birth had been erected. *Barakallah*." (*DAS*:f.51r)

23rd August 1781:

"Puang Batara Tungkeq moved into the [maternity] house and it was equipped with mosquito-net. *Barakallah* [...]." (*DAS*:f.51r)

28th August 1781:

"I moved into the [maternity] house. *Barakallah*." (*DAS*:f.51r)

In addition to the maternity house, there was a special place where children of royal birth were cared for by a special team of wet-nurses and court servants:

19th November 1781:

"I went to the *sao wekkeq* together with Puang Batara Tungkeq [...]." (*DAS*:f.52v)

26th December 1783:

"I visited the *sao wekkeq* together with Puang Batara Tungkeq and I brought along La Tenrisukkiq [...]." (*DAS*:f.67r)

¹² On 14th February 1796, *DoM* mentions:

"La Koda came to inform me that the Queen [of Boné, Wé Tenripada] had given birth. *Taullahu 'umurhu*." (*DoM*:f.46v)

Wé Tenripada may have given birth prior to this date as the *Maqdanrang* was involved in the war between Boné against Sidenreng and at the time was at Tanete with his troops. The news would also probably have taken some time to reach him.

It appears court children were sent to the *sao wekkeq* as soon as the mother's period of confinement was over. An example of this is when La Tenrisukkiq, who was born on the 14th November 1783, was sent to the *sao wekkeq* at the age of forty-two days (*DAS*:f.66v). In Indonesian society, post-natal confinement was forty days, though it was sometimes extended to one hundred days, especially among women of the court. (personal communication with Petta Awampone)

DAS tells us that, during pregnancy, the queen would be massaged by a *sanro* or by another specially appointed person. *DAS* reports that the last massage was performed when the expectant mother had almost reached her full term of pregnancy. This practice was similar to traditional practices among the Javanese societies in Indonesia and Malaysia, of the ceremony of *lenggang perut* (Mal.), 'abdominal massage' (Winstedt 1925:120). A number of entries mention the queen went to visit some women of noble birth, when the stomach massaging was performed:

23rd October 1776:

"Puang Batara Tungkeq was massaged. *Barakallah*."
(*DAS*:f.17r)

23rd February 1783:

"The wife of *Datu* Soppeng was massaged. *Barakallah*. I came along with Puang Batara Tungkeq to visit her. I brought for her one *jemma* to be made as the childminder."
(*DAS*:f.62r)

19th April 1792:

"I went to visit [my daughter] Batara Tungkeq at the time she was massaged. She is seventeen." (*DAS*:f.127r)

A midwife plays an important role during the delivery of a baby. In Bugis and Makasar society, a *bissu* could also take the role of the *sanro* and midwife. It is noted that these *bissu* not only performed at births, but also in ceremonies such as the first tasting of food and treading the ground, as well as circumcision, teeth filing and marriage (Matthes 1872b; Hamonic 1975:121-34; Pelras 1996:82-4). These *bissu* acted as intermediaries in asking for God's assistance to ward off evil spirits they believed to be the cause of illnesses, mishaps or other catastrophes. In general, a midwife who had helped the expectant mother during delivery would receive payment for the service, in money or in kind. In one entry, *DAS* states that the *Arumponé* returned one of the midwife's family members as a reward for helping the *Arumponé*'s daughter:

8th July 1792:

“I returned to Ambéq Cinampa her grandchild named I Salesseq after she had helped *Arung* Timurung [Batara Tungkeq] to give birth safely.” (*DAS*:f.130v)

6.3.2 The royal birth and post natal mortalities

Although *DAS* contains eighty-nine entries pertaining to birth, referring to his daughter, members of his family and wives of his nobles, only in the case of his wife does Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh depict the agony of a woman in labour:

16th December 1794:

“[...] Puang Batara Tungkeq screamed as she suffers [a terrible] stomach pain.” (*DAS*:f.148r)

Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh was concerned for the well-being of his wife; we discover that after the birth, he expressed his gratitude and good wishes to her by offering a betel quid, *ota salabétta* (B.): a sign of best wishes and good health.¹³ In addition to the betel quid, *DAS* relates that the *Arumponé* also presented his wife with other kinds of gifts, particularly *jemma* or court maids:

23rd October 1775:

“After 3.00 [p.m.] I Tenripada gave birth to a baby girl. May Allah prolong her life. I sent [to I Pada] *ota salabettaé* to wish her well on the birth of our baby [and] I gave [to her] two [young] persons.” (*DAS*:f.10r)

15th December 1777:

“[...] after 7.00 [p.m.], Puang Batara Tungkeq gave birth to a boy [...] I gave one person to her with my good wishes and for the baby, I gave *passangingang* (B.), [a set of baby clothes], with its cover [...]” (*DAS*:f.25r)

16th December 1794:

“After 2.00 [p.m.] Puang Batara Tungkeq gave birth to a baby boy [...] I gave her two *jemma* as a sign of good wishes for her health [...]” (*DAS*:f.148r)

¹³ Betel leaf, *Piper betle*, from the botanical family of *Piperaceae* is a slender, aromatic creeper and has heart-shaped, smooth, shining, long-stalked leaves with a pointed apex. Reid (1985) states that Indonesians, like other Southeast Asians, have long been extensive users of this mild narcotic (cf. Forrest 1792:79). Reid also states that in some societies, betel chewing was a social necessity, and not to offer betel, or to refuse to take it when proffered, was regarded as a serious insult (1985:529, 531). *DAS* shows that the *Arumponé* consumed a few kinds of betel leaf, which can be inferred from his diary entry as below:

21st April 1780:

“I bought one pack of red betel leaf for the price of 16 [*real*], four packs of purple betel leaf for 6 *réal*, three packs of bamboo green betel leaf for the price of 5½ *réal* [...]” (*DAS*:f.42r)

Of Puang Batara Tungkeq's fourteen children, one was stillborn while another died due to illness; both were boys (*DAS*:f.105v; f.148r). Altogether, there are eighty-nine entries on births, including those of Puang Batara Tungkeq's children, in *DAS*. The outcomes of these births are set out in the graph below:

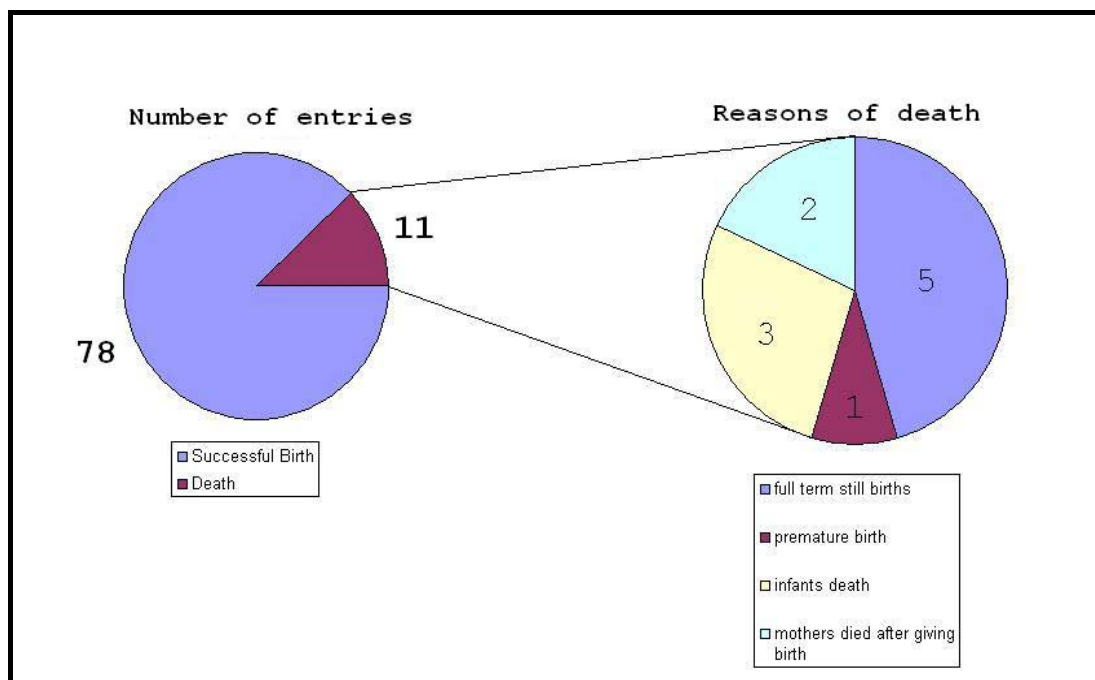


Figure 6.5: Mortality figure for babies and mothers, 1775-1795 (source: *DAS*)

Eleven entries record deaths relating to childbirth: five full-term stillbirths, one premature birth, three infant deaths, and two mothers who died after giving birth. *DAS* thus reveals that the death rate in childbirth among the women of the Boné court in the late eighteenth century was just over ten percent. This seems a relatively low percentage when one considers the lack of modern facilities. However, as the data were taken from the upper class society which experienced a better quality of life, infant mortality among the general populace was likely to be much higher. Interestingly, *DAS* contains only one entry mentioning the birth of twins (*DAS*, 26th March 1780:f.41v).

6.3.3 Marriage and divorce in the Bugis society

Among the Bugis, marriage between members of the same status group was socially most acceptable (Abdul Hamid 1985:146-7), and there was a cultural preference for marriages between cousins of equal ranks; this applied especially to the highest levels of nobility, in order to maintain the 'purity' of the blood (Millar 1989:26; Pelras 1996:155). The rank inherited by the children, and hence their succession rights, were of great

consequence. This social restriction on marriage arrangements also served to secure family relationships and to safeguard the family's riches.

It was strictly forbidden for a woman to marry a man from a lower group. As a result, especially among the highest classes, before a wedding took place it was always checked thoroughly whether the man was of equally high status as the woman. Not only did this apply to marriage; sexual relations between a woman of higher class and a man of lower class was one of the most serious crimes known to these societies. As a crime it was on a par with incest, the consequences of which went beyond the two individuals concerned, and were believed to result in ruined harvests, natural disasters and contagious diseases which would affect the entire community. The same punishment that applied to sexual relations of a woman of higher class with a man of lower class was also applied to incest: the guilty would each be sewn into a sack and thrown into the sea (Friedericy 1933:557). In his study of the Mandar society, Mallinckrodt (Freidericy 1933:557-58) states that only the man would be put to death, and that he would be killed in such a way that his blood did not dirty the soil, which was believed to bring bad fate. In addition, he mentions that the proposal of marriage to a woman by a man of lesser status is called *mati teméi puna lambe* (B.), which means 'to urinate against a tree that goods are hanging from'. This statement suggests that the decision to marry a man of lower status resembles 'doing things in places that are not meant for that purpose'.

The marriage of a man of nobility to a woman of lower class was not forbidden. Whereas the marriage of a woman from a higher group to a man from a lower group would contaminate the blood of the higher group, a marriage between a man of the higher group and a woman of the lower group would not be considered as 'contaminating' the blood of the higher group. It was (and still is) preferred for a man to have a wife of equal birth (Friedericy 1933:555, 599); this does not imply that a man should marry within his own group specifically, but simply with one from a group that is as high as his own. In the case of a ruling family of South Sulawesi, these groups were in fact the ruling families of other kingdoms. As a result, marriage bonds developed over time between the royal house of Boné and the reigning dynasties of Bantaeng, Barru, Gowa, Luwuq, Sanrabone, Sidenreng, Soppeng and Wajoq.¹⁴

Matthes states that, exceptionally, marriages do take place where the man is lower in status than the woman, but there cannot be too much difference of status between

¹⁴ By having many wives of equal status, marriage bonds were used by rulers as a diplomatic weapon to obtain political affiliation, and hence influence over the Bugis-Makassar lands. See Mattulada (1998:231) and Geertz (1980:35)

them.¹⁵ In this situation, the man has to pay a far higher dowry than is customary, to ‘buy’ nobler blood, *pangelli dara* (B.) (Chabot 1996:144; Aminah et al 1995:66).

DAS reports matters relating to marriage in a straightforward fashion, which suggests that the social ranking of the suitors who proposed marriage had already been considered before acceptances were made. For example:

12th September 1776:

“*Arung Pattiro* proposed to marry I Kodomaralleq and was accepted. The rank price [dowry from *Arung Pattiro*] [...] 1 *kati*, 1 *tai* and 1 *jemma* [...]” (*DAS*:f.16v)

30th May 1780:

“La Sualle proposed to marry I Aluq. His proposal was accepted and the dowry, 44 *réal*, was paid. *Barakallah* [...]” (*DAS*:f.42v)

These examples show that the amount of dowry given to the bride depended on her social status. Other factors would affect the sum of the dowry, too; if it was the bride’s second marriage, the dowry was usually reduced.¹⁶ In all of these marriage proposals, which were later followed by the wedding ceremony, the prospective brides’ opinions are not mentioned, suggesting that the match was arranged by their parents.

In such a hierarchical society as South Sulawesi in the late eighteenth century, maintaining social status along the maternal line was imperative for the elite in order to maintain the purity of their royal blood. It is this that is reflected in the dowry’s function as a status symbol (Chabot 1996; Miller 1989).

6.3.4 Bridewealth as status symbols

The notions of hierarchical status, and the degree of ‘white blood’, were reflected in the payment of bridewealth to the royal households. When a wedding proposal had been accepted, the bridegroom was required to present the bridewealth or bride price, *sompa* (B.), to the bride’s family. It would appear from *DAS* that the *sompa* was delivered to the bride’s house without much ceremony, and without the now customary mass of wedding gifts. The amounts of *sompa* are explicitly mentioned in the diary, in descending order of

¹⁵ Matthes based this statement upon his study of late nineteenth century South Sulawesi (Friedericicy 1933:560). However, in an exceptional case, a man of lower quality may have the chance of marrying a woman of higher status if he possessed three qualities: wealth, bravery and wisdom (Tudjimah 1997:2).

¹⁶ In Islam, the amount of dowry given depends on the social position of the wife as well as on the financial means of the husband. In Malaysia, at present, the amount of dowry offered to brides differs from one state to another as stipulated by Enactments of each state.

nobleness, from as high-ranking as 3 *kati* 3 *tai* with or without *jemma*, to as low as 1 *tai*. The information extracted from *DAS* can be grouped as:

3 *kati* 3 *tai* and three *jemma* (for *anaq mattola*):

7th April 1789:

“La Makkulawu proposed to marry Batara Tungkeq. His proposal was accepted and the bride price, 3 *kati* 3 *tai* [and] three *jemma*, was brought in. The marriage was carried out in the tradition of Lalebbata whilst the bridewealth complies with [the tradition of] Timurung. *Barakallah*.” (*DAS*:f.105r)

2 *kati* 2 *tai* and two *jemma*:

13th May 1779:

“*Datu* Cinnong proposed to my sister *Arung* Tajong. The proposal was accepted and the bridewealth was paid which consists of 2 *kati* 2 *tai* and two *jemma* [...]” (*DAS*:f.35v)

1 *kati* 1 *tai* and one *jemma*:

5th November 1793:

“La Mappatunruq proposed I Bauq. I accepted it and the bride price was sent in [which consists of] 1 *kati* 1 *tai* [and] one *jemma*. *Barakallah*. The bride price was between Palakka and Kaju. *Wakafabillahi syahiida* [...]” (*DAS*:f.140v)

1 *kati* and one *jemma*:

5th November 1784:

“Puawa proposed to marry I Odo. His proposal was accepted and the bridewealth was sent in which consists of 1 *kati* and one person and they were married. *Barakallah*.” (*DAS*:f.73v)

A smaller bridewealth payment of less than 1 *kati* is also found mentioned in *DAS*, implying these brides had lower status:

44 *réal*:

30th May 1780:

“La Sualle proposed to marry I Aluq. His proposal was accepted and the bridewealth of 44 *réal* was paid. *Barakallah* [...]” (*DAS*:f.42v)

40 réal:

6th May 1787:

“*Arung* Panynyiliq proposed to marry I Waru. His proposal was accepted and the bridewealth, 40 *réal*, was brought in. *Barakallah*.” (DAS:f.91v)

5 tai:

27th November 1781:

“I Kadir proposed to marry [I] Gangka. The proposal was accepted and the bridewealth of 5 *tai* was paid. *Barakallah* [...]” (DAS:f.52v)

1 tai and one jemma:

7th June 1786:

“[La] Saléng proposed to marry Wé Céngkogo. The proposal was accepted. The bridewealth was sent in which consists of 1 *tai* and one *jemma*.” (DAS:f.85r)

1 tai:

4th July 1794:

“The *Suléwatang* of Bontoalaq proposed I Wempe. I accepted his proposal and the bride price was sent in, 1 *tai*. *Barakallah*.” (DAS:f.145v)

Those who were given the smallest bride price may have been the *Arumponé*’s serving maids, as Chabot says that good care was taken to have them married (Chabot 1940:327).

6.3.5 The wedding

Millar (1989:68) says that in the Bugis wedding there are five main stages involved: the formal proposal, the engagement, the marriage, the wedding ceremony and the subsequent formal meetings. However, as recorded in *DAS*, these five stages appear to be completed in as few as two or three separate meetings. After a proposal was accepted, preparations for the wedding began, and the wedding took place within less than a month of the proposal.

In general, *DAS* informs us that the common age for a girl to be married was between fourteen and sixteen years old. Reid (1988:160) states that in the seventeenth century the habit of arranging marriages for daughters at the age of puberty, of between twelve and fourteen, were an exception, and found primarily among the wealthy

nobility, who had the most spectacular wedding ceremonies¹⁷. *DAS* does not elaborate on the customary practices of a wedding ceremony.¹⁸ The only activities described are the *tuda-ttudang*, which was held for three to seven nights, prior to the wedding day, depending on the financial means of the host.

Generally, the girl's parents together with an *imam* or *guru*, or other expert in interpreting the *kutika* or *bilang*, decided the most fortunate day for the wedding. The day was then made known to the groom's deputation. Jaspers (1925/1926:145-6) explains that a few days before the wedding took place the bridegroom sent gifts to the bride: a ring without a stone, the *tjinkara* (B.), some local fruits, a *sirih* box, a box of toiletries, ear studs and a gold hair pin decorated with flowers. Around three to four days before the wedding, the bride and the groom were isolated and sent to a house or room built especially for each of them, the *appasau* (B.) (Aminah 1995). All the necessary requirements were provided for the bride or groom until the big day. Only then were they allowed to be seen by other members of the family and guests. *DAS* mentions this:

29th June 1780:

"La Suwallé moved out to the *appasau*." (*DAS*:f.43r) (He married on 3rd July 1780).

15th June 1786:

"We begin the *tuda-ttudang*. I organised some games. I Céngkogo moved out to the *appasau*." (*DAS*:f.65r) (She married on 18th June 1786).

21st September 1788:

"Ténri Salésséq moved out to the *appasau*." (*DAS*:f.100v) (She married on 25th September 1788).

During the 'isolation' period, all the needs of the bride and groom were met by a specially assigned attendant. They are implicitly mentioned by *DAS*:

7th May 1789:

"Batara Tungkeq moved out to the *appasau*. I gave her one *jemma*. I began the *tuda-ttudang*. I organised a show." (*DAS*:f.105v)

¹⁷ Reid (1988:159-60) refers to one highborn Makasar lady who married at the age of thirteen for the first time. For the other eight aristocratic women whose births and marriage dates were mentioned in the Makassar court diary, their first marriages were at an average age of fifteen years nine months. In *DAS*, it mentions that the *Arumponé*'s eldest daughter, Batara Tungkeq, married at the age of fourteen (*DAS*:10th May 1789:f.105v).

¹⁸ A more elaborate discussion of weddings of the Bugis, Makasars, Mandars and the Torajans is provided by Aminah (1995). Millar (1989) also studied the weddings of the Bugis of Soppeng and analysed the mechanism of weddings as an arena in which to display one's social status.

8th November 1793:

“[...] I Bauq moved out to the *appasau* [...]. La Mappatunruq moved out to the *appasau*. I ordered La Raté to send one *jemma* named La Paséné to La Mappatunruq.” (*DAS*:f.140v)

However, the ostentatious ceremony itself is not described; the only mention of it relates to La Mappatunruq’s wedding, and even so it is noted only briefly:

12th November 1793:

“The wedding day of *Arung* Palakka and *Arung* Kaju, [there were] forty people as [his] witnesses [...]” (*DAS*:f.147v)

It appears that the diary’s author was little interested in describing the wedding ceremony. For the most part we are only informed that a wedding has taken place, and the omission of such a description restricts our information on court weddings in the late eighteenth century. Throughout twenty-one years, only in one entry does Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh give limited supplementary information about the wedding ceremony:

22nd January 1792:

“The wedding ceremony of Sirajuddin and Siti Aminah, *Syukur Alhamdulillah* [...]. The younger *Anakarung* dressed in robes and turbans [like a *haji*] in the ceremonial procession to escort the groom [to the bride’s house].” (*DAS*:f.125v)

The diary of the *Tomarilalang*, *DTM*, does not provide much detail on the wedding ceremony either. Nonetheless it offers a little information with regard to the clothing of the guests who attended the ceremony, described before and during the wedding feast of the *Arumponé*’s eldest daughter. For example:

9th May 1789:

“[...] *Arung* Sailong together with *Karaéng* Laikang and other [female] nobles still wore headscarves [and for the noblemen] *sigara* [a kind of headgear] [...]” (*DTM*:f.95r)

10th May 1789:

“[...] *Arung* Panning, *Arung* Téko and other nobles’ [ladies] still wear headscarves and [the noblemen] the *sigara*.” (*DTM*:f.95r)

DTM provides some additional information on the wedding ceremony of La Mappatunruq, the *Arumponé*’s eldest son, to I Bauq, the *Arung* of Kaju:

9th November 1793:

“*Arung* Data brought to the *Arumponé* a piece of *kalamkari* as a gift [from the bride] in return.” (*DTM*:f.126r)

10th November 1793:

“The guests have started to arrive to witness the wedding ceremony of *Arung* Palakka and *Arung* Kaju. The nobles performed a *pantun*¹⁹ contest.” (DTM:f.126r)

12th November 1793:

“*Arung* Palakka and *Arung* Kaju were married. Twenty escorts for the groom and twenty escorts for the bride. One person was assigned to give food [to the groom] and another as his manservant. The nobles recited *pantun* and songs.” (DTM:f.126r)

6.3.6 Traditional customs after the wedding ceremony

As most of these unions were arranged marriages, in some cases the couple needed to be reconciled. If the groom failed to coax the bride into accepting him, a mediator was needed to persuade the bride to submit (Matthes 1884:10). It appears from *DAS* that La Mappatunruq *Arung* Palakka, the eldest son of the *Arumponé*, had failed to ‘break the ice’ with his wife, perhaps as a result of shyness, and therefore the *Arumponé* ordered one of the nobles to intervene:

24th November 1793:

“I gave the order to *Arung* Téko to reconcile the couple. *Arung* Palakka gave to his wife one *jemma* after she began to communicate [with her husband]. *Barakallah*.” (DAS:f.140v)

Another custom reflected in the diary is for the newly-wed couple to pay their respects to the *Arumponé* and the Queen a few days after their marriage ceremony. Almost all those whose marriages are mentioned, whether his relatives or nobles, paid a visit and presented gifts to the king and queen. The number of gifts and the kind of gifts received would differ, with blood ties and status playing a part (see Chapter 6.8.2).

DAS also tells us that a gathering took place to witness the listing of property each spouse brought to the marriage. This is an indication of awareness that the marriage may not work, and divorce could ensue. By listing what the bride and the groom had and what they brought into the marriage, it would be easier to divide the jointly-acquired property if divorce could not be avoided. On this, *DAS* states:

¹⁹ *Pantun* is a kind of poetry performed through singing. It is the art of rhetoric that is practised in Indonesia (and Malaysia), and was traditionally used to educate young people by the elders and by young people during courting. The people in the western part of Indonesia (Sumatra, Java, Bali, etc.) perform the *pantun* while sitting down in a circle. In the eastern part of Indonesia, such as the Ambons, Irian and Sulawesi, they are performed in a freer manner (sitting down, standing up, even while dancing). (Personal communication with Petta Awampone Andi Mappassissi, at Watampone, 1999).

Addendum 1783:

“These are the possessions of *Arung Madello* that she brought with her at the time she was married: a set of *bosaraq* [a kind of container, B.], a bracelet with zircon, a set of necklaces, a pair of *bosaraq* covers, a set of bracelets [...], a pair of necklaces [*relleq*, B.], two wooden necklaces; one broad and another was wiry, a small basket, a big *pao jéngki* with gold cover, one silver kettle plated with gold, a *salabetta* [a kind of drinking container, B.] with gold cover and silver saucer [...], a hair ornament made of gold [...], two standing *bosara* [...] a pair of rings, two arm decorations, two smaller arm decorations with jewels [jade], three ruby rings, one diamond ring [...].” (*DAS*:f.67v)

5th December 1793:

“*Arung Palakka* together with his wife came to the *baruga*, he wore a *topé* and [he] was shaded by an umbrella. The *Anréguru Anakarung*, husband and wife, were present and [they] sat together with *Arung Téko*, husband and wife, [whilst] *Datu Boliq* listed down all property belonging to *Arung Kaju* prior to marrying [to *Arung Palakka*].” (*DAS*:f.141r)

6th December 1793:

“[...] The *Anréguru Anakarung* husband and wife were present and they sat together with *Arung Teko*, both husband and wife, whilst *Datu Boliq* listed down all property belonging to *Arung Palakka* that he had prior to his marriage [to *Arung Kaju*].” (*DAS*:f.141r)²⁰

6.3.7 Divorce and polygamy among members of the court of Boné

DAS reveals that some of these marriages ended in divorce. Millar (1989) in her study of the Soppengers’ marriages states that one divorce takes place for every four marriages among the Bugis.²¹ In Islamic jurisprudence the annulment of marriage, *talak* (Ar.), or divorce, could be done either by a pronouncement or in writing. Within marriage, the *talak* could be pronounced up to three times. The third time, the couple lost the chance of reunion, unless the ex-wife married another man and was later divorced, *nikah muhalil* (Ar.) (Aminah 1995:46). Example of this, however, are absent from the diary. In addition, Matthes says that in the kingdom of Luwuq, matters concerning divorces of the kings were described in old poems. When, for example, a queen wished to divorce her consort, this occurred by mutual consent and, after the pronouncement of the *talak*, both took a bath to wash away the marriage, symbolising the end of a relationship and the beginning of a new life (Matthes 1884:11).

²⁰ A detail of *Arung Palakka La Mappatunruq*’s properties were found listed in *DAS* (f.187r).

²¹ Millar obtained her statistical data for 1967 to 1975 (Millar 1989:196-7).

DAS records only five divorces for the period of twenty-one years; for example:

29th May 1784:

“[...] My uncle, *Arung* Ngamali [sic.:Amali] had divorced [his wife], I Rabida. *Wakafabillahi syahiida.*” (*DAS*:f.70v)

2nd September 1784:

“[...] The *suro* of Duri came as instructed by the *Maqdanrang* to bring me a letter [which] informed on the departure of the *Anréguru Anakarung* together with the *jemma tongngeng* to Luwuq to send a notice on the annulment of the marriage between the *Datu* of Soppeng with *Arung* Apala [...].” (*DAS*:f.72v)

25th November 1793:

“[...] I ordered La Masi to visit *Arung* Timurung [Batara Tungkeq] and at the same time also brought along with him [La Masi] the divorce notice from *Arung* Mampu Riaja to her [Batara Tungkeq].” (*DAS*:f.140v)

These few entries suggest that the incidence of divorce among members of the Boné court was low. Perhaps the interventions of the *Arumponé*, who acted not only as a ruler but also as an advocate in family matters, had some degree of influence on the rate of divorce, and his mediation may have helped to restore the relationships. For example, in relation to the conflicts that arose between *Karaéng* Bontomasugi and her husband, *Datu* Baringang, we learn that the former was brought back to her family's home by the order of the *Arumponé*:

7th June 1779:

“Both *Karaéng* Bontolangkasaq and *Karaéng* Data arrived [at *Karaéng* Bontomasugi's house] to get her. My niece [*Karaéng* Bontomasugi] was brought to Matoanging. I gave her 20 *réal* [and] one silver tray [...].” (*DAS*:f.36r)

It appears that the couple lived apart for a short period of slightly more than two weeks, presumably to give them more time to make a considered decision. Regarding this, *DAS* reports:

25th June 1779:

“This is the statement made by [*Karaéng*] Bontomasugi with regards to her desire: ‘Although I still have feelings for you [*Datu* Baringang], nevertheless, your [actions] have thwarted me, therefore, I stand [to pursue] for the divorce.’ ” (*DAS*:f.36r)

From these entries, we learn that the annulments of marriage which occurred among members of the court indicate the prerogative of the female sex, and they illustrate the

eloquence and poise of court women in the late eighteenth-century. The court diary of seventeenth-century Makassar, however, shows a pattern of frequent divorces at the top level of society, in which political and property-related motivations were, perhaps, more important than feelings. One example is that of *Karaéng* Ballajawaya, born in 1634 to one of the highest Makassar lineages. At the age of thirteen she married *Karaéng* Bontomarannu, and twelve years later she divorced. Soon after, she married *Karaéng* Karunrung. In 1666, aged thirty-one, she separated from him, and two years later she married *Arung* Palakka Malampéq-é Gemmeqna. Then at thirty-six she divorced, and eventually died at the age of eighty-six (Sjahrudin Kaseng et al 1987:95-99; Reid 1988:152-53).

Although several entries record issues of divorce, only in one entry are we told the cause:

11th December 1792:

“The *Anréguru Anakarung* came with his wife and reported to me that Tenri Salesseq could not [any longer] bear Yusuf’s attitude. Both, Yusuf and Tenri Saleseq, conflicted [in their relationship]. I ordered the *tau tongeng* and the *jennang bola* to deal with their [request for a] divorce.” (*DAS*:f.131r)

Gervaise (1971:114) comments that most marriages were dissolved due to infidelity. Nevertheless, no such cases are reported in *DAS*. Pelras (Pelras 1981:174) says that in pre-Islamic South Sulawesi, fornication with a married woman of the upper class was punishable with death, and that the *adat* law was referred to, which sometimes simply corresponded with the *syari’ah* law. According to *syari’ah* law, those found guilty of committing adultery should be publicly stoned to death, and for those who were still unmarried, the crime of adultery is punishable with one hundred lashes. However, in *DAS*, fornication or rape does not seem to have been severely punished:

26th October 1780:

“I Mida informed me that I Tobia had given birth and that *Arung* Kalibo had impregnated her. I ordered La Opo to inform the *Tomarilalang*.” (*DAS*:f.45r)

19th April 1786:

“Puang Batara Tungkeq informed me that I Sino had been impregnated by I Saléng.” (*DAS*:f.84r)

6th November 1794:

“Petta I Lémpang informed me on the wrongdoings of I Masira and La Sangaji, and she [I Masira] is pregnant [...].” (*DAS*:f.147v)

The only punishment we learnt of was for the man to take the pregnant girl as his wife,²² as stated in one entry:

22nd April 1786:

“I Sino received her bride’s price, 88 *réal*, from the person who had impregnated her, La Saléng.” (*DAS*:f.84r)

For those who had been accused of adultery, a trial needed to be carried out before the *kadi*, as stipulated by the *adat*, and mentioned by the *Maqdanrang* in his diary:²³

Addendum 1792:

“[...] These are the words that I heard [witnessed] that the *Tomarilalang* uttered to the *Maqkedangétana*: ‘If a person who has been accused of committing adultery is put to trial, the *kadi*, in whatever circumstances, must be present [...]’ and so this was the case for the *Maqkedangnetana* [that he needs to fulfil] that I have seen and it was what has been contemplated by the *Puwattaq* [the *Arumponé*].” (*DoM*:f.23r)

A person who was found guilty of committing incest would be put to death by drowning (Hamonic 1975:125; Braam-Morris 1892:162; *Adatrechtbundels* 1929:230, 241; Matthes 1872b:2). Only once does *DAS* mention incest:

23rd April 1777:

“A man, who was accused to committing incest with his sister, was brought in front of me by [*Arung*] Macégé. I ordered both of them to be put to death by drowning.” (*DAS*:f.21r)

In a society based upon hierarchical status, a noble man who wanted to have more than one wife needed to inform the *Arumponé* of his wish. Although it seems to have been a personal matter, it is evident that the *Arumponé* required to be informed by the person, and if they failed to do so they would face consequences for their disrespect:

3rd May 1783:

“The *Suléwatang* of Bontoala came to bring the *sosoq* [fines] from *Arung Kaju*, one *kati* one *tai* because he had taken another wife [without informing me earlier]. He [*Arung Kaju*]

²² However, in one of the Bugis sources, the *Attoriolonna Boné*, states the penalty for the crime of rape: “[...] if the victim was a virgin [and the rapist a man of rank], the fine imposed on the rapist is 1 *tai*; if both are commoners, the fines is 1 *tai* 4 *réal*; if the victim is a slave, the fines is 2 *réal* [...]” (*ANRI UP* Roll 43 No.4)

²³ As in Banten, the law that was applied in Boné constituted a combination of *syari’ah* rulings and customary regulations (*adat*). With such a situation, it appears that the *kali* or *kadi* was not the sole authority in legal matters, and that there was an overlap between his authority and that of other high officials.

requested that I forgive him and so I did and I allowed him to put his *kris* on [again].” (*DAS*:f.63v)

Although Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh kept a diary recording a variety of events continuously over twenty-one years, not a single entry suggests that he ever practiced polygamy, or had any concubines. Such practices were common among rulers and nobles in the past, and are so in the present day.²⁴ Although Islam permits up to four wives at one time, we do not know whether Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh had other wives as well as Wè Tenripada. It seems unusual, though, for a man of status and wealth to have had only one woman throughout his life. Furthermore, the diary entries prove that the *Arumponé* himself gave slave women as gifts to the Dutch Governor and to the Dutch Admiral, perhaps for their pleasure (*DAS*, 14th June 1775:f.8r; 19th August 1787:f.93r; 16th July 1790:f.113v). For these reasons it is unlikely that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh had no involvement with other women, even though there is no entry to prove this. However, we may speculate that to include such a declaration in the diary would undermine the *Arumponé*'s image as a devout Muslim.

6.4 *DAS* on non-material culture

6.4.1 Performing arts

One cultural aspect that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh deemed worthy of mentioning in his diary is the performing art of dance. In the past, when the Bugis kingdoms of Luwuq and Boné were at the height of their supremacy, dancing was taught in the palaces to those of noble birth. From an early age, the children of the nobles were attended by the palace masseur or *sanro*, a traditional medic, and given massage *nirekko* (B.), and manipulation to make their body supple and graceful when dancing (Halilintar 1983:15). In the court of Boné, when each noble child reached a certain age, he or she was sent away to learn court etiquette, self-defence and dancing.²⁵

Gervaise states:

“[...] for fear of laziness should corrupt the good inclinations of their children, they keep them continually employed so soon as they come from school [...] they have their set hours to learn to dance, to exercise themselves in running, and

²⁴ An example of this is the Brunei monarchy. The present ruler of Brunei, His Majesty Sultan Haji Hasanah Bolkiah Muizzaddin Waddaulah, had two official wives, the first of whom is of royal blood and the second a commoner. Recently His Majesty officially divorced his second wife and she was stripped of all titles once granted her (*Utusan Malaysia* 4th February 2003).

²⁵ Halilintar (1983) provides this information but gives no details of where and to whom the children were sent for their education.

several other sports that are usual among people of quality.”
(Gervaise 1971:65)

The requirement is illustrated by the account below:

9th March 1780:

“I ordered *Daéng* Niaseng to send I Dida to see *Arumponé* because she is going to be made a *paqjaga* [dancer].”
(DTM:f.31r)

DAS implicitly mentions that there were certain persons who were responsible for educating children of the court. Although it mentions no specific number, the diary informs us that they were given distinctive roles. Some would teach the children dancing:

7th February 1785:

“I instructed La Gawuq to begin working [building walls] on the grave of my teacher as well as for the grave of the *Anakarung*’s *akkalioq* dance teacher [...]” (DAS:f.76r)

6.4.2 The types of dances and their purposes

Dancing is often mentioned in *DAS* in relation to celebrations and rite of passage ceremonies. A number of forms of dance are mentioned in *DAS*, but it is unclear whether they were generic, or specific to particular occasions. Almost all of these dances blended sport and music, games and combat, physical feats and aesthetic movement. In all, seven types of dance are mentioned: *jaga*, *séré*, *kalauq*, *pasémpeq*, *akkalioq*, *jogéq*, and *salonréng*.

In general, the *jaga* dance is mentioned in conjunction with most rites of passage. The word ‘*paqjaga*’ is derived from ‘*jaga*’ (B.), which means to stay awake (*Adatrechtbundels* 1919:273; Matthes 1874:454). On the occasion of weddings and other rites of passage, such as food initiation, circumcision, ear-piercing, tooth-filing, engagements and other ceremonies, entertainment activities would be held by the hosts to keep their guests awake for a certain number of nights before the main event took place.

The *jaga* dance is performed by both men and women. Whilst Halilintar (1983:28-36) distinguishes ten varieties of ‘*jaga*’,²⁶ there are only two types of ‘*jaga*’ dance

²⁶ These are: *Paqjaga Innawa Mapatakk*, *Paqjaga Tongka Tolo*, *Paqjaga Lili*, *Paqjaga Mutaro*, *Paqjaga Bonéballa*, *Paqjaga Lumondo*, *Paqjaga Gilireng Makkunrai*, *Paqjaga Pakkanna* or *Paqjaga Gilireng*, *Paqjaga Wélado Boné* and *Maqjaga*.

according to Petta Awampone²⁷: that performed by dancers for the commoners, and that performed especially for the nobles at court (Holt 1939:93-95). The latter is performed exclusively for the *Arumponé* or others of noble birth, and is called the *paqjaga* Welado. The dance derived its name from the village of Welado, in Boné, from where the first selected troops of palace guards and Boné warriors came.²⁸ The *paqjaga* Welado dance portrays a warrior's might on the battlefield. Its movements and steps make it a gentler form than the *jaga* for commoners. Relating to this, the diary mentions:

31st January 1781:

"I invited the *paqjaga* of Welado and [also] the people of Ujung to perform the *jaga* dance." (DAS:f.47v)

The other *jaga* is usually performed among the commoners. It appears that there was always an even number of dancers in the *jaga* dance. At Luwuq there were between six and twelve dancers, whereas at other courts, including Boné, they could number between two and forty.

Performances of dancing, hosted by the *Arumponé*, did not only serve as entertainment. Dance performances were an exclusive kind of entertainment which were a 'gift' to the spectators or recipients. In one instance in the diary, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh had his dancers perform the '*jaga*' dance in return for the deeds that his subjects had done for him. One of the many examples is the entry on 21st November 1779, which reports that the people of Binamo brought Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh some rice and chickens. Three days later the king writes:

24th November 1779

"I held an [entertainment] show, the *jaga* dance, for the people of Binamo, [the dancers were] a pair of female and a pair of male dancers." (DAS:f.38v)

A number of times, the *jaga* dance is reported in DAS:

13th November 1779:

"The *jennang* of Bantaeng brought one hundred *gantang* of rice. [The nobles of] Baranaq and Beroanging also came to bring me some rice and chickens. I held some games and *jaga* dancing performed by the people of Malasaro, two pairs of dancers." (DAS:f.38v)

²⁷ Personal communication, Petta Awampone at Watampone, Kabupaten Boné, on 23rd September 1999.

²⁸ In relation to this, Halilintar explains that there is another type of *paqjaga* dance known as the *Paqjaga Boné Balla*. This is performed exclusively by members of the royal court. Only if there is a deficiency in number of dancers would the other court dancers of non-royal birth be able to fulfil the shortage (Halilintar 1983:33).

7th December 1784:

“*Karaéng* Balakeri came to invite Puang Batara Tungkeq and me to her house. *Karaéng* Balakeri presented to Puang Batara Tungkeq one *tail* [...] [In return] I entertained [*Karaéng* Balakeri] with *jaga* dancing [...]” (*DAS*:f.74r)

19th February 1787:

“The wife of *Inataué*²⁹ of Binamo came to bring some glutinous rice and local cakes to me. I entertained her with *jaga* dancing performed by three pairs of female dancers and a pair of male dancers.” (*DAS*:f.90r)

Apart from the *jaga* dance, *DAS* tells us about the *séré*. The *séré* was originally a kind of dance from the kingdom of Bulu-Bulu, nowadays part of Kabupaten Sinjai. The word *séré* means ‘to meander’, ‘to move about with no direction’ (Halilintar 1983:18). The dancers, both male and female, were led by a *sanro* or *bissu*, and their number depended on the kind of ceremony being held and the hierarchical status of the host. The dancers had a number of props: a fan, called *simpa*, a *kris* or a shield, a chintz veil, and a kind of walking stick called *patéko*. Their costume was *baju bodo*, sarongs with red and black stripes, a veil and other accessories. Halilintar (1983) distinguishes four different types of *sséré* dance, namely *sséré Marumatang*, *sséré Menre’ ri Aléwanua*, *sséré Mappadaung Aradjang* and *sséré Kasuwiayang*. Unfortunately, none of these specific varieties is mentioned in *DAS*, only the generic *sséré*:

22nd April 1780:

“[...] *Arung* Mampu stood up and *sséré* [and] I [also] requested *Arung* Ponre to [perform the *sséré* dance].” (*DAS*:f.42r)

Another dance mentioned in the diary is *salonréng*. The term originates from the Kabupaten of Bulukumba, and means ‘to live in peace and harmony’, in contrast with its meaning of ‘veil’ in the Makasar language. From *DAS*, it is clear that this kind of dance was also performed at weddings during the ‘wake-gathering’ occasion:

20th September 1793:

“[...] the overnight gathering, ‘*tuda-ttudang*’, at the *baruga* began. I stood up to play [perform] the *salonréng* [...]” (*DAS*:f.139v)

21st September 1793:

“We sat together at the *baruga*. I stood up to play [perform] the *salonréng*. The *jemma* performed the *jaga* dance for me.” (*DAS*:f.139v)

²⁹ *Inataué* is a local headman.

Another form of dancing found in *DAS* is the *paqjogéq*, derived from the word *jogéq*, also meaning ‘to dance’. According to Halilintar’s sources (1983:44), *jogéq* was created in the Boné area in the early seventeenth century during the reign of the tenth *Arumponé*, a queen named Wé Tenri Tuppu *Arung* Timurung, posthumously known as *Matinroé ri Sidenreng*. The queen had her own troupe of *paqjogéq* and *paqjaga* dancers. Halilintar states the *jogéq* dancing is popular among peasants (1983:43-49) and at a party where *jogéq* is held, one must take care not to get in the way of the dancers, as this could have alarming consequences: according to the *adat*, the intruder could be killed at once. This was called *niléja tédung* (B.), which means “trampled by a buffalo” (Holt 1939:92). Matthes issues a similar caution:

“[...] we come through a kampong, where some regal *padjogéq*’s or public dancing girls are feverishly dancing in the open air, with a *pangibing*, or man, who has paid for the pleasure. Be warned against walking straight through the middle of them; this would be considered a grave insult, and the *pangibing* would be wholly within his rights if he were to draw his dagger and stab you [...]” (Matthes 1885, quoted in *Adatrechtbundels* 1929: 248)

In Boné there are thirteen different styles or steps of *paqjogéq* dance, among others the *mangellung*, *ballung*, *matappo*, *majangkala*, *malebba*, *matteka* and *mangibeng* (Halilintar 1983:47). The *pagjogéq ballung* appears to be the most interesting for the audience. At this stage, a male audience member has the chance to dance with any of the dancers that he is interested in, *kontaq* (B.). If the dancer responds favourably, she would advance towards him, the *pangibing* (B.), from whom she receives money or other gifts as ‘payment’ for dancing with him (Halilintar 1983:47; Holt 1939:89-92). Such enjoyment is reported in the diary, as the *jogéq* dance was also appreciated by the upper echelons. Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh mentions organising the *jogéq* entertainment for his nobles:

4th December 1779:

“I arrived at Bulukumba [...] *Karaéng* Balakéri gave me one *jemma* (slave) and a feast of one buffalo and a *gantang* of rice. [In return] I held a display of *paqjogéq*.” (*DAS*:f.39r)

9th August 1782:

“I arranged the *jogéq* entertainment.” (*DAS*:f.58r)

In addition to the *jogéq*, *DAS* also mentioned the *akkalioq* dance:

11th June 1781:

“The *Anakarung* are learning the *akkalioq* dance.” (*DAS*:f.50r)

14th March 1785:

“The *Anakarung* performed the *akkalioq* in front of the palace.” (DAS:f.78r)

16th November 1785:

“I went across to the *baruga* together with Puang Batara Tungkeq. I asked the children to perform the *akkalioq*.” (DAS:f.80v)

Halilintar (1983) gives further insights about this dance, which he says was popular at the end of the fourteenth centuries in the kingdoms of Tondong and Bulu-Bulo, now in Kabupaten of Sinjai (1983:53). Originally, the *akkalioq* dance was performed to welcome guests of honour. It derives its name from *kalio*, the shield used as a weapon of attack and defence. Its movements mirror the prowess and skill of men at war, using the shield as a prop, suggesting that *akkalioq* may resemble the *pencak* or *mencak* dance, which is directly influenced by masculine gestures. Generally, the gestural references of *akkalioq* or *pencak* correspond with expressions of challenge, courage, audacity, power and physical or mental confidence (Bouvier 1990:27; Holt 1939:97-98). In relation to this, Crawford points out that when Bugis swore an oath, *mangngaruq* (B.)³⁰ declared war or ran amok, they danced. He suggests that this was perhaps a means of channelling emotion, concentrating energies and, to a lesser extent, assuming some of the character of the spirits (Crawford 1820 (I):122-23).

The martial theme is also evident in the *pasémpeq*, which resembles a duel more than a dance. This form of performance is reported in DAS:

21st August 1776:

“I organised the *mappasémpeq* event.” (DAS:f.16r)

In the *pasémpeq*, two male participants run at each other, leap in the air as they meet in the middle, and attempt to strike one another with their legs. Perhaps this type of dance should be understood more as a game than a dance; Halilintar states that the *pasémpeq* entertainment is usually held in conjunction with the sea festival, *Pesta Laut* (Id.) (Halilintar 1983:57).

The accompaniment to dancing was provided mainly by drums, *ganrang* (B.), usually varying in number from one to three pairs. Gervaise, however, provides further information on the musical instruments played, which were:

“[...] trumpets that have no variation of sound; drums [...] and a sort of violin [...] which [...] yield[s] different sounds,

³⁰ For further discussion of *mangngaruq* see Chapter 6.7.

pleasing enough the first time you hear them but not to be endured for the second.” (Gervaise 1971:70)

The drummers, *paganréng* (B.) or *paganrang* (Mak.), could not be lacking from any feast. They too were highly esteemed members of Bugis-Makasar society; their job was difficult to master, and being an accomplished drummer was an art. Sometimes the job was transferred from father to son, and sometimes a drummer had apprentices (Friedericicy 1933:517).

In most situations when a noble of Boné planned to hold any feast which might include entertainment activities, the *adat* demanded that the *Arumponé* be informed, and gave ‘consent’. Although the diary reports only one such event, it is nevertheless clear that organising a feast, like everything else, was subject to the hierarchical structure of the society:

10th July 1782:

“[...] my nephew, *Datu Boliq*, hold the *jogéq* entertainment at his house, which I have given him the consent prior to the event.” (*DAS*:f.57v)

6.5 Scribal activities

In many societies in Southeast Asia, literature was transmitted both orally and in written form. Among the Bugis, there seems to have been no clear boundary between oral and written literature: they existed alongside one another and cross-borrowing between the written and oral traditions was extensive (Pelras 1979). Written texts, for example, often bear witness to an oral narrative tradition, whilst many orally transmitted texts appear to be based on written materials.

Prior to the sixteenth century, writing was done on strips of *lontar* leaf. With the coming of Europeans to Indonesia, European paper, which came in greater quantity and was of higher quality, was introduced to the area, which as a result encouraged local creative writings (Jones 1986:140; Tol 1996:21). *DAS* mentions that paper, *karatasaq* (B.), was among the gifts presented to Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh:

23rd October 1779:

“[...] La Matotorang came to bring me papers [...].” (*DAS*:f.38r)

4th June 1790:

“*Daéng* Mangati came to visit me by the order of the Governor and brought me two reams of paper, candles, rock sugar, tea and coffee.” (*DAS*:f.113r)

In another entry, it is mentioned that paper was also sent on the request of the *Arumponé*:

5th November 1788:

“The paper [that I have asked for] has arrived, sent by the Assistant Resident.” (*DAS*:f.101v)

We can see from the diary that activities related to literature were actively pursued in the court. Some entries from *DAS* confirm that special persons of quality, the literati, *To'panrita* (B.) or *To'sulésana*, who were highly respected, were assigned to educate the court's children. In addition to religious education,³¹ the children of the elite group were instructed in administration, war strategy and the skills of horse-riding and combat. Hamonic states that with the coming of Islam to South Sulawesi, the religious curriculum taught to the children of the court comprised four degrees: *angngaji*, the teaching and knowledge of the holy-*Qur'an*; *assarapaq*, the teaching and knowledge of Arabic grammar (*syaraf*, Ar.); *assaréa*, the teaching of the laws of Islam (*syari'at*, Ar.) in Arabic or Bugis-Makasar languages written in Arabic script; and lastly *attaréka*, the teaching of the spiritual life and of spiritual truth (*haqiqat*, Ar.) (Hamonic 1985:179). Although the last two were limited to a number of smaller groups who were interested in a deeper understanding of religion, there was clearly a special curriculum to equip the younger members of the court with particular skills (Gervaise 1971:63-5, 74).

Mattulada (1985) states that in the court of Gowa, especially during the ruling period of Gowa's tenth ruler, *Karaéng* Tunipallangga, a special court office called *Tumakkajannangang ana'bura'né* was created. Among its responsibilities was to see that the children of noble birth received a proper education based on their talents. In addition, the office of *Tumakkajannangang ana'bura'né* was involved in educating children who stood to inherit official positions, and these children were allowed to attend meetings with the Councils of *Adat* and express their opinions, as part of their training to become officials and regents (Mattulada 1985:13-14).

6.5.1 The literary activities in the court of Boné

In *DAS* it can be seen that literary activity in the court of Boné concerned itself exclusively with Islamic matters. Literary work included the copying of the *Qur'an* and other religious books, materials pertaining to Islamic jurisprudence, *tasawwuf* (a branch of Islamic knowledge which focuses on the spiritual development of the Muslim

³¹ Religious education would probably be a later addition to the curriculum, after the kingdoms had already accepted Islam.

individual) and texts of sermons. The only literary activity that was free from religious notions was the translation of letters from Bugis to Malay and to Dutch, and *vice-versa*.

Mattulada (1985) observes that works translated into Bugis and Makasar include letters and also religious books, many of which were originally in the Malay language. Many religious works in the Arabic language were introduced to South Sulawesi during the Islamic expansion of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Some of these works are still used today by the Bugis and Makasars: the *lontaraq* that narrate the marriage of Prophet Muhammad's (Peace Be Upon Him) daughter, Fatimah, and Ali; the *lontaraq* of *Nabi Yusuf* and the love story of Laila and Majnun; the *Lontaraq Pau-paunna Sultanul Injilai*; the *Budi Istihara*; the *Kitta Faraid* (the book on the rights of inheritance); the *Kitta Nika* (the book on marriage); the *Lontaraqna Séhé Maradang* [Syekh Mardan], and so on. (Mattulada 1985:28)

Information relating to literary activities contained in *DAS* can be categorised as follows:

The copying of the *Qur'an* and other religious books:

1st November 1785:

"I ordered *khatib* La Sakka to make a copy of a *kitab* named *Fasal Hakimat*." (*DAS*:f.80v)

18th May 1792:

"[...] *Haji* La Tunruq begins copying the *Qur'an* which I have ordered him to do and he has copied up to [the verses of] *Al-Kursi* [آ لكرسى]. *Barakallah* [...]" (*DAS*:f.127v)

5th August 1792:

"The *khatib* came to bring the *muqaddam* which I had ordered him to make a copy of and now it is ready. *Barakallah*." (*DAS*:f.129r)

Illuminations:

According to Johns (1996:40), the need to make copies of the holy books – *muqaddam* and *al-Qur'an* – developed a new branch of art in Arabic manuscripts, or at least rudimentary skills in calligraphy. In addition to such activities, *DAS* also shows that illumination work on the *Qur'an* was carried out in the court of Boné:

3rd February 1789:

"La Balada has finished illuminating the *Qur'an* which I have instructed him [to do]." (*DAS*:f.104r)

The works of translation:

Since the fifteenth century, the Malay language has been used as the *lingua franca* in the Malay-archipelago. Using the Malay language was therefore not something new to the Bugis and Makasars, because the port city at Makassar had been an important commercial centre of east Indonesia, it had a diverse multi-ethnic population, and the Malay language had been spoken in the city for centuries (Villiers 1990). As most official communication between the king of Boné and the Dutch Governor was through letters which were translated from Malay to Dutch and *vice-versa*, the work of translation was the most essential duty performed by the court scribes and interpreters. The translation of letters between the Dutch and Boné is mentioned in *DAS*:

21st September 1779:

“Daéng Majarréki came to inform [me] that he has not yet finished translating the [Bugis] letter into Malay.” (*DAS*:f.37v)

21st December 1791:

“I Dépo came and brought along with him a letter [regarding] of status of the paddy-field that was claimed from me by the people of Belang-Belang. The letter was written in Dutch and I ordered it to be translated into Bugis.” (*DAS*:f.124r)

9th May 1792:

“I read the Company’s letter [which was sent] to Boné [that had been translated] into the Bugis language [...]” (*DAS*:f.127v)

On the Dutch side, translation work is evident in sources, in most cases identified in the headings of the records:

“Translation of a letter written in Malay [by the scribe, Abdul Rahman, and the interpreter, La Paséré] by [the order of] the king of Boné to the Governor General and *Raad van Indie* [Committee of India] in November 1787.” (*ANRI Mak.14a. Secrete en aparte aankomende brieven en bijlagen, 1785-1808*)

“Translation of the secret [Malay] letter presented by *Arung Tibojong*, the Ambassador of the king of Boné, in person to the Governor-General, Arnold Alting, on 8th June 1788.” (*ANRI Mak.14b. Secrete en aparte aankomende brieven en bijlagen 1785-1808*)

“[A] Translation of a Malay letter from the king of Boné, and the *Wazier* [Prime Minister] of Boné to the Government in Batavia, on the 31st October 1788.” (*ANRI Mak.14c. Secrete en aparte aankomende brieven en bijlagen 1785-1808*)

In addition to the scribal activities mentioned above, it is interesting to discover that the *Arumponé* had himself composed some works of prose and poetry. One of his well-known prose works is the book named *Nur Al-Haady ila Tariqa al-Rasyaad* (Ar.), “The Light of Guidance Towards the Path of Wisdom”, which he completed at the age of thirty-two (*PNI MS.VT* 23:2; Bruinessen 1999:293). In its preface, the *Arumponé* professes that the work on *Nur al-Haady* is based upon his readings and personal understanding of religious works of other Muslim scholars. He mentions, among them, Syeikh Yusuf,³² who was also known by the honorific title of *Salokona Khalwatiyyah*, ‘Crown of the *Khalwatiyyah*’, as well as his teacher, *Pekki Yusuf*, who was the *kadi* of Boné.³³

The book, *Nur al Haady*, is classified as a book on *Tasawwuf* (mystical knowledge) as it focuses its discussions on the spiritual development of a Muslim to gain proximity to God (*PNI MS.VT* 23:2-26; *MS. A.108*; Andi Muhammad Ali 1999:1-15). In addition to *Nur al-Haady*, the *Arumponé* appears to have spent some time making copies of other religious books, among them the *Kitab Sirāj al-Qalbi* (*PNI MS.VT* 23:26-108).

The *kadi* of Boné was among other Boné officials who were given the responsibility of making copies of a series of works in Arabic and Bugis, many of which were the works of Syeikh Yusuf (*PNI MS. Catalogue No.108*). In addition, works of poetry such as *toloq*, *ossong* and *élong* were among other scribal works produced at court. *DAS* mentions two kinds of poetic works, *toloq* and *ossong*, probably composed by, or under the instruction of, the *Arumponé*:

27th December 1779:

“[...] La Pétaq begins writing the *toloq* which I have asked him to do.” (*DAS*:f.39r)

24th December 1790:

“[...] La Pétaq begins writing the *toloq* that I have asked him.” (*DAS*:f.116r)

³² From his own writings, Syeikh Yusuf is known to have been a *tariqa* teacher. He had spent around two decades in Arabia, studying under teachers such as Ibrahim al-Kurani in Madinah and Ayyub al-Khalwati in Damascus. He had received initiations in several *tariqa*, most notably the *Khalwatiyyah*, *Naqsyabandiyya*, *Shattariyyah*, *Qadiriyyah* and *Ba'alawiyyah* and had been given permission to teach them. After the fall of Gowa to the Dutch and its ally, Boné, Syeikh Yusuf left Makassar to reside in Banten. He became a close associate and adviser of Sultan Abul Fath Abdul Fattah, also known as Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa (Tudjimah 1997).

³³ Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh also mentions other names, apart from Yusuf Bogor, such as Muhammad b. ‘Abd Al-Karim Al-Samani, ‘Abd Al-Rahim b. ‘Abd Al-Latif, Mustafa Al-Bakri, ‘Abd Al-Latif Afandi, ‘Ali Afandi Qirbas, Khair Al-Din Al-Kharqani, Muhyi Al-Din Al-Qas and Isma’il Al-Jurumi (Bruinessen 1999:294).

In the *Addendum* for 1793, *DAS* includes an *ossong* of fifty-eight cantos, which reveals the apprehensions felt by the *Arumponé*, though at the same time he derides those who claim to be brave before their courage is tested in battle (*DAS*:f.141v-142r). Alongside scribal activities, *DAS* reveals that teachings and discussions on topics pertaining to Islamic (*sufi*) mysticism were actively conducted in the court. Indeed, some of the entries in the diary reveal the *Arumponé*'s interest in such themes:

27th January 1785:

"I had a discussion with *Haji Apala* and [I] asked him to read a *kitab* [religious book] for *La Petaq* and *La Butung* [...]." (*DAS*:f.75v)

22nd October 1792:

"I requested the *imam* of *Bontoala* to give me a lecture [based] on [the *kitab*, titled] '*Minhaj*'. I also requested the *khatib*, *Haji Téko*, to deliver a lecture [based] on [the *kitab*, titled] '*Durra*'. The lecture [based] on [the *kitab*] '*Minhaj*' was delivered by *La Ranréng*, whilst *La Pahara* read out the [*kitab*] '*Durra*'." (*DAS*:f.130v)

29th June 1794:

"I asked the *imam* of *Boné* to read the *Pésséréq* [Ar., *Tafsir* or Exegesis] and I listened to it. I also asked him to preach [based] on the [*kitab*] '*Minhaj*'." (*DAS*:f.145r)

The last two entries quoted above refer to the religious books (*kitab*, Ar.), *Durra* and *Minhaj*, which were used in the discussions.³⁴ *DAS* also indicates the *Arumponé*'s interest in Islamic mysticism when it states that the *Arumponé* received gifts of (*tariqa*) books.³⁵

26th November 1777:

"The *kadi* gave me a *kitab* on *Naqsyabandiah*³⁶ along with another *kitab* that was written by *Tuanta Salamaq* [Syeikh Yusuf]. *Barakallah*." (*DAS*:f.24v)

³⁴ Although there exist a few works whose titles begin with *Durra* or *Minhaj*, in the above entry the *Durra* is likely to be the *Al-Durra al-Fākhīrah*, a work on *sufism* that was studied by Syeikh Yusuf under the guidance of 'Abd ar-Rahman Jamī (Heer 1979). The author of *al-Durra al-Fākhīrah* was Nūr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Ahmad al-Jamī, born in Kharjird, a town in the district of Jām (in the northeast corner of the province of Qūhistān near the Heart River, Central Asia), on 23rd Sha'bān 817H/1414 9 (Heer 1979:1, 23). The *Minhaj* could be the *Minhaj al-'Abidin*, a *sufi* work by the great Abu Hamid Ghazali. There was another famous religious book, the *Minhaj al-Talibin* by Yahya b. Sharaf al-Din al-Nawawi, but this was a book on *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence). (Personal communication, Prof. Bruinessen in May 2003.)

³⁵ *Tariqa*, from the plural of *thuruq*, which means paths, is primarily a distinct set of spiritual techniques and devotional practices. The same word is also used as a synonym for 'school', 'brotherhood', or 'order' of mystical Sufis.

³⁶ *Naqsyabandiah* is one of the many *tariqa* (*sufi* or mystical orders) which has substantial followers world-wide.

Perhaps, too, presents of books given by the *sharif* of Mecca to Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh contained similar notions on Islamic *sufism* (*DAS*, 30th September 1780:44r; *DAS*, 7th June 1791:120r). Andi Muhammad Ali states that the extent of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's interest in religious study was revealed in the late 1780s when the *Arumponé* declared the *Khalwatiyyah* as the official *tariqa* for the kingdom of Boné (Andi Muhammad Ali 1986; Abidin 1999d:252). This pronouncement could be perceived as a reflection of the *Arumponé*'s deep interest in the teachings of the *Khalwatiyyah*'s *tariqa*, and his great admiration of Syekh Yusuf, the founder of the *Khalwatiyyah Yusuf* in South Sulawesi (Bruinessen 1999).³⁷

Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's religious interest may well be observed as far back as 1780, through sketches of designs for seals in his diary. The seal illustrated in Figure 6.6 describes him as "the proclaimer of the religion in the city of Gowa and its people": this clearly expresses a strong political ambition; at the same time, his personal and spiritual motivation in seeking religious knowledge is revealed in the inscription describing him as "the Sultan who has knowledge of Allah, Ahmad as-Salleh." (*DAS*:f.160r). Gallop (1996:97), however, suggests this also provides an "extraordinarily voyeuristic glimpse into the most private thoughts and ambitions of an eighteenth-century Indonesian (Boné) ruler."

³⁷ For more information on the *Khalwatiyyah tariqa*, see Bruinessen (1991:251-269).

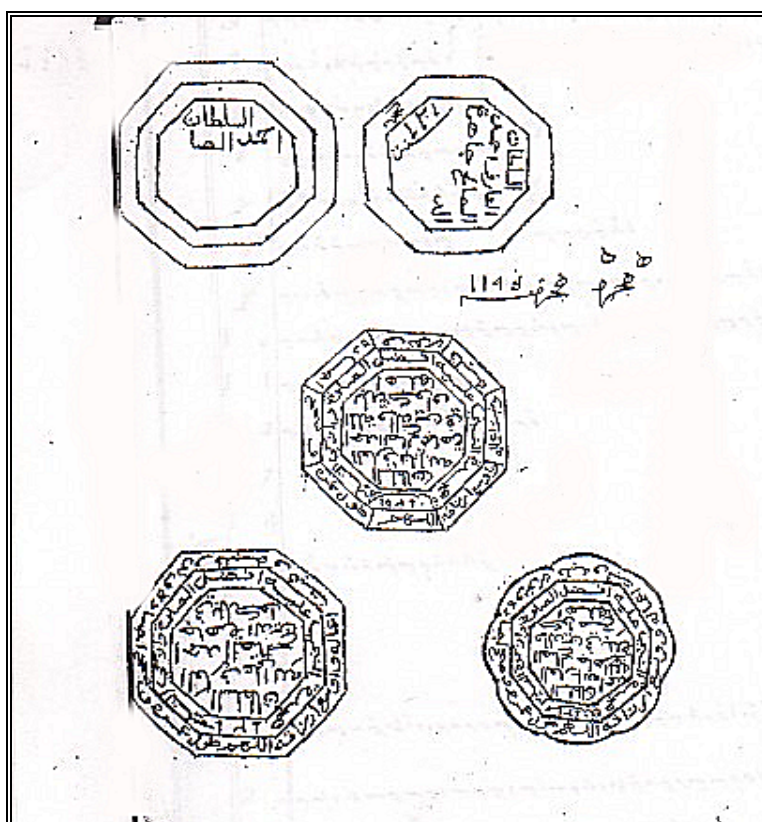


Figure 6.6: Sketches of the seal of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh (source: *DAS*:f.160r)

6.5.2 Hobbies and leisure activities

Most of the entries in Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's diary do not mention his own involvement in the administration of the kingdom or, indeed, the political situation. Instead, social and cultural issues form more than fifty percent of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's diary entries. We learn from *DAS* that most administrative responsibilities were delegated to his officials: the *Tomaqbicara*, the *Tomarilalang*, the *Maqdanrang*, the *Maqkedangnetana*, the *Anréguru Anakarung*, the *Ponggawa*, the *jennang* and many others, either at the central level or at the level of the domains and territories. As a result of such responsibilities, it is unsurprising to discover the existence of additional diaries which were written by Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's nobles during the period of his reign. Like other sovereigns in Southeast Asia, the entrustment of responsibilities to his officials left Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh with much spare time in which to pursue his pastimes.

DAS explicitly reveals the author's interests as an individual. In many entries Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh reports his pastimes; these included cockfighting, along with several other traditionally masculine pursuits, such as horse riding and boating.

6.5.2.1 Cock-fighting

Among the royal entertainments provided on occasions of celebration in the courts of Southeast Asia, a special place was occupied by contests between animals (and sometimes men). No great feast passed at the courts of Java, Aceh, Siam or Burma without some spectacular fight between elephants, tigers, buffaloes or lesser animals. At smaller towns and markets there was at least a cockfight to enliven every feast. Hocart (Wales 1931:124-125), who visited the kingdoms of Siam and Burma in the seventeenth century, states that the idea behind such animal fights appears to have been to symbolise the victory of the king, which he believed to be a necessary part of all coronation rituals. Reid mentions that in the earlier accounts of states, powerful monarchies presided over much of the large-scale gambling, especially on animal fights, suggesting a pattern in which the court itself regulated and presided over such activities (Reid 1988:193). The control of these events by royal courts probably lessened in the eighteenth century, so that later visitors witnessed a more constant and uninhibited pattern of gaming.

In Boné, cockfighting was one of the *Arumponé*'s favourite pastimes. Not only was the game in itself diverting, but it was also a popular subject for betting, especially at the *pasar*. Gervaise depicts the popularity of the game as follows:

“They pick out two cocks, the strongest and the most courageous they can find and, after they have half fuddled them with rice-wine, they tie [sic.:tie] to the places where the spurs grow, little pieces of iron, slender and very sharp-pointed, and then setting them down together, provoke them to fight. This is a great diversion for them, to see with what fury those creatures tear and mangle one another; nor does the combat cease; till one of them drops down dead upon the spot. Then the master of the vanquished cock is obliged to pay the master of the victor the price of the wager; that is to say, the sum they were agreed upon before the sport began [...]” (Gervaise 1971:73)

In addition Gervaise records that:

“[...] no wild fowl is to be sold in any of these markets; for that the taking of them is a sport reserved only for the king and the princes of the blood, who have the liberty to follow that game in any part of the kingdom: whereas private lords cannot kill that sort of fowl in any place, unless it be upon their own grounds.” (Gervaise 1971:59)

Severe punishment would befall any offenders who breached the prohibition.

An interesting point to ponder is the sudden and intense development of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's interest in cockfighting in the last few months of 1794, which is evident from the diary. Prior to 1794, *DAS* mentions his involvement in cock-fighting only as a spectator:

22nd April 1780:

"I went to Kung to watch cock fighting. *Arung Mampu's* cockerel killed that of *Addatuang Sidenreng* [...]." (*DAS*:f.42r)

In later entries, his anxiety over whether his fighting cockerels would be able to gain victory is highlighted, suggesting that he had his own fighting cocks:

16th November 1794:

"Will Malasarié be able to fight in the arena, will it be able to keep on guard during the early fight [?] Let us first see it in action, then we will be able to judge." (*DAS*:f.147v)

22nd November 1794:

"Sang Ijo [the cock] flew [fiercely] into the middle of the arena which had iron fencing, [and it did not need] much encouragement [from its trainer] to boost its confidence and it began fighting [...]." (*DAS*:f.147v)

1st December 1794:

"The stunning Si Putih was previously trained by La Cowa and I would think when Si Putih has its duel, it will not retreat and meet with misfortune." (*DAS*:f.148r)

It appears to have been important that the ruler's combatant should not be defeated. Van den Broecke (1634:176), Warwijk (1604:15) and Beaulieu (1666:59), reporting different incidents, state that when one of the favourite fighting cocks of the sultan of Aceh was defeated, the king was humiliated. In 1618 it was reported that Sultan Iskandar Muda of Aceh forced one aristocrat whose bird was unfortunate enough to have defeated the sultan's cockerel, to watch his own wife being publicly raped by African slaves, and then later had the courtier's genitals cut off "up to the belly". In another incident reported in 1621, the cockerel's owner had his hand chopped off (Reid 1988:190-191). No such brutality is recorded in *DAS*. Although there were expressions of his apprehension, hope and confidence that his cockerels would win, when the *Arumponé's* cockerel lost the duel *DAS* reveals only his deflated feeling:

29th January 1795:

"Why did it have to die in that miserable arena? [The winning cockerel] Tompéq has already amply repaid its debt to its master [the noble of Sidenreng]." (*DAS*:f.149v)

Of all the opportunities for gambling, cockfighting was by far the most popular, for reasons possibly linked to the close identification of the male ego with the rooster. In the Javanese court in 1801, cockfighting was excluded from the general ban on gambling (Reid 1988:195). In the Philippines, a Spanish priest commented on the Filipino's passionate enthusiasm for cockfights, saying that "the Filipinos love their cocks more than their wives and children." (San Agostin 1720:282, as quoted in Reid 1988:194) A similar passion for cockfights among the Balinese in the nineteenth century was observed by Van Eck (Boon 1977:31-33). Geertz' analysis of the role of cockfights in Balinese society placed involvement in cockfights in the wider context of status relationships and the redistribution of wealth, which for the Balinese were "matters of life and death". In addition, Geertz says that for the Balinese, the attraction was not in winning but rather in solidarity of the vertically organized group, and the hostilities generated in its endless status competition with other groups (Geertz 1973:447).

For the Sa'dan Toraja, cockfighting was not only a game but also played a significant role in their ritual beliefs. Cockfights took place after the end of the period of mourning, drawing a symbolic value from the role played by the cockerel: on earth cockfights would decide the issue if no solution could be found to a quarrel; in the hereafter, the dead would be judged by the Supreme Judge of the realm of the dead, the *Pong Londong*, literally 'the cockerel'. In the Malay world, cockfights did not always end peacefully, as there are numerous accounts of a desperate loser resorting to violence or being led into slavery for his indebtedness (Marsden 1811:274; Newbold 1839 II:179-183).

Although cockfighting appears to be associated with gambling, nevertheless there is no evidence that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh participated in this aspect of the sport. Indeed, in 1780 the *Arumponé* ordered a stop to be put to gambling activities, especially at the market (*DTM*:f.51). However, the order leaves us with no convincing evidence of whether gambling activities had been stopped elsewhere.

6.5.2.2 Horse riding

DAS mentions another of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's favourite pastimes, horse riding. Although the origin of horses in South Sulawesi is unknown, records mention the presence of horses as far back as the sixteenth century. Van Soldt reports horses being used to cross the mountains from 1559 (Van Soldt:82, cited in Pelras 1981:157). In some areas, for example in the kingdom of Maiwa of Massémpulu, horses were scarce,

and of a common breed more suited as carthorses than mounts. In the Bugis and Makasar kingdoms, the horse was much used, especially in the deer hunts enjoyed by the nobles, and, in the past, in war. Some foreign writers credited the Bugis with being the most accomplished horsemen of the Archipelago (Braam Morris 1892:154-5).

It appears that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh had a stable of named horses of different colours, some brought to him as gifts, others brought at his request:

4th September 1783:

“My horse, named Manyoroqué, has died.” (*DAS*:f.65v)

8th February 1786:

“La Gawuq arrived from Ujung Tanah and with him there was a horse that I have asked for from La Wahéq. I named it Toribodosé.” (*DAS*:f.83r)

29th September 1795:

“La Sareq arrived from Timurung and brought the horses that I have asked for, one greyish and another palomino coloured [...]” (*DAS*:f.153v)

Many entries in *DAS* mention Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh receiving horses as gifts from his close relatives, nobles and allies:

9th August 1780:

“The *Paqbicara* of Enrékang came and brought me a horse.” (*DAS*:f.44r)

29th March 1783:

“There were two horses presented to me from *Karaéng* Bantaeng. *Arung* Kaju also sent me a horse and a dagger.” (*DAS*:f.63r)

6th January 1787:

“A pair of grey horses arrived [and they] were presented to me by the interpreter of Bulukumba.” (*DAS*:f.89v)

29th September 1787:

“[...] there was a broken-in horse sent to me from *Karaéng* Bangkalaq. I named it as Kalulaé.” (*DAS*:f.93v)

Horses were not only received as gifts: the diary also reveals that the *Arumponé* gave away horses to foreign rulers and nobles:

12th November 1782:

“The *Kornelis* came and I gave him a horse, grey in colour.” (*DAS*:f.59v)

7th June 1783:

“The [ruler of] Banjar has received my letter responding to his previous letter. I send [along with the letter] eight horses [to him].” (*DAS*:f.64r)

19th August 1793:

“La Mappatunruq [Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s eldest son] went to see the Governor and brought him [the Governor] two horses.” (*DAS*:f.139r)

As mentioned in Chapter 5.2.1, apart from buffaloes, horses were also used as barter and as a substitute for cash. Up to half the sum of a fine could be paid in horses (*Adatrechtbundels* 1919:157). Several diary entries also mention *kasuwiyang* being paid in horses:

22nd November 1776:

“*Arung* Cenrana came and brought his *kasuwiyang*, a horse, [...]” (*DAS*:f.17v)

15th February 1786:

“[...] the *jennang* of Malasoro together with La Salamaq came to bring six wild colts: four as the the *jennang*’s *kasuwiyang* whilst two were La Salamaq’s *kasuwiyang*.” (*DAS*:f.83r)

Adat laws also stipulated rules regarding horses. For example, the *Latoa* gives a number of instructions to the king’s accompanying retinue when he is on horseback. Those accompanying him must not walk on ahead or even draw level with the king’s horse. Elsewhere, the *Latoa* mentions that when the king summons a person, they may not ride up to him but must first dismount before respectfully approaching the king’s horse or sedan chair. Indeed, if the king’s wife or consort were to fall off her horse, the entire entourage, both men and women, had to throw themselves to the ground (*Adatrechtbundels* 1919:157). However, an exception was made when the woman who had fallen was merely a concubine. In addition, anyone who startled the horse of the king, queen or lady-in-waiting so that the rider fell, would face death, unless the king decided to spare him (*Adatrechtbundels* 1929:265).

Most equestrian activities were the preserve of the upper class, as keeping horses was beyond the means of members of the general populace. Niemann says that horsemeat was considered a great delicacy in South Celebes (Niemann 1889:272). Some of the populace infringed the law by killing horses for meat, as *DAS* reports:

10th June 1786:

“The *Tomarilalang*’s wife came to bring the fine, one *kati* one *tai*, from the people who had slaughtered a horse without first getting the consent of the council of the *adat*.” (DAS:f.85r)

7th September 1786:

“As for the descendant of the ruler of Luwuq, the *Anréguru Anakarung* together with his five family members, were found guilty of killing my horse, [and] they will have to face the *adat* sanction [...]” (DAS:f.86v)

24th September 1786:

“[I received] the payment of fines for slaughtering a horse from the people of Tajong, one [*kati* and one *tai*] [...]” (DAS:f.86v)

When Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s horses were stolen, orders were sent to his officials to search for them:

25th January 1781:

“I asked the *Suléwatang* of Wugi to cross to Lagusi in search of Bakubodoé.” (DAS:f.47v)

28th January 1781:

“I ordered To’Gangka to cross to Séngkang and [also] to go to the *Addatuang* Sidenreng [in his pursuit of his stolen horses Mayoraé and Rambégaé]. *Tomarilalang* went to track down Mayoraé [...]” (DAS:f.47v)

26th November 1790:

“*Datu* Baringéng came to bring Jampi Loko’s [a horse] foal. It was stolen by the people from Paccélé.” (DAS:f.115v)

At the same time, in order to protect the interests of the king and his nobles, culprits found guilty of stealing or killing the horse of the king or a noble had to pay a certain charge as specified by the *adat* (ANRI UP Roll 43 No 4). It is observed in *DAS* that in most cases the fine for this offence was one *kati* and one *tai*, for example:

2nd February 1786:

“My uncle, *Arung* Mampu, brought me the fine from the people of Wuloé, one *kati* one *tai*, as a payment for stealing [my horse].” (DAS:f.83r)

27th February 1794:

“The *Suléwatang* of Bontoalag came and brought me the *tokko* [fines], one *kati* one *tai*, from the people of Binamo [for stealing my horse].” (DAS:f.143r)

The *Arumponé*’s love of riding is implicit from its many mentions, for example:

28th July 1779:

“I went for a horse-ride to Bontoalaq.” (*DAS*:f.36v)

18th December 1783:

“I went for a horse-ride to the village of Sanggalea, I chanced to meet the Governor and he invited me to visit his orchard.” (*DAS*:f.67r)

12th April 1794:

“I went for a horse-ride towards the city. As I passed the east and the southern regions, the Governor saluted me with nine canon shots [...]” (*DAS*:f.144r)

Although it was customary for the king to be accompanied by his personal bodyguards, he also mentions his wife occasionally joining him on horse-rides:

15th March 1786:

“I went for a horse-ride with Puang Batara Tungkeq [and] I also went to visit my parents.” (*DAS*:f.83v)

Apart from horse-riding, *DAS* also informs us that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh occasionally organised horse-races:

7th November 1786:

“All [my] horses have arrived. I went to Cempaé to race my horses. The horse which I named Tadang Masara was the fastest runner.” (*DAS*:f.87v)

On another occasion, he reports organising a competition between his horse and another noble’s horse:

6th November 1788:

“I organised a horse race between Patodongngé, which belongs to the *Datu* Soppeng and Pageleqé which belongs to me. Patodongngé lost.” (*DAS*:f.101v)

Horse-racing was also enjoyed by the Bataks of Sumatra. Marsden (1811:382) says that the Bataks ride their horses without a saddle or stirrups. At the end of the race, the loser is often required to kill his horse, to provide the public with some entertainment. However, in *DAS*, despite the entries which reveal Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s interest in horse racing, there is no evidence to confirm his having betted on horse races. This may be a genuine indication that he had no involvement in gambling; conversely, this information may be withheld in an effort to portray him as a devout Muslim. There is no evidence whether the horse race was part of a wider social occasion that people were invited to, or would come to as spectators.

6.5.2.3 River sailing

DAS reveals that the *Arumponé* spent much of his time travelling. As the road system was not fully developed, rivers provided the most important means of transportation. River sailing or boating was another of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's favourite pastimes. *DAS* shows that most of his river sailing activity took place whilst he was in Boné; however, some entries mention that the same pastimes were carried out in Makassar. On many occasions he was accompanied by his wife and, although he does not mention it explicitly, other family members would probably join him as well.

11th June 1783:

"I brought Puang Batara Tungkeq along for a cruise on the river of Téllang [...]." (*DAS*:f.64r)

1st July 1792

"I brought Puang Batara Tungkeq along for a cruise at Bulusipong. There [Bulusipong], we [stopped off and] had a picnic." (*DAS*:f.128v)

In *DTM* the *Tomarilalang* reveals many occasions when he accompanied the *Arumponé* on a journey or cruise, sometimes lasting for a week or even more. For example:

8th November 1780:

"I sent [accompanied] the *Arumponé*'s family to board the ship at Panyulaq [...]. Together with the *Arumponé*, we stayed overnight at Palletté." (*DTM*:f.35r)

12th November 1780:

"*Arumponé* went fishing at Bulu-Bulu. He went to Langkéangngé again and spent a night there whilst I [together with other nobles] spent the night at Bulu-Bulu." (*DTM*:f.35r)

15th November 1780:

"Together with *Arumponé*, [we] walked to Boné. [We] arrived at Boné." (*DTM*:f.35r)

It appears that *malopi-lopi* (B.),³⁸ or cruising, did not only take place on rivers. The diary also indicates that during the monsoon season some low lands, for example the paddy fields area, would be flooded. Such an opportunity was not missed by the *Arumponé*, and the diary describes him enjoying boat-rides on the flooded paddy fields:

12th January 1789:

"The flood below my house has risen to calf-level. I went for a boat-ride in the paddy fields at Batumalimpung [...]. The

³⁸ *Lopi* is a kind of ship or boat. *Malopi-lopi* means to sail for pleasure or cruising.

level of flood below my house has risen above the knee.”
(*DAS*:f.104r)

Whilst he was in Boné, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh went for *malopi-lopi* to the interior parts of his kingdom such as Cenrana and several other places that were accessible by water transportation, some of which were reported in *DAS*:

17th May 1777:
“I boarded a ship at Panyulaq. I arrived at Palletté [...].”
(*DAS*:f.21v)

13th January 1781:
“I boarded a ship at Awampone to go to Timurung. I brought Puang Batara Tungkeq along. I arrived at Laoniq. I left Laoniq and [later] I arrived at Gellengngé.” (*DAS*:f.47v)

25th February 1781:
“I boarded a ship to Welado. I left Welado. I arrived at Cenrana. I left Cenrana and [then] I arrived at Ceppié.”
(*DAS*:f.48r)

The purpose of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s ‘*malopi-lopi*’ activities was twofold: apart from a sumptuous form of relaxation, boating to the hinterlands was, presumably, also a way for him to meet his nobles and subjects, and thus to strengthen his ties and influence among the nobles on the periphery. For example, *DAS* records:

7th December 1785:
“[...] I brought Puang Batara Tungkeq along for a cruise at the estuary of Unynyi’s river [...] *Arung Mampu* came to invite me [to his house].” (*DAS*:f.81r)

8th December 1785:
“I left Cenrana heading for Mampu. I arrived at Kung. The people [nobles] of Mampu presented me with a buffalo and some rice. I went to Otting [...].” (*DAS*:f.81r)

It is noted that whenever the *Arumponé* paid a visit to or stopped over at any places, whether under his direct jurisdiction or not, he would receive presents from the nobles and the local people. The most common types of gifts mentioned in the diary were money and food - rice and livestock such as chicken and buffaloes (*DAS*:f.20v; f.79r; f.114v). Their purpose is easily understood; simply to honour him as the ruler of Boné. Arguably, the gift of a buffalo was, in Bugis *adat*, an indication of recognition and support of his sovereignty not only as the *Arumponé* but also as the supreme ruler over other Bugis kingdoms (cf. *ANRI Mak.95c*:13th November 1789), which were technically his vassals.

In certain circumstances, *DAS* mentions the price payable by those who built and sold *praus* without first informing the *Arumponé*:

11th December 1780:

“[...] *Kalauq* came and confessed [to me] of his faults that he had built some *lopi* [*prau*] and had sold them [without my consent].” (*DAS*:f.46r)

In relation to boating, it is observed that *kasuwiyang* payments could also be fulfilled with ships. The subjects who lived near the coastal areas of Bonératé and Bajo paid their *kasuwiyang* in this way. Other entries mention that dues in the form of ships were also received from Bulukumba and Binoko.³⁹

25th February 1780:

“Bonératé came and brought its *kasuwiyang*, a *lopi* and money 30 *réal*. I gave the *lopi* to La Basoq [La Mappatunru].” (*DAS*:f.41r)

19th December 1782:

“Binoko [sic.:Binamo] had arrived and brought four *lopi*: three *pangkuru* and one *biluq* [...]” (*DAS*:f.)

26th May 1790:

“The *suro* of the *jennang* of Bulukumpa came and brought paddy two thousand [bundles] and one small *paggoé* [...]” (*DAS*:f.112v).

Although it is clear that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh received ships in payment of *kasuwiyang*, nevertheless the diary does not explicitly report his having received any ships as a gift. On the other hand, in a few entries it is clear that he gave away ships to his immediate family members and nobles:

1st June 1781:

“I boarded the *lopi* [*prau*] that was brought [to me] by the *Kalauq*. I gave one [*lopi*] to La Musa, one to the *gellarang* of Bontoalaq and [one *lopi*] to Datu Baringang. As for the *lopi* [*prau*] that I took from the people of Lémó-Lémó, I gave one [*lopi*] to the *Maqdanrang*, one [*lopi*] to my parents and one [*lopi*] to I Dépo [Deefhout].” (*DAS*:f.50r)

2nd June 1781:

“[...] I gave the bigger *lopi* to [my eldest daughter,] Batara Tungkeq, one [*lopi*] to the *Tomarilalang* and one [*lopi*] to the *jennang* of Bulukumba.” (*DAS*:f.50r)

³⁹ Binoko was, perhaps, a corrupted spelling of Binamo.

19th December 1782:

“[...] I gave one *pangkuru* to *Datu Baringéng*.” (*DAS*:f.60r)

Interestingly, in addition to its disclosure of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s interest in sailing, his receiving ships as part of his *kasuwiyang* payment, and giving away ships as a gift, *DAS* also lists the various kinds of water vessels that were in use in the eighteenth century. In addition to *lopi*, meaning *prau*, several other kinds of vessel are mentioned: *apéla*, *biluq*, *kéci*, *pagoé*, *pangkuru* and *solo*. Relating to these, *DAS* reports:

On *apéla*:

21st February 1795:

“I commanded La Pajo and La Kudada to send ten *apéla* of ammunition to the north.” (*DAS*:f.150r)

On *biluq* and *pangkuru*:

21st September 1790:

“Bonératé came and brought their *kasuwiyang* ships: one *biluq* with outrigger, one large *pangkuru* and two *pangkuru* with outrigger [...]” (*DAS*:f.114v)

On *kéci* and *solo*:

15th August 1789:

“I was informed that order has been given out by the Governor to fight against the outlaws who had set fire on a few islands: one *kéci* and two *solo* [of Dutch troops] had left.” (*DAS*:f.107r)

On *pagoé*:

26th May 1790:

“The *suro* of the *jennang* of Bulukumpa came and brought two thousand bundles of paddy and one small *pagoé* [...]” (*DAS*:f.112v)

In addition to the *malopi-lopi*, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh had other pastimes such as fishing, fishing for shellfish, and shooting crocodiles:

15th November 1780:

“I went to search for oysters. I left Awampone [and later] I arrived in Boné [...]” (*DAS*:f.45v)

26th April 1781:

“I brought Puang Batara Tungkeq to look for clams at the estuary of Tangka [...]” (*DAS*:f.49r)

30th November 1785:

“I brought Puang Batara Tungkeq along to catch *bété-bété* fish using the fish net at the estuary of Walu. I shot two crocodiles using Bulé Towaé [...]” (DAS:f.80v)

In one entry, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh recounts how he interrupted his cruise to go hunting before continuing *malopi-lopi* again:

29th November 1785:

“I brought Puang Batara Tungkeq to go hunting for dwarf buffaloes at Nagauleng, seven [dwarf buffaloes] were killed. I went for *malopi-lopi*.” (DAS:f.80v)

It is evident that the *malopi-lopi* was a lavish and luxurious form of amusement that could only be enjoyed by a select few, namely rulers and nobles. However, water amusements in the kingdom of Burma and Siam were still more extravagant. In these two kingdoms, the grandeur and licentiousness of water activity captured the imagination of many astonished visitors. One source depicts a procession by water that took place in seventeenth century Siam:

“In front go about two hundred mandarins every one with his own beautiful boat and sitting in a small pavilion which is gilded and decorated according to the rank of the owner. These boats are rowed by thirty to sixty rowers. Then follow the boats for luggage and kitchen necessities. After these boats come the state boats of the king, wherein nobody else but the rowers are sitting whose number amounts to from fifty to seventy men. Each of these boats carries a little gilded pavilion of pyramidal shape or other decoration. Then come four or five boats with musicians [...]. In the finest boat the king is seated under a decorated canopy [...] hidden in all kinds of costly things, [...] then follows the king’s brother with a suite of eight to ten beautifully painted and gilded boats [...]. The king’s mother, the queen, his Majesty’s children and some concubines have all their own boats and are sitting in gilded pavilions [...]. The total number of boats amounts to three hundred and fifty to four hundreds, and twenty to twenty-five thousands persons take part in this procession [...]” (Vliet 1636:25-26; Reid 1988:179-80)

The absence of any description of a comparable water-borne state procession in Boné may suggest that the *malopi-lopi* activity was practised by the Boné king and nobles in a simpler manner than in the courts of Burma and Siam. In addition to lacking a description of such a majestic occasion, DAS does not mention boat races, which are

known to have been popular in the islands, notably in Maluku, where they raced with the long *kora-kora*.⁴⁰

Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's leisure pursuits as depicted in his diary provide a fascinating glimpse of the personality and interests of the *Arumponé*. Perhaps, by looking into other aspects of his diary, we can learn more of him as a person.

6.6 Religious activities

6.6.1 The *hajj*

There are many entries in *DAS* that help us to understand more about the religious activities that took place within the court of Boné. One of the activities found in *DAS* is the performing of *hajj*, the Mecca pilgrimage. Information on the number of people performing *hajj* prior to the eighteenth century is very limited, despite the fact that Dutch historical records mention that Indonesia had close relations with Mecca in the early 1630s. For example, the sultan of Mataram, Sultan Abdul Muhammed Maulana Matarani (also known as Sultan Agung, r.1613-1645), and the sultan of Banten, Sultan Ageng (1650-82), corresponded with the *sharif* (Ar.), master or lord, of Mecca, among other reasons to obtain political legitimacy for their exalted positions (Bruinessen 1995:42).⁴¹ The only noble prince known to have performed the *hajj* was the son of Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa; the chronicle of Banten states that the crown prince performed his pilgrimage in 1674, and that after succeeding his father, he was known as Sultan Haji (Bruinessen 1995:42).

During the eighteenth century, the main means of transportation to distant places was by sailing ship. As the distance between Mecca and Indonesia was great, the Mecca pilgrimage was not only time consuming but expensive. Nevertheless, in the middle of the nineteenth century, some two thousand pilgrims had undertaken the Mecca pilgrimage yearly (Vredenburg 1962:93). As communications improved and sailing ships were replaced by steam ships, the number of pilgrims increased, and the character of pilgrimage changed; it developed from a journey that often took many years and could only be undertaken by few people, into a mass affair, organised and with an institutional character. Such improvements further increased the number of pilgrimages

⁴⁰ *Kora-kora* is a kind of *prau*.

⁴¹ These rulers thought that having the title of *sultan* conferred by the *sharif* could give them supernatural power, strengthening their exalted position and political legitimacy. In their opinion, the chief *sharif* of the *Haramayn* (Ar.), the two holy lands, was the only one who possessed the spiritual quality over all the Muslims' territories, *Dar al-Islam* (*The Encyclopaedia of Islam* 1971 (vol.3):175). In reality, however, there was no institution that had the authority to bequeath titles to other rulers.

from this area, which led to the formation of an Indonesian ‘Jawa’ society as one of the prevalent communities in Mecca in the late nineteenth century (Bruinessen (1999:41);⁴² Koningsveld (1989) mentions that the Malay language had become second to the Arabic in Mecca by 1860.

6.6.2 *DAS on hajj*

DAS provides the information that in the eighteenth century some people from Boné fulfilled *hajj*, the fifth pillar of Islam. However, *DAS* does not give any clue to the length of time spent by a pilgrim from South Sulawesi travelling to and from Mecca. Vredembregt (1962:121) mentions that, based upon the Pilgrim report of the Netherlands consul in Jeddah in 1878, “every year one sailing ship still takes Indonesian pilgrims to Jeddah from Singapore, which voyage took five months.”⁴³ In the eighteenth century, a pilgrim would possibly spend a year just on the journey from Singapore to Mecca and back. If a pilgrim did not extend his stay at Mecca, and only spent a total of four or five months on pilgrimage, it would take about eighteen to twenty months in total to travel to Mecca and return to South Sulawesi, provided that there were few difficulties en route. In reality, the journey could take two years or more.

We see in *DAS* that in many cases two of those who undertook the pilgrimage were the *kadi* and the *khatib*. At least ten people who bore the title *Haji* are mentioned, suggesting that at least ten people had performed the pilgrimage in the period 1775-1795. Among the names found in *DAS* are *Haji* Apala, *Haji* Muhammad, *Haji* Yusuf, *Haji* Jida, *Haji* La Semmang, *Haji* Tunruq, *Haji* Hasin [Husin], *Haji* Téko, *Haji* Asumali, *Haji* La Tatta and *Haji* Umar. In addition, inferences can be made from the diary’s entries with regard to people who had departed on, or returned from, their Mecca pilgrimage:

22nd May 1780:

“La Panuq taking leave to perform pilgrimage [to Mecca], his son, I Nawa, was also present. *Barakallah*.” (*DAS*:f.42v)

⁴² The Javanese community, as mentioned by Bruinessen (1995:41-2), referred to those who came from the Southeast Asia region. It should be taken into account that ‘Javanese’ would also encompass other groups from Sumatera, South Sulawesi, Madura and other parts of Indonesia.

⁴³ In 1872 the Netherlands consulate was established in Jeddah. At this time there was no immediate shipping connection between the Indonesian archipelago and Jeddah. Singapore was the point of embarkation and debarkation for the Indonesian pilgrims. These Indonesian pilgrims’ transportation was dealt with by the Arab and British ship owners, and only in 1884 did Dutch ships take part in their transportation, at an estimated share of 40 per cent (Vredembregt 1962:130).

6th January 1791:

“Haji La Muhammad came to see me after he returned from performing the *hajj* [...].” (DAS:f.117v)

12th October 1791:

“La Balu asked for permission [to leave] to perform pilgrimage.” (DAS:f.122r)

23rd April 1793:

“The Wajorese who had returned from performing his pilgrimage [to Mecca] came to see me [...].” (DAS:f.137r)

Only once does *DAS* mention a woman going on pilgrimage, which suggests that very few women had the opportunity to perform the *hajj*:

18th October 1791:

“[...] Two *haji*⁴⁴ from Sinjai, husband and wife, came to bring me an *akéq* [a kind of semiprecious stone] rosary.” (DAS:f.122r)

By taking into account those who had asked permission to leave and those who came to see the *Arumponé* after returning from their Mecca pilgrimages, I calculate the number of pilgrimages for the year 1775-1795 as follows:

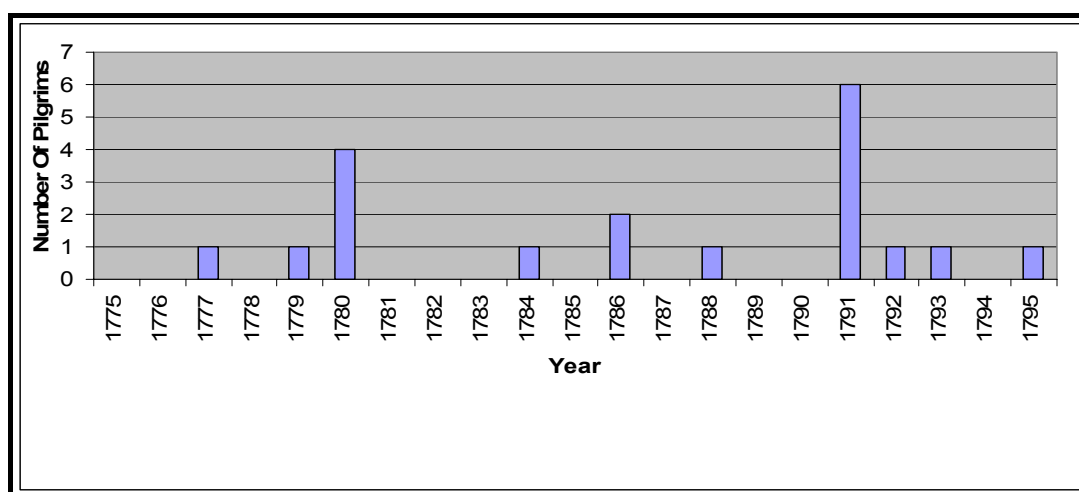


Figure 6.7: Numbers of pilgrims from South Sulawesi, 1775-1795 (source: *DAS*)

The average number of people taking *hajj* over twenty-one years is one person per year, and in more than half of the period, no one went. There are seven years in which only one person performed the *hajj* while there are two years, 1780 and 1791, for which the number of pilgrimages were four and six respectively. The small number of people taking *hajj* during this period was the result of constraints such as the enormous cost, the distance, the risks involved, and political reasons.

⁴⁴ A woman carries the title *hajjah* if she has performed the Mecca pilgrimage.

6.6.3 The official procedure on *hajj* in the eighteenth century

Anyone who wished to travel on the *hajj* had to get permission to do so from both the *Arumponé* and the Dutch (Leur 1955:274). It was one of the political influences exercised by the Dutch, that anyone within the Dutch jurisdiction was required to provide a travel permit, for trade or other purposes (Vredembregt 1962:94-100; cf. *ANRI Mak.100* No.66). Relating to this, *DAS* reports:

18th May 1780:

“[...] I gave him [La Panuq] a letter stamped with my seal on it.” (*DAS*:f.42v)

21st April 1786:

“There is a *haji* who is going to perform his pilgrimage again. He requested for my [letter stamped with my seal on it] and I gave it to him.” (*DAS*:f.84r)

Interestingly, none of the entries in the diary indicate the *Arumponé*'s desire to make the pilgrimage himself. From the records of his spending pattern, it seems unlikely that the cost would have been an impediment. It is surprising that, despite his profound interest in religious knowledge and Islamic Sufism, there is no sign of his aspiring to perform the pilgrimage. There may be two explanations for this: firstly, perhaps he was constrained by the political influence of the Dutch; and secondly, an extensive absence from the throne and his kingdom might have jeopardised his political ambitions.

Daendels and Raffles, two high ranking colonial officials, considered the Mecca pilgrims as politically dangerous, and labelled those who had undertaken a pilgrimage as “priests”. In 1810 Daendels issued a decree that ordered all the *haji* to supply themselves with passports for travel from one place to another, in order to avoid disturbances (Vredembregt 1962:97). Placing restrictions on the pilgrimage was one of the political ploys of the colonial system. In 1825 f.110, an enormous amount of money for those days, was charged for a pilgrimage passport, the possession of which was obligatory. This policy was advantageous, as not only were the Dutch able to levy a fee, but at the same time they could control the number of pilgrimages.

Raffles also indicates that the *haji* were considered to be inciters of rebellion, and the most dangerous instrument in the hands of the native authorities opposed to the Dutch interests, as the naive commoners believed them to have attained the character of saints, and to possess supernatural powers (Raffles 1830:3). In a hierarchical society based on ascription, upward social mobility could also be achieved by those who had

undertaken a pilgrimage, thus enjoying a great prestige among the population while their time was spent in prayer or with other religious rituals. The Dutch were wary of this sort of influence and prestige, and sought to prevent the *haji* from forming an influential class that could be used against them. In this situation, the long absence of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh from his kingdom to perform the pilgrimage, in my view, would probably have endangered not only his hold on the throne of Boné but also his aspiration to the throne of Gowa.

6.6.4 International relations between Boné and Mecca

The diary also illuminates the relationships between the *sharif* of Mecca and the *Arumponé*. Although the propinquity of the relationship is not elaborated upon in *DAS*, we are informed that all pilgrims returning from Mecca brought with them letters or other gifts from the *sharif* of Mecca for the *Arumponé*, as a sign of amity. These are mentioned in *DAS*; for example:

30th September 1780:

“[...] *Haji* Bukku [a hunched-back *haji*] came to bring [something] from our *syekh* at Medina and a letter from *iman* Syafi’ie⁴⁵ [...] also there were two religious books [*kitab*, Ar.] for me.” (*DAS*:f.44v)

26th August 1792:

“The *kadi* of Boné brought the *khatib* of Ulaweng who had returned from the pilgrimage and there was also a letter and an amulet for me from our *syekh* at Tohéta⁴⁶ [...]” (*DAS*:f.129r)

In the absence of gifts, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh records that he received greetings from the *sharif* of Mecca:

7th September 1780:

“I met a hunched *haji* who had returned from [his] Mecca [pilgrimage], named Yusuf. He conveyed to me that the *sharif* of Mecca sent greetings to me [...]” (*DAS*:f.44v)

However, it is unlikely that the *sharif* of Mecca have ever heard of Boné, let alone knew where it was. Perhaps, Haji Yusuf was tactfully passing on generalised greetings from the *sharif* to the pilgrims.

⁴⁵ Shafi’e of the diary entry was not *Imam* Shafi’e of the *sunni* sect who established one of the Islamic schools of jurisprudence. He was, perhaps, an *imam*, leader, who bore the same name.

⁴⁶ Perhaps Toheta is a corruption of the spelling of Ta’if, (طَائِف), a town in Arabia to the southeast of Mecca, which is today the fourth largest town in Saudi Arabia. In former times, it took two or three days to go from Mecca to Ta’if, depending on the route (*The Encyclopaedia of Islam* 2000 (vol.10):115-116).

DAS shows no indication that the *Arumponé* ever sent gifts to the keeper of the *haramayn*. It shows, though, that most pilgrims who returned from the pilgrimage came to pay homage to the *Arumponé* and brought some presents for him:

11th September 1780:

“[...] *Haji* Bukku and his wife came to see me and gave me a piece of *antalasaq* [velvety material, B.], a piece of *kalamkari* [an Indian cloth, B.] and a piece of shawl.” (*DAS*:f.44v)

6th January 1791:

“[...] *Haji* La Muhammad came to see me after his return from performing the pilgrimage, there was a [book], a Comprehensive [methods of] Praises, and two [*pawéllo*] rosaries that he gave to me as a gift.” (*DAS*:f.117v)

18th October 1791:

“[...] There were two *haji*, a couple from Sinjai, who came [to see me] and brought me an *akkéq* [a kind of semi-precious gemstone, (Ar.)] rosary.” (*DAS*:f.122r)

In one account, the diary reveals that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh had personally requested one of the pilgrims to bring some gifts for him from abroad:

11th April 1788:

“[...] the medicine-man informed me that *Haji* Taruq [Tunruq] is leaving [to Mecca], I [asked him to] bring [me] an Arab *songkoq* [a kind of headgear, B.] [and] one robe [...]” (*DAS*:f.98r)

The pilgrims also served as reporters in bringing back news of the outside world. This was important, since technology was still undeveloped and inadequate to provide the local rulers with information from outside their regions. In one entry, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh writes on the political situation at Mecca as reported to him by one of the pilgrims:

23rd April 1793:

“A Wajorese who had returned from the pilgrimage came [to see me]. He reported that the *sharif* of Mecca was at war against his nephew for seven days and seven nights. Friday prayer was not able to take place at the *Masjidil Haram*. The curtains of the *Ka’bah* were tattered [from the shots fired] and the *Hajratul Aswad* [the black stone, (Ar.)] was [slightly] damaged as a result of the ammunition’s [firing].” (*DAS*:f.137r)

Although the news was written by the *Arumponé* in April 1793, the event, however, would have taken place at least a couple of years earlier, or even more, bearing in

mind the duration of the journey between Mecca and South Sulawesi.⁴⁷ Despite the fact that the event had occurred a few years previously, it shows the *Arumponé*'s awareness of incidents in the outside world.

6.6.5 Activities during *Ramadhan*, the fasting month

Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh never failed to report the beginning and end of the fasting. We also learn of the techniques used in calculating the appearance of the new moon, for the first day of *Ramadhan*:

2nd June 1788:

"The *khatib* came to inform me [on which day] the emerging of the new moon [could be sighted], which corresponds to my calculation." (*DAS*:f.99r)

9th April 1793:

"The *khatib* came to see me, as requested by the *khadi* of Bontoalag, to clarify the possibility of the appearance of the new moon [and to make a decision] for [the beginning of] *Ramadhan*." (*DAS*:f.137r)

The diary enhances our understanding that the commencement of *Ramadhan* was determined by means of astronomical calculations, *falak* (Ar.), rather than by sight of the moon with the naked eye, *rukyah* (Ar.), as shown in the above entries.

In conjunction with *Ramadhan*, *DAS* provides us with other details of religious activity during the fasting month. Most frequently reported is the reading of the whole volume of the holy *Qur'an* in groups, *tadarrus* (Ar.), by the *santari* (B.), a group of students who studied classical Islamic subjects (Gervaise 1971:153). *DAS* reports that these *santari* are frequently invited to the palace to perform the *tadarrus*. It is interesting to discover that the mention of this practice occurs only after 1782. The previous eight-year absence of such activity is not explained by the writer. It may be that the writer's interest in Islamic religious study develops in the mid-1780s along with his maturity in age. The diary reveals that the *tadarrus* activity usually takes five to seven days, at the end of which the writer reports making donations to the *santari*:

22nd June 1787:

"[...] The [group of] *santari* performed the *tadarrus* at my house. *Barakallah*." (*DAS*:f.92r)

⁴⁷ Probably this war occurred during the administration of Ghalib bin Said bin Sa'ad bin Zaid bin Muhsin bin Husain bin Hasan bin Abi Numa who waged war against his brothers including his nephews. See de Gaury (1991:177-182); see also Ahmad Zaini Dahlan (1888).

27th June 1787:

“The *tadarrus* ended. *Alhamdulillah* [...] 10 [*réal*] were donated.” (DAS:f.92r)

4th May 1791:

“[...] The [group of] *santari* from Bontoalag performed the *tadarrus* at my palace.” (DAS:f.119v)

9th May 1791:

“[...] The *tadarrus* ended [...]” (DAS:f.119v)

Apart from being performed at the *Arumponé*’s palace, the *tadarrus* also took place at the mosque:

18th July 1785:

“[...] I went to the mosque to listen to those who performed the *tadarrus*, 8 *réal* was donated.” (DAS:f.78v)

1st July 1786:

“I went to the mosque to see the *santari* performing the *tadarrus* [...]” (DAS:f.85v)

27th May 1789:

“I went to the mosque to see the [group of] *santari* from Maros performed the *tadarrus*.” (DAS:f.105v)

In addition to the *tadarrus*, a special prayer called the *tarāwih* (Ar.) was performed every night for the whole month of *Ramadhan*. The religious law recommends the performance of the *tarāwih* shortly after the prayer of *al-Isya*’. This is also mentioned in *DAS*:

12th June 1788:

“[...] the *kadi* of Boné performed the *tarāwih* prayer at my palace [...]” (DAS:f.99r)

3rd April 1794:

“I performed the [prayer of] *tarāwih*.” (DAS:f.144r)

In certain aspects, the diary is straightforward in reporting some of *Arumponé*’s personal supplications: the Friday prayer, fasting, and other kinds of prayers. Over the twenty-one years, we can observe the frankness of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh in revealing his personal supplications. For the first time since reaching puberty, he performed the *tarāwih* prayer at the age of thirty-two:

14th June 1788:

“I started to perform the *tarāwih* prayer since I was obligated. *Barakallah*. The *santari* are still reciting [the holy Qur’an].” (DAS:f.99r)

Besides the *tarāwih* prayer, *DAS* shows that the *Arumponé* also performs the *qadho* (a substitute prayer performed for a missing obligatory, B.) prayer:

18th June 1789:

“I performed the *qadho* prayer.” (*DAS*:f.106r)

9th May 1793:

“[...] I performed the *qadho* prayer.” (*DAS*:f.137v)

DAS, also reveals the *Arumponé* performing the ‘*takarub*’ prayer. Perhaps ‘*takarub*’, from the Arabic root word of *qoroba* (قرب) which means ‘closeness’ or ‘nearness’, was a kind of optional prayer, which would bring one to be closer to God. Interestingly, however, the *takarub* prayer is only mentioned as being performed during the month of *Ramadhan*:

20th June 1789:

“I performed the *takarrub* prayer.” (*DAS*:f.106r)

20th May 1790:

“I performed the *takarrub* prayer. *Barakallah*.” (*DAS*:f.112v)

27th April 1794:

“I performed the *takarrub* prayer. *Barakallah*.” (*DAS*:f.144r)

From such entries, it appears that the *Arumponé*’s religious consciousness began in the 1780s, and that he later deeply involved himself in learning the *Khalwatiyyah tariqa* which was declared as the official *tariqa* in Boné in the late 1780s.

6.6.6 The *Khalwatiyyah tariqa* in Boné

In South Sulawesi, the teachings of the *Khalwatiyyah tariqa* are prevalent among the Bugis and the Makasars. A further progression in the teaching of the *Khalwatiyyah* shows a development which resulted in two different branches: the *Khalwatiyyah Yusuf* and the *Khalwatiyyah Samman*.⁴⁸ Bruinessen (1995:286) states that the followers of *Khalwatiyyah Yusuf* were mainly from the upper stratum of Makasar society, and that the *tariqa* permeated into the court of Boné. As many of the followers were nobles, this *tariqa* was labelled as the aristocrats’ *tariqa*, although in actual fact it does not restrict its followers to a specific social stratum. Rahman (n.d:14, as quoted in Bruinessen 1995:295) states that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh had prevented commoners from studying the *tariqa*, guarding its spiritual ‘knowledge’ as a royal privilege. Although no such

⁴⁸ Despite their similarity in names, both *tariqa* have many differences in terms of methods of practice, organisation and the social composition of their members. (Bruinessen 1995)

motivation is explicitly mentioned in *DAS*, perhaps the entry below would suggest the existence of such a restriction among commoners:

3rd April 1786:

“[...] The *kadi* and the *iman* had agreed not to take issue with regards to the death of the *jemma* who had a different faith, *i'tiqad* (Ar.).” (*DAS*:f.84r)

Generally, in the teachings of any *tariqa*, the most important are the chants remembering God, *dhikr* (Ar.), consisting of the recitation of God's names or the formula ‘*La ila ha illallah*’ (Ar.), there is no god but God [Allah], in a specific way for a specified number of times, and various prayer formulas, *hizb*, *salawat* (Ar.) or litanies, *rātib*, *wird* (Ar.). These recitations may be combined with controlled breathing and specific bodily postures, and there may in addition be various ascetic practices (*PNI MS.VT.23*; Bruinessen 1995:179). The chantings and meditations had probably become part of the *Arumponé*'s religious practice. As a follower of the *tariqa*, the *Arumponé* explained elaborately the techniques of chanting of the *dhikr* in his work, *Nur al-Haady* (*PNI MS.VT.23*; Andi Muhammad Ali 1999:1-17). More interestingly, on many occasions *DAS* records the *Arumponé* having received divine knowledge, through dreams:

8th October 1783:

“I dreamt that I was meditating. I saw light, *ismujalala* (Ar.)⁴⁹ inside me that shines very brightly.” (*DAS*:f.66r)

26th June 1792:

“I dreamt my *bowé*, the old Ratu Bagus, taught me to read *dhikr*. *Barakallah* [...]” (*DAS*:f.138v)

27th July 1792:

“[...] I dreamt there were twenty Arabs [...] I greeted them then [we] shook hands, thus I asked their place of origin. I also asked how many among them were *syekh*. One of them who claimed to be one of the *syekh* answered that there were ten of them. I stood before them and read the chant of praise, *Allahummas solli 'ala Muhammad* (Ar.), once.” (*DAS*:f.138v)

DAS also demonstrates the *Arumponé*'s search towards understanding and knowing his Creator and His qualities; the Divine Essence (*dzat*, Ar.), the Divine Attribute (*sifat*, Ar.), The Holy names of Allah (*asma*, Ar.) and the Divine Actions (*af'al*, Ar.); through literary works, and poems which implicitly reveal his desire to achieve the path of gnosis (cf. Hamonic 1985:179):

⁴⁹ *Ismujalala* (*nur*, Ar.) is light which is associated with divine knowledge of God.

“Unceasingly in the quest;
 Intermediary of sacred saint,
 Treading the footsteps of the learned,
 The limit of helpless ones,
 The inseparable three, the undistinguished two’s,
 Him, but, not him,
 The truth of absolute being [...]”
 (Andi Muhammad Ali 1988:115-121 - my translation)

Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh mentions that the nearness of God comes [to the seeker] in two ways: by efforts (striving) and as a gift of God. By following the way of effort (striving) one reaches the Nearness of God through inculcating austerity, endeavour and worship. These were outlined by Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh in *Nur al-Hady*, where, at the end of his work, he wrote that “anyone who follows the path that I have suggested, having strong faith towards Allah, The One and Only God, therefore he will meet me on the same path, in this world and in the hereafter.” (*PNI MS.VT.23*; Andi Muhammad Ali 1999:17) In conclusion, the *Arumponé*’s interest in *tariqa* teachings made him one of the exponents of the *Khalwatiyyah*, after the demise of *Pekki Yusuf*, the *kadi* of Boné. His profound interest in *tariqa* study also resulted in the production of religious books that added to the richness of Bugis literature.

6.7 The tradition of *Mangngaruq*

DAS repeatedly mentions the act of *mangngaruq*, indicating that this act of formal submission was a significant aspect of social conduct in Bugis society. *Mangngaruq* is an act of showing loyalty, allegiance and faithfulness by the subjects or followers to their king or rulers. This solemn act of allegiance took place at the outbreak of war, the investiture of an *Arumponé*, at weddings of kings or rulers, at the acceptance of a royal invitation and at other royal functions (Halilintar 1983:38).

Gullick illustrates a public ceremony comparable to the Bugis act of *mangngaruq*, conducted by the Malays:

“At the installation of a *sultan*, obeisance had to be sworn by all the chiefs individually. The chief began his approach to the dais on which the ruler sat, sitting cross-legged on the ground some yards in front of the dais facing it. He then drew his legs under him and to one side and thus advanced, putting forward his hands, palm downwards, on the ground in front of him and drawing his body forward to his hands. Between each move forward he would raise his hands, with palms together, until his thumbs were level with his eyebrows and almost touched them. The chief then approached to the dais

and put his hands between the hands of the sultan, and then drew back to resume his correct position.” (Gullick1988:48)

It is evident that obeisance ceremonies could be anxious occasions for the king, providing as they did an opportunity to assassinate him. This nervousness is manifest in the manner of conducting *mangngaruq*. The Bugis would dance to the beating of drums in a trancelike manner, wearing their long hair loose down their backs and holding their weapons in their hands to show that they were prepared to sacrifice their own lives (Crawfurd 1820:122-3; Matthes 1884:6-7).

We learn that the act of *mangngaruq* was not only performed by the king’s subjects or nobles to him, but in some circumstances Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh would himself perform *mangngaruq* together with his nobles. This can be seen in *DAS* prior to launching an attack on the rebel, I Sangkilang, during the Gowa war:

26th January 1778:

“Together with the people of Boné, I perform the act of *mangngaruq* before we launch an attack on Gowa.”
(*DAS*:f.26v)

The purpose of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s act is easily understood: it was a symbol that he and his subjects would be facing their enemy together. The act of *mangngaruq* was also mentioned in the Dutch sources, which record that the *Arumponé* performed it for the Governor. It was, perhaps, a way to express his integrity and dedication as the closest ally of the Company. It also formed part of their *adat* before going to war:

“At 9 o’clock, the king arrived to see the Governor, accompanied by a large following; the *Maqdanrang*, the *Suléwatang*, the *Datu* of Sidenreng, *Arung* Tanété, *Arung* Gantarang, *Arung* Gadung, *Arung* Salatungo, *Arung* Kaju, *Arung* Rappang, *Arung* Nangka, the *Datu* of Cinnong, *Arung* Lanca, *Gallarang* Bontoalag, *Arung* Panynyili, *Arung* Pattojo, *Arung* Mamaling and also many others [...]. He [the *Arumponé*] performed an oath of loyalty to the Governor. The king pulled out his *kris* and said some words in his language and said his oath and put his *kris* back in its sheath. His act was followed by other Boné nobles [...].” (*ANRI Mak.135*:26th January 1778; *ANRI Mak.286*:26th January 1778)

The act of showing one’s loyalty or adherence was crucial in a situation when two kingdoms or parties were on the verge of warring. At such a time it was imperative to be able to identify one’s following by making subjects and nobles explicitly express their loyalty. Having identified whom he could rely on, the king could then strengthen his

forces and harness further support. Consequently, the importance of *mangngaruq* was twofold; to show one's loyalty to the head of state, and at the same time to enable the *Arumponé* to identify his supporters.

Prior to the *mangngaruq* act, a noble would be summoned to court by means of an invitation: the *bila-bbila*. There were two kinds of *bila-bbila*: one was used to invite the serfs or vassals of Bone to a feast; the other *bila-bbila* served to call them to go to war with their patrons. The former *bila-bbila*, for example, could consist of eighty knots, to indicate that the feast would take place after eighty days (Matthes 1874:211; Brink 1943:311-2). The *bila-bbila* for a summons to war had as many knots as there were days until battle began. There was little difference in the shape of the knots of each *bila-bbila*, but the manner of accepting the *bila-bbila* differed according to whether it announced a feast or a war. A *bila-bbila* for a feast would be taken from the king with the right hand, whilst making with the left hand the movements customary when dancing, as a sign that the recipient was fully prepared for song and dance. However, the *bila-bila* for war would be handed over with the right hand, and would be accepted by the recipient with the left hand. Dancing and stamping on the ground, the recipient then held his dagger with his right hand, waving it back and forth, by which he symbolically expressed his attachment to his lord. He would then make *ossong* (loud declarations of his loyalty to his patron, B.) that he was fully prepared to stand by his king's side in any battle (Matthes 1864-72 (I):515; Matthes 1884:6-7; Halilintar 1983:38). Failure to attend a feast without good reason was subject to a fine, according to the *adat*, as it constituted the offence of disobeying the *Arumponé*'s command.

During the Gowa war of 1777-1778, *mangngaruq* was performed in the presence of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh when he was already at Makassar. Throughout this period, his diary lists the nobles and allies carrying out the act of *mangngaruq*; for example:

19th January 1778:

"The *Maraddia* and *Matoa Balanippa* came to perform the *mangngaruq*." (DAS:f.26v)

4th February 1778:

"The *Datu* of Soppeng came to see me and he performed the *mangngaruq* together with the people of Soppeng." (DAS:f.27r)

Mangngaruq was also performed when a person was appointed as a military leader:

16th March 1778:

"I gave to the *Tomarilalang Malolo* the standard and he performed the *mangngaruq*." (DAS:f.27v)

18th March 1778:

“I gave to the *Suléwatang* Bontoalag the standard and he performed the *mangngaruq*.” (DAS:f.27v)

In addition, the *mangngaruq* act was performed after the ceremony of cleansing the state ornaments had been carried out, before the state ornaments were returned to their places of safe-keeping:

13th March 1780:

“The [royal] umbrella was supported and the service was conducted. I, too, [was subject to the rite]. The *Maqdanrang* together with the *Tomarilalang*, the *Anréguru Anakarung* and *Arung Tanété Matoa* performed *mangngaruq*. The umbrella was then placed back in its room [...].” (DAS:f.41v)

6.7.1 The investiture of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh

DAS also shows that *mangngaruq* was performed during the investiture of the king. One of the entries gives an elaborate description of the investiture ceremony and the procedure of *mangngaruq* within it. It was performed by the nobles and members of the court in the order of their hierarchical status in office:

10th May 1785:

“The *Arumponé* [performed] *mangngaruq* on the consecrated ground and simultaneously he also laid many cloths. Following [the *Arumponé*] later to perform *mangngaruq* in sequence were *Puang La Mappawakka*, *Ponggawaé*, [and the] *Addatuang* of Massépé. Then [followed by] the *Tomarilalang Matoa*, then the *Tomarilalang Malolo*. These five persons performed *mangngaruq* at the consecrated ground. Then the *Tomarilalang* of Patampanuaé carried the golden umbrella to the consecrated ground where the *Arumponé* stood. Then the gold umbrella was moved away from where it was placed.[...] *Arung Méngéq* also performed the *mangngaruq* at the *baruga* then the nobles of Boné who had not yet performed the oath held up their spears in unison.

This is to describe [the role of] *Arung Mampu* who [was the first] to begin the dancing [*mangngaruq*], because he was the *Anréguru* of the *Anakarung*, and then the *Anakarung*, then the children of the *Arumponé*, then the rest of the nobles danced. [They] danced [with] their spears [and] the same [act was] also [performed] by the [*Arumponé*’s] family members both old and young who were present at the investiture, and also the people of Lalebbata. When the *Anakarung* had finished *mangngaruq*, next to follow him was the *Tomakkajennangngeng*, *Anréguru To’Manarai*, then *To’Aluk*; for he was the official who administered members of the inner court. Then followed by *Arung Unynyi*, *Kapitan La*

Madeq, then *Anréguru* To'Angkeq, then the head of the warriors [and lastly] followed by the rest of the warriors [...]." (*BL MS. Add. 12355:f.84r*)

This entry also gives information on the status of Boné domains and tributary states in order of precedence. Evidently an occasion of great importance for his subjects, the investiture ceremony was also a vital and significant event for the newly appointed king, allowing him to observe his nobles' influence. The *Arumponé*'s investiture is mentioned more concisely in *DAS*:

8th May 1785:
 "The nobles of Boné from Lalebbata came to instate me.
Barakallah." (*DAS:f.77v*)

This is the only account found in relation to Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's investiture ceremony. It is surprising that such an important event is not recorded in detail, and there is no evidence to suggest why it was not. However, *DAS* does inform us that some activities were held at the palace prior to his investiture ceremony:

5th May 1785:
 "The nobles of Boné began to sit at the *baruga*. The *Pajung* [ruler of Luwuq] arrived. The nobles of Boné and [the nobles of] Waréq danced. The *bissu* contributed 107.5 *réal* and one *jemma* [to me]." (*DAS:f.77v*)

6th May 1785:
 "On the second night, the nobles of Boné [gathered again at the *baruga*]. The *Datu* [of Luwuq] also came. The nobles of Boné and Waréq [amused themselves by] dancing." (*DAS:f.77v*)

7th May 1785:
 "The nobles of Boné gathered on the third night. The *Datu* [of Luwuq] also came. The nobles of Boné and Waréq danced. I Kobisiq came by the order of the Governor." (*DAS:f.77v*)

8th May 1785:
 "The nobles of Boné from Lalebbata came to reinstate me.
Barakallah." (*DAS:f.77v*)

9th May 1785:
 "I went to the *baruga*, the nobles of Boné brought me one *jemma*. The *Datu* of Luwuq [also] gave me one *jemma*, all the people of Luwuq gave their contributions, an amount of 415 *réal* in total." (*DAS:f.77v*)

In this account of the nobles and courtiers amusing themselves in anticipation of a ceremony, the terse style of writing by no means does justice to the spectacle of the occasion. After the investiture ceremony has taken place, two days later, *DAS* reports:

12th May 1785:

“I went to the *baruga*. All the nobles of Boné came and said:

“By the grace of Allah, we all came here to [surrender to you] [...].” (*DAS*:f.77v)

Understandably, the investiture of a king occurs infrequently, the previous occasion having been the investiture of Sultan Abdul Razak Jalaluddin, *Matinroé ri Malimongang*, in 1749. It was thirty-six years later that the ceremony took place again, and from this fact alone one might expect Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh to have provided his readers with more information. When he was made successor to the throne of Boné in the early morning of 6th June 1775, his diary mentions the event thus:

“I was notified by the nobles of Boné on their decision to elect me as the successor [to the throne of Boné] as wished by the deceased king. And so I live in the deceased king’s palace.” (*DAS*:f.8r)

The information is perhaps meagre because the kingdom of Boné had to elect a new king before the deceased king could be buried in accordance with their custom. Yet, in the *Addendum* of 1775, no further information on the ceremony of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s election can be found; in fact, the entry in the *Addendum* of 1775 mentions only the cause of the late king’s death. As a result, we might speculate on the reasons for this delay in Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s investiture. Matthes (1872b:44-45), who spent a total of twenty-nine years in South Sulawesi, stated that he had never been fortunate enough to attend the investiture of a king. A number of new rulers had ascended the thrones of Boné and Luwuq during that period, but instead of the investiture, known as *lanti*, taking place, the successor to the throne was simply declared to be the king. According to Matthes, the ceremony was not carried out during the nineteenth century because the changed distribution of power in South Sulawesi meant that many of the customary practices could no longer be observed (Matthes 1872b:45).⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Matthes states that only when a king was invested according to the custom, did he deserve the expression of honour accorded to the kings of Luwuq, Boné and Gowa by their subjects. This display of honour consists of placing one’s hands together and bringing them to the forehead in such a way that the tips of the thumbs touch the tip of the nose, and at the same time saying: *usompai* (B.) or *sombangku* (Mak.). Both express that one pays, as it were, godly homage to the king; worships him. The Bugis *sompa*, or the Makasar *somba*, is the same as the Malay *sembah* (Matthes 1872b:45-48).

The case of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh, whose investiture took place ten years into his reign, leaves room for speculation. How significant was the ten-year delay in the political arena of Boné? Was it attributable to his young age, or to his need to first create and then strengthen his network of loyal followers, that his investiture did not take place until 1785? Conversely, could the timing of his investiture have been a cleverly orchestrated political move, that brought to completion a plot hatched some years previously?

For possible reasons why the investiture took place a decade into Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's reign, we must examine his politics in the 1780's, based upon evidence in his diary.⁵¹ *DAS* reports that on 25th September 1781, *Karaéng Sangata* and *Karaéng Penna* requested to see the *Arumponé*, while *DTM* mentions that, on the same day, a person named *Karaéng Tamasongo* and *Karaéng Pannuq* came to see the *Arumponé* accompanied by the author of this diary, the *Tomarilalang*:

25th September 1781:

"Petta *Maqdanrang* and I went together to accompany *Karaéng Tamasongo* and his son, *Karaéng Pannuq* to see the *Arumponé* and they [*Karaéng Tamasongo* and *Karaéng Pannuq*] were asked to remove their *krises*. After that only were they allowed to shake hands with the *Arumponé* [and *Karaéng Tamasongo*] confess that he was the Batara Gowa." (*DTM*:f.41r)

DAS is of little help in giving further information on the individual known as *Karaéng Tamasongo*. In my opinion, *Karaéng Tamasongo* alias *Karaéng Sangata* was I Sangkilang, the pretender to the throne of Gowa, as no-one else would dare to claim to be Batara Gowa. From 25th September 1781 onward, neither I Sangkilang nor issues relating to his insurrection are mentioned in *DAS*. Only on 15th July 1785, less than four years later, does *DAS* report on I Sangkilang again, when it mentions the death of the pretender:

"*Daéng Riboko* came to inform [me] the news on the death of the person who claimed to be the Batara Gowa [I Sangkilang]." (*DAS*:f.78v)

The death of I Sangkilang gave rise to a conflict over who had the right to keep the *sudang*. Against this background, the timing of the investiture of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh, which took place in May 1785, appears to have benefited from a startling measure of prescience, vital as his subjects' official recognition of him as their ruler was to his claim to the *sudang*. On 16th August 1785, *DAS* reports that the *Arumponé's*

⁵¹ See my discussion in Chapter 4.4.1 onwards.

adviser, the *Maqdanrang*, had sent *Daéng Riboko*, accompanied by the hill Makasar, to surrender the *sudang* (DAS:f.79r). Although it is not mentioned to whom the *sudang* was given, this question is answered by Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh a month later when he reports that the *sudang* was brought to the house of *Karaéng Balasari*, the mother of the exiled-Batara Gowa Amas Madina and *Daéng Riboko* (DAS:f.79v). After fourteen months, on 28th November 1786, an entry mentions the regalia of Gowa:

“[...] *Daéng Riboko* together with the [hill] Makasar came to send *I Tanisama* [...]” (DAS:f.87v)

The next day, on 29th November, a significant event took place in Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s palace at Watampone, which had far-reaching ramifications for the relationship between Boné and the Dutch:

“The *sudang* has arrived. *I Tanisama* together with other royal ornaments of Gowa was sent to me by the [hill] Makassar. They are, accordingly, in my possession [...]” (DAS:f.87v)

These entries from *DAS* suggest that the *Arumponé*’s subsequent claim to the throne of Gowa was greatly enhanced and legitimised by his investiture as king of Boné. If Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh had not undergone the investiture ceremony, which is required by the *adat*, he might have been unable to claim any right to the throne of Gowa. Indisputably, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh had the ruling power and was accepted by his subjects as their king before his investiture. However, the added value of public recognition and divine endorsement of him constituted by his inauguration is not to be underestimated.

Part of the investiture ceremony consists of an exchange of pledges between the king and his people, in which the king promises to protect them, in return for which the populace swears:

“[The *Adeq Pitu* said] you are the wind, we are the leaves.
Wherever you blow, there we will go.
Your desire is our wish,
You say and we shall obey,
Your wish is our command.
Ask, and we will provide.
Summon, and we will come.
Should you dislike our wife and children, then so too will we dislike them.

You shall guide us towards safety, harmony and peacefulness.”
(Saharruddin 1984:27)⁵²

At Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s investiture, his subjects’ pledge to him was formulated as follows:

10th May 1785:

“The *Puang Matoa* [the head of *bissu*] said: ‘You are the chosen one, who has been elected as the *Arumponé*, your people put their hope on you to protect them and to assure their safety under your rule, [for them] to have peace and [to acquire] wealth [...]’. The *Tomarilalang Malolo* said: ‘We, the people of Boné, want to effect our agreement that you have inherited [the throne] and [for you to] be our successor and we your servants. Your wish is ours, and your wealth we safeguard, [whatever] you dislike so do we. You are our lord and you keep us away from danger’.” (BL MS. Add. 12355:f.84r)

The language of this declaration carries a strong symbolic meaning. The expressions of unquestioning submission and duty of service serve to emphasise the all-encompassing supremacy of the king, and of his subjects’ acceptance of their wide-ranging responsibilities towards him.

As the above statement amply illustrates, the investiture ceremony served for Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s subjects to testify their loyalty and devotion to him. The solemnity and irreversibility of the vow is moreover expressed in the king twice asking the subjects whether they had true faith in their conviction:

10th May 1785:

“The *Arumponé* replied: ‘And you, the people of Boné, do you agree [to these] terms?’ The *Tomarilalang Malolo* then said: ‘Listen to the *Arumponé*’s reply, o you people of Boné! Have you all agreed to this contract?’ [...] Later the *Arumponé* said: ‘Have you any reservations?’ The *Tomarilalang Malolo* replied: ‘We have none.’ The *Arumponé* responded: ‘Will you deceive [me]?’ The *Tomarilalang Malolo* replied: ‘We do not perjure ourselves.’ Thus, an agreement was made between the *Arumponé* and the people of Boné.” (BL MS. Add. 12355:f.84r)

⁵² The above declaration was an early (standard) agreement between the king and the *Adeq Pitu* drawn up on the investiture of the king of Boné. Most likely the above example is equally applicable to the other Bugis kingdoms.

Although *DAS* makes no attempt to depict the grandeur of the inauguration, entries in one of the Bugis diaries, the *BL MS.Add.12355*, provide additional information on the pomp and ceremony of the event:

8th May 1785:

“*Arumponé* was shaded by the [royal] umbrella. As for the standards of the *paliliq* and the banners of the *Tomarilalang*, two hundred and twenty-two [standards and banners which were carried by each lord had] arrived and were present.” (*BL MS.Add. 12355:f.84r*)

9th May 1786:

“The nobles of Boné sent presentations to the *bissu*. The *Datu* of Luwuq also gave a slave [and was] followed by all the nobles of Luwuq in handing over their presents [to the *Arumponé*].” (*BL MS.Add. 12355:f.84r*)

11th May 1785:

The nobles of Boné performed *mangngaruq*, and honour [respect] was paid to the *Arumponé*.” (*BL MS.Add. 12355:f.84r*)

The act of *mangngaruq* which was performed during the investiture ceremony by the nobles of Boné along with Boné’s domains, tributaries and allies was a renewal of vows to Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh; a promise to be kept at all times and at all cost. It is understood that the importance of *mangngaruq* lay not only in its symbolising Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh’s supremacy, but also in the opportunity it opened for him to develop his influence by cultivating networks. Discussion of this will be continued in my next section, in the practice of gift exchange.

6.8 The tradition of giving and receiving gifts

Like many societies, the Bugis also practised the exchange of gifts. It appears that in any society, the act of giving a gift eventually brings its own reward (Mauss 1990:11). Gifts were almost invariably sent at the initiation of friendly relations between two parties. During the early voyages of the newly-formed East India Company, the captain would carry a general stock of presents, and at each port a suitable item would be selected and delivered with a letter from the English monarch. In the Malay Archipelago, many of the gifts given to the Europeans and mentioned in Malay letters through the centuries reflect local specialities: tin from Perak, cloth from Siak, spices from the Moluccas, and slaves and all forms of wildlife from all these places. In return, the Europeans brought fancy goods like rose water, snuff, crystal sugar, tea and chandeliers (*DAS:f.72r; f.113r; 118r; f.127v; ANRI Mak.419/I:18th June 1790*). The two

most popular and widespread presents, however, were cloth (mostly trade textiles from Europe and India) and firearms. Specimens of wildlife were amongst the gifts most sought after by the English officers, Raffles and Farquhar. Raffles frequently asked for, and received, presents of Malay manuscripts, and, on the other hand, *Karaéng* Pattinggaloang of Makassar received gifts of books, maps and rarities from Europe, as well as animals and weapons (Gallop 1994:83-5; Reid 1981:21).

At all functions or ceremonies attended by Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh or his wife, it is observed that the royal couple never fail to offer presents to the hosts, in the form of money or other materials. A gift given by a ruler to his subjects appears to symbolise respect, and one does not have the right to refuse it. The themes of credit and honour are manifestly interwoven. In relation to this, one may say that receiving gifts from the ruler could be interpreted as an honour that could help to raise one's status (cf. Mauss 1990).⁵³ Among the Malay nobles, gifts received from the king such as jewellery, weapons and costumes were so exclusive that no-one was allowed to have such things except those to whom the king had given them (Shellabear 1982; cf. Weiner 1992:131). Seemingly, the gifts received were not reciprocated at once; some time had to pass before a counter-presentation of gifts could be made. This means the notion of an ongoing association was logically implied by the giving of gifts when paying a visit, making a treaty, contracting a marriage or an alliance, or when attending games, fights or feasts organised by others.

Although in *DAS* there appears to be no record of refusal to accept gifts from the *Arumponé* or from the Queen, a number of entries reveal that the *Arumponé* and his wife returned gifts which were presented to them when they attended ceremonies or feasts hosted by their nobles:

16th April 1779:

"[...] The *Tomarilalang* held the head shaving ceremony for his daughter and I Sao performed her *Qur'an* reading. He (the *Tomarilalang*) presented to me 1 *tai* but I returned it to him [instead] I gave him 20 *réal* and one silver tray."
(*DAS*:f.35r)

⁵³ Mauss (1990:59) extracted from the *Mahabharata* two sections that tell about the seven *rsi*, the great prophets and their disciples, who refused to receive the extravagant gifts and golden figs offered to them by the king Caivvya Vrsadarbha. Instead, they entered a time of famine and had to eat the corpses of their dead to survive. The moral of this story is that to give gifts means to put someone in a state of indebtedness.

30th October 1781:

“[...] I went to my nephew’s house, *Arung* Paning. He presented 1 *tai réal* to me [but] I returned it to him [...].” (*DAS*:f.52r)

1st October 1782:

“I, together with Puang Batara Tungkeq, went to the *Maqdanrang*’s house and the *Datu* Soppeng and his wife came along with us for the ear-piercing ceremony of I Céku. I gave one person to I Céku. I Cowa, I Balo, and La Tessiabu were circumcised. I gave each of them a gun. Puang Batara Tungkeq also gave 1 *tai*. Puang Batara Tungkeq was also given a present, 1 *tai*, but she returned it to Petta Lémpang.” (*DAS*:f.59r)

The practice of gift giving may have had several motives. In most cases, it occurred between rulers and their vassals, and between vassals and their subjects. Through such gifts a hierarchy was established. Gifts from a ruler to his nobles or subjects could be perceived to enhance their political and social ties, to ensure their support and perhaps to ‘buy’ followers’ loyalties. In relation to this, Mauss (1990:74) mentions that the motive for giving gifts is “to show one’s superiority, to be more, [and] to be higher in rank [...]. To accept without giving in return [is] to become small [or] to fall lower [...]”. Mauss observed that in Trobriand society the system of gift exchange pervaded the whole economic life. In a society that practises gift exchange, an unequal relationship of domination between the giver and the receiver is established, because the giver is usually regarded as superior to the receiver. In this connection, Strathern (as quoted in Gregory 1982:47) states, “Whether this superiority implies political control over the recipient or whether it merely indicates a gain in prestige on the part of the giver are matters in which individual systems vary”. As for *DAS*, the entries referring to gift exchange as practised in the court of Boné suggest it had two dimensions; for political control as well as for prestige.

In a society that bases its relationships upon clientele, the practice of gift giving is significant. For the *Arumponé*, the practice can be understood as a *modus operandi* to extend social circles, not only between his nobles and subjects, but also to stimulate ties with other foreign kingdoms. A few entries from *DAS* explicitly refer to such relationships whereby communications in letters were accompanied by gifts to enhance diplomatic relations:

7th June 1783:

“He [a messenger] has received [collected] my letter of reply to [the ruler of] Banjar. I sent eight horses [to the ruler of Banjar].” (*DAS*:f.64r)

8th June 1783:

“La Selekang [the messenger has] received [collected] the letter that I am going to send to the Sultan of Johor. I sent two pieces of *sarong*.” (DAS:f.64r)

Certain social obligations are implied by the examples of gift giving in the diary: those with greater fortune and status should give to the less fortunate. This practice of giving alms, *sadaqa* (Ar.), is usually mentioned in the diary as a contribution after the death of the *Arumponé*'s kinsmen or nobles. The contribution of gifts in the form of *sadaqa* is encouraged by the teachings of Islam. At the same time, especially in a semi-monetarised society, such a practice may have facilitated the *Arumponé*'s relationship with his kinsmen and nobles in order to produce a friendly feeling between the people concerned (cf. Andaya 1993:106). The diary gives the impression that the *Arumponé* gave away more gifts than he received, which suggests that his personal income was more than sufficient for his needs.

6.8.1 The social symbolism of gifts

The practice of gift-giving by the upper stratum to persons of a lower class or among the same class has several nuances. According to Mauss (1990) a gift that does nothing to enhance solidarity is a contradiction. In addition to the *Arumponé* offering gifts, DAS tells us of the *Arumponé* receiving gifts from his subjects and nobles, *via* the *pakkuru sumangeq* (B.) and the *paccellaq* (B.).

It appears that almost all Austronesian societies believe in the presence of *sumangeq*, loosely the 'soul' or spirit. It is believed that *sumangeq* can leave the point of attachment suddenly, rendering the body relatively inanimate (cf. Endicott 1970:47-86; Winstedt 1925). It also emanates outwards, thinning in widening circles from the vital centre. At the same time, humans are constantly shedding *sumangeq* through bodily waste, or, less tangibly, through shadows, footprints, and the sounds produced when speaking (Errington 1989:52). Each of these losses has a characteristic fate, and carries the danger of exposure to evil spirits or black magic. In the event of the ruler having encountered several misfortunes, a special ceremony was performed to help restore his *sumangeq*. In DAS, this occasion is recorded as the *pakurru sumangeq*. It is believed that the event served to coax back the dispersed *sumangeq*, by the word “*kurru...kurru*”, which evokes the cooing sound made when feeding the chickens (Errington 1989:53; Matthes 1872b:10; cf. Winstedt 1961:14-20).

Although the diary provides insufficient details of how the ceremony was conducted and what took place, it does record that gifts were given by the nobles and subjects to the *Arumponé*. The diary entries pertaining to the *pakkuru sumangeq* inform us that it was held because of mishaps that had befallen the *Arumponé*: illnesses, disasters when his palaces caught fire, or other incidents which were considered unlucky. For example, after five weeks on the throne of Boné, *DAS* tells us that part of the residence of *Arung Méru* caught fire (*DAS*:f.8v). Two days after the incident, and for the first time since he became the *Arumponé*, he recorded that he received some gifts through the *pakkuru sumangeq*, with the aim of restoring his weakened spirit:

10th July 1775:

“The nobles of Boné contributed 26 *réal*. [The nobles of] Binamo 1 *tai*. *Arung Mario*’s personal contribution was 4 *réal* in total.” (*DAS*:f.8v)

In the years that followed, numerous entries on the *pakkuru sumangeq* are found subsequent to fires at his palaces at Boné and Makassar (*DAS*, 28th August and 31st August 1778:f.30r). *DAS* mentions more than thirteen entries on the *pakkuru sumangeq*, among them the following:

1st September 1778:

“*Datu Soppeng* contributed one *jemma* to me after my palace caught fire. The nobles of Boné together with the grandchildren of the *Mappajung* contributed [money], an amount of 65 *réal*. *Tomarilalang* contributed one *jemma* [...]. The people of *Wajoq* who reside at *Ujung Pandang* contributed thirty *gantang* of rice to me.” (*DAS*:f.30v)

3rd September 1778:

“The nobles of *Sumaling* contributed 1 *tai* whilst the troops [of *Sumaling* contributed] 2 *réal*. The freemen contributed an amount of 4 *réal*, the *jénang* of *Pannampu* together with his followers [contributed] 5½ [*real*].” (*DAS*:f.30v)

4th September 1778:

“Contributions from [the nobles of] *Sidenreng* 1 *tai*, *Rappang* 1 *tai*, *Suppaq* 1 *tai*, *Sawitto* 1 *tai*, *Enrékang* [and] *Wawo Iwa* 1 *tai*, *Bérru* 1 *tai*, *Binamo* 1 *tai*, *Bangkala* 1 *tai*, *Laikang* 1 *tai*, *Bulukumpa* 1 *tai*, *Tanete* 1 *tai*, *Pitumpanua* 1 *tai*, *Bulo-Bulo* 1 *tai*, *Raja* 1 *tai*, *Lamatti* 1 *tai*, *Lamuru* 1 *tai*, *Batu Lappa* 41 *réal*, *Alitta* 4 *réal*, *Barana* 4 *réal*, *Beroanging* 4 *réal*, *Kasa* 4 *réal*. Thus the total amount is 156 *réal*.” (*DAS*:f.30v)

The *pakkuru sumangeq* was also conducted as a token of good wishes after the *Arumponé*’s wife had safely given birth. In this regard, the diary contains the following:

23rd October 1775:

“[...] I Tenripada gave birth to a baby girl [...]. I gave (B.) *ota salabettaé* to her [a special kind of betel-quid] as my good wishes. For the baby, I gave two persons.” (DAS:f.10r)

28th September 1781:

“After 7.00 [p.m.], Puang Batara Tungkeq gave birth. It was a baby boy. Praise to Allah. As my good-wishes, I gave her a set of betel-leaf containers decorated with gold-plated pearls.” (DAS:f.51v)

2nd November 1782:

“After 11.00 [p.m.] Puang Batara Tungkeq gave birth to a baby boy. I gave one person as my good-wishes to her [...].” (DAS:f.59v)

The entry on 23rd October 1775 indicates that the giving of betel-quid not only represented good wishes, but also implied an honoured status. The *Sejarah Melayu*, commenting on this, states that those who were offered betel-quid from the king's betel box were considered to have been bestowed high honour by the king, as only a select few would have such a chance (Shellabear 1982:144).

Apart from the *pakkuru sumangeq*, gifts were also presented to the *Arumponé* under the auspices of *paccellaq*. The Bugis word *cellaq* means red, as in the old Bugis for betel-quid, which, instead of *ota*, was called *pacellaq*; that which makes red. Following this meaning of *sirih*, the Bugis *pacellaq* was used for a kind of homage which was paid to a king, especially the king of the land, on the occasion of his visit. The gift varied according to the status of the king; for example, a gift of 4 *réal* for a king without a kingdom, 8 *réal* for a king with a kingdom, and 24 *réal* for a *bocco* (states of Boné, Soppeng and Wajoq) (Friedericy 1933:562). The gift was presented on a tray together with a betel-quid.

The *paccellaq* was also used in legal settlements as a payment in kind or value; the plaintiff, when he won the case, had to pay to the judge, in a form of a homage (offering betel-quid). *Paccellaq* was also given in the form of a share of the yields of the fields that the cultivator gave to his master by way of homage (or *sirih*). The *Adatrechtbundels* (1917:272) also says that *paccellaq* was given to the king in the form of a share in an inheritance, whether in kind or in value, by way of homage. Entries relating to *paccellaq* tributes abound in DAS:

30th May 1780:

“[...] The *Maqdanrang* together with the *Tomarilalang* brought gifts [*paccellaq*, B.] from I Banri an amount of 5 *tai*

after he held the office as the *Datu* of Lamuru.[...].”
(*DAS*:f.42v)

17th September 1780:

“The *Tomarilalang* came and brought *Daéng* Parani [to me] to present me his gift [*paccellaq* (B.), as his homage] after he held office as the *Karaéng* Bulukumpa.” (*DAS*:f.44v)

21st January 1783:

“The *Matoa* Labakkang presented his homage [*papaccellaq*, B.] 1 *tai* to me after the paddy-fields that belonged to his parents were returned [to him].” (*DAS*:f.61v)

6.8.2 Types of gifts

Conventionally, every gift has to be returned in some way, setting up a perpetual cycle of exchanges within and between generations. In some cases, the specified return is of equal value, producing a stable system of statuses; in others it must exceed the value of the earlier gift, producing an escalating contest for honour. Sahlins (1974:186) says the connection between material flow and social relations is reciprocal. A specific social relation may constrain a given movement of goods, but a specific transaction - “by the same token” - suggests a particular social relation. Thus, relationship and gifts are reciprocal; if friends make gifts, gifts make friends.

DAS does not mention whether there was any specific form of gifts that had to be given at certain ceremonies. However, *DoM* clarifies this with information on the quantity of money one should contribute:

Addendum 1791:

“[...] Regarding [...] the value [that should be] contributed in *passolo*: *Paqbicara* 4 *réal*, *Tomarilalang* 2 *réal*, *Ponggawa* 2 *réal*, *Anréguru* *Anakarung* 1 *réal*, *Arung* *Pitu* 1 *réal*, *Gellarang* 2 *suku*, *Tau tongeng* 2 *suku*, *Anakarung* (who inherits property) 2 *suku*, *Anakarung* (who does not inherit any property) 1 *suku*, *Suro* 1 *suku* [...] in addition some would give to the *Arumponé* ½ *tai* or 1 *kati*. Some would contribute to the *Arumponé* according to the *Arumponé*’s wish; some would contribute according to their own wishes.

On the occasion of death, the contribution depends on our own wishes. For other family occasions, it will suit the *adat* [...]. On the occasion of *papakerru sumangeq*, it depends on us. For freeman, the contribution is ¼ *suku* or rice. For the *kadi* 2 *réal*, *imam* 1 *réal*, *khatib* 2 *suku*, *bilal* ¼ *suku* or maybe 1 *tali*. However, the donations depend on us and are not bound to the *adat*. For the *Anréguru*, [the contribution] is the same as the *imam*, while for the *Jennang*, [the contribution is]

similar with the *khatib* and the same goes for the [court] scribe [...]. The end.” (*DoM*:f.16r–17v)

In general, though, money was observed to be the most common form of gift for *pakkuru sumangeq*, *paccellaq* or any other customary ceremonies or rituals. For instance, in the *pakkuru sumangeq*, a wide range of gifts is mentioned. The types of gifts and their number of occurrences in the diary can be summed up as below:

<i>Items</i>	<i>Number of times received by the Arumponé</i>	<i>Number of times given away by the Arumponé</i>
Money	65	0
Slaves/ <i>jemma</i>	18	15
Rice	16	0
Textile	1	0
Jewellery	1	1
Weapon	0	1
Gold	2	0
Buffalo	1	0
Chicken	1	0
Others - betel box	1	1
Kettle	1	0
Silver box	0	1
Lake	0	1
Total	107 times	20 times

Figure 6.8: Items given at *pakkuru sumangeq*, 1775-1795 (source: *DAS*)

The gifts given as *paccellaq* can be summarised as below:

<i>Items</i>	<i>Number of times received by the Arumponé</i>	<i>Number of times given away by the Arumponé</i>
Money	41	0
Horse	1	0
Slaves/ <i>jemma</i>	2	1
Paddy	1	0
Total	45	1

Figure 6.9: Items used in the *paccellaq*, 1775-1795 (source: *DAS*)

It was a tradition for the Boné nobles or for the *Arumponé*'s relatives to pay their respects to the *Arumponé* a few days after their wedding. These newly-wed couples would receive gifts from the *Arumponé* and his Queen:

Items	Number of occurrences		No of times
	bride	groom	
Food container - <i>pao jengki</i>	x		1
Weapons (guns, ammunition)		x	33
Silver trinkets	x		1
Textiles	x		13
Betel set	x		1
<i>Jemma</i> / Slave	x	x	12
Jewellery	x		9

Figure 6.10: Presents given by the *Arumponé* and the Queen to the bride and groom, 1775-1795 (source: *DAS*)

From the above table, there appear to be some patterns in the giving of gifts to brides and groom. It can be seen from Figure 6.10 that customarily, the *Arumponé* would offer weapons to the grooms; a symbol of manliness, a sign of bravery and courage to face their new future as husband and father (Hamid 1985:138-39). The weapons, usually guns, came in various kinds: the ordinary gun, the *pamorasaq*, the *bagusuq* as well as ammunition, called *badili jéppo* (B.). Brides frequently received textiles and jewellery from the Queen. Two kinds of cloth seem to have been given regularly: *lipaq caq ulu*⁵⁴ and *kalamkari*⁵⁵. In addition jewellery, in particular rings decorated with precious stones, appears to have been another common item given to the bride. Gifts of *jemma* or slaves could be given to the bride or the groom.

From Figure 6.10, too, one interesting feature worth observing is the polarization of feminine and masculine gifts. In relation to this, textiles or cloths are considered to be ‘female goods’ and are associated with fertility, as is manifestly depicted in the textile motifs of the Toba Batak of Sumatra (Niessen 1985:114ff), and the Kodi of the Sumbanese (Hoskins 1989:158-162). In the culture of Atadei, of Nusa Tenggara Timur, textiles play an important role as marriage gifts given by the bride’s family to the groom’s family. Among the Polynesians, cloth is essential at all births, marriages, deaths, and the taking of titles or rulership. Textiles are also significant at funerals as they signify respect for the deceased and are used to wrap the corpse before burial, as seen in many other societies in Indonesia (Snowball and Sweeting 1990:4; Kerlogue 1997:68-75; cf. Weiner 1992:88).

⁵⁴ *Lipaq caq ulu* is a kind of *sarong* with a motif at the ‘head’ referring to the visual centre of the *sarong*; this may be an area of contrasting pattern, usually two rows of confronting triangles spanning the width of the cloth.

⁵⁵ *Kalamkari* is derived from the word *qalam*, ‘pen’, and *kari*, ‘workmanship’. In trade records, *kalamkari* is used to identify hand-painted resist- and mordant-dyed cotton textiles, produced to high standards, a product of the Coromandel Coast and around Surat (Guy 1998).

In Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's diary, several types of textiles are referred to: *antalasaq*, *kasa*, *giling*,⁵⁶ *lipaq caq ulu*, *kalamkari*, *mong*, *muri*, *muslin*, *topé*,⁵⁷ *topégajang*, *widang*, etc. Textiles were also among the presents sent by the Dutch to the court of Boné (cf. Sutherland and Bree 1984:13-20) during the newyear, at the celebration of *Eids*, and on the occasion of royal births. Presents from the Dutch generally took the form of a miscellany of objects:

28th November 1776:

"[...] The gift parcel, a sign of good-wishes from the Dutch had arrived and it was sent [to me] by the messenger of Parekki, [there were] two pieces of *giling*, a piece of *muri*⁵⁸ cloth, a piece of white *topé* and a bottle of snuff." (DAS:f.17v)

20th October 1780:

"The messenger of Pajekko arrived from Ujung Pandang ordered by the *Suléwatang* Bontoalaq to bring the gifts of good wishes from the Company; a piece of thin muslin cloth, two bottles of snuff, a packet of spice and one *palobo* [a kind of vase]." (DAS:f.45r)

30th June 1789:

"I Réwa came [to see me] ordered by the *Suléwatang* Bontoalaq to bring the goodwill gifts from the Company for the celebration of *Eid ul-Fitri*; a piece of yellow *giling*, a piece of *kalamkari*, three bottles of rose-water and four packets of spices." (DAS:f.106r)

As a whole, the exchange of gifts in Bugis society takes place along the same lines and for the same motives as it does in many other societies. However, the social hierarchy prescribed and maintained by the *adat* code is clearly a determining influence. Gifts given by the lower class to the ruler could be seen as tokens of love, loyalty, homage and obedience as construed by the *adat*. Conversely, gifts bestowed by the ruler on his nobles or subjects are tokens of honour and esteem, and could be used to buy the loyalty of his followers or subjects and to enhance diplomatic ties. Reciprocally, gifts make friends and *vice-versa*. The giving and the receiving of gifts by the *Arumponé* seems characterised more by its political than its economical function.

⁵⁶ The word *giling* is absent in Matthes' diary (1874). However, it is understood to be kind of textile, probably cotton.

⁵⁷ Aminah (1982/1983:3) describes *topé* as a kind of *sarung* worn by children of noble birth at the age of four years old. For more information, see Moreland (1925:239); and Andi Nurhani (1985).

⁵⁸ *Muri* is fine-quality plain weave cotton suitable for chintz painting.

6.9 Summary and conclusions

This chapter has explored the diary's potential as a historical source on Bugis society and culture. The diary enlightens us about literature, education and the arts, a range of leisure pursuits, acts of religious devotion and rites of passage. It sheds light on the rituals of the upper class and the royal court, in particular the ceremony of *mangngaruq*. The importance of *adat* in the carrying out of many of these activities is apparent throughout.

A strict social hierarchy is manifest in all forms of cultural life. This hierarchy permeated daily life in the form of titles and official positions, and the appropriate length and expense of feasts and celebrations. Some leisure activities and festive occasions were reserved solely for the upper and ruling classes. *DAS* provides a window on to literary production, palace ceremonies, rites of passage, and types of dance. Some of the customs recorded in *DAS*, such as the 'ritual separation' of the betrothed couple prior to the marriage ceremony (*appasau*, B.), are still practiced today by the Bugis elite.

Another dominant force in shaping Bugis culture was religious practice within the court of Boné. Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's profound interest in *tariqa* study resulted in the production of religious books, adding to the richness of Bugis literature. In the late 1780s, he declared the *Khalwatiyyah* to be an official *tariqa* in the Kingdom of Boné and later, on 25th January 1809, he mentions his family members, his sons and son-in-law, La Mappangéwa and La Makkulawu, joined the *Naqsyabandiah's tariqa* (*BL MS.Add.12350*:fols 15r-16v). His religious faith, scholarship and involvement in spiritual affairs permeates his diary. The practice of his giving and receiving gifts is illuminated in its political as well as its social dimension. On the other hand, the diary shows us some more lighthearted facets of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's persona. We learn about the king's favourite pastimes, and see him in the role of doting patriarch, as well as gregarious host, in organising feasts and celebrations for his family members, nobles and subjects.

Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's leisure pursuits do not differ from those of other rulers in Southeast Asian kingdoms, but accounts of his pastimes have allowed us to understand him better as a human individual. His enjoyment of the more active and traditionally masculine pursuits of horse riding and cock fighting would appear to have provided an opportunity for the male ego to assert itself. This self-profiling as a masculine personality becomes more nuanced, however, in the light of the aspirations and disappointments he voiced when competing his own fighting cocks and race horses.

Similarly, his frequent boat trips indicate a more delicate sensibility, and an appreciation of the serenity and tranquillity of the natural world. As he travelled around his domains, building networks of allegiance; Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh was able to combine his enjoyment of the countryside with day-to-day statecraft. This mixing of business and pleasure, his love of sports, and the way in which he occasionally shines through his writing as an emotionally-responsive individual, allow us to characterise him as subtle but firm, hardworking and intelligent.

Chapter Seven

Conclusions

The principal aim of this study has been to establish what the diary of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh can tell us about politics, economy, culture and society in the kingdom of Boné from 1775 to 1795. The intention was to further existing knowledge in a number of areas, namely the structure of the political system of Boné, the social organisation of the kingdom, the economic basis of the ruling elite, the cultural life of the court, and Ahmad as-Salleh's political strategy in his dealings with the Dutch. The purpose of this concluding chapter is to evaluate to what extent these various aims have been realised.

Bugis diaries are characterised by a matter-of-fact style of writing, and a marked economy of words. Because of their terseness, a hermetic approach to studying such a text would inevitably fall short of achieving a comprehensive understanding of the society that produced it. In order to address the issues that the conventions of this textual tradition engender, the information contained in the primary source was cross-referenced with information recorded elsewhere, in other Bugis diaries and in contemporary Dutch records.

La Tenritappu Toampaliweng, who bore the regnal title of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh, was the twenty-third ruler of Boné. He began writing his diary at the age of nineteen. His diary (a single volume which I refer to as *DAS*) covers twenty-one years, from 1775 to 1795. *DAS* has a European binding of quarto size and contains 202 folio pages of imported European paper, and is preserved in the Oriental and Indian Office Collections at the British Library in London. Together with several other Bugis diaries, apart from a brief description by Cense (in Ricklefs and Voorhoeve 1977), *DAS* has lain undisturbed for over one and a half centuries. *DAS* was selected from four of Ahmad as-Salleh's diaries because it has an average of twenty-two entries per month, considerably more than do the other three diaries.

Ahmad as-Salleh explicitly mentions in *DAS* that he began to write his diary in preparation for his future role as king, following the decision by the nobles of Boné that he succeed his grandfather to the throne. Since the time of *Arung* Palakka Malampe-é Gemmeqna, the keeping of diaries was a tradition at the court of Boné. Not only the ruler, but also high ranking ministers of state, would keep their own diaries. It seems

probable that these diaries were kept at the palace at Bontoalag, where they functioned as court records. For the ruling elite in the court of Boné, the keeping of a diary was not a 'personal' matter, but linked to political realities, and the sources of finance which underpinned the ruling of the kingdom. Traditional cultural practices were also recorded in these diaries, in particular the life cycle ceremonies surrounding the royal family of Boné.

To label these diaries simply as political, legal and commercial records would, however, be incorrect, as they also contain a wealth of information on aspects of everyday life in Bugis society. There is no attempt in the diaries to separate out the threads of politics, economy, culture and ritual in their depiction of the events, both external and domestic, which they record. Their function was to serve as manuals of guidance for later rulers in matters of decision-making. Among the entries in *DAS* can be found references to war, disputes between Boné and the Dutch and among the nobles, trading, meetings, legal precedents and the correct implementation of traditional practices, privileges, punishments, rites and ceremonies.

The nature and purpose of the Bugis diaries, and of *DAS* in particular, is thus very different from the conventions of the modern diary. Whereas the formal qualities of the modern diary centre on the exposition of the author's self-identity, such introspection is almost entirely absent in *DAS*. For the most part, the information that can be gleaned about the person of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh is derived by drawing inferences from what he writes about his social circle, consisting of his family members, other relatives and his nobles. In spite of its prime function as a 'public' record (albeit one to which only a limited number of people would have access), *DAS* nonetheless constitutes its owner's personal record. The diary always accompanied the *Arumponé* on travels away from the royal court, as shown by entries which record the locations of their writing, for example, Makassar, Maros and the inland parts of Boné.

The diary's strange combination of public events of statecraft and personal details (in one entry Ahmad as-Salleh complains about an abscess on his groin, and in another of a loud fart from the palace cook) and family outings (he enjoyed boating and fishing in the company of his wife) confound our full understanding of his diary. Nevertheless, I believe that we can understand the diary best as a public rather than a private document. At the time of the diary's writing, matters such as the king's health, and even his recreational pursuits, could be considered matters of statecraft in an age when the king, to a large degree, symbolised the kingdom itself.

DAS presents the researcher with a number of technical problems. Bugis diaries have their own criteria, relating not only to their written style, but also to features such as layout, instructions for determining auspicious times using the *bilang*, and the placing of entries within the allocated space on the page, indicating the time of day the event took place. The succinctness of the entries means that the information provided is frequently partial or incomplete. Close study and cross-referencing with other Bugis diaries, as well as with contemporary Dutch sources, help clarify and contextualise many of its entries, as well as to identify events on which it remains silent. Generally, Dutch records contain considerably more detail on events than the Bugis diaries, and make apparent the limits of the Bugis diaries as a historical sources.

Like other diaries, *DAS* is largely written in the Bugis language in the Bugis script. Occasionally the Makasar language is used, while Arabic formulations, written in the Arabic script, occur frequently. The Arabic expressions served to give spiritual succour in the event of deaths, births, marriages, treaties of alliance, natural events such as eclipses, and calamities such as fire and flood.

The political matters that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh chose to record in his diary enable a new understanding of events in South Sulawesi during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Most strikingly, new information is obtained in those instances where the Bugis version of events deviates from that recorded by the Dutch. In addition, it is by juxtaposing the contents of *DAS* with other Bugis diaries and Dutch records that the real character of the writer is revealed. Aside from the characteristic brevity of the diary's accounts, a comparative approach shows that *DAS* omits certain events, and embellishes others. The intention of this subjective selection on the part of its author can, I argue, be understood as a desire to present to later generations the most favourable portrait possible of himself. The selective nature of the entries in the Bugis diary also functions to assert the superiority of the Bugis over other ethnic groups in South Sulawesi. In particular, the entries relating to the insurrection of I Sangkilang, and the resulting Gowa war, show the Bugis in a good light and make manifest their martial prowess against foreign powers. The issue of the *sudang*, as expounded by the combined information from *DAS* and the Dutch records, also reveals the calculated political strategy of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh.

Although *DAS* does not function as a ledger of the *Arumponé*'s financial transactions, it shows the various sources from which his revenues were derived. Despite difficulties in quantifying monetary values, I conclude that the *kasuwiyang* was the most significant source in supporting his household, while the annual Dutch grant was the most substantial, and consistent, cash revenue. Other sources of revenue, such

as fines, are strongly in evidence, and the economic importance of slaves as a sales commodity, and in providing labour for his rice-fields and household, is evident. Disputes over revenues occurred frequently between Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh and the Dutch administration. Mostly these centred on trading practices, and the rivalry caused by the indigenous ruling elites in having to compete with the Dutch and to abide by the regulations imposed by them (in an attempt to monopolise trade), which caused much dissatisfaction among the Bugis nobles.

Ahmad as-Salleh's unhappiness with the Dutch is evident throughout the diary. Among his earlier entries are complaints about attempts by the Dutch administration to revoke certain privileges enjoyed by his ancestors. His unhappiness is exemplified in his most determined political acts, namely his refusal to return the regalia of Gowa, and his self-legitimation as the ruler of Gowa. Economic disputes also arose between the Dutch and the subjects of Boné who lived under Dutch administration in Makassar and the Northern Territory. In particular, the Dutch governor complained to Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh about the difficulties that Dutch tax-collectors had in levying the *verthiening* from his subjects. The king's lenient treatment of those who refused to pay taxes to the Dutch further emphasises that harmonious bilateral relations with the Colonial administration were hardly a paramount consideration in his political stratagem.

The *Arumponé*'s growing interest in religious matters enables us to understand his firm stand towards the Company. Under the term of the treaty of Bongaya, Boné was the Company's main ally, but in reality Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh saw the Dutch as a competitor. His awareness of the Company's declining power during the eighteenth century gave him a new impetus to try its patience. His growing interest in *sufism* is, I would argue, to a certain extent the other side of the same coin. By identifying the kingdom of Boné more closely with Islamic tradition and practice, he was able to distance the Dutch from himself and from the identity of his kingdom. His dislike of the Dutch is expressed at times in intemperate language when he refers to the Dutch as *ata Balanda*, which can be read (probably deliberately) as 'slaves of the Dutch' or 'Dutch slaves'. By juxtaposing the diary with other sources, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's true capabilities are revealed. On the surface, he appears an amiable and receptive man, while a deeper analysis reveals a strength of will and a toughness of character, combined in a cautious and careful nature backed by an astute mind. His personality as revealed through his diary mirrors his political stratagems. Both are subtle but self-aware.

DAS provides us with numerous insights into the lifestyle of the upper classes of late eighteenth century Bugis society. Social milestones such as marriages and births are

recorded, and much can be learned about the leisure pursuits of the *Arumponé*. The traditional practice of exchanging gifts allows us to assess the proximity of the relationships the *Arumponé* had with his nobles and relatives. These social ties and gatherings provided a kind of network to support his political career. Many entries relay a large amount of information economically; interpretation can be difficult, and confusion is often compounded by the various names and titles used to refer to one and the same person. Cross-referencing the diary with other diaries and contemporary texts reduces such difficulties.

Research on the history of South Sulawesi is at an early stage. There exists, in particular, a vast lacuna in our knowledge of the eighteenth century, which this current study has gone some way to redress. Its contribution to this area of research is twofold. In the first place, the validity and viability of the Bugis diary as a source for historical analysis has been demonstrated. Subject to an adequate understanding of the nature and purpose of the Bugis writing culture, and provided that appropriate safeguards, such as cross-referencing to available secondary sources, are included in the methodology, the potential of the Bugis diary for the future study of the history of South Sulawesi is enormous. Among the strengths of the Bugis diary as a primary source are the genre's realism and detail, the immediacy and precision with which events are recorded, and, above all, the human dimension that underlies the information conveyed. The Bugis diary's usefulness as a historical source is not boundless, however, as certain limitations are inherent in its textual conventions. In particular, attempts to arrive at a rounded characterisation that gives substance to the persons mentioned in it, and even the author himself, are often frustrated by these constraints. Whatever we have learnt about the persona of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh from his diary, was inevitably mediated by the self-consciousness of the man himself.

Secondly, this research has unearthed a rich source of information concerning life in Boné during the eighteenth century. Most notably it has illuminated life at the royal court. Through the medium of his daily record, we learn also of the lives of his social inferiors, insofar as their affairs affected his duties as ruler. Interaction between the court, the nobles and their subjects occurred in a diverse range of activities, such as social gatherings and feasts, taxation and homage, and judging disputes. The relationship between the *Arumponé* and all strata of society, although structured within a rigid hierarchy, is shown to have involved reciprocal responsibilities. The *Arumponé*'s relationship with, and attitude towards, the Dutch administration is shown to have varied from one of diplomacy, through unconcealed indifference, to outright belligerence. By comparison, Ahmad as-Salleh's relationships with indigenous rulers

and nobles appear to have been conducted with greater heed for the possible long term consequences of his actions toward them.

This critical study of *DAS* has served to support and lend additional weight to existing scholarship on South Sulawesi, as well as to throw new light on important aspects of Bugis culture. The potential for future research using Bugis diaries in concordance with other contemporary materials, and the diversity of the information there is to be found within them, is clear. By identifying the weaknesses of the genre and accounting for them, it is possible to extract a wide variety of historical facts. This methodology future scholars will be able to apply and build upon in their studies. This work has also identified a number of areas in which more research would undoubtedly prove fruitful. In conclusion, the central aim and ambition of this thesis is to stimulate interest in, and to rehabilitate to some extent, a genre that constitutes a veritable gold mine of information and which, unjustly, has been overlooked by researchers for too long.

Tamat al-kalam.

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Honourable Governor of Macassar, Mhr. Barend Reijke, dated 22nd July 1783.

- b. Report of a committee made to the Governor in Council of Makassar, Mhr. Barend Reijke Esqr: On an inquiry concerning the complaints of the king of Boni, 14th July 1783.
- c. Compendious account drawn up by order of the Supreme Government of Batavia, in their separate letter of 1st February this current year. Exhibiting all affairs and occurrences, running to the charge of the king of Boni, and his subjects, with an addition of some remarks, etc, by Mr. P.T. Chasse, the Governor of Makassar.

BL Raffles Collection No.V.

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Glossary

A

<i>A'uzubillahi minha</i>	'I seek protection from Allah against this'
<i>Adeq</i>	traditional custom
<i>Af'al</i>	the Divine Action [of Allah]
<i>Afscheeper</i>	a Dutch Company tax official
<i>Akkarungeng</i>	a place with an <i>arung</i>
<i>Alhamdulillah</i>	'Praise is due to Allah'
<i>Al-Isya'</i>	a prayer performed at nightfall
<i>Amauré</i>	uncle or aunt
<i>Anakarung Jowa</i>	head of the soldiers
<i>Anakarung ribola</i>	family members of the court
<i>Anakarung sipué</i>	<i>anakarung</i> 's children from a noble woman of lower degree
<i>Anakarung</i>	a prince or princess of lesser nobles
<i>Anaq céra</i>	children and the children's children of an <i>anaq sengngeng</i> or <i>sangaji</i> who married commoner wives
<i>Anaq mattola</i>	children of the ruling king or queen; crown prince or princess
<i>Anaq rajéng</i>	<i>anaq mattola</i> 's children from a woman of lower status
<i>Anaq sengngeng; sangaji</i>	<i>anaq mattola</i> 's children from woman of equal status
<i>Anaqdara</i>	daughter
<i>Angngaji</i>	the knowledge of the holy Qur'an
<i>Anréguru</i>	a head of lesser nobles
<i>Anri</i>	younger brother or sister
<i>Antalasaq</i>	a kind of velvet textile
<i>Apéla</i>	a kind of vessel
<i>Appasau</i>	an isolated room for the bride and groom to stay prior to the wedding
<i>Aqdatuang, Aqdaong</i>	title of the ruler of Sidenreng
<i>Arajang</i>	traditional regalia
<i>Arumponé</i>	title of the ruler of Boné
<i>Arung Palakka</i>	'Lord of Palakka', title borne by the heir apparent of Boné
<i>Arung Pattola or Mattola</i>	Crown Prince
<i>Arung Pitu, Adeq Pitu</i>	Council of Seven Lords of the Kingdom of Boné
<i>Arung</i>	title of lord or noble of Bugis
<i>Asé; wassé</i>	paddy
<i>Asma'</i>	the holy names [of Allah]
<i>Assarapaq</i>	the knowledge of Arabic grammar
<i>Assaréa</i>	the Islamic law (see <i>syari'at</i>)
<i>Ata mabuang</i>	new slaves
<i>Ata manak</i>	inherited slaves

<i>Ata</i>	slave
<i>Ataribolang</i>	the king's slaves in the palace
<i>Attaréka</i>	the knowledge of the spiritual path
<i>Attasalo</i>	the upper river
<i>Attoriolong, Patturioloang</i>	history of the people of the past
<i>Ayat</i>	verse

B

<i>Bab</i>	chapter
<i>Badiliq jéppo</i>	a kind of ammunition
<i>Bagusuq</i>	a kind of gun
<i>Bandeng</i>	kind of sea or fresh water fish
<i>Barakallah</i>	'May Allah bless'
<i>Baruga</i>	a kind of stage, marque
<i>Baté Salapang</i>	the Council of Gowa, consisting of nine lords
<i>Belleq</i>	a kind of fish trap
<i>Bicara</i>	process of law
<i>Bila-bbila</i>	royal summons to war or to attend a feast
<i>Bilal</i>	person who call for prayers
<i>Biluq</i>	a kind of vessel
<i>Bissesetu</i>	word indicating a leap year
<i>Bissu</i>	transvestite ritual specialist
<i>Bolu</i>	kind of sea or fresh water fish
<i>Bombang</i>	a kind of seashell-like clam
<i>Boompagt</i>	toll bar
<i>Bosaraq</i>	a container with stand
<i>Bowé</i>	great grandparents
<i>Bulo</i>	bamboo
<i>Bupati</i>	district officer
<i>Buwu</i>	a kind of fishing trap made of rattan

C

<i>Cilaong</i>	head <i>jénnang</i> of Boné
<i>Cupak</i>	a traditional measurement weighing a quarter of a <i>gantang</i> or 675 grams

D

<i>Daéng</i>	elder brother or sister
<i>Dampeng</i>	to ask for pardon
<i>Datu</i>	title of the ruler of Luwuq and the ruler of Soppeng
<i>Déndéng</i>	a kind of cooked meat
<i>Dhikr</i>	to recite the names of Allah

<i>Diyat</i>	compensation or ‘blood money’ paid to the family of the deceased
<i>Doi manuq</i>	‘chicken coins’; coins with pictures of cockerel on them
<i>Doi</i>	a kind of currency, a small specie
<i>Doja</i>	person responsible for the management of a mosque
<i>Durian</i>	<i>Durio zibethnus</i> , a kind of fruit with spiky or thorny skin
<i>Dzat</i>	the Divine Essence [of Allah]

E

<i>Eids</i>	Muslim festive celebrations, <i>Eid ul-Fitri</i> and <i>Eid ul-Adha</i>
<i>Empang</i>	fish pond
<i>Eppo</i>	grandchild

F

<i>Falak</i>	astronomical calculation (in determining the end and beginning of month in Islamic calendar)
<i>Faraid</i>	the Islamic system of distributing inheritance property
<i>Fasal</i>	part

G

<i>Gantang</i>	a kind of traditional measurement weighing four <i>cupak</i> or 2.176 kilograms
<i>Gaukang, gaukeng</i>	regalia; sacred object
<i>Gellarang</i>	lesser Bugis noble; a deputy regent; head of a village or region
<i>Giling</i>	a kind of cotton cloth
<i>Gubenur</i>	Governor
<i>Guru</i>	teacher

H

<i>Hajratu aswad</i>	the black stone at the Kaabah
<i>Haqiqat</i>	the spiritual truth
<i>Hizb</i>	prayer formulas
<i>Hijrah</i>	Muslim calendar

I

<i>I'tiqad</i>	to have belief
<i>Imam</i>	person who leads a prayer

<i>Ina</i>	mother
<i>Inataué</i>	a lower ranking official; a headman
<i>Inauré</i>	aunt
<i>Innalillahi wa ina ilayhi roji'un</i>	'From Allah we come and to Him we return'
<i>Intjé</i>	polite way of addressing a person, similar to Mr. [X]
<i>Ismujalala</i>	divine light associated with spiritual knowledge

J

<i>Jaga</i>	a kind of dance
<i>Jemma tongeng</i>	a trusted serving maid or man; a trusted slave
<i>Jemma</i>	serving maids or serving guards; slaves
<i>Jennang bola</i>	<i>jennang</i> who is in charge of the palace's household
<i>Jennang pasar</i>	<i>jennang</i> who is in charge of the market
<i>Jennang</i>	regent, lesser noble
<i>Jeruk wangkang</i>	a kind of citrus fruit from China; similar to a clementine
<i>Jonga</i>	deer
<i>Jowa</i>	soldier

K

<i>Kabupaten</i>	regency; an administrative unit
<i>Kalamkari</i>	a kind of double-knotted Indian cloth
<i>Kampung</i>	settlement
<i>Karaéng</i>	title for the ruler of Gowa or nobles of Makasar
<i>Karatasaq</i>	paper
<i>Kasa</i>	a kind of muslin cloth
<i>Kasuwiyang</i>	dues to the <i>Arumponé</i>
<i>Kathi, kadhi, kali</i>	Muslim cleric
<i>Kati</i>	a kind of currency worth 80.33 <i>réal</i> ; a kind of measurement weigh 0.6 grams
<i>Kawerrang</i>	bundle; bunches of paddy stalks bound together
<i>Kecamatan</i>	district; an administrative unit
<i>Kéci</i>	ketch
<i>Kemben</i>	a kind of belt
<i>Kemiri</i>	a kind of nut; candle-nuts
<i>Kepala bicara</i>	Head of Justice
<i>Khatib</i>	preacher in the Friday congregation
<i>Kitab</i>	book
<i>Kora-kora</i>	a kind of <i>prau</i>
<i>Kris</i>	dagger with a straight or wavy blade

L

<i>La Galigo</i>	long Bugis epic poem on the legendary early rulers of Luwuq and Cina
<i>La ilaha illallah Muhammad Rasulullah</i>	‘There is no god except Allah and Muhammad is His Messenger’
<i>Labubatu</i>	anchor tax
<i>Langsat</i>	a kind of fruit with thin skin, yellow-orangish in colour, with slightly sour taste
<i>Latoa</i>	“Mirror of Kings” chronicling the wisdom of the ages and a guide for good government
<i>Lenggang perut</i>	abdominal massage usually performed in the seventh month of pregnancy
<i>Lingua franca</i>	common language spoken
<i>Lipaq caq ulu</i>	a sarong with a motif at the ‘head’ referring to the visual centre of the sarong
<i>Lomo</i>	lower ranking official in Gowa
<i>Lontaraq</i>	traditional manuscript written on a <i>lontar</i> , palm leaves, <i>Borassus flabelliformis</i> or <i>Livistona tundifolia</i> .
<i>Lopi</i>	a kind of boat; ship

M

<i>Mati teméi puna lambe</i>	‘to urinate against a tree that goods are hanging from’; to act against the norm
<i>Maccéraq</i>	to smear (something) with blood in ritual ceremony
<i>Majjala</i>	to catch fish by using a fishing net that is cast out
<i>Makasar</i>	ethnic group living in southwest South Sulawesi; their language
<i>Makassar</i>	historical kingdom of the Makasars, capital port-city
<i>Malopi-lopi</i>	to go boating
<i>Mangngaruq</i>	the Bugis way of swearing an oath of loyalty
<i>Mappajung</i>	royal descendants of Luwuq
<i>Mappaliliq</i>	agricultural rites performed prior to ploughing the paddy-fields
<i>Mappanambé</i>	to catch fish by using a kind of fishing net, a drag net
<i>Maqdanrang</i>	the <i>Arumponé</i> ’s personal secretary
<i>Maqkedangtana</i>	‘Speaker of the Land’, one of the highest ranking officials
<i>Matinroe ri</i>	‘He who lies at [x]’
<i>Matoa</i>	head of a village, elders
<i>Ménréq</i>	to go ‘up’
<i>Mong</i>	a kind of textile
<i>Mujair</i>	a kind of sea water fish

Muri a fine-quality plain weave cotton suitable for chintz painting

N

Ncajiangngeng parents (could refer to mother or father)
Nénéq grandfather or grandmother
Nikah muhalil a woman's marriage following an irrevocable divorce
Nikah marry
Niléja tédung 'to be trampled by buffalo'
Nirékko to massage the body to make it supple

O

Ossong a kind of war poem
Ota salabétta betel quid given as a sign of wellwishing
Owang a kind of currency used in the eighteenth century Boné worth 10 *doi*

P

Politik kawin mawin political marriage
Pabaté-baté land obtained through war
Pabéan Dutch fiscal officer
Paccellaq to make something red; a kind of homage paid to the king
Padaurané brother
Padéwakang a kind of ship
Paganrang, panganréng a drummer
Pagter Dutch tax collector
Pajejenangngeng Cilaong the head of *jennang* in Boné
Pajumpulaweng golden umbrella, part of Boné's regalia
Pakkatenni adéq officials who execute the laws
Pakkuru sumangeq a ceremony performed to restore a person's spirit
Palélangné auction place
Paliliq tributaries and domains
Pamorasq a kind of gun
Panambé a kind of fishing trap
Pangelli dara 'to buy nobler blood'
Pangémpang fish pond
Panghulu Jowa head of the troops
Pangibing a person who offers money or gifts to a dancing girl in order for her to dance with him
Pangkuruq a kind of Bugis boat
Panngadéréng laws and regulations

<i>Panrosaq</i>	financial penalties; fines
<i>Pantun</i>	a verse with an a, b, a, b rhyme
<i>Pao jéngki</i>	a container made from the skin of a (giant) mango
<i>Paqbicara</i>	head of Justice
<i>Paqlontaraq</i>	person skilled in reading, writing and understanding Bugis manuscripts
<i>Pariamang (windu)</i>	cycle of eight years
<i>Passangingang</i>	a set of clothing
<i>Passoloq</i>	contribution given by nobles and populace to the king
<i>Patéko</i>	a kind of walking stick
<i>Pekki</i>	a corrupted form of <i>Fiqh</i> , which means a person who is knowledgeable in Islamic jurisprudence
<i>Pencak or mencak</i>	a kind of art of defence
<i>Pessé</i>	commiseration or empathy with one's fellow men
<i>Petor; Petoroq</i>	an assistant resident of the Company
<i>Petta Mangkauq</i>	the ruler of Boné, <i>Arumponé</i>
<i>Pijja jonga</i>	cured venison meat
<i>Ponggawa</i>	Commander-in-Chief
<i>Prahu/ prau</i>	small boat
<i>Primbon</i>	Javanese calculation of auspicious and inauspicious times
<i>Pukat</i>	net
<i>Pusaka</i>	inherited

R

<i>Ramadhan</i>	the ninth month of the Hijrah calendar; the month of fasting
<i>Ratib</i>	a Malay word equivalent to recitation of praise to Allah and the prophet Muhammad
<i>Réal</i>	a kind of currency, worth 0.8 <i>rijksdaalder</i>
<i>Rijksdaalder</i>	a kind of currency, worth f.2.5
<i>Rijksornamenten</i>	royal decorations
<i>Ringgit</i>	a kind of currency
<i>Rukyah</i>	the sighting of the new moon (in determining the beginning of the month in Islamic calendar)

S

<i>Sabageq</i>	a kind of picture
<i>Samparaja</i>	a flag; one of the regalia of the kingdom of Boné
<i>Sangkilang</i>	a helmsman's seat
<i>Santari</i>	student who learn religious stuffs in a <i>pesantren</i> (a religious institution)

<i>Sarong caq ulu</i>	a <i>sarong</i> with a motif at the ‘head’ referring to the visual centre of the <i>sarong</i>
<i>Siri’</i>	self-respect, dignity or face
<i>Sirih salabétta</i>	prepared betel leaf offered to a person as a sign of welcome, or blessings after having faced misfortunes
<i>Sirih</i>	betel leaf
<i>Sisik</i>	turtle or tortoise shells
<i>Sompa, sunrang</i>	dowry
<i>Sosoq</i>	payment made in an effort to seek pardon from the <i>Arumponé</i>
<i>Subhanallah</i>	‘May He be glorified’
<i>Sudang</i>	a kind of dagger; one of the regalia of the kingdom of Gowa
<i>Suku</i>	a kind of currency worth a quarter of a <i>réal</i> ; an ethnic group
<i>Suléwatang</i>	lesser Bugis noble, a regent
<i>Suro</i>	messenger
<i>Syahbandar</i>	harbourmaster
<i>Salawat</i>	praise (to the prophet Muhammad)
<i>Samposiseng</i>	cousin
<i>Sao wekkeq</i>	a royal crèche
<i>Sawah</i>	rice-field
<i>Séajing</i>	ally
<i>Sedekah</i>	alms; donation
<i>Sembah</i>	to pay respect to the ruler; to bow down
<i>Sifat</i>	the Divine Attribute [of Allah]
<i>Sirih</i>	betel leaves
<i>Songkok</i>	a kind of headgear worn by man
<i>Sosoq</i>	a kind of payment of fine; pardon gift
<i>Suro ribaténg</i>	a trusted page; an official envoy whose role was to take messages to other kingdoms
<i>Suro</i>	page, messenger
<i>Syariah</i>	Islamic jurisprudence
<i>Syeikh</i>	a leader; a title
<i>Syukur</i>	to praise god

T

<i>Tadarrus</i>	reading and learning the Qur’an in groups
<i>Tai</i>	a kind of currency worth eight <i>réal</i>
<i>Takarrub</i>	to supplicate in order to get a closer position to God
<i>Talak</i>	divorce
<i>Tana pamasé</i>	land which is given as reward
<i>Tangkai</i>	sheaf
<i>Tapong</i>	a kind of trousers which fall below the knee

<i>Tarawih</i>	a non-obligatory prayer performed at night during the month of Ramadhan
<i>Tariqat</i> (pl. <i>thuruq</i>)	path
<i>Tasawuf</i>	a branch of Islamic knowledge which focuses on the development of the spiritual
<i>Tau tongeng</i>	a trusted person, gentry or lower nobility
<i>Tau</i>	person
<i>Taullah 'umur hu or (ha)</i>	'May Allah lengthen his or her life'
<i>Tédumpulaweng</i>	a kind of <i>kris</i> , one of the Boné's regalia
<i>Tédong</i>	buffalo
<i>Tellumpocco</i>	'The Three Powers', a term applied to the alliance between the kingdoms of Boné, Soppeng and Wajoq in 1584
<i>Téq</i>	to ascend; to go up (river)
<i>Tetta</i>	father
<i>Timpo</i>	savings box made from bamboo
<i>Tjinkara</i>	a plain ring; unadorned with stone
<i>To'panrita, To'sulésana</i>	a person who is well educated
<i>Todécéng</i>	the good people
<i>Tokko</i>	a kind of payment of fine; payment of damages
<i>Toloq</i>	a kind of Bugis poems
<i>Tomanurung</i>	'He or she who descended', a term applied to the founding rulers of kingdoms
<i>Tomaqbicara</i>	the head Judge
<i>Tomaradéka</i>	the freemen
<i>Tomarilalang Malolo</i>	the junior minister of the Interior
<i>Tomarilalang Matoa</i>	the senior minister of the Interior; President of the Supreme Advisory Council
<i>Tomarilalang</i>	Minister of the Interior
<i>Topé</i>	a kind of cloth
<i>Topégajang</i>	a kind of cloth used to attach a weapon to the waist to prevent it from falling
<i>Tosama</i>	the common people
<i>Trépang</i>	a kind of sea slug
<i>Tuda-ttudang</i>	gathering prior to the main ceremony of weddings, circumcisions, and other social functions

V

<i>Verthiening</i>	a tax of one-tenth imposed by the Dutch Company on subjects under its jurisdiction in Makasar

W

<i>Wakafa billahi syahiida</i>	‘Allah is sufficient witness’
<i>Wangkang</i>	a kind of ship referred to as a Chinese junk
<i>Wanua</i>	smaller areas of territorial and political unit, each having its own self-governing body
<i>Wassé</i>	a bundle of paddy which consists of two <i>kawerrang</i>
<i>Wetté</i>	popped rice
<i>Widang</i>	a kind of white cloth
<i>Wird</i>	litanies; repetitive recitation of the names of Allah

Z

<i>Zakat</i>	tithe, a fixed proportion of the wealth and property that a Muslim is liable to pay yearly

Appendix C:



- (1) The first building on the left is said to be the location of the grave of the twenty-third ruler of Boné, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh, at Rompégading, Makassar, South Sulawesi.



- (2) The river which leads to the former palace of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh at Cénrana, in Maros, now used for rearing fish



- (3) The reputed site of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's palace at Cénrana in Maros. Cénrana is the name of a tree also known as the *angsana*. *DAS* records that the *Arumponé* planted *angsana* trees near his palace. Elderly informants remember the trees before the land was cleared for building houses.



- (4) Makuri, at Maros, mentioned in *DAS* as one of the *Arumponé*'s landing places for his palace at Cénrana.



- (5) Padangsetan at Maros, one of the settlements mentioned in *DAS*. Many paddy-fields have been transformed into ponds for rearing freshwater fish.



- (6) Pallette at Boné, a place where those who were found guilty of committing incest were punished by drowning, as mentioned in *DAS*.



(7) Three stones buried at Timurung to symbolise the “Tellumpocco” alliance of Boné, Soppeng and Wajoq in 1584.



(8) The *tana bangkalar* or the *posiq tana*: the ‘navel of the earth.’ The soil from *tana bangkalar* was placed on a golden tray on which the *Arumponé* put his feet, to symbolise his descent from the ‘heavenly descended’ founder of Boné.



(9) *Latea riduni*, one of the regalia of the kingdom of Boné



(10) The house of the last *Ponggawa* of Boné, at Watampone.



(11) The hair of *Arung* Palakka



(12) *Paqjogeq*



(13) *Bissu* in trance



(14) *Doi manuq*, one dated 1791



(15) A Bugis wedding



(16) *Pajumpulaweng*, one of the regalia of Boné