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Origins of South Celebes Historical Writing

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I

Comparison of the best-known local traditions of historical writing in Indonesia will bring to light some typical differences among them as to style, subject matter, and attitude to history, even if one allows for geographical and language differences. Taking the *Babad Tanah Jawi* as a typical example of Javanese historical writing, I want to mention here only two things which characterize it in contradistinction to South Celebes historical writing: the abundant mythological components and the prophecies which form an essential part of its structure.

The discussions on this subject over the last years have made it clear that the mythological elements in Javanese historical writing pose intricate problems of interpretation for the investigator. These mythological elements not only are found in the form of long imaginary dynastical genealogies and miracle tales concerning what perhaps might be called legendary times but even are present in a tale such as the siege of Batavia in 1629, which according to Berg is an instance of contemporaneous historical writing whereas de Graaf believes it to date some fifty years later. In this tale we read of a minister of the Javanese king who flies through the air and ruins a city wall by merely pointing at it. Also in these later parts of the *Babad* the fate of the dynasty or the course of history is often foretold by perspicacious people several decades beforehand.

Turning from Java to South Celebes, one feels as though one were

coming into quite another climate. The Buginese and Macassarese chronicles occasionally even reveal tendencies quite opposite to the Javanese. Their writers have clearly tried to disassociate themselves from the mythological and legendary elements that they had to include because they found them in their sources. If they had to tell about a certain queen of Bone who was taken away by a whirling fire from heaven which ascended the stairs of her palace while she was sitting in the garret, they make it clear by repeatedly inserting such words as "it is said" or "according to the story" that they would not take responsibility for the tale. Or when it is told that a king of Sidenreng wanted at any cost to buy a crocodile which, as rumor had it, usually had golden excrements, the writer relates with dry humor the disappointment of the buyer who did not get what he expected.

Mythological elements certainly are not absent in South Celebes chronicles, but usually they are confined to the very first part of the writing. There we find the so-called *manurung* tales which explain the origin of the dynasty as founded by a king and queen descended from heaven. But even in these cases the tale is told in a quite matter-of-fact way and purely from the human side. The chronicle of Bone, for instance, relates that in the time before there was a king the country was once hit by earthquakes, lightning, and thunder, lasting for a whole week. After these natural phenomena had finally ceased, a man was seen standing in the center of the plain, clad wholly in white. This man was thought to be a *manurung* ("descended one"). So all the people gathered and resolved to ask him to become their king, for until then there had been only trouble and dissension among them. But when they approached him for this purpose, he proved not to be the *manurung* himself but only his servant. When he got their firm promise that they would take his master as their king, he at last led them to the real *manurung*. They found him clad in yellow, sitting on a flat stone and surrounded by other servants who held his yellow umbrella, his fan, and his betel box. Thereupon he consented to accept full power as king of Bone and was solemnly inaugurated as such by the people.

It is a noteworthy feature of such a tale that the first king's descent from heaven is presupposed and alluded to by the word *manurung* but about the actual event itself nothing is related.

Another chronicle, that of Tanete, starts by relating that some people of a little village, Pangi, once upon a time while hunting came to the top of a mountain and saw there a jar full of water. They concluded that there were probably people on the mountain, and after a while

they really found a man and a woman, who apparently lived on fish which were brought to them by birds. As the villagers thought them to be *manurungs*, they asked them to become their king and queen. But the two people refused to descend to the villages. After some time, however, they agreed to give their daughter in marriage to the head of one of the villages, if the people promised always to bring them certain products of the wood, no matter where they would settle. When after many years the man and his wife with their sons at last founded a new settlement near the coast, this relation with Pangi and the other villages was renewed. But they themselves did not become the king and queen of the settlement which was the later Tanete. They had to ask the king of neighboring Segeri to take that function, because he was of truly royal blood, though at the same time subordinated to the kingdom of Goa. The descendants of the two people from the mountain became viceroys.

It will be clear from this rather intricate story that it is primarily meant to explain the position of the dynasty of viceroys and the existing historical relations of Tanete with some inland villages and with the kingdoms of Segeri and Goa.

Such stories with comparable explanatory elements are not confined to historical literature. They presumably are connected with every community, small or large, which has its own object of worship. An interesting example was found by Chabot during his sociological studies in Borongloe, a small part of the kingdom of Goa. A stone was its center of worship, and a short tale explained the origin of the stone as well as the relation of Borongloe to Goa and to a neighboring community. Such a common object or center of worship, together with the story about it, acts as a means to increase the internal coherence of the community, and therefore to foster the expansion of the community's power.

It is understandable, therefore, why stories about *manurungs* and the like had also to be included in local chronicles whenever somebody set himself to write down the history of his country.

Prophecies after the manner of the Javanese *Babad Tanah Jawi* we seldom or never come across in South Celebes chronicles. One example from South Celebes is a little story about Arung Singkang which, however, has not been incorporated in any of the chronicles but can be found only in a separate small manuscript. In the eighteenth century this Arung Singkang, who was a man with quite an interesting personality, played an important role in the history of the kingdom of

Wajo'. Though of Wajorese noble birth, he had sought his fortune on the east coast of Borneo and had assembled there a rather considerable force of some forty large ships with a devoted group of Buginese warriors. At a given moment he sailed home to Wajo', which at the time was more or less subjected to Bone, the principal ally of the Dutch East India Company in South Celebes. His large force caused no little consternation in Wajo' and Bone, the more so when he asked permission to go ashore. By all means Bone and Wajo' wanted to avoid this, but their force did not suffice to stop him. In our little story we are told that Arung Singkang, not getting permission to go ashore, sailed away to the opposite shore of the Bone bay. On a little island there he met a person, called "the big scabby one," who urged him to go back to Wajo', because he surely would liberate Wajo'. So Arung Singkang returned, and afterward he did succeed in going ashore and driving the Bone troops out of Wajo'. He was finally even able to cause the relations of Wajo' with the Dutch to become juridically uncertain because a new contract remained unsigned. Thus the prophecy he had acted upon according to this story certainly can be said to have come true.

This little story does not relate the issue forecast by the prophecy. The events of the following years we find in some chronicles of Wajo' and in a rather extensive and detailed piece of writing about Arung Singkang. There no prophecies are mentioned. On the contrary, the writers have confined themselves to recording facts: the actions of the leading personalities, the words spoken in official diplomatic negotiations, etc.

In general, South Celebes historical writing is characterized by a certain terseness and matter-of-factness. Most of the chronicles are comparatively short.¹ Fifty pages would be considered quite long. Many of them are much shorter. One of the reasons may be that their writers were assuredly not poets, while most of the long Javanese historical writings are poetical works. Historical poems are not wholly absent in South Celebes literature, but the local chronicles always are written in a rather dry and nonliterary prose style, which often even makes a piecemeal impression.

This especially applies to chronicles such as those of Goa and Tallo',

¹ The historical writings usually called "chronicles" form the central part of South Celebes historical literature. They were designated by a special term (Macassar: *pattorioloang*; Buginese: *attoriolong*), meaning "the things concerning the people of former times." This shows that they were regarded as the historical writings par excellence.

in which the facts related are not given in strictly chronological order. Instead they are grouped in sections of related subjects. Only the main chapters are in chronological order, since each of them covers the time of one of the successive kings. But within these chapters an order of subject matter is more or less strictly adhered to. Successively mention is made of the names of the king, i.e., his personal name, his title of nobility, his title as an appanage prince, and his royal name; then his age at the time of several important events of his life and the number of years he reigned; then the wars he waged, the kingdoms and places he subdued, and the pacts he concluded; after that the wives he married and the children he had; thereafter sometimes the new techniques or customs which for the first time came into use during his reign. Finally, there is usually some appreciation of his character and capacities before the chapter is concluded with his death and his posthumous name.

That the writer indeed had a fixed scheme of subject matter in mind while composing his chronicle becomes especially clear—as Cense has remarked—from the occasional statement that there was nothing to relate about some of these subjects. The writer apparently felt obliged to say so expressly, and he told the reader, for example: "On this subject I cannot say anything because I have not found any notes about it, and nobody whom I asked for information could help me."

This method of composition gives a sure guarantee of the accuracy of the composer and the reliability of his work. But, on the other hand, the lack of chronological data connected with it represents a serious drawback to its usefulness as source material.

Other chronicles though chronologically arranged throughout also show a lack of precise chronological data. Dates nearly always are missing, even when they are known from other Buginese or Macassar sources. Sometimes only the number of years that elapsed between two events is mentioned. But there are also chronicles, for instance the long chronicle of Tanete, that lack even these data. There events are connected only by phrases such as "after some time" or "after some years." In this regard too there is an essential difference from Javanese historical writing. The typical Javanese chronogram, consisting of a date disguised in words that have figure value and abundantly used in some Javanese chronicles, is completely unknown in South Celebes. More affinity seems to exist with Malay historical writing. There too one often looks in vain for dates.

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in the more or less official local chronicles. Perhaps this may be attributed partly to the influence of the ordinary folk tale of indigenous or foreign origin, in which dates are never to be expected. It might also be possible that this chronicle style goes back to times when no chronology was yet in use. Then there is the possibility that the precise dates were thought to be sufficiently and more properly preserved in other kinds of writing, as in the so-called diaries.

All this does not mean, however, that there are no writings containing dates. The long piece about Arung Singkang mentioned above is a clear example. In that, almost every event is dated by means of the Moslem or European day and month or by the number of days elapsed since the event previously mentioned. Thus it becomes possible to make up an exact time table from day to day over a number of years during the period covered by the story of Arung Singkang.

From an example such as this it will be clear that there must have been independent and contemporaneous sources which contained these dates and which could be used by any history writer. The method of the chronicle writer then was to take over the data from this source without the dates which formed its frame. In the case of the Arung Singkang story mentioned, the data were connected into a continuous story interspersed with dates.

There is every reason to suppose that these sources in question were the historical "diaries"; for the diaries as we still have them are usually books wherein days and months were written down beforehand for a number of years, while for each day some space was left open to be filled with notes. Several valuable diaries of this kind, used by kings of Bone and containing interesting historical information, are preserved but still need to be edited.

The only diary edited so far is the Macassarese one of Goa and Tallo', which mainly covers the seventeenth century and the first part of the eighteenth century. Apparently it has been handed down from one generation to the next, each continuing to make historical notes about his own time. There are indications that sometimes earlier parts were touched up in later times. Occasionally some notes were added later on, and sometimes persons are called by names which they got only after their death. But on the whole it is clear from their very detailedness that the larger part of the notes are really contemporaneous. One example may suffice to illustrate the way in which important pieces of information were put down. They are always very short, exact, and particularly detailed as to dates: in the year A.D. 1638/A.H. 1049 it was

recorded that "on Wednesday the 15th of June, the 12th of Shaffar, at one o'clock, the king Tu-ammenanga-rigaukanna Sultan Alaudin died."

In this way all kinds of events were briefly recorded. The royal diaries contain information not only about births, marriages, deaths, and other happenings in the royal family and about state affairs, war expeditions, pacts, and visits but also about such extraordinary natural phenomena as eclipses, earthquakes, and comets or such occurrences as the arrival of an elephant presented to the king by a Portuguese merchant—in short, all things which in one way or another were considered interesting or important.

This habit of keeping diaries—there are also several private ones, and in the Malay colony at Macassar there were even diaries kept in Malay—seems to have been confined to South Celebes and the peoples that underwent cultural influence from there. In neither the Javanese nor the Malay cultural area do we ever hear of this kind of literature. Perhaps the Javanese so-called year *babads* are nearest to the Buginese and Macassarese diaries, but they are far less detailed in their dates. The Javanese *primbons* might possibly be compared with the notebooks from South Celebes; but in this case too there is a real difference in content, the *primbons* being primarily collections of religious and particularly mystical speculation.

In South Celebes there seems to have been a real urge for recording all sorts of facts, especially perhaps in the heyday of the Macassarese and Buginese cultural expansion. Data concerning very practical and material things such as weapons, fishing implements, houses, ships, financial matters and inventories, laws, and customs have been recorded on pages of diaries left open for the purpose, as well as in separate notebooks. There exist translations of Spanish works on artillery and the making of gunpowder. Buginese maps of the sea with precise geographical annotations have been found.

In this wider sphere of general attitude and interest we obviously must note the attention to historical recording—chiefly the keeping of diaries but also the writing of chronicles and other historical literature. It was an urge to save from oblivion all sorts of things worth knowing that drove many people to write history. In the introduction to several chronicles the writers have expressly said so and have briefly stated why they undertook to record the past. The chronicle of Goa, for instance, declares: "The recording is done only because it was feared that the old kings might be forgotten by their posterity; if people were ignorant about these things, the consequences might be

that either we would consider ourselves too lofty kings or on the other hand foreigners might take us only for common people."

No doubt much of the material we now find included in the chronicles was first recorded for very practical reasons, outside the sphere of pure historiography. This means, for instance, that pacts concluded between states or negotiations conducted between them were immediately recorded in writing for use again later in practical politics. We know, in fact, of several instances which show that historical documents were used in political deliberations. At the same time, however, these written records were eventually included in writings on history and in this way became parts of the historical literature.

Summing up our argument so far, we might say that South Celebes historical writing in several respects proves to be in close congruence with the region's whole culture—to be firmly rooted in it and, at least partly, to originate directly from it. This of course merely gives some indication as to the ultimate origin of the phenomenon as such. But in a negative sense it can be said that there are several essential and striking differences from other Indonesian historical writing such as Javanese historiography. This seems to exclude any strong influence from outside as a simple explanation of its origins.

II

Besides these typological considerations of a general nature, there remains the task of inquiring in a more detailed way into the origins of this tradition of historical writing. The actual facts of time, place, and contributing circumstances must be made an object of investigation, if there is to be any progress in our understanding of origins and development. This task is not an easy one. In the first place, we have to rely wholly on the products of South Celebes historical writing itself, since we are carried back into times for which no detailed outside information concerning South Celebes is available. The Portuguese, it is true, already had some superficial contacts with this region in the sixteenth century, but what they have to tell us about it is very little and of a rather general and fragmentary nature.

Furthermore, precisely for that century the diaries, our valuable sources for later times, are still lacking. The earliest one does not date before the beginning of the seventeenth century. Information concerning earlier times is contained only in some of the local chronicles. None of these writings themselves, moreover, was composed in the sixteenth

century. The earliest chronicles that are still extant were written in the course of the seventeenth century.

In spite of this scarcity of material and the uncertainty concerning its value, we will try to trace some important lines of historical development which may lead us back to the beginning of the sixteenth century and to the time when historical writing began. The chronological data contained in the oldest chronicles will be the footholds for our steps along this way.

Thus we must work on the presumption that these chronological data are reliable if we want to get anywhere, even though there is no way to demonstrate whether they are right or not beyond the fact that they show no internal contradiction. We assume, in the second place, that reliable chronological data in some way or other originate from contemporaneous sources.

At the same time there will be opportunity to illustrate in somewhat greater detail what kind of historical information one may expect to get from these chronicles and diaries and how it may lend itself to historical research. Some of the main developments of the history of South Celebes will be briefly outlined.

If we start from what is known, we must begin with the time when Islam was adopted in South Celebes, i.e., the beginning of the seventeenth century, because from this time come the first fixed full dates, which later may become the starting point for gradually working backward chronologically.

In ascertaining the right date for the Islamization of South Celebes, I will make use of the results contained in an earlier publication in Dutch, for until recently there has existed some confusion about this date in the literature concerned. Several European writers mention a precise date—and some of them even add the day and the month—for the Islamization of Goa and Tallo' which were the first states on South Celebes to adopt Islam officially. But these dates mentioned vary from 1603 to 1606. A similar confusion seemed to exist in Macassarese sources, for the diary edited gives 1603, the chronicle of Goa 1606, and that of Tallo' 1605. Most of the former statements proved to be finally based on one of the Macassarese sources. Moreover, an old Dutch East India Company report about a visit to the town of Macassar in 1607 fixed the Islamization "some four years ago."

As usual, the diary of Goa and Tallo' gives only a very short communication of one sentence: "The king and one of his brothers adopt Islam." Since this same sentence occurs also in the chronicle of Tallo'

in the chapter on King Karaeng Matoaya who at the time was also chancellor of Goa, we may conclude that it was he who took the initiative in this change of religion. This is corroborated by the Arabic name he adopted on this occasion—Abdullah Awwal-al-Islam, which means Abdullah the first Moslem.

The diary mentions not only a year but also a double date, according to both the Christian and the Moslem calendar, the eve of Friday the 22d of September A.D. 1603, the 9th of Jumad I A.H. 1015. This information, however, proves to contain some errors: these dates of both calendars indeed coincided, but actually in the year A.D. 1605/A.H. 1014, and the day of the week was a Thursday. These data are sufficient to assume that the figure 3 in the diary as well as the 6 in the chronicle of Goa are scribes' errors and that the year 1605 was meant in both cases. Incidentally we may remark that John Crawford in his book of 1819 gave this same year.

Apparently in this year the king of Tallo' and chancellor of Goa personally embraced Islam, and his example was soon followed by the king of Goa, Alaudin, who was much younger and honored his chancellor as his father. The diary reveals, however, that it was not until the year 1607 that "the first Friday service was held at Tallo', when we adopted Islam." Presumably the completion of the official Islamization of the whole state took some two years.

It is at any rate quite incompatible with Macassarese and Buginese information when some modern Dutch historians say that as early as 1606 the Buginese state of Bone was compelled by Goa to adopt Islam, or even that this event took place twice, a second time in 1611. The latter date proves to be the right one. The former is caused by an old mistake originating from the Dutch report of Admiral Speelman, who gathered his information on South Celebes at Macassar about the year 1668. We here meet with an instance of the regrettable neglect by traditional Dutch colonial historians of the historical sources from Celebes itself, for these sources contain sufficient data to enable the historian to establish the main happenings in the years following the adoption of Islam in Goa and Tallo'.

It is true that Goa sent military expeditions to the Buginese countries to force them to embrace Islam, after they had rejected Goa's exhortation to do so voluntarily. But these wars were not started before the year 1608. The first expedition was successfully met by the combined forces of the three largest Buginese states, united in the Tëllumpochcho alliance: Bone, Wajo', and Soppeng. But the following year Sidenreng and Soppeng were compelled to give in under a second

assault; Wajo' followed in 1610; and Bone, the largest and most powerful among them, was the last, in 1611. The Buginese chronicles go into much detail about the particulars of these Islamic wars, about the route the expeditionary armies took, about how the battles were fought, about the reasons for the Buginese defeat and other relevant happenings. The development outlined here on the base of Buginese sources gives a quite trustworthy picture of the course of events of these years.

For Goa the result of its military enterprise meant more than the fulfillment of a holy duty. Now for the first time it had succeeded in definitively subjecting all Buginese princedoms—and particularly Bone, its old rival on the peninsula. Apparently internal dissension, occasioned by wavering attitudes with regard to Islamization, which was the official objective of Goa's war, had hastened the defeat of the princedoms. Vassals of Wajo', for instance, went over to Islam without any resistance. The king of Bone himself solemnly embraced Islam when his country was still undefeated, and for that reason he was deposed by his people.

In this way Goa had in fact finally established its hegemony on the peninsula for which it had fought during the larger part of the previous century without complete success. The whole of the Macassar-speaking area and large parts of the Buginese region were already in one way or another dependent on Goa. Even Wajo', one of the larger Buginese states, had been compelled to acknowledge Goa as its master over a long period, until it united with Bone in the Tëllumpochcho alliance. Only Bone had been able, until its Islamization, to resist Goa's power, although there had been many wars between these big two, in which Goa, conspicuously, was always the assailant. Indeed, the main thread running through the whole history of South Celebes was this struggle for hegemony, in which Goa took a leading role until it was defeated by the Dutch East India Company in 1668. After that time Bone took its place. As Chabot has remarked, this struggle for hegemony was a special case, on the highest level of society, of the "opposition" phenomenon which characterizes and pervades the whole society of South Celebes.² Here lie the origins of the never-ceasing struggles among

² Social relations at different levels of South Celebes society were found by Chabot to be characterized by some form of "opposition" among individuals or groups, more or less manifestly directed at the enlargement of their prestige and power. H. P. Fairchild's definition of "opposition," quoted by Chabot, runs: "resistance to or efforts to prevent or offset the efforts or ideas of another person or group, not necessarily accompanied by attitudes of anger or purpose to destroy or injure the opponent" (*Dictionary of Sociology* [New York, 1944]).

the many states of the peninsula. Here too lie, consequently, the reasons why historical writing never has attempted to cover the history of the whole peninsula as a unity. It has always remained divided into many different local traditions.

The data concerning the history of the sixteenth century which we may learn from these several chronicles are numerous and rather detailed. But as far as exact chronology is concerned, there is occasionally some confusion as to sequence of events and frequently no information at all as to dates.

The chronological data contained in the chronicle of Bone, for instance, reach back no more than some thirty years before the Islamization of the state in 1611. To establish the years of the kings who reigned during this time, we may start with the king who was deposed in this year, just before the defeat of Bone. That this really happened in 1611 or A.H. 1020 is further corroborated by the data about the years of his successor, *Matinroe-riTallo'*. The chronicle of Bone says that *Martinroe-riTallo'* reigned for twenty years, and the diary of Goa and *Tallo'* mentions his death in the year 1630 or A.H. 1040.

It can be seen from these latter data that the twenty years mentioned in the chronicle were meant as Moslem, i.e., lunar, years, which in this case differ from our era by one year. Whether, however, the years mentioned for the times before the Islamization were also lunar years remains to be seen. For the years of the kings of Bone it happens to make no difference, because their reigns were rather short.

The deposed king had been reigning only for some months, for his predecessor, the queen *Matinroe-riSidenreng*, had gone to the newly Islamized *Sidenreng* in the year after the Islamization of *Wajo'*, which took place in 1610. She too adopted Islam there, but shortly afterward fell ill and died. She had reigned for nine years, which would be from 1602 to 1611.

Her predecessor, her father *Matinroe-riBëttu*, had reigned for seven years, thus from 1595 to 1602. His predecessor, his cousin *Matinroe-ria'denena*, was killed by his people because of his cruelty and tyranny, after he had been king for eleven years. Therefore he reigned from 1584 to 1595. The years of the preceding king, *Bongkangnge*, are not given. We learn only that he died two years after he had concluded the *Tëllumpochcho* alliance with *Soppeng* and *Wajo'*. Thus we at least know that this important Buginese alliance dates from the year 1582. The years of two of the predecessors of *Bongkangnge* are given, but it is impossible to turn them into fixed dates. The only thing we know

for certain is that *Bongkangnge* already was king during the war between *Bone* and *Goa* which ended in 1655 according to *Macassarese* data.

Up to this point the identification of the calendar in use during pre-Islamic times is not vital. But because for the chronology of *Goa* it does make a difference whether we reckon with lunar or with solar years, this problem has to be tackled first. There are not, however, many concrete data which can shed light on the question. I know, in fact, of only one admittedly rather small indication, in the diary of *Goa* and *Tallo'*, that indeed a solar calendar was used.

The first dates contained in this diary are of a somewhat different nature from all later ones. Mentioned are only the years of the Christian and of the Islamic calendar—but no days or months. The births of some princes and kings of *Goa* and of *Tallo'* are noted, with the age they eventually reached. The writer of the diary makes clear, by repeatedly using the word "presumably," that he is not quite certain about these dates. And in fact they contain some obvious errors, for the two calendars do not tally. It is said, for instance, that King *Alaudin* of *Goa* was born in the year 1586, which coincides with A.H. 994/995, and the Moslem year 996, which is A.D. 1587/1588.

All this leads us to suspect that these dates were not contemporaneous data but were calculated at a later time. It is not difficult to detect how they were calculated. The precise dates of the deaths of these princes were known—they are to be found in the diary itself—and also their ages at the time of death. Thus someone apparently subtracted the figure of their ages from the years of their deaths, in the case of both calendars. In this way one necessarily obtained contradictory results, because of the difference between solar and lunar years. Our example illustrates it: King *Alaudin* died in the year 1639/1049 at the age of fifty-three. If we perform the subtraction, we get as a result precisely the years mentioned for his birth. Which of the two is the right one, the Moslem or the Christian, depends upon whether his fifty-three years were lunar or solar.

Among these first dates in the diary there is one which is not contradictory and cannot be calculated in the way described. It presumably is contemporaneous and possibly contains a valuable hint for the solution of our problem. It is told that in August of 1600/1009 *Karaeng Pattingalloang*, a prominent *Tallorese* prince, was born and that he reached the age of fifty-four years. His death is recorded in the diary in the year 1654/1064. It is clear from these figures that these fifty-four

years tally with the Christian era and not with the Islamic one, and consequently were solar years.

From these facts we may perhaps infer that in Goa not only were both calendars already known before the actual adoption of Islam but also that the Christian calendar, or at least one of solar years, was used by preference. It seems advisable at any rate to take the chronological data concerning the sixteenth century as though it were reckoned in solar years. The results will prove more satisfactory, moreover, if we calculate according to the Christian, rather than the Moslem, calendar.

If we therefore now proceed to discuss the chronology of the kings of Goa as we have done for those of Bone and if we start with King Alaudin, already several times mentioned, we may assume that he indeed was born in 1586. According to the chronicle of Goa he was seven years old when he became king (1593). He had reigned for twelve years when he adopted Islam (1605), and he died after having reigned for forty years in 1639. As can be seen, these dates are in accordance with the results obtained above, especially as to the year 1605 for the Islamization of Goa and Tallo'.

His predecessor was his older brother Tunipasulu', who was fifteen years old when he became king but was deposed two years later and died twenty-four years afterward in exile on the island of Buton. Thus the reign of Tunipasulu' lasted only from 1591 to 1593. During this time the second period of wars between Goa and Bone ended with the peace of Meru, which was to last until the Islamic wars.

It was Alaudin's father, Tunijallo', who led several military expeditions against Bone and Wajo' during the decade after these Buginese states and Soppeng in 1582 concluded the Tëllumpochcho alliance, which was expressly directed against the rising power of Goa. He was, however, never successful in these wars, and on the way to his last assault he was murdered by a slave. Tunijallo' was twenty years old when he came to the throne and reigned for twenty-five years, thus from 1566 to 1591.

Tunibatta, father of Tunijallo', reigned for only forty days, since both he and his older brother Tunipalangga, who preceded him, died in the first war with Bone. The expedition which Tunipalangga led against Bone resulted in great disaster for Goa. During the fights in the country of Bone, Tunipalangga, the king of Goa, fell ill and had to leave his troops. He was brought back to Goa and died there soon afterward. His younger brother Tunibatta immediately took over the reign and went to Bone. But in the ensuing battle near the capital of

Bone he was killed and the Goarese troops were utterly defeated. Thereupon the king of Tallo', who was there in the army, took over command and made peace with Bone. Goa and Bone then concluded the pact of Chalëppa', which fixed among other things the Tangka River as their common boundary. Tunipalangga was thirty-six years old when he became king, and he reigned for eighteen years. Thus his reign lasted from 1548 to 1566, and his birth date was 1512.

Tunipalangga's father, Tumapa'risi'-kallonna, reigned for thirty-six years, i.e., from 1512. He might be called the first historical king of Goa, for though we hear of several other kings before his time, the chronicle writer knows almost nothing about them except their names. This king Tumapa'risi'-kallonna laid the foundation for Goa's later powerful position by turning it from a little village community into one of the largest states of South Celebes. He is reported to have waged war against several places which we have known for a long time as integral parts of the state of Goa but which at that time were apparently still independent petty kingdoms, as Goa itself had once been. All the places he conquered were made vassals of Goa. Only one of them, the neighboring Tallo', was united with Goa in an alliance, and since that time it has remained a faithful and very close partner of Goa. More or less during the same period the other large states, such as Bone and Wajo', seem to have been formed in the same way. In their continuing expansion they naturally soon met as rivals and thus a struggle for hegemony set in.

One of the little places subjected by Tumapa'risi'-kallonna was Garrisi'. In this connection the chronicle makes an interesting remark. It reports that Garrisi' was conquered in the same year that the Portuguese conquered Malacca. Since this happened in the year 1511, we are confronted by some curious problems and possibilities.

In the first place, we here have a synchronic date *in optima forma* which connects the older chronology of South Celebes with the known European and Asian history. It is quite imaginable that it was remembered and recorded on purpose. If this is true, it must necessarily date from the year itself or from shortly afterward at the latest. The fall of Malacca was an important event which must have created great consternation in the Indonesian world, particularly in commercial circles. The rumor of it must have spread quickly throughout Indonesia and would soon have reached the most important ports. It is known that in the beginning of this century South Celebes, particularly Macassar, already had commercial relations with Malay and Java-

nese countries. The Portuguese merchant Tomé Pires, who was at Malacca and Java between the years 1512 and 1515, reports in his *Suma Oriental* about the brisk trade of South Celebes. The Macassarese chronicles also give some data about these relations. And early contacts with Java are borne out by some place names in the neighborhood of Goa which resemble Javanese names. Garrisi' itself is an example, for it is the Macassarese form of the Javanese Grěsi' (Gresik) which was one of the important East Javanese ports of that time.

There is, however, a second consideration: if Tumapa'risi'-kallonna was the king of Goa who conquered Garrisi' in the same year as the fall of Malacca, it is impossible that he ascended the throne in 1512, as was the result of our exposition above. This year must be 1511 at the latest. But in that case the chronology of Goa must somewhere contain a mistake of one year. At least some of the dates we have established on the basis of chronicle data must be placed one year earlier. But we do not know where the error begins. We will remain on the safe side if we say that a certain number of dates of sixteenth-century Goarese chronology contain an uncertainty factor of one year. This uncertainty is perhaps best explained by the fact that the figures given in the chronicle are all whole years. The neglect of months and days may easily have resulted in a shortage of one year in a century. It is remarkable that the uncertainty is not greater than this.

If, then, this synchronic date of 1511 has helped us to correct a mistake in the chronology established, it must be pointed out that this year is at the same time the earliest date of South Celebes history which can be reached on the basis of the historical writing originating from there. So this year also marks the beginning of South Celebes chronology. Considering this fact we may surmise that it has also served the Macassarese historians themselves as their starting point for establishing the chronology of their history.

Because these historians used a calendar of solar years, it seems unlikely that they got their information on this point from the Moslem Malays. There remain the possibilities of Portuguese or Javanese influence.

As long as there are no more exact details available concerning the calendar which was used in pre-Islamic times, it will be difficult to decide this question. Some manuscripts make mention of an old Buginese calendar which would have been in use "before the Portuguese calendar was adopted," as we are told. It contained twelve solar months, called with names of Sanskrit origin; but their sequence differed from the Indian or Javanese. Some of these names perhaps show

Javanese influence, e.g., *Posia*, Jav. *Posya*, Sanskrit *Pausa*. In addition, an old Buginese week of twenty days contains some names of Javanese provenance, e.g., *Wage* and *Berukung* (Jav. *Wurukung*). But we do not know whether these calendars were ever commonly used, though occasionally they are found also in later diaries, along with the Islamic and European calendars. There are, moreover, no traces of similar calendars among the Macassars.

The Macassarese and Buginese names for the European months show clearly, in their oldest form, their Portuguese origin, e.g., *Janeru*, *Pabereru*, *Marasu*, *Abarili*, *Mayu*, *Juñu*, and *Julu*. Therefore it is certain that the European calendar was borrowed from the Portuguese. But again we do not know when.

Since the writing of history presupposes the ability to write, we may, finally, devote some attention to the question when the art of writing became known in South Celebes. The writer of the chronicle of Goa became known in South Celebes. The writer of the chronicle of Goa several times mentions written records precisely concerning the beginning of the sixteenth century. First he says, about some earlier kings, that he cannot report anything of their actions, their wives, or their children, because at that time there were not yet writings (*lontara'*). Secondly, he reports, about King Tumapa'risi'-kallonna, that no details about his wars were put down in the written records (*lontara'*), apart from the bare fact that he waged wars—and, we may add, the names of the places he conquered. Thirdly, we find recorded that in the time of the same king the Macassar script (*lontara'*) was invented by his minister and *shahbandar* Daeng Pamette'. It remains uncertain how far tradition is to be trusted in this case, since no special investigation has been made into the history of this script. But because it belongs to the family of Indonesian scripts which ultimately stem from India, it is clear at any rate that it dates from pre-Islamic times. Besides features of its own it shows some resemblance to Sumatran scripts.

These local traditional beliefs all purport to fix the beginning of writing in general and of historical writing in particular in the time of this same king, i.e., within three decades after the year 1511. It must be left to prolonged investigations to discover whether it was indeed this time which saw the birth of South Celebes historical writing.

At this point we must leave the questions we have sought to answer. By no means have we with full clarity established the origins of this intriguing phenomenon. We could do no more than argue some of the possibilities and point out some contributing factors. Perhaps this very plurality of factors is the most useful result that has come from this effort. The historical conjunction of the adoption of an Indian

script and a Portuguese calendar by a people with a keen interest in this world and its affairs may have given rise to a type of historical writing which in any case has developed independently along its own lines.

We hope we have shown at the same time that here lies an object of scientific research which is fully capable of repaying the trouble taken to unravel its problems. May it help to inspire especially Macassar and Buginese historians to follow in the steps of their forefathers and to delve into the rich manuscript collections that are to be found at Macassar, Jakarta, and Leyden—to mention only the most prominent ones—in order to bring the facts and developments of their history and their historical writing into the full light of the tropical day.

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