

Nature of war and peace among the Bugis–Makassar people

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Abstract: Using European (mainly Dutch) and indigenous accounts of the numerous wars fought in South Sulawesi in eastern Indonesia from the sixteenth to the early twentieth century, this paper reconstructs the nature of war and peace among the Bugis and Makassar people in that period.

Keywords: warfare; treaties; ancestors; Bugis; Makassar; VOC

European and indigenous accounts of the numerous wars fought in South Sulawesi in eastern Indonesia from the sixteenth to the early twentieth century have been the basis for this reconstruction of the nature of war and peace among the Bugis and Makassar people. There is, however, a significant difference between the European (mainly Dutch) and indigenous reporting of these wars. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the officials of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) were principally concerned with demonstrating the effectiveness of their military campaigns against local kingdoms. As members of a profit-making enterprise, the VOC leaders in Asia had to justify any expenditure to the Seventeen Directors in Amsterdam. The latter had warned against involvement in costly indigenous wars, and so any conflict had to be explained in terms of cost and effectiveness. As a result there are reports of the successes of the VOC in acquiring native allies, overwhelming victories against the enemy with relatively light losses among the European soldiers, and advantageous conditions acquired in treaties signed with the vanquished native kingdoms.¹ In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, commentaries on the war were produced by Dutch military officials and were principally concerned with the campaigns.²

¹ Andaya (1981).

² For example, Perelaer (1872), or the ex-governor and former military man, Bakkers (1866, pp 1–209).

The accounts of wars in Bugis and Makassar documents have a strong oral component. As in other oral traditions in which important episodes are personalized as an effective mnemonic device, Bugis–Makassar causes of war and descriptions of battles revolve around heroic figures.³ In contrast to the European accounts, the Bugis and Makassar sources structure the motivations for warfare around cultural concepts of shame [*siriq*], commiseration and solidarity [*pessé* (Bugis)/*pacceq* (Makassar)], and on the maintenance or restoration of proper relationships within the human community and between states.⁴ Any real or imagined *siriq* committed by one group against another was a major cause of conflict in South Sulawesi, and warfare was a means to restore proprieties. Hostilities only ended when both the secular and spiritual combatants had been appeased in highly formalized treaty-making rituals invoking both the living and the dead.

Declaration of war and preparatory stages

The Bugis and Makassar warriors gained a fearsome reputation in maritime South East Asia between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries. Their bravery was legend, and they were frequently victorious against far larger armies. In their own songs and poems the Bugis and Makassar people openly equated their warriors with fighting cocks, an imagery that reflects the popular pastime strongly linked to royalty and nobility.⁵ One ruler even referred fondly to his palace as ‘my golden chicken-coop’ [*tarataq sékatikku*].⁶ Fighting cocks

³ This is not peculiar to war narratives. Many of the Bugis–Makassar documents are based on oral traditions, in which respected ancestors are attributed with the ancient wisdom of the group. Two well known examples of this are the most revered repository of knowledge known in Bugis as *Latoa* [*The Elders*] and in Makassar as *Rapang* [*Parables*]. These works, which are a combination of ‘mirror of kings’ and customary laws, are based on oral testimony preserved over many generations before being written down using a Bugis–Makassar script. For an Indonesian translation of the *Latoa*, see Mattulada (1975), and for excerpts from the *Rapang* in Makassar script, see Matthes (1883, pp 248–271).

⁴ Andaya (1981), especially chapter 4. When I wrote the book some two decades ago, I constructed the narrative around the Dutch sources and simply used the indigenous documents to provide some interesting human element in an otherwise dry commentary. What I did not appreciate at the time was the fact that these native accounts were not simply focused on the actual battles themselves, but on the whole nature of warfare in their society. In such a holistic conception of war, fighting was simply one of the elements worthy of attention.

⁵ Tol (1990, pp 269, 289, 292–294). See also SKT [*Sinriliqna Kappalaq Tallumbatua*].

⁶ Tol (1990, p 294).

are pampered and well trained, and the physical and spiritual preparation of the cocks for the deadly contest encourages the comparison with the Bugis–Makassar warriors. When the Makassar kingdom of Goa was pre-eminent in eastern waters in the late sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries, the Dutch nicknamed it the ‘Cock of the East’, an epithet appropriated from the local custom of equating warriors with fighting cocks in South Sulawesi.⁷

Before a war commenced, there was a specific protocol followed by rulers. They first sent a war declaration [*timu-timu*] to inform a fellow ruler of an impending attack. According to customary law [*tekkéadeq*] any war intentions were to be communicated to the other side before any action was taken. It was just a simple declaration in the form of a letter [*sureq lebbiq mattentu*]. In one example provided in a *toloq*, or heroic poetry, the Datu (ruler) of Larompong receives a *timu-timu* that reads: ‘Herewith your fellow lord, the Punggawa of Boné, wishes to inform you that he will be engaging in a large battle at Singkang. . .’ To flout this custom was to bear the wrath of the Creator who would then not heed appeals for assistance.⁸ Warriors were summoned by a knotted cord [*bila bila musuq*] sent by the ruler to all the allied and vassal lords. The *bila-bila* was a leaf of the lontar palm (*Borassus flabellifera*, Linn.), which was stripped and tied in a specific number of knots for the number of days until the outbreak of war. The envoy delivered the *bila-bila* with his right hand, and the lord received it with his left while placing his right hand on his *kris* to indicate that he would later swear an oath of allegiance [*mangngaruq*] to his ruler.⁹

Gervaise, a seventeenth century Frenchman who lived in South Sulawesi for a number of years, remarked that once arms had been taken up, ‘they believe it a piece of indecency...to till the Ground, or follow any Mechanick Art’.¹⁰ The reason for this was that the days prior to departure were occupied with preparing the weapons, the horses, the provisions, and fulfilling all the necessary spiritual requirements of warfare. Indigenous weapons consisted principally of cudgels, lances made of sharp-pointed bamboo or wood of the areca palm, various kinds of spears with a fine copper or iron tip, swords, *krisses*, blowguns, and shields made of woven twigs. Gervaise claimed that it was the children

⁷ Andaya (1981, p 62).

⁸ Tol (1990, pp 225–226, 228).

⁹ Matthes (1874, p 211).

¹⁰ N. Gervaise (1702, reprinted 1971, p 71).

of the nobility who were taught to make these shields.¹¹ Not every soldier was equipped with these weapons, and guns were in short supply in the seventeenth century. These indigenous weapons were well suited for close combat and ambushes, which were the principal battle tactics in South Sulawesi.

Perhaps the most effective weapon of the Bugis and Makassar people was the blowgun, which was used to fire poison arrows. The arrow was made of a very light wood with the tooth of a shark or other sharp object attached to one end.¹² Each arrowhead was smeared with a poisonous substance made from the highly toxic latex of the *Ipo* tree (*Antiaris toxicaria*, Leschenault). The most valued *Ipo* poison came from the Toraja people in the highlands, although the belief in the greater toxicity of Toraja poisons may have been due to the awe mixed with fear with which the lowlanders regarded those inhabiting the mountain areas. When the milky substance hardened, it was worked into a waxy accretion. In the final preparation, other poisonous plant materials could be added to make the substance even more lethal. The concoction was then wrapped with several layers of cloth to preserve its toxicity.¹³

Women's menstrual blood may also have been one of the ingredients in the poisonous mix. The seventeenth century naturalist, Rumphius, recalls a rumour that the Makassar (and therefore most likely, Bugis) women mixed their menstrual blood with the latex of the *Ipo* tree, which their warriors then applied to the tips of their blowdarts and spears.¹⁴ While Rumphius scoffed at the idea, among many societies there is a belief that menstrual blood has the potential for effecting powerful magic and is associated with death.¹⁵ An even more direct relationship is shown among the Hualu of Seram, where menstruating women are regarded as ritually dangerous so that 'contact with bleeding women stunts the power of warriors'.¹⁶

A detailed description of how the arrows were prepared for receiving the poison was written by Charles Howard in the seventeenth century from an account by someone who had lived in Makassar for four years. According to Howard, the poison was placed in a turtle

¹¹ Gervaise (1702, reprinted 1971, p 65).

¹² Gervaise (1702, reprinted 1971, p 71).

¹³ Carey (2003).

¹⁴ Beekman, (1993, p 133). I would like to thank Barbara Watson Andaya for sharing this reference and for her understanding of the perception of menstrual blood in many societies.

¹⁵ Andaya, B.W. (1994, pp 103–104).

¹⁶ Valeri (1990, p 247).

shell to which was added the juice of a grated ‘galangal-root’ (*Languas*, Koenig). They applied the poison with a stick on to the shark tooth or other dart-, arrow- or spearhead, and then dried it in the sun for two hours to bake in the poison. Prepared in this fashion, the darts and arrows were then stored in hollow bamboo tubes and retained their toxicity for about a month.¹⁷ How lethal the poison was depended upon the dosage administered and the length of time the poisoned dart or arrowhead remained in the wound. Darts and arrowheads were therefore made in such a way that they easily broke off at the slightest attempt to remove them from the wound. Without immediate access to an antidote, these poisoned projectiles often proved fatal.¹⁸

Gervaise described the blowguns as being about six or seven feet in length, made of ebony, and capable of firing poisoned darts with such accuracy that the nail of a hand or foot could be hit from as far away as 80 to 100 paces.¹⁹ The maker of blowpipes was among the occupations that gained royal patronage in the sixteenth century in the effort by the Goa–Tallo kingdom to achieve ascendancy in South Sulawesi.²⁰ So important was the blowpipe to Makassar warfare that in the Chronicles of Goa there is a legend of the sacred blowpipe, I Buqle. It was once in the possession of the kingdom of Bajeng, whose ruler used it to defend the kingdom against Goa. Hundreds of Goa warriors were killed by the sacred blowpipe, and it was only through the betrayal of a subject of the ruler of Bajeng that Goa came to possess I Buleq. From that day forward Goa was able to exercise overlordship in the area.²¹

In terms of the fighting force itself, there was a distinction made between hereditary slaves [*ata tai manuq*, literally ‘bird-droppings slaves’], the ordinary recruit from the common folk [*tomaégaé*] and the warriors [*pabbarani*]. There is a war-song [*osong*] which goes: ‘Go forth you who need to fulfil your obligations to the ruler. Then shall the hereditary slaves follow as soldiers’.²² In the Makassar War, some of the kingdoms brought slaves from Bima and Sumbawa, ‘who were in the best of spirits and quite prepared to risk their lives’.²³ The

¹⁷ Carey (2003, pp 31–32). There is a Bugis weapon known as a *tajerruq*, which is a type of pike or lance with a poisonous tip (Tol, 1990, p 355).

¹⁸ Carey (2003, pp 7–8, 35).

¹⁹ Gervaise (1702, p 71).

²⁰ Abdurrahim and Wolhoff (nd, p 25).

²¹ Cummings (2002, pp 131–133).

²² Matthes (1872, p 195).

²³ Skinner (1963, p 149).

pabbarani were selected individuals, very likely of the higher classes, who were better armed than the ordinary recruit. In the wars against the Dutch they formed an elite group entrusted with firearms, chain mail,²⁴ horses and special *krisses* and swords. Bows and blowpipes with their poison-tipped projectiles and lances and spears with shields appear to have been the weapons of the ordinary soldier, although some may also have been armed with short native *krisses* [*badiq*]. While the *pabbarani* would have sworn his allegiance to the ruler in the oath-giving ceremony [*aruq*], the commoner recruit and the hereditary slave could only have their loyalty defined by their association with their *pabbarani* leader. The *pabbarani* were regarded with great reverence as people of 'white blood',²⁵ whose sacred presence, like those of the war banners and drums, promised spiritual protection. Their presence among the troops helped strengthen the resolve of the common soldier before and during battle.

Special rituals were conducted to assure the safety of the ruler and his kingdom in any war campaign. Three or four days before Arung [Lord of] Padali, a Bugis ruler of Témpe, departed for the battlefield, the state flag known as 'The Large Black Spot of Témpe' [*Babaé ri Témpe*] was brought forth. The flag was then smeared with the blood of a sacrificed buffalo on the large black spot within the circle, thus animating the soul of the flag accompanying Arung Padali and his men into battle. Soon thereafter, Arung Padali's 'milk mother' [*ina nyumperréng*] arrived with a silver (or gold) box, which contained her first spittle after having chewed a betel preparation [*ota*].²⁶ Wetting her index finger in the spittle, she then placed a mark on the ruler's forehead right above the nose, then on the hollows behind his ears, on both elbows, on the navel, on the back, in both hollows formed by his bended knees, and finally on both soles of the feet. After this was done, some strips of lontar leaves, called *sinto*, were held over the smoke of burning incense and then brought into contact with Arung Padali's head, navel and the soles of his feet.²⁷

²⁴ It is believed that the use of chain mail was a practice borrowed from the Portuguese.

²⁵ The royal families of South Sulawesi were regarded as descendants from the Upperworld and hence possessors of white blood. Their ancestors descended to earth along with heavenly objects, such as sacred drums, banners, *krisses*, etc. and were thus viewed as palladia of the community. Hamonic (1987, pp 12–16); Andaya (1981, pp 9–15).

²⁶ This was a preparation of areca nut, gambier and lime wrapped in betel-leaf, which was formerly chewed regularly and offered to any visitor. The effect of chewing betel is mildly narcotic and produces red spittle. In time the teeth are blackened, which was once admired as a thing of beauty.

²⁷ Matthes (1943a, pp 366–367).

Bodily fluids were the principal element in this ceremony. The blood of a sacrificial animal and the spittle of the milk mother were both regarded as sacred substances that sustained life. Smearing battle flags with blood was a common practice in Bugis–Makassar warfare, and one that was intended to arouse the courage of the assembled men, knowing that these flags had become protective spirits. The spittle from a chewed betel gained added significance because it came from the milk mother, whose milk had given life to the ruler and whose bodily fluids would again protect and sustain him. The position of the milk mother in Bugis–Makassar society is a highly revered one. She is honoured with the role of nursing a royal or noble-born child, and she and her husband [*patarana*] form an extremely strong bond with the child, sometimes even closer than that between a child and his/her natural parents.²⁸

Only after the completion of this portion of the ceremony does the swearing of the oath of allegiance [*mangngaruq*] take place. The *mangngaruq* was a crucial part of the preparation for battle and was regarded as being of great importance by rulers. Each oath was a personal profession of loyalty, but there were certain aspects that were highlighted. The following Makassar oath provides an outline of the structure, which begins with praise of the ruler, then the assertion of the subservient relationship of the vassal to the lord, and finally the curse extending to later generations if the words of allegiance are not heeded:²⁹

Note, *karaeng* [Lord]!

May I be greatly pardoned, my lord,
in front of your magnificence,
in the presence of your loftiness,
beside your splendor.

You are the wind, *karaeng*,
and we are the leaves.

You are the water, *karaeng*,

²⁸ One of the famous episodes in Arung Palakka's life, as told in Bugis sources, is one when his *patarana* sacrifices his life to enable Arung Palakka to escape from the pursuing Makassar troops. Andaya (1981, pp 57, 315, fn 12).

²⁹ The importance of the *mangngaruq* has been noted by Roger Tol (2000, pp 504–505, 512, 520) in his study of the *Toloq Rumpaqna Boné*. He explains that the *mangngaruq* forms an important structural element and coherence in the text, and some 55 oaths from high lords to lower nobility, often cited by name, title and function, are quoted in full.

and we are the floating pieces.
 You are the needle, *karaeng*,
 and we are the sewed thread.

If later it is not as
 it is in my *aruq* before you,
 plant a forked stick on my grave,
 on my footsteps.
 Change my name,
 curse my descendants.

Tell the children,
 tell those yet unborn,
 [this is what happens to]
 a person who speaks so
 and then does not fulfil his words.³⁰

Another example of the *mangngaruq* is recorded in the description of Arung Padali of Témépé preparing for war. Fermented palm wine [*balloq*] is first distributed, and then the ceremony begins before the assembled forces. Each major vassal and allied lord and nobility comes before the ruler to *mangngaruq* in a highly visible and moving performance. The drums beat frenetically while the person dances before the ruler with his sword or *kris* in hand [*kannjaraq*], swearing to be unswerving in his loyalty or be punished by supernatural forces. Although the words are spontaneous, there are certain general sentiments expressed, as is evident in the Bugis oaths below:

Note well that I am your favourite,
 And it is my desire to offer you proof of my loyalty in the midst of battle.
 If the west wind³¹ blows, I will offer resistance.
 If the mountains descend, I will capture them.
 Whosoever heeds not your orders I will fight to the death.³²

The war between Boné and the Dutch in 1859 also produced some stirring oaths of loyalty, among which was the following from the *Tomarilaleng*, one of the chief ministers of Boné:

³⁰ Taken from Cummings (2002, pp 40–41).

³¹ This is a reference to the west monsoon winds, which bring strong rains and winds to Makassar.

³² Matthes (1943a, p 367).

Let us not erect fortifications, my Queen.
Let our breasts be the only fortification
against the enemy.
Let our bodies together fall to the ground
and breathe our last.³³

In the *Toloq Arung Labuaja* is another fine example of an *aruq* given by the Arung Pabuaja to his lord, the Arumponé [ruler of Boné]:

Look at me, Majesty,
a man without fear or blame,
who complains not that his soul
may depart for the Hereafter.
I swear, Majesty,
to offer you a golden-horned buffalo
if you again should wage a great war
in the middle of the battlefield.
You will be unlucky, Majesty,
if you do battle without me.
But fortune will accompany you, Majesty,
because I shall raise your name on high
on the battlefield,
in the arena of lances,
in the place of clashing shields.³⁴

Fear of supernatural retribution was one aspect of the *mangngaruq*; the other was the highly stylized public display of allegiance. One of the earliest descriptions of an *aruq* ceremony occurred in 1695, when the assembled lords of South Sulawesi swore allegiance to Arung Palakka just prior to a military campaign. A covered pavilion some 40 metres long and 10 metres wide was built as the viewing stand. Carpets and rattan mats were placed on the floor and expensive canopies of cloth were hung from the ceiling. Arung Palakka then arrived at the pavilion with his wives, the various princesses and the court maidens. Also present were representatives of the Dutch East India Company, an ally of Arung Palakka. As soon as they were settled, the armed soldiers, estimated at about 25,000, who had been waiting in a large field, were told to move to within 20 metres of the pavilion. The most important of the lords came up first and then others followed according to rank. The ceremony was described in detail by the Dutch Governor Isaac van Thije:

³³ Perelaer (1872, p 296).

³⁴ Tol (1990, p 203).

The most important among them came forth modestly with shield and lance to the pavilion. They then threw their shields down and stuck their lances into the ground. Having tied two weapons to the hip, namely a kris, or a short dagger, and a sword, they quickly unsheathed the latter, it being the larger, and sprang up into the air with passion and fury as if in a mad frenzy, declaring with total earnestness in between shouts and springs into the air that they would remain faithful to the Company [*sic*, to Arung Palakka] and would live or die with it [*sic*, him]. Each one of them said whatever came into his mouth, according to his own language and intentions, the one longer than the other. It appears that it would not be possible for them to express such thoughts if their ecstasy vanished and they were sober. But everything comes out all right with its meaning. Having performed this, they then picked up their weapons and modestly returned to their positions... There were some who performed the *kanjar* [*kannjaraq*] twice, once for themselves, and once for the place which they controlled through inheritance or marriage. . . The ceremony lasted about three hours. . .

The most important kings swore their oath of loyalty while the cymbals [*tatabuang*], the clarinets, and the gongs played, and the bystanders clapped their hands to the beat and the sound of the music. The troops under the command of the person completing his oath of loyalty then fired their guns. Others of less prominence gave their oaths two by two, and sometimes even three or four at a time. But this cost the life of one of the Bulukumba princes unluckily struck under his left breast by his nephew who was jumping around with his sword. He [the prince] was in such a frenetic state that he was not aware of it until he was returning to his people and fell down bloodied and gave up the ghost. . .³⁵

So serious is the occasion of the *aruq* that the sudden premature end to the ‘music’ before the completion of the *mangngaruq* has been known to cause the person to run amok. Van Thije’s description of the accidental stabbing of the Bulukumba prince during the *kannjaraq* suggests that a trance-like state accompanied the swearing of the oath. Although the words uttered in the oath may have been spontaneous, one significant element is the bravado, the swearing to accomplish great things on the battlefield for their lord. Such oaths exposed the person to the prospects of suffering *siriq*, shame, if he later did not acquit himself well in battle.³⁶ The rulers themselves did not hesitate to remind their vassal lords of their oaths. In the *Toloq Arung Labuaja*, the Cakkuridi of Wajoq scolds his warriors for their retreat from battle:

³⁵ Andaya (1981, pp 292–293).

³⁶ Tol (1990, pp 233, 270); Cummings (2002, p 40).

‘Are you not ashamed [*ténréq siriqmu*], my intrepid warriors, that you have let yourselves be put to flight? Do you not recall the unwavering oath and overstated words [of loyalty] you uttered?’

The *Toloq* goes on to describe the reaction from the warriors: ‘Shame [*siriq*] they felt in their hearts, as they recalled their unwavering oath and the overstated words which they uttered. They all wished to give their lives for the land of their birth. Together they attacked the troops. . .’ A similar situation is described in another section of the *Toloq*, and in the manner of oral traditions, the exact words of chastisement are used by another lord to his men. The lord concludes with these words: ‘All of you said then [at the oath-swearing ceremony] that the bodies of the enemy would be piled as high as a ridge of a mountain. Turn back, all of you, and accompany my soul in the journey to the Hereafter. . . Shame [*siriq*] they felt, etc.’³⁷ No other concept in Bugis and Makassar history has proved to be as important a motivation for action as *siriq*.³⁸ The *mangngaruq* was the final ceremony before leaving for the battlefield, and it marked the culmination of a period of both physical and spiritual preparation.

Spiritual preparations for war

To the Bugis and Makassar people, a battle was fought simultaneously on the human and the spiritual fronts. The preparations for war, the actual conflict, the celebrations of victory and the establishing of peace all required attention to these two intertwined worlds. Warfare involved not simply an attention to armaments, battle tactics and military strategy; it was equally important to strengthen the spiritual arsenal. Summoning powerful spirits, including those of the ancestors, to intervene and assure victory was an important prelude to actual combat.

The Bugis and Makassar warriors fought under flags or banners [*bate*] which were part of the regalia of their territorial entities [*limpo*].³⁹ In Bugis texts, a common way of referring to these banners is *tanra-*

³⁷ Tol (1990, pp 233–234, 269–270).

³⁸ One of the most famous examples is that of the seventeenth century Bugis ruler, Arung Palakka, whose *siriq* became the driving force in the victory of the Bugis–Dutch alliance against the Makassar people in the Makassar War of 1666–69. For a discussion on the war and on *siriq*, see Andaya (1981).

³⁹ SKT (nd, pp 130, 135).

tanra limpoé, or ‘the signs or evidence of the territorial entities’.⁴⁰ They were not simply colourful emblems to identify the homeland of the warriors, but spirits of powerful ancestors whose presence was an assuring sign to those about to do battle. Through the smearing of buffalo or other sacrificial animals’ blood on the flag, the ancestral spirit was summoned to intervene on behalf of its descendants.⁴¹ For this reason, this ritual occurred at crucial moments in the life of the community, such as at the commencement and conclusion of battle, and at coronation ceremonies.⁴² The link of the banner with the ancestors is clearly shown in the Tanété flag, known as the *Petta Bolongé* [The Black Lord], which has the hair of a long-dead king woven into it.⁴³

In the *Toloq Arung Labuaja*, the banner is described as ‘shade-giving’ [*anaugenna*],⁴⁴ which is a reference to its protective ‘shade’, under which the fighters can shelter. In the same way the rulers are regarded as trees casting their protective shadow over their subjects, or subjects are seen as taking shelter under the wings of the ruler.⁴⁵ When Goa had clearly lost the war, it sent a message to its vassal kingdom of Barru with the words: ‘Go home and seek your own welfare because Goa is hardpressed and can no longer provide you the wings under which you can shelter.’⁴⁶ In raids against the Makassar forts, the Bugis troops under Arung Palakka would always bring back two things: heads and banners.⁴⁷ For the Bugis troops, heads and banners were evidence of dominance over both the enemy and the enemy’s ancestral spirits.

⁴⁰ Matthes, (1874, p 337); Tol (1990, pp 205, 207),

⁴¹ The spiritual significance of banners is also evident in East Timor, where gifts of Portuguese flags to the various communities led to their incorporation into local religious rites. Nicol (1978, p 16).

⁴² Le Roux (1930, p 250).

⁴³ van den Brink (1943, ‘Beknopt verslag’, p 198).

⁴⁴ Tol (1990, p 259).

⁴⁵ Andaya (1978, p 285). This was a common metaphor for the relationship of dependency. To explain the protection that the Dutch East India Company offered to many of the kingdoms in northern Maluku at the end of the seventeenth century, the Sultan of Bacan likened the Company to ‘a very large tree with thick leaves in the midst of a flat field where people from near and far come to seek shelter and solace from the searing and frightening times’. A similar sentiment in the early eighteenth century was expressed by the ruler of the neighbouring kingdom of Tidore, who referred to the Company as ‘a large tree under which the Tidore people have found security for many years’ (Andaya, 1993, pp 189–190).

⁴⁶ *Lontaraqna H.A. Sumangerukka*, 37, quoted in Andaya (1978, p 285).

⁴⁷ Stapel (1922, p 158).

The capture of a banner was a particularly important victory and treated in the same way as the capture of a leader of the enemy. Without the banner, the fighters believed themselves to be vulnerable since they were no longer under the protective shadow of a powerful ancestor. For this reason, in one of the *toloq*, the ruler says to his women who are bidding him farewell on his way to war: 'If you women hear that my shade-giving banner has fallen, then too will my head have fallen.'⁴⁸

Drums were very similar to banners in being regarded as powerful ancestors that could provide protection to their people in wartime. In the Makassar War (1666–69), the royal drums of the Goa kingdom were used on the battlefield.⁴⁹ Boné had two special drums, *La Maronrong* [The Arouser] and *La Sisumpala* [The Irresistible], which were played in battle. It is said that these two drums were companions of the first ruler of Boné.⁵⁰ According to legend, the first ruler of Boné was a *Tomanurung*, or a being descended from the Upperworld, and the objects that accompanied him became part of the kingdom's regalia.⁵¹ As regalia, therefore, these drums were regarded as sacred and capable of shielding their people from all harm. The rhythm of the drumming was that used in the *kannjaraq*, or the oath of loyalty ceremony,⁵² and upon hearing the drumming even the most lax Boné soldier became impassioned and eager to do battle.⁵³ As with the *baté*, the drums were sacred ancestors and their sounds inspired valour because they were reminders not only of the protective presence of the ancestors, but also of the fighting men's oaths to their rulers.

Spiritual preparation was an important part of the skills required of warriors. One Makassar text describes warriors being taught the art of war and bravery [*barani*] by special gurus or spiritual teachers. Before going into battle, they meditated [*anngamallaq*] and recalled their study of the science of magic and the supernatural to strengthen their souls and make them invulnerable to bullets and other dangers on the battlefield.⁵⁴ Such esoteric knowledge was essential to protect the

⁴⁸ Tol (1990, p 262).

⁴⁹ Skinner (1963, p 115).

⁵⁰ Le Roux (1930, p 250).

⁵¹ Andaya (1981, p 12).

⁵² Noorduyn (1986, p 283).

⁵³ Le Roux (1930, p 250).

⁵⁴ Among the *ilmu* or magical science invoked by these warriors were the *appaka tenang sisaqlaq* [the four inseparables, that is fire, water, earth and air]; the science of defeating wild animals and sharks, as well as fellow humans; and the science of invulnerability. SKT (nd, p 133).

warrior against the harmful effects of evil spirits of the female [*poppokang*] and male [*parakang*] variety. It was believed that these spirits would consume the heart, soul and liver of their victims. To avoid such a fate required a deep knowledge of the spiritual sciences to strengthen the soul and achieve victory in battle.⁵⁵

As a further protection against enemy weapons, Bugis–Makassar warriors carried bezoar stones, known as *kulau* (*guliga* and *mestika* in the Malay world). These were ordinarily concretions formed around some foreign matter found in the stomach or intestines of animals, or between the skin and the flesh of animals.⁵⁶ They were considered to be antidotes to poison and came to be regarded as amulets against any type of danger.⁵⁷ The most common were the greenish-brown ones from grey langurs or leaf monkeys (*Presbytis hosei*) and the brown ones from porcupines (*Huystrix brachyuran*). But *guliga* was extremely rare, with possibly one in a hundred monkeys having it, and an even smaller percentage among porcupines.⁵⁸ One well known Bugis warrior went into battle with 40 *kulau*. Although he was wounded seriously a number of times, he attributed his survival to the magical properties of these bezoar stones. Those who live to a ripe old age are said to possess an internal *kulau*. People try to obtain this potent *kulau* after the individual passes away, though what this involves is not explained.⁵⁹ The bezoar stones were obviously regarded not only as an antidote to poison, but also as a shield against the attacks of human and spiritual foes.

The presence of sacred weapons was another consideration that could determine the outcome of a battle. The previously-mentioned legendary blowgun, the I Buleq, was made from a straight piece of black wood with a hole through the middle, which was found in a burnt

⁵⁵ SKT (nd, pp 54, 131, 133).

⁵⁶ The Bulungan and Tidung of east Borneo supplied the Bugis with *guliga*, which they obtained directly from the Dayak. The latter ‘induced’ the *guliga* in animals by shooting a non-toxic arrow at these animals so a *guliga* would form in the wounds (van der Wal, p 239).

⁵⁷ Beekman (1993, pp 73–77; Kreemer (1915, pp 32–64).

⁵⁸ Knapen (2001, p 320). The *guliga* can be as small as a pea or as large as a fist and usually forms around bark in the animal’s stomach. One source from Siak in Sumatra explained that the specific supernatural power of the *guliga* depended on the animal from which it originated. Those from snakes or porcupines were believed to be effective in counteracting poison, while those from elephants enabled one to attract women (Barnard, 2003, p 16). Although indigenous belief in its curative properties was high, its actual therapeutic value was nil (Burkill, 1993, p 325).

⁵⁹ Matthes (1943b, p 398).

field. Beside it on a stone was a piece of black iron damasked with gold, a hand-span in length. The ruler took both, placed the iron in the hole, and it fitted perfectly. He then made it into a blowpipe because he felt in his heart that it should be so. After the blowpipe was formed, he took it and aimed it at a heron. The dart not only struck the target, but it then returned to the blowpipe. This was the origin of the sacred blowpipe, I Buqle, which became a *kalompoang* or regalia of Bajeng. In subsequent wars, I Buqle proved to be the supernatural force that assured the victory and hence protection of the community.⁶⁰

In the swearing of the oath of allegiance [*mangngaruq*] to the Queen of Boné in the war against the Dutch in 1859, the Datu Sawito promised to bring along to battle three magic bullets [*anaqpécunang*] and 40 evil female spirits [*popokang*]. The former was a type of magic bullet that struck its victim and then returned to the owner.⁶¹ The possession of just three such bullets was obviously regarded as sufficient to defeat any enemy. *Popokang* were malevolent female spirits that caused illnesses and other calamities,⁶² while the number ‘40’ in Bugis–Makassar traditional texts was used to indicate a multitude. In this oath, the Datu Sawito proudly proclaims his ability to summon a considerable spiritual arsenal to assist his lord to defeat the Dutch.⁶³

The larger, more permanent forts erected by the Bugis and the Makassar people were of different shapes to accord with the lie of the land. The sites selected were determined less by their military strategic value than by their association with potent spirits [*keramat*]. In a study of a number of Gowa–Talloq forts, David Bulbeck noted that each one incorporated a pre-Islamic cemetery in one of the corners. At Sombaopu, the largest of the forts and the site of the royal residence of the ruler of Gowa until 1669, the design is less obviously intended to enclose a burial site, although the southern annex protrudes from two pre-Islamic cemeteries. In another important Makassar fort, the Kale Gowa, the south-west corner was constructed to enclose a *menhir* [memorial stone] and a sacred well. Bulbeck further believes that the three ritually potent forts that ‘enclosed’ the heartland of Gowa, Talloq and Sanraboné were largely ceremonial.⁶⁴ While all of these forts were intended for defensive purposes, their efficacy was guaranteed by the protective umbrella provided by powerful ancestors.

⁶⁰ Cummings (2002, pp 131–133).

⁶¹ Matthes (1874, p 120).

⁶² Matthes (1874, p 99).

⁶³ Perelaer (1872, pp 296–297).

⁶⁴ Bulbeck (1998, pp 100–101).

Going to war

Before departing for the battlefield, the lord went on horseback to his assembled troops with lance held high. His principal wife then descended from the royal residence accompanied by the court women to place a betel nut preparation in his mouth. She let him chew the betel nut for a short time, then removed it from his mouth and placed it in her hair for safekeeping until his return. Once this brief ceremony was over, the men moved out under their lord. While on the march the men sang war songs [*mмосéng sipakkinra-inra sining tau maégaé*].⁶⁵ The *osong*, or 'war song' operated on dual planes for the listeners. On one level, the words were stirring in an effort to strengthen the *sumangeq* or inner spirit of the individual. On another level, they were words calling upon the ancestors to bear witness to their bravery, hence linking each individual with his duty, not only to the present and the future, but also to the past. The following is an example of an *osong*:

Sway, sway with the weapons, the clothing of the brave.
 Let them shine, let them shine,
 there beyond the endless mountain chain,
 on the marketplace of shields,
 on the battlefield,
 where heroes like courageous fighting cocks clash.⁶⁶

Other examples of Bugis war songs were collected in the nineteenth century by B.F. Matthes:

- (1) Adorn the heroes with splendid raiments
 so that their brilliance catches the eye
 when they cross the river,
 separating them from the enemy.⁶⁷
- (2) Advance against them,
 force them to fight with shields in hand.
 If they should break,
 the rice maidens can use them to make handles [for their baskets].⁶⁸
- (3) Cast quickly aside those cowards who refuse to fight.
 We can then sell them to buy guns and gunpowder.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Tol (1990, pp 207, 232, 237).

⁶⁶ Matthes (1943a, p 367).

⁶⁷ Matthes (1872, p 193).

⁶⁸ Matthes (1872, p 194).

⁶⁹ Matthes (1872, p 197).

(4) O beautiful one!

If you are told that I did not cross the river to meet the enemy,
take then another as your lover.

But choose especially among those who are the last to retreat,
those who remain not in the middle,
those who place themselves as much as possible
at the edge of the armed ranks.⁷⁰

These songs were used to exhort the soldiers to be brave in battle, while references to wives and lovers were invoked to cause shame if the men proved cowardly in facing the enemy.

The battlefield

On the battlefield itself the assembled armies built stockades of earthen walls topped with palisades made of timber from a variety of thorny trees.⁷¹ Such stockades usually had one side left unwalled to allow the defenders to retreat quickly to the safety of a forest, hill or river. In general such local forts could house anywhere from 300 to 600 people, although the very largest could contain up to 3,000. The use of stockades [Bug–Mak, *tampakuku*; Malay, *kubu*] was a major part of Bugis–Makassar warfare. Each side would erect these relatively small earthen fortifications at strategic locations along a river, at a river mouth, at the foot of a hill, or at the edge of a forest. These *tampakuku* were quickly erected and were not intended to be permanent structures. As a force advanced, it sought to consolidate its position by constructing stockades where the men could rest and regroup in relative safety.

An incident in the Makassar War illustrates the use of *tampakuku* for offensive purposes. Arung Palakka decided to lead a night raid against the enemy, and so he sent 20 of his soldiers to select a suitable site facing the enemy to set down poles to erect a stockade. Protected by these posts, the Bugis troops moved forward until there were 600 of them assembled. They then began the digging and building until the stockade was completed and could hold some eight cannon, 100 musketeers and 20 riflemen [*busschieters*]. In another war in 1676, Arung Palakka pursued the traditional stockade warfare by building one *tampakuku* at a time in his march against the enemy's own

⁷⁰ Matthes (1872, p 200).

⁷¹ Among the trees mentioned in a Makassar document are the Asam Jawa, the Barakacca, the Pandan, the Sambuta and Banko (SKT, nd, p 94).

fortifications. Once a stockade was completed and manned, he then went out to find a suitable site for the next, and so forth.⁷²

At times, the *tampakuku* were built right under the walls of the enemy's major fortification so that it was claimed that the adversaries could reach out and touch one another.⁷³ A network of stockades could be built, connected by a protective wall made of cylindrical wicker baskets filled with earth [*schanskorven*]. Men could thus move with greater ease and protection between these fortifications.⁷⁴ The *tampakuku* usually contained a few cannon pieces, most likely of small caliber, known as *lela rentaka* in Malay, because they were easily removed and installed at very short notice.

While one group advanced to build its stockade, the other retreated to a more secure position where a new fortification was built or an older one reoccupied. A retreat was not a sign of defeat, but of careful manoeuvring. In one case documented by the Dutch in the Makassar War, the Makassar troops abandoned one of their *tampakuku* and set it alight to prevent its occupation by the enemy. But in retreating they fired a salvo from their muskets to let the Dutch and their Bugis allies know that they were withdrawing with order and not in hasty retreat.⁷⁵

The more substantial of these stockades were also used in a defensive posture and could be rather formidable with the placement of other defences around them. In the Makassar War the Dutch described an enemy fort with a six-foot deep moat and *ranjau*, or sharpened bamboo stakes, placed around the walls. As part of the defensive works there were two galleys filled with sand around the fort, and an extension of the fort constructed in the shape of a half-moon on which were placed two cannon. There was another fort to the south and a third to the east to form a network of defences.⁷⁶ *Ranjau* were also used to cover a retreat, and could be very effective. In one of Arung Palakka's campaigns against the Toraja, one-fifth of the Bugis losses came from injuries suffered from *ranjau*.⁷⁷

Despite the prominent role that stockades played in Bugis–Makassar warfare, they were rarely the site of battles. The major fighting occurred in the open field, and often only reached the *tampakuku* when

⁷² Stapel (1922, pp 148, 167); Andaya (1981, p 173).

⁷³ Vermeulen (1677, p 66).

⁷⁴ Vermeulen (1677, p 57).

⁷⁵ Vermeulen (1677, pp 56–57).

⁷⁶ MacLeod (1900, p 1281).

⁷⁷ Andaya (1981, p 259).

one group pursued the enemy to the very walls of the stockade. Despite the temporary nature of these fortifications, they were sufficiently well built and protected to deter any assault by ordinary warriors armed with muskets and indigenous weaponry. If the pursuing force brought up heavier guns, the defenders would slip away on the side that was open to a forest, a hill or a river. On the relatively rare occasion when one group succeeded in capturing a *tampakuku* with its defenders, it was usually by stealth at night. Because of the rarity of such events, indigenous accounts tend to attribute the fall of a stockade by these methods to the work of a traitor within.

Those who fought on horseback and manned the fleets were especially chosen for their tasks and hence somewhat privileged. Gervaise, basing his figures on what the local chronicles reported, estimated that of 100,000 men that the Goa ruler could bring to battle, some 12–13,000 were horsemen. He observed rather disparagingly that ‘willingly they never engage too far in the fight, unless the King commands ’em in Person’.⁷⁸ In the Makassar War horsemen were noted, but did not make much of an impression on the Dutch. From available sources it is difficult to know whether cavalry were used tactically in battle, or whether the men on horseback fought as individuals much like the ordinary foot soldier. There is no mention of their being used as part of battle tactics.⁷⁹

Insofar as the fleets were concerned, the magnificent Goa warships were made on the islands close to Makassar and in Bira at the very south-eastern tip of South Sulawesi. There were sufficient resources to launch some 450 boats carrying 15,000 men in a campaign to the eastern islands in 1666. Some of the largest ships carried as many as 18 small cannon.⁸⁰ Although there was a community of sea people [*turijeqneq*] who served the Makassar lord, and another group known as the *Bajo* who offered their allegiance to the Bugis ruler of Boné, they are not mentioned specifically as playing an important part in naval warfare.⁸¹ Against European ships the Makassar fleets proved

⁷⁸ Gervaise (1702, p 94).

⁷⁹ In 1678 Arung Palakka embarked on a campaign against the fugitive Goa lords who had left South Sulawesi with their followers after the Makassar War and fled to east Java. Upon arrival in Java, Arung Palakka immediately sent two of his men with 2,000 *rijksdaalders* to purchase horses for the Bugis forces. These horses were not intended for the cavalry, but to transport the men who wore heavy chain mail and could only travel easily on horseback (Andaya, 1981, p 218).

⁸⁰ Stapel (1922, pp 107, 112).

⁸¹ This is in contrast to the sea people [*Orang Asli*] in the Malay kingdoms, where they served in fleets that participated directly in sea battles (Andaya, 1975, *passim*).

highly vulnerable, and the large armada of Makassar boats at Butun was almost totally destroyed by the Dutch in 1666.⁸²

The armies began the battles in a fixed formation. Among the Bugis of the kingdom of Boné, the *Woromporong* was the flag of the *corps du bataille*, the *Cellaé ri atau* of the right flank, and the *Cellaé ri abéo* of the left flank. Each of the standards contained soldiers associated with specific territorial entities.⁸³ In addition, there was a separate flag for the ruler himself, which was known as the *Samparajaé*. The ruler's banner was inseparable from the other major flags in battle. Although traditions trace the *Samparajaé* to Arung Palakka's Java campaign of 1678–79, the association of flags with the ruler and for particular war units pre-dates Arung Palakka.⁸⁴ There is no account that describes how these 'banners' or units operated tactically in battle. A likely scenario is the careful use of stockades and the occasional mass charge, in which the personal bravery of the soldiers would determine the outcome. Even the VOC forces resorted to these tactics because of the nature of native warfare and the restricted mobility in a tropical landscape where much of the fighting occurred.⁸⁵

In addition to actual combat, a major tactic of the Bugis–Makassarese armies was to deprive the enemy of food. In the Makassar War, the VOC commanders sent the Bugis to raid enemy villages along the coastline for provisions. While the VOC viewed such raids as essentially food-gathering expeditions, the Bugis regarded them as an important part of their tactics to deny their enemy the ability to continue the war by seizing their food, animals and people. A common practice was to lop off the tops of coconut, sago and pinang palms and to cut down all other food-bearing and useful trees. Burning of villages destroyed whatever provisions may have been stored in them.⁸⁶ One crop, however, was left untouched: rice plants. Even Speelman commented that 'it was the custom of the Bugis and the Makassarese not to burn the

⁸² Stapel (1922, pp 93–114). The superiority of the Europeans was on the sea, but as soon as they attempted to pursue the campaign away from the safety of their ships' guns, they were frequently outnumbered and outfought by their local adversaries (Andaya, 2002, p 288). A prince of Banten boasted that he was not afraid of the Portuguese, Spaniards, Dutch or English because they could not pursue him to the mountains with their ships (de Iongh, 1950, p 104).

⁸³ Bakkers (1866, p 176). Other Bugis–Makassarese armies also organized their soldiers under specific banners [*bate*] representing the area from which the soldiers were drawn.

⁸⁴ Le Roux (1930, pp 247, 250, 253–254); Andaya (1981, p 291).

⁸⁵ de Iongh (1950, pp 96–97).

⁸⁶ MacLeod (1900, p 1282); Andaya (1981, p 185).

ricefields nor the husked rice even though they know for certain that the enemy would profit from it'.⁸⁷ Rice was sacred to the people of South Sulawesi, and it was believed that the wanton destruction of the plant would incur the wrath of the rice goddess. In more practical terms, for many South Sulawesi communities, destroying the rice fields was tantamount to causing starvation.

So important was the maintenance of rice fields that one of the Makassarese tales describes a specific episode in the Makassar War when the ruler heeds the advice of one of his council members who suggests the following formula for the recruitment of soldiers:

My Lord, if there are three in one household, one should be sent to war and two plant rice. If there are two in one house, one should go to war and one plant rice. And if there is only one in a household, do not send him right away to war. Later when it is necessary, Lord, then order the one person in the household to go to war.⁸⁸

Although the aim was to weaken the resolve of the enemy by undermining his ability to obtain food, rice was regarded as too sacred, too basic to human existence, to be destroyed.

Women and children in warfare

Women in South Sulawesi had a complementary role to men in warfare. Before going off to battle the men were encouraged and challenged by the women. When the Arung [Lord] Labuaja was about to depart, his wife said to him: 'My lord, if I hear that you have conducted yourself in a cowardly manner, then I will take another in your place. Only if you prove to be a fighter, shall I lie down; only if you are brave shall I come and sleep at the foot of your bed [ie sleep with you]'. In reply the Arung Labuaja addresses all his women: 'And if I, my dear women, have not given my all and have not gone to the Underworld . . . may I then not return home to caress you'. The women then sent him off with these parting words: 'My lord, you are now dressed in white. Avoid the red of shame. . . Let [your tunic] be blood-red as a newly-dyed silk [with the blood of the enemy] at the conclusion [of the battle]'.⁸⁹

The presence of women and children in fortifications close to the battlefield fulfilled a similar function of strengthening the courage of

⁸⁷ Stapel (1922, p 149).

⁸⁸ SKT (nd, p 123).

⁸⁹ Tol (1990, pp 261–262).

the men. When the Bugis seized one of the Makassar stockades, a woman and her child were among those captured.⁹⁰ A more dramatic example was in the last stand of the Makassar refugees on Java against the combined Dutch and Bugis forces in 1679. At the capture of the Makassar fort, they found more than 2,000 women and children huddling inside.⁹¹

But there was a practical reason for bringing the families so close to the battlefields. The Bugis contingent sent to help the VOC suppress a Chinese rebellion in Java in 1742 consisted of 500 warriors and their wives. But the numbers of camp followers increased dramatically in the march towards Kartasura where 200 warriors were accompanied by 5,000 others.⁹² With such a large army, there would have been many selling food and other items for the warriors and their families.

The accompanying families of the warriors were responsible for feeding, clothing and meeting all the needs of their menfolk during the campaign. Their duties would have been like those of the women described in the *Sinriliqna Kapalaq Tallumbatua*, a tale of the Makassar War, who fed and comforted their warriors after a day or night of fighting. At one stage in the tale when the war was going badly for Goa, the women were told to wear trousers and shirts instead of sarongs, and they proceeded to the battlefield with their warriors. Although there is no mention of their participating in the fighting, the tale implies that a greater sacrifice was being asked of the women.⁹³ After a battle they also had the sombre duty of nursing the wounded, and of retrieving and burying their dead away from the scene of war. Women and other members of a warrior's family were expected to carry out this task because it was considered a matter of great shame [*siriq*] to abandon the fallen on the field of battle, particularly those of high status.⁹⁴

Another reason for the presence of women and children at the battle-front was to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, which was a source of *siriq* for the menfolk. In Bugis–Makassar society one of the most common phenomena is men running amok [*aqjallog*] because of some perceived wrong done to their women. In many cases, it involves a young woman who elopes [*silariang*] with a man of a lower status, thereby bringing *siriq* to the family. The 'offending' male is then pursued as far and as long as it takes to wreak vengeance

⁹⁰ Stapel (1922, p 167).

⁹¹ Andaya (1981, p 221).

⁹² Noorduyn (1986, pp 279, 281).

⁹³ SKT (nd, pp 133, 137).

⁹⁴ Perelaer (1872, p 21).

and remove the shame brought to the family. The reason for such drastic measures is that women are status-markers in Bugis–Makassar society. Among the noble and royal families, a woman may not marry a man below her status, although a high-achieving low-born individual may be considered a suitable marriage partner. The woman is regarded as the preserver of the family's good name and ranking, and her brothers rely on her to maintain that fixed point for their own hopes to rise in status.

To some, a marriage between a man and a woman of higher status is regarded as incest [*salimaraq*], which will bring calamity to the community. Since elopement usually occurs between a high-born woman and a man of lower status, the act is regarded as an attack on the family's social position and hence a cause of *siriq*.⁹⁵ In the same way, an enemy can also bring *siriq* to the community by forcibly seizing its womenfolk. The women and children could then be used as hostages to force the surrender of the enemy. When Arung Palakka was in pursuit of 1,000 defiant enemy warriors, he commanded that their women and children be seized and brought to him.⁹⁶ It was important, therefore, for the community to protect their families by either bringing them into a fortification or hiding them in a safe sanctuary in the mountains or in other inaccessible areas.⁹⁷

Another example of the role of women in warfare is drawn from Bugis chronicles. They recount an episode during the Makassar War when the state of Lamatti was threatened by an invading Bugis army from Boné and Soppéng. Greatly outnumbered, the Lamatti forces resorted to their most powerful spiritual weapon: a contingent of some 100 female indigenous priestesses [*bissu*]⁹⁸ led by a very old woman [*makkunrai ridiq*] borne on a palanquin. The female *bissu* or *coré-coré* were dressed in red and chanted [*memmang*] while swinging a weaving 'sword' or beater [*walida*]. They marched towards the invading Boné army and were fired upon, but were not struck by any of the bullets. They then turned and proceeded towards the Soppéng

⁹⁵ Chabot (1996, pp 233–238; Millar (1989, pp 5–6, 30–31).

⁹⁶ Andaya (1981, p 179).

⁹⁷ Andaya (1981, pp 178, 223, 259); Perelaer (1872, p 348).

⁹⁸ *Bissu* is the name applied to the priests and priestesses of the indigenous religion in the Bugis lands. They are closely associated with the ancient gods of South Sulawesi and with the ruling families as descendants of these gods. In the ancient Bugis epic, the *I La Galigo*, the *bissu* were predominantly women, and even queens appeared to have been *bissu* (Andaya, 2000, pp 27–46).

army and again escaped unscathed. Having completed their task, they returned to Lamatti.⁹⁹ This description in the chronicles leaves no doubt that these *bissu* were regarded as effective in providing a spiritual shield around Lamatti.

The Lamatti event also highlights the special role of old women in warfare. In many societies, post-menopausal women occupy a liminal position between women and men. Liminality is often associated with danger and spiritual power, and it is no different in Bugis–Makassar society. It is understandable that the *makunrai ridiq* mentioned above should have been the leader of the spiritually potent *coré-coré*. The efficacy of the *makunrai ridiq* and the *coré-coré* against enemy missiles needs no explanation in the traditional Bugis text. Another example of the use of old women in warfare comes from a war between the Bugis and the Toraja in 1683. After a short but bloody war, with both sides suffering heavy casualties, a very old blind woman, whom the Toraja called their ‘queen’, was led down to the Bugis camp to ask for peace on behalf of the Toraja people. The offer was accepted, and the Bugis then marched the next day to her homeland, where the traditional gifts of submission were presented.¹⁰⁰ This particular episode also underscores the negotiating role frequently played by royal women. Another example can be found in one of the *toloq*, when the mother of the beleaguered Datu (Lord of) Madello beseeches the Crown Prince of the Kingdom of Boné and commander of the invading forces to have mercy on her son and accept his gifts of submission [*sebbu kati*].¹⁰¹

Treaties and the cessation of war

The ceremonies that marked the end of hostilities were equally important among the Bugis–Makassar people because they re-established the proper relationships between groups. As a sign of submission, the vanquished party was made to pay a traditional fine [*sebbu kati*] in cash and/or symbolic gifts. The gifts often came in threes or sets of three, a sacred number among the Bugis–Makassar people: a young girl, *krisses*, cloth; two people, three sarongs, bracelets; a person and three sarongs; a gold kris and three gold armlets.¹⁰² These

⁹⁹ This episode is contained in three major Wajo chronicles (Andaya, 1981, p 86).

¹⁰⁰ Andaya (1981, p 260).

¹⁰¹ Tol (1990, pp 210–211).

¹⁰² Andaya (1981, pp 150, 260, *passim*); Noorduyn, 1955, pp 173, 175, *passim*).

items represented the submission of one's people, warriors and wealth to the victor.

Proper relationships were then formally established in agreements in which both parties gave their word of honour [*maquluada*, Bugis/*maqulukana*, Makassar] or swore mutual oaths [*sitelliq*, Bugis/*sitalliq*, Makassar] witnessed by spiritual forces.¹⁰³ In such agreements, a precise political relationship was affirmed in kinship terms: brother to brother referred to a relationship of equality between states; older brother to younger brother acknowledged the slight advantage of one over the other; and mother to child described a maternal, protective relationship of a stronger over a weaker state. The lowest form of interstate relationship was portrayed as one between master and slave, hence one that was outside kinship relations and the most severe form of submission.

A state's understanding of its proper status in relation to all other states was determined by treaty. The efficacy of the treaty lay, as with *siriq*, in the universal acceptance in South Sulawesi of its legitimate function in preserving harmony in society. Once a hierarchy was determined, a state could seek 'protection' [*paqdaoi*] and thus avoid conflict. In this way a treaty could be negotiated or renegotiated to reflect the change of power relationships. The aim among states, as among humans, was to maintain proper status differences, and this was done through treaties. These agreements imposed obligations understood by all parties, and were solemnized by an oath with supernatural sanction. The treaty was made binding on both the present and future generations with the words:

Fire will not burn it [the treaty] away, nor disaster in the land destroy it. No dead person will be able to take it away with him [ie the death of those who agreed to the treaty will not dissolve it]. Even if the Upperworld should fall and the Underworld sink away, the treaty will not be undone.

The treaty was then solemnized with the swearing of an oath and the drinking of fermented palm wine [*balloq*] stirred with a sword or *kris*, or smashing an egg with a stone and then burying the stone [*mallamumpatu*]. The words and oaths of the ancestors contained in the treaties became a moral and supernatural sanction, guaranteeing a degree of stability in the affairs of Bugis–Makassar kingdoms. Anyone violating a treaty risked the wrath of the ancestors who had given their

¹⁰³ This section on treaties is based on Andaya (1978).

'word' of honour, as well as the punishment of the god invoked as witness to the treaty ceremony.

When an Indic script for the Bugis and Makassar languages was introduced,¹⁰⁴ the treaties were written down on lontar palm leaves or on paper. The sacredness of the word was then transferred on to the written treaties, which became preserved as part of the regalia.¹⁰⁵ There was thus a dual aspect of the treaty: it represented the powerful words of ancestors solemnized by fearful oaths, and it was also a sacred object and hence of equal importance to the other objects brought down from the Upperworld to become the regalia and palladia of the community.¹⁰⁶ Rulers consulted these treaties as part of the wisdom of the ancestors, and respected the documents as part of the regalia. Because the sworn oaths were made binding on all generations, treaties were never rejected, only superseded.

By this means, peace was made not only among the warring parties on land, but also among the various spiritual forces invoked on behalf of the human communities. These agreements were made binding upon the ancestors, the current participants and their descendants yet unborn. Such agreements once made could never be repudiated, and wars were fought to 'remind' [*naingerrangi*] the offending party of its obligations. In such cases, therefore, there was simply a renewal of an oath made eternal through supernatural intervention.¹⁰⁷ The treaty thus marked the final act in Bugis–Makassar warfare in which both the spiritual and the human combatants agreed to maintain proprieties in the land.

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¹⁰⁴ Hunter cites a 997 CE reference in the Sung Annals to a gift for the Emperor of China from the ruler of Brunei, which was in the form of a 'palm leaf ribbon manuscript'. Early Bugis manuscripts were written in this way and rolled around a wheel. It is this practice that suggested to Hunter that the Bugis script may already have been in use in the tenth century (Hunter, 1998, p 13). Noorduyn relies on indigenous documents, which indicate that South Sulawesi writing began sometime 'within three decades after the year 1511'. He nevertheless admits that a more detailed investigation of this problem is needed (Noorduyn, 1965, p 153).

¹⁰⁵ Cense (1951, p 47).

¹⁰⁶ This aspect is interestingly discussed by Cummings (2002).

¹⁰⁷ Andaya (1978, pp 275–295).

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