

THE HERO LEGEND IN COLONIAL SOUTHEAST ASIA*

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Four legends that originated in the different religious and colonial contexts of the Tagalog and Makassar peoples are shown to conform to Edward Tylor's classical "hero pattern." Using structural anthropology and cognitive linguistics, this article argues that hero legends generated metaphors from concrete relationships in the domestic domain to conceptualize abstract relationships in a series of other domains. The hero pattern underwent transformations in tandem with changes in the political and economic institutions in which it was embedded. From its beginnings as a charter for rival city-states in the ancient Middle East, it became a charter for the universalistic world religions that arose within the empires that succeeded the city-states. In the Southeast Asian legends discussed here, it served as a charter for both collaboration with and resistance to colonial rule.

Keywords: structuralism, shamanism, Christianity, Islam, colonialism

In this article, I analyze four legends that originated in the Philippines and Indonesia during the colonial period. I encountered the first of them, the *Historia Famosa ni Bernardo Carpio* (The Legend of Bernardo Carpio), while reading Reynaldo Ileto's *Pasyon and Revolution* when the latter was first published in 1979. I was conducting fieldwork among the Buid, an indigenous people in the highlands of Mindoro, at the

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time. Ileo's analysis of this legend provided me with many insights into the political and religious values of the Christian peasants that had been migrating into the Buid ancestral domain since the 1950s (Gibson 1986). The other three legends I encountered while conducting fieldwork in the Muslim village of Ara, South Sulawesi, Indonesia, a decade later. I have discussed one set of issues raised by these legends in previous publications; a systematic comparison between them and the Tagalog narratives discussed by Ileo raises a different set of issues (Gibson 2005a, 2007; Ileo 1979a, 1979b).

Despite important differences in the religious and colonial histories of the Tagalog and Makassar peoples, all four legends conform to the classical "hero pattern" in which "exposed infants are saved to become national heroes" (Tylor 1871, 255). Most attempts to explain the widespread distribution of this pattern have followed Tylor in attributing it to "the operation of imaginative processes recurring with the evident regularity of mental law" (ibid., 255). Perhaps the most famous exponent of this psychologistic approach was Sigmund Freud (1955, 308), who interpreted the hero legend of Oedipus as an expression of the incestuous desires found in all small children.¹

I adopt a quite different approach to the hero pattern. I make use of structural anthropology and cognitive linguistics to argue that hero legends draw on concrete relationships experienced within the domestic domain as a source of metaphors for conceptualizing abstract relationships experienced within a series of other domains. I turn to historical sociology to argue that the hero pattern underwent a series of transformations in tandem with changes in the political and economic institutions in which it was embedded. It began as a charter for the constitutions of the rival city-states that arose in the ancient Middle East. It was transformed in the religious

scriptures of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam to serve as a charter for the universalistic world religions that arose within the empires that succeeded the city-states. It was transformed again in the legends discussed in this article to serve as a charter for both collaboration with and resistance to different kinds of colonial rule.

Structural Analysis of the Hero Legend

Lord Raglan's summary of the symbolic elements that commonly appear in hero legends serves as a convenient reference point for the theoretical discussion that follows. He broke the pattern down into twenty-two numbered parts.

The hero pattern according to Lord Raglan

(1) The hero's mother is a royal virgin; (2) his father is a king, and (3) often a near relative of his mother, but (4) the circumstances of his conception are unusual and (5) he is also reputed to be the son of a god. (6) At birth an attempt is made, usually by his father or his maternal grandfather to kill him, but (7) he is spirited away and (8) reared by foster-parents in a far country. (9) We are told nothing of his childhood, but (10) on reaching manhood he returns or goes to his future kingdom. (11) After a victory over the king and/or a giant, dragon or wild beast, (12) he marries a princess, often the daughter of his predecessor, and (13) becomes king. (14) For a time he reigns uneventfully, and (15) prescribes laws, but (16) later he loses favour with the gods and/or his subjects, and (17) is driven from the throne and city, after which (18) he meets with a mysterious death, (19) often at the top of a hill. (20) His children, if any, do not succeed him. (21) His body is not buried, but nevertheless (22) he has one or more holy sepulchres. (Raglan 1936/1979, 174–75)²

In this article, I will show that Raglan's hero pattern appears in many apparently disparate cultural traditions because it constitutes a metalevel commentary on four increasingly abstract domains of human experience: the domestic, the cosmological, the political, and the religious. Modern cognitive linguistics has shown that people draw on concrete domains of experience as a source of metaphors with which to conceptualize abstract domains of experience (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). These findings confirm the earlier and more impressionistic arguments of Claude Lévi-Strauss, who argued that the symbolic systems found in myth and ritual employ concrete material objects such as animal species as symbols with which to express abstract logical arguments. To use concrete objects in this way, peoples' encyclopedic knowledge of them must be reduced to a simplified set of binary contrasts in much the same way that the range of possible phonetic sounds must be reduced to a simple set of phonemic contrasts in order to produce a linguistic system (Lévi-Strauss 1964; Sperber 1975).

The Domestic Domain and Gender Symbolism

By domestic domain, I mean the arena of social interaction within which the basic kinship units of a society are reproduced. Because human experience begins in childhood within this domain, later experience is inevitably compared and contrasted with this earlier experience. The opposition between male and female bodies is one of the earliest and most emotionally charged experiences a child has, and gender symbolism is consequently of almost universal salience. Because of the arbitrary nature of gender roles in the domestic group the content of the symbolic opposition between male and female varies radically from one culture to another. The same is

true of the opposition between old and young bodies.

The Indo-European and Semitic kinship systems of the Middle East are based on the concept of the male seed that is implanted into the female body by the legitimate father, and the mythological system of the area centers on the relationship between fathers and sons and on legitimate and illegitimate conception (Delaney 1991). By contrast, the Austronesian kinship systems of Southeast Asia are based on the concept of the sharing of a common space, such as a womb, a house, a locality, or a tomb. This privileges the relationship between siblings over the relationship between parents and children as a symbol of social solidarity (Gibson 1994). The logic of the system is that the strongest possible tie would be that which exists between opposite-sex siblings who shared a womb at the same time. The mythological system of the cultures surrounding the Java Sea thus centers on a pair of opposite-sex twins who are separated at birth, and of the quest of the male hero to reunite with his sister (Gibson 2005a).

The fact that symbolic oppositions based on gender and age were conceived of very differently in the cultures of the Middle East and Southeast Asia meant that the hero legend underwent a significant transformation as it moved from the former area to the latter. But although the domestic domain may be structured in very different ways in different cultures, it remains the point from which all human experience originates and in relation to which all other dimensions of experience are defined.

In order to employ basic kinship relations as symbolic elements in a mythological system, the complex empirical interactions within the domestic group between males and females, children and adults, and siblings and spouses must be reduced to a simplified set of binary oppositions. In an early essay, Lévi-Strauss (1963) argued that the basic “atom of kinship” in any society must include not just a

conjugal pair and their offspring, but a representative of the kinship unit that provided the father with a wife in the first place. This atom thus includes a minimum of four kinds of relationship: between husband and wife, brother and sister, father and son, and mother's brother and sister's son. Lévi-Strauss suggested that the culturally standardized attitudes associated with each of these relationships tend to be arranged in complementary opposition to one another. Thus, if the relationship between husband and wife is positive, that between brother and sister will be negative, and vice versa. And if the relationship between father and son is positive, that between mother's brother and sister's son will be negative, and vice versa (*ibid.*, 38).³ I have found this argument to be quite useful, except for its neglect of the mother-son relationship, which, as we will see, is of central importance in many hero legends, where it is systematically contrasted with the father-son relationship.

While my basic argument is that hero legends draw on experiences in the domestic domain as a source of metaphors to talk about experiences in other domains, like all metaphors the relationship between source and target domain can be reversed. Thus one can use a domestic metaphor for a political relationship by calling a ruler the father of his people, in order to draw attention to the nurturing aspects of a role that is primarily based on power. And one can use a political metaphor for a domestic relationship by calling a father the ruler of his family, in order to draw attention to the authoritarian aspect of a role that is primarily nurturing.

This sort of reversal occurs when hero legends are recited during the life-cycle rituals through which the domestic group is reproduced. The birth, marriage, or death of a specific individual is then framed as a particular instance of the ideal pattern of human life as it is portrayed in the life story of the relevant hero (or prophet). Hero legends are also linked to life-cycle rituals through some of the concrete bodily

imagery they employ. In his analysis of ritual symbolism among the Ndembu of southern Africa, Victor Turner shows that they typically combine an abstract ideological pole with a concrete sensory pole. The sensory pole is drawn from intense human experiences like childbirth, puberty, sexual intercourse, and death, which are in turn associated with concrete bodily substances like blood, milk, semen, and the fluids of bodily decay. During life-cycle rituals, milk and other white substances are used as symbols of female nurturance and life; blood and other red substances are used as symbols of male violence in hunting and war; and the fluids of bodily decomposition and other black substances are used as symbols of death and decay (Turner 1967).

The close association between bodily fluids and intense emotions is also evoked in the hero legends. The hero may recall the suffering of his mother during childbirth and the unconditional love with which she nursed him; the cruelty of the father and the virility of the hero may be illustrated through the rivers of blood shed during their battles; and the ultimate triumph of the hero over death may be expressed through the failure of his corpse to decay. The same symbolic mechanisms are thus present in both rituals and legends. Their ability to evoke the same strong emotions is one of the sources of their power.

The Cosmological Domain and the Shaman

By cosmological domain, I mean the arena in which humans interact with all the nonhuman kinds of being they encounter in the world, including both macrocosmic beings such as the earth, the sea, and the sky, and microcosmic beings such as plants, animals, and spirits. Schematically one might say that the cosmological domain, which constitutes a vertical dimension of human experience extending beyond the

human domestic domain, governs the social relationship between humans and nonhumans.⁴ For example, in the so-called totemic societies of Australia each human clan was typically identified with an edible species of plant or animal, members of the same clan were prohibited from marrying one another, and each clan was responsible for performing the rituals that reproduced their totemic species so that all the other clans would have enough food resources to hunt or gather. All the clans in the same totemic system were thus integrated into a larger social whole through the systematic exchange of spouses and foods (Lévi-Strauss 1964).

Victorian social theorists were just as fascinated with the idea that this sort of totemism represented a universal stage in the cultural development of humanity as they were with the idea that the hero legend represented a universal stage in the psychological development of the individual.⁵ In the early 1960s, however, Lévi-Strauss showed that Australian totemism represented just one of many logically possible ways of organizing knowledge of the natural, cultural, and spiritual domains of experience into a cosmological whole. The caste system of India represented another logically possible way of doing so. In the caste system domestic groups were integrated with one another through the exchange of specialized goods and services instead of through the exchange of women in marriage or the exchange of edible resources. This led to the false belief that the women and the food produced within each occupationally specialized group were so intrinsically different from one another that they could not be exchanged at all, resulting in rules that prevented the members of different castes from sharing food or spouses with one another (Lévi-Strauss 1964, 1966).

Philippe Descola (1996) and Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (1998) have recently suggested that “animism” constitutes yet another possible way of conceiving the

relationship between the human and nonhuman worlds. They define animism as the imputation of human forms of subjectivity to a variety of animal species and invisible spirits. Shamans occupy a key position in these systems because they are able to occupy different kinds of body and thus to view the world from the perspective of humans, animals, and spirits. They thus serve as mediators between different levels of the cosmological system (but see Turner 2009).

Heroes share the ability of shamans to cross cosmological boundaries. Hero legends often begin with an attempt to drown the protagonist in the sea or a large river followed by his miraculous escape. These bodies of water are often viewed as portals to the Underworld, and the ability of the hero to survive a passage back and forth through this portal is often the first indication of his superhuman abilities. During his later journeys, the hero often ascends a mountain and returns bearing esoteric knowledge, indicating his ability to communicate with the Upperworld. It is the knowledge he gains from these other worlds that gives him power over the Middleworld. Hero legends often end with the protagonist ascending bodily into the Upperworld, leaving behind an empty tomb or a relic that serves as a permanent conduit through which otherworldly powers continue to flow long after the hero is gone. Like shamans, then, heroes serve as mediators between cosmological levels. Unlike shamans, they use their powers to establish a new level of social organization on earth, the city-state.

The Political Domain and the Stranger King

Comparative folklore studies have shown that the hero legend was originally confined to the Indo-European and Semitic cultures of the Middle East, which is precisely the region in which city-states and writing systems first developed (Cook 1965, cited in

Dundes 1990, 188–90). Writing systems were initially developed to keep administrative and commercial records. The growing size and complexity of political and economic interactions within the city-states eventually led to the formulation of written legal codes by rulers such as Hammurabi of Babylon (r. ca. 1750 BCE). Written legal codes made it apparent that the political principles that governed neighboring societies differed in systematic ways, and they could be revised deliberately by those who had sufficient knowledge and power.

It is not implausible to suggest that hero legends arose in this region in order to conceptualize a new political domain of experience that was defined in opposition to the implicit principles that governed the old domestic domain of experience. George Lakoff (2002) has recently shown that even in contemporary America ideal models of the family are used as a source of metaphors for ideal models of the polity. The conservative model of the ideal political domain is based on “Strict Father morality,” while the liberal model is based on “Nurturant Parent morality” (which might be better termed “Nurturant Mother morality”) (ibid., 65–142).

While there may be many similarities in the way fathers and mothers care for their children in everyday life, the differences between paternal and maternal roles are systematically exaggerated in the hero legends. In the first domestic part of the legend, the nurturing role of the biological father (Latin *genitor*) is eliminated entirely by making the hero the son of a mysterious stranger, while the authoritarian role of the legal father (Latin *pater*) is exaggerated by making the stepfather of the hero his political ruler as well. This contrasts with the hero’s relationship to his mother, which is based not on law but on love. The hero is then forcibly expelled from his natal domestic group when the father comes to see him as a threat to his arbitrary power. In the second cosmological part of the legend, the hero’s wandering across vertical

cosmic boundaries and horizontal political boundaries leads him to exotic sources of power and knowledge that enable him to displace the existing political order and implement a new legal code. In the third political part of the legend, the hero is deposed or dies before he can engender an heir within his own domestic group, so that the legacy of his achievements belongs to all the citizens of the polity he founded and not just to one domestic group within it. The hero legend thus ends by establishing the moral superiority of the (male) political domain (Greek *polis*) to the (female) domestic domain (Latin *domus*).

The hero legend served as a symbolic lingua franca in which city-states from Rome to India could express their distinctive identities in a way that all the other polities in the region could understand (Leach 1954, 10–17).⁶ A similar role was played in other parts of the world by the myth of the mysterious stranger who descended from the heavens or sailed from across the sea and was accepted as the supreme ruler because he lacked particularistic ties to any local kinship groups (Sahlins 1985; Gibson 2008). Stranger kings and wandering heroes served as mediators between neighboring polities by drawing on their shamanic ability to mediate between different levels of the cosmos.

The Religious Domain and the Ethical Prophet

The development of a distinctive religious domain came about alongside the development of an enduring “world empire” that encompassed the entire Middle East. This was a gradual process that began with the founding of the Achaemenid Empire by Cyrus the Great in 560 BCE and culminated with the founding of the Umayyad Caliphate by Muawiyah in 661 CE (Fowden 1993). There were many attempts to establish universalistic ethical systems during this period that would encompass all of

the citizens of the increasingly polyglot empires. It was precisely the growing awareness of the arbitrary nature of local customs and traditions that Max Weber (1922/1963) identified as the source of prophetic consciousness, a consciousness that was driven to establish a rationalized system of morality and a universal standard of justice.

The distribution in time and space of early symbolic systems was limited by their oral transmission in local dialects, and later by the use of complex writing systems such as cuneiform and hieroglyphs that only a small elite group could read. The teachings of the prophets were able to reach a much wider audience because they were recorded in simple alphabetic scripts in languages such as Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, and Arabic that were used to administer vast empires. As these empires broke up, they left behind vast commonwealths that shared a common religious domain that organized human experiences within local domestic, cosmological, and political domains into an encompassing whole.

The emergence of the ethical prophet as a successor to the classical hero can be seen in the story of Moses as it was recorded in the Torah, which was redacted during the Persian Achaemenid Empire founded by Cyrus (550–330 BCE); and as it was retold a thousand years later in the Qur'an, which reached canonical form under the Caliph Uthman (r. 653–656 CE).

The Life of Moses

Fearing the growing numbers of Hebrews in his kingdom, the Pharaoh orders the midwives to kill all of their male children. When they evade his command, he orders all Egyptians to throw every Hebrew boy into the river to drown.

The mother of Moses does abandon him in the river, but she places him in a boat made of papyrus and pitch. His sister watches over him until the daughter

of the king finds the ark and decides to keep the baby [according to the Qur'an, Moses is saved by Asiya, the wife of the king]. His sister then arranges for Moses to be nursed by his own mother. He grows up in the royal household and is eventually adopted by the princess [queen] and is raised as an Egyptian noble. When Moses observes an Egyptian attacking a Hebrew slave, however, he sympathizes with the slave and kills the Egyptian. The Pharaoh, now his step-grandfather [stepfather], discovers the crime and orders his execution, causing Moses to flee from Egypt to Midian. There he marries the daughter of a local shepherd and lives quietly for a number of years. One day God calls to him from a burning bush on Mount Horeb and orders him to return and lead his people out of Egypt. God gives him a magic staff, a magic robe, and the ability to turn the water of the Nile into blood as signs of the divine source of his authority. In order to persuade the Pharaoh to let the Hebrews go, God subjects Egypt to a series of ten plagues, ending with the death of every first-born child and animal. The Hebrews finally flee, pursued by the Egyptian army. They escape when Moses uses his magic staff to part the Red Sea for the Hebrews to pass, and his hand to close it over the Egyptian army. While wandering in the desert, Moses receives a set of divine laws on Mount Sinai (or Horeb) for his people to live by. He dies on top of Mount Nebo before he can enter the land promised by God. He is succeeded as leader not by his own sons, but by Joshua, son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim. (Exodus; Deuteronomy 34:1–12; Joshua 1; Chronicles 7:26–27; Qur'an, here and there; cf. Frazer 1918, 437–39)⁷

At one level, the story of Moses fits into the ancient pattern of an orphaned hero who founds a polity based on a distinctive set of laws derived from a divine source. At another level, the insistence of the Torah on the absolute power of a single God paved the way for the emergence of a new kind of hero, the ethical prophet whose teachings are addressed to all mankind. In this version of the hero legend, the contrast between the cruel stepfather and the nurturing mother is taken to new heights. The royal stepfather orders the execution not just of the hero but also of a whole category of male children in his kingdom, which he sees as a threat to his power. The hero's people are avenged when their God causes the death of every first-born child in the ruler's kingdom. This narrative reflects the concept of justice that governs the ancient city-states in general, which is based on the principle that those who break the law incur a debt to the ruler that may be payable only through the enslavement or death of the offender or his heirs.

One of the new elements in the story of Moses is the expanded role allotted to maternal figures. The hero is nurtured by a whole group of women, including his birth mother, his elder sister, and his stepmother. There is a potential symbolic contrast here between the arbitrary cruelty of male rulers and the unconditional love of female caretakers that is further developed in the stories of Jesus and Muhammad. Unlike Moses, the aim of Jesus and Muhammad is not to establish a new legal code for any particular polity, but to subsume all such legal codes under a universal system of divine justice according to which a merciful God would cancel all such debts in return for the love and faith of His children. In the stories of their lives, the group of humble women who care for them comes to symbolize the merciful side of divine justice. The concept of divine judgment according to the law survives but is deferred until the end of time. In contrast to the classical hero legends, the stories of the prophets endow the

female domestic domain with a new status that makes it at least the equal of the male political domain.

The Christian Hero in the Philippines under Direct Colonial Rule

Jesus was judged and sentenced to death according to the laws of both Judea and Rome in order to pay the debts of all humankind. His subsequent resurrection showed that divine justice transcended the laws of all human polities, and he refused to found a new political order (Jennings 2013). It is one of the great ironies of history that Christianity, a religion that had developed as a critique of injustice in the Roman Empire, became the guiding ideology of so many European colonial empires, beginning with that of Spain. The Spanish soldiers and friars who established direct colonial rule over the Philippine islands saw themselves as engaged in a holy war with Islam that had begun with the fall of Granada to the “Moors” in 711. The Spanish made it their business to suppress indigenous cosmological beliefs and practices they encountered in the Philippines, so that Tagalog legends came to draw heavily on Christian scripture and Spanish folklore instead. This did not necessarily lead to the legitimization of the Spanish Empire, however, because it was so easy to portray it as a version of the Roman Empire that had executed Jesus Christ.

The *Pasyon*, the most popular version of the life of Jesus among the Tagalog people during the nineteenth century was based on a text composed in 1704 by Gaspar Aquino de Belén, a Tagalog layman who worked as a printer for the Jesuit press in Manila. A revised version of Aquino de Belen’s text was edited in 1814 by Fr. Mariano Pilapil (1759–1818), a Filipino secular priest from a prominent Tagalog family. Pilapil grew up during the period when Manila Archbishop Basilio Sancho de Santa Justa was attempting to replace Spanish regular priests with Filipino secular

priests, and he was the first Tagalog to acquire a doctorate in theology. When the policy of turning parishes over to the native secular clergy was reversed in the 1820s, he became an early advocate for the rights of native priests (Santiago 1988). The conflict between secular Filipino priests and regular Spanish priests laid the foundation for the emergence of a Filipino national consciousness in the 1880s (Schumacher 1981; Blanco 2009, 107–10).

The *Pasyon* covers the main events in the life of Jesus as found in the Gospels and adds a few more. Alan Dundes (1990, 191) presents a summary of the life of Jesus that indicates the presence of seventeen out of Raglan's twenty-two elements in the hero pattern.⁸ I have inserted the numbers used by Dundes to show the parallels between the life of Jesus and Raglan's hero pattern into my summary of his presentation below.

The Life of Jesus

Jesus is born of a virgin mother (1) who is mysteriously impregnated (4) by God (5). A soothsayer tells King Herod that his nemesis will come from the group to which Jesus belongs, so the king orders that all the male children in Bethlehem should be killed (6). His parents flee with him to a foreign land (7), where he is reared by his stepfather Joseph (8). Little is said of his childhood (9). He returns to Judea as an adult (10) but does not marry. He is proclaimed “king” of the Jews (13) and gives his followers a new ethical code to live by (14, 15). He eventually loses favor with some of his followers (16) and is driven from the city (17). He is tried and found guilty according to both local and imperial law and is executed (18) on a cross at the top of a hill (19) with only Roman soldiers and a group of women attending him when he dies. He travels to the Underworld and Upperworld before he is resurrected on earth,

appearing first to a group of women. After forty days, he ascends bodily into heaven (21), leaving behind an empty sepulcher (22). His followers await his return. (adapted from Dundes 1990, 191 with additions from John 19:25; Mark 16:1)

The life of Jesus as recounted in the Gospels fits Raglan's hero pattern in many ways, but it goes well beyond it in others. The relationship between the hero, his mother, and a number of other female figures acquires a new importance. Although his disciples are all men, it is a group of women who attend both his death and rebirth.

John Blanco (2009, 111) notes that the *Pasyon* edited by Mariano Pilapil differs from the 1704 version written by Aquino de Belén in a number of ways.

[These differences include] the framing of the Passion narrative by a digest of the Book of Genesis, as well as the apocryphal life of the Virgin Mary and the (postresurrection) story of Empress Helen's search for the sacred wood of the holy cross; the increased emphasis on Jesus's divinity as the Son of God; and the intercessory character of the Virgin Mary, who several times tries to ward off Jesus's redemptive sacrifice by offering herself in his place. These three differences betray the anonymous author's underlying attempt to consider and explain the Christian story of universal redemption beyond merely illustrating the virtuous individual Christian life. To accomplish this task, the anonymous author frames Aquino de Belén's original dramatic rendering of the Passion story in terms of eschatology, empire, and the Christian economy.⁹

Several of these differences involve an increased emphasis on the role of female characters. Blanco notes that the tradition of Mary's attempt to intercede on behalf of her son arose in late-medieval Italy and was enthusiastically adopted in the colonial Philippines. The *Pasyon* portrays Mary's compassion for her son as so overpowering

that she is prepared to derail God's entire plan for human salvation by taking her son's place on the cross. God instructs her that she must model herself on Abraham, who would have beheaded his son in complete obedience to his will as recorded in the scriptures. The mother's ultimate sacrifice is thus not to sacrifice herself but to allow the sacrifice of her son (ibid., 116–17).

As a humble man who values the poor and the outcast above the wealthy and the noble and the love of women above the violence of men, Jesus is the ultimate mediator between all social categories that are built on such distinctions. As simultaneously human and divine, he is the ultimate mediator between cosmological levels. As the founder of a universal ethical religion that overrides all national boundaries, he is the ultimate political mediator. As a prophet that places faith, love, and hope above descent, wealth, power, and formal education, he establishes an entirely new religious domain that devalues the distinctions that are operative in the other three domains.

The life of Jesus contains a series of messages that can be used to subvert any political order, but particularly a colonial order in which the threat of force is never far from the surface. As Iletto shows, these messages were taken to heart in the colonial Philippines. The *Pasyon* was recited in full during Holy Week and on other occasions, such as during funeral and courtship rituals. Iletto (1979b, 25) suggests that “it coopted most of the functions of the traditional social epics” that were in use among the Tagalog in prehispanic times. According to one seventeenth-century account by a Spanish friar, the Tagalog were fond of singing these epics during work, festivals, and funerals that recounted “the fabulous genealogies and deeds of their gods” (ibid., 25). Recitation of the *Pasyon* during Holy Week induced in those who listened to it a state of shared suffering (*damay*) with Christ that helped people to cope

with ordinary personal suffering.

But the recitation of the *Pasyon* also helped to keep alive an ideal of social justice that was defined in opposition to peoples' everyday experiences of debt servitude and enforced deference to their social and economic superiors. The evocation of Christ's suffering could induce in an audience a willingness to sacrifice their everyday comfort and security to respond to a higher calling. The *Pasyon* identified the wealthy and well educated with the Pharisees who tormented Christ, and the poor and uneducated with Christ's followers (ibid., 19–24).

Ileto (ibid., 63) notes that Apolinario de la Cruz, the leader of a popular uprising in 1841, portrayed himself as being like Jesus in that he was both poor and lowly, and also a source of authority, knowledge, and compassion:

The only way this apparent contradiction can be explained is by seeing the above images in conjunction with the model of Christ in the *pasyon*. In Christ we are acquainted with an individual who combines in his person the seemingly contradictory aspects of divinity and humanity, humility and overwhelming strength. He is simultaneously lord and servant, victim and victor. He is described as “unlettered,” and yet exceeds all others in knowledge. He is poor and yet the dispenser of all wealth. . . . At several points in Philippine history, there have appeared extraordinary individuals who were perceived by the masses as the embodiment of the Christ model.

As we will see, the combination of these contradictory characteristics is also central to the image of the Prophet Muhammad as portrayed in popular narratives about his life.

The Hero as Messianic Mediator

The *Historia Famosa ni Bernardo Carpio* is based on Spanish tales about the

Christian Reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula from the Moors. These tales reached the Philippines by way of Mexico and were performed as plays during town fiestas as early as the seventeenth century. With the growth of urban centers and a literate public in the nineteenth century, the tales were reduced to writing and sold in cheap popular editions (Ileto 1979a, 380; Blanco 2009, 55). Based on interviews with his descendents, José Rivera (1933, 14–19, cited in Blanco 2009, 55) attributed the composition of the legend to José de la Cruz (1746–1829), “a master improviser who dictated to up to five transcribers at a time.” The oldest known edition only dates to 1860, however (Ileto 1979a, 417).

The Legend of Bernardo Carpio

Bernardo is the illegitimate child of Sancho, a great warrior, and of Jimena, the sister of King Alfonso. Their liaison is betrayed to King Alfonso by Sancho’s best friend, Rubio. Enraged, the king blinds and imprisons Sancho and gives Bernardo to Rubio to raise. When Bernardo learns as a young adult that Rubio is not his true father, he kills him in a duel and becomes commander of the army. While Bernardo is away fighting the Moors, King Alfonso betrays Spain by accepting the French emperor as his overlord. Bernardo returns and frees Spain from France, rescues his dying father, and arranges for his father to marry his mother. Bernardo refuses the Spanish throne and goes on a quest to destroy idolaters everywhere. He is angered when a bolt of lightning strikes the statue of a lion next to him, and vows to destroy it. A dazzling angel appears to tell him to stop because God has ordained that he will not be able to see or capture the lightning. Bernardo ignores the angel and pursues the lightning when it disappears between two mountains that are crashing together. God casts a spell on him that keeps him

alive but trapped in a cave inside the mountain until his soul is purified.

(condensed from *ibid.*, 381–86)

In a later version published in 1949, Bernardo is visited in the cave by a stranger. Bernardo explains to him that he lives in hope that he will be allowed to rise again like Jesus and return to free the oppressed. (Ileto 1979b, 123–25)

According to Ileto, the last part of the story about Bernardo's pursuit of the lightning is derived from prehispanic Tagalog beliefs about shamanic pilgrimages to the Underworld to wrestle with spirits. But it also indicates one of the ways that Bernardo was thought of as a Christ-like figure. Both of them remain suspended between life and death until their second coming inaugurates an era of divine justice that transcends imperial law; neither of them becomes the head of a domestic group by marrying, nor the head of a polity by accepting a worldly throne; and they resemble shamans in that their permanent suspension between life and death enables them to serve as conduits between this world and the next.¹⁰

By the late nineteenth century, many Tagalog peasants believed that Bernardo Carpio was an indigenous king whose struggles to free himself from his underground captivity were responsible for earthquakes. Spanish-educated *ilustrado* elites were well aware of this belief, and José Rizal (1968, cited in Ileto 1979a, 386) mentioned it in his novel *El Filibusterismo*, first published in 1891. Rizal returned from Europe to the Philippines soon after his novel was published, and organized La Liga Filipina to advocate increasingly radical reforms. The Spanish authorities immediately banned the organization and exiled Rizal to Mindanao. This prompted a member of the league, Andres Bonifacio, to found a secret society known as the Katipunan, which was devoted to securing Philippine independence through an armed insurrection.

In his youth, Bonifacio had often acted in Tagalog dramas that were based on popular poetic narratives or *awit*. The *Historia Famosa ni Bernardo Carpio* was his favorite story and he substituted Tagalog names for the Spanish names of persons and places in his personal copy. Iletto (1979b, 394) infers that Bonifacio saw the *awit* as an allegory in which King Alfonso represented Spain; Don Sancho and Jimena represented the precolonial ancestors of the Filipino people; Don Rubio represented the friars who had hidden knowledge of their true heritage from the Filipinos; and Bernardo represented the revolutionary youth of Bonifacio's generation, who were determined to rediscover their original identity.

In his revolutionary poems and essays, Bonifacio drew on the *awit* tradition to persuade his fellow Filipinos that Spain's oppressive behavior had freed them from any debt of gratitude they might have owed the colonial state. Spain was portrayed as the cruel stepmother and Filipinas as the true mother to whom alone loyalty was owed. He evoked compassion for the suffering of the motherland, and incited his countrymen to stop fighting for the Spanish, to seek out their true ancestors, and to give their lives for them, much as Bernardo Carpio did in the *awit* (Iletto 1979a, 396–400). Only by doing so could they regain the sense of comfort (*ginhawa*) and freedom from care (*layaw*) that most people had only experienced during their childhood (Iletto 1979b, 108).

During Holy Week in 1895, Bonifacio climbed Mount Tapusi with eight companions and entered the cave where Bernardo Carpio was believed to be imprisoned. In the course of a solemn ceremony, they wrote on the wall, *Panahon na! Mabuhay ang Kalayaan!* (The Time is Now! Long Live Independence!) (ibid., 122–28). It is significant that Bonifacio took this action during Holy Week, the mostly highly charged period during the annual Christian ritual cycle when the public

recitation of the *Pasyon* brought about a change in the emotional and spiritual condition of the participants. During this sacred period, the values of long-term debt, shame, and nonconfrontation that governed everyday life were suspended in favor of a different set of values that included *damay* (compassion), *awa* (pity), and above all *kalayaan*, the freedom from care experienced by young children under the protection of their parents.

In translating into Tagalog the ideas of “liberty, fraternity, equality” learned from the West, propagandists like Bonifacio, Jacinto, and perhaps Marcelo del Pilar built upon the word *layaw* or *laya*, which means “satisfaction of one’s needs,” “pampering treatment by parents” or “freedom from strict parental control.” Thus, *kalayaan*, as a political term, is inseparable from its connotations of parent-child relationship, reflecting social values like the tendency of mothers in the lowland Philippines to pamper their children and develop strong emotional ties with them. . . . In “kalayaan,” revolutionists found an ideal term for independence that combined separation from a colonial ruler (i.e., a mother who showed cruelty instead of love) and the “coming together” of people in the Katipunan. (ibid., 108)¹¹

Popular leaders like Bonifacio understood the messianic import of the legends of Jesus and Bernardo Carpio. They drew on the altered state of consciousness people experienced during Holy Week to motivate them to undertake acts of extraordinary self-sacrifice.

The Muslim Hero in Indonesia under Indirect Colonial Rule

While Filipinos were converting to the Roman Catholicism of their new rulers during the seventeenth century, the Makassar and Bugis peoples of South Sulawesi were

converting to Islam and so did not come to share a religion with their Dutch colonial rulers. And while the Spanish soldiers and friars who established their hegemony over the Philippine islands saw themselves as engaged in a holy war to spread the true faith, the merchants of the Dutch United East India Company (VOC) who established their hegemony over Indonesia were interested only in economic profit, not religious conversion or political administration. Wherever possible, they established a system of indirect rule that left existing political and religious systems in place.

This lack of interest in local beliefs on the part of the Dutch meant that there was a greater continuity in the literary traditions of Indonesia than there was in the Philippines. The Austronesian myths and royal chronicles that legitimated local dynasties in precolonial times survived intact into the colonial period, and the Makassar remained in contact with a wider Islamic world that was relatively free of European domination.

Like Jesus, Muhammad suffered persecution for refusing to obey the traditional laws that governed the city-state of Mecca. Unlike Jesus, Muhammad did establish a new polity in Medina based on a set of laws, but these were understood as laws with a universal application because they derived from a universal deity. It is significant, then, that popular accounts of the life of the Prophet Muhammad, known as *Maulid al-Nabi*, made little mention of his activities as a political and military leader. They concentrated instead on his domestic relationships and charismatic personal qualities. One of the most popular accounts of Muhammad's life in the Muslim world was composed by Jaffar al-Barzanji (d. 1766), a Kurdish scholar who served as the chief jurisprudent (*mufti*) of the Shafiite school of law in Medina in the mid-eighteenth century. It was translated from Arabic into vernacular languages all around the Indian Ocean, from Swahili in the west to Makassar in the east (Knappert

1971).

The *Maulid* of al-Barzanji was probably introduced into South Sulawesi during the reign of Sultan Ahmad al-Salih of Bone (r. 1775–1812). This ruler is remembered as the last great king in South Sulawesi because of the way he was able to take advantage of the chaos caused by the Napoleonic Wars to expand Bone's borders at the expense of the VOC.¹² He is also remembered as the last great royal patron of Islamic learning. He personally translated several Arabic religious texts into Bugis, including a work by Sheikh Yusuf, whose life I discuss below (Gibson 2007, 115, 117–18).

Sultan Ahmad al-Salih appointed a Javanese from Bogor called Yusuf as the chief religious official of Bone. Yusuf had studied under a number of Sufi reformers in the Middle East who combined a new emphasis on the study of the traditions concerning the life of the Prophet (*hadith*) with the pursuit of the mystical path (*tariqa*). This shifted the focus of Sufism from the emulation of the founder of a mystical brotherhood to the emulation of the Prophet alone. Yusuf was initiated into the reformed branch of the Khalwatiyya Sufi order founded by Muhammad al-Samman (1717–1775). Al-Samman was a contemporary of Jaffar al-Barzanji in the Hejaz, and it is probably through Yusuf of Bogor that the *Maulid* of al-Barzanji was introduced into South Sulawesi.

The Life of Muhammad by Jaffar al-Barzanji

The narrative begins by recounting Muhammad's illustrious patrilineage, one that includes the Prophets Ibrahim and Ismail. When Allah creates Muhammad's essence and places it in the womb of his mother, Sitti Aminah, miraculous signs appear throughout creation. Muhammad's earthly father dies when his mother is only two months pregnant. On the eve of Muhammad's

birth, the Egyptian stepmother of Moses, Asiyah, and the Virgin mother of Jesus, Mary, appear to his mother, Aminah. A few days after his birth, he is given to a recently freed slave, Tsuwaibah, to be nursed. He is later nursed by a beggar, Halimah, who has been rejected by other families because of her lowly status. His mother dies when he is four years old, and he is cared for by a fourth mother, Ummu Aiman, the female servant of his grandfather. At the age of twelve, Muhammad meets a Christian priest who prophesizes his future greatness. At the age of twenty-five, Muhammad marries Khadijah, a woman who is older, wealthier, and more powerful than himself. He receives his first revelation while meditating in a cave. After he begins to preach his divine message, he endures the scorn and contempt of even the lowest ranking of the Meccans without showing any anger. He experiences a night journey in which he ascends through the seven heavens, meets all the great prophets of the past, and gazes on the face of God. When he reveals this experience, he is mocked and forced to flee his homeland. He escapes his pursuers by hiding in a cave for three days and three nights, being helped by a pigeon and a spider, which build their nests in front of the entrance. His first miracle is to draw enough milk from a barren goat to satisfy a multitude. He provides his followers with laws to follow, and returns to rule his homeland in triumph. But he always remains humble and self-effacing, making his own clothes and preferring to spend his time among the poor, widows, and slaves, while having no fear of kings or the mighty. The narrative is periodically interrupted by an invocation that calls on God to let the fragrance of the Prophet's tomb spread out and bring peace to all. (condensed from *Maulid* 1986)

Islam teaches that all prophets were given the same divine message to transmit

to humanity, but that the message given to earlier prophets had been corrupted before it was recorded in their scriptures. The *Maulid* stresses the similarity between Muhammad and his predecessors by noting that his miraculous birth was attended by the stepmother of the Prophet Musa (Moses) and the virgin mother of the Prophet Isa (Jesus). It goes on to emphasize the gentle nurturing qualities of the Prophet, rather than his prowess in war or governance. As a child, he is raised by his widowed mother and three humble women of the lowest possible social status (slave, beggar, and servant). As an adult, he marries a series of women who continue to look after him, beginning with one who is older, wealthier, and more powerful than him. These maternal figures accept his mission and represent the unconditional love and mercy of God for his creatures. Muhammad shows the same love and compassion toward orphans, widows, and the poor. He patiently endures persecution by rich and powerful men. As in the story of Jesus, the poor are portrayed as morally superior to the rich, and the unconditional love bestowed by women is portrayed as superior to the power asserted by men. The reversal of ordinary experience is so great that the bodily effluvia of those close to God is portrayed as fragrant and life giving (see Gibson 2007, 121).

During the nineteenth century, the *Maulid* became the most popular religious text in South Sulawesi. Like the *Pasyon*, it was recited in the course of many life-cycle rituals from birth to death. Christian Pelras (1996, 203) suggested that it replaced the recitation of the *I La Galigo*, the great pre-Islamic social epic of the Bugis people, in much the same way that the *Pasyon* replaced the prehispanic epics of the Tagalog (Gibson 2007, ch. 5). During the recitation of a particular passage of the *Maulid*, the spirit of Muhammad was believed to be present, and Muslims rose to their feet at that moment to show their respect. This practice, known as *berdiri*

Maulid, became the focus of intense criticism by Islamic modernists in the early twentieth century, who regarded it as a form of idolatry (*shirk*), while traditionalists defended it as consistent with many other practices in which God is approached through intercessors. The practice remained controversial in Ara when I was conducting fieldwork in the 1980s, and caused continual conflict over the correct way to perform many life-cycle rituals (Gibson 2007, 170–71).

Unlike the Tagalog legend of Bernardo Carpio, the three Makassar legends I shall now discuss are based on the lives of actual historical figures. It is thus possible to compare the way they are remembered in popular culture with the way historians have been able to reconstruct their lives on the basis of contemporary documents. From the point of view of the traditional historian, these legends are so full of factual “errors” that they are almost useless. But, as Iletto (1979b, 14) notes, “[w]hen errors proliferate in a patterned manner, when rumors spread ‘like wildfire,’ when sources are biased in a consistent way, we are in fact offered the opportunity to study the workings of the popular mind.”

The Hero as Political Mediator

The *Sinrili’ Kappala Tallumbatua* (Legend of the Three Boats) is a Makassar tale that recounts the fall of the Sultanate of Gowa in 1667 to the combined forces of the VOC and its local allies. Dutch sources identify the leader of these allies as a Bugis noble called Arung Palakka. His mother was the daughter of Sultan Adam, who served as the first Muslim ruler of Bone from 1607 to 1608. Sultan Adam was deposed by a group of nobles who opposed conversion to Islam and replaced by his cousin, La Tenri Pale. Sultan Abdullah of Gowa then attacked Bone and forced La Tenri Pale to convert anyway. He ruled as Sultan Ala al-Din of Bone until his death in 1625. Arung

Palakka's mother was married to a noble in the neighboring kingdom of Soppeng, where he was born in 1634.

Sultan Ala al-Din was succeeded by his nephew, La Ma'daremmeng (r. 1625–1644, 1667–1672). In 1640 La Ma'daremmeng imposed a rigorous form of Islamic law that required the freeing of all slaves. This constituted a direct threat to the existing political economy of the whole region, and a group of Bone nobles asked Sultan Malik al-Said (r. 1639–1653) of Gowa to intervene and depose their king. Sultan Malik obliged by invading Bone in 1643 and replacing La Ma'daremmeng with a viceroy of his own choosing. When a group of Bone nobles rebelled against this arrangement in 1644, Sultan Malik invaded again and reduced Bone to the status of a “slave state” (Andaya 1981, 39–43).

To ensure that there would be no further uprisings, many Bugis nobles were taken hostage, including Arung Palakka, who was then about 11 years old. Gowa's chief minister (*Tuma' bicara buttaya*), Karaeng Pattinngaloang, assigned him the honor of carrying his box of betel nut and later arranged for him to marry Daeng Talele, who was the sister of Gowa's minister of the interior (*Tumailalang*) and the daughter's daughter of Sultan Abdullah of Gowa (ibid., 103). Although he began as a foreign hostage, Arung Palakka was quickly integrated into Gowa's royal family.

Sultan Malik al-Said was succeeded by his son, Hasan al-Din, in 1653. His chief minister, Karaeng Pattinngaloang, was succeeded by his son, Karaeng Karunrung, in 1654. Soon afterward, Gowa came into open conflict with the VOC over access to the spices of eastern Indonesia. As tensions rose, Sultan Hasan al-Din ordered the conscription of 10,000 Bugis from Bone to construct massive fortifications around his palace at Somba Opu. Bugis nobles like Arung Palakka were placed in charge of them and held responsible for their obedience. Arung Palakka was

outraged at the treatment of his fellow Bugis, and in 1660 he led an uprising among them. The rebels fled to Bone with the forces of Gowa in hot pursuit. Arung Palakka and a small band of followers managed to continue their flight across the Gulf of Bone. They were granted shelter by the king of Buton and remained there for three years. In 1663 they sailed to Batavia in Java and offered their services to the VOC in its fight with the Sultan of Gowa. After a long series of battles, the combined Dutch and Bugis forces were able to force Sultan Hasan al-Din to sign the Treaty of Bungaya in 1667. Hostilities soon broke out again, however, and the allies destroyed Gowa's last fortifications in 1669. Sultan Hasan al-Din abdicated the throne to his son and died the following year (Andaya 1981).¹³

In 1672 Arung Palakka was installed as Sultan Sa'ad al-Din of Bone and served as the most powerful ruler in South Sulawesi until his death in 1696. Despite many marriages, however, he was unable to father any children and had to secure his legacy through his sister's son, La Patau. In 1687 he arranged for La Patau to marry Mariam, the daughter of then Sultan of Gowa, Abd al-Jalil (r. 1677–1709). La Patau succeeded Arung Palakka as Sultan of Bone in 1696 and ruled until his own death in 1714. The ruling houses of Gowa and Bone were intertwined from that time on, and the descendants of La Patau and Mariam had a claim to the thrones of both kingdoms (see genealogy in Gibson 2007, 93).

The Treaty of Bungaya served as the legal basis for the system of indirect colonial rule administered by the Dutch in South Sulawesi from 1667 to 1905. Indirect rule came to an end when Dutch forces invaded Bone in 1905 and deposed its ruler, La Pawawoi, and when they invaded Gowa in 1906 and killed its ruler, Sultan Husain, in battle. The two kingdoms were then replaced by administrative divisions (*afdeeling*) under the direct rule of Dutch Residents. At the end of the 1920s,

however, the colonial government decided to restore the old kingdoms and install new rulers in the hope that they would side with the government against the growing agitation for national independence. The official government ethnologist, A. A. Cense, was assigned the task of supervising the installation of Andi' Mappanyuki as the king of Bone in 1931. Andi' Mappanyuki was the son of the last king of Gowa, Sultan Husain, and the great grandson of a king of Bone who died in 1858, La Parenrengi. Cense then supervised the installation of Muhammad, the younger brother of Sultan Husain, as the king of Gowa in 1936 (Cense 1931, 2-4; Gibson 2005a, 181-186).

It should be apparent from this summary of the life of Arung Palakka, as reconstructed by Leonard Andaya (1981) from Dutch archival sources, just how closely it resembles the life of the Prophet Musa, as recounted in the Qur'an. He is forced as a child to leave his homeland, and is raised in the royal court of his nation's oppressors. When he encounters the abuse his countrymen are suffering at the hands of his adoptive family, he sides with the latter, leads a rebellion, and flees the kingdom. He secures a powerful exotic ally, returns to defeat the arrogant ruler, liberates his people, and establishes a new political order based on the Treaty of Bungaya. He dies without direct heirs and is succeeded by his nephew.

These parallels were not lost on the local bards who composed the *Sinrili' Kappala Tallumbatua* (Legend of the Three Boats). The following version was recorded in 1936 in the village of Jongaya near the old Gowanese fortress of Somba Opu. It was the same year that Cense supervised the installation of a new king of Gowa after a thirty-year hiatus. It should come as no surprise that the unknown bard who recited this version of the legend at Cense's request found a way to end the story with a justification of two hundred and thirty-eight years of indirect colonial rule.

The Legend of the Three Boats

The story begins with a soothsayer telling the emperor of Gowa that all his armies and fortifications cannot protect him from a hero who is still in the womb. The king orders his men to kill all the pregnant women in his kingdom. But he never considers the possibility that it is his chief wife, I Bajira Karaeng Paranggi, who is pregnant with his nemesis and does not have her killed. She is the sister of the King of Bone and the daughter of He Who Sleeps in Rompegading.¹⁵ When the child is born he is called Andi' Patunru, the Conquering Prince. As he grows up, the soothsayer periodically repeats his warning to the king that there is a child of a certain age in the kingdom who will one day destroy the king. Each time, the king has all the boys of that age put to death except for his own son. When Andi' Patunru reaches the age of fifteen, the soothsayer suggests that in order to reveal the hero the king should hold a sporting event in which players compete at keeping a rattan *raga* ball in the air with their feet. Andi' Patunru wins decisively; the king finally realizes that his nemesis is his own son, and orders his death. Andi' Patunru flees for his life with his younger half brother by a commoner mother through all the kingdoms of South Sulawesi. None of these lesser kings is willing to help him avenge himself on his father, who is the most powerful ruler in the known world. Each ruler asks Andi' Patunru instead to marry his daughter, settle in his kingdom, and become his heir. Andi' Patunru refuses them all, explaining that his longing for his birth mother, wet nurse, nanny, and the foster mother who raised him is so great he must remain unwed and return to his home. He finally reaches the small realm of Bira in the southeast corner of the peninsula, where he has the eponymous three boats of the legend built to carry his men

away to the island of Butung. A merchant hears of his presence there and informs the emperor, who sends a fleet to capture him. Andi' Patunru escapes detection by hiding in a well for seven days and seven nights. He and his men then continue to sail around the archipelago and eventually reach the headquarters of the Dutch East India Company in Java. He offers the governor general his services as a warrior, and after he has proved himself in battle joins the Dutch in an attack on his father's kingdom. Before the final battle, Andi' Patunru sends his father one last offer: he will abandon the attack if his father will allow his birth mother, wet nurse, nanny, and foster mother to go away with him. The king stubbornly refuses and is defeated after a long siege. When the king finally capitulates, Andi' Patunru receives the title of Arung Palakka from his mother, the sister of the Bugis king of Bone, and is reinstated as the *Patimatarang* (the Crown Prince) of Gowa. The governor general of Batavia gets the emperor of Gowa to admit that he contravened the laws and customs of Gowa by following the advice of the soothsayer to kill Andi' Patunru. The governor general and the emperor then sign the Treaty of 1667 recognizing one another as equal siblings and allowing the Company to establish a base in Ujung Pandang. Andi' Patunru fulfils his vow to celebrate a great feast on the field of Karebosi, and Gowa and the Company vow to remain fraternal allies in this world and the next. (Anonymous [1936]; Sirajuddin Bantang 1988; see Andaya 1979, 405-406; Gibson 2007: 129-134)¹⁴

The Legend of the Three Boats establishes Andi' Patunru/Arung Palakka as a symbolic mediator in all three domains that exist beyond the domestic sphere. At a political level, Arung Palakka mediates the conflicts among the Bugis kingdom of Bone, the Makassar kingdom of Gowa, and the Dutch VOC. It is because of his

actions that they sign the Treaty of Bungaya, according to which each power acknowledges the right of the others to be governed according to their own laws and customs. This is the principle of indirect colonial rule, and it would seem to be the main political function of this legend, at least as it was recorded by Cense in 1936. But the figure of Arung Palakka operates as a mediator in the other domains as well.

At the cosmological level, Arung Palakka and his Makassar wife, Daeng Talele, mediate between this world and the other world through their joint tomb. This tomb is regarded by many Makassar and Bugis to this day as a conduit through which divine blessings, *karama*, flow from the other world to this world (Andaya 1979, 364, 371). *Karama* is an Arabic word that may be derived from the Greek word *charisma* and has the same meaning of a gift freely bestowed by God. Throughout the Islamic world, the tombs of *Wali Allah*, mystics who achieved intimacy with God during their lifetimes, are believed to serve as symbolic mediators between the divine and mundane levels of the cosmos. Devotees visit the tombs of mystics to make specific requests, vowing to perform specific acts if their requests are granted. Mystical adepts are sometimes even able to see and talk to the inhabitants of these tombs, for they have passed beyond the temporal limitations of this world and exist in a timeless state in the next. In South Sulawesi, all such cosmological mediators have an androgynous quality. Sacred tombs always contain a husband-and-wife pair; the sacred relics left behind by the founding royal ancestors always include male and female objects; the royal priests that guard the regalia are always male-bodied individuals who dress as women; and contemporary shamans are men with feminine qualities or women with male qualities (Gibson 2005a).

At the religious level, Arung Palakka serves as a mediator between the human and the divine. As we have seen, Arung Palakka was in reality the grandson of the

first Muslim ruler of Bone; the adopted son of Gowa's chief minister; and the son-in-law of Gowa's minister of the interior. In the legend, he is portrayed as the son of the ruler of Gowa, a bit of poetic license that serves to highlight the contrast between the cruelty and arrogance exhibited by the father figure, and the love and humility exhibited by the mother figures, who are taken from the life stories of Musa in the Qur'an and of Muhammad in the *Maulid* of al-Barzanji. His ultimate goal in the legend is not to achieve power and authority in this world. He turns down one throne after another, and the story ends without Andi' Patunru actually taking power from the king. Throughout the legend his one desire is to reunite with the women who showed him unconditional love when he was a child. As we will see, this desire to unite with a female beloved serves as metaphor in many mystical narratives and poems for the desire of the creature to reunite with the Creator.¹⁶

The Hero as Cosmological Mediator

Sheikh Yusuf al-Maqasari Taj al-Khalwati was a great mystic who was born in Gowa in 1626, spent the years 1645 through 1670 in Mecca and Medina, led a jihad against the VOC in Java in 1682, and died in exile in South Africa in 1699. In 1703 Yusuf's spirit began appearing to Sultan Abd al-Jalil (r. 1677–1709) of Gowa in his dreams. Abd al-Jalil petitioned the VOC for the return of Yusuf's body, and in 1705 he was reburied in Gowa alongside his royal Makassar wife, Daeng Nisanga. He is well known to Muslims throughout the Indian Ocean as a powerful Wali Allah and has shrines dedicated to his memory in South Africa, Sri Lanka, Java, and South Sulawesi (Gibson 2007, ch. 4).

The *Riwaya' Sehe Yusupu* (Life of Sheikh Yusuf) is a popular hagiography that attributes all kinds of miraculous powers to its subject. The version analyzed here

was first published in 1933 on the basis of a manuscript that belonged to Haji Ibrahim Daeng Pabe, the chief Islamic official of Gowa (Nurdin Daeng Magassing 1981).

The Life of Sheikh Yusuf

A mysterious stranger impregnates a woman just before she is married to the Sultan of Gowa. Her son, Yusuf, is born on the same day as Daeng Nisanga, the daughter of the Sultan's chief wife, making them twins of a sort. Although the Sultan adopts Yusuf as his son, Yusuf asks for Daeng Nisanga's hand in marriage when he reaches adulthood. The Sultan rejects him, and he flees to Mecca, where he ascends into the heavens and meets Sufi mystics who have been dead for hundreds of years. He finally meets Muhammad himself, who persuades him to return to earth by showing him a glimpse of Hell. He returns to teach his followers in Mecca and becomes famous throughout the Ottoman Empire. After a time, he returns to the East and becomes the spiritual adviser of the Sultan of Banten in West Java, where he marries and leaves a line of descendents. His powers enable him to travel instantaneously back and forth between Banten and Mecca whenever he desires. When Yusuf converts the local Dutch governor in Banten to Islam, the governor general of the Company exiles him to Batavia. When Batavia is struck by an earthquake, Yusuf is exiled first to Ceylon and then to Cape Town. He marries and leaves a lineage of descendents in each place. Yusuf begins to appear regularly to his followers in Mecca, Banten, Ceylon, and Cape Town. When Yusuf finally dies in Banten, a delegation from Gowa arrives and claims his body in order to bury it back in Makassar. After they leave with it, one of Yusuf's shirts miraculously turns into a replica of his body, which is buried in Banten. The ship carrying his original body is blown off course to Ceylon, where one of Yusuf's hats

turns into a third body, which is buried there. The ship is then blown further off course to Cape Town, where Yusuf's prayer beads turn into a fourth body, which is buried there. The original body finally returns to Gowa, where Yusuf miraculously impregnates his stepsister, Daeng Nisanga, establishing a fourth and final line of descendants. When she dies, she is buried next to Yusuf, and their joint tomb is a place of great power regularly visited by devotees who ask for their blessings. The same is true of his tombs in Banten, Ceylon, and Cape Town. (Gibson 2007, ch. 3)

One of the most striking differences between this legend and the ones previously analyzed is that the most salient female character is not a mother or group of maternal figures, but a wife who is also somehow a sister. As I noted at the beginning of this article, this is characteristic of the mythology of the Java Sea. Where the Middle Eastern legends allocate the most important female roles to a group of loving mothers, most Southeast Asian legends allocate the most important female role to a beloved spouse who is in some way also the hero's twin sister, and so predestined to reunite with him.

The main point of the Legend of the Three Boats is to establish its hero as a mediator in the political domain, by bringing about the Treaty of Bungaya. The main point of the Life of Sheikh Yusuf is to establish its hero as a cosmological mediator. The intimacy he achieves with the divine during his life enables him to transcend ordinary spatial and temporal boundaries by crossing vast distances in an instant. He is also able to move back and forth across the boundary between life and death at will. Unlike the Prophets Musa, Isa, and Muhammad, he leaves behind several lineages of male descendants. But these descendants serve as conduits through which karama, or divine blessings, can flow to subsequent generations throughout the Indian Ocean, not

to rule over any particular polity. They are the living equivalent of his four tombs through which his devotees can also gain direct access to divine blessings.¹⁷

But Sheikh Yusuf also serves as a symbolic mediator in the political and religious domains. On a political level, the Dutch archives tell us that Sheikh Yusuf was able to use his prestige as a Wali Allah to mediate between Muslims loyal to different polities and persuade them to engage in a united jihad against the Dutch in 1682. Although the *Life of Sheikh Yusuf* does not dwell on this jihad, Sheikh Yusuf's role in leading it was well known to my acquaintances in Ara. While I was conducting fieldwork in 1988–1989, one of my neighbors was a former guerilla called Muhammad Idris. He had served from 1950 to 1960 in the personal bodyguard of Kahar Muzakkar, the leader of the Darul Islam movement. They saw the secular administration of President Sukarno as little better than Dutch colonialism and engaged in a decade-long armed struggle to establish Indonesia as an Islamic state based on sharia law. Muhammad Idris told me that he and his comrades had drawn great inspiration from the story of Sheikh Yusuf's jihad against the VOC. He told me many stories about their miraculous escapes from death in battle, which they attributed to their religious faith.

Finally, the *Life of Sheikh Yusuf* systematically devalues the significance of the VOC's military power in relation to the religious power of the Wali Allah. In the popular narrative, Sheikh Yusuf is exiled by the governor general of the VOC not because he leads an armed rebellion but because he converts the Dutch governor of Banten to Islam. And while the governor general has the power to exile Yusuf's physical body, first from Banten to Batavia and then to Ceylon and Cape Town, this power has no ultimate significance. These successive exiles only serve to widen Yusuf's sphere of spiritual influence, and he is still able to visit his followers

everywhere by mystical means. The officials of the VOC are long forgotten, while the legacy of Sheikh Yusuf lives on throughout the Indian Ocean to this day.

The Hero as Religious Mediator

The Treaty of Bungaya transferred a number of vassal states from Gowa to the VOC, including most of the south coast of South Sulawesi, together with the villages of Ara and Bira in the far east; the island of Selayar; and the island of Sumbawa. The inhabitants of these areas experienced Dutch colonial oppression in a more direct and continuous form than did the inhabitants of great kingdoms like Gowa and Bone. This historical experience is reflected in the form taken by the hero legend among them, where the nemesis of the hero is more likely to be a foreign Dutch official than a local ruler. The administrative power of the VOC was at its height in these areas in the mid-eighteenth century, and Dutch officials often used it to impose heavy fines on their subjects, and to sell them into slavery when they could not pay.

In 1763 the VOC governor of Makassar became entangled in a dispute over the succession to the kingship of Sumbawa. In 1765 one of the pretenders sent an emissary to the governor of Makassar to plead his case. The Dutch archives note that this emissary, called Datu Museng, had “run amok” and killed a number of soldiers before he was cut down. The *Sinrili’ Datu Museng* (Legend of Datu Museng) explains the meaning of this incident as it came to be understood by subsequent generations of Makassar living in areas like Ara, Bira, and Selayar that had been subject to the VOC in the same way as Sumbawa.

Dutch missionaries recorded two different versions of this legend in the 1850s, some ninety years after Datu Museng’s death (Donselaar 1855; Matthes 1860, 529–63). In 1988 Muhammad Nasir and Daeng Sibaji recited two different versions for me

in Ara. I have thus been able to study the way the legend was gradually elaborated over the course of 130 years. What began as an account of an individual act of violent resistance to direct colonial rule ended as an allegory of the mystical path to God. Muhammad Nasir's version is the longest of the four, containing over 3,500 lines of text when transcribed, and it forms the basis for the following summary.

The Legend of Datu Museng

Datu Museng is a poor orphan from Sumbawa who is raised by a mysterious stranger with an affinity for tigers and snakes. When he is grown, he goes to study with the Imam of the royal palace. He memorizes the Qur'an in three days as well as the *Maulid* of al-Barzanji. The ruler's daughter, Maipa Deapati, is also studying with the Imam; being spiritual twins they fall in love. When Datu Museng asks the ruler for her hand in marriage, he is rudely rebuffed. Deeply shamed, he flees to Mecca, where he acquires magical powers. He returns, elopes with the princess, and defeats her father's army in battle. The ruler then tricks him into undertaking a mission to the Dutch governor in Makassar. The governor becomes infatuated with Maipa and demands that Datu Museng hand her over. Datu Museng reacts by using his magical powers to slaughter untold numbers of warriors in service to the Company. Finally tiring of the slaughter, Datu Museng and his wife make a death pact so that they can achieve a perfect union in the afterlife. He cuts her throat, throws away his amulets, and allows himself to be killed by a local Muslim. He is buried next to the sea, and she is buried on a hill, but after seven days their tombs move together to form a single androgynous sepulcher, which is a source of great blessing to this day. (Gibson 2007, 97–109)

While it was not stated explicitly in the oral versions of the legend that were recited to me by Muhammad Nasir and Daeng Sibaji, it was clear to everyone in Ara that Datu Museng and Maipa Deapati must have been opposite-sex twins who had formed an original unity in the womb, had been separated at birth, and were destined to be reunited in the tomb. The Indonesian term for birth, *lahir*, is derived from *zahir*, the Arabic term for the outer or physical dimension, as opposed to *batin*, the inner or spiritual dimension. In mystical Islamic thought, birth is thus conceptualized as a process of differentiation from the Godhead and of descent from higher spiritual grades of being into lower material grades of being. The whole purpose of life on earth is to find our way back to the unity with God that we experienced before our birth.

The Legend of Datu Museng can thus be understood as an allegory for the mystical path toward union with the divine (Gibson 2005b, 2007 ch. 4). Datu Museng is separated from his beloved at birth. He takes the first step on the path back to unity with the divine, the sharia (external law), by learning the Qur'an and other scriptures in the ruler's palace. He takes the second step, the tariqa (inner meaning), by falling in love with Maipa and realizing that to unite with her he must acquire mystical knowledge in Mecca and Medina. He takes the third step, *haqiqa* (mystical union), by returning to Sumbawa and taking physical possession of his beloved. He takes the final step, *marifa'* (gnosis) by sacrificing himself and fusing with his beloved in their common tomb.

The main point of this legend was to establish its hero as a religious mediator between this world and the next. As with the other legends discussed in this article, however, the Legend of Datu Museng had a function in more than one domain.

Within the domestic domain, it was recited during the nights leading up to the consummation of a marriage, an act that was central both to the reproduction of the domestic group and to the conceptualization of the ultimate goal of the religious life, union with the divine. Every empirical wedding was mapped in this way onto the mystical union of Datu Museng and Maipa Deapati, establishing a link between the domestic domain and religious domains. Within the cosmological domain, the joint tomb of Datu Museng and Maipa Deapati served as a mediator between this world and the next by channeling divine karama in the same way as the joint tombs of Arung Palakka and Daeng Talele and of Sheikh Yusuf and Daeng Nisanga. Finally, within the political domain, the story of Datu Museng served as a reminder to all those who encountered oppression too great to endure that they could embark on a personal *perang sabil Allah* (war in the path of God) knowing that those killed in such a war would enter straight into paradise as *shahid* (martyrs). Like the Life of Sheikh Yusuf, the Legend of Datu Museng served as a source of inspiration for the Darul Islam guerillas that faced death on a daily basis in their armed struggle against the secular Indonesian state.

Summary and Conclusion

I have argued that the domestic domain serves as a source of metaphors for hero legends that are used to conceptualize a cosmological domain that is defined in opposition to the human world, a political domain that is defined in opposition to the domestic domain, and a religious domain that encompasses all the others. The hero figures mediate symbolic oppositions both within and between all four domains. The legends differ according to which domain is given primary emphasis. Andi' Patunru serves primarily as a political mediator by facilitating the mutual recognition of

Gowa, Bone, and the VOC as autonomous equals in an interstate system. Sheikh Yusuf serves primarily as a cosmological mediator by establishing tombs across the whole Indian Ocean. Datu Museng serves primarily as a religious mediator by fusing with his beloved in an act of mystical self-immolation. Bernardo Carpio serves perhaps as the most universal mediator of all by promising to establish a messianic order in which colonial oppression will be replaced by divine justice on earth, a state in which all boundaries between the domestic, cosmological, political, and religious domains would finally collapse.

These stories were not just a source of concepts with which people interpreted the world. They also tapped into deep emotions that motivated people to act in the world, whether to simply reproduce it, as in the case of ritual performances, or to radically transform it, as in the case of revolutionary social movements such as the Katipunan and the Darul Islam. The recitation of the *Pasyon*, the *Maulid*, and the *Sinrili* ' *Datu Museng* during domestic rituals that marked childbirth, sexual intercourse, and death both reflected and evoked the strong emotions associated with these critical human experiences. The legends also justified the cosmological rituals performed at sacred tombs to secure the divine blessings on which all earthly life depends. Finally, the recitation of sacred stories about the lives of Jesus and Muhammad during religious rituals provided a concrete emotional basis for internalizing abstract moral ideas about justice and salvation. The unconditional love the hero receives from his mother or wife serves as a symbol for divine mercy, while the harsh punishments meted out by his father or king serves as a symbol for divine judgment. In the Islamic tradition, this opposition is conceived as a balanced opposition between the female qualities of *jamal* (beauty, intimacy, mercy) and the male qualities of *jalal* (majesty, transcendence, retribution).

The lives of Jesus and Muhammad had a powerful appeal to people suffering under a racist colonial administration. Spanish and Dutch colonial rule was easily interpreted as similar to the oppressive rule of the Egyptian, Babylonian, and Roman Empires described in the Bible and Qur'an. During times of political crisis, revolutionary leaders could use the subversive messages contained in the lives of the prophets and in the legends of the heroes who were modeled on them to mobilize the masses to rebel in the name of a new moral order based on divine justice.

As Victor Turner (1969, 98–99) noted, however, the feeling of *communitas* that is generated within revolutionary movements is difficult to sustain for long, and hierarchical social structures soon reassert themselves. Andres Bonifacio was executed in the middle of the Philippine Revolution by his own comrades, and the peasants who supported his revolutionary Katipunan were betrayed by the pragmatic elites who reached an accommodation with the American colonial order. When Darul Islam guerillas came to power in Ara in 1954, they instituted a patriarchal regime based on a rigid interpretation of sharia law and did their best to eliminate traditional tariqa mystical practices. They banned the recitation of the *Maulid* of al-Barzanji and destroyed the joint tomb of the local Wali Allah and his royal wife, Bakka' Tera' and Daeng Sikati. These were the conduits through which divine blessings had flowed to the people of Ara for generations (Gibson 2007, 143–52, 170–71, 179).

Notes

This is a revised and expanded version of a paper originally presented at the conference “Historiography and Nation since *Pasyon and Revolution*: Conference in Honor of Professor Reynaldo C Ileto,” Ateneo de Manila University, 8–9 February 2013.

- 1 Also like Tylor (1871, 255–56; cf. Bird-David 1999), Freud believed that myths express the mental processes of “the human intellect in its early childlike state,” a state still occupied by contemporary “savages.” In 1909 Otto Rank (1914, 63) applied Freudian psychoanalysis to hero legends more generally. Carl Jung (Jung and Kerényi 1969) and Joseph Campbell (1949) interpreted the first half of the hero legend as dealing with the trauma of birth and the second half as dealing with the need for individual consciousness to reintegrate itself with the collective unconscious.
- 2 Raglan (1936/1979, 175–85) applied his analysis to twenty-one stories from Greece, Rome, the Bible, and an assortment of other cultures. Only the stories of Oedipus of Thebes, Theseus of Athens, and Moses contained twenty or more of the elements in his list.
- 3 This essay inspired an enormous amount of discussion among social anthropologists to which Lévi-Strauss (1977) responded by including a wider range of kinship relations in his analysis.
- 4 The opposition between human and nonhuman is often mapped on to the opposition between “culture” and “nature” by authors working within the tradition of French structuralism. But as many critics of this tradition have noted, these terms have inherited so much baggage from Western philosophy that it does more harm than good to use them for cross-cultural comparisons (Ortner 1972).
- 5 William Robertson Smith (1889) identified totemism as the religion of the ancient Semites and implied that the Christian celebration of the Eucharist represented a survival of the totemic feast; Emile Durkheim (1995) argued that the totemic practices of the Australian aborigines represented the “elementary form of the

- religious life”; and Sigmund Freud (1918) reduced totemism to yet another iteration of the “Oedipus complex.” At the end of his life, Freud (1939, 159–60) acknowledged that all of his “social psychological” arguments depended on the existence of inherited “memory-traces” that had been rejected as impossible by biological science.
- 6 While he was serving as the Austrian consul in Greece from 1847 to 1869, J. G. von Hahn (1876, cited in Segal 1990, vii; Dundes 1990, 185) composed a long list of such figures that included Romulus and Remus of Rome; Perseus, Hercules, and Oedipus of Greece; Cyrus of Iran; and Karna and Krishna of India. In 1918 Sir James Frazer (1918, 437–55) added to this list the story of Sargon as retold in Neo-Assyrian inscriptions from the seventh century BCE; of Moses as retold in the Book of Exodus, which was redacted during the fifth century BCE; and the story of Gilgamesh as retold by the Roman author Aelian in about 200 CE.
 - 7 The passages relating to the Prophet Musa in the Qur'an are as follows: 2:49–61, 7:103–60, 10:75–93, 17:101–4, 20:9–97, 26:10–66, 27:7–14, 28:3–46, 40:23–30, 43:46–55, 44:17–31, and 79:15–25.
 - 8 Rank (1990) included Jesus as an example of the hero pattern in 1909, but most early analysts such as James Frazer (1918) and Lord Raglan (1936/1979) avoided the topic for fear of offending Christians.
 - 9 Saint Helena was the mother of the Emperor Constantine, the Roman ruler who paved the way for Christianity to become a state religion. The life of Constantine might itself be told as a version of the hero legend as follows: His father Constantius was not formally married to his mother and abandoned her when Constantine was a child. Constantine grew up in a royal court, but he had to flee to the edge of the empire when the emperor perceived him as a threat. Constantine

returned to the center and defeated his enemies when a dream instructed him to use the sign of the cross as his standard in battle. He inaugurated a political order based on the new code of Christianity. He was buried in a holy sepulcher that was meant to contain the relics of all twelve apostles. Although his biographer Eusebius (339/1945, 12, 20, 35) glosses over the doubts about Constantine's legitimacy, he does explicitly compare him to Moses a number of times. In 327 Helena brought the remains of the True Cross from Jerusalem to Rome, thus establishing the center of the old world empire as the center of the new world religion.

10 Fenella Cannell (1999, 193–99) has argued that the Bicolano peasants among whom she conducted fieldwork regarded their statue of the crucified Jesus as a shamanistic object that was perpetually poised between this world and the next, having both animate and inanimate qualities. For a discussion of the resurgence of shamanic power in Panay during the late nineteenth century, see Aguilar 1998.

11 But see Kimuell-Gabriel 2013 for a recent critique of this derivation of *kalayaan*.

12 Ahmad al-Salih even managed to stake a plausible claim to the throne of Gowa by taking possession of some powerful pieces of regalia. The British occupation of Makassar from 1812 to 1816 put an end to Bone's further expansion (Gibson 2005a, 192–94).

13 It should be no surprise that the royal court of Gowa took a very different view of the relative virtues of Arung Palakka and Sultan Hasan al-Din. In 1670 the royal scribe of Gowa wrote an account of the Makassar War, in which Hasan al-Din is characterized as the “World emperor and just king; royal deputy of God, who is completely perfect; Friend of God, in total union; who is also a mystical adept, and most excellent.” By contrast, Arung Palakka is referred to as follows: “Hear now,

companions and friends, of the ill-favored Bugis of uncertain sense, whose friendship with Dutchmen will one day choke him to death” (Skinner 1963, 112–13).

14 *Sinrili*’ are a popular Makassar narrative genre that usually has a meter of one foot of five or six syllables alternating with another foot of eight syllables (Matthes 1883/1943, 326). The transcription of the *Sinrili*’ *Kappala Tallumbatua* was catalogued as manuscript 182 in the Institute of Culture of South and Southeast Sulawesi (Andaya 1979, 405–6). I obtained a copy of this manuscript in 1989 and had Muhammad Nasir of Ara translate it for me into Bahasa Indonesia.

Muhammad Nasir was one of the two most talented *pa*’*sinrili*’ (singers of legends) in the village and recorded a version of the *Sinrili*’ *Datu Museng* from memory that was over 3,500 lines long (see Gibson 2007, ch. 4). The Indonesian Department of Education and Culture published its own translation of the same text into Bahasa Indonesia, but it breaks off before the defeat of Gowa. It thus omits the final 20 percent of the story without explanation (Sirajuddin Bantang 1988).

15 This was in fact the posthumous title of Sultan Ahmad al-Salih (r. 1776–1816), who ruled a hundred years after Arung Palakka (r. 1672–1696). Its use here may reflect Sultan Ahmad’s being the last great ruler of Bone in popular memory.

16 In 1973 President Suharto issued a declaration recognizing Sultan Hasan al-Din as the first national hero of Indonesia that came from South Sulawesi, and the main university for eastern Indonesia is named in his honor (Kementrian Sosial Republik Indonesia 2011; Cummings 2002, 22). In 1982 a school textbook was published by the Department of Education and Culture in honor of Hasan al-Din. It had little to say about Arung Palakka, briefly attributing his enmity toward Gowa

to unspecified “harsh measures” taken by the “Chief Minister of Gowa” against his “grandfather” (*nenek*). It explains that, “Because of [these measures], Aru Palaka endeavored with great energy to free himself from the kingdom of Goa” (Kutoyo and Safwan 1982/2001, 34). A more recent textbook by Mangemba (2007, 12) does not mention Arung Palakka’s role in the war at all. Despite these efforts at official rehabilitation, Sultan Hasan al-Din continues to enjoy little popular recognition, and his tomb remains largely ignored.

17 President Suharto declared Sheikh Yusuf a national hero in 1995. One of his last acts before he was deposed in 1998 was a visit to the first tomb of Sheikh Yusuf in Cape Town, accompanied by Pres. Nelson Mandela of South Africa. When the second president of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, paid a return visit to Indonesia in 2005, he announced that his government was going to designate the tomb of Sheikh Yusuf in Cape Town a national monument commemorating pan-Indian Ocean resistance to Dutch colonial rule (Ward 2009, 1–2).

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