

Kingship-*Adat* Rivalry and the Role of Islam in South Sulawesi

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In Bugis-Makassar society a king was identified in terms of his function in assuring the spiritual and material well-being of the whole community. Though distinguished from the rest of the population by the paraphernalia and “white blood” of kingship, the individual ruler did not reign in splendid isolation from the people. He was a visible presence whose active participation in the affairs of the community was an expected norm. On one level, he was regarded as an essential intermediary or link between mankind on this earth and the gods (or God) of the Upperworld; and, on another level, he was seen as an instrument of the people in maintaining the *adat*, or the laws and customs of the land. These two variant but co-existing beliefs in the role of kings reflect an existing tension between the rulers and the *adat* guardians, which had its roots at the very inception of kingship in this society.

The most coherent and detailed account of the introduction of kingship among the Bugis and Makassar people of South Sulawesi¹ is found in an ancient Bugis poem called *I La Galigo*.² In this work the earth is described in the beginning as being in utter chaos. The gods and goddesses of the Upperworld decide to send Batara Guru, the eldest son of

¹There are some 3,200,000 Bugis and 2,500,000 Makassar living in the southwest peninsula of Sulawesi in Indonesia. These two groups are culturally and linguistically related but historically have always been rivals for dominance in the peninsula. J.C. Pelras, “Célèbes-Sud: Fiche signalétique”, *Archipel* 10 (1975): 6; R.F. Mills, “The Reconstruction of Proto South Sulawesi”, *Archipel* 10 (1975): 217–18.

²From an examination of all fragments of the *I La Galigo* in Europe and Indonesia, R.A. Kern estimates that this work would contain between 6,000 to 8,000 pages, making it one of the largest epic poems in world literature. R.A. Kern, *Catalogus van de Boeginese, tot de I La Galigo-cyclus behoorende handschriften van Jajasan Matthesstichting te Makassar (Indonesië)* (Makassar, 1954), p. v. Kern described the *I La Galigo* as a coherent whole, “a balanced structure with a beginning and an end”, “a firm and well-constructed edifice”. R.A. Kern, *Catalogus van de Boegineesche, tot den I La Galigo-cyclus behoorende handschriften der Leidsche Universiteitsbibliotheek* (Leiden, 1939), pp. 2–4. While these conclusions are undeniable, it is precisely the “balanced structure” and the “well-constructed edifice” that have made possible the large numbers of stories which are today classified under the title *I La Galigo*. From the time that the *I La Galigo* first came to the notice of Western scholars to the present-day, there has not been a single individual who claims to have possession of the complete work. This admission is not a sad commentary on the ravages of time but rather a striking proof that this work is constantly growing within a prescribed structure and thus difficult to restrict to a “final version” of the *I La Galigo*. What we know today as the *I La Galigo* appears to be an outgrowth of hundreds of years of oral tales transmitted from generation to generation by word of mouth within a precisely laid framework. Perhaps an examination of similar works in other areas may shed light on the *I La Galigo* epic in South Sulawesi. An enlightening study of the process of the growth of epic tales in oral and semi-literate societies is found in A.B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960).

the principal god of the Upperworld, To Palanroē (The Creator), also known as To Patotoe (The Maker of Destiny), to transform this chaos into a place habitable for man. Wē Nyi'litimo', the daughter of the principal god of the Underworld, along with five lesser princesses, are delegated to serve as companions and wives to Batara Guru on earth. As Batara Guru descends to earth from the Upperworld on a rainbow, Wē Nyi'litimo', who is also known as "Tompoē ri busa ēmpong" (She who rose from the foam of the waves), rises from the Underworld. They meet in Ware' in Luwu' and begin a civilization that spreads throughout the rest of Sulawesi and elsewhere. After a period of time Batara Guru and all of his wives return to the Upperworld, leaving their children to rule over the earth. Several generations pass, and these god-rulers finally abandon the earth in order to replace the principal gods in both the Upperworld and the Underworld.

The second coming of the god-rulers occurs when the son of the principal gods in the Upperworld again marries the daughter of the principal gods of the Underworld, and they settle together in Luwu'. When a son is born to them, the father ascends into the Upperworld to request a cradle from his mother. While in the Upperworld, he is told that in seven days the rainbow linking it with the earth is to be taken up forever. All access between the earth and the Upperworld and the Underworld is to be closed, and only that between the Upperworld and the Underworld maintained. He then returns to the earth and informs his wife of the news. Since they do not want to remain on the earth, they descend to the Underworld leaving the earth once again with no rulers.³

A variation of the second-coming of the god-rulers comes from a fragment of an *I La Galigo* text in the Leiden University Library. In this version, The Creator sends Salinrunglangi' from the Upperworld to Luwu' to marry Mutiatoja of the Underworld. By this marriage, The Creator intends to unite the Upperworld and the Underworld and have the progeny of this union rule in Luwu'. A son is born of this marriage, and Salinrunglangi' returns to the Upperworld to request a swing (for the swing ceremony) when the child is seven months old. On the appointed day La Punnalangi', father of Salinrunglangi', descends to earth on a rainbow bringing the swing. After the ceremonies, La Punnalangi' informs everyone of the decision to close off the Upperworld. The Upperworld guests then depart leaving Salinrunglangi', Mutiatoja, and their son Odangpatalo on Luwu' as the bolts of the Upperworld and the chains of the Underworld are drawn shut.⁴

According to this latter version, the second god-rulers were the direct ancestors of the kings of Luwu'. It may have been the unwillingness of neighbouring kingdoms to attribute a superior ancestry to Luwu's royal family that made them more receptive to the former version of the coming of the second set of god-rulers. It must be stressed, however, that the first version must have had some credence within Luwu' itself since this was the story recorded by D.F. van Braam-Morris, a nineteenth-century Dutch official who was well-acquainted with the history and traditions of that kingdom.

This bare sketch from the *I La Galigo* epic contains the familiar theme in mythology of the union of the male element from the Upperworld with the female element from the Underworld. It is this ideal depiction of the origins of rulers that forms the basis of later court writing emphasizing the divine ancestry of the royal families. In these court works the period immediately following the disappearance of the second group of god-rulers in

³D.F. van Braam Morris, "Het Landschap Loehoe", *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (TGB) 32 (1889): 549–55; B.F. Matthes, "Boegineesche en Makassaarsche Legendes", *Bijdragen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (BKI) 10 (1885): 432–35.

⁴Kern, *Catalogus ... Leidsche*, pp. 834–47.

Luwu' is described as a time of disorder and lawlessness when mankind behaves like fish eating one another (*sianrē balē tauē*), with the weak being oppressed by the strong.⁵ After a long period of time, the gods take pity on man and send someone to rule over the feuding communities. In the Bugis-Makassar kingdoms this being is called the *To* (Bugis)/ *Tu* (Makassar) *manurung*, or "He who descended [from the Upperworld]".⁶ Whereas court traditions relegate the entire period preceding the advent of the *To/Tumanurung* to an unspecified past, they readily date the coming of the *To/Tumanurung* to about the beginning of the 14th century by using the questionable method of counting reign years and calculating backwards in time. In recording the circumstances surrounding the appearance of the *Tumanurung*, a document from Gowa states simply:

Then three groups fought against Gowa: the people of Garassi', the people of Untia, and the people of Lambengi. After this the *Bate Salapang* [Council of Nine] and the *Paccalla* [a post created by the *Bate Salapang* to oversee the affairs of the council] met and decided to have a ruler. The ruler was the *Tumanurung* who was installed as ruler of Gowa.⁷

In the Bugis chronicles of the kingdom of Bone the coming of the *Tomanurung* is recorded in the following manner:

It is said that for seven generations there was no ruler. During this period the people knew no law; there was no *adat* and no administration of justice. And then there came a king [i.e. the *Tomanurung*].⁸

And in the Bugis kingdom of Soppeng, the chronicles say:

Then the Sixty Elders of West Soppeng and East Soppeng agreed to meet with the *Matoa Bila* [one of the principal elders in Soppeng] to discuss the fact that for one whole *pariamang* [a period of eight or twelve years] there had been no rain, and no rice had been found in the land. They deliberated and prayed to the gods. Then news came from *Jennang Pessē* [a village headman] that there was a *Tomanurung* at Sekkannyili.⁹

The *Tomanurung* is usually discovered in an open field sitting on a flat stone surrounded by objects from the Upperworld or by servants carrying these objects. He is approached by the elders of the community and asked to become ruler. Being convinced

⁵This concept is known in ancient Indian literature as *matsyanyaya*, or "the logic of the fish". According to Indian belief of the Cycle of Ages, man will degenerate at the end of a cycle and lose his sense of natural duty. Since there will be no rules, and a society without a king cannot be viable, the "logic of the fish" will then prevail. R. Lingat, *The Classical Law of India* (Berkeley, 1973), p. 207.

⁶*Lontara' Panguriseng*, owned by Datu Galib of Soppeng, p. 1; *Lontara' Bone*, in B.F. Matthes, *Boegineesche Chrestomathie* (Makassar, 1864), p. 465 (both in Bugis script). A notable exception is the *Tomanurung* story from Tanette where the people of Pangi discover a *Tomanurung* couple on the summit of a mountain while hunting. The chronicle begins very abruptly with: "There is a mountain to the west of the district of Pangi. Once upon a time...." With this the setting of the discovery of the *Tomanurung* is established. Although there is no mention of any disorder in the society prior to their discovery, the *Arung* (Lord of) Pangi expresses great happiness "in meeting the gods *again*". This statement seems to indicate that the present chronicle of Tanette may be a continuation of some older document that may be more explicit about the condition of Tanette prior to the coming of the *Tomanurung*. G.K. Niemann, *Geschiedenis van Tanette* (Leiden, 1883), pp. 1-2 (in Bugis script).

⁷"Eenige historische stukken uit den Rapang", in B.F. Matthes, *Makassaarsche Chrestomathie* (Amsterdam, 1883), p. 208 (in Makassar script); hereafter *Rapang*.

⁸Matthes, *Boegineesche Chrestomathie*, pp. 465-66 (in Bugis script).

⁹*Lontara' Panguriseng*, p. 1.

of the earnestness of the request, the *Tomanurung* agrees to become ruler and to fulfil the role of protector, arbiter, or leader, in accordance with the needs of the particular community. From the very beginning, a precise relationship is established between the *Tomanurung* and the community elders. In the Bugis kingdom of Bone, for example, the *Tomanurung* proceeds to introduce regulations dealing with inheritance and land rights and to establish the *Hadat*, composed of the leaders of the various communities, to be the guardian of the *adat* and his principal adviser.¹⁰

Another version of the origins of the *Tomanurung* springs from local oral traditions. According to these traditions, sometime in the obscure past an ancient ancestor of a particular descent group found an object with an unusual appearance under mysterious circumstances. This object, which was called the *gaukeng* (Bugis)/ *gaukang* (Makassar), was believed to contain magical properties that could ensure the well-being of the community. The *gaukeng* may have been a mango pit or a piece of wood, but most often it was a stone. Both the physical and spiritual aspects of the *gaukeng* as described in oral tradition bear a striking resemblance to the sacred stones that are the basis of the indigenous earth cults of the Chams in Central Viet Nam.¹¹ As are the sacred stones in Champa, the *gaukeng* was considered to be the physical manifestation of the divinization of the energies of the soil and to have exercised a spiritual and hence protective influence over a defined territory. The finder of the *gaukeng* became the temporary personification of the deity immanent in the *gaukeng* and the intermediary or link between the god on the one hand and the community on the other. He acquired the role of both priest and chief of the community and became the beneficiary of the various fields, fishponds, and slaves that were dedicated to the local deity as manifested in the *gaukeng*.¹² In this period of small communities, each with its own priest-chief, there arose a certain group of individuals, the *bissu*, whose principal function was to serve the *gaukeng* and its finder. Their role was essential in summoning the powers of the *gaukeng* to act through the finder, now become local lord, in order to assure the well-being of the community. From the beginning of early settlements, therefore, the relations between the local heads of the communities and the *bissu* were especially close.¹³

While the oral traditions do not specifically trace the development of the *gaukeng* communities into larger units, they do mention a period of anarchy when groups had to unite for their own protection. It is at this point of crisis in the community that the court and the village traditions seem to coincide. While the court chronicles present a dramatic depiction of the plight of the land prior to the coming of the *To/Tumanurung*, the reason for the crisis is more clearly seen in the oral tradition's realistic account of the origin of the community. By combining both traditions, including the chronicles' description of the first measures adopted by the *To/Tumanurung* ruler, one can offer a tentative reconstruction of the origins of kingship in Bugis-Makassar society.

It appears that a group of settlements was centred around a *gaukeng*, with its specific territorial and spiritual boundaries, which in time expanded and impinged on its

¹⁰Sultan Kasim, *Latar belakang perdjandjian persahabatan antara Aru Palakka dan Kompeni Belanda/ VOC pada tahun 1665* (unpublished thesis, IKIP Makassar, Dec. 1970), p. 17; Ridwan Borahima, *Sedjarah Bone pada masa pemerintahan Aru Palaka* (unpublished thesis, IKIP Malang, Dec. 1971), pp. 37–38.

¹¹Paul Mus, *India Seen from the East: Indian and Indigenous Cults in Champa*, tr. from the French by I.W. Mabbett and D.P. Chandler (Monash, 1975).

¹²"Grondenrecht, heffingen en apanages", *Adatrechtbundels* XXXI, 37 (1929): 118.

¹³B.F. Matthes, "Over de Bissoe's of heidensche priesters en priesteressen der Boegineezen", originally published 1872, republished in H. van den Brink, *Dr. Benjamin Frederik Matthes* (Amsterdam, 1943), pp. 497–503.

neighbours. While the communities were still small, differences could be resolved fairly easily. But with the proliferation of these settlements, complicated further by the tendency of each to promote the welfare of its members by confederating with other communities, it soon became apparent that some form of arbitration was necessary to deal with their ever-widening disputes. The communities therefore agreed to create an arbiter with the function, and in the image, of their own priest-chiefs. The difficulty of selecting an arbiter whose authority would be acceptable to all but not based upon any existing *gaukeng* was overcome by associating him with a sky, rather than an earth, deity. By this masterly stroke, they established an arbiter who would have an impartial concern for all *gaukeng* communities alike since his authority would stem from the Upperworld. The *Tomanurung*, like the priest-chief of the *gaukeng* communities, became the temporary personification of an Upperworldly deity manifest in the objects that accompanied the *Tomanurung* from the Upperworld to become the regalia.

It is at this stage of development of Bugis-Makassar societies that the role of the *bissu* underwent a significant change. Although a retinue of *bissu* came to serve the new *To/Tumanurung* ruler and his regalia, which descended from the Upperworld with this new being, the real strength of the *bissu* was in their association with local sacred objects associated with the earth and hence a specific territory and family.¹⁴ The larger confederations or kingdoms, which eventually came to dominate the area under the *To/Tumanurung* families, were by their nature a loose unity of small communities each with its own lords, *gaukeng/gaukang*, and *bissu*.¹⁵

The introduction of kingship by means of a *To/Tumanurung* figure was successful among the Bugis-Makassar people because it was presented as a mirror image of their own *gaukeng/gaukang* communities. The *To/Tumanurung* and the regalia were seen as a larger version of the priest-chief and the *gaukeng/gaukang*, but with their authority stemming from the Upper- instead of the Underworld. The divine origin of the rulers was accentuated further by a general acknowledgement that their blood was the colour of the milky sap of the *takku'* (Bugis)/ *tangkulu'* (Makassar) tree. Once kingship became acceptable, it could then perform the tasks for which it was best suited: to deal with disputes between communities over land rights, inheritance, and other matters of custom and practice (*adat*) that the *gaukeng/gaukang* leaders as guardians of the *adat* could no longer resolve among themselves.¹⁶ This situation is described by Bugis elders in a succinct and memorable fashion. According to them, there are two who have the right to govern a *wanua* (lit. community, but also a larger unit such as a district): the *arung*

¹⁴See Mus, *India Seen*, pp. 15–17, for a discussion of the evolution of territorial and dynastic law in early communities in Asia. His description of early settlements in Champa is useful in understanding what may have also occurred in South Sulawesi.

¹⁵Gilbert Hamonic posits an interesting theory concerning a change in the “mentality” of historical writing in the Bugis-Makassar areas, which appears to coincide with the period of the agglomeration of *gaukeng/gaukang* communities into kingdoms. He sees the transformation of the concept of history beginning about the 16th century when the sacred writings of the *bissu*, conceived as a necessary ritual to recall constantly the origins of the group and assure the equilibrium in the society, are superseded by Islamic ideas of history, which come to dominate the royal courts. Gilbert Hamonic, “Du’ Langage des Dieux’ au Langage de l’Histoire”, *Archipel* 20 (1980): 307–12.

¹⁶For a description of this particular role of kingship in one of the Bugis kingdoms, see L. Y. Andaya, “The Nature of Kingship in Bone”, *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, monograph no. 6 (1975), pp. 118–19. In early Minangkabau society, kingship played a similar role by serving as the final court of appeal for the people and as the common bond linking the *nagari*, or “village republics”. See Taufik Abdullah, “Adat and Islam: An Examination of Conflict in Minangkabau”, *Indonesia* II (Oct. 1966): 4–5.

(lord) and the *ade'* (*adat*). The authority of the *arung* is like a flood, and that of the *ade'* like an ebb, of the tide. This is the difference between the rule (*parenta*) of the *arung* and the *ade'*. The origin of the *arung* is where the rain comes, from above, while the *ade'* originates from the land.¹⁷

The distinction between the authority residing in the *arung* and that in the *ade'* grew increasingly important beginning in the sixteenth century, but especially in the seventeenth century, when Moslem scholars and teachers started to displace the *bissu* in their spiritual functions within these *To/Tumanurung* courts. With the reduced role of the *bissu* in the confederations/kingdoms, the links between the *gaukeng/gaukang* communities and the *To/Tumanurung* kingdoms were weakened. The *bissu* now became identified almost solely with their local lords and communities. They became the spiritual guardians of customs and traditions, the *ade'*, which pre-dated and were thus seen as superior to any *To/Tumanurung* derived institutions. In time, the growing numbers of Moslem scholars and teachers in the major kingdoms led to an even wider spiritual rift between the centre and the local communities still adhering to an earlier belief structure preserved and protected by the *bissu*. The traditional wisdom expressing the equal rights of *arung* and *ade'* to authority in the community merely affirms the tension created by the attempt of the confederations/kingdoms to assert a centralizing authority over the strong local entities. But even while the struggle for dominance continued, the rulers of the confederations/kingdoms were constantly reminded that this institutional innovation in the society had a specific function in the community. The inculcation of this most basic truth was the aim of the Bugis and Makassar versions of the "Mirror of Kings", the *Latoa* and the *Rapang*.

II

The *Latoa* and the *Rapang* are collections from the royal courts of old stories and sayings, admonishments and instructions of rulers and wisemen, and sumptuary laws.¹⁸ From a very early age these works were read and explained to the children of the ruler and his nobles. Particular attention was devoted to the proper upbringing of the royal children, for as the *Latoa* itself taught:

The child of a ruler is like a small fire with a lot of wood. When little, it can easily be put out; but when it has already become large, it can only be extinguished once all logs closest to it have been completely consumed.¹⁹

Although these works originate from the courts, there is no attempt to elevate the status of the rulers or to link them with their supernatural beginnings as is the case in the court chronicles. One of the basic concerns of these texts is the education of the princes in governing their kingdoms; consequently, they attempt to represent society as it appears to them and not as an unrealistic ideal. Being practical documents, they portray the relationship between the ruler and the *adat*, which indicates an awareness of the true origins of kingship from within the society.

The *Latoa* warns a ruler against pardoning a crime against *adat*, which would result

¹⁷Yayasan Ms. No. 147, Library of the Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara, Ujung Pandang, p. 20 (in Bugis script).

¹⁸For the purpose of this paper, I will be using the Romanized Bugis text of the *Latoa* that is found in Mattulada, *Latoa: Satu Lukisan Analitisterhadap Antropologi-Politik Orang Bugis* (Ujung Pandang, 1975), pp. 104–293; hereafter *Latoa. Rapang*, pp. 208–16, 248–70.

¹⁹*Latoa*, pp. 156–57.

in the demeaning of his good name and hence the loss of his self-respect. The *adat* itself states that the self-respect of a ruler has no value and that the ruler would be but a commoner if there were no *adat*. Only with the existence of *adat* is there a ruler, and only with the presence of the ruler is there an *adat*.²⁰ Implicit in these sentences from the *Latoa* is a belief that kingship was created principally to assist the *gaukeng* heads in the successful implementation of the *adat* in the community. Further discussion on the obligations of a ruler seems to confirm this implication. According to the *Latoa*, a ruler would be destroyed if he commits incest (*sapa' tana*), is not angered by those who do, pardons those who do not heed the *adat*, kills out of anger and not according to *adat*, and does not love those who serve the *adat* and the ruler.²¹ By acting in opposition to the *adat*, the ruler negates his own role and *raison d'être* and is no longer distinguishable in function from any commoner. The *Latoa* therefore attempts to clarify the position of the ruler as an arm of the *adat*. Such an acknowledgement would have been inappropriate in the court chronicles and diaries where the royal and noble families are the central focus of activities. But in works such as the *Latoa* and *Rapang*, which were the primary sources for the training and guidance of rulers,²² an admission and acceptance of the dependent relationship of the ruler to the traditional leaders of the *gaukeng* communities were imperative for any effective exercise of power.

The *Latoa* and the *Rapang* emphasize the role of the ruler in implementing the *adat* to assure the well-being of the people: "The eye of the ruler never goes to sleep both night and day thinking of the welfare of his land. He investigates the beginning and the end of a thing before he acts".²³ To guarantee the happiness of the land, the ruler is encouraged to be liked and yearned for (*nariuddani*) by the people. He should study so that he would be feared like a demonic spirit, but not like a crocodile, by his servants and his people. There are certain trees or rocks that house demonic spirits, and yet the people call upon these spirits to make or fulfil a vow. A crocodile, on the other hand, is so feared by the people that they will not come close to it. In like manner, a ruler should be feared and respected but approachable to his people.²⁴

To encourage the people to come to the ruler so that there would be no distance between the two, the ruler is advised to hold audience twice a day from 8:00 a.m. to midday, and from 7:00 to 9:00 p.m.²⁵ During these audiences, the ruler is told to pay close attention to the visitor in order to be able to ask appropriate questions:

If it is an older person, ask him about things of the past. If it is a young person talk

²⁰ *Latoa*, pp. 176–77.

²¹ *Latoa*, pp. 172–73.

²² In attempting to clarify matters dealing with booty and other difficulties with the kingdoms of the Tellumpocco and the Cappagala, Arung Palakka ToUnru' opens the *Latoa* and reads out a passage before an assembly of 200 princes (*anak matola*) about four ways of destroying one's kingdom. From "Berbagai ceritera tentang raja-raja di tanah Bugis" (in Bugis script), Yayasan Ms. 174 (new No. 3), Library of the Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara, Ujung Pandang, p. 483. It is apparent from this episode that the *Latoa* was familiar to the princes and used as a political and moral guide to ruling.

²³ *Latoa*, pp. 104–105.

²⁴ *Latoa*, pp. 146–47.

²⁵ *Latoa*, pp. 142–43. The personal character of the court and the concern for contact between a ruler and his subjects are reminiscent of a 13th-century Sukhothai ruler, Ram Kamheng, who hung a bell in the palace doorway that could be struck by anyone who wished to report a grievance to him. G. Coedes, *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia* (Honolulu, 1968), p. 207. The Persian sage-ruler Nushirwan is said to have commanded that a chain be set up with bells attached to it so that even a seven-year-old child with a complaint for the ruler could reach it. Hubert Darke, *The Book of Government or Rules for Kings, of Nizām al-Mulūk* (London, 1960), p. 41.

about stories of young people. If it is a warrior, speak of battles For if you ask about something which he knows about, he will speak at great length. If you do that, my Lord, you will be greatly loved and desired by your people.²⁶

As a protector of the people, the ruler is likened to a gardener who maintains his plants by guarding them with care and assuring the good state of the fence, which prevents the garden from being destroyed by wild pigs and rats. The wild pigs are like the evildoers who are loud and make their intentions clear. As long as the ruler maintains his guard nothing will happen. The other danger is from rats, which are small and cannot be seen nor heard but do great damage in a way which is annoying and disgusting. These rats are like those with evil and jealous hearts against whom the ruler must also guard his people.²⁷

In these pedagogical works the ruler is reminded that the people are his source of strength and livelihood. In quite blunt terms the *Latoa* states that a ruler only properly becomes a ruler when he has many people and his orders are followed by those he governs.²⁸ He is frequently warned that any excesses that he or his ministers commit would lead to an exodus of the people in search of a new land with a just ruler.²⁹ An immediate concern is the activities of the relatives of the ruler (*anakarung*) and the servants of the royal household (*ataribolang*) who may and do take advantage of their position to oppress the people. If such acts are allowed to continue, the people will flee the land,³⁰ and without people he will no longer be called ruler and will be mocked by neighbouring monarchs.³¹ A seventeenth century ruler of Gowa understood the true gravity of his situation when he ended his plea for assistance from a fellow monarch to stem the exodus of people from his kingdom with the words "What good is it to be a king without a people?"³² To lose one's people is to lose one's source of livelihood (*sumpampala*), for from the people come what is sweet and delicious.³³ This basic belief is reinforced in the literature of both the court and the village where the prosperity of a kingdom is measured by the fruitfulness of the riceplants, the fruit trees, the animals, as well as the people.³⁴

To guarantee the people's welfare, the ruler is advised to fulfil a number of obligations toward them. The first and perhaps the most important is to guard the people from arbitrary acts of the *anakarung* and *ataribolang*. Some of the most serious offenders were the young princes who, with their followers, would often become involved in gambling, whoring, and murders to the great terror of the common people. Except in

²⁶ *Latoa*, pp. 142–44.

²⁷ *Latoa*, pp. 150–51.

²⁸ *Latoa*, pp. 174–75.

²⁹ *Latoa*, pp. 146–47, 154–55, 174–75.

³⁰ *Latoa*, pp. 154–55, 172–73, 275–77.

³¹ *Latoa*, pp. 276–79.

³² Koloniaal Archief 1227, Overgekomen Brieven 1679, Missive from Cops to Batavia, 31 May 1678, fol. 222.

³³ *Latoa*, pp. 154–55. The importance of manpower in early Southeast Asian kingdoms is a theme continually stressed in chronicles and inscriptions. It was not uncommon in war to have the vanquished population transported to the lands of the conquerors in order to augment the manpower of the victorious ruler and thus increase his wealth and prestige. A detailed study of this process operating in Thailand is found in A. Rabibhadana, *The Organization of Thai Society in the Early Bangkok Period* (Ithaca, 1969).

³⁴ *Latoa*, pp. 122–23; *Rapang*, p. 258; Ms. Celebes 12, Korn Collection, the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Leiden, pp. 7, 19, passim. A letter from a Dutch official dated 26 Dec. 1912, which is attached to Ms. Celebes 12, states that this Bugis work contains many similarities with the *Rapang* and may be a mixture of both Bugis and Makassar material.

times of warfare or hunting parties organized by the ruler, these young *anakarung* and their followers (among whom were some of the *ataribolang*) had no real duties and spent most of their idle time in unsavoury activities.³⁵ They were the principal scourge of the people, and it was the ruler's responsibility to control them since they often would claim that their activities bore royal sanction.

A second set of obligations of the ruler toward his people was aimed at the potential threat of those unscrupulous individuals who had access to the ruler. A ruler is told to investigate thoroughly any rumours or slander that may be brought to his attention and to avoid killing out of suspicion. Further warning is given of a potentially more insidious danger of believing in words spoken in a dream or by a *sanro* (a native doctor who may also be skilled in astrology). The warning against this less obvious but perhaps more pernicious source of information flowing to the ruler is especially relevant in a society that gives credence to supernatural occurrences and is highly susceptible to suggested interpretations of them.

A third major obligation of a ruler is to avoid committing unjust acts against his neighbours because invariably the people will suffer. Finally, when the people's work becomes pressing, a ruler should allow them to go and seek their own livelihood. In these last two obligations, the ruler is reminded that the people are not mere pawns to be manipulated. Any war would cause suffering to the people and is to be avoided. If the people must seek their livelihood, they should not be restrained by the ruler, for a prosperous and happy people assures a prosperous and happy land.³⁶

All of these excerpts from the *Latoa* and the *Rapang* reveal a veiled yet definite court conception of the ruler as servant to the *adat* and to the people whom it serves. But these two works also describe kingship on a more exalted plane as an intermediary between the world of man and the world of the gods. Although this latter perception of kingship was more flattering to the ruler, it imposed a heavy burden of responsibility on him. The state of the kingdom was believed to be a reflection of the ruler's own personal conduct in maintaining harmony in the world. In the words of the *Latoa* if there is a ruler who is honest, the land will be free from disaster, the people will multiply, and the ricefields will be fertile. The rain or dry weather that visits the land will cause the riceplants to grow. But a ruler who is deceitful will be responsible for unending suffering throughout the land as epidemics rage among the people and rains and droughts destroy the rice seedlings. If the ruler acts arbitrarily and breaks his promises, there will be a lack of rain during the West Monsoon, and the riceplants and the fruit trees will be barren.³⁷

If the spectre of a barren land devoid of people is an insufficient deterrent to a bad ruler, there are even more dire warnings that are meant to affect the ruler directly. A ruler whose anger is not in accordance with the *adat* and who heeds no advice will cause his life to be cut short, his rule to end, and his land to be invaded by a great

³⁵This is a typical phenomenon in the Malayo-Indonesian world. In the middle of the 18th century, there was no powerful Malay kingdom in the Straits of Melaka, that could control the piracy perpetrated by these young princes (*anak raja*). For a discussion of the social and psychological circumstances within a Malay court that gave rise to this *anak raja/anakarung* problem, see Barbara Watson Andaya, "The Role of the Anak Raja in Malay History: A Case Study from 18th-century Kedah", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 7, 2 (Sept. 1976).

³⁶*Latoa*, pp. 274–77, contains a listing of the ruler's obligations to his people; *Rapang*, p. 263.

³⁷*Latoa*, pp. 122–23, 148–49; *Rapang*, pp. 249, 258.

enemy.³⁸ In one of the wars a victorious ruler commands his troops to return all the goods pillaged from the defeated people because “it [the war] is not the fault of the poor people but that of their ruler”.³⁹ Furthermore, any excessive act on the part of the ruler would also lead to his life being ended abruptly, his descendants dying out, and his followers being scattered, because it would provoke the anger of the God (*Dewata*).⁴⁰ If invoking a supernatural sanction did not succeed in emphasizing the seriousness of maintaining proper conduct in governing and in one’s personal life, stories liberally sprinkled throughout the *Latoa* and the *Rapang* about rulers whose unjust acts caused their death at the hands of their subjects may have had the desired effect.⁴¹

Since so much depended upon the ruler, special care also had to be taken by the people to assure his well-being. A special ceremony for “the summoning of the life-spirit” (*mappakerru’ sumange’* in Bugis, *a’pakurru’ sumanga’* in Makassar) was performed on occasions when it was felt that the “life-spirit” of the ruler had fled. A fire, a capsized boat, a madman entering the yard or house of the ruler, a battle, or an illness could upset or startle the ruler and cause his “life-spirit” to flee. Only by a special ceremony in which the people came and paid their obeisance and uttered the words “*mappakerru’ sumange’*” (or “*a’ pakurru’ sumanga’*”) to their ruler could he regain his well-being.⁴²

In short, the ideal ruler in the *Latoa* and the *Rapang* is depicted as one who combines the practical understanding of statecraft with the virtues of a divine intermediary and conforms to the requirements of the *adat*. In acknowledging *adat*’s primacy in the community, these two court works reinforce the views expressed in the older local oral traditions. The Bugis-Makassar rulers, however, were governed by their own concerns to maintain and advance their spiritual/political positions in society. Too little is known about the Indicization of South Sulawesi to be able to make any general statements on its impact on the status of kingship in the society. But with the coming of Islam there are a few clues which indicate that the Bugis-Makassar rulers were aware that their conversion could mean an enhancement of their prestige at the expense of their rivals, the *adat* leaders of the *gaukeng/gaukang* communities.

III

After the fall of the important international entrepôt of Melaka to the Portuguese in 1511, a large number of Moslem Malays from this port city eventually came to settle in Makassar. Their arrival is commemorated in the Makassar chronicles and in folktales, and it is readily admitted by the local people that some of the court dances, dress, protocol, and language were borrowed from the Melaka court.⁴³ With them also came the trading expertise and the economic contacts developed in Melaka, which were a

³⁸ *Latoa*, pp. 158–59. The manner in which the Bugis-Makassar people viewed the world affected greatly their interpretation of events. When the Dutch East India Company invaded and defeated the kingdom of Gowa in 1667, this event was re-told within the framework of their world-view. The invasion by a “great enemy” (the Dutch) and the defeat of the kingdom were seen as the consequence of the ruler of Gowa acting in defiance of the laws and customs of the land. See L. Y. Andaya, “A Village Perception of Arung Palakka and the Makassar War of 1666–69”, in *Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia*, ed. D. Marr and A. Reid (Singapore, 1979), pp. 360–78.

³⁹ Matthes, *Makassaarsche Chrestomathie* 3: 21 (in Makassar script).

⁴⁰ *Latoa*, pp. 146–47; *Rapang*, p. 258.

⁴¹ Ms. Celebes 12, Korn Collection, pp. 206, 225.

⁴² *Latoa*, pp. 292–93.

⁴³ Abdurrahim, “Kedatangan Orang Melaju di Makassar” (in personal possession of author, Ujung Pandang, Indonesia, no date), p. 2.

major factor in the growth of Makassar and its inclusion in the network of international trade. They were also largely responsible for introducing Makassar, and through it the rest of South Sulawesi, to the vibrant secular and Islamic literature that was written in Malay, the *lingua franca* of the Malay-Indonesian archipelago.⁴⁴ Through the medium of the Malay language, the rulers of South Sulawesi became aware of Islam as a dynamic economic and political force to which ideal the powerful and brilliant Moslem Sultanate of Aceh was a glowing testimony.

Being situated at the northern tip of Sumatra, Aceh became the favoured port of call of Moslem traders from the West after 1511 who wished to avoid the Portuguese in Melaka. By the end of the sixteenth century Aceh had also become the principal centre through which spiritual ideas from Moslem India and the Holy Land were disseminated to the rest of the archipelago.⁴⁵ A large corpus of Islamic tracts were written or translated into Malay by foreign and local Moslem scholars in Aceh during the latter half of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with the blessings of the most powerful monarchs in Aceh's history. Sultan Alauddin Riayat Syah (1588–1604) encouraged this effort since he was a pious ruler and greatly inclined toward Moslem scholars and teachers, who consequently flocked to his kingdom.⁴⁶ Malay-Indonesian pilgrims, who were called "Jawi" in Mekka, made it a practice to disembark in Aceh on their outward and homeward journeys to the Holy Land and to centres of Moslem learning in Egypt and Ottoman Turkey.⁴⁷ There was, therefore, ample opportunity in Aceh for pilgrims from various parts of the archipelago to discuss religious points that were being debated throughout the Islamic world. Many then returned home to share their new learning, while others remained in the West or in Aceh and communicated their ideas through letters to friends and families in their homeland.⁴⁸

Yet, despite early contact with Moslem ideas and traders and the presence by the mid-sixteenth century of a substantial Moslem Malay community in Makassar, the rulers of South Sulawesi embraced Islam only in 1605. To suggest that the increasingly active part played by South Sulawesi in inter-island trade made their people turn to such "world religions" as Islam is simply to beg the question.⁴⁹ One scholar has tried to explain the reason for this belated adoption of Islam in terms of the tenacity and pride with which the people clung to their *adat* and cultural heritage.⁵⁰ While this observation cannot be denied, this response merely expressed the symptoms of a deeper ongoing struggle between the rulers and the *adat* guardians for pre-eminence in the kingdom. By the second half of the sixteenth century, the Bugis-Makassar rulers were struck by the full implication of being a Moslem Sultan. In India ruled the great Mughal emperor Akbar (1573–1605), whose conquests and riches would have been the envy of any ruler.

⁴⁴There was a difference between the low Malay (*pasar Melayu*) of the marketplace and the literary Malay of the courts. But on both levels the Malay language was extensively used as a vehicle of communication throughout the archipelago.

⁴⁵B. Schrieke, *Indonesian Sociological Studies*, part 2 (The Hague/Bandung, 1957), p. 248.

⁴⁶R.H. Djajadiningrat, "Critisch Overzicht van de in Maleische Werken vervatte Gegevens over de Geschiedenis van het Soeltanaat van Atjeh", *Bijdragen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde BKI* 65 (1911): 160.

⁴⁷A.H. Johns "Islam in Southeast Asia: Problems of Perspective", in *Southeast Asian History and Historiography*, ed. C.D. Cowan and O.W. Wolters (Ithaca, 1976), pp. 313–14.

⁴⁸Schrieke, *Indonesian*, p. 248.

⁴⁹C. Pelras, "Célèbes-sud avant l'Islam, selon les premières témoignages étrangers", *Archipel* 21 (1981): 180.

⁵⁰J. Noorduyn, "De Islamisering van Makasar", *Bijdragen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde BKI* 112 (1956): 250.

The magnificence and opulence of his court and the lavish ostentation of his nobles⁵¹ would have reached the ears of the rulers of South Sulawesi because of the ties between Mughal India and Aceh, and hence with the rest of the Moslem world in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago. Despite Akbar's later rejection of orthodox Islam for a so-called religious synthesis in which all religious beliefs could flourish in his realm,⁵² he would have still been known as a Moslem ruler to far-off kingdoms in South Sulawesi with little intimate knowledge of the complex religious development occurring in Akbar's late life. In Aceh, Sultan Alauddin Riayat Syah al-Kahar (1537?-71) obtained military aid in the form of ships, cannon, and men from Turkey, which contributed further in making Aceh the richest and most powerful kingdom in West Indonesia.⁵³ This aid would have been interpreted as yet another sign of the greatness and wealth of Moslem Sultanates, this time that of the paragon of Moslem Sultanates, known as "Rum" (Turkey) in the traditional literature of the archipelago.

Examples of rich, powerful Moslem potentates in the Near East, India, and Aceh in the late sixteenth century assumed even greater significance for the South Sulawesi rulers in the light of the successes of the nearby Moslem kingdoms of Buayan, Magindanao, Sulu, and Ternate against the encroachments of the Spanish and Portuguese. Sultan Baabullah (1570-83) of Ternate was unchallenged in all of the eastern part of the archipelago as he extended his suzerainty right to the doors of Makassar in the west, Banda to the east, Mindanao to the north, and Bima to the south. So impressed were the Europeans by his conquests that he was dubbed "Lord of the Seventy-two Islands". Only by betrayal was he finally conquered by the Portuguese in 1583.⁵⁴ The prestige of Ternate, however, remained undiminished among its neighbours and reached its peak in its successful repulsion of a siege by a combined Spanish-Portuguese fleet in 1603.⁵⁵ The Moslem rulers of Sulu, Magindanao, and Buayan in the southern Philippines experienced periodic Spanish attacks in the late sixteenth century, but retaliated with their own counter-offensive against the Spanish-controlled areas. Their audacious raids reached such an intensity by the beginning of the seventeenth century that the Spaniards feared for the safety of Manila itself. When a Spanish fleet was sent to subjugate Sulu in 1602, it learned that the latter had requested military assistance from the Moslem rulers of Mindanao, Brunei, and Ternate. The Sultan of Ternate had also sent a fleet of 600-1,000 men to Buayan in 1596 and another with 800 men to Magindanao in 1597 to help these kingdoms defend themselves against the Spaniards. Ternate played such a dominant role in assisting the Moslem kingdoms of Magindanao and Buayan on the island of Mindanao against Spanish attempts to conquer and Christianize them that early seventeenth century Dutch writers mistakenly assumed that Ternate had political control over these two areas.⁵⁶

⁵¹Percival Spear, *A History of India* (Baltimore, 1965), p. 41.

⁵²S.A.A. Rizvi, *Religious and Intellectual History of the Muslims in Akbar's Reign* (New Delhi, 1975), p. 74.

⁵³A. Reid, "Sixteenth Century Turkish Influence in Western Indonesia", *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 10 (1969): 402-406; C.R. Boxer, "A Note on Portuguese Reactions to the Revival of the Red Sea Spice Trade and the Rise of Aceh, 1540-1600", *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 10 (1969): 421.

⁵⁴F.S.A. de Clercq, *Bijdragen tot de kennis der residentie Ternate* (Leiden, 1890), pp. 153-54.

⁵⁵Cesar Adib Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines* (Quezon City, 1973), p. 117. Antonio de Morga, *The Philippine Islands, Moluccas, ... at the Close of the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1868), pp. 225-26; translated from the Spanish by Henry E.J. Stanley from *Sucesor de las Islas Philipinas* (Mexico, 1609).

⁵⁶Morga, *Philippine Island*, pp. 59, 190-91. Majul, *Muslims*, pp. 115-17. P.A. Tiele, "De Europeers in den Maleischen Archipel", *Bijdragen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (BKI)* 29 (1881): 194.

In the Bugis-Makassar courts the glowing image of a powerful, resplendent Moslem ruler was further reinforced by the propagandizing of Islamic ideas of kingship by the *Jawi* returning from the Holy Land.⁵⁷ According to tradition, there were three '*ulamā*' (those trained in the religious sciences) from Minangkabau who were responsible for the first conversion of a Bugis-Makassar ruler: Abdullah Ma'mur Khatib Tunggal (Dato' Bandang), Datuk Sulaiman (Dato' Pattiman), and Khatib Bungsu (Dato' Tiro).⁵⁸ Of these, one spread the exoteric doctrine of the *Shari'ah*, or the orthodox practices of Islamic law, and another taught the esoteric doctrine of the *tasawwuf* or Sufi mysticism.⁵⁹ At the very outset, therefore, the Bugis-Makassar rulers were exposed to the two parallel streams of Islamic consciousness: that of the legalists who believe in the prophetic revelation comprehended within the *Shari'ah* and theology, and that of the Sufi mystics who claim to be able to know the Real (*al-Haqq*, their term for God), which is unknowable through revealed religion, by means of direct experience of God.⁶⁰

In 1667 Encik Amin, a scribe from the Makassar-Malay community employed in the Gowa court, wrote a panegyric to the Makassar ruler and nobles which exhibited a knowledge of the kind of Sufi ideas that were associated with the Aceh Sufi mystic writers, Hamzah Pansuri (d. circa 1600) and Shams al-Dīn (d. 1630).⁶¹ They were the leading exponents of the type of heterodox mysticism in favour in Aceh under Sultan Alauddin Riayat Syah (1588–1604) and Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607–1636), which taught that one could achieve union with the Divine by imitating the Prophet ("the Perfect Man" or *al-insan al-kamil*). Aceh sources refer to Sultan Alauddin Riayat Syah as *Sayyidi al-Mukammil* ("My Perfect Lord"),⁶² thus honouring him as a Supreme Mystic who had attained unity with the divine. In support of such ideas Hamzah Pansuri, in one of his works, expressed a lofty conception of a Sufi ruler:

Ruler of the universe, just king,
Hub of the Universe, most regal, of complete perfection.
One of God's elect, perfect in communion (with Him),
King most wise and faultless to boot.⁶³

Such sentiments, written at a time when Persian and Arabic works were being rendered into Malay in Aceh,⁶⁴ were popular among the rulers of South Sulawesi eager to establish their superiority in the society. Encik Amin, author of the *Sya'ir Perang Mengkasar* (The Rhymed Chronicle of the Makassar War), praises Sultan Hasanuddin of Gowa in words that appear to have been modelled directly on Hamzah's verses quoted

⁵⁷Speaking of the *Jawi* of the 17th century, Johns writes: "They belonged to the intelligentsia of their age, and they were guides to prince and pedlar alike. To them the Islamic world was one world, and they met one another on equal terms at Mecca, Medina, and other great centres of learning in the Middle East". Johns, "Problems of Perspective", p. 315.

⁵⁸Abd. Razak Dg. Patunru, "Sedjarah Ringkas dari Orang² Melaju di Makasar (Sulawesi Selatan)", *Bingkisan* Th. 1/8 (1 Dec. 1967): 7.

⁵⁹Abdurrazak Daeng Patunru, *Sedjarah Gowa* (Makassar, 1969), p. 20. A. Makarau Amansjah, "Pengaruh Islam dalam Adat-Istiadat Bugis-Makassar", *Bingkisan* Tahun II/6 (Feb. 1969): 21.

⁶⁰J.S. Trimmingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (Oxford, 1971), p. 1.

⁶¹C. Skinner, ed. and tr., *Sya'ir Perang Mengkasar* [The Rhymed Chronicle of the Makassar War] of Encik Amin ('s-Gravenhage, 1963), p. 23.

⁶²*Ibid.*, p. 24, n. 123, citing original passage from J. Doorenboos, *De geschriften van Hamzah Pansoeri* (Leiden, 1933), p. 70.

⁶³L.F. Brakel, "State and Statecraft in 17th-Century Aceh", *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Monograph 6, Pre-Colonial State Systems in Southeast Asia (1975), p. 59.

⁶⁴A.H. Johns, "Islam in Southeast Asia: Reflections and New Directions", *Indonesia* 19 (Apr. 1975): 45.

above.⁶⁵ When La Maddaremmeng, ruler of Bone, attempted to introduce a new strict orthodox version of Islam into his kingdom in 1640, he was bitterly opposed by all the principal nobles, including his mother who expressed a preference for the kind of Islam being practised in Gowa.⁶⁶ The brand of Islam then current in Gowa was Sufism, which numbered among its adherents the famous Makassar saint Syaikh Yusuf (1626?–99)⁶⁷ and the Makassar ruler Sultan Hasanuddin (1653–69). Arung Palakka, ruler of Bone and a contemporary of Sultan Hasanuddin, is glowingly called “The Heroic Ruler of the Sufi” in a court poem in praise of his exploits.⁶⁸ These examples suggest that Sufi ideas current in Aceh toward the end of the sixteenth and in the early seventeenth centuries, especially that doctrine of union with the Divine which promised to transform any local monarch into a “Ruler of the Universe”, found ready acceptance in the Bugis-Makassar courts of South Sulawesi.

While it is more difficult to demonstrate a direct influence of other Islamic ideas on South Sulawesi rulers, the popularity of Perso-Islamic epithets, titles, heroes, and scholars in India and the western half of the Malay-Indonesian archipelago would have made certain works on Islamic kingship and statecraft respectable and appealing.⁶⁹ In the *Nasīhat al-Mulūk* (Counsel for Kings) of the great Persian theologian Abu Hamid al-Ghazālī (1058–1111 A.D.), whose writings were familiar in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago,⁷⁰ the Apostle says:

... ‘All actions of the just Sultan affecting his subjects are carried to heaven every day; and each prayer of his is worth 70,000 prayers’. Such being the case, there is no greater blessing than God’s grant to a person of the office of ruler and Sultan, whereby one hour of his life is raised [to be equivalent] to the whole life of any other person.⁷¹

However, the most cogent statement concerning the special nature of kings that appears in the *Nasīhat al-Mulūk* is the following passage:

You should understand that God on High selected two classes of the Sons of Adam and endowed these two classes with superiority over the rest: the one being prophets, blessings and peace be upon them, and the other kings. To guide His slaves to Him, he sent prophets; and to preserve them from one another, He sent kings to whom He bound the welfare of men’s lives in His wisdom and on whom He conferred high rank. As you will hear in the Traditions, the Sultan is God’s shadow on earth, which

⁶⁵Skinner, *Sja’ir Perang Mengkasar*, p. 24.

⁶⁶Kolonial Archief 1166, Overgekomen Brieven 1671, “Notitie voor de opperhoofden tot Macasser ... door den heer Cornelis Speelman,” 16 Feb. 1670, fol. 728^f.

⁶⁷A.A. Cense, “De Verering van Sjaich Jusuf in Zuid-Celebes”, *Bingkisan Budi* (Leiden, 1950), p. 51.

⁶⁸*La Mēnruranana Petta Malampēē Gemme’na*, manuscript 183 (Bugis) of the Nederlandsch Bijbel Genootschap collection in the University of Leiden, Oriental Manuscript Section (Leiden, The Netherlands), p. 7.

⁶⁹A.C. Milner, “Islam and Malay Kingship”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1 (1981): 52–54, 65, n. 63.

⁷⁰The Aceh Scholar Hamzah Pansuri (d. circa 1600) appears to have studied the ideas of Ghazālī (See Syed Muhammad Naguib al-Attas, “Raniri and the Wujudiyah of 17th-Century Aceh”, monograph no. 3, Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society [Singapore, 1966], p. 46), while the Malay author of the *Sejarah Melayu*, the earliest recension of which dates from the early 17th century, praises anyone whose knowledge is as great as “Imam Ghazālī’s”. See C.C. Brown, ed. and tr., “Sejarah Melayu of Malay Annals”, *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 25 (Oct. 1952): 180. The *Nasīhat al-Mulūk* was also translated into Malay.

⁷¹F.R.C. Bagley, ed. and tr., *Ghazālī’s Book of Counsel for Kings* [*Nasīhat al-Mulūk*] (London, 1964), p. 14.

means that he is high-ranking and the Lord's delegate over His creatures. It must therefore be recognized that this kingship and the divine effulgence have been granted to them by God, and that they must accordingly be obeyed, loved and followed. To dispute with kings is improper, and to hate them is wrong; for God on High has commanded "Obey God and obey the Prophet and those among you who hold authority", which means (in Persian) obey God and the prophets and your prince. Everybody to whom God has given religion must therefore love and obey kings and recognize that their kingship is granted by God, and given by Him to whom He wills.⁷²

Here was a conception of Moslem kingship derived from Persia that ideally suited the aspirations of a Bugis-Makassar ruler. By becoming a Moslem Sultan, he would be acknowledged as sharing the God-given privilege of being superior to the rest of mankind and of being "God's Shadow on Earth", an ancient epithet once borne by Babylonian kings. Kingship itself would be enhanced by the aura of divine effulgence and would bear the sanction of God.⁷³ How re-assuring would have been the thought that on becoming a Moslem Sultan, he would be justified in confronting the *adat* leaders with the statement that "To dispute with kings is improper, and to hate them is wrong", and confidently anticipate the blessings of God and the entire Moslem community.

Another source on Islamic kingship, which very likely would have been known in the Malay-Indonesian world from Persia via Mughal India and Aceh, was the *Siyāsat-nāmah* (The Book of Government) of Nizām al-Mulūk, a great Persian wazir of the Saljuqs and patron to al-Ghazālī.⁷⁴ Nizām al-Mulūk's attitude toward kings would have provided any religious teacher in a Bugis-Makassar court with a further compelling argument for the advantages of adopting Islam and becoming a Moslem Sultan:

God (be He exalted) has created the king to be the superior of all mankind and the inhabitants of the world are his inferiors, they derive their subsistence and rank from him. He must then keep them in such a position that they always know their places.⁷⁵

Similar sentiments could be cited from the vast corpus of Islamic literature that would have been at the disposal of any learned religious teacher at the court: "And God created the king to be such that all men in the world are obliged to hold themselves in servitude and submission to them."⁷⁶ "The manners of kings are not like those of common people; in fact, they do not resemble them at all since they are raised far above

⁷²Ibid., pp. 45-46.

⁷³This divine effulgence is a Persian concept of the manifestation of the sacred element of fire or light in the person of the rightful ruler; Ibid., p. xli. Among the Javanese there is also a belief in the sacred flame, called *andharu* or *pulung kraton*, which is associated with the legitimacy of rulers. Sartono Kartodihardjo, *Segi-Segi struktural historiografi Indonesia* (Djakakarta, 1968), p. 26; Soemarsaid Moertono, *State and Statecraft in Old Java* (Ithaca, 1968), p. 56. A reference in the Bone Chronicles in South Sulawesi to one of the early rulers of that kingdom being spirited away by a flame from heaven may represent the chronicler's attempt to associate rulers with the sacred flame. B.F. Matthes, *Boegineesche Chrestomathie*, p. 476 (in Bugis script).

⁷⁴John Alden Williams, ed., *Themes of Islamic Civilization* (Berkeley, 1971), p. 98. The principal ministers of the Malay kingdom of Melaka, the Bendaharas, proudly claimed descent from this illustrious Persian wazir. Milner, "Islam and Malay Kingship", p. 65, n. 63.

⁷⁵Darke, *Book of Government*, p. 192.

⁷⁶Reuben Levy, ed. and tr., *A Mirror of Princes, The Qābus Nāma, by Kaj Kā'ūs ibn Iskandar, Prince of Gurgan* (London, 1951), p. 196.

them.⁷⁷ “The real meaning of royal authority is that it is a form of organization necessary to mankind. It requires superiority and force.”⁷⁸

While a Bugis-Makassar ruler may have been personally receptive to the religious appeal of Islam, he would not have been unaware of the immense political and spiritual benefits he would reap by his and his people’s conversion. Islam provided a philosophical justification for the existence of kings and sanctioned their use of power as superior beings whose supreme status was only shared by prophets. In addition, Islam presented an alternative to the traditional *adat* as an organizing principle in the society. If by their conversion the people became receptive to these aspects of the new religion, it could only result in the weakening of the *adat* and the concomitant erosion of the authority of its guardians. The latter’s function as the final authority in the community would then be assumed by the newly-established Moslem Sultan, “the Shadow of God on Earth”, the apex of the new Islamic community.

Yet despite the convincing propaganda of the Moslem teachers, reinforced by tales of the deeds and riches of Moslem Sultans both “above and below the winds”, the ruler’s conversion did not eventuate. The reason may perhaps be found in the chronicles of Kutai, a kingdom located in east-coast Kalimantan (Borneo). According to these chronicles, attempts by Makassar rulers to adopt Islam prior to 1605 had to be abandoned because of strong opposition by the people.⁷⁹ This is the first real indication from any source of opposition by the people to Islam. It is likely that the leaders of the *gaukang* communities, these guardians of the *adat*, were as aware as the rulers that the introduction of Islam would mean the strengthening of the position of kingship at their expense. When a Gowa ruler finally did convert to Islam in 1605, the people did not follow his example.⁸⁰ According to the *Diary of the Kings of Gowa and Tallo*, it was only two years later that the people formally adopted the religion of their ruler.⁸¹ Attempts by the newly-converted ruler of Gowa to introduce Islam to the neighbouring kingdoms met with fierce opposition everywhere. When the ruler of Bone became Moslem, he was condemned and deposed by his own people who continued to oppose the forcible imposition of an alien religion at the hands of their traditional enemies.⁸² Only after three years of war did the major kingdoms in South Sulawesi finally submit to Gowa and Islam.⁸³

⁷⁷Quoted from the Persian *Book of the Crown*, a manual for court etiquette, written between A.D. 847 and 861 and cited in Williams, *Themes*, p. 81. Many of the Persian books of ethics and courtly literature were being translated into Arabic about this time; *Ibid.*, p. 78. Many Islamic scholars with only a knowledge of Arabic, as was mainly the case in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago, were therefore able to gain access to this rich Persian literature.

⁷⁸Quoting from the *Prolegomena* of Ibn Khaldun, cited in Williams, *Themes*, p. 95.

⁷⁹C.A. Mees, *Kroniek van Koetai* (Santpoort, 1935), pp. 54, 100, 240.

⁸⁰The first Moslem ruler in South Sulawesi was the Datu of Luwu’ who converted a year earlier than the ruler of Gowa, but little is known about the circumstances of this conversion. Matthes, *Boeginnesche Chrestomathie* 1:9, 529; J. Noorduy, *Een achttiende-eeuwse kroniek van Wadjo* (’s-Gravenhage, 1955), p. 93; A. Makarassu Amansjah, “Pengaruh pukulan gelombang kebudayaan Islam memajukan kebudayaan Bugis-Makassar”, *Bingkisan* Th. 11/1 (1 Sept. 1968): 55.

⁸¹A. Ligtvoet, “Transcriptie van het Dagboek der vorsten van Gowa en Tello”, *Bijdragen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde BKI* 28 (1880): 6, 86.

⁸²La Side Daeng Tapala, *Lontara’na Petta Malampee Gemme’na* [in Bugis script] (Ujung Pandang, 1971), 1: 11–15. B.F. Matthes, *Boeginnesche Chrestomathie*, pp. 491–92 (in Bugis script).

⁸³Noorduy, *Kroniek*, pp. 94–97.

IV

Much research remains to be done concerning the steps taken by various Bugis-Makassar rulers to consolidate the position of kingship through Islam. Similar developments in three other Moslem kingdoms in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago provide instructive examples of how this process may have occurred in South Sulawesi. In Aceh, Sulu, and Ternate, measures promulgated in the name of Islam were clearly intended to strengthen the position of the ruler *vis-à-vis* the *adat* chiefs. During the period of Aceh's great kings in the latter half of the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century, the position of *Kali Malikōy Adī* (Qadhi Malikul Adil), or "The Judge (who is) The Lord of Justice", was created. According to the Aceh chiefs in the late nineteenth century, the ruler who created this office intended that the *Kali* should apply both the *adat* as well as the *hukum* (i.e., the Islamic law). In this supreme hereditary judge was vested the authority over all the *Kali* and the chieftains (*panglima*) of the interior provinces.⁸⁴ With the principal *Kali* based in the capital and responsible to the ruler alone, the latter could hope to exercise much greater influence over the countryside than was ever possible before. Another invitation in this period contrary to *adat* practice was the presenting by the Sultan of the usufruct of *wakeueh* (Ar. *waqf*) lands to his favourites, though such property withdrawn in perpetuity by its owners should have been intended for a particular purpose permitted by Islamic law.⁸⁵ These measures appear to have been attempts by Aceh's rulers to strengthen their position at the expense of the *adat* heads by using the form and idiom of Islam.

In Sulu, too, there was an underlying tension between the *datu* or chieftain, who claimed rights based on the ancient customary law, and the Sultan, who supported his claims to authority by referring to an alleged contract agreed upon between the first Sultan and the people, as well as to his religious leadership of the Moslem community. The Sultan appointed every religious functionary in his kingdom, from the chief *Kali* to the most minor official in a village mosque. They, in turn, reinforced the influence of the Sultan and the new religion in even the most remote islands in the archipelago. The Sultan also maintained the Koranic schools, which dotted his realm and became protectors of Moslem law (*sharī'a*). It was clearly the Sultan's religious role that both distinguished him from the *datu* and provided him with a justification and the means for exercising greater authority in the kingdom. When the *datu* challenged the extent of the Sultan's jurisdiction in 1901, the Sultan replied:

1. The Sultan is the representative of Mohammad and absolute monarch over the countries belonging to the Sultanate. He is the head of the Mohammadan religion, and his just laws must be obeyed by all his subjects.
2. The Sultan is all-powerful within the limits of his territory; nobody has the right to oppose him because it is written by the Prophet that the Sultan is the Shadow of God within the countries of his Sultanate.⁸⁶

Since about the middle of the fifteenth century, Islam had provided the Sulu ruler with both the philosophical justification and the administrative network with which to seek to overcome his historically subordinate position to the *datu*. When openly challenged by the *datu* in the beginning of this century, the ruler could not rely upon customary law,

⁸⁴C. Snouck Hurgronje (tr. by A.W.S. O'Sullivan), *The Achehnese* (Leiden, 1906), I: 97-98.

⁸⁵Ibid., pp. 121-22.

⁸⁶P. van der Crab, *De Moluksche Eilanden* (Batavia, 1862), p. 293.

which clearly favoured the position of the *datu*, but continued to invoke the sanctions of Islam to justify his superior status in the society.

Though the *adat*-kingship struggle in Ternate is less well-documented than in Aceh and Sulu, there is a revealing statement from a nineteenth-century Dutch official, which indicates that the problem was no less important in that kingdom. According to this official, though the Ternate Sultans were bound by the institutions and customs of the land, they were able to use Islamic law to overrule certain practices and justify their status as lords and owners of the land and of those who worked it.⁸⁷

The seventeenth-century Bugis-Makassar rulers in South Sulawesi would have been as aware as their counterparts in Aceh, Sulu, and Ternate of the opportunities provided by Islam to strengthen their position and undermine that of the *adat* leaders.⁸⁸ The adoption of Islam by the rulers was not the beginning of an "*adat*-Islam" conflict but was only another stage in the contest between *adat* and kingship for supremacy. Armed with the new philosophical underpinning of a world-wide religion that glorified kingship, the Bugis-Makassar rulers were quick to use the legitimacy of Islam and its traditional administrative structure as a weapon to combat the influence of the respected and powerful leaders of the *gaukeng/gaukang* communities, whose authority was sanctioned by *adat*. The *Kali* became the principal religious adviser to the ruler and was the acknowledged head of religious officialdom throughout the kingdom. His task was "to instil the soul of Islam" in the land and to advise the administering of Islamic law (*shari'a*) within *adat* justice.⁸⁹ It would have been difficult and even dangerous to attack the *adat*, and so the ruler and his *Kali* proceeded slowly in introducing Islam to the people by incorporating the unknown laws of the new authority with the old. Below the *Kali* were the *imam* and the *khatib*, who were the principal officials in charge of the mosque and of the spiritual needs of the community that it served. They were the true pioneers of Islam who preached the tenets of Islam in the mosques and the prayer houses throughout the kingdom.⁹⁰ Assisting them were the guru, or teachers, who were responsible for teaching the Koran to the children.⁹¹

Everywhere in Moslem South Sulawesi these religious officials were referred to collectively as the *Sara'*, while the traditional leaders, the guardians of the customs and practices of the community, were identified as the *Ade'*. Although these two councils were conceived as complementary in their respective religious and secular concerns in the kingdom, it quickly became apparent that they in fact masked a traditional opposition between the ruler and the community heads. One of the Bugis chronicles from Wajo'

⁸⁷An interesting contrast may be seen in Java where the introduction of Islam marked no radical departure in the traditional Javanese idea of the role and significance of the ruler. Although the rulers did not forego the opportunity of strengthening their prestige by assuming Islamic titles and bringing Islamic officials into their service, there was little change in their position. See Benedict R. O'G. Anderson, "The Idea of Power in Javanese Culture", in *Culture and Politics in Indonesia*, ed. Clare Holt (Ithaca, 1972), pp. 58–59. The striking difference in receptivity of Islam by the rulers of Aceh, Ternate, Sulu, Magindanao, and South Sulawesi and by those in Java may be explained by the already strong position of the latter rulers within their society at the time of the introduction of Islam. Islam preached a kind of kingship that was already in practice in Java. Nevertheless, the rulers of Java were not unaware of the added advantages of having Islam as another source for the enhancement of their status.

⁸⁸Majul, *Muslims*, p. 327.

⁸⁹A. Makarasu Amansjah, "Pengaruh Islam dalam Adat Istiadat 'Bugis-Makassar", *Bingkisan* 11/5 (1 Jan. 1969): 40.

⁹⁰Ibid., p. 38.

⁹¹J.A. Bakkers, "Het leenvorstendom Boni", *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (TGB) 15 (1866): 99.

describes the coming of the Dato' Bandang, the '*ulamā*' credited with the Islamization of Gowa, with his explicit instructions to reform the *Sara*'. He proposed that all *Sara*' members be of noble blood and all *khatib* members be of the chief ruling houses (*Ranreng*) of Wajo' "so that they would not suffer evil consequences should they oppose the ruler". All of the religious posts in the *Sara*' were therefore allotted to members of the leading royal and noble families of Wajo'.⁹²

Not only in Wajo', but throughout South Sulawesi, marriages between families of the royal houses and the principal religious officials, most particularly those who had genealogies linking them to the Prophet Mohammad, further reinforced the ties between kingship and Islam.⁹³ The *Sara*', therefore, came to represent the merger of royal and religious interests, and it quickly became a truism that to serve the ruler was to serve Islam, and vice-versa. In South Sulawesi it was not unusual to find the *Kali* (or *Kadi*), head of the *Sara*', assuming the secular tasks of government in the absence or indisposition of the ruler.⁹⁴

As "God's shadow on Earth", the ruler, now a Moslem Sultan, stood at the apex of this Islamic administrative structure, which extended from the palace to the smallest hamlet in the land. He fulfilled his new role as defender of the faith and patron to the Islamic schools, undoubtedly with the good advice of his *Kali*. In return, all Islamic officials instilled within the populace the belief in the Moslem Sultan as a superior being. The spread of Islam through the countryside, therefore, meant a strengthening of the Sultan's position *vis-à-vis* the *adat* leaders. For the newly-converted, Islam provided an alternative basis of conduct to *adat*. Through increased personal contact between the religious officials and the families through services in the mosque, meetings in the prayer houses, and the teaching of the Koran to the children, new relations and sets of obligations were forged between the religious leaders and the people, which were similar to those established between the people and their *adat* leaders. It was to this sense of obligation that the religious official could and did appeal in the defence of Islam. The overwhelming response of villagers to a call for *jihād*, or Holy War, was often not an expression of their profound or fanatical belief in Islam, but of their attachment and feeling of obligation to their religious teachers. By relying upon this new force with its own network of power, the ruler could confidently challenge the authority of the *adat* leaders of the *gaukeng/gaukang* communities.

Sultan Alauddin (1593–1639), the first Moslem ruler of Gowa, became the very embodiment of the Islamic view on kingship. Under the banner of Islam he conquered most of Sulawesi and many of the surrounding islands, bringing in his wake the entire array of Islamic officialdom to consolidate by word what had been begun by sword. The establishment of this religious network was crucial in asserting the Sultan's authority over *adat* leaders in the countryside. The momentum created by this dynamic ruler of Gowa encouraged other seventeenth-century rulers to assume positions of great power within their kingdoms with the help of Islam. Sultan Hasanuddin of Gowa (1653–69) is described by a contemporary Malay-Makassar poet in a manner which suggests that he may have been an important figure in a Sufi Order.⁹⁵ The commander of the Dutch

⁹²Noorduyn, *Kroniek*, p. 102.

⁹³An examination of this process in South Sulawesi is found in A. Makarauwu Amansjah, "Mazhab Sji'ah di Tjikowang", 11, *Bingkisan* III/1–2 (Sept.–Oct. 1969): 27–28.

⁹⁴Noorduyn, *Kroniek*, p. 104. See also L. Y. Andaya, *The Heritage of Arung Palakka: A History of South Sulawesi (Celebes) in the Seventeenth Century* (The Hague, 1981), pp. 41–42.

⁹⁵Skinner, *Sja'ir Perang Mengkasar*, pp. 110–13, 253–54.

forces in the war believed that Sultan Hasanuddin was a religious man because he was always surrounded by *alim 'ulamā'*.⁹⁶ Arung Palakka La Tenritatta, Sultan of Bone (1672–96), was also eulogized by his court poets, as we have noted previously, as “the Heroic Ruler of the Sufi”. His success in defying the traditional *adat* leaders stemmed from his alliance with Islam⁹⁷ and a firm basis of power outside the *adat*.⁹⁸

But the initial enthusiasm and success of the seventeenth-century Moslem rulers were insufficient to sustain the momentum of Islam in a basically hostile environment. The Islamic administrative bureaucracy ultimately failed to replace the authority of the traditional autochthonous structure based on the *adat* in the countryside and hence irremediably weakened any hope of superimposing a truly Moslem Sultanate in the society. Administrative innovations based on an alien model were feasible in the environs of a court or a port city where there was an admixture of groups most of whom were foreign to the area. In this situation there was no conflict of interests between the authority of the court and that of the countryside, and the success of such innovations was dependent upon the influence of the individual ruler. The rulers of the Makassar kingdom of Gowa and the Bugis kingdom of Bone were more fortunate than their inland counterparts. They could rely upon their port cities for revenue and support from both the foreign Moslem trading community, as well as from their own people who had left their traditional villages and become enveloped in the new economic systems of the port city. Nevertheless, the overwhelming majority of the people lived in the countryside and were inculcated with the belief in the importance of maintaining the “immutable” *adat*. Although the *adat* was constantly undergoing change and was even then slowly absorbing and redefining Moslem elements in the same way that it had done with any and all new ideas that filtered into the countryside, the belief in an “unchanging” *adat*, which had assured the survival of the community through time, was comforting to a conservative village society. Until the official abolition of kingship in South Sulawesi in 1952, individual rulers at various times and with varying degrees of success attempted to assert their dominance within the kingdom by aligning themselves strongly with the forces of Islam and by resurrecting their roles as true Moslem Sultans. Yet in the end they were never able to replace the *adat* as the focus of loyalty for the people.

The popular legend among the Bugis-Makassar people about the confrontation between *'ulamā'* and local soothsayers well captures the attitude of the society toward Islam and toward local customs and beliefs, known collectively as the *adat*. In a nineteenth-century version of this tale, a ruler of Gowa summons the principal leaders of the land to witness a contest of spiritual powers between the most important Moslem religious teachers and the two most famous traditional soothsayers (*boto*).⁹⁹ One of the Moslem *'ulamā'* displays his power by climbing a banana tree and sitting on the very tip of a leaf while saying his prayers. In response, one of the *boto* recites his prayer sitting upside down at the tip of the same banana leaf. The second *'ulamā'* then demonstrates his

⁹⁶La Sidē, “Bagaimanakah watak Sultan Hasanuddin”, *Bingkisan* Th. II/1 (1 Sept. 1968): 15.

⁹⁷Contemporary archival records of the Dutch East India Company confirm this ruler's fervent belief in Islam and the support he received from Islamic Leaders. As has been mentioned above, a court document written either during or immediately after Arung Palakka's reign refers to him as “The Heroic Ruler of the Sufi”. See footnote 68.

⁹⁸Andaya, “Nature of Kingship”, p. 124.

⁹⁹Such contests to match spiritual prowess were apparently common among Sufis. But unlike the outcome recorded in the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* from north Sumatra where a Moslem Sultan displays his spiritual superiority over an Indian yogi (see Milner, “Islam and Malay Kingship”, p. 54), the outcome between the forces of Islam and *adat* is reversed in South Sulawesi.

spiritual prowess by piling up several thousand eggs without breaking a single one. But a *boto* again proves his superiority by taking out whole rows of eggs from various parts of the pile without dropping a single one. Various other tests prove decisively the superior spiritual powers of the *boto* to those of the '*ulamā*'.¹⁰⁰ The popularity of this particular legend among the Bugis and Makassar people reflects their continuing belief in the superiority of their traditional institutions despite the spread of Islam and the presence of external symbols of religion throughout the land. Indeed, it is the people's unswerving faith in the *adat* which assured it and its guardians a respected position in society long after the challenge of the Moslem rulers of *To/Tumanurung* descent had passed.

¹⁰⁰Matthes, "Legenden", pp. 453–54.