

The Emergence of Early Kingdoms in South Sulawesi

—A Preliminary Remark on Governmental Contracts from the
Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Century—

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I Introduction

Pactum subjectionis or governmental contract is a covenant or compact between the ruler and the ruled envisaging their mutual rights and responsibilities [Abidin 1971: 159; Harvey 1974: 18; Riekerk quoting Catlin 1969: 12]. Among the early states discussed by various scholars, e.g., Claesen and Skalnik [1978], Geertz [1979], Selo Soemardjan [1978], Coedes [1967], Hall and Whitmore [Aeusrivongse 1979], Reid and Castles [Macknight 1975], none subscribed to the practice of governmental contracts, except Bone in South Sulawesi. Despite its uniqueness, to my knowledge, nothing has been written on the *pactum subjectionis* of early kingdoms in South Sulawesi, nor has any research been undertaken on this subject. This paper discusses the formation of main kingdoms in South Sulawesi and especially the governmental contracts in the so-called *Cappagalae* (the big three—Luwu', Bone and Gowa); two members of *Tellumpoccoe* (the three allied kingdoms in 1582), that is, Wajo' and Soppeng; and a petty kingdom already known

in the I La Galigo Epic Cycle, Cina, later called Pammana. Examples of such governmental contracts are found at the beginning sections of historical chronicles (*Lontara' attoriolong*).¹⁾ Usually the very first parts of the chronicles contain a political myth which explains the origin of a dynasty as founded by a king or queen descending from heaven. Thus prior to the emergence of kingdoms in South Sulawesi, the first king called *To Manurung*

1) According to Andi' Makkarakka, the earliest chronicles were composed in Luwu' before writings were known in other regions, and were called *sure' attoriolong* (document of ancient people) and the *Sure' Galigo*, I La Galigo Epic Cycle. At first the Luwu' people used leaves of the *Aka'* (*Corypha Gebanga*). Subsequently writings appeared in other areas, notably Gowa and Tallo'. The Gowa people used leaves of the *tala'* tree (*Borassus flabelliformis* L.). These data from the reign of the ninth king of Gowa, titled Daeng Matanre Karaeng Mangu-tungi, who was known later as *Tumapa'risi' kallonna* (lit. the man with the lame neck); he reigned from about 1512 to 1548 [Noorduyn 1965: 151]. After the people of South Sulawesi came in contact with the Portuguese in 1538, they for the first time became acquainted with paper and began to keep diaries. The habit of keeping diaries seems to have been confined to South Sulawesi or to those people who were exposed to cultural influences of South Sulawesi. In neither Javanese nor Malay culture do we ever hear of this kind of literature [*ibid.*: 14].

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(lit. he who came from the sky) had to make a contract with the representatives of the people called *Ulu Anang* or *Matoa* (Bugis) or *Kasuwiang* (Makassar).

The tale is told in a matter-of-fact way and purely from the human side [Noorduyn 1965: 138]. The description runs roughly as follows: "People in the olden times called him (the first king) *To Manurung* because no one knew his name, and no one knew where he came from or how he died" or "because no one knew his father or mother."

The story of the *To Manurung* and the governmental contracts in the *Lontara'* seems to be connected with the I La Galigo Epic Cycle. For example the chronicles of Bone, Soppeng and Pammana all begin with a passage such as the following: "After the kings mentioned in the I La Galigo had been completely swallowed up upon attending a great reunion in Luwu', for seven *pariamang* (lit. cycle of eight years or seven generations or a longer period) there were no kings; there was no *ade'* (customary law); there was no focus of unity; and they swallowed one another like fish; the strong were successful; the weak were trampled on; ...hunger was everywhere...." The *Lontara's* of Gowa do not include such statements but begin with the following passage: "Before the *To Manurung* reigned, there were four kings. The first king was Batara Guru." The I La Galigo Epic Cycle also recognizes La Toge'langi' titled Batara Guru as the first king of Luwu'.

The I La Galigo Epic Cycle is one of the most remarkable literary works in Indo-

nesia. Certainly, this work must rank among the longest pieces of literature in the world—European scholars alone assembled about 6,000 folio pages of it [Kern 1954; Matthes 1864 and 1872, Vol. II: 416–537, Notes 250–253]. As R. A. Kern has pointed out, it is most remarkable that the pre-Islamic Bugis people, who were still very small in number, produced one of the world's most extensive bodies of literature and considered it the source of the pre-history of the Bugis people [Kern 1954: v]. Since the I La Galigo itself forms a source for the later belief that the first kings of South Sulawesi were descendants from the kings of the I La Galigo 'period,' the investigation on the I La Galigo is necessary. The mythological elements may provide clues to the early history of South Sulawesi and insight into ideas of its society and governance [Harvey 1974: 17].

The *To Manurung* stories are political myths *par excellence*, and prevailed not only among primitive tribes but throughout the civilizations of the ancient world, and even in recent times. *Maharajahs* were incarnations of the God Krishna. The Egyptian kings were the sons of Ra. The Tibetan Grand Lamas were—and perhaps still are—reborn Buddhas. These myths, arising from and playing upon man's social nature, bring to government a ratification without which no prince or parliament, no tyrant or dictator could ever rule a people [MacIver 1954: 17].

One element of the *To Manurung* political myths can be proved to have actually existed, that is, the formula of the governmental contracts. These contracts are written at

the very beginning of the *Lontara's* and they still had to be read out when kings were installed during the Dutch period. For example, some kings, who died not long ago, had to make a contract with those 'representatives' of the people who were approved by the Dutch colonial government. Among them were Andi' Jemmabarue, *Datu Luwu'* (before World War II); Andi' Mappanyukki', *Arumpone* (March 17, 1931); and Andi' Wana Sultan Salahuddin, *Datu Soppeng* (January 9, 1941); Andi' Mangkona', *Arung Matoa Wajo'* (1933) and Andi' Ijo Karaeng Lalolang, *Somba of Gowa* (1936). The formula of the contracts of the first kings stipulated in the *Lontara's* were read by the 'representatives' of the people at the inauguration of the last kings of South Sulawesi during the Dutch period.²⁾ Of course the *matoas* (elders and the traditional chiefs) were replaced by one of the members of the central *adat* council or by the first 'minister,' since the Dutch had abolished the institution of *matoas*.

The Dutch colonial government was unaware of the checks and balances and moderating influence of the *adat* council and of *matoas* and *kasuiangs* within the

2) Interviews with people who attended the ceremony of the installation of the last kings; interviews with Andi' Mangkona', Haji Andi' Wana, and Andi' Ijo; photographs of the installation of I Mangimangi Daeng Matutu Karaeng Bontonombo' in 1936 which are attached in the *Lontara'* of several kingdoms of South Sulawesi owned by Haji Andi' Sumange'rukka, ex *Datu Pattojo*, Soppeng; and the text translated into Malay and read by *Matoa Bila* (Soppeng) during the inauguration of Haji Andi' Wana as the last *Datu* (king) Soppeng on January 9, 1941—the text is to be found at the *Kantor Kebudayaan Daerah Tingkat II Soppeng*.

South Sulawesi systems. Partly because an autocratic state was easier to control, the Dutch strengthened the power of the kings and queens and gave them more power over their chiefs and people, widening the gap between the rulers and the ruled and so indirectly encouraging arrogance and insensitivity of the former [Sutherland 1980: 239].

II Sources and Scopes of This Paper

We are aware that the history of the emergence of kingdoms belongs to the *terra incognita* and the darkest era of the history of South Sulawesi. Generally speaking, the foundation of kingdoms began somewhere in the dawn of history and it begins anew in the life of each person [Isjwara 1964: 131–132 quoting de Garzia] or in the words of Sophocles in his *Antigone* "not of today nor yesterday, the same. Throughout all the time they live; and where they come, none knoweth."

Since the external documentary sources for South Sulawesi are disappointingly few (cf. Pelras [1981]), we have to rely on the I La Galigo Epic Cycle, the *Lontara's*, the *bestuursmemorie* of the Dutch civil servants, the royal genealogies, interviews and oral traditions.

There is very little information on Luwu', Bantaeng and Makassar in Nagarakertagama in the fourteenth century. It is perhaps worth noting that the identification of Luwu' is not quite certain. The Malay Annals record an attack made about a century later on Malacca by 'Keraing Semerluki' (Karaeng Sumanga'rukka of

Tallo'?) from Makassar [Macknight 1975: 131]. The *Lontara'* of Tallo' also records an attack on Malacca and Pasai by the fleet of Sumanga'rukka, the second king of Tallo' [Abd. Razak Daeng Patunru 1969: 10].

The Chinese sources, which have much to contribute to the history of lands around the South China Sea, are much less helpful on further islands in the archipelago. Some of the unidentified names in geographical works, such as the thirteenth-century *Chu-Fan-Chi*, may well refer to a place in Sulawesi, but even if secure identifications could be made, the descriptions of the places are not extensive [Macknight 1975: 132]. If the Chinese did not bring the abundant porcelain to South Sulawesi, then we may assume that the Bugis-Makassar people had brought it, since they have long been renowned—or should I say notorious—for their adventurous and roving spirit since 900 A. C. [de Greeve 1907; Emanuel 1948], which, from the late seventeenth century, took them to all corners of the Malay world and beyond as traders and as conquerors of numerous petty states [Lineton 1975: 173].³⁾

The Portuguese material in the sixteenth century is more helpful. A full and careful review of it may reveal more than has been hitherto known. Two points of Portuguese contact in 1543 were Suppa' near the modern Pare-Pare and Siang, the modern Pangkajene-Kepulauan area [Pelras 1973:

210–211]. Fortunately some Portuguese accounts, *inter alia* the Christianization of the kings of Suppa', Alitta, Bacukiki' and Siang, are to be found in the *Lontara' Sukku'na Wajo'* (LSW). Similarly even the rather garbled account of Sulawesi and its trade with Malacca, Java, Brunei, Siam, Pahang and Cambodia given by Tome Pires a little earlier is valuable evidence as far as it goes [Macknight 1975: 42–44]. Tome Pires asserted that there were more than fifty *rajahs* in Sulawesi, which was abundant in food, and that the inhabitants of Makassar (South Sulawesi) were the greatest pirates in the world and were much respected. M. Godinho de Eredia, a half-caste Portuguese, whose mother was a Bugis noblewoman of Suppa', gives us information that Siang is older than Gowa, and was founded by Godinaro (Karaeng Kodin-gareng?) in 1112 during the reign of Dom Alfonso, the first king of Portugal and Pope Pascal II [Pelras 1973, unpublished lecture]. Haji Kulle, who has read the *Lontara' Siang*, told us that the first ruler of Siang called Karaeng Kodin-gareng was a daughter of a king of Luwu', even though he was not able to disclose the governance of Siang, except that the queen was assisted by a council of tribal chiefs.

Some other materials, such as the *Latoa* (lit. the old—a collection of *adat* sayings and stories) and the *Lontara' ade'* or the *Rapangs* (Mak.) (e.g., the legal digests) are better viewed as a possible basis for retrospective rationalization. These materials perceive kingship in a much less sacred and symbolic way than the *To Manurung* stories; it is fundamentally concerned with

3) Local historians in Gorontalo in North Sulawesi once estimated that the famous wanderer Sawerigading lived around 900 or 950 A. C. [Nur 1979].

the proper functioning of the society within which the ruler is but a single element, albeit an important one, of the whole society [Andaya 1975: 115]. Because of the limitation of space, we would not go further into explaining this second type of sources. They were already discussed by Niemann [1884], Mattulada [1975] and recently by Andaya [1975].

We could neither discuss the *Weltanschauung* of the Bugis-Makassar people called *siri'* in detail since it needs to be written in a separate paper. This subject was discussed by Chabot [1950], Errington [1977] and at the seminar on *siri'* problems in Ujung Pandang (July 11–13, 1977).

Siri', the way of life of the people in South Sulawesi, functions to preserve, maintain, defend and advance their dignity. In short, *siri'* is human dignity. It was also believed that the *To Manurungs*, who were accredited with magical powers, had the purest white blood and, according to a popular belief, the purer white blood they had, the more *siri'* they had. The more *siri'* they had, the more just and wiser kings they were considered. A king who did not rule in accord with the governmental contract was considered not to have a perfect *siri'*. His origin in heaven may have been doubted or it may have been suspected that he must have slave blood in his veins. Anybody who has no *siri'* is regarded not as a man, but as an animal [*ibid.*: 42–45]. The *siri'* of a king was also regarded as identical with that of his family or his close relatives, and even of his ancestors. In the *Latoa*, the ruler is, again, envisaged as an instrument for the promotion of the welfare

of the people. He is advised to mix with his people so that he can learn about their work. For example, some of the sayings in the legal digest of Bone are:

“The people can offer devotion to a ruler if the ruler is of good character and just. A wicked king will have a short life and receive the anger of God. A ruler can be deposed if he does not maintain the welfare of Bone and of his family” [Andaya 1975: 120].

III Working Hypotheses

Working hypotheses for further research into South Sulawesi kingship are as follows:

1. The *To Manurung* stories of South Sulawesi are not merely legends, but they are political myths which were the basis for the king's divine right to rule and a justification for the privileged position of the aristocracy.
2. The governmental contracts, contained in the myths of the origin of the kingdoms in South Sulawesi, delineate the rights and responsibilities of the rulers and the ruled; they indicate that the kings' power was not absolute.
3. The transfer of authority from the *Ulu Anangs*, *Matoas*, or *Kasuiangs* (all of them) to the higher and centralized authority of the first kings was not the result of conquest, war, physical force or coercion.
4. The transformation of authority from the *Matoa* community by the *Matoas* and *Kasuiangs* into a centralized kingdom is to be regarded not only as a historical or sociological fact, but also as a legal fact which created the kingdom.
5. Even though a few of the early kings

of South Sulawesi were given Hindu God's titles, as is exemplified by Batara Guru, Batara, and Dewaraja or a more Bugisnized *Arung Mata Esso* (Sun King), the kingdoms in South Sulawesi were not fully Indianized.

IV To Manurung without a Governmental Contract in South Sulawesi

IV. 1. The Toraja's and Duri's To Manurungs

According to an oral tradition of the Toraja and Duri peoples, the first *To Manurung* in Sulawesi is Datu Laukku' Puang Mula Tau (lit. the first man), who descended from the sky in Rura, a place in modern Enrekang. After reigning for a long time he was ordered by the *Puang Matoa*, i.e., the One Almighty God, to return to his former place, because he had evaded the laws given by *Puang Matoa*. With no ruler and no laws (*aluk*) to regulate the community, anarchy persisted and Rura people swallowed one another like fish. The *Puang Matoa*, then, sent *Puang Tamboro' Langi'*, who appeared in a 'hanging palace' in Kandora' located at Mt. Bambapuang. He was called *Oostersche of Westersche Marcopollo* by the Dutch *Controleur* Lanting [Puang Paliwang Tandilangi' 1967: 23-32; 1968: 29-44]. Little is known of the governance of the two *To Manurungs*.

Tamboro' Langi' is believed to have been an ancestor of kings in South Sulawesi, especially Gowa, Leponna Bulan or Tallu Lembanna (Toraja) and Luwu' [Puang Paliwang Tandilangi' 1970: 41-45]. One

of his descendants, Lakipadada married Batara Lolo, a daughter of the first king of Gowa and she gave birth to Pattala Merang (Karaeng Bayo', according to the *Lontara'* of Gowa); Pattala Bunga, who became *Pajung* (lit. Umbrella) Luwu'; and Pattala Bantang, who was King of the Tallu Lembanna, Makale, Sangalla' and Mengkendek.

A Toraja-Duri oral tradition describes the *To Manurung* as 'divine king,' or 'representative of *Puang Matoa*' in South Sulawesi. He was not 'God King' or 'Incarnation of a God' like the Hindu kings (cf. Heine-Geldern [1956: 2-3, 8-9]). Neither was he an Indianized king (cf. Coedes [1967: 37-168]) nor a kind of corporeal god (cf. Geertz [1979: 105]). The *To Manurungs* should more appropriately be called 'angels.' The Bugis people sometimes referred to their king as '*Puang Mallinota*,' our visible Lord, and regarded him as a 'vicegerent of God' or 'anointed Lord' like the kings in the European Middle Ages, even though he was chosen by the *Adat* Council.

Perhaps the *To Manurung* may be compared to kings in Hinayana Buddhism, which does not recognize an eternal deity; Indra is but the king of one of the lowest heavens, the second from the earth. He is no more exempt from death and rebirth than human beings, except that his life lasts longer [Heine-Geldern 1956: 8]. Presumably, a difference between South Sulawesi's religion and the Hinayanist belief is, that the former recognized only one God: *Puang Matoa* (Toraja), *Dewata Seuae* or *Dewata Sisine'* (lit. the One God).

IV. 2. *The To Manurung according to the I La Galigo Epic Cycle*

The cycle begins with the creation of *alekawa* (lit. earth). The king of Botillangi' (top of heaven?), La Patiganna Aji' Sangkuruwira, also titled 'Patoto'e' (lit. the fate disposer), called a conference of families from various kingdoms, including To'dang Toja and Samuda (lit. undersea and sea), Ute Empong (lit. the center of the sea), and Senrijawa, a kingdom described as being located in the West (Syriwijaya or North Sulawesi?) [Pelras 1981: 160]. The meeting of kings decided that the first king of the 'empty world' should be La Toge'langi', titled Batara Guru, the eldest son of La Patiganna. He was also given the title of '*madeppa'e ri lappa tellang*' (he who spring from a golden bamboo). It was also decided that La Toge'langi' had to marry his niece We Nyili'timo', who was the eldest daughter of La Mattimang Guru ri Selleng Opu Samuda, the king of To'dang Toja (the Underworld), and the king's consort Sinauttoja, a sister of La Patiganna. It was also agreed that We Padauleng, the eldest daughter of La Balaunynyi', the king of Ute Empong, should be the consort of La Urempepsi, the eldest son of La O'danriu' Sangkamalewa Batara Tikka', a candidate for the king of Ruang'kutu' or Tompo'tikka' (modern Luwuk-Banggai in Central Sulawesi).

La Toge'langi' descended in Ussu', Luwu', and was obliged to undergo an initiation ceremony for nine days and nine nights without eating and drinking. Soon after that, followers and folk were sent to

him from 'heaven.' He was succeeded by his eldest son La Tiuleng Batara Lattu', who was also titled *To Manurung*, and married We Datu Sengngeng, a daughter of La Urempepsi, the king of Tompo'tikka'. He was not succeeded by his son, the famous wanderer La Ma'dukelling titled Sawerigading (lit. born from a yellow bamboo), the crown prince of Ware', since this hero had sworn never to see Luwu' again and had been content to wander.

La Tenritatta', a grandson of Sawerigading, was the last in that epoch to be *Pajung* of Luwu'.

The twin sister of Sawerigading, We Tenriabeng, who was thought by Sawerigading to be unrelated, was said to be the consort of Remmang ri Langi who became the king of 'heaven,' but according to an oral tradition in Southeast Sulawesi he was the first king of Southeast Sulawesi.

Early in this paper we presented the story of the 'disappearance' of mythical kings and their relatives. We also mentioned that there was chaos in South Sulawesi for seven *pariamangs*. This story was called '*rigi-linna Senapatie*,' which presumably means "the turnover of the kings" or "the substitution of the power of the I La Galigo kings"; they were depicted as powerful kings, while the kings in the *Lontara's* were described as 'constitutional kings,' which means that their authority was based on governmental contracts.

V Examples of Governmental Contracts

V.1. Luwu' during the Lontara' Period

We do not know exactly when the first *To Manurung* concluded a covenant with the Luwu' people, since none of the *Lontara's* concerning Luwu', which are preserved in Leiden and Ujung Pandang, mention the existence of a governmental contract. Neither do they mention the lengths of the reigns of kings before 1603 when Islam was embraced by *Datu* Luwu' La Patiware' Daeng Pare'bung. No one in South Sulawesi denies the importance of Luwu'. According to a popular belief and genealogies of the kings and the nobility in South Sulawesi, Luwu' was founded before the formation of Bugis, Makassar and Mandar kingdoms. Several *Lontara'* readers estimated that Luwu' was founded in the thirteenth century, while two Assistant Commissioners of Bone, de Greeve [1907] and Emanuel [1948] estimated, without giving any evidence, that Luwu' was founded about the twelfth century. According to Couvreur, the Governor of Celebes (1929), Luwu' was the most powerful kingdom in Sulawesi from the tenth to the fourteenth century. This opinion is supported by the highest respect that the nobility in Luwu' traditionally enjoyed. Even petty principalities like Selayar, Siang, Lamatti' and Bulu-Bulu claimed that their first kings had come from Luwu' [*Lontara'* kept by Pali-hang in Sinjai; van den Brink 1945: 181, 242-267].

Since the *Lontara's* Luwu' do not mention

the dates and the lengths of the kings' reigns, we have to consult *Lontara's* of Wajo' and Bone, and the diaries of Gowa and Tallo' (*Lontara' Bilang* of Gowa). For example, LSW provides us with data concerning the eleventh king of Luwu', To Sangereng, titled Dewaraja Datu Kelali' (lit. the king with a cockscomb). While living in Cenrana (a place in Bone), he made a treaty with the second *Arung Matoa* Wajo', La O'bi' Settiriware'. By using Noorduyn's method [1965: 145-146] (i.e., counting backward chronologically starting from the time when Islam was adopted in Wajo' in 1609), we are able to determine the reigns of Settiriware' and the first *Arung Matoa*. Thus, the reign of Settiriware' is assigned to about 1482 to 1487. To Sangereng Dewaraja concluded a second treaty of friendship with the fourth *Arung Matoa* Wajo', La Tadampare' Puang ri Ma'galatung (1491-1521) to attack Sidenreng. This treaty is called *Singkeru' Patolae* ri Topacce'do', the treaty of Topacce'do'. After Sidenreng was defeated by Luwu' and Wajo', the *Datu* Luwu' attacked Bone, but was defeated and had to conclude a treaty with La Tenrisukki', the fifth king of Bone. During the last phase of the reign of *Arung Matoa* Wajo' La Tadampare', Wage, Tampangeng, Singkang (modern Sengkang) and Tempe and all vassals of Luwu' were annexed by Wajo'. According to LSW, those vassals of Luwu' were given as a wedding present by the Second *Datu* Luwu', Anakaji to his consort We Tappacina, a daughter of the king of Mancapai' (Majapahit?). We estimate that Anakaji ruled at the end of the thir-

teenth century. According to a *Lontara'* Luwu' kept by Andi' Sumange'rukka, *Datu* Pattojo in Soppeng, *Lontara'* Cod Or 5449 and NB 208 of the University of Leiden and a genealogy of Andi' Paramata in Sengkang, his father was Simpursiang, the first *To Manurung* during the *Lontara'* period. Some *Lontara's* depict him as the youngest son of Sawerigading.

Van Braam Morris, Governor of Celebes [1889: 499–546] provided us with some information concerning Luwu' at the end of the nineteenth century. Described below is the ceremony of the installation of We Tenriawaru, the twenty-fifth *Datu* Luwu', who married La Mappapoleonro, the King of Soppeng [*loc. cit.*]. This ceremony seems to have been connected with the *To Manurung* myth.

In order to obtain the title *Pajung* (lit. umbrella, i.e., protector) the king or queen of Luwu' had to be installed. If not, he or she was only titled *Datu* Luwu'. Before the inauguration, a red umbrella had to be made by using whalebone from Lelewau in North Mengkoka' (modern *Kabupaten* Kolaka in Southeast Sulawesi); the red material which was more valuable than silk and satin had to be brought from Weula, which was located on the top of the mountain range of Ussu' (where the first *To Manurung* descended from the sky); the handle had to be made in Baebunta only by a descendant of Pancai', perhaps a tribal chief, living in Pao, east of Palopo. The candidate king or queen titled *Opu* Cenning (lit. the Sweet Lord/Lady) had to undertake a kind of initiation ceremony for seven days and seven nights: he/she was not

allowed to wear any clothes except a loin-cloth; he/she was not permitted to leave his/her bed and must use only a coconut as a pillow. During the initiation ceremony, the *Latoa* book, consisting of *adat* sayings, government ethics and etiquette, had to be read to him/her. This ceremony aimed at guarding the candidate from bad spirits. In my opinion, the interpretation of van Braam Morris is not correct. According to Haji Andi' Pangerang Opu To Sinalele, a retired *Opu Pa'bicara*, the early kings had to be put in a *langkea*, a small house built of bamboo with tall piles and no roof; and be given only a little food and water so that he might experience the sorrow and suffering of his poor people (interview in 1975).

If the candidate passed the test, a chair of state made in Wotu (one of the secret places in Luwu') appeared in front of the palace door. The candidate accompanied by the *Opu Patunru'* (the first minister) at his right side and by the *Opu Pa'bicara* (the second minister) at his left side was led to the *panca* (chair of state) and was carried to a large house called *tana bangkala'* (lit. inauguration ground). Formerly the *tana bangkala'* had been an open square ground with a square stone at the center, like the *tana bangkala'* in Watampone, Pammana, Soppeng, Gowa and Wolio (Buton).

The candidate and the *Opu Patunru'*, who was 'representing' the Luwu' people, stood opposite each other and both put their right foot on the square stone while holding their sword's hilt with their right hand. The *Opu Patuntu'* then held the left thumb of the candidate with his left thumb. This

deed symbolized the conclusion of a contract between the candidate ruler and the representative of the people. According to Opu To Sinalale, formerly, the *Anreguru Anakarung* (chief of the nobility) read out the governmental contract concluded between the *To Manurung* and his people. The formula of the covenant, not mentioned by van Braam Morris, reads:

Oh my Lord (Lady), please listen. My Lord (Lady) does not possess a torchlight, neither do the ruled people (meaning that without a previous warning from the people, the Lord (Lady) is supposed to take steps which will lead to the prosperity of the people). My Lord (Lady) and the people are not allowed to form a clique. My Lord (Lady) should listen to complaints of the people. Those who are in trouble with the law should be given an opportunity to explain their grievances. My Lord (Lady) is not allowed to impose his will upon the people since it does not conform to the customary laws (*adat*). My Lord (Lady) should not commit anything injurious to the people, while the people should not stop the flow of legal revenue to the King (Queen) (interview).

The I La Galigo kings are depicted as absolute rulers who could not be challenged, and according to Opu To Sinalale, the contents of the contract during the I La Galigo 'period' read:

If my Lord (Lady) were the wind, then we would be leaves. We will go wherever the wind blows us to. We are at your mercy. Even when husbands in the territory you have conquered live in

peace and in harmony with their wives, they can be separated from them by force if you desire them to (interview; perhaps this formula is based on an oral tradition, since we were not able to find it in the I La Galigo Epic Cycle).⁴⁾

We continue the description of the installation of We Tenriawaru. While the *Opu Patunru'* and the candidate were performing the symbolic ritual, Pancai' holding the red umbrella below the *tana bangkala'* shouted that she would like to say something. When the crowd calmed down, Pancai' invited the Luwu' people to buy her umbrella for sheltering their *Pajung*, queen. The *Opu Pa'bicara* came to face Pancai'. Both of them held the handle of the umbrella with their left hand, while their right hand grasped firmly their sword hilt. The *Opu Pa'bicara* asked Pancai' to hand over her umbrella, but Pancai' said: "You may not obtain it, unless you pay the price: four beautiful virgins and four strong and shapely buffalo guardians. If you try to obtain it by force, we will fight for it." The *Opu* replied: "I will purchase it for that price, Pancai', to keep it over my queen's head." When the purchase was agreed upon, the *Opu Pa'bicara* handed the umbrella to the *Opu Patunru'*. The latter opened it and posed it so that the head of the queen might be overshadowed. From

4) As a matter of fact, I would like to stress that taking one's wife or daughter is a humiliating act to the Bugis-Makassar people and crushed their *siri'*. In such a case Bugis-Makassar people will die based on *adat* saying: "*Siri'-kumi kupopuang*" (meaning that "you are my Lord so long as you respect my *siri'*"; if you ravage it, then I do not respect your life.").

that moment she was no longer called *Datu* but *Pajung* Luwu', the umbrella of Luwu'. After the ministers, not only the nine members of the *Pangadereng Macoe* (Prime Council), but the chiefs and officials of the regions and the vassals stated their loyalty to the queen by holding out their *keris* or swords while shouting: *U Sompai'*, *Puang* (We honor you, my Lady (Lord)). The *Pajung* also held out her *keris* and promised to be loyal to the kingdom's regalia (*onro sao* or *arajang*) and the Luwu' people. Then, the *Bissus*, the royal priests, under their two leaders titled *Pua' Matoa*, performed a traditional ceremony according to the I La Galigo Epic Cycle.

The last phase of the ceremony is very interesting, since it symbolized and depicted relations between the I La Galigo kings and the *Lontara'* kings.

When the *Pajung* in her *panca* arrived in front of the royal palace, the *Pua' Matoa* in yellow who led the cortege asked the *Pua' Matoa* in red who blocked the door to give way. The latter refused and asked: "Who is the person sitting there in the *panca*? Where does she come from? Who are her father and mother? What right does she have to come to live in the royal palace, the sacred place of the royal regalia?"

The *Pua' Matoa* below answered: "Please, listen to my speech. She is a queen who is descended from the family of Batara Guru, who in a golden bamboo descended from heaven and lived on earth together with his royal consort We Nyilitimo', the queen from the foam of the sea. She is also free to enter the royal palace and

has the right to be honoured like her ancestors."

Then the queen was brought upstairs to enter the royal palace, while the people shouted with joy.

Finally the ceremony ended after the queen and the people partook of a great banquet.

V. 2. *Cina and Pammana*

Cina was one of the oldest and most famous kingdoms in Sulawesi after Luwu'. According to a popular belief based on the I La Galigo Epic Cycle, Sawerigading had lived there with his wife, We Cudai' Daeng Risompa, the queen of West and East Cina, and their son, I La Galigo To Padammani.

The I La Galigo and LSW [pp. 9–12] tell us that this kingdom was founded by a sailor from Luwu' called La Sattumpugi' and his followers were called Ugi' To Cina (Bugis Cina). A genealogy kept by Andi' Paramata in Sengkang depicts him as a son of Aji'risompa La Tenriangke', Batara Ile'. La Sattumpugi' married We Tenriabang, a sister of We Datu Sengngeng, consort of La Tiuleng Batara Lattu', the second king of Luwu'.

A *Lontara'* Pammana kept by Andi' Makkarakka, after depicting events from the foundation of Cina up to the disappearance of I La Galigo, the third king of Cina, and his family, *inter alia* his son, La Tenritatta', who was the fourth and the last king of Luwu' in that epoch, states that in remembrance of the I La Galigo kings, the Bugis people later wrote down their history on *Aka'* or *Corypha Gebanga* Bl. and called the manuscript I La Galigo after the name

of the last king.

The chaos usually described in various *Lontara's* of Bone, Soppeng, Luwu', Suppa' and others is also depicted in the *Lontara'* Pammana. The chaos in Cina ended when Simpurusiang Manurungge ri Lompo' descended in Tampangeng. This *To Manurung* had the same name as the *To Manurung* in Luwu', and only their titles differed. Simpurusiang Manurungge ri Tampangeng, is also referred to as Manurungge ri Talettu' in other chronicles.

Before Simpurusiang became the first *Datu* Cina, he had to conclude a covenant with the tribal chiefs who had competed with one another before the advent of the *To Manurung*.

In the name and on behalf of the Cina people, one of the chiefs said:

Listen, thou—the strange and pious being—to what we say. Our coming to this place is to declare that thou art the one we revere and pay homage to, that thou art considered *Datu* (Lordship) of Cina. Thou giveth us the blanket against the cold (meaning you should guarantee our health and our prosperity). Thou protecteth us from the *pipit* (sparrow) so that we will not be hollow (you should protect our people from bad people and devote yourself to reaping a good harvest). You should not reveal things which might humiliate us. We will come to you any-time you summon us. We will do whatever you would like us to do as long as it will contribute to the greatness of your kingdom.

Simpurusiang answered:

I also agree to what thou told me. If

my son or daughter or wife does something bad that is injurious to you then his or her deed will be classified as a dishonour to my person.

We do not know when and by whom this formula was extended. *Lontara'* Leiden [Ms. NB 109], Mak. [115] and Matthes [1864 and 1872, Vol. I] only declare, that when the childless La Sangaji Aji'pammana, the twenty-second *Datu* Cina, was dying, he asked the members of the *Adat* Council and the *Matoas* to change the name of Cina into his own name and proposed one of the five candidates living in Bone, Soppeng and Wajo' to be elected his successor. After his death, Cina was called Aji'pammana or Pammana. Eventually, We Tenrilallo, the chief of a principedom in Wajo', titled *Arung* (queen) Liu at the end of the fifteenth century, was chosen *Datu* Cina; she had to conclude a contract with the *Matoas* of Pammana. The installation of the new queen was performed in Wawolonrong near the old kingly graves. It is interesting to note that the candidate made a contract with the *Matoas* (tribal chiefs), not with the first minister, which was the case with Luwu', and that she had to listen to the *Matoa* stating the content of the contract and to nod as a sign of agreement.

After We Tenrilallo rested her right foot on a square stone, *tana bangkala'*, *Matoa* To Panennungi representing the people said loudly:

Oh my Lady (Lord), please listen. You are decreed by heaven and embraced by the *pertiwi* (country; earth) and witnessed by the Almighty Creator, and granted blessings by the *Dewata* (God). You are

inheriting the glory of your ancestors and called upon to assume the responsibilities of the kingdom of Pammana. You shall protect us from the sparrows so that we will not be hollow. You shall provide covers for the people of Pammana in order that they may not suffer from cold (meaning that you should see to it that we have decent houses and clothes so as to keep us from the cold). You are our Lady (Lord) and we are your servants, we are slaves and you the mistress (master). Call us and we shall answer, order us and we shall execute it provided it conforms to the customary laws. Whenever you stand on a hill, we shall be there surrounding you, and whenever you stand on a wide plain, we shall be there crowding around you, providing it is in accordance with what the customary laws prescribe. You shall lead your people to sorrow and happiness, as the customary laws stipulate. You shall send the people of Pammana to nearby or distant places as the customary laws prescribe. You shall lead them into evil or to praiseworthy deeds on condition that it be based on the customary laws. You are the only Queen in your country and clothed from head to toes, and only when the *adat* council awaken you, shall you wake up. Our agreement also includes that you shall not make us ascend the mountains and shall not make us descend down to the plain. Your country's customary laws describe that the Queen and the people shall not hide anything from each other. They shall not refer to the bush (meaning that they shall not say that something does not exist

while the other party says it does). Also our agreement states that you shall not bite your lips towards us (meaning that you shall not decline our request that can be reasonably granted). You shall not threaten us with the whip (you shall not resort to any revengeful acts against us). Our agreement also says that you shall not lay traps for your people of Pammana and that you shall not hide the whip from us (you shall not secretly decide upon punishments and duties to be imposed upon us). You invite us to come in, and we shall enter. You order us to leave, and we shall depart, providing that you have consulted your *adat* council upon the acts. With regard to problems arising in the country of Pammana, whether big (serious) or small (simple), they shall be all within the responsibilities of the *adat* council. Also, we have mutually pledged that there shall not be mutual infringements upon the rights of you and your *adat* council and that the *adat* (customary laws) shall remain unaltered. You do not have any knowledge or view of all *adat* of your country. All you know is what you realize does exist, but what escapes your eyes you do not know (your duty is only to execute the existing customary laws and you do not have to concern yourself with non-existing customary laws and problems you do not know how to solve). Sleep and be covered with your glories. Lie down motionlessly in your greatness. Your glories shall comprise four factors. Firstly a home shall be provided for you. Secondly your rice fields shall be tilled for

you by the people. Thirdly you shall be attended to wherever you go, on the understanding that you provide us with food. Fourthly your wedding ceremony and all its financial expenses shall be borne by us no matter how heavy it may be.

Also your source of income shall comprise:

- first: when a person is proven guilty of having committed a disgraceful act by calling other persons' names, his 'mouth shall be sliced' with a fine of two *reals*;
- second: when a person is assigned to some work as prescribed by the *adat* but refuses to execute it, he shall be fined four *reals*, and, if the person is a free man, one *suku*;
- third: when proved to have committed incest, a person will be forced to pay a fine of ten *reals*; this penalty rule shall be applied to noblemen as well as to free men;
- fourth: when a person acts against the established customary laws (for example, treason), he shall be fined a sum equal to his physical value totalling twenty *reals*;
- fifth: when an official is found guilty of reversing the decision on cases that have been settled by the court or *adat* council, he and his relatives shall be taken captive;
- sixth: when a person is found guilty of burglary, his family's properties and those of accomplices with

him shall be confiscated; babies of free people shall not be taken captive with the exception of those of slaves.

Our agreement stipulates that you shall not take anything into your possession during your reign. Only when we offer you something, shall you take it. Only when we feed you, shall you open your mouth. Even cooked food shall turn uncooked when you help yourself. On the contrary, uncooked food shall turn cooked when given to you by the *adat*. We shall remove all bones from it in order that they may not stick in your throat which may lead to your death. We shall fan it in order that you may not suffer from the heat that may cause your death. All these shall contribute to your growth and your glories as prescribed by the established customary laws. We shall take care (guard) of you day and night. The hereditary customary laws of your country also prescribe the following four stipulations;

- first: when an ordinary person passes away leaving his properties behind, a water buffalo shall be slaughtered and you shall get the rump of the slaughtered animal, and the noblemen have to provide you with spices;
- second: you shall get the taxes imposed upon any kind of crops yielded in the fields;
- third: you shall get your provisions from the lakes once a year;
- fourth: you shall get your side dishes from the forests once a year.

The *ade' ammaradekangeng* (the rights of freedom) of the people of Pammana according to the customary laws are of four kinds;

- first: you govern the people but you are not to govern them arbitrarily; you are appointed *Datu* (queen) only in accordance with the *adat* (customary laws) and it is solely on the basis of this *adat* that you hold sway over us;
- second: you inherit the people from your ancestors, but you may not bequeath them to other persons;
- third: they (the people of Pammana) may not be raised while they are lying face down and they may not be stopped when they are fleeing;
- fourth: you have no right to intervene in negotiations among our fellow free citizens. In opening the door of Pammana and stepping out, it is their legs that take them out and it is also their legs that bring them in. Our promise is that if the fire is out, if the stove wears out, and if your direct descendants are extinct, then your *Datuship* will be replaced. We will choose your successor from your distant relatives. The heir who will be elected *Datu* is the one who is deemed capable of bearing offsprings. We also take an oath of fidelity that even if the sail snaps or the rudder breaks off, the mistress (master) and the servants, even

the most humble ones, shall not have any other intention (shall not break their agreement). You say: "You are my subjects" and we will say in return: "You are my Lady (Lord)." If you obtain happiness then you will have to seek to share it with your humble servants. If your servants acquire a fortune, they will look for you to share it with you. Our other commitment is that we should help each other to rise after having fallen down. You and your council should pay attention to this. One should help the other who is being drowned and should warn the other when one makes an error. One should listen to the other's advice. If the council says something, the *Datu* must believe it and if the *Datu* makes a solemn statement, the council should believe it. If you and your council disagree with each other, you two should consult with each other several times to resolve the issue so that it will end well. Another token of our being your servants is our request to you to declare us right if we are right and to blame us when we are wrong. The token of the freedom of the people of Pammana is classifiable into four attitudes: you are not to intervene in transactions among fellow free citizens; you are not to intervene in

their coming into agreement on something; you have no right to lay your hands on their heirlooms; you should not do harm to them in their business transactions; on the other hand, they should refrain from taking advantage of you. Another token of the Pammana people's acceptance of being your subjects lies in the case where there is an occasion of sadness or happiness water buffaloes are slaughtered. On such an occasion the stables of the free citizen are marked off. If a buffalo is born under the care of a free citizen, the *Datu's* purchase of it amounts to four *reals*. If the buffalo is bought, then you must pay for it. If you can not get a buffalo from the free citizens, then the stables of the nobility will be inspected. A buffalo born under the care of a nobleman is worth one *tai'* (equivalent to eight *reals* and 16 *sukus*). If the buffalo is bought by a nobleman, then you have to refund the amount spent for the purchase.

Please, listen, you, who are present, the relatives of the *Datu* and the representatives of the friendly countries of Pammana, please also witness all the contracts of Pammana based on the established customary laws and offered to the *Datu*. Nothing

should be mentioned twice between the mistress (master) and the servants. There is no cheating in good intercourse. *Datu*, please stay in your country. Don't you remember the agreement we have made? We will not pull out the plants of the *Datu* and the members of the council. There should be no act of wildly cultivating the ricefields of another person, there should be a feeling of readiness to rescue others who are falling or drowning. One should believe another's words, one should trust another. One should warn another if an error has been made; one should heed another's warning several times, and cease only if one is aware of his mistake. We will not wait until the *Datu* and the members of the council make mistakes. There is no obstructing mutual effort; there is no depriving other persons of their rights by force. If the *Datu* breaks her promise, her servants will perish. If the council does not fulfill its promise, then the greatness of the *Datu* will fade. The mistress (master) and her servants should refrain from initiating something not praiseworthy. There should be a mutual respect towards each other's custom by not trying to effect change in it. The mistress (master) should not lay

trap which might harm her subjects and the subjects are not to molest their mistress (master) when the latter is walking. All these, namely the long lasting contract between the people and the *Datu*, have to be well preserved by the *Watamp'annua* (Prime Minister), so that the *Watamp'annua* may be accorded the appellation of the 'mid-wall of the *Datu*.' If the *Datu* makes an error, she will be warned; if the council commits an error, it will be reprimanded. Let this contract be witnessed by the *Dewata Seuae*, the One Almighty God [*Lontara*' Leiden NB 109].

Pammana, one of the oldest kingdom in Sulawesi, joined the elective kingdom of Wajo' during the reign of La Tadampare' Puang ri Ma'galatung (1491–1521).

V. 3. Bone

The advent of the *To Manurung* to Bone was preceded by 'five days and five nights of thunder, lightning, rain and earthquakes.' The seven *Matoas* and their followers did not discover the *To Manurung* immediately but were first taken to a man by a mysterious being dressed in white whom they chanced upon in an open field in Matajang. This man was quickly besieged and asked to rule over them but he declined and explained that he was but a slave of a king. Just as they were approaching Matajang, thunder and lightning began again and they saw another being dressed in yellow sitting on a

large flat stone. At his side was his retinue: one held an umbrella over his head, another had a fan, and a third carried a betel box. By the objects carried by his retinue, the people quickly recognized his status as some kind of ruler of heavenly beings [Andaya 1975: 116]. They approached him and a *Matoa* said:

Listen, my Lord, the purpose of our coming to see you is to receive your blessing. May we not be cursed by talking to you, the sacred divine being. We have come to beseech you to have pity on us. We beg you to stay here with us forever, and do not fly to heaven so that we can look upon you as our Lord. Your orders will be carried out. We will conform to you in our attitudes towards our wives and children. If you do not like them, then we will also loathe them.

The *To Manurung* answered:

Don't you lie to me? Don't you serve two masters? [LAS: 2]

After the seven *Matoas* stated that they did not tell lies, the *To Manurung* agreed to be their king.

Several Bugis *Lontara*'s tell us that this first king was called Matasilompo'e, titled Manurungnge ri Matajang and that he ruled for 32 years [Matthes 1883] or 36 years [Andaya 1975: 116]. By using the method of backdating years⁵⁾ introduced by John Crawford [1820] and elaborated by Noorduynd [1965: 151] (counting backward from the year of the deposing of La Tenrirawe, Matinroe ri Bantaeng, just before Bone was defeated by Gowa in 1611 during the Islam war), we may estimate that this first king reigned from 1398 to 1424.

Bone, a petty kingdom consisting only of seven *adat* communities, expanded its territory until several petty princedoms joined the federation headed by Bone and some others were conquered later, perhaps by La Tenrisukki' Mappajungge, the fifth king of Bone [LSW: 147-149], who defeated the *Datu* Luwu' To Sangereng Dewaraja. We estimate that this king reigned from about 1496 to 1521, since he died three months after La Tenripakado To Nampe became an acting king of Wajo' (1521) and his successor was his son called

5) Discussed by Noorduyn [1965: 148-154] at great length, Abidin [1971: 171-172]. Although the Bugis people had names for days and months before the arrival of Islam or the Portuguese, *Lontara's* never mention dates for events occurring before the seventeenth century. Instead time was reckoned by the length of a king's rule. The Complete Chronicles of Wajo' [LSW], for example, states that the eleventh *Arung Matowa* of Wajo', La Mungkace' To U'damang, ruled for forty years, and that he was the last chief raja whose corpse was burned. His successor, La Sangkuru Patau' who embraced Islam, died in 1610 after a three-year reign. Knowing these dates, therefore, it is possible to count backwards and assign dates to the reign of earlier rulers. Thus, it is estimated that the first *Arung Matoa*, La Palewo To Palipu', ruled from about 1436 to 1456. Sometimes only the number of years that elapsed between two events is mentioned. Noorduyn [1965: 141-142] states his opinion that "it seems to have become a literary requirement not to mention dates in the more or less official local chronicles. Perhaps this may be attributed partly to the influence of the ordinary folk tales of indigenous or foreign origin, in which dates are never to be expected. It might also be possible that this chronicle style goes back to times when no chronology was yet in use. Then there is the possibility that the precise dates were thought to be sufficiently and more properly preserved in other kinds of writing, as in the so-called diaries."

La Ulio Bote'e [*ibid.*: 168]. This king of Bone was the first one visited by Daeng Matanre, the tenth king of Gowa who reigned from 1512 to 1568 [Noorduyn 1965: 151].

The seven *Matoas* of Bone formed the *Adat* Council called *Ade' Pitue*. However, the line of demarcation between the king and the council (representatives of the seven *adat* communities) later became indefinite, because of the intermarriage between descendants of the *To Manurung* Matasilompo'e and those of the seven *Matoas*. The *Ade' Pitue* later became the *Arung Pitue* (lit. the seven noble men), a kind of ministers. We come across a lot of this kind of marriage-politics in South Sulawesi, Johor, Selangor, Aceh and Kutei.

La Ma'dukelleng, *Arung Singkang*, when he was just fourteen years old and had to leave Wajo' because he was accused of having killed nine people in Bone, described this kind of politics in metaphorical terms. He said to the king of Wajo' in 1714:

The provision for my travel are three: the volubility of my tongue (meaning diplomacy), the sharpness of my *keris* (meaning war) and the head of my penis (meaning marriage) [LSW: 345-346].

V. 4. *Soppeng*

Soppeng is mentioned in the I La Galigo Epic Cycle, but without any description of its governance. It only states that the first king was La Tenridolong, who married a daughter of Sawerigading. Perhaps Soppeng was a vassal of Luwu', since the people said that their ancestors came from Luwu' [Emanuel 1948]. Emanuel and La

Side' (interview) estimated that the first king during the *Lontara'* period founded the kingdom in around 1300.

Soppeng had more 'pure white blood nobles' than other areas, because a preoccupation continuously held by all members of the Soppeng nobility was to preserve or increase the purity of their 'white blood,' the manifestation and proof of their right to be elected *Datu* [Sutherland 1980: 237].

The story of the advent of the *To Manurung* of Soppeng resembles that of Bone. The *To Manurung* was found by sixty *Matoas* in West and East Soppeng.

A well-known oral tradition says that the Soppeng people had suffered from food shortage for a long time, since at that time there was no king and the *Matoas* quarreled with one another. Once upon a time, a buffalo guardian saw a cockatoo bird with a stem of rice in its bill to the west of Watang Soppeng. He followed the bird and suddenly saw a lot of rice at Sekkanyili'. When this event was known to other people, the sixty *Matoas* went to Sekkanyili' and found plenty of rice and also slaves of a *To Manurung*, as was the case with Bone. They were led to a marvellous being in yellow accompanied by followers carrying royal tributes, which were to become the royal regalia. The sixty *Matoas* decided to beg the *To Manurung* to become their king, but the stranger stated that he would agree if his cousin in East Soppeng became his ruling mate.

When they reconciled their opinions, *Matoa Bila*, *Matoa Botto* and *Matoa Ujung* on behalf of the Soppeng people together said loudly:

Listen, my stranger, the purpose of our coming to see you is to get your blessing. Do not fly to heaven so that we can look upon you as our Lord. You shall guard us from the sparrows so that our crops may not fail. You shall provide covers for us in order that we may not suffer from cold. You should tie us up like a bundle of rice plants. You are the one to rule over us and take us to nearby and distant places. We will conform to you in our attitude towards our wives and children. If you do not like them, we will also loathe them.

The *To Manurung* answered:

Don't you lie to me? Don't you serve two masters?

After the *Matoas* stated that they did not tell lies, the *To Manurung* then said:

This is what I am going to let you know. I have a cousin named Manurungge ri Libureng. Please go and see him, you people of Soppeng. Please bring him here so that the two of us could find goodness for you all. It was he that should be regarded as *Datu* ri Soppeng rilau' (king of East Soppeng) and I will become the *Datu* ri Soppeng riaja (king of West Soppeng).

The Soppeng people agreed to it and then they went to pick up the *To Manurung* in Libureng, East Soppeng. They also concluded a contract with him and appointed him as *Datu* Soppeng rilau'.

The opening part of the *Lontara'* Soppeng gives us a typical story of a dual monarchy, which can also be found in Gowa where the Batara Gowa and his brother Karaeng Loe' ri Sero' reigned together in the fifteenth

century [Abd. Razak Daeng Patunru 1969: 8–9] and in Cinnottabi', a petty kingdom located in modern Wajo', during the reign of La Tenribali and his brother La Tenritippe' at the end of the fourteenth century [Abidin 1979: 500–503, 767].

La Temmamala, the *To Manurung* of Soppeng riaja, was the *primus inter pares*, while the *To Manurung* of Soppeng rilau' was the second legal power concerning the federal kingdom's affairs. The latter had the full autonomy in ruling East Soppeng. This system is called a dual system [Duverger 1951: 32], which may have caused difficulties if the two rulers competed with each other. This seems to have been especially true of South Sulawesi, which is renowned as a society characterized by fierce competition in which a person was judged not only by ascribed status but also by personal qualities [Harvey 1974: 16].

The ruler of Soppeng (like those of Luwu' and Pammana) was later described as 'sleeping' because his assistants eventually became powerful ministers. The leading official, the *Aru Bila* had the most power in the sixteenth century [Sutherland 1980: 238]. However, the 'sleeping kings' of Soppeng, Pammana and Luwu' were kept wide awake due to inter-kingdom wars and wars against the Dutch from the seventeenth century to 1905.

V.5. Gowa

The *Lontara'* Gowa does not give a detailed story concerning the emergence of its kingdom. At the very beginning four mythical kings were mentioned: Batara Guru; a brother of Batara Guru, who was

killed in Talali; Ratu Sapu; and Karaeng Katangka.

After this mythical period, there were nine *Kasuiangs* (tribal chiefs) in Gowa, who confederated their territories and elected a *primus inter pares* titled *Paccalaia*. After a while, quarrels broke out among the tribal chiefs and the *Paccalaia* failed to reconcile them. The confederated tribes were nearly dispersed when the Garassi', Untia and Lambangi people attacked them. The attack, however, caused the confederation to unite again and it defeated the enemy. They deliberated and agreed unanimously to pray and ask the *Rewata* (God) to bestow his representative on earth upon them.

The *Rewata* then sent a beautiful woman. She descended in Taka'bassia near a mango tree together with a large palace, a gold necklace and a Jawa plate. The nine *Kasuiangs* and the *Paccalaia* quickly besieged the mysterious woman and asked her to become their ruler. But the woman said:

How do I rule over you if I have to pound rice and carry water?

The *Paccalaia* said:

Oh my Lady (Lord), even our humble wives do not pound paddy and do not carry water. Why should you?

The beauty agreed then to be appointed *Somba* (queen) of Gowa. The gold necklace and the Jawa plate became the regalia of Gowa. When other tribal chiefs and petty principalities knew the advent of the *To Manurung* to Gowa, they soon joined the federation.

The *Lontara'* depicts that the people called the queen *To Manurung* because

“no one knew her name and where she came from.”

Once upon a time, two brothers came to Gowa from the south. They were called Lakipadada and Karaeng Bayo', whose country, status and parents were not known. Lakipadada bore a sword called Tanru'-balanga while his brother's sword was called Su'danga. Soon the people recognized them as princes. Karaeng Bayo' was asked to get married to the queen of Gowa. The stranger then said: “Even if you, owners of this country, send me to the underground, I will be obedient. When you honour me by putting me on the top of the coconut tree, why shouldn't I?”

After Karaeng Bayo' got married to the *To Manurung*, both of them were called *Sombaia* or *Sombangku* (lit. the one to be paid homage or my honorable Lord/Lady). The sword Su'danga became part of the regalia of Gowa and had to be carried by later kings during their installation. The short contract of the *To Manurung* was then concluded, perhaps proposed by Karaeng Bayo', since he was the first speaker and said to the *Kasuiangs*:

Because you made me your Lord, if I speak, you have to nod.

The *Paccalaia* answered:

We have made you our king and we have become your servants. You are the cord onto which we hold and we are the *lau* (pumpkin which functions as a water container) that hangs from you. If the cord breaks but the *lau* does not fall and shatter, then we shall die. Your weapon cannot stab us, nor can you die by our weapons. Only the *Rewata* (God) can take

our lives, and only the *Rewata* can put you to death. You order and we obey, but when our hands carry a load, our shoulders will not take any, and if our shoulders are already burdened, our hands will no longer carry a load. You are the wind and we the leaves of a tree, but you can shake down only dry and withered leaves. You are water, and we are a floating trunk in the stream, but only a flood is able to carry it away. Our children and wives, if not in favor with the state, will find no favour with us either. We make you a king over us but you are not a king over our possessions. You are not to take our chickens from their perches, nor our eggs from our baskets. If you wish to purchase something from us, you have to buy what is suitable you to buy and you have trade what is suitable for you to trade. You ask for things that are correct for you to request, and we will give them to you, but you are not to take things away from us. The king is not to decide on any matter concerning domestic affairs without the *gallarang* (council), and the *gallarang* is not to decide on anything concerning war without the king [*ibid.*: 235–236, a few words are slightly paraphrased here; the source material being an unnumbered *Lontara'* Gowa of the Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan and a *Lontara'* Gowa kept by Maluddin Sikki' in Sungguminasa].

Karaeng Bayo' became the co-ruler in collaboration with his consort, the first and the last queen of Gowa. The nine *Kasuiangs* became members of the *adat* council called *Bate Salapanga* (lit. the nine

banners) presided over by the *Paccalaia*. As was the case with Luwu', Soppeng and Bone, the king later appointed his sons and relatives to be his assistants, but one of them became powerful and acted as the prime minister.

V.6. *Wajo'*

In so far as we know from the 'historical data' collected by several writers for a book edited by Claesen and Skalnik [1978] concerning the origins of 21 early states scattered in the world, the general picture appears to be that early states developed gradually from even earlier existing organizational forms [*ibid.*: 619]. *Wajo'* and other kingdoms in South Sulawesi belong to the so-called 'secondary type,' which implies that they developed under the influence of similar social structures preceding them or existing in the same area. Many of the pre-state institutions and customs continued to exist within the early states [*ibid.*: 620–621].

None of the Bugis-Makassar historical chronicles collected at the University of Leiden and the Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan, unfortunately, can give us a glimpse of the governance of tribal communities in early South Sulawesi. We can only suppose that they developed in the form of a society aiming at mutual aid and protection [Andaya 1975: 118]. The LSW compiled by a *Lontara'* writer La Sangaji Puanna La Sengngeng, *Arung Bettempola* of *Wajo'* (1764–1767) and rewritten by Andi' Makkaraka, the last *Arung Bettempola* before World War II, give us a short description of the *anang*-community in the

Tosora Wajo' area. The story begins not with a *To Manurung* descending from the sky as the other kingdoms' chronicles do, but with a tribal community, a primary kin-group fulfilling functions essential to the maintenance of extended families. The chief's name and origin are unknown. All that is said of him is that he came from the west. The chief titled Puangnge ri Lampulungeng is described as a *primus inter pares* and having gained authority because of his intelligent prophecies. When other extended families joined the Lampulungeng community, they moved to the east and finally founded three settlements near a tall *Penrang* tree. When the leader died, none of the *anangs* had the authority to become *Ulu Anang*, i.e., *primus inter pares* among the several elders of extended families.

Later on, another chief, whose name and origin are also unknown, appeared with his followers in the west of the *Penrang* tree. The chief lived near a tall *bajo'* (*mappa* sp.) tree. His family spoke Luwu' and Bugis languages. Like the former chief, the new one was looked upon as a good forecaster. He foretold good days to work on the rice farms and liked to deliberate with his followers. After the Lampulungeng community joined his group, they called their settlement Boli.

At that time there were several kingdoms around Boli, among which were Luwu', Bone, Cina, Mampu, Sailong, Babauae, and Wewanriu', a vassal of Luwu'. No fixed geographic boundaries existed among the kingdoms. Instead, languages or dialects set the limits of each kingdom. When a treasurer of Luwu' came to Boli to ask

about the citizenship of the people of Boli, the chief of Boli answered that they were free people and not subject to any kingdom. By saying so, they avoided paying taxes for their crops.

After the death of the Boli chief, his followers fled from their settlement. They were pursued by tax officials of several kingdoms.

After the dispersion of the Boli community, probably at the end of the fourteenth century, a nobleman together with his family and followers settled at an area with fertile soil in Cinnottabi' near Boli. Named La Paukke' (lit. the founder), he was said to be a grandson of a *Datu* Cina and a king of Mampu (Bone). After he succeeded in making rice fields, the free people of Boli joined his group and La Paukke' was appointed *Arung* (king) Cinnottabi'.

His grand-daughter, We Tenrisui, who became the third ruler together with her husband La Rajallangi', was the first queen who carried out a contract with the Cinnottabi' people, who consisted of people from several kingdoms and areas.

The *Matoa* of Cinnottabi', approved by the people, said to the queen:

You shall guard us from the sparrows so that we will not be hollow. You shall prove our guilt in a court if we are accused of a crime or wrongful act. You shall give our rights back to us if we are proven to be right. You shall firmly keep our rights of freedom. You shall recognize and affirm our hereditary customs.

La Rajallangi' on behalf of his consort then answered:

Yes, *Matoa*. We will not hamper your desire. We will not hinder you from expressing your opinion. We will not forbid you to go to the south, the north, the east or the west, nor downward or upward, and to go out of Cinnottabi' or to enter it. We will show you the right way to walk on. If we order you, you have to obey for the benefit of Cinnottabi'. We shall not harm each other. We shall not reign like a stream of water that flows from the upper headstream down to the mouth of the river and you shall not behave like a surging high tide attacking the coast. The customary laws we are going to create must be clear and honest and widely applicable. Let the One Almighty God witness our agreement, so that we first obey them together and in order that other people also obey them [LWHAM: 12; Abidin 1979: 4].

When La Patiroi, the successor of We Tenrisui died, the Cinnottabi' officials appointed La Tenribali and La Tenritippe', sons of La Patiroi to be dual monarchs. La Tenritippe' deprived the *Matoa Pa'bicara'* of authority and for this injustice he was regarded by most of the people as having evaded the contract. Most of the people, led by three cousins of the kings and the *Matoas*, left Cinnottabi' and built up three settlements known as Lipu' Tellu-Kajuru'e (the three countries united as a *kemiri* fruit) in Boli.

The three chiefs in Boli and the *Matoas* agreed to appoint a king to be called *Arung Mataesso* (lit. Sun King). La Tenribali, who had also left Cinnottabi', was elected Sun King and concluded a contract with

the three chiefs of Boli. The covenant recognized the Cinnottabi' contract as the 'constitution' of Boli, acknowledged the three chiefs as *Pa'danrengs* (ruling mates of the Sun King) and confirmed their chieftainship over their respective region called *limpo*. It also defined the functional and authoritative relationship between the king and the *Pa'danrengs*, and among the *Pa'danrengs* themselves. The Sun King was given the title *Batara* (lit. sky) based on his speech made before closing the ceremony:

It is only the *batara* which is above our contract and it is only the earth that is under it.

It was agreed to change the name of Boli into Wajo', because the covenant was set up under a tall *bajo'* tree, symbolizing the function of the kingdom and its patronage. The expression in the contract "*ma'bajowajo macekke'mi ri Wajo'*" ('we only get shelter under the fresh Wajo' shadow') affirms this metaphor.

A unique decision made by the first *Batara* was to make *ade'assitrurseng*, customary laws based on deliberation, by means of voting, which was not known anywhere in Indonesia.

The third *Batara*, La Pate'dungi To Samallangi' liked to take advantage of the women of Wajo' and this caused him to be deprived of his office as a result of the deliberation of the Wajo' people led by an informal leader, La Tiringeng To Taba'. The third *Batara* was forced to resign by the people of Wajo' led by an exiled prince from Bone, La Tadampare' Puang ri Ma'galatung. The deposed *Batara* was

killed by a Wajo' prince outside the frontier of Wajo'.

One and a half years after the third *Batara* was discharged and killed, the *Pa'danrengs* and the *Matoas* elected La Tadampare' as their new king, but the candidate refused the appointment and preferred to go back to Palakka (Bone). La Tiringeng To Taba' also refused their election of him as their new king. According to the established law of Wajo', a nobleman who refused to be elected king had 'to be sent to his ancestors whom he had never met.' This informal leader of the common people preferred to leave Wajo' and said that there was also another hereditary customary law which had preceded the foundation of Cinnottabi' and had been incorporated into the laws of the land: "Wajo' people are free."

After La Tiringeng left Wajo', the *Pa'danrengs* and the *Matoas* decided in a meeting to appoint La Tiringeng as Arung Simettempola (lit. our Lord with a tall house), who will be 'the mother' (defender) of the Wajo' people.

La Tiringeng To Taba' accepted the decision on condition that he and the people of Wajo' would conclude a contract to establish the 'constitution of the kingdom.'

Arriving in Wajo', Arung Simettempola, first concluded a covenant with the people of the three *limpos* (regions), whom he had helped by deposing the wicked *Batara* La Pate'dungi To Samallangi'. His immense popularity among the people was established by his direct ties with them and not through the *Matoas* or the *Pa'danrengs*.

Arung Simettempola, facing the Wajo'

people, then said:

Those who are overhead, underneath, in the south, in the north, in the west, in the east, in front and at the back, please listen to me. I, Arung Simettempola, will strengthen your rights of freedom and I will uphold the contractual relations. Since there is no 'Sun King' in Wajo', I represent you in making negotiations inside and outside Wajo'. I will govern to seek good deeds and stay away from seeking bad ones whether within the country or outside of the country. I will firmly keep your rights of freedom and your hereditary customs.

The people of Wajo' answered:

On the hill or on the plain where Arung Simettempola stands, there, we will also gather around him and address him as Your Highness. If he summons us, we will come; whenever he invites us, we will always attend; whenever he orders, we will do whatever he asks for the sake of Wajo' and for the benefit of the people. Also, we agree with you, Arung Simettempola, that whenever you sit, lie down or walk with the intention of harming our offsprings, the Wajo' people, you shall surely die at the place where you are sitting, where you are lying or where you are walking.

Arung Simettempola replied:

Listen, people of Wajo'. Even if you bear malice in your heart and move your tongue with the intention of dismissing me from my position as Arung Simettempola, you will be swept away by a stream. Needless to say, if you intend to do malicious things to me you will be dried

like salt.

Then Arung Simettempola and the Wajo' people came to an agreement and declared that this contract would bind their children, grandchildren and their descendants and that their agreement had been witnessed by the *Dewata Seuae* (the One Almighty God).

A few days later, Arung Simettempola, the three *Pa'danrengs*, the *Matoas* and all the adult people of the three regions gathered at Lapadeppa' under two tamarind trees planted by *Arung Cinnottabi'* La Patiroi to make the second contract.

After Arung Simettempola restated the history of Cinnottabi', Boli and the foundation of Wajo', he announced, corroborated by an oath and witnessed by the *Dewata Seuae*, that the new contract reaffirmed the Cinnottabi' contract and the Majauleng contract, i.e., the contract between the first *Batara Wajo'* La Tenribali and the Boli people. Arung Simettempola then said:

...There shall be no violation of rights between the ruler and the ruled. Should errors occur, they should remind each other of them until they show improvement; they shall not distort the customary laws; they (the three *Pa'danrengs*) shall not suppress the honour of the three regions; they, the upper and the lower class people, shall not take each other's heirlooms; they, the ruler and the ruled shall not plant and pull up each other's plants and shall not fish in others' fish ponds; they (the functionaries) shall not take others' rights to talk in a court session; they shall try a case together; they shall not hinder one another's effort;

each functionary shall lead his own people and shall perform his own duty; none shall keep his belongings secretly from others; they (the ruler and the ruled) have their own rights to own something; neither of them shall accuse the other of owning something the other does not actually have; they shall share their possessions with each other; they shall trust each other.

Let the One Almighty God witness our agreement and let it be eternalized by not only us but also by our descendants. And let us offer it to the One Almighty God.

The Wajo' people affirmed the contract by stating together their agreement. Both parties took an oath one after the other, put an egg in a hole and broke it with a stone, an act symbolizing that whoever broke the contract will be shattered like the crushed eggs. In remembrance, both parties erected a big long stone in the hole. The governmental contract is called *Lamumpatue* or *Jancie ri Lapa'deppa'*, which literally means the stone erecting or The Covenant at Lapa'deppa'.

After closing the ceremony, Arung Simettempola proclaimed again:

The rights of freedom of the Wajo' people will be maintained and defended by Arung Simettempola; their property will not be confiscated; they will not be arrested for crimes they have not committed; other people under the same roof shall not be responsible for crimes and civil wrong doings, if they themselves have no connection with the crimes and civil wrong doings; their families and

relatives shall not be punished if they are not accessories; they shall not become the object of the king's absolute will; they shall not be halted if they flee (meaning that let those who wish to be free get their freedom); they shall not be raised while they lean on their elbows (meaning that they shall not be forced to perform duties which are not based on customary laws); the door of Wajo' shall be open when they enter; the door of Wajo' shall be open when they leave; they enter on their own feet and they leave on their own feet. As for the duties and responsibilities of the people of Wajo', they shall never cease, shall never be changed and shall never exist in different forms. No matter how heavy their punishments and responsibilities, as long as they are based on the customary laws, they are obliged to keep them. Even if it is only a very light stem of cotton (meaning a very light duty or sentence) that has been inflicted on them, if it is not based on the customary laws, they have the right to protest or to leave the country, because the law concerning responsibilities and punishments are mainly admonitory. A death sentence has no validity, except their own severe crimes will kill them. It is their own overt acts and words that kill them. They shall not be sentenced by the court, except their overt acts and words make them guilty.

The Wajo' people then asked Arung Simettempola: "Why didn't you mention it before we crushed the eggs with a stone?" Arung Simettempola explained: "The rights of freedom of the Wajo' people which

I mentioned after the erection of the stone shall not be suppressed by a stone, because this freedom is hereditary and this freedom is your obedient service (meaning that you are servants of the customary laws); it is an inherited *adat* of Wajo' since the great Cinnottabi' up to Boli now; we only respect fixed and permanent *adat*, the government and the people that guarantee our freedom."

Arung Simettempola then explained the so-called *ade' ammaradekangeng*:

One is allowed to do an act based on his intention freely; he is allowed to go anywhere he wants to; he is allowed to express his opinion, but he has to keep watch over his conduct, and control his manner and behaviour. This is the only hereditary *adat* of Wajo' that is not yellow, not red, not white and not even black (meaning that they are the only true customs). If there are those among you who say that the hereditary *adat* of Wajo' is not like this, they are lying; this is the reason why I did not proclaim it before the stone was buried, because this is also your obedience, you the people of Wajo'.

According to Andi' Makkaraka (interview in 1967), the Wajo' people had been free people before Wajo' was founded and the *ade' ammaradekangeng* had been known since the Lampulungeng community was founded by a *Ulu Anang*; this kind of *adat* may not be altered (*pura onro*), since it is a crime to change an established *adat* (*popo gamaru*) based on *adat* sayings:

Adaemi natotau, which means 'only our words made us human beings' or 'you can trust a man's words but you can only

keep an animal on a rope.'

Ri laleng tampu'mupi namaradeka to Wajo'e, which means 'the Wajo' people have been free since they were in their mother's womb.'

Arung Simettempola formulated the *ade' ammaradekangeng* in a short sentence when Settiriware' was installed in the position of the second *Arung Matoa* (principal ruler) of Wajo' in about 1474. The sentence reads as follows:

Maradeka to Wajo'e, najajiang alena maradeka, tanaemi ata, naia to makketanae maradeka maneng, ade' assamaturusenami napopuang. Literally this means that the Wajo' people are free, they are born free, the country is only a servant, while the owners (people) of the country are free, and only their customary laws based on consensus are their master.

It was also agreed that Arung Simettempola, being the *Inanna Limpoe* (the mother of the people of the three regions), should be the spokesman of Wajo' and for the sake of and in the name of the people he had the authority to install and dismiss the king after the deliberation by the three *Pa'danrengs*, chiefs of the *limpos* and the *Matoas*; he had also a duty to solve urgent problems not settled by the king and the council; being the *Inanna Limpoe*, he could not be elected king and was not a member of the council, even though he was allowed to attend every kind of meeting.

It was decided to elect thirty *Arung Ma'bicaras* (lit. princely judges), ten for each *limpo*. Four had the authority of the magistrates of each *ana' limpo* (sub-region) assisted by the other six appointed *Arung*

Ma'bicaras with no magistracy in proposing, examining and adjudicating cases and executing decisions. The *Arung Ma'bicaras* were also members of the regional administrative council presided over by the *Ranreng*, the new name of the *Pa'danreng*, the first hereditary chief of each *limpo*. The thirty *Arung Ma'bicaras*, most of whom were not noblemen, were also members of the Wajo' Council called *Puang ri Wajo'* (the highest authority of Wajo').

The thirty three members of the Wajo' Council together with the Arung Simettempola elected La Palewo To Palipu', *Matoa* of the *limpo* Bettempola, as the first *Arung Matoa*. He was installed in the corner of his house while taking an oath to defend the 'constitution' of Wajo' established at Lapa'deppa'. The king was not titled *Batara* anymore, but titled *Arung Matoa*, principal ruler. The position could not be inherited and could be held only on condition of good conduct. It could not be held simultaneously with other positions.

When three *Bate Lompos* (lit. Standard Bearers), commanders of the three *limpos* and three *Suro Pallele Toanas* whose duties were delivering messages within and outside Wajo', were appointed, the Central Council of Wajo' was called *Arung Patappuloe*, the forty central government chiefs. The *Arung Patappuloe* was presided over by the king, who was also a member of the council. The daily executives consisted of three *Ranrengs* and three *Bate Lompos* and were called *Petta Ennengnge* (Our Six Lords) and presided over by the *Arung Matoa*. Arung Simettempola was not a member of either council. Arung Penrang

was elected Adviser of the council. Both of them had the right to attend both councils' meetings.

Unlike other kingdoms in South Sulawesi, the *Matoas* were not members of the Central Council. They were chiefs of their territories, members of the council of the regions and mediators of the people of the regions and the central government, and coordinators of the vassals. These *Matoas*, were called *Punggawa Ina Tau* (lit. chief and mother of the people) and had to be elected by the people of the *limpos* [*Lontara'* Mak. 177: 27]. James Brooke visited Wajo' in 1840, when it was in decay since Tosora had been destroyed by the Dutch and Arung Palakka in 1670. On that occasion, he met a *Punggawa Ina Tau*, whom he called Tribune of the People, and asserts:

I was pleased by the freedom of the conversation, the *pangawas* detailing their powers and privileges without reserve. "If the *rajahs* wish to call the people to war," they said, "they can not do so without our permission; we are a free people" [Mundy 1848, Vol. I: 62].

The statement that the Wajo' people are free and that only their *adat* is their master has been their motto since the seventeenth century up to this time. They used their *ade' ammaradekangeng* to leave Wajo', because of the intolerable conditions back in South Sulawesi, which made it imperative that a new home be found somewhere away from the reaches of warring Makassar, Bugis and Dutch rulers, the stringent commercial restrictions by the Dutch, the rapacious Dutch colonization, the suppression of the Kahar Muzakkar rebels, the economic

monopoly of war lords, and the arbitrariness of their chiefs [*ibid.*: 64–67; Abidin 1982: 3, 5, 15, 38; Andaya 1970: 13; 1975: 122–125; Bastin 1964: 145; Boxer 1967: 26; Chabot 1950: 120–131, 243–246; Conrad 1977: 29; Harvey 1974: 50–56, 125–127, 145–153, 191–231, 240–260, 275–295, 400–412, 423; Lineton 1975: 180, 181, 188–189; Sutherland 1980: 229–230, 240–241].

VI Conclusion

VI.1. We are well aware of the fact that the historical process in each kingdom of South Sulawesi was unique in the sense that the specific circumstances under which a given people acted in a given way will not be found recurring anywhere else. However, when one brings the discussion to a higher level of abstraction, it will be possible, nonetheless, to discern a number of historical processes (cf. Claesen and Skalnik [1978: 619]).

All of the kingdom discussed in this paper have a *To Manurung* story to explain the manner in which their royal families came to rule except Wajo'. These stories are the basic myths of ideology (Claesen and Skalnik) which contained the conception of kingship and also legitimized, explained and justified the divine rights of the early kings to rule. This fact is in accord with the 'case histories' presented by twenty-one authors of the *Early States* edited by Claesen and Skalnik [*ibid.*]. The only difference is that the sacred kings in South Sulawesi were believed to be the representatives of the *Dewata Seuae*, who had the most pure 'white blood' and therefore were

regarded as possessing the most complete *siri'* (human dignity) and had been conceived by the people to restore the ties between the God and mankind. Furthermore, none of the twenty-one kingdoms discussed by the writers of the *Early States* are said to have practiced *pactum subjectionis* envisaging the rights and responsibilities of the ruler and the ruled. Some of the early states described were monarchies under more or less absolute, sometimes even quite despotic sovereigns with executive powers [*ibid.*, quoting Nettleship 1978: 626], while the early kings of South Sulawesi had to deliberate with the *Adat* Council, whose members were the *Matoas* or tribal chiefs representing their people.

The ideological basis, i.e., the *To Manurung* stories are to be found in five of the six kingdoms of South Sulawesi. The governmental contract is proven to have been practiced in all of the kingdoms discussed in this paper.

VI.2. Our first working hypothesis appears to be in agreement with the Bugis and Makassar *To Manurung* stories described in the *Lontara's*. They are not legends, but political myths, which formed the ideological basis of the formation of kingdoms in South Sulawesi. Since Luwu' is recognized by the Bugis people as the cradle of civilization and kingship, we believe that Luwu' was a pristine kingdom, while the other five kingdoms were all of the secondary type, which implies that the latter developed under the influence of Luwu's conception. Their stories were individualized into the separate tradition of each

kingdom in accord with the circumstances surrounding the 'discovery of a *To Manurung*' who became the founder of each royal family.

In Wajo', a new situation developed. Their leaders realized that the time was ripe to create or reorganize new institutions. The rights of freedom of the people, which had already existed in the pre-state period and have been recognized by two kingdoms preceding Wajo', were made explicit by the famous statesman La Tiringeng To Taba', the founder of the only known elective kingdom in Indonesia.

VI. 3. We have proven that the contents of the governmental contracts of Luwu', Soppeng, Pammana, Gowa and Wajo' depict that the kings had limited power and the situations were far from Thomas Hobbes' Leviathan. The contracts of our 'case histories,' except that of Bone, explicitly state that the kings were regarded as the protector of the people and also as 'representatives' of God who were obliged to maintain the welfare of the people.

The conception of power in Bone—and also in other kingdoms—is found not only in the governmental contract, but also in the legal digests called *Latoa* (lit. the old) and *Lontara' Ade'*. According to the *Latoa* and the *Lontara' Ade'*, the king was not beyond reproach, nor was his will and he could be deposed if he did not maintain the welfare of his people. The king was regarded to be an instrument for the promotion of the welfare of his people. Bone's kings were addressed '*mangkau*' meaning 'doing work' or 'deed.' This implies that

the ruler did not act arbitrarily, but only implemented what was agreed upon by the *adat* council. In 1670 Admiral Speelman, who had defeated Gowa with the assistance of Arung Palakka, reported that the *Arung Pitu* exercised broad sovereign authority over all affairs of the kingdom. Everything, without exception, must be decided on by it, whether it be civil matters, a declaration of war or peace, or the election and the deposition of kings [Andaya 1975: 122].

The king of Luwu' came to represent mainly a unifying symbol during the reign of the eleventh *Datu*, To Sangereng Dewaraja, in the sixteenth century, since To Ciung Maccae ri Luwu', a famous statesman and member of the *Adat* Council, succeeded in the formulation of the structure of *adat* called *becci'* (lit. straight; *Recht*). The formula reads:

Decisions of the *Datu* may be nullified, but decisions of the council of *adat* chiefs may not. Decisions of the council of *adat* chiefs may be nullified but decisions of the *Anangs* (tribal chiefs) may not. Decisions of the *Anangs* may be nullified but decisions of the masses may not [Abidin 1971: 170].

Finally, in the *Lontara's* of the six kingdoms of South Sulawesi discussed in this paper, we can find many cases where rulers were killed or deposed because of their crimes against the people or accused of having broken the covenant. A few examples of these cases are as follows: La Ulio Bote'e, the sixth king of Bone, and La Ica', the eighth king of Bone, were killed by the people in the sixteenth and seven-

teenth centuries respectively; La Tenrirawe, the eleventh king of Bone, We Batari Toja, the sixteenth queen of Bone, La Panaongi To Pawawoi, the nineteenth king of Bone and Besse Kajuara, the twenty-seventh queen of Bone were deposed; La Pate'dungi To Samallangi', the third Batara Wajo' was deposed and later killed; La Pakallongi To Alinrungi, the fifteenth Arung Matowa of Wajo', was deposed in 1626; We Tenri-leleang, Datu of Luwu' was deposed in the eighteenth century; I Manggorai Daeng Mammeta, the twelfth king of Gowa was murdered in 1593; I Tepukaraeng Daeng Para'bung Tunipassulu', the thirteenth king of Gowa (1565–1590), La Pareppa' To Sappewali, the twentieth king of Gowa (1709–1711), I Mappaurangi Sultan Sirajuddin, the twenty-first king of Gowa (1771–1783), and I Mallawangau' Sultan Abdul Khair, the twenty-fourth king of Gowa (1735–1742) were deposed; and La Onrong Datu Pattiro, the king of Soppeng was deposed in the nineteenth century.

VI.4. Our third working hypothesis is also confirmed by the stories concerning the formation of early kingdoms: "State formation is not caused by war, but is greatly *promoted* by war, or by the threat of war and by social stress (cf. Claesen and Skalnik quoting Nettleship and Corning [1978: 626]). This further endorses Service's view [*loc. cit.*] that 'the benefit of being part of the society obviously outweighed the other alternative.' The need for protection under these circumstances is obvious; as a result of this, it was better to be a member of the state than not to be

one. We, moreover, believe that Lowie's idea that the voluntary association was one of the roots of state formation is confirmed by some of the data of our case studies" [*loc. cit.*].

At any rate, only a few of the cases in the samples of Claesen and Skalnik seem to corroborate the 'Ueberlagerungs' theories of Gumpłowicz and Oppenheimer [*ibid.*: 627].

VI.5. Since the governmental contracts in South Sulawesi are regarded as *ade' pura onro*, i.e., established customary laws or legal rules, and the transformation of authority from a *Matoa* community with the *Matoas* representing their followers into a centralized kingdom represented by the first kings that created the kingdom is to be found in all of our samples, we may conclude that such an act is to be regarded as a legal deed. We use the word 'transformation,' even though the position of the *Matoas* in their territory remained unaltered, because the *Matoas* and *Kasuiangs* obtained a new position in the central government as powerful members of the *adat* council of the kingdoms. Estellie Smith is right when he expresses his view that 'the simpler forms of socio-cultural organizations neither vanished, nor merely remained in fossil form, but *adapted* themselves so as to become specialized parts of a larger configuration' [*ibid.*: 622]. The *Matoa* communities had to adapt themselves to a new centralized government and had to maintain a balance of power policy in the central government by using their council's authority.

The governmental contracts in South

Sulawesi created states and the 'constitutions' of the kingdoms. At least they brought forth centralized authorities as they had not been known before, and created the *Grundnorm* of the kingdoms.

Our fourth hypothesis appears to be corroborated by the functions and roles of the governmental contracts.

VI.6. Our fifth working hypothesis appears also to be confirmed by the status, functions and roles of kings in South Sulawesi. The kings of South Sulawesi, although believed to be divine, were not the 'Great God' like the sacred kings of ancient Cambodia [Aeusrivongse 1979: 107]. They were not *Devaraja* or 'god-king,' but believed to have been sent by the *Dewata Seuae* to restore law and order on earth and to maintain the welfare of the people. They were regarded as the protectors of their people in accordance with the governmental contracts.

We would like to emphasize that in South Sulawesi there was no concept of the rulers being the 'sacred lodestone' around which the community evolved as in the Indianized kingdoms in Southeast Asia, for South Sulawesi was the place of the *arajang*, *onrosao* or *gaukang*, i.e., the regalia. The kings could be deposed at any time but the *arajang* or the *gaukang* continued to be accorded the highest veneration of the community. A ruler without *arajang* had no authority to rule whatsoever whereas the *arajang* retained its power by virtue of its being considered the representatives of God on earth [Andaya 1975: 120].

The regalia personified the kingdom and

not the king. The strength of the Bugis and Makassar community and their ability to survive as well-integrated units through centuries can be attributed to the presence of the regalia, the *palladium* of the community. It acted as a social integrator and a unifying element in the kingdom, around which a power center could form [*ibid.*: 118].

Wajo' did not have regalia as other kingdoms did. Only some of its vassals have *arajangs*, but they were not the *palladium* of Wajo'. In Wajo' the *arumpanua*, i.e., the rulers and the people, were regarded as the owners of the kingdom, but they were subjected to the customary laws of the land. The Wajo' people including the nobility regarded their country as the servant of the people. Their master was not the ruler, but the *ade' assituruseng*, i.e., customary laws based on *consensus*.

Among the six kingdoms discussed in this paper, only Pammana and Wajo' recognized the so-called *ade' ammaradekangeng*, i.e., the rights of freedom of individuals, *inter alia* the right to leave the country and to enter it, the right to refuse duties and sentences not based on law, the right not to become the object of absolute ruling, and the right to be regarded innocent unless proved guilty by the court. Besides this, Wajo' was unique in Indonesia in that it did not recognize the system of collective responsibility which was known everywhere in Indonesia.

It is worth remembering that the governmental contracts were concluded before significant Islamic and European influences were introduced to South Sulawesi.

Neither is the more than the merest trace of that enriching Indian tradition so familiar elsewhere in Southeast Asia (cf. Macknight [1975: 129]). South Sulawesi has some claim to being regarded as a test case of the vitality of indigenous Southeast Asian tradition.

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