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To my wife and my parents, thank you for all of your love and support. Für meinen Vater, ich danke dir für deine Liebe, Führung und für die Lehre mich die Geschichte zu lieben.
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Abstract

This dissertation focuses on the history of a semi-nomadic sea people in eastern Indonesia known as the Sama Bajo. It looks specifically at the important roles played by the Sama Bajo in eastern Indonesian politics and trade during the early modern period (roughly 1400-1800), and examines for the first time the existence of two large and well-organized Sama Bajo polities, each of which was comprised of numerous smaller Sama Bajo communities united across vast areas of seaspace by a hierarchical structure of leaders. The Sama Bajo are a sub-group of the larger Samalan ethnolinguistic group that is comprised of over one million Sama-speaking peoples dispersed throughout the southern Philippines, eastern Malaysia, and much of the eastern Indonesian archipelago. Often referred to as “Sea Nomads” or “Sea Gypsies,” the unique sea-centered culture and mobility of the Sama Bajo positioned them to perform a number of vital roles in the histories of eastern Indonesia. Through their intimate relationship to the sea the Sama Bajo developed an impressive range of skills in fishing, hunting, diving, sailing, navigation, and maritime warfare, and these abilities made them extremely valuable in the economic and political networks of eastern Indonesia beginning in the mid-thirteenth century. The Sama Bajo’s mastery of the seas also assured them positions of great power and prestige in their relationships with the various landed populations of the region throughout the early modern era. They were not only the primary collectors of the sea products, such as tortoiseshell and trepang (sea cucumbers, bêche-de-mer), that were so prized in regional and global trade markets but the Sama Bajo also served as navigators and explorers, as traders and merchants, as captains of naval fleets, as seaborne raiders, as nobles and figures of authority within landed polities, and even as territorial powers in their own right. For these reasons the Sama Bajo of eastern Indonesia were essential to the creation, expansion, and maintenance of some of the region’s most powerful polities and trading networks. This is seen most clearly in the enduring relationships formed between the Sama Bajo polities and the landed kingdoms of South Sulawesi, namely
Gowa-Talloq and Bone. Working from Sama Bajo oral and written traditions, historical manuscripts produced by Makassarese, Bugis, and Bima courts, and the archives of the Dutch East India Company, this dissertation provides a more nuanced and historically grounded understanding of the Sama Bajo in eastern Indonesia and their importance for Indonesian and Southeast Asian history. In so doing, it offers a perspective of the Sama Bajo that is radically different from the dominant scholarly and popular conception of these groups.
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Introduction

Protruding sharply out from the island and almost completely encircled by the sea, the village formed a manmade peninsula of densely clustered pile homes built atop a mixture of silt and dead corals. Puah Hammaq’s house sat on the seaward edge of the village, farthest from shore and far removed from the mass of other homes that were linked together by raised sandy paths and planked bridges. There were no bridges of any kind between the rest of the village and Puah Hammaq’s small house. Built of planks of salvaged wood and thatch, his one room home rested several feet above the water’s surface, elevated by thin wooden piles buried into the muddy silt of the seafloor, completely surrounded by the shallow, emerald blue water. The cool onshore breeze drifted in through the windows and airy cracks in the walls of his home and up through the bamboo slats that formed the floor. Fishing nets hung neatly on a wall and a wooden speargun sat propped in the corner next to a small bundle of firewood for the earthen stove that sat smoldering on the opposite end of the home.

As we talked, Puah Hammaq looked down and spat through the bamboo floor into the brightly colored sea that swirled below. I asked him what importance the sea held for him and for his community. He raised his head slowly and stared out his window at the Flores Sea through the lingering smoke of his kretek cigarette. He drew deeply from the cigarette, causing it to burn bright and crackle loudly like kindling thrown into a fire. He spoke as he exhaled another cloud of the sweet smelling smoke, “The sea provides what we need,” he said. “It is our home, it is our livelihood. Since the time of Adam, our ancestors have lived on the sea. The sea is the source of everything. Without the sea, we cannot survive.”

In a raspy voice, Puah Hammaq patiently explained to me something that was so basic and fundamental to his worldview that he likely had never needed to put it into words. Yet, in his statement lay a simple but profound summary of one of the most formative influences in the history and culture of his people, the Sama Bajo of

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1 Interview with Puah Hammaq, Buréh (NE Flores), 20-06-2011. Buréh, as it is referred to by Sama Bajo peoples, is more commonly known as Wuring.
eastern Indonesia. The centrality of the sea in Sama Bajo culture and the mastery of the sea that resulted from this unique relationship were powerful factors that helped to shape the course of Sama Bajo history.

Scattered widely throughout the eastern portion of the Indonesian archipelago, the roughly 500,000 Sama Bajo peoples of this region are one sub-group of the larger Samalan language family, which is the most widely dispersed ethnolinguistic group indigenous to Southeast Asia (see map 2). Often referred to as “Sea People,” “Sea Nomads,” or “Sea Gypsies,” the unique sea-centered culture and tremendous mobility of the Sama Bajo has for centuries caught the attention of outside observers of various ethnicities. Even among the better-known maritime peoples of the Indonesian archipelago, such as the Bugis, Butonese, or Madurese seafarers, the Sama Bajo have long been set apart as the embodiment of maritime culture; as a people who have mastered the marine environment to such a degree that the sea itself became an inseparable element of their identity.

This dissertation is a historical study of this unique and important people and the ways in which their sea-centered culture positioned them to perform a number of vital roles in the histories of eastern Indonesia. Through their intimate relationship to the sea the Sama Bajo developed an impressive range of skills in fishing, hunting, diving, sailing, navigation, and maritime warfare, and these abilities made them extremely valuable in the economic and political networks of eastern Indonesia beginning in the thirteenth century. The Sama Bajo’s mastery of the seas also assured them positions of great power and prestige in their relationships with

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2In 2007, researcher Nagatsu Kazufumi figured the Sama Bajo population of Indonesia to be around 193,000. However, I believe this to be a gross underestimation. For southeast Sulawesi alone, Jennifer Gaynor estimated a population of 200,000 Sama Bajo, and my own efforts to estimate the Sama Bajo population of western Flores suggest at least 100,000. While the data required for a more precise count does not exist, even using Nagatsu’s obviously low estimates and accounting for normal population growth according to the national average of 1.2% per annum, we can assume that the population is now around 400,000, at the least. Nagatsu Kazufumi, “The Sama Bajau in and around Sulawesi: Basic Data on their Population and Distribution of the Villages,” (working paper, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, Japan, 2007), table 2. Jennifer Gaynor, “Liquid Territory: Subordination, Memory, and Manuscripts among the Sama People of Sulawesi’s Southern Littoral” (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2005), 14. Clifford Sather, “Sea Nomads and Rainforest Hunter-Gatherers: Foraging Adaptations in the Indo-Malaysian Archipelago,” in *The Austronesians: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*, eds. Peter Bellwood, James Fox and Darrell Tryon (Canberra: ANU Press, 1995), 256-257.
the various landed populations of the region throughout the early modern era (c.1400-1800). They were not only the primary collectors of the sea products that were so prized in regional and global trade markets but the Sama Bajo also served as navigators and explorers, as traders and merchants, as captains of naval fleets, as seaborne raiders, as nobles and figures of authority within landed polities, and even as territorial powers in their own right. For these reasons the Sama Bajo of eastern Indonesia were essential to the creation, expansion, and maintenance of some of the region’s most powerful polities and trading networks. Yet, for reasons that I will discuss at the end of this dissertation, the power and prestige the Sama Bajo enjoyed in this period declined thereafter, and they are today one of the most marginalized and economically impoverished peoples in the region.

Until today the general conception of the Sama Bajo among many scholars and knowledgeable observers has been based on a limited understanding of the history and culture of these groups. The common historical depiction of these communities, which is for the most part rooted in seventeenth century and later European ethnographic accounts, portrays the Sama Bajo of Indonesia as simple nomads of the sea who roamed the archipelago in small family units, living on their boats, engaging in subsistence fishing, and collecting trepang, tortoiseshell, and other sea creatures to trade with predacious, or more sophisticated middlemen. In this view, the Sama Bajo were an acephalous community, without a known homeland, without a written language, and lacking any form of sociopolitical organization that could unify the numerous groups dispersed throughout the eastern Indonesian archipelago. As timid, scattered, and leaderless fisher folk, Sama Bajo peoples were therefore easily subjugated and made slaves of the large landed kingdoms of the region, namely the south Sulawesi kingdoms of Gowa and Bone. In line with this view of Sama Bajo history, it has long been assumed that most Sama Bajo were compelled to settle in villages only in the last century and, as a result, their former boat nomadic culture is rapidly disappearing in the face of modernity.3

3 Such fears and predictions regarding the disappearance of “true” or “pure” Sama Bajo culture have a long history in western and, more recently, Indonesian literature. Already in the 1680s, Robertus Padbrugge, who was governor of the Ternate comptoir of the Dutch East India Company, described the Sama Bajo in
While the above description of the Sama Bajo is not entirely inaccurate, it omits a great deal of the complexity of the Sama Bajo historical experience and largely overlooks their importance in the world of early modern Indonesia. The aim of this dissertation is to complicate this popular understanding of Sama Bajo history and culture by providing evidence for a more complex view of the Sama Bajo past, one that will bring into focus the enduring significance of these communities for Indonesian history.

Ethnographic and Historical Research on the Sama Bajo

A survey of the historical literature on Sama Bajo peoples reveals a persistent, centuries-long fascination with the Sama Bajo as exotic “sea nomads;” a singular people who know no other home than their boats, and who were purportedly so unaccustomed to dry land that they would fall ill if they spent too much time ashore. Given this enduring interest it is surprising that, to date, no monograph-length studies have been conducted on the history of the Sama Bajo of eastern Indonesia. Aside from a few excellent articles on the history of the Sama Bajo during the early modern period, the research focus has been primarily anthropological and has been largely concerned with the modern era (c.1800-present). Of these studies, a disproportionate amount has the Sama-speaking peoples of the southern Philippines and insular Malaysia as their subject.

There are a number of reasons to treat the history of the Sama Bajo of eastern Indonesia as historically and culturally distinct from their counterparts in the southern Philippines and northeastern Borneo, as I do in this dissertation. In this study, the primary reasons to focus on the Sama Bajo who operate principally in the eastern portion of the Indonesian archipelago are twofold: first, to direct

as a people who no longer were a pure race but, due to intermarriage with neighboring ethnic groups, were “a mixture of all sorts of people.” Nearly two centuries later, Dutch linguist B.F. Matthes likewise predicted in 1872 that the loss of the Sama Bajo language and identity, due to mixing with Makassarese and Bugis, would make it nearly impossible to learn anything of their history or culture. NA VOC Ternate 1376, f.305r; B.F. Matthes, “Eenige opmerkingen omtrent en naar aanleiding van dat gedeelte van Dr. J.J. de Hollander’s Handleiding bij de Beoefening der Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Oost-Indië hetwelk handelt over het Gouvernement van Celebes en Onderhoorigheden,” Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië (BKI) 19 (1872): 17.
scholarly attention to the particular historical experiences and cultures of these groups, as they are the least studied of all the maritime-oriented Sama speakers in Southeast Asia; and, second, to bring into sharper focus significant aspects of Sama Bajo history that will hopefully challenge readers to rethink many of the dominant conceptions regarding the eastern Indonesian Sama speaking populations and reevaluate their role in Southeast Asian history more generally.

Perhaps the earliest, and most influential study to include the Indonesian Sama Bajo groups is David Sopher’s *The Sea Nomads*. First published in 1965, Sopher’s work is primarily an extensive annotated review of published literature on the Sama Bajo of eastern Indonesia, as well as on the other “sea nomads” of Southeast Asia. Though he never conducted research in Southeast Asia and his study was limited to only published books and articles, Sopher nevertheless provided valuable descriptions of important aspects of the histories and cultures of these groups culled from a large body of Dutch, French, Spanish, and English literature. The origin of the various “sea nomad” groups was a primary concern of Sopher’s research, and based on these sources he advanced a hypothesis that all the “sea nomad” groups of Southeast Asia have ultimately a common origin. More recent research in historical linguistics has largely disproven Sopher’s theory by tracing the historical distribution of the Samalan ethnolinguistic group to an early homeland in the East Borneo-Sulu region and by highlighting the numerous linguistic, cultural, and historical differences between Sama-speaking groups and those “sea nomads” living in western maritime Southeast Asia, namely the Orang Laut, Moken, and Urak Lawoik. Still, Sopher’s work forms an invaluable repository of information on the Sama Bajo.

Anthropologists Arlo Nimmo and Clifford Sather also contributed to our general understanding of the larger Samalan ethnolinguistic group with a series of articles and monographs published around the same time as Sopher’s *The Sea Nomads*.4 Focusing on the maritime-oriented Sama speaking peoples of the southern

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4 Both Nimmo and Sather have published extensively since the 1960s, but perhaps their most representative works are, H. Arlo Nimmo, *Magosaha: An Ethnography of the Tawi-Tawi Sama Dilaut* (Manila: Ateneo de...
Philippines and northern Borneo, Nimmo and Sather produced the first detailed, modern ethnographies of these closely related groups and set the standard for subsequent scholarship. In reviewing the history of these groups, Sather, in particular, argued that the maritime-oriented Sama Bajo (which he calls the Bajau Laut, following the conventional pronunciation and spelling in the north Borneo region) lacked political integration and came to be subordinated within the local ethnic hierarchies of the region, “occupying a pariah-like status at the bottom” of society. Both Sather and Nimmo’s ethnographies also document what they perceived to be a long, gradual process of cultural transformation that began in the nineteenth century and culminated in the mid-twentieth century, whereby the once wholly boat-nomadic Sama Bajo became settled villagers. The works of Nimmo and Sather have contributed greatly to our overall understanding of the Sama Bajo of the southern Philippines and northeast Borneo, but many subsequent scholars have tended to uncritically transpose the historical experience of the Sama Bajo presented by Nimmo and Sather into the eastern Indonesian Sama Bajo context. There are indeed a number of similarities in terms of the language, history, and culture among the various maritime oriented Sama-speaking peoples of Southeast Asia, yet there are also major differences between these groups that are often overshadowed by commonalities. Such dissimilarity between the Sama speaking populations of eastern Indonesia and those of the southern Philippines and northeastern Borneo are most pronounced in the context of their respective relationships with landed populations of maritime Southeast Asia. In stark contrast to what Sather described for the Sama Bajo of northeast Borneo in the modern period, in this study I will show that the Sama Bajo of eastern Indonesia formed strong and lasting relationships with landed polities in the region, in which they were indispensable and therefore highly regarded throughout the early modern period.


5 Sather, *The Bajau Laut*, 90.
A few articles written in the decades following Nimmo and Sather’s early studies provided the initial suggestion that the history of the Sama Bajo in eastern Indonesia may indeed differ significantly from that of their counterparts in north Borneo and the southern Philippines. In an essay on the “Aquatic Populations” of Southeast Asia, anthropologist Christian Pelras briefly laid out several important findings regarding the Sama Bajo that he had come across in the course of his research on the Bugis peoples of south Sulawesi.\(^6\) Based on oral traditions and his broad knowledge of Bugis history, Pelras noted the close links between the Sama Bajo and the Bugis kingdom of Bone, and speculated on the existence of a formalized hierarchy and native leaders among the Sama Bajo groups of the region. Likewise, historian Leonard Andaya encountered scattered material on the Sama Bajo in his research on south Sulawesi and eastern Indonesia more generally, and compiled this information regarding their importance to landed polities in the region in his essay on “The Historical Links Between the Aquatic Populations and the Coastal Peoples of the Malay World and Celebes.”\(^7\) Drawing on his work in the VOC archives and in Bugis-Makassarese sources, Andaya suggested that the Sama Bajo’s skills as seafarers and collectors of sea products made them a valuable source of power and wealth for the Makassarese and Bugis rulers. Like Pelras, Andaya also provided early evidence for the existence of certain individuals of authority among the Sama Bajo groups who possibly acted as intermediaries between the dispersed population of Sama Bajo and the rulers of Gowa and Bone. In his essay on “The Rise of Makassar,” Anthony Reid also suggested a more prominent role for the Sama Bajo in the formation and growth of Gowa, the foremost Makassarese polity, and its thriving entrepot at Makassar (southwest Sulawesi).\(^8\) The evidence put forth in these studies not only provided clear indications that the early modern historical experience of the Sama Bajo in eastern Indonesia differed greatly from that of the southern

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Philippines and northern Borneo groups, these articles also set the trajectory for future research on this important period of history.

In addition to the abovementioned articles, important findings regarding the history of the Sama Bajo in eastern Indonesia were published in the work of scholars such as Heather Sutherland and Jim Fox. While not focused on the Sama Bajo, Sutherland’s work on the history of early modern Makassar, and on the trepang and tortoiseshell trades centered on Makassar in particular, have provided a great deal of important information on the larger context of these trades which were so very important to the Sama Bajo people of the region.\(^9\) I have relied extensively on Sutherland’s work on these topics in understanding the larger context of Sulawesian trade networks and the commodity chains through which products collected and traded by the Sama Bajo reached the international market, as well as for a detailed picture of the social world of eighteenth century Makassar, of which the Sama Bajo were such an important part. Likewise, in the course of ethnographic research on the populations of Rote, Savu, and Timor, anthropologist Jim Fox encountered important information regarding the Sama Bajo, and in 1977 he wrote an influential article on the eastern dispersal of the Sama Bajo using those sources.\(^10\) Based primarily on two reports found in the VOC archives of the Timor comptoir, in conjunction with subsequent research in published sources, Fox presented a tentative hypothesis for the movement of Sama Bajo peoples into the Nusa Tenggara region of eastern Indonesia (see Map 9), positing that this movement began in the early to mid-eighteenth century as a result of their search for trepang, with settlement taking place only in the early nineteenth century. While his proposed chronology requires modification, Fox’s efforts to make sense of Sama Bajo activities in this important period have greatly advanced our general

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knowledge of Sama Bajo history.\textsuperscript{11} This dissertation builds upon Fox’s preliminary study through a critical examination of new materials on the Sama Bajo found in the VOC archives, Sama Bajo oral traditions, and local historical manuscripts written in the Bugis and Makassarese languages.

In each of the examples of important published research referenced above, valuable information on Sama Bajo peoples was primarily encountered in the process of researching one or another of the neighboring populations in eastern Indonesia. In these studies, findings pertaining to the Sama Bajo were a significant byproduct of their primary research focus. Aside from these select articles that have made Sama Bajo history a central or at least ancillary focus, references to the Sama Bajo in a historical context have typically appeared in studies focused on one of the landed polities or populations of the region rather than a research project dedicated to understanding the particular history of the Sama Bajo. Indeed, few scholars have devoted their efforts to systematic ethnographic and archival research focused specifically on the Sama Bajo. Nevertheless, because of the great mobility of the Sama Bajo and their widespread involvement in several areas of the eastern archipelago, the excellent work done on eastern Indonesian trade networks and commodity chains, and on the numerous ethnic communities, polities, and kingdoms of the region has provided the historical and cultural context necessary to situate the Sama Bajo within the larger framework in which they operated. It will be apparent throughout this study that the history of the Sama Bajo is far-reaching and involves numerous different landed polities and populations in eastern Indonesia. The histories of these neighboring communities, therefore, constitute an essential component in the larger narrative of Sama Bajo history, and the history of the Sama Bajo likewise forms a crucial element in the histories of the region’s various populations.

\textsuperscript{11} One can get a sense of the history of Fox’s important article and how it came to be published from reading a series of correspondences between Fox and the renowned Dutch scholar, J. Noorduyn, which came about in the context of compiling a list of scholars and recent research on Sama-speaking communities for a planned conference and circular on the state of the field of Samalan studies. This correspondence and many others are in the Noorduyn Collection (Collectie Noorduyn) in the Special Collections of the KITLV. KITLV H 1514, no. 210.
Of those studies that have made the Sama Bajo of eastern Indonesia their explicit focus, the focus has again been primarily anthropological. In the late 1970s, anthropologist Francois Zacot was among the first to conduct extensive fieldwork among the Sama Bajo of eastern Indonesia, living for nearly two years among the Sama Bajo communities of Pulau Nain and Torosiaje in north Sulawesi. In addition to a conference paper on the role of the Sama Bajo language as a unifying element in processes of identity formation among the geographically dispersed Sama Bajo people, Zacot published a valuable ethnography in French, which was later translated into Indonesian. In this work Zacot detailed numerous aspects of Sama Bajo culture and language, and also provided useful information on the history of his research areas based on recorded oral traditions, though most of Zacot’s material focused on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.12 Anthropologist Celia Lowe also conducted research in north Sulawesi, focusing her attention on the Sama Bajo of the Togean Archipelago, which is located in the east-facing Tomini Bay of north Sulawesi. In particular, Lowe’s work has drawn critical attention to the popular conception of the Sama Bajo as wandering sea nomads.13 By detailing culturally-specific practices of mobility, such as those involved in the search for sea products, and by highlighting the Togean Sama Bajo’s deep, historically rooted attachment to specific places in the seascape as well as those on land, Lowe provides a powerful argument for rethinking the dominant ethnography of Indonesian Sama Bajo communities. In writing this dissertation, I build on Lowe’s work and I argue that the various seas and littorals of eastern Indonesia are lived spaces which hold deep cultural and historical significance for the Sama Bajo peoples of the region. Rather than wandering sea nomads, the Sama Bajo are strongly connected to a number of specific places in the archipelago, and their familiarity with those numerous spaces stems in great part from their mobile mode of adaptation to the sea.

In roughly the same period as Lowe, Jennifer Gaynor also conducted anthropological and historical research on the Sama Bajo. Focusing primarily on several communities in southeast Sulawesi, Gaynor’s dissertation addresses issues of social subordination, livelihood practices, and the possession by some Sama Bajo of lontaraq, which, in this context, are historical manuscripts written in the Bugis language and script, and which relate “stories of the distant past.” Importantly, Gaynor provides the first detailed discussion of a particular manuscript owned by a high-status Sama Bajo family in Lemobajo (southeast Sulawesi), which she refers to as “Lontaraq Bajo Lemobajo” (LB Lemobajo). In addition to a translation of a few brief passages from the first pages of the manuscript, Gaynor also analyzes the manuscript’s function in modern social and political contexts, and interprets a key portion of the manuscript’s narrative as “political myths” that “represent and re-figure the theme of social subordination,” in a way that offers Sama Bajo peoples “strategies for understanding, re-valuing and contesting the apparent realities of complex social hierarchies.” In 2011, I was fortunate to also be granted access to the LB Lemobajo manuscript by one of its owners. Rather than approaching the manuscript from a mostly theoretical perspective, as Gaynor did, in this dissertation I have instead chosen to analyze LB Lemobajo for its unique and extremely valuable historical content, situating it the context of a large and diverse body of primary sources and oral traditions in an effort to begin to unravel the complex history of two large and highly important Sama Bajo sociopolitical formations or polities: the Papuq polity, which came to form an alliance with the kingdoms of Gowa and Talloq sometime prior to the fifteenth century, and the Lolo Bajo polity, which formed a lasting partnership with the kingdom of Bone after Gowa and Talloq’s defeat in the Makassar War (1666-1669). Specific details regarding the LB Lemobajo manuscript, it owners past and present, its content, and the context of its production will be discussed below.

14 Lontaraq is the common term to refer to historical manuscripts written in the Bugis script and Bugis or Makassarese language.
16 I requested permission to photograph the manuscript during an earlier visit in 2007 and was politely told “maybe another time.” On my third visit to the family I decided to try my chances one more time and, fortunately, was given permission.
As mentioned above, in writing this history I have relied on the rich oral traditions and historical manuscripts of the Sama Bajo communities scattered throughout much of eastern Indonesia, in conjunction with historical sources produced by those ethnic communities with which the Sama Bajo interacted most closely, such as the Makassarese and Bugis of south Sulawesi, and the Bimanese of east Sumbawa, and others. I have also carefully examined the extensive records of the Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie, or VOC) and the later Dutch colonial government. When used separately these sources provide only a fragmented picture of Sama Bajo history, but combined they begin to reveal a fascinating and often surprising account of the Sama Bajo in the early modern period. It is, of course, important that the unique voice and particular vision of any one source not be lost in the din of other sources, but in this study I have sought to center the voices and perceptions of the Sama Bajo peoples wherever possible.

Sama Bajo Oral and Written Traditions

Considering that the Sama Bajo are a primarily oral culture, I have relied extensively on their oral traditions and life histories that I collected throughout the region over the last few years. In conducting interviews and conversations regarding matters of culture, language, fishing, navigation, warfare, and history more generally, my attention was drawn to a genre of sung oral traditions known as *iko-iko* (also referred to in some Sama dialects as *ikiko*). Although I had previously heard of *iko-iko* as a “dying art” of a supposedly disappearing culture, it was a gentle reprimand from an elderly Sama Bajo woman in the village of Mola (Pulau Wanci, Tukangbesi archipelago, Southeast Sulawesi) that underscored the importance of *iko-iko* as one of the primary mediums by which the Sama Bajo recorded and communicated their past. “If you want to learn about past times (*kadauluang*),” she told me, “you must listen to *iko-iko*. That is Sama history.”

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17 Interview with Mboq Hading, Mola Selatan (Tukangbesi, SE Sulawesi), 13-03-2011. Mboq Hading’s admonition regarding *iko-iko* was subsequently echoed by numerous other Sama Bajo elders I was fortunate to meet in villages across the region.
Iko-iko are perhaps best described as sung epics that narrate Sama Bajo stories of prominent figures and events from "past times" (kadauluang). These kadauluang stories typically involve a brave male figure who undertakes a voyage or several voyages and faces various forms of adversity in the process, including deadly pirates and powerful rulers, and usually does so in order to rescue or win the heart of a beautiful Sama Bajo woman. While this sort of bildungsroman-styled storyline is perhaps universal, the content of iko-iko is culturally specific and nuanced in a way that is uniquely Sama Bajo. Each story contains elements of love, pain, bravery, fear, humility and pride, poverty and riches, and evokes strong emotions from the listeners. The content, therefore, is at times didactic, but the main thrust of the story is to recreate the world of past times for a present-day audience.

Sung in baong Sama (the Sama Bajo language) with a phrase or two in other languages, such as Makassarese and Mandarese, iko-iko are comprised of stanzas of rich, highly descriptive prose, interspersed with melodious vowel-sound utterances (e.g., eee..., ooo...) that serve as mental pauses for the singer. Each singer has a unique style, but iko-iko are typically sung in an undulating manner, each stanza beginning with a high, almost wailing burst of melody and prose which then progressively drops in tone until the stanza is completed and is again inflected by the high tones of the next stanza’s opening words. Iko-iko regularly last several hours with few or no breaks taken by the singer, and many elders spoke nostalgically about particular tales that require one or two days to complete if done properly. Of those I was fortunate to hear and record, the longest was thirteen hours in duration and the shortest was nearly two hours.

The length of such performances is particularly impressive considering that iko-iko are recited entirely from memory. These songs are transmitted through the generations, typically from one member of an extended family or village to another, through a process of frequent repetition and exposure and, in my experience, are never written down. Iko-iko are typically without titles in the strict sense, but are usually referred to by the name of the main character or characters of the story (e.g., the story of the Sama Bajo man named Si Nyillang is most often known as iko-iko Si Nyillang), and that is the practice I follow here.
The richly evocative language of *iko-iko* draws on baong Sama terms, concepts, idioms, and images that assume a high degree of cultural literacy; a fact which strongly indicates that *iko-iko* were and are intended for a Sama Bajo audience. In *iko-iko* the singer employs this powerful imagery rooted in culturally specific knowledge in order to recreate for the audience the world of past times. *Iko-iko* recall numerous toponyms, each weighted with historical and contemporary importance. The singer will describe these settings in such a way that knowledgeable members of a Sama Bajo audience are able to visualize the particular seascape: the islands, reefs, atolls, and fishing grounds where past events took place, and where they too may have traveled, reinforcing the historicity of the seas and littorals of eastern Indonesia for Sama Bajo peoples. The poetic and descriptive language of *iko-iko* also works to conjure feelings and emotions that reinforce the realism of the story being told. In describing the setting, for example, the singer need only to use certain baong Sama terms in order to set a scene redolent with feeling, emotion, and even nostalgia. In the opening stanzas of *iko-iko* *Si Mungkammaq*, the singer sets such a scene and uses the phrase, “...*bona ineinu dugirri mabasarna deq kapuakah waktu*,” asking the audience to visualize “...the rising tide at the time of *kapuakah*. ” When translated for a *Bagai* (non-Sama Bajo) audience, the phrase may only describe a high tide, but for a Sama Bajo audience the concept of *kapuakah* signifies a particular tide, time of day, and season, as *kapuakah* typically refers to times of the year when the extreme tidal shifts occur in the early dawn hours or in the last hours of the evening. Thus, the singer asks the audience to recall the time of *kapuakah*, a time of fishing or gleaning in the peaceful and beautiful moments surrounding the rising or setting sun, bringing to mind the sights, smells, and sensations associated with the particular *kapuakah* experience.

One of the most fascinating characteristics of *iko-iko* is the vast geographical distribution of particular stories and the surprising degree of uniformity in terms of content and the style and context of delivery of these stories regardless of where they are performed. Like many other oral traditions, any attempt to date a particular *iko-iko* will necessarily be imprecise, as for most *iko-iko*, compositional agency is refracted through a succession of singers who are dispersed through time and
space, and the original composer almost always remains unknown. The case of *iko-iko Si Mungkammaq* as I recorded it may serve as an example.

*Si Mungkammaq* was first sung for me by Mboq Jumilla, a 75 year-old Sama Bajo man who since birth has lived in the village of Mantigola, off the west coast of Kaledupa island (Tukangbesi, southeast Sulawesi). Mboq Jumilla learned the art of *iko-iko* and nearly his entire repertoire of stories from his father Mboq Ganda. Mboq Jumilla recalled his father singing *iko-iko* during daily fishing trips in the Kaledupa littoral and during longer ventures to the more distant Kapota and Kaledupa atolls. His father would sing *iko-iko* while sailing, paddling, repairing or setting fishing nets, or while waiting out tidal shifts and changes in the ocean’s currents. Mboq Jumilla has particularly vivid memories of *pongkeq* trips to the atolls, when resting at day’s end several families would fasten together their small sailing vessels, called *soppeq*, and someone would call for Mboq Ganda to sing a particular *iko-iko*: “Ooo Uwa Sahir, sing for us *iko-iko Si Mungkammaq*.” In the dark night, with each family resting in their respective boat, Mboq Ganda would sing, and in the case of *Si Mungkammaq*, the performance would last well into the morning hours. In addition to singing while at sea, in the past both Mboq Ganda and Mboq Jumilla were regularly invited to sing at village gatherings, such as circumcision or wedding ceremonies, but according to Mboq Jumilla and others in Mantigola, these sorts of invited public performances have been absent from Tukangbesi village life for at least fifteen years.

It was in the accumulation of such experiences that Mboq Jumilla eventually learned the various *iko-iko* in his father’s repertoire. Likewise, Mboq Jumilla’s father, Mboq Ganda, who was born on a *soppeq* in Lagoro (east coast of Buton) c.1900, is said to have developed his skills as a singer of *iko-iko* in the same manner, learning the songs through frequent exposure to the singing of his grandfather, a Sama Bajo sailor named Mboq Larigi. Mboq Jumilla did not know where his great-grandfather

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18 *Uwa* or *Wwa* is the baong Sama term for “father” and is typically used in conjunction with the name of the eldest child. In this case, Mboq Ganda’s eldest son was Sahir, and was often called Uwa Sahir by his peers.

19 Interview with Mboq Jumilla, Pak Ator, Pak Juna, and Puto Kuddi, Sampela (Tukangbesi, SE Sulawesi) 02-04-2011, part 1.
Mboq Larigi was born, but he remembered hearing stories frequently as a child about Mboq Larigi's exploits as an anakoda (captain) in the waters around Kolaka and Kabaena (southeast Sulawesi).

Roughly 345 miles to the south-southwest of Mboq Jumilla's home in Mantigola, another man performed the *iko-iko Si Mungkammaq* while we sat in a small boat off the coast of a Sama Bajo village on Rinca island, which lies between the islands of Sumbawa and Flores. This man, Lolo Sahaka, was in his mid-60s and had not performed for an audience in over twenty years, but still regularly sang *iko-iko* while fishing, working, or sailing. On his small boat, moored off the mangrove forest of Kalong islet, Lolo Sahaka sang for seven hours through the night, occasionally pausing to sip his water and light another *kretek* cigarette, and only finished as the sun was rising. Save for stylistic differences, Lolo Sahaka's version of *Si Mungkammaq* did not differ greatly from that of Mboq Jumilla. The storyline, the characters, and most stanzas were nearly identical, but Lolo Sahaka was able to lengthen the story through repetition and elongating descriptive sections; a common technique which can extend the story almost indefinitely and is used by singers of oral epics in several regions of the world.\(^20\) Lolo Sahaka learned *iko-iko Si Mungkammaq* from his grandfather, Lolo Kimung, who was born in Rinca in the years following World War II. Lolo Kimung, in turn, learned from his father, Lolo Mandasia, who was a high-status Sama Bajo man born in Bajoé (Gulf of Bone, southwest Sulawesi). After the Dutch conquest of Bajoé in 1905, Lolo Mandasia left to Kolaka, then Kendari (both in southeast Sulawesi), and onto the village of Bajo on the east coast of Sumbawa, before finally settling in Rinca in the late 1930s. As a child Lolo Sahaka had heard both his grandfather and father sing *iko-iko* while on extended fishing and collecting trips around the many islands and reefs that dot the waters between Sumbawa and Flores.\(^21\)

Like the Sama Bajo people themselves, *iko-iko* too are geographically dispersed throughout eastern Indonesia and the lineages of singers of *iko-iko*


\(^{21}\) Interview with Lolo Sahaka, Rinca, 20-06-2011
described above offer a sense of some of the routes these songs have traveled in the last century. Yet, these songs have circulated much more broadly than the particular routes traveled by the families of Mboq Jumilla and Lolo Sahaka. In every village I visited, from Sulawesi through to the islands of the Solor-Alor archipelago (East Nusa Tenggara) and the Timor region, a standard list of well-known and well-loved songs were recalled by elders, of which *iko-iko Si Mungkammaq* is one. Beyond the areas where I visited, *iko-iko* have also been recorded as far west as the Kangean islands (northeast of Java) and in Kota Baru (southeastern Borneo). The ability to sing *iko-iko* is by no means common, but even Sama Bajo elders who could not sing *iko-iko* are commonly able to summarize the stories of several *iko-iko* and people often spoke nostalgically about hearing certain songs in the past. It is in this sense that *iko-iko* serve as a unifying element linking geographically dispersed and distinct Sama Bajo communities through a once common cultural form of recording and telling history.

Among Sama Bajo peoples *iko-iko* are generally spoken of as being based on actual events and peoples from the distant past. Distinctions therefore were often drawn between *pakkanaang* (fairytales or myth) and *kadauluang* (past times), with *iko-iko* falling under the latter category. Unlike *pakkanaang*, which are “created” or “made” (*papugat*), *iko-iko* are said to be things that actually happened in past times and are now enshrined in song. Though, as I will discuss below, Sama Bajo peoples have various other means of recording and remembering the past, *iko-iko* are a powerful and uniquely Sama Bajo form of historical recollection. As one elderly man once told me, “If we do not sing, how can we remember [the story].”

It is perhaps impossible to identify and date the specific historical events and personalities featured in *iko-iko*, but there are indications of the antiquity of these songs. Foremost, in nearly every *iko-iko* I recorded were a number of terms, phrases,
idioms, and metaphors in what might be termed an archaic form of baong Sama. I include in this description a number of nautical and shipboard terms, older forms of common words, and entire phrases, the meanings of which were known only to a handful of elders.24 Additionally, elements in the stories themselves can sometimes provide a rough estimate of the time period involved. The use of shipboard cannons on pirate and other native vessels, or the ubiquitous presence of Ilanun and Tobelo pirates, for example, indicates a rough time frame between the mid-eighteenth and late nineteenth centuries.25

It would be a mistake, however, to conceive of iko-iko as form of historical record to be mined for facts and data in the Western historiographical sense. In this dissertation I am not so much concerned with determining the antiquity of the iko-iko or locating the events in a precise chronological framework. In thinking about Sama Bajo history, I view iko-iko as an important form of historical memory that communicates the essence of past times and provides what might be considered a uniquely Sama Bajo perspective on the past. Not only are iko-iko rich in cultural and historical knowledge regarding matters of sailing and navigation, fishing, trade, social relationships, and village life, but they can also provide a sense of what Sama Bajo peoples have deemed important enough to remember and to communicate to future generations.

Today, iko-iko unfortunately are an increasingly rare element in Sama Bajo community life, as those who know the numerous stories and possess the memory and skill required to perform them according to tradition are increasingly few in number. The few remaining skilled singers are often without a successor who has sufficiently learned the stories of the elders. In contemporary Sama Bajo communities, iko-iko and those who transmit this unique form of historical and

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24 Cf. Nuraini’s assertion that iko-iko in Kangean do not use archaic language and are readily understandable to all in the audience. Nuraini, “Langue et Production,” 185.

25 Of course, these additions can be attached to much older stories so that they are constantly up to date. On the Tobelo groups see, Adrian B. Lapian, “Pelayaran Orang Tobelo Dalam Sumber Sejarah (Abad XVIII dan XIX),” in Halmahera dan Raja Ampat Sebagai Kesatuan Majemuk: Studi Terhadap Suatu Daerah Transisi. Buletin LEKNAS 2.2., ed. E.K.M. Masinambow (Jakarta: LIPI, 1983), 289-314. James F. Warren has written extensively on the Ilanun groups, but his The Sulu Zone is still the most extensive treatment. Warren, The Sulu Zone, 1768-1898: The Dynamics of External Trade, Slavery, and Ethnicity in the Transformation of a Southeast Asian Maritime State (Singapore, Singapore University Press, 1981).
cultural knowledge are no longer the center of attention or a source of entertainment for younger generations. Replaced by modern forms of popular music and television entertainment, the art form itself is sometimes ridiculed by the village youth. The fact that, during my visit Lolo Sahaka’s eldest daughter scolded him and asked that he not sing iko-iko in the village lest he become the subject of ridicule, while those of his age group implored him to do so, epitomizes this generational gap that now exists in many villages. For this reason, historical research was by no means the only motivation for me to seek out and record iko-iko across eastern Indonesia. With each visit to a village where the last “singer of tales” had recently passed away, and to those villages where no one under the age of thirty or forty had ever heard an iko-iko, the need to record and preserve some of these important songs for current and future generations of Sama Bajo peoples became a priority of my research.26

In addition to oral traditions like iko-iko, there are a few extant lontaraq manuscripts owned by high status Sama Bajo families that form another invaluable source of Sama Bajo history. Written in the Bugis language and in the Bugis script, these extremely rare manuscripts relate the histories of certain Sama Bajo groups in eastern Indonesia from well before the Makassar War (1666-1669) to the early twentieth century. The lengthiest of these manuscripts is in the possession of a high status Sama Bajo family living in the small coastal village of Lemobajo, north of Kendari (southeast Sulawesi). As stated earlier, a few brief passages from the first pages of this manuscript were first translated and analyzed in a dissertation by anthropologist Jennifer Gaynor, but no extensive historical or philological study of the entire manuscript has been published to date.

Gaynor described the original photocopy of the manuscript that she made in 1990 as “a codex of about 300 pages; roughly the first 150 of these are narrative. The rest are a collection of kotikas and other Bugis mystical and numerological sorts

26 In each of the areas where I recorded iko-iko I gave digital copies of the recorded songs to the families of the singers and I am working on producing a collection of transcribed iko-iko which will I hope to distribute to interested Sama Bajo communities and to libraries in Indonesia.
of diagrams.” In 2011, I was allowed to photograph the same manuscript with permission from Haji Mahmud, the husband of the manuscript’s current owner, Maulana. Unfortunately, in the years since Gaynor first acquired the manuscript its condition has deteriorated considerably, with numerous pages no longer legible or missing entirely. However, with the assistance of a local scholar I was fortunate to receive a photocopy of the manuscript that was made in the mid 1990s by a local museum in Kendari, and therefore was in much better condition than the original, containing roughly 150 pages of narrative and dozens of pages of kotikas. As this lontaraq does not have a title, throughout this study I will refer to it as Lontaraq Bajo Lemobajo (LB Lemobajo), retaining the title given by Gaynor.

In her dissertation Gaynor discusses at length what she learned regarding the provenance of the manuscript and the history of its ownership, so I will discuss here only a few of the relevant details she raised, as well as some of my own information and views on these matters. As mentioned above, an elderly Sama Bajo woman in Lemobajo named Maulana is the current owner of the LB Lemobajo. She and her husband are both descendants of a long line of high status Sama Bajo who bear the title of “Lolo.” This title signifies one’s descent from the bloodline of Sama Bajo nobility and, in former times, it is from this lineage that the paramount leaders of the Sama Bajo polities were chosen. This title, its history, and its significance form an important component of the histories of numerous Sama Bajo groups in eastern Indonesia, especially those who came to ally with the kingdom of Bone after the Makassar War (1666-1669) and formed what I call the Lolo Bajo polity, and thus will be discussed in detail throughout this dissertation.

27 Gaynor, “Liquid Territory,” 122 fn.128
28 Gaynor has her name as “Molana,” but I spell it as “Maulana” following a typed silsilah or family genealogy created and given to me by Haji Mahmud. Maulana is largely deaf and unable to speak to visitors, and in recent decades her husband has presented himself as the owner of the manuscript to inquiring visitors. See Gaynor, “Liquid Territory,” 171.
29 I am indebted to Anwar Hafid of Universitas Haluoleo in Kendari for informing me of the museum copy of the LB Lemobajo and for helping to arrange for a photocopy of that copy. On Bugis kotika, see B.F. Matthes, “De Makassaarsche en Boegineesche Kotika’s,” in Dr. Benjamin Frederick Matthes: Zijn Leven en Arbeid in Dienst van het Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap, ed. H. van den Brink (Amsterdam: Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap, 1943), 458-96.
30 See in particular, Gaynor, “Liquid Territory,” 204-209.
According to oral traditions retained by Haji Mahmud and Maulana's family, LB Lemobajo was first inscribed in Bajoé, on the western shore of the Gulf of Bone, and the current inscription was carried to Kendari by way of other areas in south and southeast Sulawesi when the family left Bajoé, mostly likely in the period of the 1905 conquest of that area by the Dutch. From oral traditions and family genealogies we know that for at least the last three generations this manuscript and other heirloom objects were passed down through the female line, from youngest daughter to youngest daughter, ending with Maulana. Furthermore, it is likely that this was a continuation of a much earlier practice, as I was often told by knowledgeable Sama Bajo elders that, in former times, adat (customary law) required such regalia and symbols of status and authority be passed down through the youngest female offspring.31

Although a much more rigorous philological study of the LB Lemobajo manuscript is necessary, based on the contents alone we can suggest rough timeframes for the composition of certain sections of the manuscript. For instance, the manuscript’s extensive treatment of Bone’s war with the English in 1814 would, of course, indicate that at least those portions of the manuscript could not have been composed prior to 1814. There is, however, one section of the manuscript where the date of the most recent inscription is clearly recorded. Though this particular scribe remains anonymous to us, he or she writes: “Salamaq, [this is] copied from an old lontaraq in Lemo[bajo], copied in this village in the month of Muharram on Friday in the year 1333 Hijrah, the same as 1916 CE [c. November, 1914].”32 We can therefore be certain that a portion of this manuscript was copied from an older lontaraq in late 1914, after this particular family of high-status Sama Bajo moved from Bajoé (or an intermediary site) to Lemobajo. Furthermore, there are indications in the last quarter of the manuscript—that portion which follows the signature of the last known scribe—that this particular scribe may have added material to the manuscript rather than simply “copying” the old. As these matters will be discussed

31 I did, however, encounter a few exceptions to this both in circumstances where the absence of female offspring led to inheritance through the male line, and where male offspring inherited heirloom items rather than the female sibling.
32 LB Lemobajo, f.131-132 (sec.249).
in detail in chapter five, I will just mention that in addition to meaningful changes to the reign list of Sama Bajo rulers (the Lolo Bajo), there are also great differences between the style of Bugis script used in this portion of the manuscript and the style used in earlier sections. Also, there is at times a shift in language, such as the use of Malay rather than Bugis numbers and titles to describe the Lolo Bajo in the reign list.

Much like other lontaraq found in south Sulawesi, significant sections of the narrative in the LB Lemobajo manuscript appear to have borrowed loosely from other well-known south Sulawesi histories, including the famous Bugis La Galigo cycle, the widely known Makassarese epic Sinriliqna Kappalaq Tallumbatua, and elements of a lesser known manuscript believed to have been from the collection of the Bone court titled Lontaraq Bajoé/Bone.33 What is interesting, however, is not so much that the author(s) of the LB Lemobajo manuscript integrated these external narratives into the history of those Sama Bajo groups loyal to Bone, but the particular way in which these narratives are used.

LB Lemobajo, for instance, opens with a uniquely Sama Bajo rendition of a scene from the La Galigo cycle, a massive corpus of versified Bugis language oral traditions which narrate the origins and subsequent histories of an undetermined period of the Bugis past and that have been widely borrowed and incorporated into the written and oral traditions of communities throughout south Sulawesi. In this opening scene, the legendary figure of Sawerigading, who is the Opu, or lord, of Wareq, fells the giant wélénreng tree in order to build a boat to take him to the land of Cina, where he intends to marry the daughter of the Opu Cina. In cutting down the tree, Sawerigading causes a massive flood, as all the birds of the world had nested in the tree and the tree’s collapse created a deluge of fluids from the broken eggs.34

33 The Lontaraq Bajoé/Bone manuscript comes from the personal collection of the late Muhammad Salim. After examining the manuscript’s contents at my request, several Bugis scholars were of the opinion that the manuscript was produced for the Bone court. We cannot, however, be certain. Nurhayati Rahman, personal communication, 01-07-2011. Muhlis Hadrawi, personal communication, 04-04-2011. Petta Sipeq, personal communication, 09-06-2011.
34 For an interesting account of the tale as it is still told in the area of Ussuq itself, see David Bulbeck, “Sacred Places in Ussu and Cerekang, South Sulawesi, Indonesia: Their History, Ecology, and Pre-Islamic Relation with the Bugis Kingdom of Luwuq,” in Transcending the Culture-Nature Divide in Cultural
While this and other episodes of the cycle are found in oral and written traditions throughout the region, in the Sama Bajo version this episode serves an important etiological function. As we will see in chapter two, for the Sama Bajo the flood is cited as the reason why the Sama Bajo ended up in the southwest Sulawesi littoral. Thus, the author of LB Lemobajo creatively appropriates this episode of the La Galigo cycle in order to explain to the reader how it is that the Sama Bajo people and their leader, known by the title of Papuq, came to live in the realm of the Makassarese polity of Gowa and form a strong relationship with the ruling lineage of that kingdom. When this modified version of the La Galigo episode ends, the narrative of LB Lemobajo then goes on to convey important aspects of the early relationship of the Sama Bajo to Gowa and, I argue, it does so in a manner explicitly intended to emphasize that the Sama Bajo entered into a relationship of equals rather than strictly as subordinates.

After recounting the early history of relations with Gowa, the LB Lemobajo narrative then jumps somewhat abruptly into the long story of the exile and eventual return to south Sulawesi of Petta Torisompaé La Tenritatta Arung Palakka Matinroe ri Bontoalaq (c.1635-1696), popularly known simply as Arung Palakka, the Bugis noble who would eventually defeat Gowa-Talloq with the help of the VOC and become the ruler of Bone in the late seventeenth century. The form in which this episode is recounted is clearly based on the Makassarese epic Sinriliqna Kappalaq Tallumbatua (“Tale of the Three Ships”), a well-known oral tradition that circulated widely in south Sulawesi and was enshrined in written form by the early twentieth century. The LB Lemobajo version of this well-known epic follows Petta Torisompaé (Arung Palakka) from his childhood as a royal attendant in the house of Karaeng Pattingalloang in Gowa-Talloq, to his eventual exile and journey to seek allies in Buton, Ternate, and Batavia, and on to his defeat of the ruler of Pariaman (Sumatra) on behalf of the VOC Governor General in Batavia before returning

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Heritage: Views from the Asia-Pacific Region, eds. Sally Brockwell, et.al. (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 2013), 171-190.


36 A transliteration of the Makassarese MS 182 manuscript can be found in the KITLV Or.545/259. A lontaraq inscription of the sinriliq can be found in KITLV Or.698, roll 55, no.20.
triumphantly to Makassar with his allies to avenge the shame of his exile. After several pages of text dedicated to narrating the epic journey of Arung Palakka, the LB Lemobajo author then brings the Sama Bajo people back into the narrative for a brief moment when, immediately before the joint Bone-VOC attack on Makassar, the Karaeng, or ruler, of Gowa advises that the Sama Bajo people in his realm seek refuge outside of Gowa during the impending war. The episode concludes with a popular oral tradition describing the trickery of the Dutch in acquiring land in Makassar from their ally Arung Palakka.

The narrative then returns the Sama Bajo to center stage, relating the beginnings of their relationship with Arung Palakka as the Arumpone (paramount ruler) of Bone and the origin of their settlement at Bajoé on the western shore of the Gulf of Bone. The remainder of LB Lemobajo then focuses on various important events centering on the relationship of the Sama Bajo to the Bone court and the role of the Lolo Bajo as paramount leader of those Sama Bajo groups loyal to Bone. These sections of LB Lemobajo provide extremely rare glimpses into the history of these powerful and important groups of Sama Bajo from the late seventeenth to mid-nineteenth century and thus serve as a principal source for this study. It is important to note that several sections of this part of the manuscript’s narrative are also very similar to a significant portion of the narrative set of the Lontaraq Bajoé/Bone manuscript, and certain passages are identical. The Lontaraq Bajoé/Bone is mostly concerned with events in Bone during the British interregnum (1811-1816). The British abolished the privileges accorded to Bone by the Dutch in the Bungaya Contract in 1667 during the Makassar War, and they eventually attacked the port of Bajoé and other coastal settlements in 1814. The main difference between the narrative of these events in LB Lemobajo and that of the


38 Few accounts of these events have been published. Of these, Nijpels and Patunru offer the best summaries. G. Nijpels, Onze strijd in Zuid-West Seelbes tot 1838 en de daaruit te putten lessen (Batavia: Java Boekhandel en Drukkerij, 1902), 49-61; Abdurrazak Daeng Patunru, Sejarah Bone (Ujung Pandang: Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan, 1989).
*Lontaraq Bajoé/Bone*, is that the LB Lemobajo is entirely focused on recounting the brave exploits and military prowess of the Sama Bajo in Bajoé during the war, emphasizing their loyalty to the Lolo Bajo and the Arumpone and their fortitude in the defense of Bajoé and other coastal villages of Bone.

Furthermore, the manner in which these elements from other histories are incorporated into LB Lemobajo suggests that they were likely taken from oral rather than written forms of these traditions. There is evidence for this in the text itself. For example, the versions of these traditions used in LB Lemobajo differ greatly from the “original” while retaining key and often very memorable features of the plot and storyline. Thus, while the metanarrative and basic storyline of the *Sinriliqna Kappalaq Tallumbatua* is present in LB Lemobajo, it is a streamlined version, with many characters absent, fewer places visited by the hero, and, most importantly, the function or purpose of the story has been adapted to suit the needs of a Sama Bajo-centric history. In addition, the retention of highly repetitive components from the “original” is a characteristic of oral traditions, as these serve a mnemonic function for the storyteller. Such oral elements can also be found in Bugis and Makassar manuscripts. In LB Lemobajo, as in other Bugis and Makassar texts, therefore, the interrelationship between oral and written forms is fluid, with the text frequently shifting between the two registers.39

Despite these borrowed elements, I would argue that LB Lemobajo should be considered a “work,” meaning “a body of text which, once at least, possessed a unity of some sort in the mind of its creator.”40 Gaynor argues that, “there is a good deal of evidence [in the text] to support the likelihood that LB Lemobajo was produced by Bone for the purpose of authoritatively recognizing the legitimacy of a particular Sama [Bajo] lineage.”41 While it is clear that the manuscript was written in order to demonstrate the power and authority of a particular Sama Bajo lineage, I have found little evidence to suggest that the Bone court was directly responsible for the

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composition of LB Lemobajo. On the contrary, a close reading of the manuscript reveals several points in which the author(s) goes to great lengths to emphasize the agency and authority of the Lolo Bajo as the ruler and representative of the Sama Bajo, perhaps even to the point of suggesting that the loyalty of the Sama Bajo people is first and foremost to the paramount Lolo Bajo, and only then to Bone.

While it is possible that a Bugis scribe was entrusted with the task of composing or inscribing the work, it is equally possible that a Sama Bajo scribe may have been used. The fact that a significant portion of the LB Lemobajo manuscript was “copied” in Kendari, a considerable distance from the royal center of Bone, suggests that at least one scribe was a Sama Bajo of high status. Furthermore, given the long and close relationship of Sama Bajo peoples to the kingdom of Bone, as well as the level of familiarity with the Bugis script among many Sama Bajo elders even today, it is highly possible that a Sama Bajo was the initial scribe of the LB Lemobajo.

There is, nevertheless, a possibility that the scribe may have been Bugis since the LB Lemobajo itself mentions that a Bugis interpreter (anreguru jurubasa) was appointed by the Arumpone to live with the paramount Lolo Bajo in the seaboard center of Bajoé during the reign of Sultan Bone Petta Matinróé ri Rompegading (r.1775-1812).

While the original scribe or the date of initial composition may never be known, it is clear that LB Lemobajo is a history of and for an important group of Sama Bajo peoples who came to be allied with the Bugis kingdom of Bone in the late seventeenth century. Indeed, the overall thrust of the work—even those sections apparently borrowed from other manuscripts or oral traditions—is the recounting of important moments in Sama Bajo history that help to legitimize the power and prestige of those of the Lolo Bajo lineage who developed strong links to Bone period of the Makassar War. The events contained in LB Lemobajo offer a rare and invaluable glimpse into hitherto unexamined areas of the Sama Bajo historical experience, and therefore constitute one of the most important sources we have for the study of Sama Bajo history.

In addition to LB Lemobajo, there are two related manuscripts kept in collections in the Netherlands that contain histories that are nearly identical to the
largest narrative portion of LB Lemobajo. We know very little about the provenance of these manuscripts, which were both given the title of "Geschiedenis Badjo" (Sama Bajo History) by Dutch scholar A.A. Cense. Both manuscripts were originally part of the Matthes Stichting (Matthes Foundation, MS) collection of Makassarese and Bugis lontaraq, most of which were copied from earlier manuscripts sometime during the first half of the twentieth century and are now kept in the Special Collections section of the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (KITLV) library.

Manuscript MS 260 is listed as a copy of a lontaraq manuscript from Kolonodale (east Sulawesi), and that the copy was made in 1940 by Abdul Djamali on behalf of the Matthes Stichting. The MS 260 copy of the manuscript is fifty-five pages in length and is written in the Bugis language and script. The second manuscript, MS 250a, is a typescript Malay translation of MS 260, also made for the Matthes Stichting, but the translator and the date of translation are unknown.

Interestingly, among a few knowledgeable Sama Bajo elders living in areas of Sulawesi, Selayar, Flores, and west Timor, it is said that the LB Lemobajo was originally one of four related manuscripts, or “sister manuscripts” as Gaynor refers to them. While we cannot be certain of their relation to LB Lemobajo, the narrative contained in the MS manuscripts is much the same as that of LB Lemobajo, though there are a number of minor variations and a few sections are omitted altogether. These and other differences will be discussed in relevant sections throughout this dissertation. Despite these differences, however, I believe it is correct to consider MS 260 as a version of the same work as the LB Lemobajo. At the very least, the existence of a nearly identical “lontaraq Bajo” in Kolonodale suggests that LB Lemobajo, as a work, may have at one time circulated more widely than one might assume based on the scarcity of extant manuscripts among Sama Bajo peoples today.

43 Caldwell and Macknight, “Variation in Bugis Manuscripts,” 141.
44 In a large percentage of Sama Bajo villages where I conducted research, I heard rumors regarding the existence of lontaraq that told the history of the Sama Bajo people. The vast majority of those rumors that I investigated turned out to be dead ends. I do, however, believe that additional lontaraq possibly do exist in Sama Bajo and other homes across eastern Indonesia. For an interesting account of searching for Sama Bajo-owned lontaraq see, Gaynor, “Liquid Territory,” especially chapter four. Also, Horst Liebner, “Four
In addition to the MS manuscripts in Leiden, I was fortunate to be given access to another manuscript concerning the histories of Sama Bajo peoples in eastern Indonesia that is said to be a “sibling” of LB Lemobajo. Two other scholars searched for this manuscript in the late 1990s, but were ultimately unsuccessful in obtaining a copy. The research of these scholars, however, uncovered important aspects of the history of the manuscript’s circulation and they were able to identify the various families that once possessed the manuscript as well as a general idea of its current whereabouts. This manuscript, which I will refer to as *Silsilah Bajo/Bugis* (SBB), is a copy of a large *silsilah* (genealogy) that maps prominent Sama Bajo lineages and links those persons to the royal line of the rulers of Bone, Luwuq, Gowa, and others.

In his 1998 article on Sama Bajo origin stories, anthropologist Horst Liebner refers to an “oral version of the *Lontaraq* of Ara,” which he recorded from a Sama Bajo man in Ara, south Sulawesi. This “oral version” was purportedly based on what the informant knew from reading the *lontaraq*, but the actual *lontaraq* itself was said to have been brought to Labuan Bajo (West Flores) by the informant’s uncle, a man named Puang Makkatuttu, in order to provide legitimacy to his uncle’s high-status lineage. Liebner’s informant described the *lontaraq* as “about 1 meter by 1 meter, written on leaves in gold script, and contains the genealogy of Puang Mappé’s [Puang Mappéasseq] family as well as parts of the genealogy of the kingdoms of Bone and Gowa.”

In the late 1990s, Gaynor also attempted to track down this *lontaraq* without success, but through interviews with various knowledgeable parties she was able to record and clarify a great deal regarding the manuscript. The intricacies of Gaynor’s findings need not be repeated here. However, it is important to note that Gaynor was able to trace the routes by which SBB circulated before ending up in Labuan Bajo, and rather than containing a narrative tale of Sama Bajo origins, she

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45 This quote is taken from an unpublished version of Liebner, “Four Oral Versions” (10). I am grateful to the author for providing me with access to this unpublished version.
determined that the manuscript that did travel to Labuan Bajo was in fact only a *silsilah*. According to Gaynor’s informants, the *silsilah* did not originate in Ara, but in fact had traveled from Pulo Balu (Tiworo) to Sinjai (Gulf of Bone) and onto Ara before finally being brought to Labuan Bajo sometime after the 1950s. It is believed that the *silsilah* was kept in Bajoé prior to 1905.46

Through a string of fortuitous circumstances, I was able to see and photograph this well-traveled *silsilah* while in Labuan Bajo in 2011. In the course of a casual conversation with an elderly shopkeeper about Sama Bajo history while I waited for a bus to take me to Ruteng (inland west Flores), the man brought up the subject of “*lontaraq Bajo*.” The elderly shopkeeper, it turned out, was a distant relative of a woman whose now deceased father owned a *lontaraq* that told “the history of the Sama Bajo since the time of the *Tomanurung*.” Conscious of Gaynor’s experience “chasing *lontaraq*” and having myself heard several rumors of Sama Bajo owned *lontaraq* that never seemed to materialize, I did not press the shopkeeper for more information.47 But he kept referring to the *lontaraq* as “*lontaraq Puah Makka*.”48 This sparked my interest and I asked just enough questions to determine that this indeed was the same “Puang Makka” (the full name is Makkatuttu) who had borrowed from his brother Mappéasseq the *lontaraq* that both Liebner and Gaynor had sought to find. A few minutes later, another Sama Bajo man stopped his motorbike just across the street from the kiosk where we sat. The shopkeeper looked up and calmly told me, “Oh, that’s him. That is Puang Makka’s grandson. People say he has the *lontaraq* now.” He called the man over and introduced us. Within a few minutes of meeting, the man invited me to his house. After discussing my research and what I knew about the *lontaraq*, the man kindly offered to take me to see what he called the “*lontaraq bilang*” (literally “counting manuscript” but

46 Among those individuals who know of the SBB and its journeys in and out of the hands of different families, it is widely believed that, like LB Lemobajo, the SBB originated in Bone and was brought to southeast Sulawesi only after the Dutch conquest in 1905.
47 Chapter four of Gaynor’s dissertation is titled, “Chasing *lontaraq*” and describes her efforts to track down manuscripts, both rumored and real. Gaynor, “Liquid Territory.”
48 *Puang* (Bugis) and *Puah* (Baong Sama) are respectful forms of address used for elders, both men and women, and in some contexts is used for “uncle” or “aunt.”
refers to annals, diary, or daily register), which was kept by his younger brother in a village about twenty kilometers outside of town.

The lontaraq (SBB) was stored in a wooden chest along with several other heirloom objects that were left by Puah Makka when he passed away, including a very large Sama Bajo flag or pennant known as an *ula-ula* that is widely regarded as an important symbol of high status lineage and identity as a Lolo Bajo. The lontaraq was not a “lontaraq bilang,” but, as Gaynor suspected, was a large *silsilah* measuring nearly one square meter, containing an elaborate genealogy written in Bugis script that covered both sides of the large sheet of paper. The genealogical data was neatly drawn out in a form commonly found in other *silsilah* produced in south Sulawesi, with each name framed within a circle, and those circles containing the names of rulers demarcated by a red umbrella drawn above the circle. Containing over 550 names and a considerable amount of marginalia, the genealogy contained in SBB is a fascinating map of the royal line of Bone, beginning with the *Tomanurung* figures of Bugis tradition and linking the descendants through marriage to royal and noble lineages of Gowa, Soppeng, Kahu, Luwuq, Wajoq, and other powerful South Sulawesi royal families. Of particular interest is a certain line of Lolo Bajo with connections to both Bone’s and Gowa’s royal line through marriage. Two of these figures are possibly among those listed as paramount Lolo Bajo in the LB Lemobajo manuscript.

Throughout Sulawesi, and Indonesia for that matter, *silsilah* such as SBB provide valuable insights into local conceptions of the past and are markers of identity and status in the present. Yet, precisely because genealogies are commonly employed as a means of linking oneself to powerful figures from the past in order to bolster one’s claims to prestige in the present, the use of *silsilah* like SBB as a historical source can be problematic. This is seen clearly in SBB, where someone, likely Mappéasseq himself, added Mappéasseq’s name as well as the names of his children to the line of royalty that includes both Sama Bajo elites as well as figures of Bone royalty, such as the famous Arung Palakka.49 But, with careful analysis and meticulous cross-checking against other, more readily verifiable genealogies, *silsilah*

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49 For an account and analysis of similar attempts to link oneself to the lineage of Arung Palakka see, Andaya, “A Village Perception.”
like SBB can still reveal a great deal about past networks of kin and power relations, as well as the value of such histories, fictive or real, in the present.

Another valuable but perhaps more problematic source is a manuscript held by a high status Sama Bajo family in Tanah Jampea (Selayar). Like the SBB, I came across this manuscript by chance when visiting an old friend named Mboq Nahaseng, a well-connected Sama Bajo trader who regularly moved between houses in southeast Sulawesi and the Kupang area of west Timor. While having coffee in the home of his relative, an unexpected guest stopped in with a business proposition. After concluding their discussion, Mboq Nahaseng introduced me to the visitor, referring to him as the owner of a “real lontaraq Bajo.” Even after agreeing to meet the owner at his house in Makassar several months later, I assumed that I would never see the manuscript. Yet, six months later I received a phone call inviting me to come and see the “lontaraq Bajo.” As it turned out, this “lontaraq” was actually a handwritten Romanized transliteration of the Makassarese, purportedly from the original lontaraq, made in 1996 by a man named Usman Tawang. The original lontaraq, accompanied by several other heirloom objects including an ula-ula, several gongs, keris, and spears, was said to be in the possession of Usman’s mother on Tanah Jampea, all they were said to derive from the first Lolo Bajo to who came to settle in Jampea and other areas of southern Selayar. Although I was shown photos of the original lontaraq, none were taken in a manner so as to allow for close inspection. My efforts to acquire the original lontaraq during visits to the area were unsuccessful since it was reported to have gone missing after Usman’s death (c.2005).

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50 As it turned out, Horst Liebner interviewed Usman between May and June of 1996, during his research on Sama Bajo origin stories. According to Liebner, Usman had shown him some handwritten notes that were “a short version of a story in a manuscript in his possession which had been rewritten from a lost lontara’.” The original lontaraq, Liebner was told, was lost during an air raid on the island of Katelang, also in the Selayar region during WWII. Based on the date of the manuscript I received in Makassar, it seems that only a few months after Liebner had left Jampea, Usman set out to produce a longer and more detailed document which contained what Usman claimed to be “copies made from the original lontaraq.” To further confuse matters, the photographs of a lontaraq shown to me in 2011 were said to be of the same lontaraq that Usman told Liebner had been lost long ago, and several informants claimed that the lontaraq remained in Usman’s possession until he passed away. Liebner, “Four Oral Versions,” 115.
Although we cannot know with any certainty if and when the original lontaraq was indeed lost, in the absence of an extant lontaraq manuscript to work with we are left with Usman’s transliterations. Furthermore, despite the uncertainty surrounding this manuscript and our inability to check Usman’s transliterations against the original manuscript, the material contained in the Jampea manuscript is valuable in providing significant details about Sama Bajo histories, particularly in regard to early relations with the kingdom of Gowa. In contrast to LB Lemobajo and SBB, which are centered primarily on relations between Sama Bajo elites and the kingdom of Bone in the post-Makassar War era, the Jampea manuscript, albeit a problematic source, does provide insight into Sama Bajo links to Gowa and the polities of Selayar in a much earlier period.

Makassarese Historical Sources

In trying to understand the origin and the nature of the relationship between prominent Sama Bajo groups associated with the Papuq polity and powerful Makassarese kingdoms of south Sulawesi, particularly Gowa and Talloq, a number of Makassarese lontaraq have been particularly useful. Several scholars have discussed at length the development of Makassarese written historical traditions and their value as sources of historical information.\(^{51}\) In addition to collections of unpublished lontaraq sources, some of the most valuable manuscripts, such as the Lontaraq Bilang Gowa-Talloq (court annals of Gowa and Talloq) and the Chronicles (patturioloang) of Gowa and Talloq, are available in Dutch, Indonesian, and most recently, English translations.\(^{52}\)

The Chronicles of Gowa and Talloq have long been a principal source of information for precolonial Makassar and have provided the framework for our understanding of the origins, rapid development, and expansion of eastern


Indonesia’s most powerful and successful entrepot and empire. The chronicles offer specific accounts for the reign of each ruler of Gowa and Talloq up to the 1670s as well as detailed genealogical information of these rulers. They provide a portrait of the social and political world of south Sulawesi across a large span of time by textually mapping the complex kinship links that defined the status of individuals in relation to the karaeng, or rulers, of Gowa and Talloq. For this reason historian William Cummings has suggested that, “the Gowa and Talloq chronicles stand out not so much for the facts they contain but for their vivid conception of how authority, kinship, rulers, and identity were intertwined in pre-colonial Makassar.”

The Lontaraq Bilang Gowa-Talloq (recently published in English as The Makassar Annals) is similarly useful, providing an almost daily register of important events. It comprises over two thousand entries dating from 1545 to the close of 1751, each recording a diverse range of events including matters of trade, war, diplomacy, internal political affairs, the spread of Islam, crime and punishment, and even the appearance of unique natural phenomenon such as comets or an eclipse. The Lontaraq Bilang represents an important historical source and offers a rare window into the social, cultural, and political world of south Sulawesi over a period of two centuries. As Makassar was a society centered on accounts of origins and ancestral lines, the Lontaraq Bilang too are overwhelmingly genealogical in focus, documenting the births, marriages, divorces, and deaths of important nobles and their families. According to Cummings, a careful study of this preponderance of names and dates “yields insights into the social dynamics that shaped the lives of the Makassarese nobility,” demonstrating the extent to which “rank and status-rivalry motivated behavior and shaped events,” thus enabling the reader to gauge the social and political position of certain individuals within the world of early modern Makassar.

Both the Lontaraq Bilang and the Chronicles are important sources for the history of Sama Bajo peoples, specifically in regard to those groups loyal to the kingdoms of Gowa and Talloq. The nature of these sources, particularly their

53 Cummings, Chain of Kings, 12.
54 Cummings, Makassar Annals, 2, 17.
function as “social maps of the extent and substance of the realm,” allows us to identify the social and political position of certain prominent Sama Bajo leaders and their families.\textsuperscript{55} Indeed, the very act of recording these individuals and their extended families in the court annals signifies their proximity to the ruler and indicates something of their status within the kingdom. In certain cases, the information provided in these sources allow the historian to identify Sama Bajo individuals in other sources and contexts in which their ethnic identity was either left unstated or was wrongly assumed by Dutch officials to be Makassarese. When combined with a variety of other sources, such as Sama Bajo, Makassarese, Bugis, and Bimanese historical manuscripts, as well as the records of the VOC, the Lontaraq Bilang and the Chronicles of Gowa-Talloq begin to reveal previously unknown or unstudied elements of Sama Bajo history and enable us to better understand the economic, social, and political importance of the Papuq polity in eastern Indonesia.

In addition to the Lontaraq Bilang and the Chronicles of Gowa-Talloq, a number of unpublished lontaraq manuscripts have also provided vital information for this study. Of these, perhaps the most important are manuscripts from the Universiteitsbibliotheek, Universiteit Leiden, which come from the Makassarese manuscripts collection of the Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap (NBG), namely NBG 17, NBG 23, and NBG 208. Also of importance are the manuscripts of the Matthes Stichting (MS).\textsuperscript{56} In this study I have relied on copies of the MS collection that are now found in the Special Collections department of the KITLV in Leiden, specifically MS 159a, MS 193, MS 250a, and MS 260.\textsuperscript{57} Additional Makassarese and Bugis manuscripts consulted for this study are found in the extensive collection of Dutch

\textsuperscript{55} Cummings, Chain of Kings, 11. Cummings lays out his argument for reading the chronicles and especially the Lontaraq Bilang as social maps in the introduction to The Makassar Annals as well as in his recent article, “Historical Texts as Social Maps: Lontaraq bilang in Early Modern Makassar,” BKI 161.1 (2005): 40-62.
\textsuperscript{56} After Indonesian independence the Matthes Stichting was renamed Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan.
\textsuperscript{57} General descriptions of many NBG manuscripts can be found in B.F. Matthes, Korte verslag aangaande alle mij in Europa bekende Makassarsche en Boeginesche handschriften, vooral die van het Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap te Amsterdam (Amsterdam: C.A. Spin & Zoon, 1875). Brief descriptions of many of the MS manuscripts can be found in an unpublished typescript kept in the Oriental Manuscripts Collection of Leiden University Library (UB), titled, “Makassararse en Boeginese Handschriften van de Matthes-Stichting.” Oos. Hss. 2437.
linguist A.A. Cense, also housed in the KITLV Special Collections (Collectie Cense, Or.545).

Many of these manuscripts are large historical codices, containing a number of distinct texts that include chronicles (*patturioloang*), genealogies, treaties (*ulukan*), customs (*rapang*) and social regulations (*parakara*). Particular aspects of these manuscripts and their relevance for Sama Bajo history will be discussed throughout this study, but it is important to note here that these manuscripts provide key information regarding the strong relationship between powerful groups of Sama Bajo and various landed polities in south Sulawesi, the position of the Papuq and other Sama Bajo in Makassarese society, and the role of the Papuq polity in the foundation, growth, and expansion of the Gowa-Talloq empire. By combining the insights offered in these manuscripts with those of the Lontaraq Bilang, the Chronicles of Gowa-Talloq, the LB Lemobajo, and the records of the VOC, these sources together reveal a dynamic relationship between the Sama Bajo and the Makassarese kingdoms hitherto merely hinted at in earlier studies.

**Additional Indonesian Historical Sources**

Because the influence and importance of the highly mobile Sama Bajo extended well beyond the confines of south Sulawesi, it was necessary to examine the historical records and manuscript traditions of some of those neighboring polities with which the Sama Bajo had a particularly deep and sustained history of involvement. Foremost among these was the Sultanate of Bima in eastern Sumbawa, which had an especially long and often troublesome relationship with Sama Bajo groups loyal to the Papuq and Gowa-Talloq. As will be discussed in the chapters that follow, throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Papuq and his followers competed and fought with Bima for control over a significant area of coastal northwest Flores (Manggarai), which was part of a larger area known to the Sama Bajo and Makassarese of the time as Sandao. The Papuq polity fought to maintain control of key centers of trade as well as to uphold the authority of Gowa-Talloq in the region. Given this history of conflict with Bima, the published records of the Bima court, particularly the *Bo’ Sangaji Kai* and the *Bo’ Luma Rasanae*, as well
as other unpublished Bima manuscripts, such as the Tjaritera Manggarai (KITLV Or.86) and the Malay-Manggarai Teksten (KITLV Or.404) are particularly valuable.58

The court records of Bima, referred to as Bo’ (Bimanese, “Book”), offer detailed accounts of major events involving key Sama Bajo figures of the Papuq polity, especially those involving disputes over Manggarai, and therefore help to supplement the VOC and Makassarese accounts of these incidents. Previously, scholars who have studied these manuscripts have presumed a Makassarese identity for these powerful individuals and thus have not recognized the importance of the Sama Bajo in these events and in the history of Nusa Tenggara more generally. Other important unpublished Bimanese manuscripts in the KITLV Special Collections include the Tjaritera Manggarai, perhaps the most significant of these manuscripts because it conveys the Bima sultanate’s earliest claims to Manggarai in narrative form. This Jawi (Malay language in the Arabic script) manuscript was most likely produced during the reign of Sultan Abdul Kadim Muhammad Syah Mawa’a Taho (r.1751-1773). It recounts the story of Bima’s domination of Manggarai and Sumba from the time of Maharaja Dewa Sang Bima (c. early or mid-fifteenth century) to the crucial events of the 1760s.59

It is noteworthy that some of the historical claims made in the Tjaritera Manggarai and the Bo’ Sangaji Kai, are very much the same as those communicated to the Dutch on several occasions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. One such occasion comes from August 1733 in a dispute between Bima and Gowa-Talloq and the Papuq over territories in Manggarai, which will be discussed in chapter six. Sultan Ala’uddin Muhammad Syah Manuru Daha of Bima brought the royal “book” (Bo’), together with a color-coded map of the territory, to provide evidence to the VOC governor in Fort Rotterdam (Makassar) of his kingdom’s claim to the land of Manggarai. The sultan then related to the governor much of the same narrative

59 According to the “Tjaritera Manggarai,” Maharaja Dewa Sang Bima was the father of Indra Temurut, the first king of Bima and apical ancestor for the ruling line. KITLV Or.86, “Tjaritera Manggarai,” 1.
history that can be found in the *Tjaritera Manggarai* manuscript.\(^6\) As the self-appointed arbiter in the dispute, the VOC administration accepted Bima’s claims to Manggarai and Sumba and agreed to provide financial and military support to the sultanate’s fight against the Papuq and Gowa-Talloq in those lands. By reading this and other Bima manuscripts in light of the information learned from Sama Bajo oral and written traditions and Makassarese *lontaraq*, it is possible to gain a greater understanding of the role of Sama Bajo peoples in key areas of eastern Indonesia, especially in Bima and Manggarai.

**The Dutch East India Company Archives**

In addition to the oral and written traditions of the various ethnic groups described above, a principal source for this study was the contemporary records of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) housed in the National Archives of the Netherlands in The Hague and the National Archives of Indonesia in Jakarta. The nature of these sources has been discussed extensively in a number of studies, but it is important to discuss here specifically how and in what contexts information regarding the Sama Bajo appears in the Company archives.

Firstly, because the archives of the VOC are organized according to the regional administrative structure of the Company, reports involving the highly mobile Sama Bajo could and do appear not only in Makassar’s reports but also in those of the Banjarmasin, Ternate, Ambon, Banda, and Timor comptoirs. Fortunately most Company officials understood Sama Bajo peoples to be subjects of either Gowa-Talloq or Bone and believed south Sulawesi was their primary homeland and therefore most incidents or complaints involving them were reported to the Dutch governor at Fort Rotterdam in Makassar. There are, however, numerous exceptions to this, and relevant reports, which may or may not mention the Sama Bajo by name, are often scattered in a number of regional archives. Thus, in this study I have relied most heavily on the vast archives of the Dutch comptoir in Makassar, but I have also

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\(^6\) The narrative given in “Tjaritera Manggarai,” however, extends to the late 1760s. VOC Makassar 8202, f.113-115; KITLV Or.86, “Tjaritera Manggarai.”
searched widely and examined a large number of documents from other comptoirs, particularly those from Timor, Banjarmasin, and Ternate.

Furthermore, because Company officials were overwhelmingly concerned with trade, when Sama Bajo peoples do appear in the archive it is most often in the context of their role in the trepang and tortoiseshell trade, as well as their role in commercial practices that the Company deemed “smuggling.” These sorts of records are very useful in obtaining details about Sama Bajo involvement in these trades, contraband or otherwise, but instances when Company documents provide detailed information about the world of the Sama Bajo, such as cultural practices, social hierarchies, or their interactions with other communities outside the field of trade-based relationships are far fewer. There are particular circumstances and certain types of records, however, when what could be considered ethnographic information does find its way onto the pages of the VOC reports.

In some reports and letters certain actions and descriptions of aspects of Sama Bajo lives are mentioned. The logbooks of VOC *kruistochten* (cruise patrols) that patrolled the waterways of eastern Indonesia, for instance, sometimes note encounters with Sama Bajo peoples at sea and on land. In these routine and often dry records we occasionally find traces of valuable information learned through interrogation, such as the homeland and political affiliation of a particular group, the routes they traveled, the cargo they carried, or the sort of vessels they piloted. On their own these fragments of information and gestures described in the journals and administrative reports do not reveal much about the world of the Sama Bajo in the early modern era. But by combining the various traces we find dispersed throughout the archives, and situating those actions and statements in the context of Sama Bajo cultural and political practices past and present, we are able to interpret something of their meaning for the Sama Bajo people involved. This approach to the sources, rooted in efforts to get at the cultural significance of objects, actions, and events for a particular people in the past, is not limited only to the analysis of Company records but is equally important for the interpretation of local sources. It is hoped that by analyzing and interpreting the sources in this manner the Sama
Bajo people and what I take to be their perspective on events will remain at the center of the narrative and help us to gain some understanding of their past.

Additional insight into Sama Bajo peoples and their activities can be gleaned from native sources that were translated into Dutch and recorded in VOC documents. In their dealings with local populations in Makassar, Timor, and the chain of other ports that stretched across eastern Indonesia, Company officials and employees regularly had to rely on local sources of information for their success and survival. Especially in the context of those islands, ports, and outposts distant from administrative centers like Makassar, reports containing statements from these native informants frequently contain welcome insights into local cultures and politics that are often missing in other documents. Perhaps the most precious are letters from local rulers and other figures, transcribed interviews or paraphrased conversations with local informants, and interrogations of individuals who ended up in Dutch custody for one reason or another. Such sources are particularly important for the study of Sama Bajo history, as local informants were sometimes far more aware of the ethnic identity and political allegiances of particular people and groups than the Dutch ever aspired to be.

Because of the difficulty the Dutch faced in making sense of the myriad ethnic communities in the region, the complex ethnic landscape of eastern Indonesia is often simplified and reduced by the Company to a more manageable set of ethnic categories. In regard to the Sama Bajo, they were often subsumed under the all-encompassing categories of “Makassarese” or “Bugis,” which, in effect, referred to any one of the several ethnic communities that were thought to originate from south Sulawesi. For that reason Sama Bajo captains and crew are conspicuously absent from the detailed Harbormaster’s Registers of incoming and outgoing trade at the VOC post in Makassar in spite of the fact that Sama Bajo peoples were heavily involved in Makassar’s seaborne commerce. Reports regarding the “illegal” trade in precious spices, or those communications concerning fleets of so-called “Maccassaarsche roovers” (Makassarese robbers or pirates) active in the seas of eastern Indonesia also underscore the often arbitrary nature of Dutch ethnic categories. Where one report may use the general label of “Makassarese” or “Bugis”
in describing the activities of a certain ship or fleet, or in discussing such problems more generally, an examination of all the related reports on a certain event from the various relevant comptoirs oftentimes reveals that it was not the ethnic Makassarese or Bugis but the Sama Bajo peoples who were involved. Using locally produced written records such as the Lontaraq Bilang of Gowa-Talloq or the Bo’ of Bima, where Sama Bajo individuals of high status are referred to by name, we are sometimes able to crosscheck and identify these Sama Bajo figures in Company documents, even when the Dutch apparently were unaware of that person’s ethnic identity or presumed they were either Makassarese or Bugis.

This is most clearly seen in the case of the various men who held the title of Papuq who appear in Company records and are, without exception, presumed to be Makassarese. Papuq Daeng Makkulle Ahmad, who was chosen to be the paramount leader of the Sama Bajo of the Papuq polity in 1703 and was appointed as sabannaraq (Mak., syahbandar, harbormaster) of Gowa-Talloq sometime before 1711, is always identified in Company documents as a Makassarese. The same can, in fact, be said for all of the Papuq during the period under study, who are invariably referred to as Makassarese in the Dutch sources. This can be partially explained by the Company subsuming the Sama Bajo in the more dominant Makassarese ethnicity, and partially by Dutch inability to believe that the Sama Bajo were capable of certain activities. From the earliest extant writings about the Sama Bajo in the late seventeenth century, the Dutch viewed them primarily as poor, wandering “vagabonds of the sea” (zeeschuimers) who lacked any sort of political or social organization and were nothing more than industrious slaves of the kings of Gowa and Bone. Accordingly, Dutch officials apparently could not envisage Sama Bajo peoples holding any kind of status or authority in Sulawesi or elsewhere in eastern Indonesia. This view of the Sama Bajo affected the manner in which Company officials came to understand and describe their activities.

The popular conception among Company officials of the Sama Bajo as innocuous sea nomads also had a direct influence on policies regarding Sama Bajo trade and travel. In the years following the Makassar War the VOC imposed a variety of laws designed to stifle Makassarese movement and trade in areas of eastern
Indonesia where they had been a commanding presence for over a century prior to the war. At various points in time all navigation to Nusa Tenggara was forbidden, as was Makassarese navigation to Maluku and the Philippines, but in due time navigation was opened to an ever-shifting assortment of locations in eastern Indonesia, albeit within the confines of the Company's pass system which regulated where private traders could travel and in what goods they could trade. According to Company policy in Makassar, all incoming and outgoing private vessels were to be inspected by the public prosecutor (or, after 1678, the harbormaster), and the skipper was required to show his Company-issued pass and declare his cargo. Yet, prior to 1727 the Sama Bajo were exempt from many of the strictures of the pass system. Dutch officials in Makassar had apparently allowed the Sama Bajo to travel without a pass and their boats were not inspected upon arrival or departure from Makassar, as they were seen as natural wanderers who knew no home other than the sea, and inspection of their vessels was deemed not worthwhile. However, after years of receiving regular reports of Sama Bajo involved in slave raiding and the “smuggling” of spices, tortoiseshell, and trepang, and a series of incidents in the 1720s in particular, in 1727 the Governor in Makassar and his superiors in Batavia decided that Sama Bajo sailors too would be subject to the pass system and that their vessels must be inspected in Makassar. In a letter to the High Government in Batavia, the Karaeng of Gowa, Sultan Sirajuddin, beseeched the Governor General not to change Company policy, suggesting that such limitations were inappropriate as the Sama Bajo were “like birds which fly here and there, searching for the fruits of the trees, and for that reason have never had to use passes.” Sirajuddin went on to request that, if passes were to be required, then he should be allowed the right to issue passes to his Sama Bajo subjects. The Governor General flatly refused the Karaeng’s requests, citing the egregious and frequent transgression of Company laws and tolls by Sama Bajo and subjects of Gowa-Talloq.

In addition to shaping VOC policies regarding Sama Bajo trade and navigation, the earliest written Dutch descriptions of Sama Bajo culture also formed

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61 The VOC pass policy is explained most clearly in, Knaap and Sutherland, *Monsoon Traders*, 20-25.
62 VOC Makassar 8192, f.5.
the basis for later Dutch ethnographic understanding of the Sama Bajo and continue to influence perceptions of Sama Bajo history and culture even today. A close reading of nearly three centuries of Dutch archival and published sources discussing the Sama Bajo reveals that the earliest ethnographic descriptions of the Sama Bajo from the late seventeenth century Company reports were continually, and uncritically replicated in the writing of subsequent VOC officials in a way that created an almost unassailable ethnography. This is perhaps most evident in the memorie van overgave (memorandum of transfer) of the governors of Makassar, as these were reports of varying lengths and quality written by an outgoing governor to his successor, designed to encapsulate the state of affairs in the region and summarize information deemed important enough to record for future holders of the office. In his monumental final report to his successor in 1669, Cornelis Speelman wrote one of the earliest, and by far the most influential of these summary ethnographies of the Sama Bajo. Of the Sama Bajo Speelman wrote that, “many live in vessels on the sea, and forage everywhere around the islands,” and “before the war [they] lived in fairly large numbers under the jurisdiction of Macassar, most lived on the islands before Labaccan and particularly on Solemo...These [people] travel also to all the islands...collecting tortoiseshell from there and must deliver it to the King of Macassar, and furthermore must always be prepared to go anywhere in their vessels whenever they are sent by the King to his advantage, as these people are slaves of the King, Amba Raja [Hamba Raja].” Despite its brevity, simplicity, and errors in interpretation, Speelman’s description of the Sama Bajo, in one form or another, came to serve as the basis for all later descriptions of the Sama Bajo in reports by VOC governors in Makassar throughout the eighteenth century. These later governors and officials quoted, paraphrased, or simply referred the reader to Speelman.

63 “Notitie dienende voor eenen corten tijt en tot nader last van de Hooge Regeeringe op Batavia, tot naarrigtinge van de Onderkoopman Jan van den Oppijnen, bij provisie gesteldt tot Opperhooff en Commandant in ’t Casteel Rotterdam, op Macasser, en van den Capitain Fransz; als hoofd over de Militie, mitsgaders die van den Raadt, anno 1669,” unpublished typescript, KITLV DH 802. Hereafter cited as, Speelman, Notitie.
64 Speelman, Notitie, 27, 37.
The influence of Speelman’s early description can be seen in the subsequent memories of successive governors of Makassar and numerous other reports well into the twentieth century. In these documents, in nearly every discussion involving Sama Bajo peoples, one can read the basic elements of Speelman’s 1669 description repeated in one form or another. These later authors rarely added any new information to the stock ethnography. Instead, nearly every later official felt it necessary to provide the same summary ethnographic description of the Sama Bajo for his superiors in Batavia and in the Netherlands, as if the Sama Bajo remained a poorly known constituent of the Indies government even after centuries of interaction. To the Dutch, as well as to other European and American observers during this period, Sama Bajo peoples remained simple, often timid sea nomads or sea gypsies (zee zigeuners), who did nothing but collect sea products, and who lacked any form of social or political unity other than their shared subordination to the rulers of Gowa and Bone. Significantly, this popular description of their culture, their activities, their politics and history, remains dominant even in more recent literature on the Sama Bajo of eastern Indonesia. In many studies of the Sama Bajo, their past continues to be portrayed in an ahistorical manner that echoes key elements of Speelman’s 1669 description. In this literature too the Sama Bajo are understood to formerly have been nomads of the sea, slaves of the landed kingdoms, who lacked any political unity, and who knew no home other than their boats, and in only recent years were they made to settle on land under the pressure of the modern nation-state.

Main Argument
In this dissertation I offer a substantially different perspective of the Sama Bajo than is typically found in the literature described above. I have sought to move beyond the common view of Sama Bajo history and culture in order to provide a multifaceted and much fuller account of former times that is rooted in a diverse body of historical sources as well as in extended ethnographic research among Sama Bajo communities. In writing this account I have also aspired to interpret the source material, as well as the events, actions, and relationships described therein, in a
manner that I hope is closer to the perspectives of the Sama Bajo than my own. However, I am aware that my own perspective and interpretation remain an ultimately irreducible element in this process. Nevertheless, it is hoped that this research will bring hitherto unexamined elements of the past into sharper focus and thereby provoke a rethinking of our perceptions of Sama Bajo culture and history.

It is my contention that, far from being simple and timid sea nomads, the Sama Bajo were an incredibly important and truly powerful population in eastern Indonesia and remained so throughout most of the early modern period. Their mobility and maritime prowess uniquely positioned them to perform essential functions and services that were vital to the power and prosperity of important landed kingdoms across the archipelago. Beginning around the mid-thirteenth century, Sama Bajo groups forged strong and intimate relationships with certain landed polities in south Sulawesi and elsewhere. These relationships were key to the foundation, expansion, and maintenance of these polities, and were also central to the successes and prestige of the Sama Bajo. Based on bonds of marriage as well as political and economic necessity, these mutually beneficial arrangements lasted well into the modern era, and the memory of these connections continue to be an important component of the oral and written traditions of all parties. While the common perception held by VOC and later colonial officials was that the Sama Bajo formed a perpetually subordinate and weak element in these relationships, a careful reading of the sources reveals that Sama Bajo peoples, especially in the south Sulawesi context, occupied positions of power and prestige within landed polities and, as a whole, were seen as an extremely valuable, perhaps irreplaceable asset.

In this study I demonstrate that many of the numerous groups of Sama Bajo peoples dispersed throughout the eastern Indonesian seascape were organized in a much more complex manner than previously assumed. Based on oral traditions and written sources, I have begun to sketch the hitherto unclear outlines of two important polities among the numerous groups of Sama Bajo in eastern Indonesia; the Papuq and Lolo Bajo polities. Each of these polities linked a large number of geographically dispersed communities of Sama Bajo, each with its own local hierarchies, and united them loosely under a paramount leader. These paramount
leaders, in turn, served as the primary links between the scattered Sama Bajo population and the landed kingdoms of Gowa-Talloq and Bone respectively. Importantly, these two Sama Bajo polities are connected by a shared history and lineage, but they otherwise appear to have formed two distinct political unities: the first and oldest polity was headed by the person of the Papuq and was allied with Gowa-Talloq, and the second and more recent polity was headed by the person of the Lolo Bajo, with strong links to Bone. Unfortunately, although the existence of two distinct polities is clear in the historical record, the available sources do not reveal much about the nature of interaction between them or the degree of overlap that existed between their respective extended networks.

Furthermore, while the seat of the paramount leader can be described as the center of the polity, within these political systems we can also identify a multiplicity of centers, the relative importance of each being determined by its inhabitants and the demands of local contexts. Thus, while the seat of the Lolo Bajo was primarily in Bajoé (western shore of the Gulf of Bone) and is presented in the sources as the ultimate center of Lolo Bajo polity, we must recognize that for other, more distant communities, one’s village and immediate surroundings were likely the center of their world, and the need to navigate the intricacies of local relationships with their immediate neighbors was surely the most pressing concern. It is nonetheless possible to identify strong relationships that linked the assemblage of centers within these polycentric polities into discernable sociopolitical and economic networks and did so across vast stretches of seaspace. Furthermore, while this traditional system of authority structured relations within and between Sama Bajo communities in eastern Indonesia, and even involved tribute obligations, in practice Sama Bajo peoples could and probably often did trade outside their particular allegiances, and individuals and communities operated both independently and in cooperation with various figures of authority, Sama Bajo or otherwise. Nevertheless, I demonstrate in the chapters that follow that it was through these sorts of networks that a variety of commodities flowed from the scattered islands and catchment areas of eastern Indonesia to the busy port of Makassar, as well as key, Sama Bajo-controlled ports in Sulawesi and Flores.
Thus, these Sama Bajo polities and their extended networks constituted a vital source of power and wealth for Gowa-Talloq and Bone. The alliances formed between these landed kingdoms and the paramount leaders of the Sama Bajo people ensured not only a steady flow of valuable trade items from those groups of Sama Bajo linked to the Papuq or Lolo Bajo, but these relationships were also key to the expansion and maintenance of territorial control of key areas in the archipelago for both kingdoms, as well as the defense of their interests against external threats. However, these Sama Bajo polities were not simply subordinates or slaves of the landed kingdoms as Speelman and other VOC officials believed, but instead formed highly regarded and semi-autonomous cultural and political entities that operated as a part of, as well as apart from these larger land-based polities. The Sama Bajo were indeed a crucial element in the power base of Gowa-Talloq and Bone, and they were instrumental in the formation of the archipelagic framework in which the constituents of these kingdoms would operate, but they also formed their own, distinct political and social unities with their own unique linguistic and cultural identity. The highly mobile and polycentric nature of the Sama Bajo peoples and their traditional political systems allowed them to occupy powerful positions within the hierarchies of the landed kingdoms while simultaneously maintaining the relative autonomy of their own polities and networks.

The histories of these two polities and related networks also demonstrate that, although the Sama Bajo in the early modern period can generally be described as a semi-nomadic, sea-centered culture, their communities have historically demonstrated strong attachments to specific places in the archipelago. In the case of the Papuq polity and its relationship to the lands of Sandao, as well as in the context of the Lolo Bajo polity and its land in Bajoé, we see clear evidence of Sama Bajo peoples acquiring, maintaining, and defending coastal territories and areas of usufruct that served as centers of political and cultural authority for a period of centuries. The deep relationship of the Sama Bajo to the sea indeed allowed these communities to disperse widely across the archipelago and to harvest the sea's bounty wherever they traveled, but rather than wandering nomads of the sea, Sama Bajo peoples served highly important functions beyond the collection of sea
products and were deeply implicated in the political and social worlds of eastern Indonesia, especially in territories they claimed as their own.

In attempting to write a history of such a large, geographically dispersed population as the Sama Bajo over a period of several centuries, I have found it useful to focus on the stories surrounding the figures of the Papiq and Lolo Bajo. While these are indeed only titles, the people who held them, and the constellations of villages and networks for which they served as leaders, serve to demonstrate the major arguments put forth above. There is, however, still much we do not know regarding the extent of the influence of the Papiq and Lolo Bajo over their respective constituencies, the nature of relations between their polities, or the extent to which their spheres of influence and control overlapped. Given the strong connections between Sama Bajo communities throughout the archipelago today, and the large number that trace their ancestral origins to Bajoé, it is clear that the division between the polity of the Papiq and that of the Lolo Bajo is not easily defined. Furthermore, we cannot assume that all Sama Bajo peoples were aligned with one or the other of these expansive polities. It would likewise be foolish to assume that the history offered here could ever be representative of the historical experience of all Sama Bajo peoples in the vast region of eastern Indonesia. Throughout this dissertation, then, I have sought to balance the more "heroic history" centered on figures such as the Papiq and Lolo Bajo with the available information on the experiences of Sama Bajo peoples more generally. In this regard the iko-iko and other oral traditions are invaluable, but other, more traditional historical sources at times also offer insight into the everyday lives of Sama Bajo peoples in former times.

This dissertation can be divided into two interrelated parts. The first part, consisting of chapters one and two, provides for the reader an ethnographic and historical description of the Sama Bajo’s relationship to the sea and the livelihood practices that are both the basis for and the product of that relationship. The second part, comprised of chapters three through six, focuses specifically on the histories of the Papiq and Lolo Bajo polities and their relationship to the landed kingdoms, and demonstrates the importance of the Sama Bajo’s deep relationship to the sea in determining their place within those kingdoms.
Chapter one provides the reader with a descriptive overview of the archipelagic world of eastern Indonesia as the setting for the histories recounted in this dissertation. The histories and identity of the Sama Bajo people are, in large part, structured by their relationship to this vast seascape and their mastery of the maritime environment in which they live. Thus, in addition to important general information on the linguistic and cultural background of the Sama Bajo people and their historical and contemporary distribution, the primary focus of this chapter is on describing certain elements of the sea-centered culture of the Sama Bajo and the ways in which these cultural practices have defined their relationship to the sea. Although a detailed ethnography of the Sama Bajo is beyond the scope of this study, this chapter nevertheless aims to provide a basic framework for our attempt to understand how the Sama Bajo perceived and interacted with the seascape as well as the ways in which their relationship with the sea influenced the course of their history. I have also provided brief descriptions of the histories and cultures of the other major sea-centered groups in maritime Southeast Asia—the Orang Laut, the Moken, Urak Lawoi, and the Sama-speaking groups of the southern Philippines and insular Malaysia—in order to provide a point of comparison with the Sama Bajo of eastern Indonesia.

Building on this general cultural context, chapter two looks intensively at the position of the Sama Bajo in the various trade networks of eastern Indonesia, and the role of the I Papuq and Lolo Bajo in facilitating this trade. Examining the collection and trade of all-important sea products, as well as terrestrial goods such as wax, cinnamon, and Malukan spices, this chapter emphasizes the role of the Sama Bajo and the polities headed by the Papuq and Lolo Bajo in the creation, expansion, and maintenance of important trade networks through which such commodities circulated. Further attention will be paid to the role of Sama Bajo peoples in the capture of slaves from various parts of the eastern archipelago and their shipment and sale in Makassar, Pota, Reo, Bajoé, and elsewhere, as this brutal trade was of central importance to the region’s commerce. In this context it will be important to also consider VOC policies and efforts aimed at the regulation and prohibition of trade in a number of goods and navigation in key areas of the eastern islands, and
specifically, the impact of these regulations on the Sama Bajo. Yet, as we will see, Dutch efforts at controlling trade were largely ineffective in the face of native resilience and adaptation of existing modes of navigation and trade to counter company controls. The prevalence of Sama Bajo “smuggling” and continued navigation in such forbidden areas provides particularly clear examples of this process.

Chapter three will then focus on the earliest known Sama Bajo polity in eastern Indonesia, the Papuq polity, and its historical relationship to the landed kingdoms of Sulawesi’s southwestern peninsula. Based on a variety of oral traditions, historical manuscripts, and Dutch archival records, this chapter traces the story of the various figures that held the title of Papuq and the communities under their leadership. The relationship of the Papuq to his network of Sama Bajo constituents, the nature of the Papuq’s authority, his position within the hierarchies of Gowa and Talloq, as well as the role of successive bearers of the title Papuq and their followers in the rise of these powerful kingdoms will be discussed in detail.

The historical relationship of the Sama Bajo to the land known as Sandao, particularly to the seaboard trading territories of Pota and Reo in northwest Flores, is an important focus of chapters three and four. Granted as a reward to the Papuq for his services to the ruler of Talloq in the fifteenth century, this large area of coastal northwest Flores served as a territorial seat and an area of usufruct for successive Papuq and for large numbers of Sama Bajo who acknowledged the Papuq’s authority. Chapter four discusses the history of the Papuq polity’s involvement in Sandao until its conquest by Bima in the late eighteenth century. In the context of Sandao we see the Papuq functioning simultaneously as the foremost representative of Gowa-Talloq authority in the region and as a semi-autonomous ruler, leading his mobile Sama Bajo constituents and benefiting from the bustling trade activities taking place in ports under his control. The history of the Papuq polity in Sandao offers a clearer understanding of this hitherto unexplored element of Sama Bajo history and provides concrete detail for many of the arguments put forth in chapter three and throughout the dissertation more generally.
Chapter five opens with the years of the Makassar War (1666-1669), as this was a formative period for the Sama Bajo of eastern Indonesia. In addition to triggering a flood of Sama Bajo and other refugees into various areas of the Indonesian archipelago, the tumultuous years of the 1660s also witnessed the formation of a new Sama Bajo polity in the region. In the sources we see that, in the wake of Makassar’s defeat, certain groups of Sama Bajo peoples under the leadership of a noble figure, and descendant of the Papuq, known as the Lolo Bajo, ended their alliance with Gowa-Talloq and formed a new relationship with the newly victorious kingdom of Bone. In doing so, these groups separated from the Papuq and his followers who remained loyal to their old allies. In the period following this separation, the alliance of the Lolo Bajo to Bone strengthened as did the power and prestige of the Lolo Bajo, especially after the establishment of a Sama Bajo settlement and market place at Bajoé on the western shore of the Gulf of Bone (south Sulawesi) at the end of the seventeenth century. The relationship of the Lolo Bajo to Bone as well as the connections between Sama Bajo leadership in Bajoé and the various communities of Sama Bajo will be discussed in detail.

In chapter six I briefly chart the changing fortunes of the Sama Bajo polities between the late eighteenth and early twentieth centuries. This chapter looks closely at the protracted struggle for control over areas of Sandao that was fought between the Papuq, with support from Gowa-Talloq, and the Sultanate of Bima, which received the financial and military support of the VOC. From the mid-seventeenth century until the late eighteenth century, the Papuq polity fought several battles against Bima to retain control over the region but was ultimately defeated in 1769. The Papuq’s loss of his territories had tremendous and long lasting ramifications for the Sama Bajo people as well as for the kingdom of Gowa-Talloq. The wars fought between the Dutch colonial government and the kingdom of Bone in the nineteenth century, and a final war in 1905, had a similarly devastating effect on the Sama Bajo peoples of the Lolo Bajo polity. These wars, and the conquest of Bajoé in 1905 in particular, lead to the further dispersal of Sama Bajo peoples from their long-established settlement at Bajoé. Significantly, as the seat of the Lolo Bajo and as a center among centers for the Sama Bajo of the Lolo Bajo
polity, we can see the loss of Bajoé, like the loss of Pota for the Papuq, as the beginning of the process of dissolution of these two powerful polities. After the loss of Pota in 1769, and after the loss of Bajoé in 1905, both the Papuq polity and the Lolo Bajo polity ceased to function as coherent, organized political systems which maintained strong links between the paramount leaders and their widely dispersed constituents. When combined with other major changes in the sociopolitical and economic contexts in which the Sama Bajo operated, the loss of these important places had significant consequences for all Sama Bajo communities in eastern Indonesia. Although the Sama Bajo people today remain a vibrant and resilient element of the Indonesian population, the events and circumstances described in this chapter signaled a change in the tides for the Sama Bajo polities under the Papuq and Lolo Bajo and, in many ways, the end of an important era.
Chapter One
Place, Practice, and Culture: The Seas and the Sama Bajo of Eastern Indonesia

It has long been remarked that the geography of Southeast Asia was a crucial factor in the historical and cultural development of the region. The region's geographic location between India and China, its distinct monsoonal weather patterns, and its tropical ecology have prompted scholars to suggest that, “any understanding of Southeast Asia must begin with the geographic imperatives of location, water, and wind.”65 This statement is especially true for maritime Southeast Asia, where daily life for its inhabitants is closely calibrated with the rhythms of the monsoon winds and ocean currents. The vast expanse of the sea dwarfs in both size and significance the land that it envelops. It is the primary space of interaction and thus a crucial element in the history of the region. As historian Marcus Rediker has put it, the seas are spaces "where a great deal of history has been made, and indeed is still being made."66

Of the numerous ethnic groups in island Southeast Asia, the powerful influence of the sea on daily life is perhaps nowhere more apparent than in the communities of sea peoples of the region; a category that includes the Sama Bajo that populate eastern Indonesia, as well as similar Sama-speaking groups in insular Malaysia and the Philippine archipelago, the Orang Laut of the western Indonesian archipelago, and the Moken of the Thai-Burma littoral (see Map 3). For these distinct groups, the sea constitutes the most dominant influence in their historical and cultural development. Indeed, for the majority of these sea-centered peoples of maritime Southeast Asia, the sea was, and continues to be, both the source and substance of life, and for that reason the better part of their histories were played out in the seas and littorals of the region. Countless generations interacted with the sea on a daily basis and relied most heavily on the ocean’s bounty for survival, and

over the years this lifestyle has translated into a deep familiarity with the aquatic environment and mastery of the seas not found in other groups. Importantly, the sea peoples’ unique relationship to the sea greatly influenced the structure of their symbiotic relationships with landed populations and the various roles these groups would play throughout history.

Sea Peoples in Maritime Southeast Asia

As mentioned above, in addition to the Sama Bajo peoples at the heart of this study, the rich waters of Southeast Asia are home to other peoples for whom the seas are also the primary setting of their histories and the focal point of their cultures. Although many scholars formerly believed that these populations—the Sama Bajo, Orang Laut, Urak Lawoik, and the Moken—formed a single cultural or ethnic group of sea peoples, linguistic and ethnographic research has since demonstrated that this is not the case. Each of these populations forms a distinct ethnolinguistic group with a relatively well-defined area of habitation, though the boundaries of these spaces tend to overlap in some areas. Still, there is a high degree of similarity between all of the groups, particularly in terms of their specialized adaptation to the maritime environment.

The Orang Laut are the most studied of the sea peoples, and much that has been written about them apply also to the other groups. They maintain a strong relationship to the sea and possess an intimate knowledge of the maritime environment in which they live. Their unrivalled skills as fishers, swimmers, divers, sailors, and rowers, as well as their profound knowledge of the surrounding seascape meant that they, more than any neighboring community, were in a position in the past to link the larger landed populations of the region to the wealth of the sea. Even among other maritime oriented communities in the archipelago, these groups of sea people were set apart as “maritime subjects par excellence,” and for

this reason they occupied social, political, and economic positions that were defined by their relationship to the sea. The ability to fill this valuable cultural-ecological niche meant that these groups, particularly the Orang Laut and the Sama Bajo, were vital to the procurement and shipping of sea products and were integral to the formation, expansion, and maintenance of local and regional trade networks. For this reason, the establishment of relationships with these communities of sea peoples by powerful coastal and riverine polities in the region was fundamental to any effort to dominate the seas and seaborne trade.

In an effort to situate the Sama Bajo of eastern Indonesia within this larger context of mobile maritime adaptation and specialization, the following sections will offer a brief description of the Moken, Urak Lawoik, and Orang Laut groups before going on to discuss the maritime oriented Sama speakers of the region, including the groups of the southern Philippines and northeast Borneo which are closely related to the Sama Bajo of Indonesia at the core of this study. At various points throughout this dissertation it will be useful to draw comparisons between the Sama Bajo of eastern Indonesia and these other communities, especially the Orang Laut and the Sama speaking groups of the southern Philippines and northeast Borneo, in order to emphasize both the similarities and contrasts between the historical experiences of the various sea-centered communities of Southeast Asia.

**Moken and Urak Lawoik**

The Moken groups are primarily found in the littoral and offshore islands of the Mergui archipelago of Burma, with smaller groups found in the islands of southwest Thailand, while the Urak Lawoik, who inhabit the southern extent of the Moken range in the offshore islands of Thailand, are considered to be sub-group of the Orang Laut who will be discussed below. The Moken in particular have long been referred to as “sea nomads” by European observers due to their seasonal east-west movement between islands and coastal areas, and for their skills as fishers and

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divers. Nineteenth-century observers noted that the various Moken groups in the Mergui archipelago fished for trepang, rays, marine turtles, pearl shell and pearls, and gathered honey, wax, and Burmese dammar, in order to exchange these valuable sea and forest products for rice and other staple goods, as well as cloth and iron implements such as knives, axes and cooking pots. John Anderson, a British medical officer who visited the Moken in the Mergui archipelago in 1881-1882, offered the most detailed documentation of Moken cultural and economic practices of his period. He noted that the Moken groups regularly moved about the archipelago in an annual pattern based on the shifting monsoon winds, seeking shelter on leeward shores of the islands and modifying their hunting and collecting activities to adapt to the various locations and weather conditions. Because of this frequent movement, Anderson, like many other observers of his time, felt that “the true home [of the Moken] is his boat.”

Although we have much to learn about their relationship to the landed polities of the region, it is clear that the Urak Lawoik and Moken were important participants in local and regional trade networks. As primary collectors of important sea and forest products in the area, they carried out essential functions that bridged the resources of the littoral and offshore islands with the needs of coastal and upland populations. Located at the northern end of the Straits of Melaka, the Urak Lawoik and Moken were ideally positioned to affect trade along the trans-peninsular northern routes of the Straits. It is highly possible that Moken and Urak Lawoik would have formed relationships with one or more of the landed kingdoms of the region in order to strengthen their position in local trade and politics, but the dearth of sources limits our understanding of the pre-nineteenth century history of these groups.

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71 Andaya, Leaves of the Same Tree, 200.
Orang Laut

In comparison to the Moken and Urak Lawoik groups, there is a relative abundance of information regarding the history and culture of the Orang Laut (Indonesian/Malay, “Sea People”) communities that inhabit various islands in the South China Sea, the Riau-Lingga archipelagoes, certain estuaries and littoral zones of Sumatra and the lower Malay Peninsula, as well as other areas around the southern entrance to the Straits of Melaka. Based on the work of historians such as O.W. Wolters and Leonard Andaya, and recent ethnographic studies by Cynthia Chou and Lioba Lenhart, among others, we have a relatively clear picture of many aspects of Orang Laut history and culture from the pre-modern era to the present. Although they form a distinct ethnolinguistic group from the Sama Bajo, there are a number of interesting similarities between the two groups, and relevant comparisons will be drawn in subsequent sections in order to broaden our understanding of both communities and the role of such powerful sea peoples in the histories of maritime Southeast Asia.

Perhaps most well-known as “pirates” in the literature of the colonial period, more recent historical and ethnographic research has demonstrated the complexity of their culture and history, and their immense power and importance in the early modern period. More mobile and more widely dispersed than either the Moken or Urak Lawoik, the Orang Laut can generally be described as semi-nomadic communities of boat and strand dwellers who practice a sea-centered culture and whose economic and subsistence needs are derived primarily from the sea and littoral. Like the Moken, Urak Lawoik, and, as we will see, the Sama Bajo, the Orang Laut possess a vast store of knowledge about the surrounding seascape and are highly skilled in the collection of sea products such as trepang and tortoiseshell, which were important staples of the trade with China. Because of these special skills and their formidable presence as a sea power the Orang Laut groups of the Straits of Melaka region were invaluable partners to the most powerful coastal polities from

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the seventh century until the nineteenth century. Indeed, during this period the Orang Laut were arguably the most crucial element in the formation and maintenance of the polities and trade networks that comprised the Malayu world.\footnote{Chou, Orang Suku Laut, 57-8. Here I follow Leonard Andaya’s usage of “Malayu” to refer to the Malays rather than the common usage of “Melayu.” This usage includes not only the Malays in Malaysia but also those living in Indonesia, and avoids the association of the term with the dominant ethnic group of Malaysia today. Andaya, Leaves of the Same Tree; Andaya, “Historical Links”; Andaya, The Kingdom of Johor.}

At the height of its power and influence between the seventh and eleventh centuries, the early Malayu polity of Sriwijaya forged an important relationship with the Orang Laut that would ensure its success as the preeminent political and trading power in the region. Utilizing their considerable prowess as rowers, sailors, and navigators, and their strong familiarity with the surrounding seascape, the Orang Laut groups provided for their Malayu lords the most valuable service of guarding the shipping lanes and encouraging traders to call at Sriwijaya’s ports on the southeast coast of Sumatra.\footnote{Andaya, Leaves of the Same Tree, 191-192.} The relationship formed at this early stage between Sriwijaya’s ruling family and the Orang Laut would continue to be the basis for Malayu-Orang Laut relations for the next several centuries. The Orang Laut remained intensely loyal to the royal lineage of Sriwijaya and demonstrated their devotion on numerous occasions, protecting their lords and fighting on behalf of their kingdom against all adversaries. In return the Orang Laut communities received a high level of prestige through titles, raiding rights, and areas of usufruct, and they conducted their affairs with a considerable degree of autonomy. This partnership would in fact be a vital element in the foundation and success of successive Malayu kingdoms that emerged powerfully after Sriwijaya’s demise, including Palembang, Melaka, Johor, Jambi, and Riau-Lingga, among others.

In these kingdoms the Orang Laut were linked to the ruler through marriage and often comprised the core of the royal entourage and the ruler’s personal retainers, in addition to providing a diversity of other services that ensured their prestige and status in the Malayu world. Most notably, it is believed that Orang Laut elites consistently held the powerful positions of Bendahara and Laksamana in the polity of Melaka until 1509, and Orang Laut were always in charge of the royal fleet.
in both Melaka and Johor. According to Leonard Andaya, indigenous and European sources record that the Orang Laut not only patrolled the seas on behalf of their ruler but they also formed the fighting fleets of these polities, served as the personal bodyguards and seaborne carriers of the ruler and some of the nobility, operated as pilots and guides for traders who entered into their areas, captained the royal trading vessels, and conducted shipping and trade for their ruler. However, it was the value of Orang Laut maritime prowess in protecting their ruler’s trade interests and persuading merchants to trade their goods in the ports of their lord that led foreigners to call the Orang Laut “vicious pirates.” Nevertheless, as Andaya reminds us, what one might condemn as “piracy” was considered by the Malayu lords to be “laudable service” performed by the Orang Laut “in controlling the sea lanes at his behest.”

Additionally, certain Orang Laut suku (tribes) were tasked with particular services and duties, and these functions formed a key element of their identity. For example, the suku Galang, which was regarded to be the largest and most powerful of the various suku, was given the responsibility of providing vessels for the ruler of Riau in addition to its other roles as fighters, guards, and rowers of the royal fleets. The members of the smaller suku Mantang were the ironsmiths and weapons manufacturers for the ruler, as well as the makers of the kajang mats. The suku Mapar was charged with the delivery of royal envoys and letters to other lands, while the suku Tambus, who once held the prestigious position as rowers of the ruler’s personal vessel, was demoted sometime prior to the late nineteenth century and were known only as the keepers of their lord’s hunting dogs.

It is clear from the historical record that the invaluable services provided to the Malayu rulers by the Orang Laut were part of a complex and mutually beneficial relationship between the landed Malayu polities of the Straits of Melaka region and the various sea-centered communities of the area. The mobile, sea-centered lifestyle.

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77 Andaya, *Leaves of the Same Tree*, 182.
78 Ibid., 182-183.
of the numerous Orang Laut suku was not only the basis of their unique identity as sea people, but it was also the source of their power and prestige in the Malayu world. The Orang Laut possessed an intimate knowledge of the seascape and displayed unmatched skills in all matters of navigation and the collection of sea products. These talents made them among the most valued communities in this archipelagic world, as the ability to control the waterways and reap the harvest of the sea was a primary source of power and success for the coastal kingdoms of the region.

**Samalan Ethnolinguistic Group**

The numerous groups of Sama speaking peoples that comprise the Samalan ethnolinguistic group, of which the Sama Bajo are a part, are found in the southern Philippines, northern and eastern Borneo, and throughout a large portion of the Indonesian archipelago (see Map 2). Together they form what Clifford Sather has claimed to be “the most widely-dispersed ethnolinguistic group indigenous to Southeast Asia.” According to linguist A. Kemp Pallesen, within this larger grouping exist several smaller language and dialect groups, including the Samal, Yakan, Jama Mapun, and Abaknun groups, the majority of which inhabit the southern portion of the Philippine archipelago. In general terms these communities are referred to as Sama speakers, and of these groups the primary focus of this section will be on the maritime-oriented Sama speaking populations of the southern Philippines and northeast Borneo commonly referred to in the literature as “Sama Bajau” or “Bajau Laut,” as these are most closely related to the Sama Bajo communities of Indonesia. Although the scholarly convention is to refer to the southern Philippine and northeastern Borneo groups using the Malay pronunciation and spelling “Bajau” rather than the Sulawesian usage of “Bajo,” now common throughout Indonesia, I will retain the use of “Sama Bajo” for these groups as well. Although I distinguish the eastern Indonesian Sama Bajo groups and their

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80 Sather, “Sea Nomads and Rainforest Hunter-Gatherers, 256-257.
unique historical experiences from their counterparts in the southern Philippines and northeastern Borneo, it is nevertheless important to remember that the cultural-historical and geographic boundary between the maritime Sama-speaking groups is not as clear-cut as the distinction would suggest. Of the three principal groups of sea people, these groups of sea-centered Sama speakers are the largest and have roamed most extensively in the seas of Southeast Asia.

Based on Pallesen’s historical-linguistic reconstruction, the entire Sama speaking population of Southeast Asia can be traced to an early population of “proto-Sama-Bajaw” speakers in the Basilan straits, the northern islands of Sulu, and the Mindanao coastline of the southern Philippines, where they had settled as early as 900CE. According to Pallesen, around 1000CE members of these groups began to travel slowly southwest through the Sulu archipelago, and by 1100CE many had settled throughout that archipelago as well as areas on the northeast coast of Borneo. Pallesen further suggests that, sometime before the sixteenth century, certain groups of Sama speakers had branched off from the Borneo groups and headed eastward to Sulawesi.82 While Pallesen points to the southern Philippines as the earliest identifiable homeland and point of dispersal for the proto Sama-Bajaw speakers, he acknowledges that this language group appears to be intrusive in the area, but is unable to identify their pre-Philippine origins.83

In one of the more recent studies on the linguistic history of the Samalan ethnolinguistic group, linguist Robert Blust has argued that the pre-Philippines homeland of Sama speakers was, in fact, the Barito river delta of eastern Borneo.84 Based on linguistic data, Blust suggests that a Sriwijayan trading colony was established at the mouth of the Barito river around 800CE and subsequently formed trade partnerships with ancestral Sama speakers in the area. He further argues that these relationships were rooted in the spice trade between Maluku and the Straits of Melaka. The ancestral Sama speakers then came to control the northern route of this trade, which passed from Maluku through Menado, and around Sabah to Brunei.

82 Pallesen, Culture Contact, 117-122.
83 Ibid., 117.
before continuing onto the southern Malay Peninsula. After some time, groups of Sama speakers began to disperse to other areas along the trade route. While this discussion covers a period largely out of the purview of this study, Blust’s findings are important because they point to a much earlier period of Sama speakers’ involvement in the trade and politics of the Indo-Malay archipelago. They also indicate a dispersal of Sama speakers into eastern Indonesia centuries earlier than Pallesen and others have suggested, and have important implications for our understanding of the historical role of the Sama Bajo in the Indonesian archipelago.

**Sama Peoples of the Southern Philippines and Eastern Malaysia**

Today the southern Philippines and the northeast coast of Borneo are home to the largest populations of Sama speaking peoples, with roughly 600,000 in the Philippines and 400,000 in Sabah. Referred to variously as Bajau, Sama Bajau, and Bajau Laut, among other exonyms, the vast majority of research on Sama speakers has focused on this region. Consequently, these studies have had a strong, and perhaps undue influence on common conceptions about Sama speakers in general, including those of Indonesia. There are indeed numerous linguistic, cultural and historical similarities between the Sama speaking populations of eastern Indonesia and those of the southern Philippines and insular Malaysia. Moreover, highly mobile, sea-centered Sama speakers have historically moved about freely in the broad seascape that linked these areas, and there is ample evidence of trade and kinship relations between the groups. Nevertheless, there are major differences between the Sama speaking populations of eastern Indonesia and those of the southern Philippines and northeastern Borneo, particularly in terms of their historical experiences, and it is hoped that this dissertation will bring these distinctions as well as commonalities into sharper focus in order to arrive at a fuller understanding of the sea-centered Sama speakers of maritime Southeast Asia.

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86 Kazufumi, “The Sama Bajau in and around Sulawesi,” table 2. These population numbers, like Nagatsu’s numbers for Indonesia, are certainly conservative estimates. A systematic census of the “Bajau” populations in these areas is complicated by extensive and frequent movement by these groups between the southern Philippines and insular Malaysia in recent decades.
The Sama Bajo of this region have settled throughout a vast area that stretches from the Palawan, Samar, and Mindanao regions of the southern Philippines, to the north and eastern coasts of Borneo, which are now part of the nation-state of Malaysia. According to the linguistic evidence summarized above, we know that these Sama speakers have moved between Borneo and the southern reaches of the Philippine archipelago for more than a millennium. Among the various Sama speaking groups in this region there is a considerable degree of social and ethnic differentiation, running the spectrum from wholly land-oriented to almost totally sea-oriented. In the Kota Belud district of Sabah, for instance, there are politically powerful Sama Bajo groups that live several miles inland, practice wet-rice agriculture, and are renowned horsemen. In the Tawi-Tawi region of the southern Philippines and elsewhere, on the other hand, there are scattered communities of semi-nomadic boat dwellers who, according to Sather, refer to themselves as *a’a dilaut* (sea people), and spend the majority of their lives at sea. Such vast differences in cultural and physical orientation are much rarer in the Sama speaking populations of the Indonesian archipelago, but one does encounter considerable variation in terms of lifestyles and the degree to which a Sama speaker has assimilated into more land-oriented communities in Indonesia as well.

Living on boats and in larger littoral and estuarine communities, the Sama Bajo of the southern Philippines and northeast Borneo also practice a complex and highly specialized adaptation to the maritime environment, and thus occupy a similar cultural-ecological niche as the other sea people groups in Southeast Asia. Accordingly, their skills as fishers and collectors of prized sea products, and their unparalleled abilities as navigators, sailors, and naval forces, similarly placed the Sama Bajo in a position of power and prestige in the early modern period, much like the Orang Laut of the western Indo-Malay archipelago.

The earliest European reference to Sama speakers in this region comes from Antonio Pigafetta’s account of Magellan’s voyage, in which he notes an encounter

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with boat-dwelling Sama Bajo near an island referred to as “Monoripa” in 1521.\textsuperscript{88} However, the most detailed early description of Sama Bajo in the southern Philippine archipelago comes from Francisco Combés. In his 1667 description of the Sama Bajo, or the “Lutao nation” as he calls them, Combés explains that “Lutao” in the local languages meant, “he who swims and goes floating over the water.” In describing their houses on stilts, he says that “they are so fond of living on the sea that their houses are built in it, in places which the low tide leaves exposed,” and “when it is high tide the houses are very far from shore, and the water in between is so deep that brigs and craft of heavier tonnage can sail there.” Despite having witnessed such settlements with his own eyes, Combés believed that these Sama Bajo “know no fixed abode except the sea.” “Although they recognize villages, in which they assemble,” he said, “they seldom live in these, for they are scattered through the bays and beaches suitable for their fishing.” \textsuperscript{89} From Combés and other Spanish records it is clear, however, that the Sama Bajo were much more than simple nomadic fisher folk.

The maritime prowess of the Sama Bajo groups in this region enabled them, like the Orang Laut, to play a powerful role in the trade, politics, and warfare of the region. In his discussion on the Sama Bajo, Combés writes: “They are equally esteemed in all parts as being the sinews for the wars of these regions (their campaign field being the sea),” and “by their constant communication with all the nations (as they go to all parts for their advantage), and because of their method of living...they maintain supremacy in everything, and, although they are the smallest in number, and everywhere the most foreign, they are today the kings, and hold the rulers as their slaves.”\textsuperscript{90} Combés then concludes, “whoever has the most allies of this nation considers himself the most powerful and is the most feared, as they have the power to infest the seas and coasts, making captives and pillaging, and making

\textsuperscript{88} Antonio Pigafetta, \textit{Magellan’s Voyage Around the World}, vol. 2, trans. J.A. Robertson (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1906), 53, 204. The translator suggests that the island of Moronipa was likely referring to “the island Saccol, located on the southeastern end of Zamboanga province,” (204). Sopher adds that there is “an islet adjacent to Saccol which appears on modern maps as Malanipa.” Sopher, \textit{Sea Nomads}, 307.


\textsuperscript{90} Combés, “The Natives of the Southern Islands,” 104-105.
themselves masters of the crossings and passages necessary for communication with the other islands." Accordingly, Combés attributed the rise of Maguindanao to its large number of Sama Bajo allies. The role of the Sama Bajo community in the founding of Maguindanao is also enshrined in local traditions, where the origin of the polity is attributed to the migration of its first Islamic ruler, Sharif Mohammed Kabungsuwan and his Sama Bajo allies from Johor, c.1515.

A similar picture of the importance of the Sama Bajo of this region can be gleaned from VOC records for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Company reports for the period note that several local datu and sultans in the region had large groups of Sama Bajo among their fighting forces. In 1628, for example, the ruler of Sarangani listed two hundred armed Sama Bajo men among the troops he had marshaled to defend against an attack by Spanish forces. It is also clear in the Dutch sources that an alliance between Sama Bajo groups and Sultan Kudarat of Maguindanao (r.1611-1671) was key to Kudarat’s consolidation of power in the region in the mid-seventeenth century. These groups were employed to defend the sultanate and its trading interests against competing local and foreign powers. In a 1658 report, Sultan Kudarat listed the Sama Bajo among the naval forces he had consolidated to fight the Spanish. Many of these Sama Bajo reportedly were veterans of the Spanish attacks in northeastern Borneo in 1649, and therefore may have formerly allied with the sultanate of Brunei. Like his predecessors, Sultan Anwar of Maguindanao (r.1702-1711) was said to have a thousand Sama Bajo in his following when he moved his base to Silangan in the beginning of the eighteenth century. There were so many Sama Bajo serving among the sultan’s guard when he took power in 1702, that the Dutch complained that every morning upon waking,

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94 Laarhoven, Triumph of Moro Diplomacy, 48-49.
“they saw nothing else but the prahuṣ of the Badjaos [Sama Bajo] in every nook and cranny of the bay and along its shores.”⁹⁵

From these and similar sources it is clear that the Sama Bajo were central to the processes of trade, warfare, and politics that characterized the Maguindanao region of the southern Philippine archipelago in the early modern period. For most of this period the sultanate of Maguindanao was established in the Pulangi river basin on the western coast of the island of Mindanao and Sama Bajo communities were strategically located at the mouth of these rivers as well as along the strand as far south as Sarangani Bay.⁹⁶ Much like the Orang Laut communities in the Straits of Melaka region, from their littoral and estuarine bases the Sama Bajo communities of Maguindanao formed the frontline of the sultanate’s defenses, guarding the riverine entrance to the negeri of the sultanate and regulating both riverine and seaborne traffic in the vicinity to the sultan’s benefit. According to VOC reports, the Sama Bajo of Maguindanao were headed by punggawa (chief, commander) who were closely linked to the sultan and the royal family, and these communities performed a variety of essential functions, including serving as envoys and interpreters for the sultan. They also collected tribute from the sultan’s coastal subjects on his behalf.⁹⁷ Their skills were also put to good use in conducting raids in areas of Sulu and Borneo, capturing slaves and goods that formed an important source of the sultanate’s wealth.⁹⁸ In 1690, one Company official suggested the Sama Bajo were so vital to the survival and success of the Maguindanao sultanate that the sultan purportedly had taken the children of the Sama Bajo leaders into his care in order to further ensure that the Sama Bajo would not abandon the sultan.⁹⁹

We find a similar arrangement in the sultanate of Brunei (northern Borneo) during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. According to a Brunei royal genealogy, a marriage between a Sama Bajo princess and Brunei Sultan Abdul Kahar

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⁹⁷ VOC Ternate 8075, f. 264-266, 306-307
⁹⁸ VOC Ternate 8075, f.266-267.
in the sixteenth century was the basis for the sultanate’s claims over “the Bajau lands” in the northern and eastern coasts of Borneo. Whether or not this marriage can be considered the origin of Sama Bajo alliances with Brunei, the Spanish records suggest that the Sama Bajo were a fearsome naval force in the region and the sultanate owed much of its success to these groups. As early as 1618, the Spanish complained of daring seaborne raids perpetrated by Sama Bajo groups linked with Brunei.101 In 1626 Spanish forces led by governor Don Fernando de Silva attempted to attack the Sama Bajo in revenge for their murder of the archbishop of Manila a year earlier. The report of the expedition includes the following comments on the Sama Bajo: “Their country lies near Borney [Brunei], to whose king they are subject. But inasmuch as they have no fixed house or dwelling, as they generally live in their boats, today here and tomorrow there, nothing was done.” When the Spanish fleet finally encountered some Sama Bajo vessels, the Spanish ships were “unable to overtake them; for as their boats are light and have two prows,” and “in order to escape they do not have to turn their boats about, but only to change the rowers and so return.”102 Although the Spanish sources tend to focus on the naval exploits of the Sama Bajo and do not reveal much about their role in the maritime trade of Brunei, we know that Brunei and northern Borneo were a major source of tortoiseshell for China in this period and earlier, and as the most skilled fishers and collectors of sea produce, local Sama Bajo groups would have been important participants in the local and regional trade economy.103

In the Sulu Sultanate, which at its height (c.1768-1867) claimed authority over a large expanse of sea that included the entire Sulu archipelago and areas of northeast Borneo (the “Sulu Zone”), the Sama Bajo also held positions of power and

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were integral to the sultanate’s internal and external trade. In a footnote to his classic ethnography of the “Bajau Laut” of Sabah, Clifford Sather noted that there is evidence to suggest that the Sama Bajo may have also played a vital role in the formation of the Sulu state, especially as a major component of the sultanate’s naval strength, and they likely would have been accorded a level of prestige similar to that they enjoyed in Brunei or Maguindanao. According to the research of Sather and James F. Warren, however, the Sama Bajo populations of the Sulu Zone ultimately came to be subordinated within a “polyethnic hierarchy” that was dominated by the Tausug ethnic majority. In this system the Sama Bajo—especially those semi-nomadic, sea-centered groups—were often enmeshed in patron-client relationships with Tausug aristocratic *datu*, in which a Tausug *datu* claimed authority over a Sama Bajo community and provided protection for that community in exchange for loyalty, tribute, and preferential trading arrangements. In the Sulu Zone of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the sea-centered culture of the Sama Bajo, that had always been a source of power and even prestige, increasingly became the primary justification for their subordination and marginalization. In contrast to the landed Tausug who represented the ethnic, social, religious, and political center of the Islamic Sulu Zone, the Sama Bajo personified the margins of that world. As Charles O. Frake put it, “the further one goes to sea, the more one wanders from the central places, the meeker one presents oneself, the lower one’s position becomes in the scheme of things.”

Thus, even though the Sama Bajo’s skills as seamen, pilots, boat-builders, fisherman, divers, and traders continued to serve as a source of power and wealth for the Sulu Sultanate throughout the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the labor they provided was no longer a source of prestige or power for most Sama Bajo groups. As Warren argues in his history of the Sulu Zone, the Sama Bajo were

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106 Sather, *The Bajau Laut*, 38-44.
mobilized in large numbers under powerful Tausug datu to collect the valuable sea products which formed the basis of the sultanate’s external trade and thus a major source of its wealth. In this procurement economy, most Sama Bajo were simply a source of labor, even slaves, and apparently had limited opportunities to operate outside the Tausug controlled socio-political and economic hierarchies of the sultanate. Indeed, based on Warren’s research it seems that one of the only areas in which Sama Bajo groups and individuals retained a measure of agency and could independently accumulate power and prestige was through predatory raiding and piracy.109 Sather, however, acknowledges that in the peripheral areas of northeast Borneo powerful Sama Bajo leaders still served as representatives of the sultanate and often were given titles and letters from the sultan that “legitimized their exercise of political rights over local populations living within a particular area of coastline, an island, or group of islands.”110

**Blurring the Boundaries**

As highly mobile populations who are equally, if not more, comfortable at sea as on land, maritime oriented Sama speaking peoples have historically moved unhindered between northeast Borneo, the southern Philippines, and eastern Indonesia, and did so for a number of reasons, including family, fishing, trade, warfare, and security. It was really only with the creation and solidification of colonial territories in the nineteenth century, and the further demarcation of national borders in the twentieth century, that such artificially-neat divisions between maritime Sama speaking groups, each with their own circumscribed homeland, came to be drawn. Notwithstanding the significant cultural and historical differences that do exist between the Sama Bajo of eastern Indonesia and those of the southern Philippines and northeastern Borneo, it is important to remember that there are numerous connections linking the maritime-oriented Sama speakers in all three areas.

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The waterways connecting the Sulu archipelago with the northern Sulawesi and north Maluku areas, and those linking eastern Borneo with the western coast of Sulawesi, were well-traveled routes used by Sama groups. VOC sources for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, for example, make frequent mention of the “Magindanawse Badjos” (Maguindanao Bajo) who operated in northern Sulawesi, north Maluku, and eastern Borneo, fishing as well as carrying out devastating raids on coastal villages. In one report from 1714, for instance, Sama Bajo from Maguindanao were said to be roaming the eastern coast of Borneo, attacking ships and coastal villages, including one Sama Bajo village in Berau where thirty Sama Bajo were taken captive along with a large quantity of tortoiseshell. Over a century later, in 1855, the German ethnographer H. von Dewall wrote that the Sama Bajo he met in Pulau Panjang (NE Borneo) regularly left Borneo for the coast of north Sulawesi, where they would settle for a time in order to escape the predations of Sulu-based raiders before returning to their home area in Borneo.

Sama Bajo groups from eastern Indonesia likewise traveled regularly into the Sulu and north Borneo region in order to fish and collect sea products, as well as to conduct trade. One Dutch source notes that Sama Bajo from Sulawesi made annual trips to the Sulu archipelago in order to gather trepang to bring back to Makassar, and another observer noted that fishers came from western Sulawesi to collect sea products in northeast Borneo. In 1844 an American naval officer noted that the maritime-oriented Sama speakers he encountered around Sulu “generally look upon Macassar as their principal place of resort.” These may have been Sama Bajo from Sulawesi who came to fish or trade in Sulu, or Sama Bajo from Sulu who had some prior connection to Makassar. This is one example of the difficulty in drawing sharp

111 VOC Ternate 8084, f. 17-18; GM VII: 173. Citations in this form refer to the reports, or *generale missiven*, sent by the VOC administration in Batavia to the VOC directors in the Netherlands which have been published in thirteen edited volumes titled, *Generale missiven van gouverneurs-generaal en raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (‘s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1960-2007). The published volume number is followed by the page reference.
distinctions between segments of such a highly mobile population. In Dutch sources for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, furthermore, it is clear that for certain Sama Bajo villages in northern Sulawesi and the Sangir-Talaud islands, the orientation of these groups was both to the Sulu Zone and the eastern Indonesia region.\textsuperscript{115} Apparently colonial officials too had difficulty in determining just where the Sama Bajo belonged. A Dutch Resident of Menado in the late nineteenth century reportedly arrested two Sama Bajo fishermen in that region and sent them to Makassar, supposing that was their place of residence. It was only to later did he learn that these fishermen named Batu Putih in eastern Borneo as their home.\textsuperscript{116}

Much like those groups in northern Sulawesi and Sangir-Talaud, it is also difficult to determine the geographic, political or cultural orientation of the numerous groups of Sama speakers living along the extensive east coast of Borneo unless clues can be found in the sources. For certain groups living around Banjarmasain and Pasir, for example, there is clear mention in the historical record of their connections to south Sulawesi. But for those living in the northern reaches of Kutai and beyond, such affiliations are less easily defined and the sources provide much less in the way of clarification. Because of this ambiguity, the east coast of Borneo, like northern Sulawesi, can be seen as the geographic interstices between the Sama speaking populations of the Sulu Zone and those of eastern Indonesia. It is in these areas that we find Sama speakers from both regions operating side-by-side and intermixing in ways that confound any simple distinction between two sub-groups of a larger ethnolinguistic population.

The few examples given above are only a fraction of the source material that indicates strong links between maritime-oriented Sama speakers throughout maritime Southeast Asia. These references from the historical record nevertheless provide sufficient evidence of the larger geographic and social fields navigated by the Sama Bajo of eastern Indonesia from the early modern period to the present. Although this dissertation is focused on events involving the Sama Bajo that

\textsuperscript{115} See, for example, reports in VOC Ternate 1366, VOC Ternate 1376, VOC Ternate 8075, VOC Ternate 8080, among other bundles.

operated primarily within the eastern Indonesian archipelago, we must remain cognizant of the fact that the highly mobile Sama Bajo never confined themselves to the geographic boundaries of colonial powers, modern nation-states, or academic conventions. With the sea as their domain, Sama Bajo peoples roamed widely, navigating routes and forming connections that traversed the arbitrary boundaries of land-minded others. In the sections that follow, I will describe important aspects of the relationship of the eastern Indonesian Sama Bajo to this immense seascape, as it is their relationship to and mastery of the sea that, in many ways, shaped the histories presented in this dissertation.

**The Seas of Eastern Indonesia**

Eastern Indonesia is a vast area that stretches from Bali and eastern Borneo in the west to the Bird’s Head peninsula of New Guinea in the east, encompassing numerous islands and a great diversity of languages and cultures. Referred to variously as Nusa Tenggara, “outer Indonesia,” the *Grote Oost* (the Great East), or simply “Timor” (from Malay “Timur” meaning, east), the region of eastern Indonesia is home to both large, high islands and small, low-lying coral atolls. Perhaps more so than other areas of the Indo-Malay archipelago, its geography is dominated by the sea. For the Sama Bajo in particular, this “sea of islands” is comprised of numerous spaces of settlement, fishing grounds and catchment areas, spiritually potent places, navigation routes, anchorages and safe harbors, as well as seaport markets and port cities. The sea is the central feature of their world and forms the basis of their mental charting of the region, from tiny outcrops of land only visible at high tide to coral reef complexes, extensive littorals, and barely visible rivermouths.

Throughout recorded history, the natural resources provided by the seas and islands of eastern Indonesia have served as the foundation of cross-cultural interaction and exchange in the region. From early on, European naturalists like Gerhardus Rumphius and Alfred Lord Wallace were impressed by the natural riches of eastern Indonesia, and scientists have since singled out this eastern portion of the Indo-Malay archipelago as being among the most biodiverse regions in the world,
especially in regard to marine life. The uniformly warm and relatively shallow seas, moderate salinity, and strong ocean currents combine to make eastern Indonesia particularly rich in certain marine species, such as neritic phytoplankton, which form the basic food source for the region’s abundant marine fish populations.

Located within an area dubbed the “Coral Triangle,” the seas of this part of the archipelago are also home to some of the largest coral reef complexes in the world. These sweeping tracts of coral formations are spread throughout the region and form a key element in the Sama Bajo world. This importance is reflected in the richness of the Sama Bajo language, baong Sama, with terms to describe numerous types of reef formations. Sapa timpusuq, for example, are those reefs that protrude sharply from the seafloor, surrounded by deep water, and which remain mostly invisible to the untrained eye on the surface. Because of the mysteries and dangers deep water reefs hold for divers who fish their depths, sapa timpusuq can signify a formidable challenge and can symbolize the bravery of those who have mastered these type of reefs as a spearfishing ground. Writing of the Sama Bajo of Togean (northeast Sulawesi), anthropologist Celia Lowe describes how Sama Bajo classify reefs not only according to their physical features, but they are also given proper names derived from the historicity of the reef itself. Thus, she writes, the reef formation named sapa Mboq Karanjah is named after “a foreigner, probably Dutch, who put up a basket-shaped navigation marker on that reef.”

It is in this culturally specific context, then, that a Sama Bajo man or woman listening to iko-iko Si Mungkammaq would understand the vernacular connotations of the following scene:

“Singkaliang ritta kuroh boe matana…magintang matimpusuq badeh uwana...adapanna ka salatangna ka patangang Gondehri.”

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118 Celia Lowe, Wild Profusion, 97-99.
(Holding back his tears...recalling the *timpusuq* of his deceased father...heading south, heading to the land of Gondehari).\(^{119}\)

While traveling to a place known as Gondehari, the young main character, Si Mungkammaq, passes the *timpusuq* which bears the name of his late father and struggles to fight back tears. For Si Mungkammaq the *timpusuq* carried the history and memory of his father. But, for the Sama Bajo audience the simple fact of having a distant *timpusuq* named after him would imply that Si Mungkammaq’s father was a man of bravery and skill, a man who mastered this reef and whose name was now linked to this powerful and potentially dangerous place.

The numerous islands and coral reef formations that peppered the region were home to large populations of several species of sea turtle, numerous varieties of *holothurians*, known locally as *trepang* (*bêche-de-mer*, sea cucumber, sea slugs, etc.; baong Sama, *balaq*), *agar-agar* (various types of seaweed), various mollusks like trochus (baong Sama, *lolaq* or *lalaq*), giant clams (*Tridacna*; baong Sama, *kima*), pearl-oysters, and many other species. These resources are a vital element in the histories of Sama Bajo peoples in the eastern archipelago. For most Sama Bajo, the capture of sea turtles and trepang, the harvesting of clams and other mollusks, and the catching of fish, shark, and rays, various *cephlapods*, as well as large marine mammals like the *dugong* (baong Sama, *diyoh* or *duyoh*), or the trade in these items, comprises the bulk of their daily activities. This wealth of marine resources in eastern Indonesia has served as a primary source of subsistence for local populations and has for centuries attracted traders from elsewhere in Southeast Asia and around the world. As primary collectors of these commodities, throughout eastern Indonesia Sama Bajo peoples were the essential link between sea and shore, coast and hinterland, making the much needed and desired products of the sea available to the landed populations of the archipelago.

Certain land resources found only or predominantly in the islands of eastern Indonesia were also central to the histories of the region and its peoples, including the Sama Bajo. While comparatively poorer than the western archipelago in terms of

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\(^{119}\) *Iko-iko Si Mungkammaq*, Mboq Jumilla, Tukangbesi, 03-04-2011.
agricultural production, the inland areas of the islands of eastern Indonesia have been blessed with a number of important natural resources that formed the basis of local and regional exchange networks and attracted traders from all over the world. Chief among these are the “trinity of spices”—clove, nutmeg, and mace—found in Maluku, as well as sandalwood, which grew in large quantities on Timor and lesser amounts on Sumba. Sappanwood, teak, cinnamon, honey, wax, rice, iron, various resins, and several other natural products of eastern Indonesia were additional staples of regional and international trade. In the period under study, slaves were another important export of eastern Indonesia, most of whom came to market as war captives, debt slaves, and victims of slave raids.

In accordance with the rhythm of the monsoons, these marine and terrestrial goods were traded within a complex web of interlocking local and regional trade networks that linked the numerous islands of eastern Indonesia to important regional emporia, such as Makassar and Banjarmasin (east Borneo). These entrepots served as gathering places for merchants and products from all over the region, and were themselves embedded in wide-ranging trade networks that stretched to ports in the western archipelago, as well as to distant markets in India and China. Sama Bajo peoples were among the many traders and shippers of goods linking the eastern islands to Makassar and beyond. They sailed as captains as well as crewmen, and operated vessels of various styles and tonnage. These extensive networks were at the heart of social and political interaction throughout the region, and the wealth and prestige generated by the flow of goods were vital to the formation, growth, and maintenance of local polities, both large and small, across the eastern Indonesian archipelago.

The southwestern peninsula of the island of Sulawesi was one such area where participation in these east-west networks of exchange stimulated the development of numerous local polities. The social and political landscape of south Sulawesi was a complex assortment of ethnic groups and political confederations. Although important to the region’s history, the Sama Bajo traditionally have not been included among the major ethnic groups of south Sulawesi. Most scholars have instead categorized the Sama Bajo as a non-native ethnic community, pointing to
their foreign origins and what scholars believed to be a relatively late arrival in the region (c. mid- to late 1500s). Archaeological and historical research, however, has provided strong evidence for sustained Sama Bajo settlement and influence in the region from the mid-thirteenth century onward. Evidence of such a long history of interaction, intermarriage, and exchange calls into question the prevailing conception of the Sama Bajo as foreigners in the world of south Sulawesi. As traditionally defined, the four major ethnic groups in south Sulawesi include the Makassar, Bugis, Toraja, and Mandar, of which the Bugis and Makassar peoples have historically been the largest and most politically dominant groups. These last two groups also share a number of cultural features, and their histories for much of the early modern period are tightly intertwined. Nevertheless, major cultural, linguistic, and historical differences do exist between them and these have formed the basis of their distinct identities.

While the Makassarese dual-kingdom of Gowa-Talloq and the Bugis kingdom of Bone are the most well known of the Sulawesi political formations, prior to the mid-sixteenth century the political world of south Sulawesi was marked by the rise and fall, formation and disintegration of numerous other Bugis and Makassar political confederations. The greatest of these were larger confederations of local communities that formed in the rich agricultural lands on the peninsula or those that had access to the most favorable harbor and riverine sites for trade (see Map 4). Beginning sometime in the thirteenth century, the Bugis polity of Luwuq, with its capital at Wareq in the northern coastal region of the Gulf of Bone, was among the earliest of these trade-based South Sulawesi confederations to exercise its authority and influence beyond its immediate political heartland. Located on the southern shore of the southwestern peninsula, the Makassarese polity of Bantaeng was another important site of trade in this early period. Drawing on its control of inland agricultural wealth and its strategic location as a coastal entrepot in the spice trade network that linked Maluku and eastern Java in the fourteenth century, the Bantaeng confederation formed a powerful polity until its incorporation into Gowa.

120 David Bulbeck and Ian Caldwell, *The Land of Iron: The Historical Archaeology of Luwu and the Cenrana Valley* (Hull: The Centre for South-East Asian Studies, University of Hull, 2000).
in the early sixteenth century.¹²¹ To the north, the Makassarese port polity of Siang was favorably situated along the west coast of Sulawesi and controlled yet another important site of trade, making it another center of power between the fourteenth and early sixteenth centuries.¹²²

Major changes in the existing political landscape began to occur at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries. On the eastern half of the peninsula, the Bugis polity of Bone had grown from a once relatively minor confederation of seven communities (the Aruppitu, or Seven Lords) to an increasingly powerful confederation that, by the turn of the century, was able to defeat Luwuq to become the foremost Bugis power. The agricultural-oriented Makassarese polity of Gowa developed in a similar manner, growing from its original core of nine communities (the Bate Salapang, or Nine Banners) to form a powerful confederation that was able, either by force or by peaceful measures, to consolidate its control over several key Makassarese polities during the first half of the sixteenth century. Perhaps the most important of those Makassarese polities that came to ally with Gowa was the polity of Talloq. According to the Chronicles of Gowa-Talloq, Talloq was formed as an offshoot of Gowa sometime in the early fifteenth century, when the two sons of Gowa’s sixth ruler, Tunatangkalopi, clashed over who would succeed their father as ruler of Gowa after his death. As a result of the dispute, one son, Karaeng Loe ri Sero, left Gowa and founded the Talloq polity. In the mid-1500s, Talloq formed an alliance with the polities of Polombangkeng and Maros and waged war on Gowa, which had since grown in power and influence in the region. The Chronicles record that Talloq and its allies were promptly defeated and a peace agreement was reached between the polities. This agreement formed the basis for an alliance between Gowa and Talloq that would flourish throughout the early modern period.

The union of the dual-kingdom of Gowa-Talloq would prove to be the foundation for the dramatic political expansion and commercial success that would

follow. At the time of the alliance, Talloq was a maritime-oriented polity with extensive trade and tributary links to key areas of eastern Indonesia, such as Maluku, Flores, and Timor, as well as to the western archipelago, and, as we will see, it maintained a strong relationship with local Sama Bajo communities under the authority of their paramount leader, the Papuq. Gowa, on the other hand, was mostly an inland-oriented polity with access to extensive agrarian populations and resources, but it too had its sights on controlling maritime trade. This joining of Gowa’s inland-agrarian orientation with the outward-maritime orientation of Talloq proved to be a highly successful combination that enabled the dual-kingdom to dominate much of eastern Indonesian trade and politics in the coming years. In this dual-kingdom arrangement it became customary for the Karaeng (ruler) of Gowa to be regarded as the preeminent ruler of the people, while the Karaeng of Talloq was made Tumabicarabutta (“speaker of the land”) and functioned as his chief minister and principal advisor.

Additionally, Gowa’s conquest of the small maritime polity known as Garassiq was another vital step in the dual-kingdom’s later successes. Located in the area of the mouth of the Garassiq River, Garassiq controlled a harbor with easy access to inland communities, and was a prominent site of a Sama Bajo settlement. In the contest for control of maritime trade during the first half of the sixteenth century, Garassiq became a source of contention between the polities of Gowa, Talloq, and Siang. There is evidence to suggest that Talloq’s war with Gowa (c.1530s-1543) may have been fueled by the desire to regain control of Garassiq. By 1544, however, sources demonstrate that Gowa had solidified its control of Garassiq and had made it a chief port for Gowa’s maritime commerce.123 In subsequent years, the area of Garassiq would come to be the thriving entrepot and sociopolitical center of Gowa-Talloq, and would be known in the sources by the name “Mangkasaraq,” or “Makassar,” after its inhabitants.124

124 De Paiva simply called it “Gowa.” In this summary of Garassiq’s relationship Gowa-Talloq and the history of the entrepot of Makassar, I follow the extensive archaeological work of Bulbeck, who also derives his findings from evidence in Makassarese manuscripts, namely the Chronicles of Gowa-Talloq. Bulbeck, “Tale of Two Kingdoms,” 121-127.
From its location on the southwest peninsula of Sulawesi, the port of Makassar sat astride the key trade routes linking the islands and resources of eastern Indonesia, especially the spices of Maluku, to the dominant trading hubs of the western archipelago. The availability of Malukan spices at Makassar attracted traders of all nations, but Makassar’s emergence as the dominant regional entrepot was more the result of a confluence of factors than its geographical blessing alone. An early and unexpected boon came with the Portuguese defeat of Melaka in 1511, which caused a dramatic shift in trading patterns and sent a flood of Malay traders to other ports, including to Siang, and later to Makassar. Like the Sama Bajo who had settled in the area much earlier, these Malay refugees were an important element in the commercial success of early Makassar. During the reign of Tunipalangga (Karaeng Gowa, r.1546-1565) and Tumenanga ri Makoayang (Karaeng Talloq, r.1540/1543-1576), further measures were taken to increase Makassar’s attractiveness as an entrepot, including the creation of a separate position of sabannaraq (syahbandar, or harbormaster) dedicated to overseeing trade, and the assurance by the ruler of protection and certain privileges to international traders.\(^{125}\) Trade was further directed to Makassar’s shores in the first few decades of the seventeenth century, when the VOC forced its control over the spice-producing areas of Maluku and began its extensive campaign to monopolize the spice trade, thus forcing native merchants to seek alternative sites, such as Makassar, to trade their wares. This convergence of internal changes and external events combined to position Makassar as the foremost entrepot in all of eastern Indonesia.

Riding on the strength of their alliance and newfound commercial success, in the seventeenth century Gowa-Talloq embarked on a period of expansion that would firmly secure its position as a dominant power within the Indonesian archipelago. Massive naval expeditions were launched to various parts of eastern Indonesia. They reinforced Makassarese dominance in areas previously subjugated, like Sandao, Solor, and Ende, which were conquered by Talloq and its Sama Bajo

\(^{125}\) Cummings, *Chain of Kings*, 34-35.
allies led by the Papuq in late 1400s and early 1500s. They also expanded Makassarese influence into areas of eastern Borneo, northern and eastern Sulawesi, the islands of Buton, Ternate, Tidore, Lombok, and the Sumbawa kingdoms of Bima, Sumbawa, Dompo, and Pekat. After Gowa-Talloq adopted Islam in the reign of Karaeng Matoaya of Talloq (r.1593-1623) and Sultan Ala'uddin of Gowa (r.1593-1639), Gowa-Talloq undertook the so-called “wars of Islamization,” by which all of the major polities of south Sulawesi to the south of the Toraja lands, including Bugis Bone, were forcibly converted to Islam between 1608 and 1611.\textsuperscript{126} Islam was introduced to the kingdom of Bima by similar means beginning in 1618.\textsuperscript{127}

The history of Gowa-Talloq’s meteoric rise from small beginnings to a position of nearly unchallenged dominance in Sulawesi and across much of the eastern Indonesian archipelago is impressive. In Anthony Reid’s assessment, it is “one of the most rapid and spectacular success stories which Indonesian history affords.”\textsuperscript{128} In studying this fascinating history, it is important to remember that Gowa-Talloq’s increasing expansion and success was highly dependent on regional trade, and that Gowa-Talloq itself was enmeshed in a much larger framework of trade networks and sociopolitical relations that spanned far beyond the shores of south Sulawesi. Makassar’s success was due in large part to the influx of traders who were attracted to the variety of eastern Indonesian goods on offer as well as to the freedom and security enjoyed by foreign merchants. By the first quarter of the seventeenth century, the English, Danes, Dutch, Portuguese, and Spanish had all established trading settlements in the growing port city, and the first of many Chinese junks began to visit Makassar. Gowa-Talloq’s primacy in the trade networks of the eastern Indonesian seas was also crucial to Makassar’s attractiveness and prosperity as a regional entrepot. The presence of Gowa-Talloq’s Makassarese subjects and Sama Bajo allies in nearly every corner of the archipelago assured a steady supply of Malukan spices, sea products, slaves, and other key commodities in

\textsuperscript{126} Cummings, \textit{Making Blood White}, 32-33; Andaya, \textit{The Heritage of Arung Palakka}, 32-35.
\textsuperscript{127} J. Noorduyn, “Makassar and the Islamization of Bima,” \textit{BKI} 143.2/3 (1987): 312-342. In this essay Noorduyn presents the first critical analysis of related Makassarese manuscripts and Dutch sources, which he used to arrive at this date.
\textsuperscript{128} Reid, “Rise of Makassar,” 117.
Makassar’s harbor each season. Through warfare, raiding, and intermarriage with local rulers, Gowa-Talloq incorporated numerous areas into its sphere of influence and tied key resource zones to Makassar and its elites through tributary relations. Through these overseas ventures, both violent and peaceful, Gowa-Talloq formed lasting relationships with the ruling lines of Selayar, Buton, and Tobungku (east coast of Sulawesi), Ternate, Tidore, and Banda (Maluku), Salaparang (Lombok), Sumbawa, Dompu, Pekat, and Bima (all on the island of Sumbawa), Ade, Wehali, and Manatuto (Timor), Pasir and Kutei (east Borneo), and others, and many of these social bonds were the basis for valuable trade and tribute arrangements which fed Makassar’s growing demand for commodities.129

Because of their mastery of the seas, the Sama Bajo who came to ally with Gowa-Talloq were instrumental in the formation, expansion, and maintenance of these extensive linkages. In the early modern period, eastern Indonesia was characterized by a series of vast, interconnected seas and thousands of islands with numerous coastal and riverine polities and dispersed sites of trade, and thus the seas were the primary medium of trade, communication, and warfare. In this sea of islands, the Sama Bajo’s prowess in the maritime realm made them an essential component in Gowa-Talloq’s expansion. In this regard, the Sama Bajo performed a similar role for the Makassarese polities as the Orang Laut for the Malayu polities.

In many ways, the sea, and the relationship of the Sama Bajo to the sea, structured much of what occurred in their histories. This is not to say that the environment determined the history of the Sama Bajo. Rather, I am suggesting that the centrality of the sea in Sama Bajo culture and the mastery of the sea that resulted from their adaptation to the marine environment and specialization as sea hunters and foragers, were powerful factors that influenced the course of the histories discussed in this dissertation. The sea-centered culture of the Sama Bajo structured their relationships with other groups, it defined what roles they played in

129 Cummings has recently made the argument that the dynamics of the Gowa-Talloq Empire should be understood as “fundamentally...a matter of social relationships,” rather than simply a military process of expansion, conquest, and subjugation. William Cummings, “Re-evaluating State, Society and the Dynamics of Expansion in Precolonial Gowa,” in Asian Expansions: The Historical Experiences of Polity Expansion in Asia, ed. Geoff Wade (New York: Routledge, forthcoming), 7.
regional socioeconomic networks, and influenced the patterns of settlement and expansion of Sama Bajo peoples throughout the archipelago. To some extent, this relationship may have even influenced the settlement patterns of other ethnic groups who sought to form economic and political relationships with the Sama Bajo. With this in mind, the following section will describe some of the key cultural practices related to fishing, travel, and trade that are at the heart of the Sama Bajo’s unique relationship to the sea.

A Sea-Centered Culture

The names given to Sama Bajo by others are clear markers of their maritime orientation—Turijeqneq (Makassarese, “water people”), Bajo/Bajau Laut (Bugis/Malay, “Sea Bajo”), Zeenomaden (Dutch, “Sea Nomads”), Zee zeguiners (Dutch, “Sea Gypsies”), Orang Laut (Indonesian/Malay, “Sea People”), Ata Wawaé (Manggarai, “water people”), Wong Kambang (Javanese/Balinese, “Floating People”), to name but a few. Based on generalizations and outsider observations about Sama Bajo culture, these names have often been scrutinized and shunned in more recent ethnographies of the Sama Bajo. In certain contemporary contexts these names have taken on derogatory connotations and are often bound to misleading assumptions about Sama Bajo peoples that ignore the dynamic and historically-rich culture they possess. Yet, even among the Sama Bajo peoples themselves, the descriptive dilau or madilau (of the sea) is commonly added to the endonym Sama, as in Sama dilau (meaning “Sama of the sea”), and Sama Bajo people will declare forthright the importance of the sea in their culture and history. Thus, while these exonyms indeed carry unwelcome discursive baggage, we cannot ignore the fact that at the most basic level they indicate the centrality of the sea in the lives of the Sama Bajo people.

However, in focusing on the dominant seaward-orientation of most Sama Bajo peoples I do not wish to deny the importance of the land for these communities. While the sea is surely at the heart of their culture and history, the landward orientation is a significant element in the daily lives, and thus in the history of the Sama Bajo. The importance of reliable freshwater sources is obvious
and features prominently in *iko-iko*, where battles are fought and lives lost for control over freshwater wells and springs. Starches and cereals like sago and rice were also of primary importance, as life cannot be sustained on fish alone. Relationships with inland communities centered on the exchange of such terrestrial products for dried fish and other sea produce are a recurrent feature in Sama Bajo histories. Yet, contrary to popular opinion, Sama Bajo peoples are not entirely ignorant of farming, as the cultivation of sago, coconut palms, and rice, as well as small-scale animal husbandry have also been important sources of livelihood for some time.\(^{130}\)

Most visible in the source material for the early modern period, however, is the importance of centers of trade and exchange for Sama Bajo communities throughout the eastern archipelago. Fishing and the collection of marine life provided the bulk of the Sama Bajo diet, but throughout recorded history Sama Bajo livelihood practices were also aimed at acquiring products to sell or exchange with landed populations, receiving textiles, iron, weapons, cash, and foodstuffs in return. That trade formed a vital element in Sama Bajo communities is suggested by the fact that several areas of early Sama Bajo settlements became thriving sites of multicultural and international trade shortly after establishment. Indeed, as Leonard Andaya has suggested, “aquatic populations” like the Sama Bajo appear to have actively sought to form relationships with landed populations and establish markets in which they could trade their sea products for necessary goods.\(^{131}\) A number of prominent examples of this phenomenon will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

Throughout the period under study, Sama Bajo peoples in eastern Indonesia have depended on the sea for sustenance, and this marine specialization forms the basis of their intimate relationship with the sea. Practicing a variety of methods and

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\(^{130}\) For an excellent treatment of contemporary practices of sago cultivation by Sama Bajo communities in Togean (north Sulawesi) see, Lowe, *Wild Profusion*, especially chapter three. For one example of Sama Bajo copra producers see, “Nota betreffende het landschap Toli-Toli,” *TITLV* 54 (1912): 36-37. The ownership of coconut groves by Sama Bajo families, many of which were acquired through several generations of inheritance, continues to be a lucrative source of income in areas of Selayar, western Flores, north and southeast Sulawesi.

\(^{131}\) Andaya, “Historical Links,” 41-42.
approaches to fishing and collecting, the Sama Bajo have long been known by neighboring groups as the most adept at hunting and harvesting sea resources for both subsistence and trade. Because marine species have been and continue to be an important dietary component for peoples throughout the Indonesian archipelago, fishing communities such as the Sama Bajo are a vital source of life and wealth for landed populations, coastal, riverine, and upland alike. These practices and methods have, of course, been modified and have been adapted over time, but the skill of Sama Bajo fishers in hunting, catching, gathering, and processing the sea’s bounty is a recurrent theme in the history of eastern Indonesia and continues to be an important element of the Indonesian economy today.

Sama Bajo peoples practice a number of approaches and particular methods to procure the assortment of sea creatures and products that form the most important element of their diet and income. As one might expect from a highly specialized fishing culture, the Sama Bajo have a remarkable repertoire of methods to fit nearly every ecological and environmental circumstance, habitat, and target species. The depth and complexity of their knowledge and skills are reflected in the abundance of baong Sama terms for their fishing practices. Missiq, for example, is the broad term for any style of line fishing, but there are dozens of related terms that are used to describe variations on line fishing, each defined by the type of hook, the number of hooks, the method by which one’s line is used, the tide, current, depth, target species, and various combinations of these and other factors. Ngambur, for instance, indicates a type of missiq that is usually done in less than six meters of water using a relatively small, barbed double-hook baited with either chunked fish, shrimp, or squid as bait. A Sama Bajo fisher would typically be prepared to employ a number of methods within the course of a day’s fishing, choosing a technique based on knowledge of what will likely work given a particular tide, depth, direction and strength of currents, water color and clarity, bait, wind, season, and target species.

132 Here I am following Gaynor’s suggestion that Sama Bajo livelihood practices are best conceived “along two axes: method and approach,” with approaches referring to baong Sama terms for “particular patterns of labor, culturally specific ways of making a living on the seas and coasts,” and methods referring to specific fishing techniques that may be utilized in the course of various approaches. Jennifer L. Gaynor, “Flexible Fishing: Gender and the New Spatial Division of Labor in Eastern Indonesia’s Rural Littoral,” Radical History Review 107 (2010): 84.
Likewise, the general term for net fishing, *ngaringgai*, encompasses a number of net fishing methods, each defined by a number of factors, including the type of net used, the targeted species, the location, the tide, the number of persons involved, and so forth.\textsuperscript{133} *Ngangambai*, for example, is a style of net fishing which targets fish species that gather in channels in the reef on the high tide, such as *kakambule* or Yellowtail Fusilier (*Caseo cuning*), by placing a net across the seaward opening of the channel and chasing fish into the net as the tide goes out.

Another important method of harvesting sea resources is the common activity of *nubbaq*, which is the act of gleaning from exposed reefs and the intertidal zone a variety of small fish, mollusks, crustaceans, trepang, and other edible fauna, and occasionally valuable corals. *Nubbaq* is typically said to be the practice of women and children, though I have seen men participate on a variety of occasions. At low tide, groups of women and children will head out onto the newly exposed reef flats that surround many Sama Bajo villages in search of a rich variety of sea creatures that live in the intertidal zone. The majority of the produce gathered during *nubbaq* is consumed by Sama Bajo families, but creatures like trepang and certain species of mollusks and crustaceans can also be a valuable source of income. Though it may appear so, *nubbaq* is much more than simply scouring the reefs for anything edible that remains after the tide has receded. It is an activity that requires remarkable knowledge, dexterity, and precision, as one needs to be able to accurately identify, capture, and prepare the hundreds of species, both poisonous and harmless, that live in the intertidal zones of eastern Indonesia.

Related to *nubbaq*, the practice of *ngangaliggaq* is to walk the shallows with a spear (*tiruq*) or trident (*sapah*), spearing various fish, squid, other sea life as they attempt to flee the forager. If this same activity takes place at night with the aid of a lantern, however, it is no longer referred to as *ngangaliggaq* but is spoken of as a style of *nyuluh* (various methods of lantern fishing). In 1908, a Dutch colonial officer joined Sama Bajo fishermen on a *nyuluh* venture in Tanah Bumbu (southeast

\textsuperscript{133} Tomoya Akimichi found that Sama Bajo fishers in north Maluku also classified types of fish nets based on the target species. Tomoya Akimichi, “Coral Reef Foragers in Transition: Nomadism, Sendentarism, and Ethno-network,” in *Studies on Bajau Communities: Papers from The International Seminar on Bajau Communities* (Jakarta: Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia, 1993), 5-8.
Borneo) and vividly described for his readers the fishermen’s dexterity in paddling their small dugouts through the shallows and spearing fish as they passed through the patches of water illuminated by their torches. Based on his observations that night he wrote that, "Of the six times that a fisher throws his harpoon, I say that he will miss only one time; [this is] clear evidence of their extraordinary skill, coupled with sharp sight and great composure."

The impressive swimming and diving abilities possessed by many Sama Bajo have also been a source of amazement for many observers. These abilities are perhaps best demonstrated in another important style of fishing using a speargun, known generally as manaq. Using handmade spearguns (panaq) of varying lengths and caliber, carved from wood and using spears fashioned from lengths of old iron, Sama Bajo spearfishermen will dive reef formations and reef walls at a variety of depths, targeting a number of fish species as well as turtle, ray, and cephalopods, like octopus and squid. Among coastal and fishing communities throughout eastern Indonesia, the Sama Bajo are well known for their ability to dive more than twenty meters below the surface and to stay under for several minutes at a time. In the past, their diving and swimming abilities were a source of wonder for visiting Europeans and neighboring communities, and led some observers to concoct fantastic explanations to account for their uncanny skill. In one instance, local villagers told a Dutch official visiting the Sumenep archipelago (northeast of Java) in the late nineteenth century that the Sama Bajo of the area “had gills and therefore could stay so long in the water.” Rather than possessing some unnatural characteristic, Sama Bajo skill in diving and swimming is cultivated through a lifetime on and in the water, and in some cases, a bit of assistance from ancestral spirits. In this potentially dangerous style of fishing, many expert Sama Bajo divers believe that those who can dive deepest and stay down the longest employ secret mantras, calling upon the Mboq madilau (sea spirits) for supernatural assistance. One such mantra, recorded in western Sumbawa, calls upon Papuq, which in contemporary contexts refers to God, and the Mboq madilau to help the diver hold his breath:

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O Papuq...O Mboq madilau...pamaporah... Tareqku nyawaku...Taguku dadarua madiata lepa.

Oh God...oh ancestors of the sea...excuse me...I draw my breath...I store it aboard the boat.\(^{136}\)

The vast Sama Bajo repertory of fishing and collecting techniques and methods, of which I have given only a few brief examples, are carried out in the context of culturally defined approaches to interacting with the sea. The primary approaches to obtaining a livelihood from the sea have typically been defined in relation to time and space, namely in terms of how far and for how long one travels on a particular fishing venture. However, this is a simplistic explanation that ignores the much more complex set of factors related to these approaches to travel. My understanding of these approaches is rooted in conversations with Sama Bajo peoples and my own observations, as well as the insights of others.\(^{137}\) A brief description of three of these approaches—*palilibu*, *pongkeq*, and *sakai*—helps us to understand the unique set of skills and patterns of mobility that were an important factor in the roles Sama Bajo performed in eastern Indonesia throughout the early modern period. Through generations of this sort of constant interaction with and movement through the seascape Sama Bajo peoples have accumulated a vast store of knowledge regarding the intricacies of their maritime environment. As such, the practices described below are at the foundation of the Sama Bajo’s relationship to the sea.

At its most basic level, the practice of *palilibu* can be defined as those regular fishing and collecting trips of short duration that make up the substance of daily life

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\(^{136}\) Uniawati also recorded a variation of this *mantra* in Salabangka (southeast Sulawesi) that uses the common Arabic opening, *Bismillahirrahmanirrahim* instead of the baong Sama “Papuq” to refer to God more generally. Uniawati, *Fungis Mantra Melaut pada Masyarakat Suku Bajo di Sulawesi Tenggara* (Kendari: Kantor Bahasa Provinsi Sulawesi Tenggara, 2006), 26.

\(^{137}\) The most succinct and, to my mind, accurate discussion on these specific modes of travel and fishing is Gaynor, “Flexible Fishing.” 82-86. Celia Lowe’s excellent work on the Sama Bajo of Togean (North Sulawesi) also contains rich descriptions of *pongkeq* travel and a critical analysis of Sama Bajo mobility and attachment to place more generally. Lowe, “The Magic of Place,” and Lowe, *Wild Profusion*. Standard, but simplified definitions of these practices can be found in R.H. Djohani, “The Sea is My Home: The Bajau People of Bunaken Park,” in *Minahasa Past and Present: Tradition and Transition in an Outer Island Region of Indonesia*, ed. R. Schefold (Leiden: CNWS Research School, 1995).
in most Sama Bajo villages. Taking place in the span of a day and therefore usually carried out in relatively close proximity to one’s home or temporary moorage, *palilibu* can encompass numerous fishing and collecting methods, including styles of *ngaringgai* (net fishing), *missiq* (line fishing), or *manaq* (spearfishing), that may take place day or night, may or may not require a vessel, and utilize a wide variety of tackle and other implements. From a young age, Sama Bajo children regularly accompany their parents and older siblings to help in many of daily activities that constitute *palilibu*, and these activities serve as a primary means of learning about their environment and acquiring the various skills necessary to harvest the ocean resources on one’s own. In sum, the daily practice of *palilibu* can amount to a lifetime of close interaction with the marine environment within a relatively circumscribed area around a village or mooring spot(s). Through countless hours of fishing, diving, and scouring the reefs and intertidal zones, Sama Bajo peoples throughout eastern Indonesia have become deeply familiar with the surrounding seascape, and generations of this sort of interplay has resulted in a vast store of experiential knowledge of these home-spaces.

Another important approach to fishing and collecting is the practice referred to as *pongkeq*. *Pongkeq* typically involves traveling longer distances by boat in search of sea resources on trips that may last several days or even up to a few months. The practice of *pongkeq* often involves a small flotilla of boats (*baong* Sama, *rambangah*), sometimes with several members of a family living aboard each vessel, but it can also be a much simpler affair involving a single person on his or her own boat. On such trips one may employ the same methods of fishing and collection as during *palilibu*, as it is the approach to fishing that defines *pongkeq* and not the techniques one uses. In southeast and central Sulawesi, as well as in western Flores, I met individual Sama Bajo fishers and whole families whose spent the majority of their lives in this manner, practicing what John Gillis has called a kind of “maritime transhumance,” pursuing targeted marine species from one catchment area to another, and basing their movements on the rhythms of spawning cycles,

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ocean conditions, and weather patterns. These fishers would spend months at a
time at sea, returning to their home village only when they had caught what they

In my experience, \textit{pongkeq} was more often used to describe voyages to
offshore reef complexes and atolls, where one or several boats would stay for weeks
and even months at a time in order to catch and collect a variety of sea creatures
including trepang, various sea turtles, \textit{trochus}, fish, shark, among other marine life.
These trips usually were undertaken during specific seasons of calm wind and
stable weather. In the area of southern Buton and the Tukangbesi archipelago
(southeast Sulawesi), for example, beginning around October groups of Sama Bajo
families and individuals would travel fifteen to twenty nautical miles to the offshore
Kapota and Kaledupa atolls and return sometime before early January, timing the
\textit{pongkeq} to coincide with the local calm season known as \textit{teduh kapuakah} or \textit{sangai teduh}. The main purpose of these trips was to collect trepang, ray, and shark, as well
as various fish species that would be dried and sold to local markets or middlemen
upon their return. In other areas, such as eastern Sumbawa, \textit{pongkeq} often involved
extensive traveling, sometimes lasting a few months, in which small groups and
individuals would move from one fishing ground to another, making periodic trips
to coastal villages and market places to sell their catch and obtain additional food
and supplies. This style of \textit{pongkeq} too is planned in accordance with the flow of the
localized monsoon seasons and the natural cycles of target species.

The third major approach to fishing and collecting is referred to as \textit{sakai}. \textit{Sakai}
typically describes fishing, collecting, and trading voyages, that involve
journeys to distant parts of the archipelago and may last a period of several months
and even years. Within this category are a number of styles of sailing ventures, often
referred to generally as \textit{lamaq}, meaning to sail. \textit{Sakai} voyages are often
multipurpose in nature, in the sense that a particular vessel or \textit{rambangah} will
engage in a variety of livelihood practices in the course of the lengthy voyage.
Historically, Sama Bajo regularly navigated long distances in the eastern Indonesian
seas, as well as to the western archipelago and the Malay Peninsula, and did so for a variety of reasons. In *iko-iko Si Sahammaq*, for example, a young Sama Bajo captain, Si Asang, undertakes a *sakai* voyage to southeast Java in order to hunt turtle and obtain tiger pelts, """"Si Asang pore *sakai* kabuku Jawa ngalaq kuliq macang poteq baka kulitang""""/Si Asang went *sakai* behind Java [south coast of Java] to get furs of white tigers and hawksbill turtle.140 Such long-distance *sakai* voyages are a common feature in *iko-iko*, with Maluku, Java, Sumatra, and Singapore all mentioned as regular destinations for trading enterprises.

The VOC archives also contain numerous reports of large fleets or *rambangah* of Sama Bajo vessels sailing from south Sulawesi, the Gulf of Bone, and western Flores into various parts of the eastern archipelago such as Solor-Alor, Kupang, north Maluku, and what the Dutch called the *Zuidwester-en Zuidoostereilanden* (Southwest and Southeast Islands) in southern Maluku. These voyages often combined the hunt and collection of sea products like trepang and tortoiseshell, with other commercial pursuits, like trading in spices, textiles, wax, and even slaves.141 As we will see in the following chapter, some of these voyages were also conducted to acquire slaves through raids on coastal villages. Lasting several months at a time and covering immense distances, Sama Bajo of the day perhaps would have described these voyages as *sakai* or *pongkeq*, depending of course on the location of one’s home village and various other factors.

*Sakai* voyages such as these are further evidence of Sama Bajo skills in navigating the dangerous waterways of the region. Utilizing celestial signs as well as extensive knowledge of ocean currents, wave and wind direction, and prominent features of the land and seascape, Sama Bajo were, and still are, the most capable of seafarers. It is therefore common to come across references in the sources to the ability of Sama Bajo to navigate complicated and dangerous passages, sailing in areas interspersed with hazardous reefs and shoals where others feared to venture. Accordingly, throughout history the Sama Bajo have been singled out among the

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141 For a few examples see, VOC Makassar and VOC Ternate bundles 1345, 2133, 3473, 8191, 8192, 8194, 8195.
numerous seafaring groups of the archipelago as the most skilled and highly valued navigators and sailors, as suggested in the famous Makassarese tale, *sinriliq Datu Museng*, where the protagonist declares: “I am not afraid to sail to distant lands; Behold! I sail on a Bayo [Sama Bajo] ship.”

The types of vessels used during *sakai*, *pongkeq*, and *palilibu* vary widely according to area, the purpose of the voyage, the distance, and one’s access to boats, supplies, and capital. Furthermore, there has been a considerable amount of change in the style of vessels used by Sama Bajo peoples over the last few centuries. In addition to variations on the dugout and other small vessels used for *palilibu*, Sama Bajo used a number of styles of vessel for voyages of longer duration and distance. Although there is no single style that can be called the traditional Sama Bajo vessel, the style referred to as *soppeq* is perhaps most commonly thought of as a being a characteristically Sama Bajo vessel and has been for some centuries. The *soppeq* is a sophisticated style of seven-part structure construction that is generally rigged with a single, tilted rectangular sail commonly known in baong Sama as *lamaq tanjaq* (Fig. 4). Interestingly, the *soppeq* is closely related to the *lepa-lepa*, or *lepa*, and *sapit* varieties, which are commonly used in Sama speaking communities throughout eastern Borneo and the Sulu archipelago, but in some areas of eastern Indonesia there is considerable divergence from the terms for various parts of the canoes used in northeastern Borneo Sama Bajau communities. Though the *soppeq* likely originated with Sama Bajo shipwrights, it became a much more widely popular vessel in areas of Sulawesi and Nusa Tenggara by the late eighteenth century if not earlier. Importantly, scholars have suggested that the spread of the *soppeq* style vessel to areas like Ende (southeast Flores), Kangean (northeast of Java), Kupang, Rote, Pantar (in the Solor-Alor archipelago), and elsewhere, is linked to the

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142 Based on Matthes’ Dutch translation from the original Makassarese, in B.F. Matthes, *Makassaarsche Chrestomathie: Oorspronkelijke Makassaarsche Geschriften, in Proza en Poezy* (’s Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1883), 129. Matthes adds the comment that, to fully understand this reference in the *sinriliq*, one must know the Sama Bajo are “a people generally known as fearless and excellent sailors,” 138.


144 A letter from the Resident of Bima to the Governor of Makassar in 1803, for example, notes that “a small vessel called the *soppe-sope*” was in use by the Sama Bajo and other islanders in area of Ampang (Lombok), ANRI Makassar 256.
longstanding influence of Sama Bajo seafarers in these areas. Elderly Sama Bajo often point to the soppeq as a style of vessel once commonly used on pongkeq voyages, and it is also said to have the been a common vessel for those Sama Bajo that lived primarily on their boats. Since the late 1980s, however, the soppeq has become an increasingly rare sight in Sama Bajo villages.

Throughout southwest Sulawesi but especially in the Makassar region in the eighteenth century and earlier, the style of vessel known as lambere was also associated with the Sama Bajo in the literature. According to Cense, the lambere was a large and considerably long vessel by definition, but according to oral tradition in Makassar there was a particular style known as lambere Bayo (Sama Bajo lambere). It was said to be propelled by as many as eighty rowers and was used as the frontline armada for the kingdoms of Gowa and Talloq because of its speed and mobility without relying on wind power. Dutch sources describe Sama Bajo piloting similar vessels in service of the ruler of Gowa while in Maluku, though the local Malukan term orembai is used in the reports instead of lambere. In addition to soppeq, lambere, and other vessels with which they are typically associated, Sama Bajo sailors also used boat types that were once common throughout the archipelago. VOC reports suggest that the largest vessels used by Sama Bajo on long distance trading voyages were paduakang, usually of ten to fifteen last burden (or twenty to thirty tons), as well as perahu lambo and gonting which were generally a bit smaller. Such vessels were a common feature of the trading scene of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and required a larger crew and capital investment to finance the voyage.

Pongkeq and sakai voyages in search of marine products and other goods were not without considerable dangers for the Sama Bajo fleets. Trepang fishers, especially in the latter half of the eighteenth century, were often targets for roving predatory bands, which undoubtedly included some Sama Bajo among their

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147 One last equals two tons. Sutherland, “Trepang and Wangkang,” 76 fn.4.
number. In the 1750s, the waters around Selayar were particularly dangerous for trepang fishers due to regular attacks on fishing and trading vessels by marauding Papuan fleets, who were reported to capture and enslave their victims.\textsuperscript{148} Local populations in the catchment areas were also sometimes hostile, as in 1720, when some of the local community on Wetar, an island in the southernmost Banda Sea, murdered twenty-three Sama Bajo trepang fishers from Sandao who had come to dry their catch on the nearby island of Luang.\textsuperscript{149} Writing in the late seventeenth century, VOC Governor Robertus Padtbrugge noted that when fishing in similarly hostile areas of Maluku and north Sulawesi, the Sama Bajo built temporary homes on “wild or uninhabited islands where there is sufficient sago, palm wine, and enough coconut palms and good timber,” where they could wait in peace for prime fishing conditions.\textsuperscript{150}

Though not all meetings between Sama Bajo and local populations in distant islands were violent, encounters with Company patrols almost never went well. In one confrontation, nine Sama Bajo trepang fishers suspected of smuggling spices were arrested in 1727 off the coast of Ambelau (near Ambon), where their goods were auctioned off and they were “made to do the Company’s general labor” for several months before being turned over to the ruler of Gowa.\textsuperscript{151} In 1732, a boat of Sama Bajo trepang fishers met an even worse fate when they fired upon a Company patrol ship in the Ambon quarter in an effort to escape arrest. In response the VOC patrol killed all thirty-five Sama Bajo on board, sinking the vessel and its cargo in the process.\textsuperscript{152} A few years later in 1736, Company officials captured a mixed crew of Sama Bajo and Makassarese trepang fishers on the island of Banda Niera who were suspected of smuggling spices, and these were eventually sold into slavery in Banda.\textsuperscript{153} Six vessels crewed by Sama Bajo subjects of the Papuq were likewise caught by the VOC cruise pencalang De Oppas and De Casuaris off the coast of Boleng on Adonara in 1727. When they resisted capture the Dutch cruisers opened fire,

\textsuperscript{148} VOC Makassar 8200, f.86-88.
149 GM VII: 553-554.
\textsuperscript{150} VOC Ternate 1376, f. 307v.
\textsuperscript{151} VOC Makassar 8194, f.9-12, 18-19.
\textsuperscript{152} GM IX: 486-487.
\textsuperscript{153} GM IX: 750.
killing one crewman and sending the others scrambling ashore. Once on shore, the crew encircled their leader and declared that they were subjects of the Papiq and did not intend any harm, but the captain of the VOC vessels dismissed their pleas as lies and deemed them to be “pirates.”

In the course of their voyages Sama Bajo sailors not only encountered the wrath of suspicious local communities, the predations of native marauders, or the ire of Company patrol ships, but they also faced the violence of the sea itself. Even though the Sama Bajo were undoubtedly among the most skilled sailors and navigators of the eastern Indonesian seas, the natural forces of the sea and wind are often insurmountable for even the most experienced seafarers. Oral traditions are replete with cautionary tales of Sama Bajo fishers who died while sailing or diving the depths in search of prized species of trepang. Dangerous sea creatures, such as the *kareoq mangali* (Tiger shark, *Galeocerdo cuvier*) and a legendary giant octopus known in many areas as *kuttaq silah*, are also recurrent figures in oral traditions, with many Sama Bajo fishers losing their lives to attacks while at sea. In his description of Sama Bajo diving for trepang on the northwest coast of Australia, Vosmaer noted that many had lost their lives “in the most miserable manner...having been taken away by sharks or other voracious sea monsters.”

Still, by far the greatest danger came from strong winds and ocean waves and currents that tormented sailors in many areas of the archipelago.

In one particularly harrowing tale recorded in the VOC archives, a small fleet of Sama Bajo trepang fishermen left Makassar in early December 1774, setting a course for the trepang rich waters around Sumba, some 300 miles to the south. After encountering a storm in the Sape Strait (between Sumbawa and Flores), which destroyed one of their rudders, the crew called in at Sumba on December 21st. The

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154 VOC Makassar 8191, f. 164.
155 In some Sama Bajo communities this giant octopus is known by other names. In Tukangbesi and Buton, for instance, it is known as *Maq empaq ingkehna* and is said to inhabit a *pamali* (taboo) cave called Toroh Gagallah in a reef complex near the island of Binongko. See, Lance Nolde, “Great is Our Relationship with the Sea,” *Explorations* 9 (2009): 15-33.
men spent a month there to repair their rudder and provision their vessels before heading to a “sandbank” and reef complex that lay south of Rote, which more than likely was the Ashmore reef complex known to the Sama Bajo as Pulau Pasir (lit., Sand Island). After fishing those waters for over three weeks, the fishermen left the fishing ground sometime in the first weeks of February 1775 and set a return course for Makassar. During their return voyage, however, one vessel, with a thirteen-man crew, was hit by severe southeast winds and rain and the force of the seas broke their only remaining rudder. Other than running aground on an unknown sandbar after two months adrift, the crew drifted to the west-southwest for roughly six months before coming ashore on an uninhabited island where they were able to repair their rudder and obtain nourishment from the coconut palms of the tiny island. Sometime in late August or early September of that year the fishermen left the island, set a course for the northeast and sailed for five days before coming ashore at an unknown, but populated island.

Struggling ashore they found a small strand community of “black” natives and, communicating their plight through signing, as each could not understand the other, they secured some food and water. When the natives summoned the assistance of the local European official, the Sama Bajo men quickly fled to their vessel and sailed away once again, no doubt fearing imprisonment in a strange land. After two days at sea, however, a vessel piloted by Europeans and “black men” came into view and eventually overtook the Sama Bajo’s ailing boat, taking the crew into custody. After three days aboard the European’s ship, the men arrived at Mannar, an island off Ceylon, and were then sent overland to Colombo. On September 30th, 1775, the remaining twelve survivors boarded the VOC ship de Aschat in Colombo and were transported to Batavia and then onward to Makassar, where they finally

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157 Ashmore Reef, located roughly 183 miles south (183°) of Sumba, is a longstanding fishing ground for Sama Bajo fleets from Indonesia, though in recent years their presence there has become a highly controversial issue. Taking into consideration the dates given for their departure from Sumba and their arrival at the “unknown sandbank,” as well as their general southward heading, I believe it is safe to assume the unspecified area is indeed the Ashmore reef complex.

arrived in March of 1776. Shortly after their arrival the VOC Harbormaster interrogated the men, as the government suspected them of attempting to smuggle cinnamon from Ceylon. Upon setting foot on the sandy shores of Makassar, the Sama Bajo trepang fishermen completed an arduous journey in which they drifted for some eight months across a distance of roughly 2800 miles. The transcripts of their interrogation are a testament not only to their ability to survive at sea, but also of their eminent skill as navigators and sailors. Even though they were battered by two powerful storms and drifted on the open sea for several months, at each point along their journey the men knew precisely the heading needed to sail home and did so whenever possible, even when unfavorable winds beat them back relentlessly.159

Sailing in a wide variety of vessels, such long distance sakai voyaging by Sama Bajo could be dangerous, but it was integral to the process that Pacific Islands scholar, Epeli Hau’ofa referred to as “world enlargement.”160 Voyages were undertaken to trade, to marry, to visit distant relatives, to fight, and even to seek adventure, and in the process Sama Bajo peoples opened up new areas of resources, discovered new routes, forged new alliances, and expanded existing social and commercial networks. These voyages, as with pongkeq ventures, served to enlarge the world of the Sama Bajo to include a vast expanse of sea space stretching from the Bird’s Head of Papua in the east, to Singapore and the Malay Peninsula in the west. Through their mobility the Sama Bajo become familiar with natural signs and waypoints in the sea and landscape that include fishing grounds, villages, trade centers, and spiritually potent places—all with their own rich history. The practices undertaken by Sama Bajo fishers and traders during palilibu, pongkeq, and sakai provide the major source of Sama Bajo livelihood and the experiences that become the foundation of their knowledge and mastery of the maritime environment. In the histories that will follow, it will be clear that their skills in exploiting the bountiful resources of the sea and littoral have placed the Sama Bajo at the center of many of the region’s trade and exchange networks. Moreover, their prowess as sailors,

159 VOC Makassar 3465, f.67-72.
navigators and as naval forces made the Sama Bajo a highly valued component of maritime polities throughout eastern Indonesia.

**Mboq Madilau**

This deep familiarity with the sea has traditionally been structured by a system of beliefs and practices centered on ancestor sea spirits referred to collectively as Mboq madilau.\(^{161}\) According to many Sama Bajo elders, the innumerable Mboq madilau serve a variety of functions and possess varying levels of power and authority. In my experience, the term Mboq madilau has been used in reference to a bewildering variety of spirits, including all-powerful deities, spirits of deceased ancestors, some who were lost at sea, as well as important historical figures that loom large in the spiritual world of the Sama Bajo. In many areas of eastern Indonesia, Sama Bajo list at least four spirits who are the most powerful of all the Mboq madilau, and in some cases, are portrayed as deities in their own right: Mboq Janggo, Mboq Tambirah, Mboq Burrah, and Mboq Dugah. Of these, Mboq Janggo and Mboq Tambirah are often said to be the most potent of the numerous Mboq madilau. Their names should not be spoken outside of ritual contexts or in circumstances where one requires their assistance, as the act of speaking their name is in itself a powerful means of summoning these spirits, though today it is not uncommon for Sama Bajo youth to disregard these proscriptions. The Mboq madilau determine much of what happens in the maritime realm, including dictating the success or failure of fishing ventures as well as weather conditions, and they also can be the source of both affliction and cure. Thus, the Mboq madilau require careful propitiation and respect that can be performed individually, but more often a spiritual intermediary known as a sanro is required to perform the important rituals that aid in communication with the spirit world.\(^{162}\)

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\(^{162}\) *Sanro* is also a Bugis and Makassarese term for a spiritual intermediary, and is similar in function to a dukun in Javanese contexts. According to one knowledgeable Sama Bajo elder, Sama Bajo people in the Straits of Tiworo distinguished between *sanro* who descended from slave ancestors (*Puah sanro*) and those
The power and pervasiveness of the Mboq madilau is a crucial element in understanding the relationship of the Sama Bajo to the sea, and in gaining a sense of how the Sama Bajo themselves understand this relationship. When asked about the role of the Mboq madilau in the lives of the Sama Bajo, Mboq Doba, a prominent elder in the Tukangbesi archipelago (southeast Sulawesi), sighed and stared out to the approaching storm forming over the Banda Sea. After a period of reflection, he told me, “Great is our relationship to the sea. Without the sea we cannot live, we cannot eat. When I place an offering in the sea, I am asking the Mboq madilau to protect me and to give me success [dalle]. Without this, the sea will not give me what I need.”

The great importance of the Mboq madilau is further emphasized in the description one Sama Bajo elder gave to anthropologist Natasha Stacey:

Mbo madilao have control of the universe, of the sea and all the creatures in it for Bajo people, for it is their place. Mbo madilao are like the rulers of the sea.... Because it is known by Bajo people that mbo madilao have authority over the sea, the sea is the property/possession [milik] of Bajo people as the place where they live and as their place where they search for their livelihood. Mbo madilao live wherever there is sea, and wherever Bajo people search for a living, even if outside the country of Indonesia, they will be accompanied by mbo madilao.

This statement is a common sentiment that I have heard expressed by numerous Sama Bajo elders throughout the Indonesian archipelago. It is a powerful summation of a central element in the Sama Bajo’s relationship to the sea. Through

descended from nobility (Mboq sanro) by using forms of address that are typically used to indicate age, with Puah being similar to “aunt/uncle” and Mboq being reserved for the elderly members of the community. Muhammad Marhalim, “Sejarah Perdagangan dan Konsumen Daging Penyu dalam Masyarakat Bajo di Selat Tiworo” (unpublished typescript, 1991), 1.

163 Interview with Mboq Doba, Sampela, 19-06-2007. According to Matthes, in Makassarese and Bugis dallé can mean profit, gain, benefit, or luck, with papadallé meaning, “to make lucky.” Chris Majors, an anthropologist who has spent over a decade living and working among the Sama Bajo of Tukangbesi, explains dallé or padalleang, as “a form of good luck that the Bajo believed was critical to achieving fishing success” and was determined by their relationship to the Mboq madilau. B.F. Matthes, Makassasarsch-Hollandsch Woordenboek (Amsterdam: Het Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap, 1859), 367. Majors, “Seas of Discontent,” 251-252.

164 Natasha Stacey, Boats to Burn: Bajo Fishing Activity in the Australian Fishing Zone (Canberra: The Australian National University Press, 2007), 32-3.
the power and authority of the Mboq madilau the Sama Bajo are afforded “possession” of the seascape, not in a sense of territorial ownership *per se*, but more along the lines of a mastery of the maritime environment. While the Sama Bajo view the sea as a space shared by all, they alone possess this dynamic relationship to the sea and the spirits who control the maritime realm.

In light of the power held by the Mboq madilau, in many Sama Bajo communities rituals, mantras, and offerings are a means of communication with and propitiation of the spirits to request their intercession in important matters. Although the Mboq madilau are said to be omnipresent, certain prominent features and potentially dangerous locations in the seascape are singled out as particularly powerful places, sometimes called *sillangang pamali*, where offerings should be placed and mantras should be recited. *Pusarang abal*, for instance, are whirlpools or vortexes created by strong tidal movement, eddies, and currents, especially in areas where land features rise sharply out of deep water. Some have explained to me that the *pusarang abal* are the throne of Mboq Tambirah and thus require an offering or gift be placed there. The offering, which is typically a banana leaf wrapping said to contain a food item such as the flesh of *boko* (green sea turtle), is placed in the water and Mboq Tambirah is then called forth by name, asking him to excuse the speaker’s presence and to provide calm seas, safe passage, and success in the venture.

Similarly, when a Sama Bajo vessel encounters a sudden storm and high waves, one may call on Mboq Tambirah for protection, as in the following incantation: “*Ooo Mboq Tambirah, tulota umputa pasalamaqta madialang bala itu, pasinnahta goyaq itu baka sangai itu, lamong salakaq kami tikka malahaq nabeanang kami baong itu kakita*,” meaning, “Oh Mboq Tambirah, please help your grandchild, spare us in this storm, calm these waves, lessen the wind, if we arrive safely at our destination, we will offer these words to you.”165 Upon arriving safely at home, the sailors spared

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165 This incantation is taken from Marhalim, “Sejarah Perdagangan,” 1-2. However, in 2010 I was able to share Marhalim’s rendition and explanation with a number of Sama Bajo seafarers and sanro in communities in south, southeast, and central Sulawesi, western and eastern Sumbawa, west and east Flores, as well as in west Timor, and all confirmed Marhalim’s description, transcription, and usage of the recitation.
from the storm will procure a boko and offer it to Mboq Tambirah in order to fulfill the promise made at sea.  

Such mantras are understood as a powerful form of knowledge that enables one to communicate with the Mboq madilau and invite their intercession in a number of important seaborne activities, as well as in matters of health and safety. Nearly every practitioner I interviewed spoke of mantras that could call fish to into an area, or even into one’s net or onto one’s hook, yet few were willing to share such guarded secrets. There are numerous other mantras that one could recite before setting or throwing a net, before dropping an anchor, before entering the water, and when dropping one’s baited hook into the water. These mantras will sometimes call upon Allah using standard Arabic incantations or upon God more generally using the boang Sama term Papuq, but many will call upon a litany of named Mboq madilau. In addition to Mboq Janggo, Mboq Tambirah, Mboq Dugah and the like, recitations will call on a variety of other names said to belong to Sama Bajo ancestors who have become Mboq madilau. One mantra recorded in western Sumbawa evokes several such names in order to protect oneself from the kuttaq silah, a powerful giant octopus that is believed by many Sama Bajo communities to be under the control of certain Mboq madilau: “Bismillahirrahmanirrahim...Begi arang kuttaq...Daeng Majappang, Daeng Tanesayu...barakkaqna Si Landang...kuasana Si Ayuna...Sirrengming Rajauna,” meaning, “In the name of Allah, most gracious, most compassionate...Begi the name of kuttaq...Daeng Majappang, Daeng Tanesayu...mercy of Si Landang...the authority of Si Ayuna...Sirrengming Rajauna.”

The histories of these ancestors whose spirits now dwell in the seascape are sometimes known only vaguely, but their importance and power in present contexts were always evident in conversations with elders. The historicity of the Mboq madilau and the seas they inhabit was further underscored for me when I recorded

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166 The use of boko, green sea turtle (Chelonia mydas), is said to have been a traditionally important element in Sama Bajo spiritual practices, as well as a favorite food item in past times, but the use of these protected species has declined in the last half century for a variety reasons, including government regulations regarding turtle hunting. Furthermore, in certain areas such as in Kangean, Sama Bajo have been described as forswearing the consumption of turtle flesh according to Islamic custom. See, Jochim. “Beschrijving,” 370; Marhalim, “Sejarah Perdagangan.”

167 Uniawati, Fungis Mantra Melaut, 54.
mantras in Tiworo and northwest Flores that called upon the name of an important historical figure from the Sama Bajo past who is also mentioned in various Makassarese manuscripts including the *lontaraq bilang*, or royal annals of Gowa-Talloq. Neither of the individuals reciting the mantra knew much about this powerful figure of the past, other than to say that he was a "*datu Sama,*" or "*Raja Bajo,*" (lord or king of the Sama Bajo). The short incantation was exactly the same in both places, which are over three hundred miles apart, and was to be used for the same purpose, namely to cause a waterspout to disappear. In this mantra, three names are spoken in addition to calling on *Allah*, but the one that caught my attention was Papuq Daeng Numalo. This figure will be discussed in greater detail in chapter three, but it is enough to note here that his name appears in Makassarese *lontaraq* as the paramount leader (Papuq) of the Sama Bajo groups allied with Gowa-Talloq until his death in 1703. Although it is perhaps impossible to trace the process by which the name of this powerful figure of past times came to be enshrined in a mantra used in Sama Bajo communities three centuries after his death, the presence of his name in the mantra points to the importance of these individuals, as well as to the antiquity of these oral traditions and their wide circulation among practitioners in Sama Bajo communities across the archipelago.

Alongside the belief in the power of the Mboq madilau in Sama Bajo communities in eastern Indonesia, Islamic faith and practice is also pervasive. Indeed, the overwhelming majority of Sama Bajo in Indonesia identify as Muslims. Given the close relationships formed with Islamic kingdoms such as Brunei, Sulu, Gowa-Talloq, and Bone, it is clear that segments of the larger, maritime-oriented Sama speaking population came into close contact with Islam well before the seventeenth century. Yet, "pre-Islamic" beliefs and practices have long coexisted with Islamic elements of Sama Bajo culture and continue to do so today, though not always without friction. Just as mantras tend to blend Islamic incantations with appeals to the Mboq madilau, Sama Bajo villages also display a blending of beliefs and practices. It is therefore not uncommon to witness a *sanro* put on his *taqiyah* (a skull cap typically worn by observant Muslims) and recite Quaranic verses in Arabic
before beginning a ritual offering to the Mboq madilau in order to heal a sick person, to divine the location of a person lost at sea, or to bless a newly built vessel.

In his 1682 memorandum, the VOC governor of Ternate Robertus Padbrugge described the religious practices of the Sama Bajo he encountered living in eastern and northern Sulawesi as a mix of “Chinese” and Muslim beliefs, with the “Chinese” element presumably referring to a type of spirit worship. The observant Dutch governor nevertheless remarked that they practiced neither religion in a “pure” form.168 Almost two centuries later in the 1830s the Dutch trader J.N. Vosmaer said of the Sama Bajo living in the Kendari Bay area of southeast Sulawesi that they “professed” to be Muslim. Yet he also spoke of the elaborate “heathen” healing ceremony he witnessed during his stay, which has a number of parallels with contemporary Sama Bajo ceremonies referred to as kaq didaraq.169 Vosmaer was of the opinion that this sort of “heathendom had again become more strongly in fashion since the outbreak of cholera among them [in 1828],” and he noted that other “heathen mentalities” (heidensche instellingen) were common, such as the placing of offerings at prominent landmarks, like cliffs, islands, and headlands in order to implore the spirits to provide a good catch.170

Dutch and other European observers often doubted whether Sama Bajo were “true” Muslims because of non-Islamic practices such as the ceremonies witnessed by Vosmaer, yet others were reassured of their piety by the observance of characteristically Islamic customs, such the avoidance of alcohol or eating turtle flesh. These early attempts at categorizing Sama Bajo spiritual practices according to a particular definition of “Islam” and in opposition to “heathendom” ignore the complexity inherent in ideas of “conversion,” as well as the impact of localization. As

168 VOC Ternate 1376, f.305r.
169 Kaq dilau and the related kaq didaraq ceremonies have generally been described to me as the propitiation of an ancestral or twin spirit that is the source of the illness, and those I have witnessed always involved offerings of colored rice, fish, chicken or an egg, and betel preparation, though I have never witnessed either ceremony involving the use of drums or gongs as Vosmaer described. As it was explained to me, Kaq didaraq are those performed at certain spiritually powerful places on land (daraq), and those performed at similarly powerful places at sea (lau) are referred to as kaq dilau. The primary sources of my information regarding Sama Bajo ceremonies and rituals are the various sanro I have had the opportunity to interview and observe at work in a number of Sama Bajo villages in eastern Indonesia.
in other Muslim societies throughout Southeast Asia, Sama Bajo beliefs and practices centered on the Mboq madilau have been incorporated into an Islamic worldview, and elements of Islam, particularly the language of Arabic, have become localized components of rituals, mantras, and cosmologies involving the powerful sea spirits. In the village of Buréh, also known as Wuring, in the Maumere region of eastern Flores, for example, one sanro explained to me that Mboq Janggo, Mboq Dugah, and Mboq Tambirah were the helpers of the Prophet Muhammad, ruling the seas on Allah's behalf. It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine the extent of Islamic influence in a certain Sama Bajo community at any given time in history, but it is clear that both Islamic beliefs and practices and the reverence for the Mboq madilau were powerful influences in eastern Indonesian Sama Bajo culture and history from at least the seventeenth century until today.

**Distribution and Settlement of Sama Bajo Peoples in Eastern Indonesia**

With its wealth of marine life and diversity of ecosystems, the maritime environment of eastern Indonesia described above was ideally suited for settlement and exploitation by the sea-centered Sama speakers who migrated into the region. Today, as in the past, Sama Bajo communities are found on small offshore islands and in littoral zones throughout the eastern archipelago. Michael Pearson has described the littoral as a space that encompasses “the coastal sea zone, the beach, and an indeterminate frontier on land,” and thus “forms a frontier zone that is not there to separate or enclose, but which rather finds its meaning in its permeability.” Situated in this frontier between the resource rich seas and the wealth and population of the coast and interior, Sama Bajo peoples were a primary link in the symbiotic relationship between land and sea. Yet, perhaps different from littoral societies as conventionally defined, the Sama Bajo were pelagic peoples as well, hazarding the deeps beyond the littoral (tarusang) to exploit offshore

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171 Interview with Mboq Daga, Bureh, 01-07-2011. Natasha Stacey was given a similar explanation of the place of the Mboq madilau within Islamic contexts from Sama Bajo in Tukangbesi. Stacey, *Boats to Burn*, 31-32.

resources and to navigate waterways that led to distant frontiers and new opportunities. Furthermore, while Sama Bajo peoples were actively involved in affairs on land, such as trade, gardening, and exploiting forest resources, they were far more oriented to the sea than to the land. More so than any of their neighboring communities, in the historical sources we see the Sama Bajo exhibit a total mastery of the open sea as well as the littoral.

Because of this unparalleled mastery of the seascape and their highly mobile lifestyle, Sama Bajo peoples can be found in nearly every island chain of the eastern archipelago. It is also no coincidence that these settlements are often in close proximity to the most resource-rich and ecologically diverse areas of the archipelago, many of which have become national marine parks and marine protected areas in recent years. Sama Bajo villages in each of these areas are relatively similar in terms of their location, style, and orientation, and there is remarkably little variation in regard to the resources found in the environment surrounding most of these settlements. Villages are almost always centered in the littoral zone rarely more than a hundred meters from the water’s edge, and are often physically separated from neighboring communities by water. Others, especially those in early modern east Borneo, were established at the mouth of large rivers that served as the main access to the interior and as the main thoroughfare for trade. However, there are some, like Labuan Bajo (west Flores) and certain villages in Kendari (southeast Sulawesi), which today extend a kilometer or more inland and blend almost imperceptibly with their land-oriented neighbors. The sea itself surrounds many villages, with homes raised above the water on pilings buried into the sand or resting on foundations of dead corals and rock. These villages are typically, but not always, set in areas that offer seasonal or year-round protection from the weather, be it on leeward shores or in protected bays, lagoons, river deltas, or mangrove forests. Wherever their location, however, the vast majority of Sama Bajo villages are oriented to the sea.

Elders often explain that an area must possess certain essential features in order to be suitable for longer-term settlement by Sama Bajo peoples. Among these criteria, close proximity to multiple ecological zones of exploitation was a
paramount consideration. Accordingly one finds in the vicinity of most Sama Bajo villages today, as in the past, a variety of coral reef formations, seagrass beds, mangrove forests, and offshore islands and atolls from which a wide variety of sea products, building materials, and firewood can be obtained. That one is able to access the open sea and adjacent fishing grounds regardless of the tide is another important criterion in selecting a village site. It is not uncommon, therefore, to find deep water channels located nearby Sama Bajo villages through which vessels of modest size may pass even at the lowest of tides. Such features in the seascape also provide protection from seaborne threats, as dangerous reefs and shoals surround many villages and only those familiar with the area can identify safe passage.

Relatively close proximity to sources of fresh water was another prerequisite, and many villages even in the present are located near natural springs, wells, or other accessible sources of freshwater. Finally, it was important to be within reach of a market in which to sell or trade their products for goods from the outside world. Such a market could be busy entrepots like Makassar, Pota (northwest Flores), or Bajoé, or simply a beach, an anchorage, a sheltered lagoon, or even a small village where Sama Bajo fishers regularly traded with landed populations. In oral traditions such meeting places were often simply called majanji or janji (promise or pledge), signifying the agreement made between the Sama Bajo of the area and the inland populations to meet and trade peacefully at a specific location.

Although reliable statistics are not available, recent surveys suggest that there are well over three hundred Sama Bajo villages and a total population of roughly 500,000 living throughout Indonesia today.173 The largest concentrations of villages are found along the central and southern coasts of eastern Sulawesi, but relatively large numbers are also found widely dispersed across the littorals of East Kalimantan (Indonesian Borneo), southwest Sulawesi, northern Sulawesi and the

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173 A sense of this proliferation can be obtained from Nagatsu Kazufumi’s 2007 report on the distribution of Sama Bajo villages in the region. Unfortunately Nagatsu does not explain how he obtained the cited population figures or settlement data, and there are numerous Sama Bajo villages that were not listed and several with incorrect names among those he did list. In total Nagatsu estimates a population of only 193,147 living throughout Indonesia (c.2000), yet these figures are far too conservative. See p.2, fn. 2, of for a critique of Nagatsu’s figures. Nagatsu, “The Sama-Bajau in and around Sulawesi”; Gaynor, “Liquid Territory,” 14.
Tomini Bay, north Maluku, the Banggai and Sula islands, Sumbawa, Lombok, the whole of northern Flores, islands of the Solor-Alor archipelago, West Timor, and in the Kangean archipelago to the northwest of Bali (see Map 2). It is particularly noteworthy that all of these contemporary spaces of settlement are in areas that were also frequented by Sama Bajo peoples in earlier centuries and many of these current villages correspond with the general location of Sama Bajo villages of some antiquity.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Pallesen’s research on the Samalan language and its dispersal throughout island Southeast Asia suggests that maritime oriented Sama speakers left the Sulu archipelago and northeast Borneo and migrated east to Sulawesi sometime in the early sixteenth century. While Pallesen does not venture to discuss the pre-Philippine origin of Sama speakers, Blust identifies the Barito river basin of southeast Borneo as the ultimate ancestral homeland of Samalan ethnolinguistic group, and suggests that the involvement of Sama speakers in the early spice trade had brought Sama speakers into areas of eastern Indonesia beginning c.900AD, especially along the northern route of that trade which linked Maluku to Brunei via Manado and Sulu. Movement along this route eventually led some groups to settle in the Sulu archipelago as they passed through. According to Blust, “in time some groups [of Sama speakers] also moved out to other points along the trade route, closely paralleling the distribution of Malay dialects in eastern Indonesia.” Thus, while Pallesen suggests that the Sama Bajo of eastern Indonesia ultimately derive from the southern Philippine archipelago and northeast Borneo, Blust’s theory indicates that maritime oriented Sama speakers originated in southeast Borneo and could have inhabited areas of eastern Indonesia as much as five hundred years before the time proposed by Pallesen.

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174 Smaller communities of Sama Bajo are today living in areas of West Papua, Bali, Sumatra and Jakarta, mostly as a result of conflicts in Sulawesi during the 1950s, as well as the Transmigrasi program of the Indonesian government.
Sulawesi and the Neighboring Islands

The archaeological and written historical record also provides evidence of an earlier arrival by Sama Bajo groups in south Sulawesi. The grave of a Karaeng Lolo Bayo in the area formerly known as Bayoa (“place of the Bajo”) at the mouth of the Sanrabone River (south Sulawesi) is of particular interest in this regard (see Fig.1). This grave complex is believed to be associated with one of the most important historical figures in Makassarese oral and written tradition, a mysterious figure of disputed origin who, according to Makassarese tradition, married a female being descended from the upperworld referred to as the tumanurung. According to this tradition, the marriage between Karaeng Lolo Bayo and the tumanurung resulted in the birth of Gowa’s first ruler and all subsequent rulers of that kingdom traced their royal descent to that first union. While scholars have long suggested that the tumanurung tradition was little more than a mythical rendition of Gowa’s origin, more recent scholarship has indicated that there is some truth to this story.

Contrary to earlier views, David Bulbeck has argued that the tumanurung tradition has roots in actual historical events. Based on extensive archaeological and historical research Bulbeck has suggested that the marriage between Karaeng Lolo Bayo and an unknown woman, who came to be called the tumanurung, took place sometime at the end of the thirteenth century. Additionally, wood samples taken from the Karaeng Lolo Bayo grave complex at Bayoa (Sanrabone) were tested by Bulbeck and gave calibrated radiocarbon dates of c.1260-1360CE.176 The significance of the Karaeng Lolo Bayo tradition and the early relationship of Sama Bajo peoples to the polities of south Sulawesi will be discussed in greater detail in chapter three. But it is important to note here that these findings demonstrate that by the end of the thirteenth century, a member of the Sama Bajo nobility was already well-established in the Makassarese polities of south Sulawesi, and this individual was of sufficient status within local hierarchies to warrant the

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Makassarese title of Karaeng (lord or ruler), and perhaps even to be cited as the fount of the royal line of Gowa-Talloq.177

Although sources for this period of Sama Bajo history are few in number and lack important details about the person of Karaeng Lolo Bayo, there are a number of Sama Bajo and Makassarese traditions that also provide significant information regarding key areas of initial Sama Bajo settlement in the south Sulawesi region (see Map 4). One of the most important accounts is offered in the LB Lemobajo. According to this manuscript, a large group of Sama Bajo were invited to settle in the realm of an unnamed Karaeng Gowa, and their leader, who bears the title Papuq, is asked by the ruler, “Choose for yourselves a place within the realm of Gowa where I Papuq and all of I Papuq’s many children and grandchildren desire in your hearts to settle.” The Papuq then replied to the Karaeng Gowa, saying, “The area that is greatly desired by my many children and grandchildren to gather and settle is [from] Tanjung Kalukalukuang as far as Cikoang.” The manuscript then adds, “And that is where they stayed. I Papuq and his many children and grandchildren also lived and sought their livelihood on the islands as far as Dewakang and Libukeng Tengaé.”178

While the coastal settlement of Cikoang and the Dewakang islands are easily identifiable on historical and contemporary maps, Tanjung Kalukalukuang and Libukeng Tengaé are more difficult to locate with any certainty. I have been unable to identify a Tanjung Kalukalukuang on any map of the region, though a 1693 map of the southwest peninsula produced by the VOC has a small island by that name charted off the coast of the Patteqne River, north of Talloq.179 However, there also is a Pulau Kalukalukuang located roughly 120 miles west of Makassar that is well marked in nineteenth century Dutch pilots. The central difficulty lies in the fact that similar names, most of which are based on the root word “kaluku” or coconut palm,

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177 The Makassarese title of Karaeng was granted to high-ranking nobles. In Sama Bajo cultural contexts the title of Lolo is reserved for those of high-ranking status who claimed descent from a royal line of Sama Bajo authority. “Bayo” is another Makassarese name for the Sama Bajo and is equivalent to the more common Malay/Bugis term “Bajo.” Combined, these titles indicate a member of the Sama Bajo nobility who apparently was well respected within Makassarese society.
178 MS 260, f.8.
179 NA, Verzameling Buitenlandse Kaarten Leupe, VEL, 1294. (Hereafter NA VEL).
are commonly found in one form or another throughout south Sulawesi, but none appear to be linked to a tanjung or cape. Similarly vague, “Libukeng Tengaé” (Bugis) or Liukang Tangngaya (Makassarese) can simply mean “middle island(s).” This name has also been used to refer to a specific island approximately 116 miles south-southwest of Makassar in the Sabalana archipelago. Despite these difficulties, a rough mapping of these locations reveals that the space chosen by this early group of Sama Bajo for settlement and a source of livelihood encompasses a vast littoral zone and numerous offshore islands, stretching along the mainland Sulawesi coast possibly from the mouth of the Patteqne River in the northwest to the district of Cikoang at the mouth of the Takalar River in the southeast, and extending roughly more than 120 miles west and southwest to include the numerous islands and reef complexes linking Sulawesi to Borneo and western Nusa Tenggara.

The specific reasons for selecting this zone are not mentioned in the lontaraq, but a look at the local ecology of the area offers some clues. The chosen areas are ideally suited to the Sama Bajo lifestyle, with extensive offshore reefs and islands, safe harbors, as well as coastal and riverine centers of trade and exchange, all located within a relatively short sail from each other. Archaeological evidence and manuscript sources demonstrate that important Sama Bajo settlements were established at the mouths of the four main rivers in the southwest coastal plain, namely the Talloq, Jeqneqberang (Garassiq), Galesong, and Sanrabone rivers, and these sites were chosen most likely because of their strategic value (see Map 5). Located near the mouth of the these large river systems, early port polities such as Garassiq were ideally positioned to serve as “gateway communities” linking inland communities, the littoral, and the open sea, and allowing a measure of control over the commodities that flowed between those poles. Much like the Orang Laut of Sriwijaya, the Sama Bajo would have had a vital role in such polities, not only

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providing sea resources essential for trade and exchange but also in transporting goods up- and downstream and abroad, and serving as guardians of the waterways.

The scattered islands and atolls of the Sangkarang, Dewakang, Sabalana, and Tengah islands are also listed in LB Lemobajo and other sources as a primary area of Sama Bajo settlement and activity. These sea spaces comprise a massive catchment area for reef and pelagic fish species, and the sandy beaches of several of these islands are primary nesting sites for hawksbill turtles as well as hunting areas for both hawksbill and green sea turtles. Many of these islands also have a reliable freshwater lens and relatively large tracts of mangrove forest, which are an important source of building material and firewood for contemporary Sama Bajo communities, as well as a breeding ground for numerous marine fauna. It is impossible to say with certainty that the Sama Bajo groups involved were already aware of the rich resources of these areas when they made their choice, yet it is logical to suppose that they would not “greatly desire” this specific area, as the manuscripts state, without any prior knowledge regarding its suitability for their particular cultural and livelihood practices. Whether this familiarity with the region came by way of prior involvement and settlement in the area, or by scouting done by these Sama Bajo groups soon before making their choice, is not revealed in the sources.

Several other sources in addition to the account from the MS 260, MS 250a, and LB Lemobajo cite this region as a zone of Sama Bajo settlement. In one Makassarese lontaraq, for example, it is said that prior to coming to know the ruler of Makassar (Karaeng ri Mangkasaraq), the Sama Bajo lived “to the west of Doang-Doangang” and “they often traveled east to Bantaeng.” Once the Sama Bajo met with the ruler of Makassar an oath was sworn and the ruler invited the Sama Bajo to settle at any place of their choosing. In this version it states, “only Bayoa was desired.” The toponym Bayoa was common in the southwest coastal plain in the early sixteenth century, particularly at the mouths of the major rivers listed above, but one prominent Bayoa site in particular is associated with the grave of Karaeng

\[182\] NBG 17, f.99-100.
Lolo Bayo located in the coastal area of Sanrabone, located a relatively short distance west of Cikoang. While this lontaraq does not specifically name the area of prior Sama Bajo settlement, "to the west of Doang-Doangang" is perhaps a reference to the immense spread of islands that includes the western edge of the Spermonde archipelago and even portions of the Balabalangan and Sabalana islands, or, perhaps even the eastern coast of Borneo. The 1669/70 Notitie of Admiral Cornelis Speelman also lists the islands to the west of Makassar as primary areas of Sama Bajo activity and settlement. Speelman adds that larger numbers of Sama Bajo peoples once lived in the realm of Gowa-Talloq prior to the Makassar War (1666-1669), but the tumult of the war period had forced many to flee to other areas in eastern Indonesia such as Pasir (east Borneo), Flores, Bima, Sumbawa, and Salaparang (Lombok), with the largest numbers moving to the aforementioned areas of Nusa Tenggara.

In addition to the offshore islands and the outstretched coast between Cikoang and Kalukalukuang noted in LB Lemobajo, MS 260, and MS 250a, additional Makassaresque lontaraq sources also point to several important areas of Sama Bajo settlement in southwest Sulawesi during this early period. From these records we know that prior to the early sixteenth century several powerful Sama Bajo groups were allied with the coastal and riverine polities of Katingang, Garassiq, Barassaq, Panaikang, and later, Sanrabone. Each of these polities played a significant role in the political and economic world of early south Sulawesi, and, as mentioned previously, Garassiq in particular was among the most strategically important of the regional polities prior to the ascendance of Gowa and Talloq, specifically in terms of maritime and upstream-downstream trade. As I will show in chapter three, the

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183 Bulbeck, “Tale of Two Kingdoms,” 436
184 If, indeed, by “west of Doang-Doangang,” the manuscript meant east Borneo, this reference would provide a tantalizing link to Blust’s argument regarding the dispersal of Sama speakers. The movement of Sama speakers from the Barito region to Maluku in search of spices could also have taken them along the southern route of the spice trade, which in the thirteenth-sixteenth centuries featured Bantaeng as an important node in the trade network. This would open up the possibility that Sama speakers were familiar with the Bantaeng polity in south Sulawesi for a period before they came to ally with the Makassaresque communities that would become the Gowa confederation (Bate Salapang).
185 Speelman, “Notitie,” 27.
absorption of the Sama Bajo affiliated with these coastal and riverine polities was central to the successful rise and expansion of Gowa and Talloq.

Sama Bajo oral and written traditions, Bugis manuscripts from the kingdom of Bone, and VOC records all attest to a similar process in Bone. After a series of violent clashes and failed negotiations, war broke out between Gowa-Talloq and the combined forces of the VOC and its Bugis allies under the leadership of a Bone noble named La Tenritatta Arung Palakka Matinröé ri Bontoalaq in 1666 (hereafter referred to as Arung Palakka). After a series of crippling wars, known collectively as the Makassar War, Gowa-Talloq finally fell to its enemies in 1669, bringing its period of spectacular growth and prosperity to a crashing close. Amid the tumult of the war period and the destruction of the Gowa-Talloq kingdom, a number of Sama Bajo elders and nobility elected to form a new alliance with the Arumpone (the ruler of Bone), Arung Palakka. Under the leadership of one who bore the title of Lolo Bajo, a large fleet of Sama Bajo sailed into the Gulf of Bone to meet the Arumpone and, in return for their loyalty, they were given their choice of lands to settle. The sources record that the Sama Bajo chose a section of the western littoral of the Gulf of Bone and formed a settlement there that came to be known as Bajoé, which, like the Makassarese “Bayoa,” denotes a “place of the Bajo” in the Bugis language (see Map 6). In the ensuing years Bajoé grew rapidly and came to serve as one of the main entrepots in Bugis lands and an important node in the trade networks of eastern Indonesia. Bone’s alliance with the Lolo Bajo and his followers proved to be a vital element in that kingdom’s successes over the next century. In chapter five this shift to Bone and the subsequent networks that developed out of this new partnership will also be discussed in greater detail.

Beyond the southwestern peninsula of Sulawesi, Sama Bajo peoples have also been an important element of the population of the east coast of that island (see Map 7). It is this area that is now home to the largest numbers of Sama Bajo in Indonesia. VOC reports from the end of the seventeenth century and later colonial records document the relatively large communities of Sama Bajo in this region,

especially the areas of Tobungku on the central east coast and the nearby islands of Banggai, Sula, as well as groups of unknown size in Buton, Tiworo, and the Tukangbesi archipelago in the southeast. These sources describe both settled communities and more nomadic groups that were an influential force in local trade and politics well into the nineteenth century. The antiquity of Sama Bajo involvement in the area is also evidenced in local written and oral traditions. One of the guarded entranceways of the keraton, or royal fortress of Wolio on the island of Buton, for example, is named Lawana Wajo, or the “Archway of the Bajo.” Oral traditions in Buton state that the twelve archways of the keraton were named after those groups responsible for guarding their respective entrances during an early phase of the fortress’s construction, which took place mostly during the reign of Sultan La Buke (r.1632-1645). VOC records also mention communities of Sama Bajo fishers and traders already well established in the main harbor of Buton in 1675.

Sama Bajo peoples also were an important element in the Banggai islands off the central east coast of Sulawesi from early on. The Banggai islands are mentioned in an early fourteenth century Chinese text as an important node in early international trade networks, and they remained a key component in the Maluku and north Sulawesi networks well into the nineteenth century. Sama Bajo written and oral traditions point to settlement in the area in the late eighteenth century, yet there is evidence in local Banggai traditions that suggest an even earlier

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187 VOC Ternate 1336, VOC Ternate 1320, among other years, and ANRI Ternate 180, A. Revius, “Algemeen verslag omtrent de oostkust van Celebes,” 1851; ANRI Besluit 31 March 1837 No. 3; NA MvK 5825 Geheim Verbaal 23 April 1851 No.110; NA MvK 5886 Geheim Verbaal 6 Dec 1856 no.715
188 According to Dutch linguist J.C. Anceaux and Butonese historian Abdul Mulku Zahari, Wajo in the Wolio language refers to “Bajo.” J.C. Anceaux, Wolio Dictionary (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1987), 19. Most current residents of Buton I spoke to, including Almudjazi Zahari, the son of Abdul Mulku Zahari, were under the impression that “Lawana Wajo” referred to Bugis people of Wajoq in south Sulawesi. It was not until we reviewed his father’s notes on the Wolio language that Almudjazi realized that it was indeed a reference to the Sama Bajo. Interview with Almudjazi Zahari, Baadia, Buton 14-04-2011.
190 VOC Makassar 1320, 131rv.
involvement. Dutch missionary A.C. Kruyt noted, for example, that all fishing related terms in use among the indigenous Banggai population were borrowed from baong Sama, and, most interestingly, the local term for their sea god was “Sama,” which, of course, is the endonym in use among all maritime Sama speakers in Southeast Asia.192 These and other remnants of the past suggest the Sama Bajo were influential in the eastern Sulawesi littoral and offshore islands at an early period.

By the seventeenth century, at the latest, there were also numerous Sama Bajo settlements and more mobile groups in north and northeast Sulawesi (see Map 8). Sama Bajo lontaraq manuscripts, for example, describe communities of Sama Bajo peoples in the Tomini Bay area and highlight the links between those communities and the Sama Bajo nobility centered in Bajoé after the Makassar War. In the 1680s Dutch visitors to the area estimated that there were between six and seven hundred Sama Bajo vessels plying the waters of the north Sulawesi region at any given time, and on Governor Padtbrugge’s voyage through the area he encountered both large settlements and roving fleets of Sama Bajo vessels that fished and traded along the northern coast in places such as Gorontalo, Tolitoli, Kema, Menado, in the resource-rich Tomini Bay, and the Sangir-Talaud islands that link Sulawesi to the Sulu archipelago.193 These sources demonstrate that Sama Bajo peoples were deeply involved in local trade and political relationships in late seventeenth century north Sulawesi. But, if we take into consideration the possible involvement of Sama Bajo peoples in the northern route of the Maluku spice trade, which passed through the north Sulawesi region, it is likely that there may have been Sama Bajo settlement in these areas in a much earlier period.

The Selayar region is another important area of early Sama Bajo involvement. Stretching from southern Sulawesi nearly to the coast of northern Flores, this vast region encompasses numerous islands and resource-rich coral reef complexes, including the massive Taka Bonerate atoll, and has long been a source of tortoiseshell, trepang, and other marine goods. Accordingly, the role of the Sama

193 VOC Ternate 1336, f. 575; VOC Ternate 1345, f.285; VOC Ternate 1376, f.310r-313v.
Bajo in the collection and trade in these prized sea products is commonly featured in nineteenth century Dutch reports and commentaries on the region.\textsuperscript{194} VOC sources mention certain Sama Bajo groups intervening in political disputes involving Selayar in the first decades of the eighteenth century on behalf of Sultan Ismail of Gowa (r.1709-1712). The records, however, are mostly silent on earlier periods of Sama Bajo involvement in the region. Based on LB Lemobajo and MS 260 we know that there was an important and well-established Sama Bajo community in the Kalao and Bonerate islands in the early eighteenth century, and that the Lolo Bajo named Toappa resided on Kalao during this period. These manuscripts also describe a close relationship between Sama Bajo nobility and the various indigenous lords of the Selayar region. The transcribed version of a Makassarese \textit{lontaraq} manuscript formerly owned by Usman Tawang in Jampea relates that Sama Bajo groups were influential in Selayar in the early sixteenth century. Given the role of Sama Bajo peoples in the expansion of Gowa and Talloq during this period, it is possible that Sama Bajo were an important component of the naval forces that defeated Selayar and made it a tributary of Gowa during the reign of Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna (r.1510-1546).\textsuperscript{195}

\textbf{East Borneo}

The eastern coast of Borneo is another area where Sama Bajo peoples have a long history of settlement and involvement in local trade and other affairs. Considering the short distance between the coasts of east Borneo and western Sulawesi, as well the numerous islands and fishing grounds strung between the two islands, it is no surprise that Sama Bajo peoples have moved freely between these shores throughout recorded history (see Map 8). Both Pallesen and Blust’s theories of dispersal suggest that Sama speakers have inhabited the eastern Borneo littoral for over a millennium, and, if Blust is correct, large concentrations of Sama Bajo peoples have been located in the Barito Delta and adjacent coastal zones for even


\textsuperscript{195} Cummings, \textit{Chain of Kings}, 32. See also, Donselaar, “Aanteekeningen,” 286.
longer. Unfortunately, the majority of sources regarding their involvement in the region only come from the seventeenth century and later. The most extensive of these early reports come amid the turmoil of the late 1660s and early 1670s, when untold numbers of Sama Bajo peoples fled to eastern Borneo from south Sulawesi, settling in the offshore islands and coastal areas that include the polities of Berau, Kutai, Pasir, Banjarmasin, Pulau Laut, and Tanah Bumbu.196

These movements worried Company officials in Makassar, as roving multi-ethnic bands of refugees posed a major threat to Dutch authority and control of trade in the eastern Indonesia region. Although the Dutch found these refugee groups extremely troublesome, Makassarese, Bugis, and Sama Bajo peoples had been an integral part of local trade and politics in coastal east Borneo at least a century before the Makassar War. The polities of Gowa and Talloq had brought areas of the eastern Borneo coast into their sphere of influence by the sixteenth century. The Chronicles of Gowa-Talloq, for example, record that an alliance was made with Banjarmasin during the reign of Karaeng Gowa Tunijalloq ri Passukkiq (late fifteenth century to 1510/1511), and during the reign of Karaeng Matoaya of Talloq (r.1593-1623) the coastal polities of Pasir and Kutai were again brought under Gowa-Talloq’s protection.197 As in the case of Selayar, this long history of interaction between the coastal polities of Borneo and Gowa-Talloq would probably have involved Sama Bajo groups from both sides of the Makassar Strait, especially those that comprised a significant portion of the Gowa and Talloq naval fleet. While the antiquity of the Sama Bajo involvement in the east Borneo littoral is uncertain, it is clear that the Sama Bajo groups in this area were an integral element in the tortoiseshell and later trepang fisheries, as well as in the collection, production, and trade of various other commodities like dried fish, salt, belacan (a type of fish or shrimp paste), wax, resins, and even bird’s nests throughout the seventeenth century and until today.198

196 Speelman, Notitie, 27; VOC Makassar 1311, f. 220r-223r; VOC Makassar 1327, f.177-181.
197 Cummings, Chain of Kings, 4, 88.
198 The trading activities of the Sama Bajo in eastern Borneo will be discussed at length in chapter two.
The Maluku World

Beyond Sulawesi and Borneo, Sama Bajo peoples have also had a long history of settlement and interaction in the islands of north and south Maluku, the Seram islands, as well as numerous other islands extending to the Bird’s Head of New Guinea (see Map 8). Blust’s linguistic reconstruction places the Sama Bajo in Maluku by the eleventh century as a result of their role in the Sriwijayan spice trade networks that funneled Malukan spices to the western archipelago. Other scholars have also pointed to early Sama Bajo involvement in the Malukan spice trade, highlighting the close links the Sama Bajo would have formed with Malay trade networks in the region.199 Historian Adrian Lapian, in particular, argues that, because of this close relationship the mobile Sama Bajo traders were instrumental in the spread of the Malay language throughout eastern Indonesia.200 The high frequency of Malay loanwords in the Indonesian Sama Bajo language would appear to support this argument.201 In the centuries after Sriwijaya’s decline, the Javanese polity of Majapahit came to dominate the spice trade, and in its heyday in the fourteenth century, the south Sulawesi polity of Bantaeng also played an important role in this trade as an entrepot in the networks linking Maluku to Majapahit Java. In his study of this early Makassarese polity, Wayne Bougas has argued that the Sama Bajo, along with Javanese and Malays, would have been the primary carriers of spices and other trade goods for Bantaeng, thus retaining the role they held in earlier networks. In this context it is also worth noting that one of the earliest extant references to the Sama Bajo in the indigenous traditions of Sulawesi is a mention of

the “Bajo Sereng” (Seram, or Maluku Bajo) in the La Galigo cycle, which has been dated approximately to the fourteenth century. According to Pelras, this reference is to the prominent role of the Sama Bajo in the political and economic connections between the polities of north Maluku and south Sulawesi, most notably the spice trade.202

For later periods, VOC reports describe the growing involvement of Makassar-based vessels in the spice trade of Maluku in the sixteenth century. By the beginning of the seventeenth century Makassar had become perhaps the most important trading center in the region, not only for spices but also for slaves, sandalwood, wax, and tortoiseshell.203 In the following chapter I will discuss in detail the vital role of the Sama Bajo in supplying these valuable goods, but it is important to emphasize here that the participation of the Sama Bajo in the movement of commodities from Maluku to the port of Makassar was an important element in the meteoric rise of Gowa-Talloq as the most powerful kingdom in all of eastern Indonesia. Even after their defeat at the hands of the VOC and its Bugis allies in 1669, Gowa-Talloq affiliated Sama Bajo sailors and traders expertly evaded Dutch patrols in order to continue this long tradition of trade with Maluku, and did so well into the late eighteenth century.

Nusa Tenggara

The vast region known as Nusa Tenggara, or the Lesser Sundas, was another important area of Sama Bajo settlement and activity during the early modern period. This chain of islands, which includes Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa, Komodo, Rinca, Sumba, Savu, Flores, Rote, Timor, the Solor-Alor archipelago, and a host of smaller islands, is home to a large number of ethnic groups and a diversity of languages, and has been one of the most significant sites of Sama Bajo activity for several centuries (see Map 9). While some scholars have hypothesized that Sama

202 Pelras, The Bugis, 74.
Bajo exploration of the Nusa Tenggara region began in the mid-eighteenth century, followed by actual settlement sometime in the end of that century or in the beginning of the nineteenth century, there is ample evidence to suggest otherwise.204 Dutch records, such as Speelman’s Notitie, note the dispersal of large numbers of Sama Bajo into these areas toward the end of the seventeenth century as a result of the Makassar War, yet local oral and written traditions suggest an even earlier history of involvement in the region.

Makassarese and Sama Bajo traditions, for example, demonstrate that Sama Bajo seafarers undertook extensive voyages into Nusa Tenggara from their bases in South Sulawesi beginning in the late fifteenth century, if not earlier. On one voyage in particular the paramount leader of the Sama Bajo living in southwest Sulawesi, known by the title of Papuq, led the Karaeng of Talloq to conquer the land known to the Makassarese as Sandao. Though the precise delineation of the lands of Sandao remains elusive, sources indicate that, for the Makassarese and their Sama Bajo allies of the day, Sandao encompassed a large expanse of the island of Flores and perhaps areas further east. According to the Talloq Chronicle, this initial expedition to Sandao took place at the turn of the fifteenth century, but the manuscript sources suggest that the Papuq and his followers likely had prior knowledge of Sandao and perhaps had sailed there before the war expedition. Both Gowa and Talloq embarked on similar expeditions in subsequent years, and sources suggest that Sama Bajo groups were among the vanguard of military expeditions conducted in this region between the fifteenth and eighteenth century. In at least one case of Sama Bajo participation in these eastward expeditions, their valuable services as naval forces and guide resulted in the Papuq being rewarded with territory of his choosing in Sandao. The Papuq chose a section of the coastal region of northern Flores to rule as his own, and the ruler of Talloq appointed him to oversee the

204 The most influential article on the eastward expansion of Sama Bajo peoples from Sulawesi is Fox, “Notes on the Southern Voyages.” It is important to note, however, that in writing this article Professor Fox only intended to present a few preliminary hypotheses regarding the Sama Bajo based primarily on two references to Sama Bajo in the Solor-Alor and Timor areas found in the VOC Timor archive. Despite the preliminary nature of his suggestions, Professor Fox’s article has since become the standard chronology and explanation of Sama Bajo settlement in the region and, to date, no study I am aware of has taken up Fox’s suggestion that, “a systematic search of the VOC archives for material relating to the Bajau would undoubtedly uncover a great deal more data.” Fox, “Notes on the Southern Voyages,” 464 fn.1.
remaining conquered lands of Sandao on behalf of Talloq. These lands would remain an important seat of Sama Bajo power and influence until the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and, through the presence and activities of the Papuq and his followers, Sandao would remain a central site of influence and wealth for Gowa-Talloq well after its defeat in the Makassar War.

The islands of Lombok, Sumbawa, Rinca, Flores, Rote, Timor, Adonara, Lomblen, Alor, and Pantar are also home to thriving Sama Bajo villages today, but it is clear that Sama Bajo peoples were regular visitors in these areas from a much earlier period. We can only speculate, but it is likely that the Sama Bajo were initially drawn to the area because of its resources. The rich seas of Nusa Tenggara have long served as important fishing grounds where Sama Bajo fishers came in search of sea turtles, trepang, fish, and a variety of other sea products, and the island communities were also a significant source of sago, wax, cinnamon, hardwoods, and slaves, which were also highly valued in regional trade networks. European sources for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries regularly note the presence of Sama Bajo and “Makassarese” vessels in the waters of Nusa Tenggara, and in each case these seafarers were engaged in fishing, trading, and, sometimes, slave raiding.

Local oral traditions in Timor, Rote, eastern Flores and other areas also preserve the memory of visiting Sama Bajo fleets. Although there are no substantial Sama Bajo communities there today, roaming bands of Sama Bajo and Makassarese established themselves in coastal regions of Bali after fleeing from Sulawesi during the Makassar War and, the memory of their formidable presence is similarly retained today in Balinese oral and written traditions.205 These traditions, like Makassarese historical sources, suggest that the Sama Bajo presence in these islands predates

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European documentation. The series of expeditions undertaken to Solor, Ende (southeast Flores), and, again, Sandao by Talloq in the first half of the sixteenth century, for example, surely involved the naval support of the Papuq and his Sama Bajo followers just as in previous voyages.206 In subsequent chapters we will look more closely at Sama Bajo involvement in Nusa Tenggara during the early modern period and I will show that the complexity and significance of Dutch reports and later commentaries on Sama Bajo fleets in the Nusa Tenggara region cannot be fully understood apart from the larger context that I have briefly mentioned above.

Conclusion

In describing the historical and contemporary distribution of Sama Bajo communities in eastern Indonesia, it should be clear that, far from wandering sea nomads, Sama Bajo peoples have established deep and lasting connections to specific places in the eastern Indonesian archipelago. Indeed, as I stated at the opening of this chapter, the many islands and vast seas that comprise the eastern Indonesian archipelago are more than just settlement areas for the Sama Bajo. The seascape is a charted space of fishing and hunting grounds, named reefs, spiritually potent places, villages and trading centers, trade routes, harbors and other places of refuge; a fluidly defined space that they have come to know with a deep familiarity through generations of movement in and interaction with the marine environment. In this sense, for many Sama Bajo peoples the eastern Indonesian seascape is akin to what geographer Edward Soja has called a “thirdspace”: a space which “can be mapped but never captured in conventional cartographies, [and obtains] meaning only when practiced and fully lived.”207

In this chapter we have looked closely at the oceanic and littoral environment of the Sama Bajo and the archipelagic world of eastern Indonesia more generally. The relationship of the Sama Bajo to this watery environment has been an integral feature of their history and is indeed at the center of their culture, and the

206 These expeditions will be discussed in greater detail in chapter two. Cummings, A Chain of Kings, 84-85.
seas and littoral of the eastern archipelago are themselves often the setting in which the dramas of Sama Bajo history were enacted. The specific modes of travel categorized as *palilibu*, *pongkeq*, and *sakai*, and the myriad livelihood practices undertaken during these ventures are at the heart of the sea-centered culture of the Sama Bajo. Likewise, the aggregate wealth of knowledge generated through countless generations of these sorts of travels across the seascape is the foundation of the Sama Bajo’s mastery of the marine environment. Still, while these practices developed over time as a result of the Sama Bajo’s deep relationship to the sea, this relationship is itself created and continually transformed through generations of daily interaction with and reliance upon the sea.

In the chapters that follow we will look more closely at the histories of the Sama Bajo peoples in eastern Indonesia, their relationships with landed kingdoms, their trades and travels, and the important roles they played in the trade and politics of eastern Indonesia. In most every circumstance, the importance of the sea for the Sama Bajo and its influence in the course of their history and culture will be evident to the reader. In the next chapter we will focus on the importance of the Sama Bajo for eastern Indonesian trade, highlighting their mobility and unique knowledge of the sea as primary factors in their widespread success and their value for the landed populations of the region. Because of their deep familiarity with the sea and their unmatched skills as navigators, sailors, and fishers, the Sama Bajo were best suited to exploit the ocean resources of the vast eastern Indonesian archipelago. The Sama Bajo polities headed by the Papuq and the Lolo Bajo were instrumental in the creation, expansion, and maintenance of trade networks which fed the ports of Makassar, Bajoé, Pota and Reo in Sandao, and elsewhere, thereby contributing to the wealth and power of their allies in Gowa-Talloq and Bone respectively. Their important role in the region’s commerce made the Sama Bajo extremely valuable to these landed kingdoms, and secured positions of power and prestige within the hierarchies of these kingdoms for Sama Bajo leaders.
Chapter Two
Seas of Trade: Sama Bajo Trade and Livelihood Practices

At eleven o’clock on the night of May ninth, 1725, a voice shouted from within a dark home in Kampung Solor near the VOC’s Fort Concordia in Kupang, located on the island of Timor: “We know we have done wrong, but it is time to set sail!” At that moment five Sama Bajo men armed with sticks that they had ripped from the roof of the home in which they were being detained, jumped from the stilt-house and attacked the men assembled below. Outnumbered as they were, two of the Sama Bajo men were seriously injured but the remaining three managed to escape their captors and flee into the night. Several weeks earlier these five Sama Bajo men, along with sixteen other men, eleven women, and nine children sailing in seven small vessels were attacked and arrested off Baranusa on the north coast of the neighboring island of Pantar and were then sent before the VOC governor of Timor at Kupang, accused of piracy and slave raiding.208 After eighteen days shackled in a home, at ten o’clock on the ninth of May, twenty of the Sama Bajo men broke free of their hand blocks, armed themselves with the thick ends of the atap branches they ripped from the roof of the home, and prepared to escape. The guards quickly discovered their plans and called for reinforcements from Fort Concordia. Soon a number of men armed with guns, spears, and bow and arrow had blocked the escape of the Sama Bajo prisoners. Perhaps recognizing the difficulty of the situation, the leader of the Sama Bajo group led fifteen of the captive men and all the women and children out of the home and surrendered to the Dutch corporal. The remaining five men, however, were determined to leave Timor and were willing to fight to obtain their freedom.

Over the course of the next three days those men who managed to escape were eventually captured. Their interrogation and torture extracted a confession from one man who admitted that they had conducted slave raids in the “Solor

208 The Dutch official writing a summary of events in VOC 8320 says the arrest happened off Alor, but the vast majority of documents, including witness testimonies, clearly state Baranusa (north Pantar) as the site of the encounter.
islands.” These men and the other Sama Bajo prisoners would remain in Kupang through July while the local VOC government gathered evidence and awaited further instructions from Batavia. The Company interpreter on Solor, Christian Hagen, sent his written account of the events to Kupang to be forwarded on to Batavia as evidence in the case, as did Mau Dasi, the sengaji (native regent) of Lamakera who had initially led the capture of the Sama Bajo fleet at Baranusa. As Mau Dasi put it, the Sama Bajo were “Orang Badjo Lauwts from the land of Papuk,” and they were taken captive because “in these lands they are an evil scum of the sea and are pleased to do wickedness and have taken the people of Solor, Kupang, and Rote.” The testimony of the Company interpreter agreed with Mau Dasi’s description of the Sama Bajo people and his account of the events. An additional letter was sent from the Company Gunner in Kupang, Claas van Cleef, who testified that he and his Solorese crewmen were attacked and nearly killed by three Sama Bajo vessels they had encountered in March of that year during a patrol on the backside of Pulau Semau, a small island off the southwest coast of Kupang, though he could not be certain those “pirates” were the same as those Sama Bajo later captured at Baranusa. Adding to the chorus of voices calling for the imprisonment of the Sama Bajo, the VOC governor in Kupang reported to Batavia that the Sama Bajo, as with other “Makassarese,” had long ago developed a fearsome reputation in the region, so much so that various rulers of Rote, Savu, Solor, and Timor had even canceled their annual visit to the VOC fort in Kupang, fearing the Sama Bajo prisoners would take desperate measures to secure their freedom.

There were, however, three letters sent to Batavia in defense of the Sama Bajo captives. In a letter received in October of 1725, and accompanied by four “gift-slaves” for the Company, the Karaeng Gowa, Sultan Sirajuddin, claimed to be ignorant of the actions of his Sama Bajo subjects in the Solor-Alor and Timor areas, but he pleaded for their release so that they could return to their home at “Laboe Adzjo” on Flores. The remaining two letters were written by the “Radja Papuk in the negeri Pota” and addressed to the Company interpreter on Solor and the regent of Pandai (on Alor) respectively, and their delivery was entrusted to a Chinese captain
named Baba Hollanda. Written in Malay using Arabic script, the Papuq stated in his letters that his Sama Bajo subjects were simple fisherfolk and he asked that they be released to return home to Sandao. Unfortunately, as far as I am aware, the Papuq’s letters, in original or copy form, no longer exist in the VOC archives and only a brief summary remains in the archives of the Chief Prosecutor of Batavia. While we are prevented from carrying out a careful analysis of his statements in defense of his Sama Bajo subjects, who by the time of their trial had spent more than six months in captivity and five had since died from injuries and illness, the details of the case that do remain in the archives form an invaluable source of information and provide a rare picture of an understudied and mostly unknown aspect of Sama Bajo involvement in the region’s history of trade.

The seven Sama Bajo vessels captured at Baranusa, carrying forty-one men, women and children, roughly five or six persons per vessel, were piloted by family groups (pabijjaqang) who considered themselves subjects of the Papuq and hailed from a place on the north Flores coast known to the ruler of Gowa as “Laboe Adzjo.”211 Following the ageless rhythm of the monsoon flow, this particular Sama Bajo fleet left northern Flores with the onset of the west monsoon and sailed some 115 miles to the Solor-Alor archipelago. Their vessels were perhaps soppeq, and were provisioned with food, water, siri pinang (betel nut mixture), and fishing tackle, including spears or tridents (tiruq and sapah respectively). When captured the vessels had cargoes of tortoiseshell, some textiles, and other items that were

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209 Pandai was seen as the overlord of the surrounding realms on Pantar and northwestern Alor, and thus the Papuq directed the letters to whom he understood to be the most powerful figures in the region where his subjects were apprehended. This suggests that the Papuq was well aware of the local politics of the Solor-Alor archipelago at the time and sought to negotiate through the proper channels. See Hans Hagerdal, “Cannibals and Pedlars: Economic Opportunities and Political Alliance in Alor, 1600-1850,” *Indonesia and the Malay World* 38 (2010): 227.

210 The details of events surrounding the arrest of the Sama Bajo vessels of Baranusa described above are based on numerous reports found scattered throughout the archives of the Makassar and Timor comptoirs, in the records of the Chief Prosecutor of Batavia, and in the *Generale Missiven*, namely VOC 742, VOC Makassar 8191 and 8192, VOC Timor 2029, 2027, 2051, 8320, 8321, 8322, and GM VIII.

211 Though the precise location is not specified in the sources, it would seem Laboe Adzjo was a port on the north coast of Flores associated with the Sama Bajo, and thus referred to in Malay by non-Sama Bajo people as Labu Bajo (labu(an) = port; Adzjo = Badjo?). Fox states that ninety-one Sama Bajo were arrested, but all of the reports clearly show the number was forty-one.
listed in an inventory sent to the Chief Prosecutor in Batavia.\textsuperscript{212} Evidence suggests, however, that the fleet consisted of more vessels than the seven that were ultimately captured, and a larger \textit{rambangah} may have left Flores together and split up once in the target area. This would account for the three additional Sama Bajo vessels from northwest Flores that attacked the VOC patrol near Kupang in March of 1725 and several other Sama Bajo vessels reported in the area that same season. We are told that three of these vessels were armed with small cannons and snaphaunces, and apparently no women or children were onboard when they clashed with the Company patrol off Pulau Semau. These same vessels, along with others, had also launched slave raids in southern Rote in April, laying siege to three coastal settlements in the negeri Thie for several days before eventually being forced to flee after a battle. Indeed, throughout 1725, as in previous years, local rulers and Company officials in the region had received several complaints and reports of Sama Bajo and other “Makassarese” fleets plying the coasts of the Solor-Alor archipelago, as well as Rote, Savu, Sumba, and Timor.

The tragic events described in the Company records of Timor, Makassar, and Batavia provide a useful opening for this chapter. Those Sama Bajo captured at Baranusa were only one group of the many Sama Bajo vessels that sailed to the Solor-Alor archipelago, eastern Flores, and Timor annually. Sama Bajo peoples regularly undertook similar ventures to these and other areas of eastern Indonesia and their voyages posed a constant threat to the VOC’s efforts to control the sea lanes in order to maintain their dominance in the trade of certain products. For the Sama Bajo, the Nusa Tenggara region was a rich catchment area for sea turtles, trepang, and other marine life, as well as for terrestrial commodities and slaves. The evidence shows that they sometimes conducted devastating raids on coastal villages and native vessels to seize goods and people. Whether the forty-one Sama Bajo captured at Baranusa were guilty of piracy and slave raiding as the VOC administration in Kupang and Makassar charged, we cannot be entirely sure. We will return to their story and its tragic conclusion later in the chapter. The recurrent

\textsuperscript{212} This inventory unfortunately does not appear in the surviving court records. See VOC 742.
presence of Sama Bajo raiders and fishers in the Solor-Alor region throughout the west monsoon season in 1725 fits well into the longstanding pattern of activities undertaken by Sama Bajo of the Papuq polity throughout the previous two centuries or more.

Rather than roaming aimlessly in search of fishing grounds, as some have argued, many of these lamaq voyages were multipurpose ventures undertaken by relatively large fleets to gather some of the principal “commodities” available in the eastern archipelago. On the particular lamaq journey of 1725, which would have lasted a few months, the rambangah of the Papuq’s subjects engaged in a variety of activities: they hunted hawksbill turtle (kulitang) for its shell, presumably to bring to market in Pota or Makassar, or to trade with a trusted middleman; they fished for sustenance and perhaps to exchange with a familiar local community for rice, sago, or some other durable starch and other provisions; they gathered fresh water and firewood from known sources for their shipboard stoves; and, at least some ships put ashore at coastal villages to take captives to be sold as slaves in the bustling slave markets of Pota, Reo, or Makassar.

In addition to the type of lamaq voyages, such as the expedition of 1725 to parts of Nusa Tenggara described above, where Sama Bajo undertook multipurpose voyages to collect valuable sea products and conducted raids to procure slaves, numerous Sama Bajo groups and individuals also fulfilled a diversity of other roles and participated in the various strata of regional trade networks. Each of these networks was based on specific products and involved various ethnic groups, and each network was linked, forming a commodity chain from the resource zones to the central marketplaces of the archipelago. Within this system the Sama Bajo were the primary collectors of two of the most profitable products, tortoiseshell and trepang, and they were also important to the trade in other sea products as well as wax, spices, and slaves.

Along with east Nusa Tenggara, which encompasses a vast area of coastal and offshore fishing grounds stretching between Flores in the west and Timor in the east, the Sama Bajo also regularly carried out their activities and multipurpose voyages on the coasts and offshore islands of western, eastern, and northern
Sulawesi; the Selayar islands; the eastern coast of Borneo; Lombok and Sumbawa, including the kingdom of Bima on the eastern coast of the latter island; north and south Maluku; the islands of the Banda Sea; and the Bird’s Head of western Papua. Each of these areas were profitable resource zones not only for sea products but also for slaves and the contraband trade in the “fine spices” under VOC monopoly, namely clove, nutmeg, and mace. Many of these areas were populated by communities of Sama Bajo people who established their distinctive villages with homes on piles in the littoral zone. Clustered at the seashore, standing in the shallows of a sandy inshore lagoon, or built atop a reef a few kilometers from the coast, Sama Bajo villages occupied the liminal spaces of the island world, where the land meets the sea and a majority of cultural and economic exchanges take place. Although the chronology for Sama Bajo settlement in some of these areas is still imprecise, a relatively clear picture of their movements and commercial activities in these areas during the early modern period can be gleaned from oral and written sources.

Under the leadership of powerful individuals and families of noble birth, between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Sama Bajo dispersed throughout the eastern archipelago and established thriving intermediary trading centers such as Pota and Bajoé. These groups operated within sophisticated trade networks and were vital to the collection of sea products, the capture, transport, and trade in slaves, as well as the movement of a variety of other commodities. By way of their mobile maritime activities the Sama Bajo were central to the process of linking the numerous islands and distant resources of eastern Indonesia to the larger regional and globally-oriented markets to the west.

Their important role in the region’s commerce secured a highly valued position for the Sama Bajo in the hierarchies of landed kingdoms such as Gowa-Talloq and Bone throughout the early modern period. The seashore and seagoing Sama Bajo communities that were linked to these kingdoms through the indigenous hierarchies of the Papuq and Lolo Bajo polities served as an important source of sea products, contraband spices, slaves, and various other commodities. These commodities were channeled through secondary entrepots like Pota and Bajoé, and
then frequently “smuggled” into Makassar and other south Sulawesi markets by way of offshore islands and local rivers and creeks. This trade formed a principal revenue stream for the rulers of these kingdoms, as well as for other members of the local population, such as Malay, Chinese, and Sulawesian traders.213

The foundation of Bajoé by the Lolo Bajo polity in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, and the foundation of Pota by the Papuq in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, which will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapters, both serve as testaments to the commercial acumen of the Sama Bajo groups living in eastern Indonesia and the desirability of the products they provided. With the settlement of the Sama Bajo, these unremarkable coastal areas rapidly transformed into thriving and important sites of trade, serving as key entrepots that fed the supply lines leading to Makassar and other major port cities of the archipelago, while remaining largely beyond VOC control. Their skill as fishers, sailors, and traders of the most mobile sort guaranteed these markets a regular supply of valuable trade commodities harvested from both the land and sea, and this in turn attracted an ever-increasing number of merchants of various ethnicities from all over Southeast Asia. These processes were similar to the situation in early southwest Sulawesi. There, the settlement of Sama Bajo peoples in the littoral and estuarine areas of the Makassarese lands contributed to the growth of seaboard sites of trade in the area, which in turn contributed to the subsequent development of Makassar as a major entrepot for the products of eastern Indonesia and the traders and markets of the western archipelago.

Given the importance of maritime commerce for kingdoms on Sulawesi, and indeed the entire Indonesian archipelago, it is no surprise that the study of trade has dominated historical research on Indonesia for this period. The existence of bustling, globally-linked centers of commerce such as Batavia and Makassar and the preponderant emphasis on trade and commodities that colors the extant European

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213 “Coastal states,” as Heather Sutherland has noted, “needed commodities to sustain the local ruler’s status and consumption patterns and to provide the arms and ammunition essential to political expansion and survival.” Heather Sutherland, “Power, Trade, and Islam in the Eastern Archipelagos, 1700-1850,” in Religion and Development: Towards an Integrated Approach, eds. Philip Quarles van Ufford and Matthew Schoffeleers (Amsterdam: Free University Press, 1988), 149.
historical sources have made trade-centered studies a logical and highly valuable point of historical inquiry. Numerous scholars have undertaken such research much to the benefit of the field of Indonesian history as a whole. Heather Sutherland’s comprehensive work on the social and commercial world of early modern Makassar, Leonard Andaya’s similarly important studies on south Sulawesi, Maluku, and eastern Indonesia more broadly, Gerrit Knaap’s work on Ambon, Hans Hagerdal’s and Arend De Roever’s research on East Nusa Tenggara, among many others, all have contributed to a strong contextual understanding of patterns, flows, and fluctuations in eastern Indonesian trade throughout the early modern period.214

The aim of this chapter is to add to the rich picture provided by these studies by focusing specifically and more intensively on the place and strength of the Sama Bajo in the commerce of early modern eastern Indonesia. More precisely, the following discussion will highlight the extreme importance of the Sama Bajo for eastern Indonesian trade during this period, the position of the Papuq and Lolo Bajo polities in the operation of that trade, and to reconstruct something of the historical experience of Sama Bajo peoples in eastern Indonesia in regard to the collection, processing, shipping, and trade of a number of key marine and terrestrial commodities. While many scholars have noted the participation of the Sama Bajo in the marine commodities trade, less attention has been paid to the Sama Bajo side of the transaction. Perhaps more so than any other ethnic group in eastern Indonesia, the Sama Bajo’s unique ability to locate, hunt, catch, and process sea products, and to do so throughout such a vast stretch of the archipelago, was undeniably a driving force of this thriving regional and international trade. More than simply primary collectors, however, Sama Bajo were also involved at most every stage of the commodity chain. Indeed, it is hard to imagine a functioning, let alone thriving, sea products trade in eastern Indonesia without the participation of the Sama Bajo.

In the sections below we will focus on the role of the Sama Bajo in networks associated with particular commodities, beginning with various sea products, showing how their unique skills and connections were crucial to the success of these networks. Where possible, I will make use of more detailed cases involving Sama Bajo sailors and fishers gleaned from the VOC archives and other sources to provide insight into the lives and actions of a few Sama Bajo individuals who, I believe, are representative of larger patterns in Sama Bajo history. The trade in the two most important sea products, tortoiseshell and trepang, was clearly most dependent on the Sama Bajo population. In the case of both of these marine commodities, the Sama Bajo were not simply an important part of the trade but were indeed the foundation to the entire process on which the trade was based.

**The Trade in Marine Goods**

*Toho busai, toho karanjaq*¹²¹⁵
Dry paddle, dry basket

For the average Sama Bajo, the better part of their life is spent collecting and trading of a bewildering variety of marine flora and fauna. Whether line fishing, setting or pulling a net, diving for trepang, harvesting *agar-agar*, or a combination thereof, the activities undertaken during frequent *palilibu* ventures, as well as those carried out on longer and more extensive *pongkeq* and *sakai* voyages, are the source and substance of life for most Sama Bajo peoples. The marine goods harvested during these outings form the bulk of one’s diet and are the primary articles of trade. Economic success and indeed survival are, in Sama Bajo terms, dependent upon at least two essential elements. The first is the necessary and life-giving work of going to sea. For the Sama Bajo fisher, sailor, or trader, survival is impossible without going to sea, or, as expressed in the baong Sama proverb quoted above, if one’s paddle remains dry, one’s stores will be dry as well. The second, and perhaps

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more significant element is the fortune (*padalleang*) bestowed by the *Mboq madilau*. As described in the previous chapter, Sama Bajo regularly point to myriad ancestral sea spirits as the ultimate arbiters of their fate at sea, and offerings, mantras, and numerous taboos are observed in order to appease those deities.

The relentless pursuit of a livelihood derived from the ocean lies at the heart of the sea-centered culture of the Sama Bajo people. Their search for marine goods brought the Sama Bajo to nearly every major island and reef system in the eastern archipelago and enabled them to gain an intimate knowledge of a vast seascape. These interrelated elements of Sama Bajo culture—mobility and sea-centeredness—made the Sama Bajo uniquely able to provide a large proportion of the sea products that circulated within local and regional trade networks throughout Indonesia. In the early modern period, as well as in later periods, their mastery of the marine and littoral environment ensured that the Sama Bajo were the cornerstone of the sea products trade in eastern Indonesia.

**Fish and Shellfish**

Fish is a mainstay of the Sama Bajo diet and an important item of trade. For most, fishing is a part of nearly every seagoing excursion. Even if one goes to sea specifically to dive for trepang, for instance, often line fishing (*missiq*) or spear fishing (*manaq*) will also be undertaken at some point provide food for the fisherman’s extended family. Furthermore, in many Sama Bajo communities, a considerable amount of time is dedicated to various styles of net fishing, including communal fish drives in some areas. Fish are also a key source of income when sold fresh in the marketplace or when dried and sold or exchanged for other foodstuffs and necessities. Oral traditions highlight the particular importance since early times of dried fish as a key staple of Sama Bajo exchange relationships with landed communities. The exchange of durable sea products like dried fish for sago, rice, and other starches complemented the diets of both parties and provided opportunities for each to acquire other important goods from outside their respective ecological niche. The processed pith of the sago palm (*ambuloh*) could be stored for long periods of time and required no water or fire to be eaten, making it a particularly
ideal food starch for seagoing Sama Bajo communities throughout eastern Indonesia. In its distilled form, the sap of the sago palm also provides a strong spirit, which, one Dutch official said of the Sama Bajo in the Manado region in 1682, “they gladly drink.”^216 The Sama Bajo, especially in northern and eastern Sulawesi and north Maluku, often cultivated their own sago gardens (*gonggang*) and also harvested from wild stands, but for those who did not have such gardens or when traveling in areas where local rulers controlled access to sago palm stands, dried fish and other marine produce was an important medium of exchange.^217

On *pongkeq* or *sakai* ventures, which are typically longer in duration and distance and are routinely multipurpose in design, much of the catch is dried in order to be traded or sold at a later destination. The long voyages undertaken in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by many Sama Bajo to the distant northwest coast of the Australian continent, for example, were aimed at the collection of a variety of marine goods, including tortoiseshell, trepang, shark’s fins, rays, trochus (*lolaq*), and fish. The fish catch, as well as the meat and fins of the sharks and rays, was cleaned, soaked briefly in the seawater and then hung on the boat to dry. When the venture was finished and the boats headed to their next port of call, the dried fish products were traded or sold along with the commercial catch of shark’s fins, tortoiseshell, and trepang to local merchants. Oral traditions among the Tukangbesi Sama Bajo recall the exchange of dried fish, especially the meat of rays and sharks, for palm sugar and palm wine from communities on Rote and Timor during stopovers on the way to the rich reef complexes of what are now called the Ashmore and Cartier Islands.^218

Similar exchange relationships were established with coastal and inland communities on islands frequented or settled by the Sama Bajo throughout the

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216 VOC Ternate 1376, f.306r.
eastern Indonesian archipelago. Sama Bajo fishers in the Manado area periodically came to town to trade their catch, including dried fish, for provisions like sago, rice, palm wine, and textiles, as well as for bits of iron which were used for boat repairs and could be fashioned into vital fishing tackle.\(^{219}\) To the southeast, in Tobungku and the Banggai archipelago, dried fish, particularly larger benthopelagic species such as groupers, were an important item of exchange between local coastal communities and the Sama Bajo, who received a variety of goods in return, like wax, foodstuffs, and Tobungku *parang* (a type of iron sword or machete) which were highly valued in trade networks throughout eastern Indonesia.\(^{220}\) Further west, exchange between Sama Bajo fishers and local communities in southeast Borneo extended upriver, where marine goods and other commodities from the coast were brought upstream by local Sama Bajo in exchange for forest products such as wax, resins, and other goods collected by inland Dayak groups.\(^{221}\) In Sandao, traditional coastal marketplaces like the one at Geliting on the north coast of Flores were also important sites for the exchange of fish between Sama Bajo and landed populations. In the seaboard market of Geliting local coastal and inland communities often relied on Sama Bajo fishers from nearby villages, such as those on the offshore islands of Permaang and Pangabatang, for their fresh and dried fish supplies as well as other sea produce.\(^{222}\) The Dutch too saw the Sama Bajo as a reliable source of fish for their table fare, as in the 1670s when one Governor attempted to conclude a verbal agreement with a Sama Bajo leader in the Manado region that would guarantee the Dutch comptoir there a regular supply of fresh and dried fish.\(^{223}\)

Various species of shellfish collected by the Sama Bajo were also a favored food item in communities throughout eastern Indonesia and circulated in local trade networks throughout the region. Assorted species of trochus, a genus of large sea

\(^{219}\) VOC Ternate 1376, f.306r-307v.
\(^{222}\) NA Collectie Le Roux, no.3, p.176-177; NA Collectie Le Roux, no.4, p. 64-65.
\(^{223}\) VOC Ternate 1376, f.307r. In 1776, Forrest similarly noted that the Sama Bajo used to supply the English at Balambangan with foodstuffs. Thomas Forrest, *A Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas from Balambangan* (London: Scott, 1779), 374.
snails known to Sama Bajo and other groups in the region as lola or lalaq, were valued for their meat, but more so for their shell. Found in coral ecosystems occurring throughout eastern Indonesia, trochus were readily available to Sama Bajo divers and sufficiently large quantities could be collected both on local palilibu outings as well as on pongkeq and sakai ventures to more distant locations, though the reef complexes located a few days sail south of Rote were said to be the richest source of trochus in the nineteenth century. The somewhat tough meat of the snail was pried from its shell and then smoked or simply dried before it was exchanged with strand communities in the region, while the shells of certain trochus species were prized for the nacreous layer of the inner shell, which was traded as mother-of-pearl.224

Perhaps the most impressive and desirable of the various mollusks obtained by Sama Bajo divers were the various species of giant clams (Tridacna). Known to the Sama Bajo and most other eastern Indonesian groups by the general name, kima or kema, the giant clam was an awe-inspiring creature that could reach several feet in length and weigh in the hundreds of pounds. Though endangered today, kima were once distributed widely throughout the eastern Indonesia seas, and Sama Bajo communities across the region have a long tradition of catching and trading the clams. Sama Bajo oral traditions regarding kima focus on the dangers posed by catching these giants, with stories of ancestors and relatives who had drowned when the clam closed tightly on the arm or leg of a diver. Sama Bajo in the Maluku and Makassar region would haul the largest kima from the depths by fixing a rope around the shell in order to haul it aboard. Writing in the late seventeenth century Rumphius commented that the Sama Bajo were renowned for catching the largest clams, the meat of which was smoked and sold in Makassar and Bima as dendeng bia.225 The bay on the north coast of Rinca Island known by local communities as Lohoq Kima, which is baong Sama for Kima Bay, is one such giant clam catchment

225 Rumphius, Ambonese Curiosity Cabinet, 182-183.
area traditionally important for Sama Bajo fishers from Bima and Flores.\textsuperscript{226} Likewise, the large quantities of kima found around the east coast of Minahasa (north Sulawesi)—an area of longstanding Sama Bajo settlement and fishing activity—was purportedly the reason that the coastal settlement and surrounding area came to be named Kema. The coastal communities in these areas utilized both the meat and shell of the clams harvested from the sea by Sama Bajo fishers, and even hinterland groups were known to value the shell for jewelry.\textsuperscript{227} In the mid-seventeenth century it was said that the thick, ivory-like shells were fashioned into hand shields on the hilt of swords in Ambon and Ceram, and were once used only by “heroes or champions, who they call \textit{brani [berani, brave],}” and, when ground to a fine powder it was used as a medicine and “smeared around big bloody ulcers in order to lessen the burning and pain.”\textsuperscript{228} Archaeological evidence also suggests that giant clams were used as gravegoods or part of funerary feasts in early Sama Bajo communities of the Makassar region.\textsuperscript{229} Likewise, in a diary of the Sultan of Bone, an entry for 24 January 1795 records that the Lolo Bajo and the Punggawa Bajo brought a type of giant clam (Bugis, \textit{Talibo; Tridacna squamosa}), along with money and fish as part of the Lolo Bajo polity’s tribute (\textit{kasuwiyang}) to the Arumpone.\textsuperscript{230}

\textbf{Salt and Belacan}

The Sama Bajo also manufactured trade goods from the resources they derived from the sea, such as \textit{terasi, belacan}, and salt, which were also important to local communities and cuisines across the archipelago. In the journal of his voyage to eastern Indonesia in the late 1770s, Thomas Forrest described the process by which the Sama Bajo living in estuarine villages of Pasir (southeastern Borneo) made \textit{belacan}, a fermented shrimp paste that was later described by fellow a Englishman as “the universal sauce of the Indian islanders...rank scented, yet the

\textsuperscript{226} NA Collectie Le Roux, no.3, p.128.
\textsuperscript{227} Rumphius, \textit{Ambonese Curiosity Cabinet}, 187.
\textsuperscript{228} Rumphius, \textit{Ambonese Curiosity Cabinet}, 183-184.
\textsuperscript{229} Bulbeck, “Tale of Two Kingdoms,” 382.
taste is not altogether unpleasant.”231 Using small trawl nets dragged along the muddy inshore bottom, the Sama Bajo caught shrimp which were then washed in salt water, sun dried, and pounded before fermenting. The resulting paste was sold in local markets and shipped elsewhere to be used as a favored condiment throughout the Indo-Malay world.232 Later Dutch observers also noted the same process in villages further south, most notably among the Sama Bajo living in pile-homes along the lower reaches of the Cingal River in southeast Borneo, where the paste produced by the Sama Bajo was considered to be of the highest quality.233 Sama Bajo fishers from Tanjung Luar on Lombok’s east coast reportedly also produced a similar shrimp paste, terasi, in the same manner, using shrimps caught in local waters as well as those netted on more distant mud banks of Lohoq Kima on Rinca Island.234

The salt produced by Sama Bajo strand dwellers was another indispensable food item in a number of areas. Forrest also provides a description of salt production that involved burning dried “sea weeds” to produce a lye from the ashes, which was then filtered before boiling. According to Forrest, and reiterated by later observers, the manufactured salt blocks were taken to market by the Sama Bajo and traded to the inland groups who traveled downriver with goods from the interior.235 Like dried and fresh fish, salt and various shrimp and fish pastes produced by the Sama Bajo were traded on a considerable scale and circulated widely throughout the eastern Indonesian archipelago. The movement of items like salt, fish, and belacan within eastern Indonesia is much harder to track in the sources than export-oriented commodities. Nevertheless, it is clear that such marine goods served as a basis of Sama Bajo trade and interaction with other communities across the region.

234 NA Collectie Le Roux, no.9, 13.
The most valuable sea products supplied by the Sama Bajo were those destined primarily for the markets of China. Throughout the early modern period, highly prized marine products like agar-agar, pearls, tortoiseshell, shark-fins, and trepang circulated through regional trade networks, and eventually filled the cargo holds of ships headed for the bustling ports of Amoy (Xiamen), Canton (Guangzhou), and elsewhere. After the first half of the seventeenth century, these goods were acquired increasingly through multi-ethnic commodity chains involving the Sama Bajo, Chinese, Peranakan, Malay, and Sulawesian merchants, local nobles, and Dutch burghers. Speaking of the trade in tortoiseshell and trepang, Heather Sutherland described these commodity chains as exemplifying “trans-communal interdependence,” in that the chains involved various ethnicities, each offering “complementary forms of social capital, knowledge, and access to finance.”236 The eighteenth-century trepang trade, for example, often depended on the knowledge and skill of the Sama Bajo fisherman, the capital investment of the peranakan Chinese or other merchants, and the presence of the intermediary trader at a specific rendezvous with the fishing fleet to purchase goods on behalf of an investor or wholesale merchant in Makassar. The success of the whole enterprise, however, rested primarily on the Sama Bajo as the collectors of the desired goods.

In the case of agar-agar, tortoiseshell, and trepang, the centrality of the Sama Bajo is perhaps most visible. Each of these “transit-products” was crucial to Makassar’s resurgence as a commercial center after its conquest in 1669 and to the fortunes of the rulers of Gowa-Talloq and Bone.237 Moreover, it is difficult to overstate the significance of the trade in these and other marine goods for the Papuq and Lolo Bajo polities, and for the Sama Bajo people more generally. Finally, it is important to note that, contrary to what the Dutch assumed to be the situation, most Sama Bajo peoples were not pressed into this labor by native rulers. These maritime activities were a central part of the mutually beneficial relationships the Sama Bajo

237 Knaap and Sutherland refer to trepang, agar-agar, and similar commodities as “transit-products” because they were mainly meant for the market in China rather than domestic consumption. Knaap and Sutherland, Monsoon Traders, 98. See also, Gerrit Knapp, Shallow Waters, Rising Tide: Shipping and Trade in Java around 1775 (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1996), 88.
formed with the landed kingdoms of south Sulawesi. More importantly, the collection of sea products was part of a longstanding chosen economic specialization and way of living that lay at the heart of Sama Bajo identity.

**Agar-Agar**

Of all the marine products shipped from eastern Indonesia to China’s shores, the historical sources say the least about the harvest of and trade in agar-agar, a Malay term for various types of edible algae and seaweed. This, however, is not because agar-agar was unimportant; it was a highly desired commodity and substantial quantities were exported from Makassar and Batavia to China, Japan, Europe and elsewhere. Agar-agar was also widely used as a food item across the Indonesian archipelago, and, according to Rumphius, it was a source of sustenance for the Sama Bajo. He claimed that “People who live constantly at sea, like the Badjos...or others who roam the seas and need to wander there for long times, can still their hunger for a long time with these plants, a trick well known to refugees.” Certain types of agar-agar were considered delicacies, such as the species known to the Makassarese as *labi labi*, which was said to be “brought to the tables of the Radjas [of Makassar], and eaten raw with vinegar.” Other Indonesian communities consumed the “sea-jelly” as well, mixing the algae with lime, chili, and ginger after rinsing.238 In China, which was the primary destination for exports from eastern Indonesia, agar-agar, or *hai cai* (“sea vegetable”) as it was commonly called, served a variety of uses, including as a popular food item, as fertilizer, a gumming paste, and a thickening agent.239 Though Chinese consumption of Southeast Asian agar-agar undoubtedly began much earlier, the first mention of agar-agar in the *Generale Missiven* of the VOC comes in a note from 1639, stating that 218 pikul of “Haytsay”

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The various species of algae and seaweeds that could be included in the general category of agar-agar grow profusely in the warm, shallow and fecund seas of eastern Indonesia and often shared the same habitat as other marine creatures sought by Sama Bajo peoples. Most varieties grew in the shallow waters anchored to rocks and other hard-bottom structures, as well as in reef-fringed lagoons, and the intertidal spaces of the islands. The Sama Bajo harvested the agar-agar in a variety of ways. In areas near their villages or moorages, small, shallow-draught dugouts were used to venture into the sometimes hazardous inshore waters where divers could collect agar-agar from the rocky bottom. Because these algal forests are also a favored food source for certain marine turtles, those gathering agar-agar in the shallows kept a harpoon or ladung kulitang at the ready in the event a turtle was spotted. During the west monsoon season, agar-agar, especially red-algae varieties, was often uprooted by the churning seas, set adrift or washed ashore where it could be easily collected from the sea surface or along the strand. Although we do not have evidence of Sama Bajo communities cultivating agar-agar in this early period, as is common today, some Sama Bajo groups appear to have specialized in the agar-agar trade. The islands off Segeri and Siang (west Sulawesi), especially Pulau

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240 GM II: 9.
241 Knaap and Sutherland, Monsoon Traders, 99. This would be roughly equal to 225,000 Amsterdam pounds. The listed price of agar-agar in Makassar in 1730 was 0.5 rixdollars per pikul, and 1.37 rixdollars per pikul in 1755. According to Nagel’s calculations based on the Harbormasters’ Registers, the price of trepang in Makassar averaged 20-60 times that of agar-agar. Jürgen G. Nagel, Der Schlüssel zu den Molukken: Makassar und die Handelsstrukturen des Malaiischen Archipels im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert; Eine exemplarische Studie, vol. 2 (Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovac, 2003), 506.
Sabuton, were one area particularly rich in agar-agar. Dutch sources report that the local Sama Bajo communities there harvested the “sea-vegetables” and sold them to traders from Batavia and the Borneo coast who frequently called at Sabuton and other islands to offload their “forbidden wares,” which the Sama Bajo then smuggled upriver in Gowa and Talloq.\textsuperscript{244} Agar-agar was said to be gathered in a similar manner by the Sama Bajo communities inhabiting the seaward villages of western Sandao, large quantities of which were then transshipped through ports on Sumbawa to Makassar along with trepang and tortoiseshell.\textsuperscript{245} Sama Bajo fishers also gathered agar-agar during multipurpose pongkeq and sakai voyages to various points of the eastern Indonesian archipelago. On extended voyages to the area south of Rote around the mid-eighteenth century, now called the Ashmore and Cartier Islands, Sama Bajo fishers gathered agar-agar in addition to their hunt for various sea creatures.\textsuperscript{246}

As with other sea products flowing in and out of Makassar’s roadstead, it is difficult to get a complete picture of the agar-agar trade from the Dutch sources. Though Makassar’s trade in agar-agar dates to a much earlier period, the earliest record of agar-agar export in the harbormaster’s registers of the Makassar comptoir comes in 1724-1725. Furthermore, the volume of agar-agar imports for these and subsequent years is far lower than that of exports. Where registered annual imports reached 58 tons at most, exports averaged between 70 and 200 tons, with a peak in 1774-1775.\textsuperscript{247} This discrepancy between import and export volumes can be explained by a number of factors, including under-registration of shipping, and the fact that private navigation within the VOC province of Makassar went unlisted.\textsuperscript{248} More pertinent in regard to the Sama Bajo’s involvement in the agar-agar trade, however, was the ever-present “smuggling” of trade goods, the use of harbors outside of Dutch control, and the fact that, even when the Sama Bajo did enter the Makassar roadstead, the Dutch customarily did not consider them to be traders “in

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{244} VOC Makassar 8201, f.139-140.
\item \textsuperscript{245} “Het Eiland Flores,” \textit{Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië (TvNI)} 17 (1855):164-165.
\item \textsuperscript{246} GM XII: 522.
\item \textsuperscript{247} Nagel, \textit{Der Schlüssel zu den Molukken}, 506.
\item \textsuperscript{248} Knaap and Sutherland, \textit{Monsoon Traders}, 8. For further discussion on the issue of under-registration in VOC harbormaster’s registers, see Knaap, \textit{Shallow Waters, Rising Tide}, 182-186.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
the proper sense of the word” and often did not bother to inspect their vessels. These limitations of the Dutch sources also distort our understanding of where exactly Makassar’s agar-agar came from, and who was involved in its collection and trade. For instance, Dutch records show that agar-agar imports came primarily from Makassar’s southern hemisphere, specifically Sumbawa, Bima, Selayar, and “Bugis,” which meant the lands under Bone (including Bajoé), but this only accounts for agar-agar cargoes that were registered with the VOC tollhouse (sabandarij) and thus does not account for the myriad places where Sama Bajo peoples were gathering agar-agar, nor the processes of exchange and trade by which the agar-agar came to these intermediary ports. Despite these limitations, the VOC records do offer a clear sense of agar-agar’s importance for Makassar and Batavia’s trade with China, and they provide some intimation of the important role of the Sama Bajo in supplying these and other ports with the product.

**Tortoiseshell**

Prior to the first quarter of the eighteenth century, tortoiseshell was the most important item of trade for Sama Bajo peoples in eastern Indonesia, as well as those living in the southern Philippines and northeastern Borneo. Harvested almost exclusively from the carapace of the Hawksbill turtle (*Eretmochelys imbricata*), known in baong Sama as *kulitang,* tortoiseshell collected in eastern Indonesia was a highly valued commodity throughout Southeast Asia as well as in more distant markets, namely India, China, Japan, and Europe. While Japan and, to a lesser extent, Europe, received a fair share of tortoiseshell harvested from Indonesian seas, the primary destinations for the prized shell were India and China. Traders returning to the ports of Gujarat and the Coromandel Coast and to Canton and Amoy, in particular, were the major buyers of tortoiseshell in Indonesia between the

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249 Knaap and Sutherland, *Monsoon Traders,* 98.
250 Knaap and Sutherland, *Monsoon Traders,* see Appendix 2, Table X; Nagel, *Der Schlüssel zu den Molukken,* 506.
sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.\textsuperscript{251} While Chinese records demonstrate that China was importing tortoiseshell from areas of Sumatra, Java, and the southern Philippine archipelago from a very early period, these sources suggest that traders from China had not yet tapped into the tortoiseshell supplies of eastern Indonesia prior to the late sixteenth century. More likely is Roderich Ptak’s suggestion that the local trade in tortoiseshell also existed in eastern Indonesia during the Sung and Yuan dynasties but either “went unnoticed by the Chinese or that private Chinese merchants took part in it and that this is not told in the sources.”\textsuperscript{252} Ptak’s view is supported by Sama Bajo and Makassarese written and oral traditions, which specifically cite tortoiseshell as the gift or tribute item that lay at the foundation of the earliest Makassarese-Sama Bajo alliance (c. fourteenth century) forged between the Papuq and an unnamed Karaeng Gowa. Some of this tortoiseshell would have remained in local and regional trade circuits, but it is also possible that the tortoiseshell provided to the ruler of Gowa by the Papuq was exported to China.

By the late sixteenth century at the latest, Makassar stood along with Sulu and Borneo as a primary source of tortoiseshell in the region.\textsuperscript{253} By the beginning of the next century, European traders were already well aware of the value of the tortoiseshell circulating in eastern Indonesian markets and were eager to acquire shells to trade in Indian Ocean ports, especially those in India. The Portuguese-mestizo cartographer Manuel Godinho de Eredia, for example, mentioned in 1613 the rich supply of tortoiseshell found around Sulawesi, namely Manado on the north coast, Mandar on the western shore, and Tomini Bay on the east coast, the last being home to the Togean archipelago which the Dutch would later name the Schildpad-Eilanden (Turtle Islands).\textsuperscript{254} Dutch reports for the same period make it clear that the Portuguese merchant community of Makassar, along with the Makassarese and

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\textsuperscript{252} Ptak, “China and the Trade in Tortoise-shell,” 211, 216.
\textsuperscript{253} Sutherland, “A Sino-Indonesian Commodity Chain,” 176.
\end{footnotesize}
Malays, were already venturing to the islands of east Nusa Tenggara in order to purchase tortoiseshell, as well as sandalwood, cinnamon, and wax.255 The Papuq polity had already laid claim to areas of Sandao for a century by this point, so it is likely that the Sama Bajo subjects of the Papuq and Gowa-Talloq would have already been integral to the Nusa Tenggara marine turtle trade, but probably were most often subsumed under the imprecise category of “Makassarese” by Dutch observers.

By the first half of the seventeenth century Makassar had become the central rendezvous point for all eastern Indonesian trade. It was the primary market for spices smuggled from Dutch Maluku and the major supplier of tortoiseshell, wax, sandalwood, slaves, and other products from various parts of the eastern archipelago. The value of the tortoiseshell trade for Makassar was substantial. In 1638 it was reported that the Karaeng Gowa received 360 lbs of tortoiseshell annually, either as tribute or, as the Dutch referred to it, “tax” payments.256 In 1645 the Dutch noted with much consternation that small fleets departed annually from Makassar and traveled east to southern Maluku to collect tortoiseshell, making as much as 700% profit on upon their return.257 Tortoiseshell continued to be a valuable part of Makassar’s trade even under the Dutch, with an average of nineteen pikul exported each year at a price that ranged between 110-225 rixdollars per pikul.258 Southeast Asian, Indian, Chinese, Japanese, Arab, and European buyers then re-exported this shell to distant markets and their respective homeports.

For much of the early modern period, Makassar was the central entrepôt for the eastern Indonesian tortoiseshell trade, but the activities and transactions essential to this trade were much more widely dispersed and the network itself was multiethnic and polycentric in character. The ideal habitat for hawksbill turtles—

255 VOC Makassar 1127, f. 578r-579v.
256 VOC Makassar 1127, f.578v.
257 J.E. Heeres and P.A. Tiele, Bouwstoffen voor de Gescheidenis der Nederlanders in den Maleischen Archipel, vol.3 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1886-1895), 245, cited in Sutherland, “A Sino-Indonesian Commodity Chain: The Trade in Tortoiseshell in the Late Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” in Chinese Circulations: Capital, Commodities, and Networks in Southeast Asia, edited by Eric Tagliacozzo and Wen-Chin Chang (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 181. According to Knapp and Sutherland, the rijksdaalder or rixdollar “was generally used by the VOC as a money of account, equivalent to 48 stuivers,” and thus, “the label ‘rixdollar’ represented all sorts of actual European currency.” Knapp and Sutherland, Monsoon Traders, 87-89.
258 Knaap and Sutherland, Monsoon Traders. Averages derived from Tables T and U.
areas of warm, shallow seas where reef formations are present, and with adjacent seagrass or agal meadows for feeding and sandy beaches for nesting—occurs abundantly in the region. Thus many islands provide possible catchment areas, and several locations are mentioned in the Dutch records as consistently the best source for large quantities of the shell: the Spermonde islands and the Gulf of Bone in south Sulawesi; the littorals of Tobungku, Banggai, and the Togean islands in east Sulawesi; the Gorontalo coast of north Sulawesi; Bonerate, Kalao, Makarangngang and other small islands in the Flores Sea; the coasts and islands of western Sumbawa; the rich grounds extending from Komodo, Rinca, and northwest Flores (Sandao) to the Solor-Alor archipelago; Obi, Baca, and Kayoa in north Maluku; the so-called Zuidwestereilanden and Zuidoostereilanden of south Maluku; and, especially in the eighteenth century, the waters off northwest Australia. The network of fishers and traders involved in this trade was equally widespread and ethnically diverse, with the shifting location of the turtle-hunters and the habitats of the turtles themselves constituting a multiplicity of centers for the trade. Chinese traders from Batavia, Makassar, Maluku and elsewhere sailed to these centers of the trade to acquire tortoiseshell directly from itinerant hunters and local communities, as did Bugis, Makassarese, Malays and various other seafaring merchant communities. Even after the conquest of Makassar by the Dutch in 1669, tortoiseshell could be purchased without Dutch interference at one of the many secondary entrepots found throughout the region, such as those under Sama Bajo control like Pota, Reo, and Bajoé.

Many turtle hunters relied on chance encounters at sea or opportunities for easy ambush when female turtles hauled out in significant numbers to breed on a nearby sandy beach. As one nobleman on the island of Sumba explained to a Dutch captain in 1686, sea turtles, like ambergris, were “the fortune of the sea” that “one is lucky to find...[and] for which the people keep watch on the beaches day and night for these things.” Likewise, the fishermen of Halmahera (north Maluku)

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259 Vosmaer, “Korte beschrijving,” 147, says as much for the non-Sama Bajo coastal populations of Kendari.
260 VOC Timor 1866, f.130-131.
were said to fish for turtles by “drifting with the current and wind, sometimes for days, quietly floating in hopes of encountering a turtle along the shoreline.” In contrast, the true core of the trade were those sea hunters who applied highly specialized and culturally specific knowledge of the ocean environment in order to pursue their prey systematically across wide expanses of the eastern archipelago, thereby providing a much more reliable supply of the shell for local and regional markets. None, however, traveled as widely and operated more effectively than did the Sama Bajo. Indeed, even a cursory survey of the available source material on the tortoiseshell trade in eastern Indonesia between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries reveals that, among those many groups that hunted marine turtles, the Sama Bajo stand out as the most skillful and the foremost source of the esteemed shell.

The Sama Bajo people of eastern Indonesia possess a rich store of knowledge regarding the habits and habitats of the hawksbill turtle, as well as an impressive variety of methods for their capture and preparation for market. Even today many elders still retain remarkably precise information on the locations of prime hunting grounds and the particular seasons, down to specific moons and tides, for pursuing marine turtles. This valuable information, passed down through the generations by oral tradition and experiential learning, identifies known feeding places of the turtles and specific beaches where turtles come ashore to lay eggs in bi- or triennial cycles. The seascape of north Maluku is one such area.

Though Sama Bajo peoples were probably operating around Maluku much earlier, it is only in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, when the Dutch were a nearly constant presence in the region, that we find regular reports about the presence of Sama Bajo from Sulawesi and Flores in Maluku waters. There they hunted and traded in sea turtles and participated in the lucrative trade in spices. These areas were rich in marine life, particularly around the island of Obi, where even the Dutch were aware of “the great multitude of sea turtles” that populated the

local seas.\textsuperscript{262} It is perhaps for this reason that Sama Bajo peoples would eventually establish villages in this area, settling most notably in Obi and Kayoa. Sama Bajo knowledge of the Maluku seascape remains strong today, even among those who live on distant shores. One elderly Sama Bajo man living in the Pulau Sembilan islands on the western shore of the Gulf of Bone, for example, enumerated for me several beaches and reef areas in north Maluku, stretching between Kayoa in the north and Obi in the south, where he, like his ancestors before him, hunted both hawksbill and green turtles on \textit{sakai} voyages during the west monsoon before returning with various sea products and copra to Makassar or Bajoé with the east monsoon.\textsuperscript{263}

Many Sama Bajo peoples possess a similarly long and intimate relationship with the fishing grounds of the eastern Sulawesi coast, particularly the east facing Tomini Bay. In the seventeenth century, the east coast of Sulawesi and the Tomini Bay were rich turtle hunting grounds for Sama Bajo fishers including subjects of the Papuq and Lolo Bajo who lived along the coasts of Tobungku and Banggai, northern Sulawesi, and areas further south. In his 1682 memorandum, the VOC Governor of Ternate, Robertus Padtbrugge, reported on the lively trade in tortoiseshell centered on Tomini Bay. In addition to large numbers of Bugis, Mandarese, and Makassarese who traveled into Tomini, traders from as far west as Aceh, Melaka, Banten, and Batavia sailed to the Bay of Palu on the west coast of Sulawesi where they then went overland to Parigi in the western corner of Tomini Bay in order to exchange textiles for tortoiseshell collected by the Sama Bajo.\textsuperscript{264} The tortoiseshell available in Tomini was gathered by Sama Bajo fishers in areas of north Sulawesi such as Gorontalo, Kaidipang, Buol, and Toli-Toli, as well as by communities settled on the coast of Tobungku, and shipped to Makassar and other south Sulawesi markets.\textsuperscript{265} A few


\textsuperscript{263} Interview with Mboq Duga, Kambuno, 14-06-2008.

\textsuperscript{264} VOC Ternate 1376, 304r-305v.

\textsuperscript{265} VOC Ternate 1337, f. 154; VOC Ternate 1376, 306v; VOC Ternate 1345, f.285; Robide van der Aa, “Het Journaal van Padtbrugge’s Reis Naar Noord-Celebes en de Noordereilanden, 16 Aug.-23 Dec. 1677,” \textit{BKI} 14 (1867): 165. Speelman noted that both Toli-Toli and Buol brought a \textfrac{1}{2} bahar of tortoiseshell to
years earlier in 1678, Padtbrugge had also remarked on the Sama Bajo’s knowledge of the local seascape, noting that some of the more nomadic groups retired to “uninhabited” islands with sago and coconut palms, freshwater, and timber, and waited there for the proper phase of the lunar cycle when turtles were most active inshore and came to nest on nearby islands. Though the sources lack detailed information on the early stages of this network, it is likely that the movement of the Sama Bajo into the Tomini Bay in search of tortoiseshell attracted traders from various parts of the archipelago and acted as a catalyst for Tomini’s development into a key terminus in the Sulawesi tortoiseshell trade sometime in the early to mid-seventeenth century.

In the seas of Maluku and eastern Sulawesi, as well as in numerous other areas between east Borneo in the west and the Bird’s Head of Papua in the east, the Sama Bajo were a principal source of tortoiseshell for the various markets of Indonesia. Whether undertaking long distance sakai voyages to Maluku, seasonal pongkeq trips to a rich offshore atoll, or during daily palilibu excursions in their home waters, Sama Bajo fishers regularly hunted marine turtles using a variety of methods. Each of these techniques was dependent on an accumulated knowledge of the sea, the turtle’s habits, and the turtle itself. One such method for catching kulitang is known in baong Sama as nalinteh and especially highlights this familiarity. If, while fishing a particular reef, a kulitang is spotted surfacing repeatedly in a certain spot, the fisher will make a mental note of the spot as a possible site of a hole or outcropping in the reef where the turtle sleeps (kubah). The fisher will then return and deploy a wooden decoy (tangkal kulitang) above the kubah and then wait patiently for the turtle to surface near the decoy. The fisher waits for it to surface a couple times before finally spearing the turtle with a spear.

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266 VOC Ternate 1345, f. 307v.

267 In his 1669 Notitie, Speelman does not mention Tomini or the Togeans, but lists Tobungku, Banggai, Tolitoli and Buol as sources of tortoiseshell for Makassar. Noorduyn, “De handelsrelaties,” 104, 117, 120.

(tiruq), trident (sapah), or a harpoon fitted with a tip designed specifically for turtle hunting (idiq kulitang).268

The method called magalau didaraq requires a precise knowledge of where and when the turtles will come ashore to nest so that the hunters can await them on shore. Unlike the green turtle, which comes ashore en masse in order to breed, the hawksbill turtle does so in far smaller groups and at far fewer beaches in the region. Thus, Sama Bajo knowledge of hawksbill turtle breeding areas and nesting beaches is indicative of a high degree of familiarity with the local ecology across a massive stretch of the archipelago. Hawksbill turtles, as with green turtles, are also caught using nets called ogah or pinabor, with openings 3-7 inches in diameter and, formerly, made from plant fiber (bagu). Using another method, called nyarumeng, a fisher will swim alongside their dugout and use handmade goggles to scan the sea floor for any movement, deploying a weighted apparatus with several protruding iron spikes called a ladoh or ladung kulitang to pierce the turtle spotted swimming below. On particular nights when dinoflagellate blooms (baraas) cause marine bioluminescence at the sea surface, Sama Bajo fishers will patrol the luminescent areas waiting for turtles to surface, spearing them when they appear. This method, known as makibaraas, is described in iko-iko Si Mungkammaq as sung for me in Tukangbesi and Rinca, in which the main figure hunts kulitang on a deep-water reef in the Flores Sea:

The sun sank below the horizon, he sat listening to the sound of the baraas dancing on the sea surface atop the lana,269 then came the time for the kulitang to break the surface...oh...the kulitang appeared atop the lana, he freed the mooring line and moved [toward the kulitang], once close he stood, he harpooned the kulitang, striking it...oh...he pulled the line, and when it came close to the soppeq, the tip pulled

269 Lana: similar to timpusuq but usually much further from land, usually deeper than timpusuq (around 40 meters or more), and seems to appear out of nowhere. When speaking of the area of Ashmore Reef, often Sama Bajo will say, “pore ka lana” (“going to the lana”) because that sort of reef complex is what they are searching for in that area. Lana are important gathering areas for sharks and hawksbill turtles.
free...oh...he lifted the kulitang aboard his soppeq. All night he rested, again and again, while he prepared [nyampa] the kulitang (Iko-iko Si Mungkammaq, 13:30-14:56).

The methods described above are only a small part of the vast repertoire of techniques that Sama Bajo fishers use to catch marine turtles in a wide range of conditions. Because tortoiseshell formed such an important part of their livelihood, the Sama Bajo traveled far and wide to capture hawksbill turtles. In the course of their voyaging to such widely dispersed catchment areas and to the numerous sites of exchange, the Sama Bajo helped to form important links connecting the distant islands and marine resources of eastern Indonesia with key regional ports such as Makassar and to the streams of international commerce that flowed in and out of those harbors. Through their participation in the tortoiseshell trade the Sama Bajo also developed valuable relationships with local populations and their rulers, as well as with traveling merchants.

Although some Sama Bajo fleets conducted violent raids on coastal villages in the course of their fishing expeditions and had less than amicable relationships with certain communities as a result, more harmonious forms of interaction and exchange also took place between visiting Sama Bajo and local communities in eastern Indonesia. The island of Sumba in east Nusa Tenggara provides an interesting example of the sometimes complex nature of Sama Bajo relations with landed populations. As will be discussed in detail below, Sama Bajo fleets, along with their Makassarese and Bugis counterparts, were key players in the slave trade centered on Sumba and nearby Ende, and they raided coastal villages and purchased slaves on Sumba to bring to market in Pota, Reo, Makassar, and other centers of exchange. As late as 1855 it was still observed that, “very few [Sama Bajo] leave the Sumba coast without carrying some slaves with them.”270 But Sama Bajo also came to Sumba as peaceful traders and fishermen. The Sama Bajo sailors from southwest

Sulawesi who spent a harrowing eight months adrift at sea in 1775, for example, had sailed to the rich waters south of Sumba, where they went to hunt hawksbill turtles, trepang, and other sea creatures. Before heading out to the fishing grounds, the fleet had called at Sumba and stayed there for over a month while they restocked their provisions and purchased two extra rudders in preparation for their onward voyage.

Sojourns such as these were typical for Sama Bajo on pongkeq and sakai voyages to hunt hawksbill turtles and other marine creatures, as the need to restock provisions and repair one’s vessel was inevitable on such lengthy ventures. Oral traditions suggest that when in need of safe harbor, food, and supplies, Sama Bajo sailors also regularly called in at specific villages along a route or in a catchment area, though they preferred visiting other Sama Bajo communities, especially where one had relatives. In Sama Bajo villages, visitors were sources of precious information about fishing and weather conditions, dangers and opportunities at sea, and news about one’s relatives in distant places. This sort of scene is played out in several iko-iko, such as in iko-iko Daeng Tanjung, when the young Sama Bajo turtle hunter named Daeng Tanjung sails from Kangean (75 miles north of Bali) and comes to moor at a distant Sama Bajo village in “Tanah Bugis.” When word of his arrival spreads, a high-status Sama Bajo family sends a slave to go and meet the newcomer and invite him to the house “so that we can ask him for news (kiaka).”271 This network of information, called kiaka, was an important means by which Sama Bajo were able to stay abreast of changes in faraway places and maintain connections with other Sama Bajo communities.

In the tortoiseshell trade, Chinese merchants and intermediary traders were among the most important to the Sama Bajo as important links to Makassar, Batavia, Canton, and Amoy.272 Throughout the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Dutch officials regularly expressed their frustration with the dominance exercised by these traders over the flow of tortoiseshell to and from Makassar, and the

271 Iko-Iko Daeng Tanjung, Mboq Jumilla, Tukangbesi.
272 The Makassar-based tortoiseshell trade and particularly its links with China are dealt with masterfully in Sutherland, “A Sino-Indonesian Commodity Chain.”
Company's inability to gain a foothold in the trade network.273 The system by which
the Kapitan China of Makassar, Ongwatko, acquired tortoiseshell from the Sama
Bajo of eastern Indonesia at the end of the seventeenth century provides an
interesting glimpse of the workings of this segment of the trade. Each year
Ongwatko outfitted numerous smaller vessels out of Makassar, piloted by slaves,
Bugis, Makassarese, peranakan Chinese, or Sama Bajo who received credit from the
wealthy Kapitan.274 These ships sailed out to the main hawksbill hunting grounds of
the Sama Bajo, such as the Gulf of Bone, Banggai-Tobungku, the Tomini Bay, north
and south Maluku, northwest Flores, the Solor-Alor archipelago, southeast Borneo,
and Mindanao. Many went directly to the Sama Bajo fleets in order to purchase or
exchange iron and textiles for shells.275 Ongwatko also provided goods and capital
on credit to Sama Bajo fishers, sometimes one year in advance, in order to guarantee
his access to these valuable shells collected by the mobile fleets.276 Other wealthy
Chinese merchants in Batavia and Makassar also sent ships to secondary centers of
trade like Pota, Reo, and Bajoé where supplies of tortoiseshell could be acquired
alongside other valuable cargoes, including slaves and “contraband” spices.277
Chinese merchants also used their connections with Makassarese and Bugis nobility
to purchase some of the tortoiseshell supplied to these local elites by Sama Bajo
fishers via the Papuq and Lolo Bajo polities.278 By seeking direct contact with Sama
Bajo fishers and traders on the water, as well as in secondary entrepots like Pota
and Bajoé, astute Chinese merchants like Ongwatko were able to tap directly into

273 Based on import and export records culled from the VOC Harbormaster’s Register of Makassar,
Sutherland and Knaap estimate that at least half of all goods were handled by Chinese merchants after the
opening of the annual junk trade between Makassar and Amoy in 1746. Knaap and Sutherland, Monsoon
Traders, 168-169.
274 Heather Sutherland, “Trade, Court and Company: Makassar in the Later Seventeenth and Early
Eighteenth Centuries,” in Hof en Handel: Aziatische vorsten en de VOC 1620-1720, eds. Elsbeth Locher-
275 VOC Makassar 1312, f.1999r-2000v; VOC Ternate 1337, f. 158; VOC Makassar 1414, f.123v; VOC
Makassar 1453, f. 145r; VOC Makassar 1663, f. 156-159; VOC Timor 1676, f.19-20; VOC Makassar 1676,
f. 277-278, 281; VOC Makassar 1579, f. 255; VOC Makassar 1595, f. 215, 298.
276 VOC Makassar 1595, f. 215. See Sutherland’s discussion of this practice in, “A Sino-Indonesian
Commodity Chain,” 182.
277 VOC Makassar 1453, f. 145r; VOC Makassar 8198, f.128.
278 For one such example in 1703 see, VOC Makassar 1663, f. 92-93.
the richest supplies of tortoiseshell and other sea products, often bypassing VOC tolls in the process.

In addition to their business relationships with the Chinese merchant community and their agents on the water, Sama Bajo also supplied tortoiseshell to the rulers and powerful nobles of Gowa-Talloq and Bone, both directly in the form of tribute as well as indirectly through other avenues. Tributary obligations were an important component of the relationships formed between the Sama Bajo and the landed polities of South Sulawesi. According to both Sama Bajo and Makassarese traditions, from the formation of their alliance with Gowa, the Papuq and his Sama Bajo subjects were to provide tortoiseshell as tribute to the ruler. Likewise, the primary form of tribute (Bugis, *kasuwiyang*) from the Lolo Bajo polity was tortoiseshell. Gowa-Talloq and Bone benefited economically from its privileged relationship with the Sama Bajo, who provided a stream of sea goods to the landed kingdoms through the dispersed networks and formal hierarchies that comprised the Papuq and Lolo Bajo polities. While the total amount of shells received each year was not large, it was valuable. The ruler of Bone received one pikul, or roughly 124 Amsterdam pounds, per year, and there is reason to suggest that the ruler of Gowa received the same prior to 1769. In 1713, for example, it was noted that Gowa received tribute payments in the form of tortoiseshell in June and July of each year.\footnote{VOC Makassar 8183, f.52-53.} As tortoiseshell was far scarcer than other commodities and was never traded in large quantities, the value of these comparatively small amounts was high, with prices reaching 2.4 guilders per pound in Makassar in 1645, and averaging between 90 and 100 *real* in value between 1717 and 1797.\footnote{Averages derived from the data provided in Knaap and Sutherland, *Monsoon Traders*, Table T.}

The difficulties the Dutch faced in acquiring tortoiseshell demonstrate the importance of established connections with the Sama Bajo as the foundation of the trade. In the mid-seventeenth century Company officials in Makassar found Batavia’s requests for large quantities of shells, sometimes as much as 2000 pounds, unrealistic without tapping into the Sama Bajo networks through either Chinese merchants such as Ongwatko and his clan, or through the Gowa-Talloq and Bone
nobility.\textsuperscript{281} In 1694 the Company enlisted Ongwatko to purchase tortoiseshell on their behalf, providing him with money to issue as credit to fishermen and intermediary traders, but the price remained too high for the Company to obtain the desired profits.\textsuperscript{282} A few years later in 1701 Governor Beernink sought another channel for tortoiseshell by having Sultan Abdul Jalil of Gowa agree to sell the Company his annual tribute shipment of tortoiseshell. The Gowa ruler thus sold 125 Amsterdam pounds (one pikul) to the Dutch from the ruler even though a Chinese merchant offered to buy it at a higher price.\textsuperscript{283} While this type of agreement with local rulers occasionally proved satisfactory, at times the shell was not forthcoming. Thus, when in 1716 the Raja Bone promised that he would give the Company first rights to speculation on the tortoiseshell stocks he received annually from the Lolo Bajo polity, the governor remained skeptical that this would materialize.\textsuperscript{284} In the 1690s, Governor Padtbrugge of Ternate attempted a more direct route and sought to force the leaders of some Sama Bajo groups in north Sulawesi to agree to recognize the Company as “their lord and protector” and promise that all their tortoiseshell would be sold to the VOC representative in Menado.\textsuperscript{285} There is no evidence that this agreement was ever implemented, and Company officials in north Sulawesi and elsewhere continued to lament their failures to obtain sufficient quantities of tortoiseshell well into the late eighteenth century.

The Company’s problems obtaining tortoiseshell were compounded by the regular flow of tortoiseshell being “smuggled” into Makassar and surrounding markets each year. These streams of contraband shells came from all directions. Sama Bajo living on the numerous small islands of the Spermonde archipelago off the west coast of Makassar, particularly the Barrang Islands and Pulau Sabuton, sailed surreptitiously into the familiar rivers and small waterways around Gowa and Talloq and the northern provinces, carrying cargoes of tortoiseshell along with other goods they received from traders sailing from the east Borneo coast, Batavia,

\textsuperscript{281} VOC Makassar 8187, f.33-34.
\textsuperscript{282} Sutherland, “A Sino-Indonesian Commodity Chain,” 182. VOC Makassar 1676, f.180.
\textsuperscript{283} VOC Makassar 1663, f. 92-93.
\textsuperscript{284} VOC Makassar 8184, f. 97-97.
\textsuperscript{285} VOC Ternate 1376, f. 307r.
and elsewhere. South of Makassar, boats regularly left from Sanrabone and Galesong setting a course for Buton, Pota and Reo, as well as Tambora, Sumba, and the Solor-Alor archipelago in order to purchase tortoiseshell and other commodities to bring back to south Sulawesi through channels that avoided the prying eyes of the Company harbormaster.

A portion of the tortoiseshell collected in the Nusa Tenggara region by Sama Bajo was brought to market in Pota and Reo by subjects of the Papuq, and then likely transshipped to Makassar and other markets through clandestine deliveries. Bajoé, situated far from Dutch supervision on the west coast of the Bay of Bone, likewise was a clandestine channel for flows of tortoiseshell gathered by Sama Bajo fishers in the Gulf of Bone itself, as well as those coming in from north and southeast Sulawesi and the islands to the east, especially from north and south Maluku. The VOC administration in Batavia frequently complained about such “illegal” activities and issued numerous regulations prohibiting navigation to ever-shifting spaces of illegal activity, regularly dispatching Company ships (the kruistochten) to patrol particular “smugglers’ nests.” It was, however, impossible for the Dutch to adequately patrol the vast seas of eastern Indonesia and to intercept “smugglers,” particularly the highly mobile Sama Bajo groups. This fact is underscored in the Company’s own records, with the Makassar harbormasters’ registers showing that nearly half of the recorded tortoiseshell exports were never registered upon import.

The VOC was never able to successfully tap into the tortoiseshell trade because of its failure to establish a commercial or sociopolitical relationship with the Sama Bajo populations of eastern Indonesia. By contrast, both the Chinese merchant communities of Makassar and the rulers of Gowa-Talloq and Bone were able to dominate the tortoiseshell trade precisely because of their connections to the Sama Bajo. Complaints by Dutch officials, such as the candid if understated admission in 1716 by Governor Sipman that, “we do not have the best knowledge of

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286 VOC Makassar 2238, f.153-4; Knaap and Sutherland discuss the use of rivers for smuggling trade items into Makassar at several points in Monsoon Traders.
287 See for example, VOC Makassar 8183, f.151-154.
288 See Knaap and Sutherland, Monsoon Traders, Table T, as well as Table 16 on p.96.
the [tortoiseshell] trade,” reveal the Company’s ignorance in regard to the sociopolitical and economic relationships that comprised the tortoiseshell trade networks. Dutch knowledge of the trade in these precious shells was mostly limited to information gleaned from native and burgher informants who participated in these networks, but this could never compare to the savvy of the foreign and local Chinese merchant community or the steadfast alliance that existed between local kingdoms and the Papuq and Lolo Bajo. As the cornerstone of the tortoiseshell trade, Gowa-Talloq and Bone, as well as the Chinese and other merchant communities, were dependent on the Sama Bajo of eastern Indonesia. In a market predicated upon a relatively rare and unpredictable resource not easily manipulated by state power, mutually beneficial links to the Sama Bajo were absolutely necessary for commercial success.289

**Tre pang**

*“The Tripang, without a doubt, may be considered as one of the most valuable products which is yielded by the seas within the borders of our possessions.”* J.N. Vosmaer, 1839290

In terms of both its quantity and total value, the trepang trade far surpassed that of all other products harvested from the seas of eastern Indonesia; a fact readily understood by Dutch trader J.N. Vosmaer and most other European observers of Indonesian commerce during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As Heather Sutherland’s research has demonstrated, trepang’s tremendous importance lay in its role as the marrow of Makassar’s trade with China. Trepang was the primary item exported from eastern Indonesia in exchange for goods from Amoy and Canton during the eighteenth century, and thus its procurement was vital to a complex network of foreign and local communities and powerful individuals spread

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289 Sutherland suggests this line of thought in her insightful critique of Jim Warren’s *Sulu Zone* and later works, pointing out how the nature of trepang and tortoiseshell collection and trade would have limited the possibilities for state intervention on the scale which Warren proposed to have occurred in Sulu during the eighteenth century. Heather Sutherland, “The Sulu Zone Revisited,” *JSEAS* 35.1 (2004): 133-157.

290 Vosmaer, “Korte beschrijving,” 149.
throughout the region, with its commercial center in Makassar. Although tortoiseshell continued to be a valuable component of Makassar’s trade in sea products, by the turn of the century it was eclipsed by trepang as the most important commodity gleaned from Indonesian seas. Trepang likewise became the most important commodity for the Sama Bajo of eastern Indonesia and their involvement in the trade came to be a dominant feature of their histories. In the context of the regional trepang trade networks—which were undergirded by the much the same sociopolitical and commercial framework that supported the tortoiseshell trade—we see once again how the maritime expertise and mobility of the Sama Bajo situated them as perhaps the most important group in the collection, processing, and circulation of trepang. Their intimate knowledge of the sea and their abilities as sailors, navigators, fishers, and divers enabled the Sama Bajo to exploit this valuable resource with unmatched skill and to serve as vital links in the chain that connected the dispersed resources of eastern Indonesia to the commercial centers of Makassar and Batavia.

It was only in the early seventeenth century that trepang came to be listed alongside tortoiseshell on the long list of exotic items imported from Southeast Asia into China. These unprepossessing echinoderms were believed to cure a variety of ailments and were highly prized by the Chinese for its culinary and reputed medicinal properties. The prized commodity was first collected in China’s coastal waters as well as imported from more distant areas such as Japan. As Chinese appetite for trepang grew in the mid-seventeenth century, Chinese merchants sought new stocks and soon tapped into the well-established trade networks that linked China to Southeast Asia, and to eastern Indonesia in particular. Trepang’s relatively late appearance in the China-Southeast Asia trade is suggested by the fact that European accounts of local commerce from that period do not mention trepang. A recent survey of Chinese literature pertaining to overseas trade

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291 Sutherland, “Trepang and Wangkang,” 451-452.
292 Sources widely considered to be comprehensive such as the Notitie of Speelman, the account of the Portuguese apothecary Pires, or Eredia’s account, do not mention trepang. A comprehensive annotation of the trade information in Speelman’s Notitie can be found in Noorduyn, “De Handels Relatie.” Tomé Pires,
likewise also could not find any reference of trepang traded between China and Southeast Asia until 1727.\textsuperscript{293} There is, nevertheless, ample evidence that the trepang trade between China and eastern Indonesia was underway by the last quarter of the seventeenth century. The earliest reference to trepang in the records of the VOC that I have found comes in a 1695 report from the Dutch governor in Makassar regarding a contract between the Captain of the Chinese in Makassar, Ongwatko, and an envoy of the Sultan of Buton for the purchase of “156 picols taripan (a sort of jellyfish).”\textsuperscript{294} The trepang was apparently collected by coast dwellers, likely Sama Bajo, in the waters of Buton at the prearranged price of four rixdollars per pikul.\textsuperscript{295} Similar references to trepang appear in subsequent years. In 1708 the Dutch reported that Ongwatko was sending vessels to Tomini Bay, and later reports note that Chinese and “Bugis” merchants from Makassar were seeking to purchase trepang around Buton, namely around the island of Kaledupa in the Tukangbesi archipelago.\textsuperscript{296}

As these early reports suggest, from its inception the trepang trade was centered primarily in Makassar. Though Batavia was the major center for the transshipment of trepang to China during the first half of the eighteenth century, much of Batavia’s trepang came from Makassar.\textsuperscript{297} With the opening of Makassar to the Chinese junk trade in 1746, a direct trading link developed between Makassar and Amoy, and Makassar rapidly became the central entrepot for trepang and other transit-goods destined for China.\textsuperscript{298} Makassar would retain this central position in the trade well into the late colonial period.\textsuperscript{299} As with tortoiseshell, however, the


\textsuperscript{294} Henley notes that the earliest record of trepang collecting in North Sulawesi that he found in the VOC archives also dates to 1695. Henley, \textit{Fertility, Food, and Fever}, 71.

\textsuperscript{295} VOC Makassar 7969, f.206-207. VOC Makassar 1568, f. 209-211. In this report the Sultan of Buton requests the Governor of Makassar’s assistance in recouping the money for the trepang cargo, which the Ongwatko apparently left Buton without paying. The Dutch refer to trepang as “een soort van quallen.” (“a sort of jellyfish”). This is fifteen years earlier than the report from 1710 that was thought to be the earliest mention of trepang in the VOC archives.

\textsuperscript{296} VOC Makassar 1676, f.277-278; VOC Makassar 8179, f. 88, 201; VOC Makassar 8180, f.44.

\textsuperscript{297} Knaap and Sutherland, \textit{Monsoon Traders}, 101.

\textsuperscript{298} Sutherland, “A Sino-Indonesian Commodity Chain,” 185; Knaap and Sutherland, \textit{Monsoon Traders}, 72.

\textsuperscript{299} Sutherland, “Trepang and Wangkang,” 458-459.
sociopolitical and commercial networks that fed Makassar's endless demand for trepang were widely dispersed throughout eastern Indonesia. Extending from the Sulu Sea in the north to the northwest coast of Australia in the south, and from the eastern shores of Borneo in the west to the coastal waters of the Bird’s Head of West Papua in the east, trepang fishers traveled extensively in pursuit of their prey, though none more so than the Sama Bajo. By virtue of mobile seafarers like the Sama Bajo, even the most far-flung catchment areas were linked to Makassar.

The rich seascape of southeastern Sulawesi, encompassing the islands of Buton, Muna, Kabaena, and the Tukangbesi archipelago, is among the first known catchment areas for trepang listed in the VOC archives, and it remained one of the most important sources of trepang for Makassar throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Just as it was a major source for tortoiseshell, the area around Buton quickly became one of Makassar’s four leading suppliers of trepang, with trepang accounting for roughly 60% of its exports to Makassar.300 Despite its brevity the 1695 report regarding Ongwatko’s business agreement with the Sultan of Buton to acquire trepang brings to light a few important details about the early years of the trade between Buton and Makassar. First, this report highlights the involvement from the very outset of the local Chinese merchant community of Makassar in the trepang trade. Second, the transaction was carried out through a familiar chain of powerful merchants, local rulers, and intermediaries in the catchment area. Finally, the trepang was collected by the strand folk of the sultanate, although they are not named. These coast dwellers very well may have been Sama Bajo, who had long since established communities on Buton and the neighboring islands and participated in the procurement and trade of both marine and terrestrial goods, such as tortoiseshell, textiles, and spices.301 It is likely that the collection, delivery, and sale of trepang trade followed the same successful pattern as the tortoiseshell trade. The Chinese were a crucial part of this pattern, and the Captain of the Chinese regularly sent “Bugis,” “Makassarese,” and Chinese agents from south Sulawesi to Buton, Tiworo, Muna, and Tukangbesi in order to obtain trepang from the Sama

300 Knaap and Sutherland, *Monsoon Traders*, 142.
301 See for example, VOC Ternate 1320, f.131rv.
Bajo.\textsuperscript{302} By the end of the first decade of the eighteenth century, trepang was circulating through much the same sociopolitical and commercial networks that had long supplied Makassar and Ternate with tortoiseshell.

This pattern was also noted in the productive waters of Banggai-Tobungku and the Tomini Bay. Private traders, as well as agents sailing on behalf of Makassarese and Bugis nobles or powerful merchants like the Captain of the Chinese, traveled into the Tomini and Tomori Bays and the coastal settlements of Tobungku and Banggai, where they rendezvoused with Sama Bajo fishers to purchase trepang, tortoiseshell and other goods. These traders provided Sama Bajo fishers with textiles, iron, foodstuffs, and money in exchange for the desired products. Intermediary merchants, described in the VOC reports as Chinese, Malays, Bugis, and Makassarese, also extended credit to Sama Bajo fishers against an assured return of trepang and other marine goods at a predetermined, and often lower price.\textsuperscript{303} The Sama Bajo involved in this regional trade network consisted of local eastern Sulawesi communities, as well as fleets from the Gulf of Bone, some from north Maluku, as well as bands from north Sulawesi and the south Sulawesi coast and offshore islands.\textsuperscript{304} In the initial stages of the trepang trade, it is likely that Sama Bajo of the Papuq polity would have operated in the catchment areas of east and southeast Sulawesi on behalf of their lord, considering that much of this region was within Gowa-Talloq’s sphere of influence. By the mid-eighteenth century, however, Dutch sources indicate that Bone exerted far greater influence in east Sulawesi than did Gowa-Talloq, and it seems that the political orientation of Sama Bajo groups in the region was increasingly directed toward the Lolo Bajo and the ruler of Bone.\textsuperscript{305} This, as we will see in chapter five, is borne out by Sama Bajo

\textsuperscript{302} VOC Makassar 1676, f.277-278; VOC Makassar 8179, f.88, 201; VOC Makassar 8180, 44; VOC Makassar 8184, f.146-147; VOC Makassar 1867, f.42-43.

\textsuperscript{303} See Sutherland, “A Sino-Indonesian Commodity Chain” and “Trepang and Wangkang,” for detailed overviews of the trepang trade as well as the tortoiseshell trade networks that served as the foundation for later trepang networks. VOC Makassar 1579, f. 181; VOC Makassar 1595, f. 215; VOC Makassar 2238, f.283-285; VOC Makassar 3243, f.33; VOC Makassar 8191, f. 38-39; VOC Makassar 8194, f.130, 133-134; VOC Makassar 8201, f.103-107.

\textsuperscript{304} VOC Makassar 1867, f.42-43; VOC Makassar 8198, f.175; VOC Makassar 8200, f.300-303.

\textsuperscript{305} See for example, VOC Ternate 1345, f.269-273; VOC Ternate 1376, f.200-201; VOC Makassar 1676, f.271-274; VOC Ternate 1647 f. 129-131; VOC Makassar 8198, f. 172-175; VOC Makassar 8497, f.18-22; VOC Makassar 8200, f. 27-32; NA Collectie Reinwardt, no.18, f.56; GM VI: 349, 353; GM IX:145, 567.
manuscripts and oral traditions, which also indicate an increasingly dominant position in eastern Sulawesi for the Sama Bajo communities under the leadership of the ponggawaři lauq (Punggawa of the East) with strong links to the Lolo Bajo polity in Bajoé.

When read in conjunction with information gleaned from Dutch sources, Sama Bajo manuscripts and oral traditions also offer important insights into how marine products like trepang circulated through the network of dispersed Sama Bajo communities that comprised the Lolo Bajo polity. Despite its great commercial importance, trepang is mentioned explicitly only once in the manuscripts. This singular passage is an ambiguous reference to trepang as a part of the Sama Bajo’s tribute (kasuwiyang) payment to Bone in the mid- to late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, specifically from those communities in eastern Sulawesi under the ponggawaři lauq.306 Oral traditions, on the other hand, consistently mention trepang among the abundance of marine produce collected by Sama Bajo fishers from Bajoé, Pulau Sembilan, and other points along the western coast of the Gulf of Bone, which they exchanged with local traders and provided as tribute to the ruler in Bone.307 Dutch sources from the early eighteenth century also report that Sama Bajo from the Gulf of Bone area were “sent out” from Bone to collect trepang in local and distant fishing grounds, which they then “smuggled” along with other goods into the Bugis Market (north of Fort Rotterdam) as well as Bajoé, and it is probable that a portion of this “contraband” trepang was given to the ruler of Bone as tribute.308 Private and commissioned Bugis merchants too sailed out from Bone and Makassar to purchase trepang from Sama Bajo communities in Buton, Tukangbesi, and Tiworo


306 LB Lemobajo, f. 149; Ms.250a, f.64.


308 See for example, VOC Makassar 8193, f.307-308; GM VIII: 77. The question of who “sent” the Sama Bajo out from Bone to collect trepang is left unanswered in the sources, but considering what we know about the functioning of the Lolo Bajo polity, as well as the Papuq polity, there is a distinct possibility that these groups were sent out by the Lolo Bajo, or their respective punggawa, on behalf of the ruler of Bone.
and brought it to market in south Sulawesi. The islands of Bonerate and Kalao, the latter of which was the seat of the Lolo Bajo named Toappa in the early 1700s, and others in the Flores Sea also served as important rendezvous points for the trepang trade, and Sama Bajo subjects of the Lolo Bajo no doubt facilitated the collection and shipment of marine goods between these areas and mainland Sulawesi. In 1849 a Dutch official on Bonerate reported that the Sama Bajo of this region were paying a portion of their trepang catch as tribute to the ruler of Bone, which would have been collected and brought to Bone through the traditional channels of the Lolo Bajo polity, which will be described in chapter five. The great quantities of trepang and other goods brought to markets largely outside of Dutch control, like Bajoe and the Bugis Market (though large amounts also reached Dutch controlled Makassar), suggests the importance of the Lolo Bajo polity in facilitating the flow of goods like trepang to the benefit of the kingdom of Bone.

Despite Bone’s growing influence throughout eastern Indonesia in the eighteenth century, the resource rich region known to Sulawesians as Sandao remained within the sphere of influence of the Papuq polity and Gowa-Talloq until the late 1760s. With his primary seat in the trade settlement of Pota and unknown numbers of Sama Bajo loyal subjects in his service, the Papuq was ideally positioned to facilitate the collection, shipping, and trade of trepang in the Nusa Tenggara region. Pota and nearby Reo were at the center of several key catchment areas in eastern Indonesia and Dutch reports from this period show how trepang came to circulate within preexisting commercial networks that linked these trade centers to numerous resource zones in the eastern Indonesian archipelago. As indicated above in relation to the Lolo Bajo polity, trepang under the Papuq’s direction was part of the flow of Sama Bajo goods that included tortoiseshell, slaves, spices, textiles and various woods. Their fleets fanned out from various points on the northwest Flores coast and sailed to rich fishing grounds in every direction: ships sailed west to

309 See for example, VOC Makassar 8179, f.88; VOC Makassar 8180, f.44.
310 On the importance of Bonerate to the Makassar trepang trade see, Knaap and Sutherland, Monsoon Traders, 99-101. A sense of the continued importance of the Sama Bajo of Bonerate and other islands in the Selayar region in the trepang trade of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries can be gleaned from, ANRI Selayar 442.
311 ANRI Selayar 146, no.61.
Rinca, Komodo and the profusion of small islands stretching to Sumbawa’s eastern shore; north to the Paternoster and Postilion Islands that lay south of Makassar in the Flores Sea; northeast to southern Maluku and the waters of the Ambon quarter; and eastward along the arc of islands extending from central Flores to Timor and southwest to the islands of Rote and Sumba. Sama Bajo peoples fished, dove, and foraged for trepang in this tremendous expanse of familiar seaspace and brought their cargoes of marine goods and other commodities back to Pota and Reo or to other destinations such as Timor or Makassar.

The Papuq performed an important role in the facilitation and maintenance of this trade, and did so to the particular benefit of his Gowa-Talloq allies. Reports from visiting VOC patrols clearly show that by 1714 at the latest, trepang was among the many goods available in the seaboard trade centers of Pota and Reo. As in the tortoiseshell trade, Sama Bajo subjects of the Papuq sailed out from their coastal settlements in the region and headed to distant catchment areas to collect trepang and other marine goods to be sold in Pota, Reo and elsewhere. The trepang, tortoiseshell, and other goods collected by Sama Bajo and brought to market were available alongside slaves, spices, wax, woods, textiles, livestock, and various other commodities. It is also clear from the scattered Dutch reports that the Papuq oversaw the commercial activities of the greater Pota region, and like other rulers of port polities, he provided for merchants, provisioned ships, meted out punishments to those who violated the laws of the land, and provided essential protection for the coastal settlements and visiting traders.\textsuperscript{312} The Dutch sources do not however mention whether or not the Papuq appointed a syahbandar, which was nearly standard practice in busy trading centers of the archipelago, or collected taxes from visiting merchants. That the Papuq did collect taxes of some sort is suggested in the records of the Bima court, which note that when the Sultanate of Bima finally wrested control of coastal northwest Flores from the Papuq in the late 1760s, the Sultan Bima immediately sent envoys to Pota, Reo, and other areas to declare that taxes on visiting perahu and slaves, as well as customary tribute would henceforth

\textsuperscript{312} For example, VOC Makassar 1453, 143r-146v; VOC Makassar 8183, f.151-152; VOC Makassar 2133, f.167-169; VOC Makassar 8197, f.177-178; VOC Makassar 8205, f.61-62.
be paid to Bima and not to the Papuq or Gowa-Talloq. The sultan also sent an envoy specifically to the negeri of Gunung Talloq, near modern day Labuan Bajo and Pulau Bajo in westernmost Flores, in order to inform “Makassarese” trepang fishers there that they were now required to pay a tax of six *suku* per perahu.313

When the Papuq polity was still in control of the greater Pota region, we know that the customary tribute payments to Gowa-Talloq went uninterrupted, and that trepang from Pota formed at least some of these payments. A group of Sama Bajo arrested for smuggling in Ambon in 1727 communicated as much to Governor Gobius. These sailors told the governor that ten percent of their cargo was set aside as tribute for the Karaeng Gowa.314 Two years earlier, in the late evening hours of 17 July 1725, the VOC cruisers *De Oppas* and *De Casuaris* were traveling slowly along the northern coast of Flores when they encountered a small native vessel creeping westward. After a short chase and few shots across the bow, the Company sailors managed to stop and board the vessel. The Dutchmen interrogated the Sama Bajo captain named Tosana and his ten-man crew and discovered a cargo of trepang, which Tosana said was from their lord, the “Karaeng Papuq in Pota,” to the King of Gowa.315

The quantity of trepang that was transshipped through either Pota and Reo or Bajoé and onward to Makassar each year cannot be reliably determined from Dutch sources for a number of reasons. For one, the vast majority of trade that took place in these markets was far beyond the Company’s gaze. The Dutch were poorly informed about events in northern Flores in general and the irregular visits by the Company cruise patrols were insufficient for either regulation or providing detailed information on trade and local affairs. Company officials in Makassar and Batavia were similarly uninformed on affairs in Bajoé, the existence of which they remained entirely ignorant until 1714.316 Secondly, the Makassar harbormaster’s registers did not record the arrival and departure of small fishing vessels, like those often piloted by Sama Bajo traveling between to and from Makassar, nor were the cargoes of

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313 *Bo’ Sangaji Kai*, 140-145, 180-182, 222-225.
314 VOC Makassar 8191, f.38-39; VOC Makassar 8194, f. 130, 134.
315 VOC Makassar 8191, f.155-156.
316 VOC Makassar 8183, f.146-157.
these small vessels routinely inspected during the greatest part of the eighteenth century. Even for larger native and burgher vessels that were recorded and inspected, the areas they claimed as their port of embarkation cannot be verified. Furthermore, those merchants who went to VOC-restricted areas would not have been recorded in the habormaster’s records unless they were caught. For much of the eighteenth century, moreover, Dutch knowledge of these areas was vague and often confused, with officials regularly referring to the whole of Flores as Ende (a small port polity on the south coast of Flores) and only rarely mentioning Manggarai or Sandao. Bajoé too was subsumed under the all too imprecisely defined “Bugis,” which could include a number of areas inhabited by ethnic Bugis or those areas under nominal control of the Bugis kingdom of Bone. So even when travel to and from these areas was reported, it is often difficult to be certain which part of Flores or “Bugis” was the port of departure unless Manggarai or Sandao, Bajoé, or Celluq as it was sometimes known, was specifically mentioned.

The largest obstacle to reliable quantification, however, is the high degree of “smuggling” by Sama Bajo and other vessels, which, of course, went unrecorded in official registers. The volume and frequency of such clandestine shipping of trepang is suggested by the fact that, on average, more than 50% of Makassar’s trepang exports were not registered upon import into Makassar.317 Despite these major limitations, Dutch records do highlight the importance of Makassar’s southern hemisphere—which included the seascape of Nusa Tenggara—as well as “Bugis,” and the islands of south Maluku, as key sources of registered and unregistered trepang imports for Makassar.318 In this regard it is worthwhile noting that the Makassar harbormaster’s registers record a precipitous drop in the number of private sector ship movements between Manggarai and Makassar after 1766, with zero ships registered for the period of 1766-1797 compared to an average of fifteen

317 Based on the data provided in Knaap and Sutherland (Table T, pp.208-226) we can see that an average of 1,857 pikuls of trepang imports went unreported each year between 1717-1797. Sutherland also provides a similar explanation in her study on Makassar’s trepang trade with China: “The remainder of exported trepang probably arrived in unregistered ships, which may have been illegal or simply small coastal craft exempt from registration. These could have been those which had been fishing in the rich trepang grounds along parts of the Sulawesi coast, such as the Spermonde archipelago close to Makassar, and probably included boats of Bajau and island-dwellers, population groups notoriously hard to constrain.” (463)
318 Knaap and Sutherland, Monsoon Traders, 71-73, 101-102.
ships per year in previous decades.\textsuperscript{319} Though we cannot be certain of the
correlation, the disappearance of commercial traffic from Manggarai coincides
precisely with the Papuq’s loss of control over the coast of that region and therefore
may be an indication of the Papuq’s importance in facilitating Makassar’s trade with
Manggarai.

VOC officials in Makassar frequently expressed great exasperation with the
large fleets of Sama Bajo and “Makassarese” trepang fishers in these areas, which
were almost always without Company passes. More troubling still for the Dutch
were the many reports that these fleets were not simply fishing for trepang in
forbidden areas. In 1732, the Governor of Makassar, Josua van Arrewijne, expressed
his frustration with the Sama Bajo to his superiors in Batavia, stating that the
Makassar allied “Toradjenners” (\textit{Turijeqneq}, Sama Bajo) roamed widely throughout
Maluku and Nusa Tenggara “under the name of tripang seekers, but they are not free
of suspicion, conducting contraband (\textit{morshandel}) trade in the Noble Company’s
precious spice lands.”\textsuperscript{320} In a previous letter from 1728, van Arrewijne reported that
Sama Bajo trepang fishing fleets consisted of “vessels 40 or 50 in number, and
thereby boldly sail to Timor, Solor and those areas to trade, and what is more, on
their arrival take the opportunity to perpetrate all sorts of harassment of the natives
of these places.”\textsuperscript{321} To be sure, not every Sama Bajo fleet was involved in raiding or
smuggling spices, but Governor Arrewijne’s observations echoed similar complaints
made by former governors of Makassar, Ternate, and Timor in the preceding
decades, and continued to be made by later officials. By October of 1732 Makassar
had received over seventy reports of Sama Bajo trepang fleets operating in the
waters of Maluku and Papua in that year alone. These fleets were spotted in large
numbers, “sometimes 300 men strong,” around the islands of Patani, Sula, Obi, and
Weda, and were known to be engaging in trade with local elites to acquire spices.
They then carried the goods along with their trepang and tortoiseshell to Pota and

\textsuperscript{319} See Knaap and Sutherland, \textit{Monsoon Traders}, pp. 197-8, Table M, which tabulates the number of
private sector ship movements according to port between 1717 and 1797.
\textsuperscript{320} VOC Makassar 8200, f.301-302.
\textsuperscript{321} VOC Makassar 8195, f. 17-19, 58-59.
other secondary centers of trade, or smuggled them into Makassar.322 VOC cruisers in the Maluku and Papua region were often frustrated in their attempts to apprehend the fast, shallow draught boats of the Sama Bajo, which could dart in and out of the shallow inshore reefs where the large pencalang used by the Company could not follow.323

Of course, similar multipurpose voyaging took place in coastal Timor and Rote, as well as in the Solor-Alor archipelago as mentioned at the opening of this chapter. Large Sama Bajo fleets were frequently reported engaging in trepang fishing in the Solor-Alor archipelago and Timor area throughout the eighteenth century. These fleets were often suspected of conducting slave raids while collecting sea products. In 1727, for example, VOC officials in Solor and Timor complained to Batavia and Makassar about a “multitude” of Sama Bajo boats that had been spotted “lurking” around various parts of the Solor-Alor archipelago, accusing them of slave raiding and argued that they were responsible for the recent capture of at least twelve people from coastal settlements in the area.324 Shortly thereafter another forty ships of Sama Bajo trepang fishers attempted to come ashore in the negeri Thie on the island of Rote but were forced to leave by the local regent, who was wary of their intentions. On this occasion the local population lodged a complaint to the Dutch interpreter against the Sama Bajo and other “Makassarese” who came to their districts to trade for slaves, wax, and gold, but “did not fail upon departure to give a good beating” to the native settlement. They were thus forced to hide their women and chase away Sama Bajo visitors with bow and arrow.325 Similar complaints led Governor Clootwijk of Makassar to form a commission in 1754 to investigate a “sandbank” south of Rote, where “illegal” trade was taking place and

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323 GM IX: 258-259. The VOC in Ternate even attempted to enlist the islanders of Wokam and Aru in an effort to catch the Sama Bajo and Makassarese boats, offering them two-thirds of the captured cargo.

324 GM VIII: 135.

325 VOC Timor 8323, f.5-6; VOC Makassar 8195 17-18, 58-59.
from which “various hostilities” were launched, “plaguing” Rote and nearby islands. The sandbank was an area known to be rich in trepang and tortoiseshell stocks and, based on what Karaeng Galesong told the governor, was frequented only by Sama Bajo fleets.326

In attempt to control the extensive movements of the Sama Bajo and other Sulawesian trepang fishers, at various points during the eighteenth century Batavia issued resolutions that forbade trepang fishers from traveling beyond a circumscribed segment of the archipelago, the boundaries of which expanded and contracted numerous times over the years.327 Officials in Makassar also suggested that Batavia increase the number of cruise patrols to the known “hiding places” or “smuggler’s nests” of the eastern archipelago. One governor, J.F. Gobius, even suggested that Christian burghers be authorized to board and inspect all Sulawesian vessels encountered in the eastern seas, even permitting the use of deadly force if they met any resistance.328 Despite these and other attempts at regulation, the Dutch were never able to contain the highly mobile Sama Bajo within such arbitrary boundaries and Company patrols were never able to completely prevent them from navigating the well-traveled routes by which they crisscrossed the eastern Indonesian seascape. From early on in their encounters, the Dutch perceived the Sama Bajo to be “wandering gatherers of booty from every place” (schommelaers van buijt op allerlij plaetsen), and for Dutch officials the ethnonyms, “Toridjener,” “Badjo Lauwt,” and “Badjorese” came to be synonymous with “wanderers,” “vagabonds,” “smugglers,” “freebooters,” and other Dutch terms that signified their vexation at the seemingly unbounded travel of the Sama Bajo. The Dutch repeatedly demanded that the rulers of Gowa and Bone rein in their Sama Bajo subjects, but such requests, though acknowledged and agreed to, were always ignored in practice. In one such meeting with Sultan Sirajuddin of Gowa in 1732, the governor in Makassar demanded the ruler put an end to the incessant “smuggling” and “wandering” of his Sama Bajo subjects in Maluku, to which the ruler vowed that he

326 GM XII: 522.
327 See for example, VOC Makassar 8195, f.17-19, 58-59, and VOC Makassar 3273, f. 46-47. Some of these regulations are nicely summarized in Sutherland, “Trepang and Wangkang.”
328 VOC Makassar 8194, f. 95-96.
was willing to punish all those under his dominion who violate the laws of the Company, including the Sama Bajo. Yet, in the following months and years, reports of Sama Bajo fleets operating “illegally” in Maluku and Papua continued to stream into Makassar unabated, such as one report in 1735 of thirty orembai vessels piloted by Sama Bajo “under the command of the King of Gowa” that were encountered around Paputi and Laulata on the north coast of Seram.  

What the Dutch understood to be “unbounded wandering” (licentieuse zwerven) by Sama Bajo seafarers, however, was actually a part of a long history of calculated movements through familiar seascapes that encompassed important fishing grounds, friendly and hostile villages, resource-rich islands, economic opportunities, as well as spiritually potent places. This mobility was absolutely integral to the functioning and maintenance of the trepang trade as a whole. The Sama Bajo possessed the intimate knowledge of the seas necessary to locate and exploit the numerous trepang grounds dispersed throughout the archipelago, and this familiarity was acquired through their wide-ranging movements through these waters. There is no doubt that when trepang came to be commercially valuable in the end of the seventeenth century, it would have been the Sama Bajo who best knew where the particularly rich stocks of holothurians were to be found. Even though Sama Bajo peoples themselves did not consume trepang, their rich knowledge of local marine biology surely would have included wisdom regarding the profusion of trepang found in the waters where they pursued other sea creatures. It is equally plausible as well, that the Sama Bajo were the progenitors of much knowledge regarding the collection of trepang and the various techniques needed to exploit the numerous species in the diversity of habitats where they are found.

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329 VOC Makassar 8199, f. 598-602; GM IX: 345. The *VOC Glossarium* describes the orembai or orembaai as “a name originally only used in the Moluccas for a high, keeled vessel, without outriggers that is rowed and steered by paddlers. The orembaai outfitted for carrying passengers had a substantial woven roof in the middle, under which the passengers sat, and atop were one or more gong players. The latter provided the pace for the rowers…The word orembaai is probably a corruption of the Malay term “rembaya” or “ceremonial vessel.”” *VOC Glossarium: Verklaringen van Termen, Verzameld uit de Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiiën die Betrekking Hebben op de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (Den Haag: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 2000), 83. *cf.* Goodman, “Sololot,” 100.
One such technique developed by the Sama Bajo, and which seems to have spread to other ethnic groups engaged in trepang fishing in areas where Sama Bajo peoples settled or visited frequently, was the use of the ladung, or ladung ballaq (trepang ladung, sometimes said as ladoh). The ladung ballaq consists of a wooden shaft with up to three barbed tips, often made of iron, attached to a length of rope and weighted with a heavy iron or other sinker to help it descend more rapidly. In skilled hands the ladung is highly effective in catching trepang even at great depths and its use in the trepang fishery likely developed out of the prior use of similar tackle designed to catch sea turtles (ladung kulitang). Although Sopher believed the Sama Bajo obtained the ladung from “their Bugis associates,” the distribution of the ladung and historical documentation of its use suggest otherwise. Nineteenth-century European sources describe variations of the ladung in trepang fisheries all over the archipelago, such as the Kangean islands, eastern Borneo, all areas of Sulawesi, Maluku, Papua, Flores, and so forth; all places long frequented by Sama Bajo peoples, and in each instance its use is described in relation to Sama Bajo. In the 1880s, for example, de Clerq noted the skill with which Sama Bajo fishers of Kayoa (North Maluku) deployed the ladung: “Typically, the fishermen will never miss the Holothurians at a depth of ten fathoms. In calm weather they will throw the harpoon [ladung] as deep as twenty fathoms and catch smaller types of tripang, the body completely impaled on the iron barb; when the water is slightly rippled they flatten the surface by spitting the chewed, oil-rich kernel of a coconut onto [the sea surface]. In this way they can see their prey better.”

330 Sopher, Sea Nomads, 246-247. Sopher gives no sense as to how he came to think the ladung was introduced technology. Immediately prior to this claim, however, he notes in passing that the ladung was also in use among the Sama Bajo fishers of the Sapudi Archipelago (Kangean), who, he believes, were “recent immigrants from Celebes.” Yet, we know from oral and written records that the earliest known ancestors of the Sama Bajo populations of Kangean came from Makassar in the period of the Makassar War, and that Bugis influence on those communities was limited and more often antagonistic until a more recent period.


In addition to the use of specialized tackle like the *ladung*, Sama Bajo fishers utilized a variety of other methods to collect trepang, each rooted in accumulated knowledge of the habitats and habits of the sea creatures, as well as in their mastery of the sea environment. Sama Bajo fishers put their renowned skills as divers to good use in the hunt for trepang. Able to dive to depths of over twenty fathoms and remain under water for several minutes, Sama Bajo divers were exceptional in their ability to harvest the more expensive varieties of trepang that populated deeper waters. *Nubbaq*, or gleaning the shallows and inshore areas exposed by the tide, is another important and effective means of collecting trepang as well as a variety of other marine produce. Vosmaer was under the impression that this was the domain of women and children, but it was not uncommon then or now for men to also engage in *nubbaq*, especially during lengthy *pongkeq* ventures to distant catchment areas.\(^{333}\) Whether one simply picked up the trepang lying on the sandy bottom while foraging in the shallows, or used a trident or other instrument to spear the creatures, *nubbaq* required a specialized knowledge of intertidal-zone ecology and was an effective means of collecting certain shallow water species of trepang wherever one encountered suitable conditions. Trepang was also gathered at night, especially during certain phases of the lunar cycle, using a torch to light the seas around one’s dugout or in front of one’s feet if used during *nubbaq*. This method, known as *nyulu*, targets those species of trepang that inch their way out from rocky or coral hideaways at night onto the sandy seafloor or into seagrass beds in order to feed. Celia Lowe describes this method as she witnessed it during her stay with Sama Bajo communities of the Togean archipelago (Tomini Bay). According to Lowe, one species, *gamma batu*, is particularly abundant “every month during the pitch black of the twenty-seventh moon” (*bulang duampulupitu*), when it “stands up to spawn with its sucker feet attached to a rock while the other end sways erotically in the current,” and Sama Bajo fishers capitalize on these natural rhythms to collect the species in large quantities.\(^{334}\)

\(^{333}\) Vosmaer, “Korte beschrijving,” 153.

\(^{334}\) Lowe, *Wild Profusion*, 83-84.
It is this sort of knowledge of trepang habits, habitats, and spawning cycles, rooted in an intimate relationship with the sea, which made the Sama Bajo the core of the trepang fishery. Numerous other communities throughout eastern Indonesia certainly took part in the gathering of trepang, but few did so with the mobility, skill, and success of the Sama Bajo. Early eighteenth century sources make it clear that neighboring communities, especially the Makassarese and Bugis, recognized the Sama Bajo as a primary source of trepang. For the Dutch too, “tripang fishers” or “tripang collectors” were terms practically interchangeable with “Badjo Lauwt” or “Toeridjene” (Sama Bajo). The mobile, sea-centered culture of the Sama Bajo, and their unrivalled familiarity with a vast expanse of fishing grounds and resource zones gave them a unique advantage in the trepang trade networks. This, in turn, ensured the continued importance of the Sama Bajo for landed communities and kingdoms and centers of trade. Indeed, the fortunes of certain centers of trade, like Makassar, or Kendari Bay on the east coast of Sulawesi in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, were heavily dependent on the flow of trepang into their roadstead, and so great importance was placed on their relationships with the Sama Bajo.335 In this respect, it is clear how the long-standing alliance between Gowa-Talloq and the Papiq polity, as well as that between Bone and the Lolo Bajo polity, assured a steady flow of trepang to these south Sulawesi kingdoms and prosperity to all involved.

**The Trade in Terrestrial Goods**

While the trade in sea products was extremely important to the survival and status of the Sama Bajo, their sea-centered culture did not preclude the Sama Bajo’s involvement in the shipment and trade of terrestrial goods. To the contrary, their remarkable skills as seafarers and their longstanding involvement in numerous local and regional trade networks made the Sama Bajo important to the circulation of goods collected from the land as well as those harvested from the seas. As described

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335 Velthoen notes a particularly good example of this in the nineteenth century, when the Sultan of Buton forewarned the Sama Bajo living in Kendari of his plan to send Tobelo raiders to attack the settlement there so as to not disturb the trepang trade. Velthoen, “Contested Coastlines,” 249.
above, Sama Bajo groups from Sulawesi and areas of Nusa Tenggara frequently conducted extensive multipurpose voyages that often combined the hunt for marine goods with the pursuit of spices, wax, sago, rice, slaves, and other hinterland commodities. In the case of cloves, nutmeg and mace, in particular, some scholars suggest that the Sama Bajo were involved in the shipment of these spices between Maluku and points north and west from at least the fourteenth century, and here I will demonstrate that they continued to be an important vehicle for the movement of “illegal” spices long after the Dutch attempted to monopolize the spice trade in the first half of the seventeenth century. Much as in the case of sea products, land commodities formed an important part of the Sama Bajo’s links to local and regional trade networks long after the Dutch conquest of Makassar, thus reinforcing their valued position among landed kingdoms. Indeed, as the Dutch steadily increased their efforts at restricting navigation and controlling trade in key goods in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Sama Bajo, and the clandestine entrepots on the peripheries of Dutch control like Pota and Bajoé became all the more crucial to Gowa-Talloq and Bone.

**Forest Products**

Even though certain forest commodities were never valued as highly as cloves, nutmeg, mace, or pepper, these products were nevertheless important to local, regional, and international trade networks from a very early period. Wax, for example, was a key commodity in coastal-hinterland exchange networks across island and mainland Southeast Asia, and was a prominent export item in trade with China.336 In the areas frequented by Sama Bajo wax was obtained from inland communities in eastern Indonesia, and parts of eastern Borneo, Flores, Timor, and the Solor-Alor archipelago were central to the production and trade in wax.337

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eastern Borneo, Sama Bajo groups living in estuarine villages along the coast paddled upriver to meet with forest dwellers and exchange dried fish, salt, textiles, and other goods for wax, resins, and other forest products. The Sama Bajo then brought these goods along with their sea products downriver to markets in Berau, Pasir, Kutai and Banjarmasin, and across the Makassar Strait to southwest Sulawesi. In eastern Sulawesi inland “Alfurese” communities brought the wax and other goods to Tobungku on the east coast of Sulawesi in exchange for textiles, glassware and pottery. Bugis, Chinese, Sama Bajo, and other traders then brought the commodities to Makassar, Ternate, or Buton, or to ports outside Dutch control such as Bajoé. VOC reports suggest that Sama Bajo and other Sulawesian traders also carried out an “illegal” trade with Banda, sailing into the Southwestern Islands annually to get wax and tortoiseshell, which were then “smuggled” into Makassar, Kampung Bugis, and very likely Bajoé.

The Nusa Tenggara region was another rich source of wax. On voyages to Timor and the islands of the Solor-Alor archipelago, Sama Bajo procured a variety of marine goods in addition to obtaining wax and other terrestrial goods at coastal trading sites. On the island of Solor and Alor sojourning Sama Bajo groups provided local communities with fish and other sea products, machetes (parang), textiles, and arak in exchange for wax and provisions. The island of Timor also provided good quantities of wax for Sama Bajo and other Sulawesian traders from a very early
period.\textsuperscript{344} From at least the 1630s, the ruler of Talloq sent an annual fleet of five or more ships to subject domains on Timor, such as Ade, to collect tribute in slaves and wax and to conduct trade with the local population.\textsuperscript{345} It is likely that Sama Bajo of the Papuq polity would have participated in these royally commissioned expeditions. In the years after Gowa-Talloq’s defeat in the Makassar War, Sama Bajo and Makassarese sailors continued to sail to Timor’s shores to obtain wax and other goods from local populations, not only in exchange for fish but textiles and other goods as well.\textsuperscript{346}

Company reports describe how these Sama Bajo used their knowledge of the local seascape to “smuggle” the wax and other commodities into Makassar and other south Sulawesi markets, hiding in various small bays and inlets along their journey to evade Dutch patrols, and traveling up rivers and creeks near Makassar and other areas to avoid detection.\textsuperscript{347} The islands scattered along the southwest coast of Sulawesi, long a Sama Bajo stronghold, were again important nodes in the clandestine movement of these goods.\textsuperscript{348} Despite such skilled efforts at evasion, in 1727 the Dutch cruisers \textit{De Oppas} and \textit{De Casuaris} captured a group of Sama Bajo “smugglers” returning home from Timor. Through interrogation and likely torture, the Company harbormaster Jan Landsheer learned that these “vile vagabonds of the sea” hailed from Cenrana Bone (western Gulf of Bone) and carried a cargo of eleven pikul of wax and other unspecified goods they had acquired in Timor and intended to smuggle into Kampung Bugis, nearby Fort Rotterdam.\textsuperscript{349} Writing to Batavia after this and several other similar incidents involving the Sama Bajo, Governor Gobius likened the Sama Bajo to the “worker bees” of Gowa-Talloq and Bone and complained that this sort of illicit trade was rampant, saying that, “over time, the

\textsuperscript{344} De Roever, \textit{De jacht op sandelhout}, 175-177.
\textsuperscript{346} VOC Timor 1867, f.14-15.
\textsuperscript{347} VOC Makassar 8192, f.248-250; VOC Makassar 8193, f.307.
\textsuperscript{348} VOC Makassar 8198, f.111.
\textsuperscript{349} VOC Makassar 8192, f.16-17, 248-259.
mastery of all sources of sustenance has been left to these foreigners.” Such illicit trade in wax and other essentials was especially lucrative for Sama Bajo traders and their allies, while detrimental to Dutch interests. According to Gobius, the ruler of Bone at the time, Batari Toja Matinroé ri Tippulué (r.1714-1715, 1724-1738, 1741-1749), had gone so far as to forbid her subjects from going to Fort Rotterdam without her consent. They were forced to go to Kampung Bugis and elsewhere to “obtain their necessities from private traders, who consist principally of Wajorese, Bugis, and Toridjeners [Sama Bajo], who bring everything from Timor and elsewhere and fix the price.”

The Lolo Bajo surely had a hand in the contraband trade described by Gobius, particularly in regard to those goods that were transshipped through Bajoé and on behalf of the ruler in Bone.

The trade in wax was lucrative for the Papuq polity and its allies in Gowa-Talloq as well. Prior to the latter’s defeat in the Makassar War, large quantities of wax came from Sandao to Makassar and comprised a significant volume of that port’s exports to areas such as Java, Melaka, and Macau. Even after 1669, the Sandao region continued to be an important source of wax and other goods for Makassar, so much so that when Batavia forbade navigation to Manggarai in the 1750s, Dutch officials in Makassar requested that the prohibition be lifted before the coming of the west monsoon because household necessities like wax and oil, previously imported from Manggarai, had become terribly scarce. In Sandao, inland Manggarai peoples collected wax from the forested interior and brought it to the seaboard markets of Pota, Reo, and Bari, which remained under the control of the Papuq until the late eighteenth century. The Sama Bajo also gathered the wax themselves from the numerous offshore islands that served as important fishing grounds and settlement areas. In the markets of Sandao, the wax along with numerous other goods gathered from all over the archipelago, were made available to a diverse group of traders, including Makassarese, Bugis, Chinese, Malay, Javanese, Portuguese, and Dutch burghers, who then transshipped the goods to

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350 VOC Makassar 8192, f.245; GM VIII: 77; VOC Makassar 8193, f.307.
351 Noorduyn, “De handelsrelaties,” 120.
352 GM XIII: 28; VOC Makassar 8321, f.192-193, 258-259; VOC Makassar 8232, f.45.
353 VOC Makassar 1453, f.145r.
Makassar, Batavia and elsewhere. When the VOC sent a Company representative to Pota and Reo in 1688 in order to assess the trading possibilities there, the representative complained in his report to Makassar that he was prevented from purchasing larger quantities of slaves and wax due to “Makassarese” interference. Though we lack precise information on any sort of taxes or duties the Papuq may have imposed on commerce in these ports, the sources do clearly demonstrate that the Papuq oversaw the trade activity on the coast of Sandao and wielded great authority over local and foreign traders. Furthermore, the manuscripts of the Sultanate of Bima record that the Papuq and his representatives received annual tribute from subject dalu (local polities) on Manggarai, which included quantities of wax. The ruler of Gowa too benefited from the longstanding relationship with the Papuq, not only by the maintenance of trade links between Sandao and Makassar long after the fall of that port to the Dutch, but also in the form of tribute given by the Sama Bajo, which in 1727 was said to amount to ten pikul of various commodities, including wax.

The entrepots of Sandao also furnished merchants with a variety of other commodities obtained from the forests of interior Flores. Along with teak and other hardwoods, one such forest product was cassia lignea, a type of wild cinnamon that was widely used as a spice, a medicine, as well as to produce oils and soaps. Scattered reports from the early seventeenth century suggest that a large portion of cassia lignea in the markets of Makassar and Batavia came from the Sandao region. Early Dutch and English sources, for example, report that cassia lignea, or

\[354 \text{VOC Makassar 1453, f.144v.}
355 \text{VOC Makassar 8183, f.151-152. Refer also to the sources listed in chapter three.}
356 \text{Bo’ Sangaji Kai, 140.}
357 \text{VOC Makassar 8194, f.134. After the Sultanate of Bima succeeded in wresting control of the Bari, Reo and Pota from the Papuq in the late eighteenth century, the Dutch reported that at least a quarter of the Sultan’s wax supply derived from the tribute payments of subject Manggarai dalu. ANRI Makassar 256, f. 36.}
358 \text{VOC Glossarium, 28; Sir George Watt, } \text{A Dictionary of the Economic Products of India}, \text{ vol.2 (Calcutta: Government Printing, India, 1889), 319-322. In the mid-eighteenth century the Dutch considered cassia lignea, sometimes also spelled as cassia linga, to be an inferior but valuable form of cinnamon, but this was not the case in earlier periods. As De Roever notes, “the Flores cinnamon [cassia lignea] was then considered a better sort than the product of Ceylon, as Van Dieman wrote to the homeland.” In1632, the trade in Flores cassia lignea had a profit potential of 150,000 guilders. De Roever, } \text{De jacht op de sandelhout}, \text{ 318, fn. 615.}
“Endeneese canneel” (Flores cinnamon) as it was sometimes called, was among the many products that Makassarese and likely Sama Bajo traders loaded at various points along Flores’s north coast, as well as at Ende off the southeastern coast. The coastal villages of the Maumere region of northeast Flores, such as Geliting and Buréh (Wuring), were also an important source of cassia lignea for Makassar prior to the Makassar War. Both areas were long considered tributaries of Gowa-Talloq and were listed in a Makassarese manuscript as being among the many subject territories (paqrasangang) of Sandao that the Papuq governed on behalf of Gowa-Talloq.359 There, as well as in Pota and Reo, traders from Makassar acquired cargoes of bundled cassia lignea bark, which they then shipped to Makassar to be sold to English, Portuguese, Dutch, Chinese, and other merchants.360 The rulers of Gowa-Talloq also invested in this trade and sent their own ships onward to Batavia carrying cassia lignea, tortoiseshell, slaves, rice, and other goods collected in the eastern archipelago.361 In the mid-seventeenth century, however, cassia lignea was listed among the many commodities that the VOC had excluded from authorized private trade and shipment.362

In an effort to make inroads into the cassia lignea trade in Flores, in 1675 the VOC signed a contract with the Sultan of Bima, I Ambela Abi’l Khair Sirajuddin, who was eager to present himself to the Dutch as the true overlord of Manggarai instead of the Papuq and Gowa-Talloq. The contract stipulated that the sultan would control the trade in cassia lignea, wax, sappanwood, and tortoiseshell within his domain, prevent Makassarese and other “foreign” access to these goods, make the Company the “preferred buyer” of cassia lignea bark, and destroy all cassia lignea trees growing outside permitted areas.363 The Sultan’s extirpation policy and ban on the cassia lignea trade was apparently effective in areas controlled by dalu loyal to Bima, so much so that even over a century later in 1855 the Dutch trader J.P. Freijss

359 These rappang are found in KITLV Or.545, no.233. See also discussion in chapter three.
360 De Roever, De Jacht op Sandelhout, 223, 224, 227.
361 GM I: 614.
362 Knaap, Shallow Waters, 136.
was unable to purchase cassia lignea from inland Manggarai on account of the Sultan’s embargo.\textsuperscript{364} Despite the Sultan of Bima’s bold claims over Manggarai and its trade goods, the Papuq continued to govern large tracts of the coastal region of northwest Flores for nearly a century after the 1675 contract was signed and would most likely have continued the export of cassia lignea and other products as before.

“\textit{The Company’s Precious Spices}”

Of all the forest products carried by Sama Bajo and Makassarese traders during this period, of greatest importance were cloves, nutmeg, and mace from Maluku. As discussed in chapter one, the involvement of Sama speaking peoples in the shipment of Malukan spices to areas of the western archipelago may date to the ninth century CE. Blust suggests that Sama Bajo living in southeast Borneo worked alongside Sriwijayan Malays to ship spices from Maluku to the Straits of Melaka, following either a northern route which passed through Manado in North Sulawesi, Sulu, and Brunei before reaching the Straits, or a southern route which passed through Kupang at west Timor before traveling westward along the south coast of the Nusa Tenggara islands to Java.\textsuperscript{365} In later periods for which we have slightly more evidence, the Sama Bajo continued their important role in the spice trade as allies of early Makassarese polities like Bantaeng, which served as an important commercial thoroughfare for the spice trade between Majapahit Java and Maluku in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. According to Bougas, this seaborne trade was mostly in the hands of Javanese, Malays, and Sama Bajo traders, the latter of which had by this time become settled in the Makassarese littoral and offshore islands.\textsuperscript{366}

In the early sixteenth century a number of factors served to make Makassar the central entrepot of the spice trade and this would have also increased Sama Bajo activity in the transshipment of spices and other goods from the east. Prior to its conquest by the Dutch, Makassar enjoyed a regular supply of spices from Maluku,

\textsuperscript{364} J.P. Freijss, “Reizen naar Mangarai en Lombok in 1854-1856,” \textit{TITLV} 9 (1860), 472-473.
\textsuperscript{366} Bougas, “Bantayan,” 89-90.
which, along with various other commodities, attracted traders from all over the archipelago as well as Arabs, Indians, Chinese, English, Dutch, Portuguese, Danes, and other foreign merchants. Each year as many as 100-150 Sulawesian vessels, undoubtedly including those with Sama Bajo captains and/or crew, sailed eastward to the various spice-producing islands of Maluku bringing Indian textiles, iron implements, and other items to exchange for spices. The rulers of Gowa-Talloq were well invested in this trade. Karaeng Matoaya of Talloq sent several of his own ships to Ambon and Seram each year, as did his son who succeeded him as Karaeng Talloq in 1623. Beginning in the 1620s, the VOC took steps to implement a monopoly over the spice trade in Maluku, and the Dutch quickly came to see the “smuggling” of spices into Makassar as the main threat to their enterprise. Company ships blockaded Makassar’s port on several occasions in the 1630s and again in the 1650s, which prompted the rulers of Gowa-Talloq to station three hundred Makassarese vessels to the north and south of the roadstead in order to protect the spice-bearing ships arriving from Maluku each day. In order to further enforce their monopoly and take control of the spice supply at its source, in 1652 the Company implemented an extirpation campaign in Maluku and Buton to destroy all spice trees except for those growing in a few approved locations. The limited success of the blockades and the Company’s extirpation policy, however, led the VOC to take far more drastic measures, including military campaigns that ultimately led to the conquest of Gowa-Talloq in the Makassar War of 1666-1669. Although some scholars have suggested that after 1643 the flow of spices to Makassar “died away to a trickle and the Dutch monopoly was never seriously challenged again,” there is ample evidence to suggest that within a few years after the signing of the

367 KITLV H 817: 169. Knaap and Sutherland offer a more conservative estimate of no more than 75 vessels each year, but this is based on numbers of registered vessels to Central Maluku. If we take at face value VOC reports on the Makassar spice trade on the eve of the Makassar War, then 100-150 ships per year is highly plausible. One such report notes the daily arrival in Makassar’s roadstead of boats from Ambon via eastern Seram in the mid-1600s. Heeres and Tiele, Bouwstoffen, vol.2, 256.
368 VOC Makassar 1127, f.578rv; VOC Makassar 1221, f.235r-236r.
370 Andaya, World of Maluku, 167.
Bungaya Contract, the spice trade began anew and would continue throughout the eighteenth century, albeit at reduced volume and frequency.371

Not long after the war’s end, local and foreign traders resumed their lucrative trade activities, transporting “illegal” spices from areas of Maluku westward along clandestine routes that evaded Dutch patrols. Already in 1701 we find lengthy reports by frustrated Company officials describing the “smuggling” of spices carried out by traders of various communities along routes both new and old. Along with ships captained by Bugis, Wajoq, Makassarese, Malays, and traders from Seram, Sama Bajo captains sailed into increasingly dangerous waters to carry the fragrant contraband into Makassar or to ports outside Dutch control. With the increased risks involved in bringing these goods into Dutch Makassar, secondary trade centers such as Pota and Reo in Sandao, Allas on Sumbawa, Bajoé in the Gulf of Bone, and those in the Tukangbesi archipelago took on added importance as markets for goods brought by the Sama Bajo. The latter’s involvement in this “smuggling” trade in the eighteenth century was extensive and contributed to the success of these secondary centers of trade and benefited their allies in Gowa-Talloq and Bone. The Sama Bajo proved invaluable in maintaining preexisting local and regional trade networks that linked these two kingdoms to the resources and secondary trade centers of eastern Indonesia, despite VOC restrictions.

In the face of VOC imposed prohibitions on navigation to Maluku and areas of Nusa Tenggara in the wake of the Makassar War, Sama Bajo and other Sulawesian fleets sailed defiantly into these familiar areas and continued to operate within traditional trade networks. By the turn of the century the Dutch had already begun to hear of Sama Bajo and other traders who sailed out from the Sanrabone River and out from the Gulf of Bone, headed south to Selayar and Flores, and east to Maluku as they had done for centuries before the war.372 Dutch cruisers patrolled these areas


372 VOC Makassar 1663, f.156-159.
in effort to intercept native vessels sailing in forbidden waters or those operating without a Company-issued pass, but with minimal success. The very real threat of arrest and the loss of cargo if caught forced Sama Bajo and other traders to adapt to use alternative routes to avoid Dutch patrols. This they did admirably because of their intimate knowledge of the surrounding seascape. Their skill in navigating the dangerously shallow inshore waters, so vital to their pursuit of sea products, also enabled them to easily evade the deep-draught VOC cruise pencalang, such as in 1731 when over a hundred Sama Bajo and Makassarese vessels were spotted in the waters off Aru and the Dutch vessel was forced to watch them escape as they could not pursue the vessels into the shallows.373

The frequent appearance of Sama Bajo vessels in the waters of Maluku and the Papuan islands was particularly distressing for the Dutch. Here the Sama Bajo, along with Makassarese and Bugis traders, obtained spices from various local sources and transported them along a number of different routes to Sulawesi ports and secondary entrepots on Flores and Sumbawa. Many of the Sama Bajo involved in the spice trade also engaged in fishing, hunting for turtle, and diving for trepang in the rich maritime environment of Maluku and Papua. For some Sama Bajo traders, the spices would have been just one of the various trade goods obtained from this area. Sama Bajo and other traders came annually to Keffing in east Seram to acquire spices from the local community and then shipped them westward along a familiar passage to Parigi by way of Tomini Bay, which was another important area of Sama Bajo settlement. From there the spices followed a similar route as tortoiseshell, traveling overland with Bugis and other traders to Palu in central Sulawesi and then on to Mandar before transshipment to Makassar or to eastern Borneo and points west.374 Others stopped short of Tomini Bay and offloaded their spices in Tobungku.375

In the last decades of the seventeenth century, Company officials became increasingly concerned with another route that led from central and southern

372 GM IX: 258-259.
373 Andaya, *World of Maluku*, 205; See also, VOC Makassar 8184, f.25-26; VOC Ternate, 2099, f. 7-8; VOC Ternate 2191, f.1021, 1028-1030.
Maluku through Tukangbesi or Kalengsusu in southeast Sulawesi and eventually to Bajoé and other destinations to the west. This route would have been particularly important for the Lolo Bajo polity and its allies in Bone.\textsuperscript{376} Sama Bajo and numerous other trading communities either sailed directly to Seram to obtain spices or met with Seram traders at the islands of Kaledupa and Wanci in the Tukangbesi archipelago, where various goods from the eastern islands were on offer in addition to Malukan spices, including Papuan slaves, bird’s of paradise, copra, coconut oil, and sago. These were exchanged mostly for Tobungku \textit{parang}, Indian and local cloth, rice, and Chinese earthenware.\textsuperscript{377} From Tukangbesi, many of these Sama Bajo and other traders returned west, sailing into the Gulf of Bone and landing at Bajoé, where Malays from Johor and elsewhere, Chinese, Wajorese, Mandarese, Makassarese, Bugis, and other merchants came to purchase the spices along with the marine products and other goods collected in the eastern archipelago.\textsuperscript{378} As the VOC stepped up its campaign to extirpate illegal spice trees in Tukangbesi and increased sea patrols in the area during this period, a portion of this trade network shifted northwest, where Kalengsusu on the east coast of Buton served as a similar intermediary port before moving onward to Bajoé.\textsuperscript{379} From Bajoé the cloves, nutmeg, and mace from Seram, Tukangbesi, Tobungku, and other areas in the east were transshipped to Makassar, but a significant portion of that supply went overland to the Mandar coast of west Sulawesi before being shipped onward to Pasir, Banjarmasin, or Johor.\textsuperscript{380} As a primary center of the Lolo Bajo polity, the Lolo Bajo oversaw all trade carried out on Bajoé’s shores during this period and would have benefited both politically and financially from the spices and other goods brought there by his or her subjects and other traders, as did the Arumpone.

\textsuperscript{376} GM V: 199.
\textsuperscript{377} VOC Makassar 4852, f.19-20; VOC Makassar 1535, f.534rv; VOC Makassar 8181, f.221, 268, 271-273.
\textsuperscript{378} A Bugis informant told the VOC Governor in Makassar that Seram traders also sailed Bajoé to exchange their spices for many of the same goods that Sama Bajo and Bugis traders brought to Seram, Tukangbesi, and Kalengsusu. VOC Makassar 8181, f.221, 271; GM VI: 837; VOC Makassar 8084, f.95-96; VOC Makassar 8230, f.63-64; VOC Makassar 7948, f. 287-289.
\textsuperscript{379} VOC Makassar 4852, f.20-21; VOC Makassar 1759. f.147-149; VOC Makassar 1775, f.252-283; VOC Makassar 8183, f.148-154; VOC Makassar 8184, f, 25-26.
\textsuperscript{380} VOC Makassar 8183, f.148-154; VOC Makassar 8184. f, 25-26.
Sama Bajo subjects of the Papuq and Gowa-Talloq were also involved in the shipment of spices from Maluku. The ruler’s longstanding practice of outfitting ships for the voyage to Seram and elsewhere in Maluku, for instance, did not cease with the signing of the treaty in 1669. Almost a half-century after the war’s end the Dutch were still faced with large fleets of Sama Bajo and Makassarese vessels in the forbidden waters of Maluku, such as when a fleet of thirty large vessels piloted by Sama Bajo sailing under the orders of the Sultan of Gowa were encountered off Seram in 1735.381 Although the Sultan feigned ignorance regarding the actions of his Sama Bajo subjects in Maluku, the Dutch were well aware of the Sama Bajo’s involvement in the spice trade. Only three years earlier, Governor Gobius had received disturbing reports in Makassar that the sengaji, or lord, of Patani—a territory of Tidore located in the Gamrange that was known to the Dutch as the home of “the greatest pirates and rogues known in the eastern quarters”—was conducting a thriving trade with Sama Bajo and Makassarese “wanderers” (zwervers) and “smugglers” (morshandeliers), providing them with spices, slaves, and other goods which they then transported to south Sulawesi and Sandao.382 The following year, in 1733, a Company patrol sailing off Sawai clashed with large vessel carrying thirty-five Sama Bajo crewmen suspected of illegal trade in the Company’s precious spices. When asked to show their pass, the Sama Bajo vessel opened fire on the heavily armed Dutch fleet and attempted to flee, only to be cut down by the Dutch cannons.383

A significant portion of the Sama Bajo vessels operating in Maluku on behalf of the Papuq and Gowa-Talloq brought the spices to seabeard trading centers in Sandao under the jurisdiction of the Papuq. The availability of Malukan spices, along with precious sea products, cassia lignea, woods, resins, wax, foodstuffs, and slaves, made intermediary trade centers on Sandao like Pota, Reo, Bari, and others, particularly attractive to private merchants seeking to avoid the monopolistic practices of the VOC. Sama Bajo fleets fanned outward from Sandao and sailed to the

381 GM IX: 345
382 VOC Makassar 8200, f.300-303.
383 GM IX: 486-487
islands of Tukangbesi, Buton, Maluku, and Papua to obtain spices. Many of these voyages were multipurpose in nature, combining the hunt for sea products with other commercial pursuits. Traders from Seram also traveled southwest to the Papiq-controlled ports of Sandao, bringing Malukan spices, along with Papuan slaves, which they traded for textiles, iron weapons from Sulawesi (*loeboese parrangs*), foodstuffs, and other trade goods. Both Tukangbesi and Buton remained important sites of exchange, linking Maluku with Sandao and serving as a meeting place for traders sailing out of both areas.\(^{384}\) Allas and Pulau Moyo, both longstanding areas of Sama Bajo settlement on the northwest coast of Sumbawa, served as further nodes in the exchange networks for traffic traveling further west.\(^{385}\)

In addition to the traffic in spices between Maluku and Sandao, or between Maluku and Bajoé, the Sama Bajo sometimes obtained spices by other means, including cargos salvaged from shipwrecks. Countless ships, both native and European, were wrecked on the dangerous reefs and shoals that abound in the seas of the Indonesian archipelago and their cargo and crew claimed as flotsam.\(^{386}\) On one such occasion, the wreck of a VOC East Indiamen (*Spiegelschepen*) in the reef-strewn waters near Bajoé brought both fortune and misfortune to several Sama Bajo communities of the Lolo Bajo polity. On the first of June 1734, *de Rijksdorp* sailed from Ambon into the Gulf of Bone and was suddenly beset by a strong gale and heavy seas.\(^{387}\) The massive 792-ton East Indiamen struggled to avoid smashing violently into the cliffs that lined the coast but its tackle was unable to hold and the seas eventually pushed the ship ashore, smashing its hull on the reef and rocks and

\(^{384}\) VOC Makassar 1663, f.156-159; VOC Makassar 8181, f.221, 265; VOC Makassar 8184, f. 182-184; VOC Makassar 8084, f.93-97. See also Nagel, *Schlussel zu den Molukken*,” 767-800; Jürgen Nagel, “The Company and the Port City: Trading Centres of the Malay Archipelago and their Role in Commercial Networks during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” in *Spinning the Commercial Web: International Trade, Merchants and Commercial Cities, c.1640-1939* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2004), 261-268.

\(^{385}\) It is likely that Sama Bajo peoples were also involved in events surrounding the wreck of the VOC ship *De Leeuwin* on the island of Doang-Doangang prior to the Makassar War and the subsequent plunder of its valuable cargo. As discussed in chapters one and two, according to oral and written traditions Doang-Doangang is one of the early settlement areas of the Sama Bajo in the southwest Sulawesi region.

\(^{387}\) The details of the wreck of *de Rijksdorp* are found most fully in VOC Makassar 8204, f.435-437, 440-575, VOC Makassar 8206, f.114-116, VOC Batavia 2298, f.1199v, and GM IX: 588, 597.
spilling its cargo of 179,000 lbs of cloves into the sea. Not long after the wreck, several Sama Bajo boats from Bajoé and perhaps other nearby villages set upon the ship, stripping its frame of all salvageable wood, line, sail, tackle, ironwork, and armaments, and retrieving what they could from the seafloor. Though most of the precious spices were lost to the sea, the Sama Bajo were also able to recover almost 5500 lbs of cloves from the wreck. Company officials in Makassar soon learned of the wreck, though obviously more slowly than the Sama Bajo of Bajoé, and dispatched three vessels to salvage what they could. These ships too were battered about by the sea and were forced to retreat before retrieving anything.388

On the seventeenth of June, however, the Company Sergeant at Bulukumba received word that a large quantity of cloves was seen in a Sama Bajo village on Pulau Kambuno, roughly 30 nm to the south of Bajoé. The Company quickly sent a delegation from Makassar to the small island, where they found some spices, the ship’s rigging, and all sorts of other items in piles covered by the ship’s sailcloth. The Sama Bajo, however, were not willing to give up their spoils and as soon as the Dutch Sergeant stooped to inspect the spices, “as many as three hundred men sprung from the vessels [that surrounded the village] and stood before him, their hand on their keris…” According to the report, the Dutchmen attempted to convince the men “with sweet words” to return the goods but were “rejected with brutality, saying that because they had found the goods, it was theirs and they wished to hear nothing further.” 389 Unable to retrieve the salvaged spices and rigging by peaceful means, Governor Sautijn enlisted the assistance of the Arumpone, Batari Toja Matinroé ri Tippulué, in forcing her Sama Bajo subjects to return the “stolen” items. With the Arumpone’s help, and no doubt through the intervention of the Lolo Bajo, the Company was eventually able to retrieve some of the Rijksdorp rigging and a portion of its cargo of spices. The remaining spices were traded within a network of Sama Bajo and Bugis villages that spanned the Gulf of Bone’s western shore, including Bajoé.390

389 VOC Makassar 8204, f. 495-497.
390 GM X: 503.
The Slave Trade

Throughout the period under study, slavery and the slave trade were ever-present features of Southeast Asian societies. Land was relatively abundant across the region, and thus for local rulers the accumulation and control of manpower was a far more important objective in warfare than was the expansion and defense of one’s territorial borders. Slave labor was a crucial foundation for local social and political systems, in that it was vital to food production, construction, military power, and it provided the manpower necessary to sustain the elite ruling classes. To fill this great demand slaves were acquired through warfare, village raids, criminal punishment, inherited status, debt, obligation, and other means. However, the distinction between these various forms of servitude and statuses are further complicated by the local contexts.391 In Indonesia, the slave trade was a very old institution, and slaves circulated through extensive seaborne trade networks that spanned the archipelago.392

Throughout the early modern period, Makassar occupied an important position in these extensive slave-trading networks as both a source of slaves as well as a transshipment point for slaves from other areas of eastern Indonesia, especially from east and southeast Sulawesi and the Nusa Tenggara region. Internal conflicts, in southwest Sulawesi itself as well as in more distant lands, also produced a regular supply of war captives that provided manpower for local rulers and filled the bustling slave market in Makassar, where men, women, and children were bought and sold by local elites and foreign merchants. Predatory raids on villages and ships at sea were another profitable enterprise practiced widely in eastern Indonesia, and victims from these incursions were sold and exchanged at various points along a

391 The best essays on Southeast Asian slavery and the scholarly debates surrounding its definition can still be found in the edited volume, *Slavery, Bondage, and Dependency in Southeast Asia*, edited by Anthony Reid and Jennifer Brewster (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1983).

392 Rather than engaging in the complex debate on the definition and parameters of slavery in Southeast Asian contexts, my intention here is simply to highlight the important role of the Sama Bajo in the extensive slave-trading networks of eastern Indonesia during the early modern period, and thus I will employ the generalized definition of a slave used by Sutherland: “Slave refers those who ‘belonged’ to someone, who had limited social and legal rights, and could be bought and sold.” Heather Sutherland, “Slavery and the Slave Trade in South Sulawesi, 1660s-1800s,” in *Slavery, Bondage, and Dependency in Southeast Asia*, edited by Anthony Reid and Jennifer Brewster (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1983), 263.
chain of collecting centers that linked distant islands and intermediary markets to Makassar. During the period in which Gowa and Talloq established their hegemony over much of Sulawesi’s southwest peninsula, the numerous military conquests undertaken against neighboring polities frequently entailed the enslavement of entire communities. In this time of expansion, Gowa and Talloq’s war fleets also undertook overseas expeditions to areas of Maluku, Sumbawa, Flores, and Timor to enforce its status as overlord, and these ships often returned with large numbers of war captives, such as in 1641 when the Talloq fleet purportedly returned with as many as 4000 slaves from Oecussi on the north coast of Timor, or a 1665 expedition to the Sula islands off of East Sulawesi that returned to Makassar with as many as 1500 slaves.393 These conquered populations were often made to work on irrigation projects, the building of fortifications, and to serve as soldiers of the ruler’s army.394

With the commercial and political growth of the VOC in the early seventeenth century and their “endless need for labor,” the Dutch became an increasingly important element in the slave-trading networks of eastern Indonesia. In her study of slavery in Makassar and eastern Indonesia, Heather Sutherland has suggested that Dutch participation stimulated the growth of preexisting indigenous networks and slave gathering activities intensified to fill the increased demand.395 The slave-trading network centered on Makassar grew increasingly attuned to the swelling demand for slaves. Accordingly, in the early eighteenth century the majority of slaves bought and sold in Makassar were transshipped to areas of the western archipelago, with the largest numbers of these slaves destined for Batavia and the pepper gardens of southern Borneo.396 During this period, Makassar alone supplied an estimated 3000 slaves each year to Batavia, which, according to Sutherland, is “roughly equal to contemporary Dutch exports from West Africa, or Warren’s

393 GM III: 526; Spillet, “Precolonial History of Timor,” 256. This is based on an oral tradition recorded by Spillet in Oecussi, and in reference to the last expedition of Karaeng Talloq Tumammaliang ri Timorq to Timor in 1641. See also, Cummings, Chain of Kings, 91-92; Cumming, Makassar Annals, 58-59.
figures for Sulu.”  This traffic in slaves between Makassar and the western archipelago built on earlier networks that encompassed the eastern Indonesian archipelago and involved numerous groups operating at various levels of the trade. Private individuals of all ethnicities sailed to outlying trade centers to purchase slaves, as did Company officials who purchased slaves to fill Batavia’s order and sometimes also acquired slaves as payment for debts or part of tribute arrangements with local rulers. Within this brutal system, almost anyone could be taken as a slave, and many native communities counted their members among both the enslaving and the enslaved populations.

Slavery was a longstanding part of Sama Bajo culture, just as it was for the Makassarese and Bugis. Linguistic research, for instance, has documented the use of words such as “ata” (slave) and matoaq (elder) in the ancestral language of Sama speakers, showing the existence of slavery and formal social stratification in Sama-speaking communities by the ninth or tenth century. This evidence also suggests that these terms were a component of the culture of Sama speaking peoples prior to their settlement in the south Sulawesi littoral and that slave practices and terms were not adopted from the host Makassarese or Bugis cultures at a later date. Oral traditions also allude to the presence of slaves in Sama Bajo society for a later period. The recurring character of Mboq Panai, who features prominently in several of the iko-iko still circulating throughout eastern Indonesia today, is considered by many to be the archetypal image of a family slave. Though the narratives in which he appears differ widely, in each iko-iko Mboq Panai is presented in such a way that listeners clearly recognize his position as a slave. In iko-iko Daeng Tanjung, for instance, Mboq Panai’s clothing, his speech, and his actions unmistakably position him as a lowly but loyal servant of his master and he is treated accordingly by those of higher status, but he is never explicitly referred to as a slave. The closing section of the LB Lemobajo manuscript, which records many of the laws and

397 Sutherland, “Slavery and the Slave Trade in South Sulawesi,” 270.
398 Pallesen, Cultural Contact, 251.
399 Coincidentally, mid-eighteenth century slave registers produced in Makassar list several “Panaji” or “Panai” among the names of slaves received by the Dutch government. In the 1741 register, for example, the name Panai is associated with slaves from Makassar, Bugis, and Manggarai/Sandao. VOC Makassar 8214, f.314-320.
regulations that governed the Sama Bajo communities in Bajoé and Lemobajo, also
documents the presence of slaves but does so in a more candid and juridical
manner. Several paragraphs of the manuscript pertain to the established bride price
to be paid when a free person (maradeka) marries a slave (ata). The author
describes the manumission of a slave, in which the master (puwanna) first gives
permission to marry and then receives a payment of forty-four real as
compensation. This can be compared to the eighty-eighty real required as the bride
price for the marriage to one of high status.  

Sama Bajo involvement in eastern Indonesian slave-trading networks
appears to have begun at an early period, and appears to have been as successful as
their other seaborne pursuits. The participation of the Sama Bajo in the capture,
transport, and exchange of slaves throughout the early modern period was of great
benefit to both the Papuq and Lolo Bajo polities and to their respective allies. Still,
due to widespread slave raiding and the increased commercial demand for slaves
during this period, in the historical record we find Sama Bajo peoples who served as
slaves as well as those who were slave masters. The record certainly shows that the
Sama Bajo were not simply perpetrators as has been implied in many earlier
commentaries, nor were they simply victims, as more recent scholarship has
suggested.

This diversity of roles and experiences in relation to slavery appears early on
in the histories of Sama Bajo peoples in the southwest Sulawesi littoral. Makassarese
manuscripts record the role of the Papuq in subjugating Talloq’s neighbors on
behalf of the ruler and overseeing the muster of these vanquished communities for
corvée (pappaqngara). But, as we will discuss in the following chapter, they also
record the enslavement of the Sama Bajo of Katingang, Barasaq, Kandea, and the
Barrang Islands by Karaeng Pattingalloang Tumamenang ri Makkoayang of Talloq
(r.1540-1576). These “Bayo Pattingalloang,” as they came to be called, were subjects
of the Papuq polity, but by virtue of their resistance against Talloq they also became
conquered subjects of the Karaeng Talloq. They were made to serve the royal family

400 LB Lemobajo, f.219 (429-430).
and were subject to corvée labor under the Papuq’s supervision. In this and many other examples from the historical record, we encounter the complexity of Sama Bajo involvement in slavery and the slave trade of eastern Indonesia.

From at least the late fifteenth century, if not much earlier, the scattered coastlines and islands to the east of Makassar served as a network of immensely rich fishing grounds, trading zones, and settlement areas for Sama Bajo peoples. As the preceding discussion of Sama Bajo livelihood and trade activities demonstrates, not all voyages during this period were innocent expeditions in search of sea products. Manuscript traditions concerning the earliest recorded Sama Bajo expeditions to these fecund seas and islands instead underscore the violent aspect of this expansion and the important acquisition of strategic outposts and subject populations that resulted. In addition to the Papuq polity’s role in the expansion of Gowa and Talloq’s authority in southwestern Sulawesi, which undoubtedly involved the subjugation and enslavement of numerous communities, these naval voyages to distant lands in eastern Sulawesi, Maluku, and Nusa Tenggara also often involved carrying off hundreds and even thousands of slaves after defeating local forces or terrorizing the population. The sources do not explicitly state whether the Papuq or his followers obtained war captives of their own, but it was common practice in Makassarese and Bugis society for war leaders to receive some of the spoils as reward for their services on behalf of the ruler. Perhaps the most important of these expeditions for the history of the Papuq polity was the conquest of Sandao sometime in the last decades of the 1400s. As discussed in chapter one, as a reward for the Papuq’s role in the conquest, the ruler of Talloq, Tunilabu ri Suriwa, gave the Papuq his choice of lands in Sandao to rule as his own and placed the remaining subject populations under his authority as the representative of Karaeng Talloq. As a result of these events the people of Pota were made the Papuq’s subjects and a portion of the vanquished population was most likely enslaved. More importantly, the victory in Sandao and the subsequent extension of the Papuq’s authority into areas along the northern coast of Flores placed the Papuq in control of areas that would become key sites in the slave-trading networks of the region.
The importance of slaves and the slave trade for Pota and Reo, and for all of Sandao for that matter, is evident in the sources. The earliest references to the Sandao area in Dutch records pertain to either the availability of slaves there, or to the Company’s acquisition and shipment of slaves from there. The earliest VOC ships to voyage to Pota, Reo, and Bari were sent there to investigate the prospects for trade and for the express purpose of obtaining slaves. From the late seventeenth century, the VOC had received regular shipments of slaves, teak, and cassia lignea obtained in Manggarai as payment from the Sultan of Bima. In 1680 the Company administration in Makassar enlisted the Sultan of Bima’s assistance to carry out its own successful trade mission to the north coast harbors of Reo and Pota, where traders from as far afield as Johor had long come to acquire slaves and other goods. Similar trading expeditions were undertaken again in 1686, 1687, and 1688 with the assistance of the Bima court, and each time the Company’s ships returned to Makassar with Manggarai slaves that they had purchased there. The slaves acquired on these ventures were between eighteen and thirty years of age and carried an average purchase price of twenty to twenty-five rixdollars “per piece,” the majority of which purportedly came from inland communities of Manggarai and areas to the east.

On a voyage in 1687/88, it became clear to the official in charge, however, that the Company had much to learn about the trade situation in Sandao. Arriving at

401 The first mention of Manggarai in the Generale Missiven, for example, comes in 1675 and is in reference to the region’s prospects as a source of slaves and cassia lignea for the Company. GM IV:2. Earlier references to Ende in the missives may also be referring to western Flores, as the two are often conflated in the Company reports, and these too are entirely in reference to the slave trade. See, for example, GM I: 142, for a reference from 1624.
402 Based on a late eighteenth century historical manuscript produced in the court of Bima (KITLV Or.404), Dutch linguist and missionary J.A. Verheijen has suggested that the Sama Bajo were the primary carriers of these slaves shipped from Manggarai to Bima. While this may have been the situation in the years after the defeat of the Papuq in the late 1760s, when Sama Bajo peoples in Manggarai and Sape became subjects of Bima (discussed in chapter six), Verheijen’s hypothesis is premised solely on an apparently incorrect interpretation of the transliterated Arabic. Where Verheijen proposes that the three-letter grapheme “jénq” should be read as the Bimanese equivalent to the Makassarese jeqneg (water), and thus a reference to the Turiyeqneq (Sama Bajo), the context in which this title is used in manuscripts suggests that jena or jenali, both of which were common titles for officials in the Bima court, is a perhaps more correct reading. See Jilis A.J. Verheijen, The Sama/Bajau Language in the Lesser Sunda Islands (Canberra: Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University, 1986), 29, 203, f.63.
403 VOC Makassar 1359, f.373v; GM V: 36, 116.
404 VOC Makassar 1414, f.147v; VOC Makassar 1453, f.130r-131v; VOC Makassar 8266, f. 435-445
405 VOC Makassar 1414, f.131v; VOC Makassar 8266, f.442-443.
the beginning of the west monsoon season, the Company ships had come before the peak season of the slave market and Company representatives encountered difficulties with the local "Makassarese" and "Salayarese" community, who apparently worked behind the scenes to sabotage the Dutch’s efforts at trade. The Dutch captain did, however, meet a more sympathetic native trader who offered his advice. This man recommended that the Dutch come in March or April in order to “present their wares” before the end of the harvest season in June and July, when goods were plentiful and internecine conflicts in the interior provided a steady supply of slaves. Along with Salayarese cloth and other textiles, copper wire, *gijllan*, and Luwuq *parang*, the Dutch were told to go first to Bima to purchase buffalo, a highly valued product in the markets of northwest Flores which the Manggarai people were said to “consume as many as many as 100 heads at their feasts.” Yet, despite the rich prospects for slaves in these ports, the Dutch believed it was necessary first to “uproot” the Sulawesians from the coast. Despite the difficulties they faced in Sandao, the VOC continued to acquire a significant portion of its slaves from the markets in the northwestern coast well into the eighteenth century. Large numbers of these slaves were transshipped to key areas of the western archipelago such as Batavia, where their number was supposedly great enough for a portion of the city to be named Manggarai.

Slaves arrived in Sandao markets through various channels. Perhaps the largest numbers came from the Manggarai interior, where inter-*dalu* warfare was reportedly rampant and captives were customarily sold into slavery. Company surgeon Christoffel Nootnagel reported to his superiors in 1687 that, when “the war [between *dalu*] is finished...the fleeing party is chased [and] and those captured during the flight are afterwards sold as slaves.” He went on to add that the Manggarai people “come to start a war or take someone’s life for any petty reason,

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406 VOC Makassar 1453, f. 144v.
407 VOC Makassar 1453, f. 145v.
408 VOC Makassar 1453, f.145r.
409 Records on slave imports and exports in the Makassar Harbormasters’ registers are inconsistent, and lacking altogether for a number of years, but Manggarai is clearly a key source of slaves in those registers that do exist. In 1740, for example, 15% of the slaves sent from Makassar in fulfillment of Batavia’s order for that year were from Manggarai. VOC Makassar 8214, f.314-320. On the district of Batavia named Manggarai, see Coolhaas, “Bijdrage tot de kennis,” 163-165.
even if it were their own kin, and sell the friends afterward.”\textsuperscript{410} The coastal trading communities were “alert” to the rhythm of these inland conflicts and prepared themselves in order to take advantage of the new supply when the slaves were brought to the coast. Another portion of slaves sold in the markets under the Papuq’s control were those captured in brutal raids on coastal villages throughout the Nusa Tenggara region. Sama Bajo and other groups sailed along the coasts of Sumbawa, northern Flores, the Solor-Alor archipelago, and the islands of Timor, Rote, and Savu, attacking local settlements and vessels and carrying off unfortunate victims to be sold into slavery. For the Sama Bajo in particular, the scattered evidence suggests that on occasion large fleets left the Papuq-controlled areas of Sandao and sailed eastward with multiple targets in mind. Once in the desired area these fleets may have dispersed, with some focused on the hunt for sea products and forest commodities, and others targeting slaves. In some instances, a Sama Bajo crew would seek marine goods and other trade items in addition to the purchase of slaves at local markets, such as those on Sumba and Savu, before returning west.\textsuperscript{411}

The distant Papuan islands were yet another source of slaves for the Papuq-controlled markets of Sandao, especially the estuarine settlement of Reo. Seram Laut islanders appear to have been the principal group involved in bringing Papuan slaves to these ports, though the sources unfortunately do not provide any sense of the numbers involved. As mentioned above, during the eighteenth century, Seram traders obtained spices and slaves through raiding and through traditional Sosolot networks that linked Seram to the Papuan islands. They apparently found a ready market in the clandestine entrepots of Pota, Reo, Bari and others on north coast Flores.\textsuperscript{412} Sama Bajo and other traders from Sulawesi, Selayar, and Flores also sailed to Seram and intermediary ports, such as the Tukangbesi islands, to meet with the Seram islanders and obtain spices and slaves for the markets of Sandao. Though the

\textsuperscript{410} VOC Makassar 1453, f.145v.
\textsuperscript{411} VOC Timor 1637, f. 45; VOC Timor 1867, f.14-15; VOC Timor 3465, f. 7-44, 50; VOC Timor 3307, f.628. This sort of trade and slaving activity was reported in Sumba as late as the 1850s. See, Anon.,“Beschrijving van het eiland Soemba,” 297.
\textsuperscript{412} On the extensive trade networks of Maluku and the Papuan Islands, see Andaya, The World of Maluku; Andaya, “Local Trade Networks in Maluku,” 71-96. On the Sosolot networks more specifically, see Goodman, “The Sosolot.”
Dutch were well aware of this “smuggling” trade and frequently expressed exasperation with the problem in their annual reports, Company cruise patrols were unable to make any serious progress in preventing the trade in slaves, spices, and other goods along these established routes.413

Extant sources demonstrate that the Papuq oversaw the trade in slaves and other commodities that was conducted on the shores and riverbanks of central trade sites such as Pota, Bari, and Reo from the early sixteenth century to the late 1760s. It is also clear that the Papuq kept a number of slaves in his own following. A Dutch report from the late 1760s notes that the Papuq Daeng Makkulle acquired slaves from traders who came to Pota and Reo, some of which were taken captive by his Sama Bajo followers.414 Another report from the beginning of the century suggests that the Papuq could enslave local and visiting traders as punishment for breaking the laws of his land. In this instance two crewmen of a Chinese trade vessel from Batavia were enslaved for theft and the captain was given a fine.415 The royal chronicles and annals of the Sultanate of Bima also note that slaves were among the tribute that subject dalu brought to the Papuq and his representatives.416

The desire to control the profitable slave markets of coastal northwest Flores was perhaps the central motivation of the various foreign parties involved in the contest for the seaboard trade centers of Pota, Reo, and others. As will be discussed in the following chapters, the Papuq faced strong challenges at various points between the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from Bima, Bone, rogue Bugis nobles, the VOC, and perhaps even the Lolo Bajo polity, as each of these adversaries desired to assert their authority over one or another of the Papuq’s coastal domains. For these challengers, Manggarai’s advantageous position as an intermediary location outside Dutch control, and its reputation as an entrepot for slaves and other goods, made it a lucrative target for enterprising rulers. Despite the

413 VOC Makassar 1663, f.156-159; VOC Makassar 8084, f. 93-97; VOC Makassar 8181, f. 207-211, 265-271; VOC Makassar 8183, f.105-107; VOC Makassar 8184, f. 182-184; VOC Makassar 3465, f. 157-158; VOC Ternate 3764, f.29-36.
414 VOC Makassar 3277, f.39-46. This is obviously a different Papuq than the earlier Papuq Daeng Makkulle Ahmad, who died prior to this period. See chapters two and three.
415 VOC Makassar 8183, f.51-52.
416 See, for example, Bo’ Sangaji Kai, p.137-140, and Bo’ Bumi Luma Rasana’e, p.71.
strong opposition he faced, the Papuq, with assistance from Makassar, was able to maintain control over most of Sandao until the 1760s. With the Papuq at the helm, Gowa-Talloq was thus also able to retain a measure of its pre-1669 influence in Sandao and continued to reap the benefits from the traffic in slaves, sea products, and other goods flowing through the markets of Sandao.

A similarly profitable arrangement existed in Bajoé, where the Lolo Bajo oversaw the activities of a diverse group of traders who regularly gathered at the entrepot to buy and sell slaves and other goods. Detailed accounts of the slave trade in Bajoé are woefully rare, but the existing Dutch records nevertheless provide a relatively clear picture of the commercial situation there in the eighteenth century and, in conjunction with local sources, allow for speculation on matters beyond the explicit purview of those documents. The Sama Bajo settlement and market place in Bajoé were established shortly after the conclusion of the Makassar War in 1669. According to the Sama Bajo manuscripts and oral traditions, Bajoé was busy with traders of all nations and came to be the primary marketplace of the Bone region during the reign of Arung Palakka (r.1672-1696). Yet, the Dutch administration in Makassar remained ignorant of the entrepot’s existence until 1714, when a Bugis trader from Soppeng informed Governor Sipman of the bustling trade community at Bajoé. He reported that traders came from all over Sulawesi and eastern Indonesia, and were joined by those from the western Indonesian archipelago and the Malay Peninsula. In addition to sea products gathered by Sama Bajo and the “illegal” spices “smuggled” from Maluku and through intermediary ports in southeast Sulawesi, slaves were among the principal items of trade at Bajoé.

Much like Pota and Reo, Bajoé was at the center of several overlapping local and regional slave trade networks that linked much of eastern Indonesia and areas of the western archipelago. In addition to slaves brought from distant islands in eastern Indonesia, a large portion of the slaves sold in Bajoé would have come from areas of Sulawesi. These, according to Sutherland, would presumably have been comprised of victims of local warfare and those the Dutch referred to as “stolen people,” that is free people who were kidnapped or otherwise impressed into
slavery by violent means.417 Intermittent local warfare, such as the campaigns Bone carried out against the Toraja communities of the South Sulawesi highlands in the early eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in which the Lolo Bajo and his subjects participated as part of their alliance with Bone, would have provided such “robbed people” for Bajoé and other markets.418 Dutch reports also note that Sulawesian traders came to Bajoé from Menado in the north, Tobungku in the east, and Mandar in the west, and some of these traders brought slaves to the Bajoé market along with goods from their home regions. It is also likely that Sama Bajo subjects of the Lolo Bajo living in areas of eastern Sulawesi would have participated in the trade and shipment of slaves from their home region to Bajoé. A number of the slaves acquired in Bajoé were purchased by local elites and thus would have remained in Sulawesi, but many others would have been exported overseas, the largest portion of which were likely transshipped to Makassar, as that port fed both the native demand for slaves as well as the VOC market. The exact number of slaves imported to Makassar from Bajoé each year is difficult to ascertain, however, because of the VOC’s practice of listing “Bugis” as the generalized origin of all slaves imported into Makassar from the Bugis lands.419 Based on registered slave imports in the Makassar Harbormaster’s records for the 1780s, Knapp and Sutherland estimate that 20% of slaves brought to Makassar came from lands designated as “Bugis.”420 A significant portion of these would have come through Bajoé.

Company reports show that many of the slaves sold and traded on the shores of Bajoé also arrived through much the same channels as did Malukan spices. Seram Laut and Goram (east Seram) islanders carried unspecified numbers of “Papuan” slaves to Bajoé where they were exchanged primarily for Indian and local cloth and

419 The register of slaves sent from Makassar to Batavia in 1741, for example, shows that 49% of the slaves purchased that year came from “Bugis.VOC Makassar 8214, f.314-320.
420 Knaap and Sutherland, Monsoon Traders, 118-119.
iron swords, knives and axes. Seram Laut traders were a dominant force in the slave-trading networks of Maluku and the Papuan islands. Each year fleets of kora-koras left east Seram for coastal areas of west Papua, where they obtained slaves and masoii through sosolet arrangements with local communities, and others cruised the Raja Ampat islands and the East Halmahera coast to acquire their human cargo. Ships also came from the Onin coast to Goram, bringing slaves obtained in Rumbatti and other Papuan coastal areas to exchange for cloth and Tobungku swords and knives. While many of these slaves were sold to Makassarese, Bugis, Butonese, and Sama Bajo traders who came to the markets of Seram Laut to purchase slaves and spices, a steady flow of Seram islanders also sailed west to Bajoé, sometimes calling in at the islands of Wanci, Kaledupa, and Tomea in the Tukangbesi archipelago, and to Kalengsusu on Buton on the way. In the Bajoé slave market the primary medium of exchange was still the cloth and iron implements from Tobungku so valued in the sosolet exchange networks of Maluku and Papua.

Sama Bajo manuscripts and oral traditions pertaining to the establishment of Bajoé, which will be discussed in further detail in chapter five, describe the position of the Lolo Bajo in regard to this bustling trade in slaves and other goods. The manuscripts state that the Lolo Bajo did not tax the trade carried out in the Bajoé market until he was ordered to do so by Arung Palakka. Thus, sometime prior to the mid-1690s, the Lolo Bajo known by the title “Puang ri pasaqna” (“Lord of the market”) was told, “whoever comes down to trade, tax must be collected from them all,” and he was given two tax collectors to assist in carrying out the order. This arrangement, in which the Lolo Bajo as “lord of the market” oversaw the collection of taxes on all trade in Bajoé, apparently continued in one form or another until the reign of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh Syamsuddin (r.1775-1812), when the Sultan appointed a “syahbandar of the coastlands” (sabannaraq ri pabbiring), who assumed

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421 VOC Makassar 8181, f.265-271; VOC Makassar 8183, f.148-152.
422 Andaya, “Local Trade Networks in Maluku,” 83-85; Ellen, Banda Zone, 139-140; Heeres and Tiele, Bouwstoffen, vol.2, 109, 244.
423 Andaya, “Local Trade Networks in Maluku,” 85.
424 VOC Makassar 8183, f.148.
425 LB Lemobajo, f.59-60 (102); MS 260, f.28-29; MS 250a, f.31-32.
the role of overseeing matters of trade and tolls.\textsuperscript{426} We are told nothing further about these tolls in the manuscripts, but it is clear that the Lolo Bajo would have accrued financial and political capital through the control of the trade in slaves, spices, and other goods in Bajoé in the years prior to the appointment of the syahbandar by Bone.

\textbf{Slavery and the Sama Bajo: The Case of Jeremius Mumelet}

The story of a particular slave found in the VOC archives provides a rare and telling insight into the place and practice of slavery and the slave trade in Sama Bajo society, and in eastern Indonesia more generally, during the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{427} In 1769, Governor Boelen of Makassar received the transcripts of the interrogation of a man named Jeremius Mumelet, a free burgher who had fallen into slavery on several occasions over the previous twelve years. Mumelet was born in the town of Semarang in North Java to a mestizo mother and a European father who had served the Company as Junior Merchant and Payroll Accountant, but who died shortly after the birth of his son. Considered an orphan, Mumelet was raised by his “European” uncle and baptized as a member of the Dutch Reformed Church. At age ten, Mumelet entered Company service as a drummer (\textit{tamboer}) and he retained that position until 1749, when, at age twenty-two Mumelet gained the status of free burgher. For the next eight years Mumelet made his living as a crewman on several private trade vessels that sailed the length of the archipelago. The seemingly successful story of Mumelet—that of a mestizo orphan who worked to achieve his free status in the Dutch Indies—came to an abrupt halt in 1757 when, sailing from Batavia to Banda on a \textit{chialoup} owned and captained by a Melakan burgher (\textit{Malaks Burgher}) named Willem Frans, Mumelet’s ship wrecked off the island of Bonerate. The captain and crew, including Mumelet, were taken captive by a Wajoq “pirate” named Daeng Malie, who then sold the men into slavery somewhere in “Bugis,” perhaps Bajoé. There, a high status Bugis man named Daeng Palia purchased Mumelet for an

\textsuperscript{426} LB Lemobajo, f.118-119 (221); MS 260, f.50; MS 250a, f.55.
\textsuperscript{427} The complete transcripts of Mumelet’s interrogation are found in VOC Makassar 3277, f.30-46.
unknown sum, and Mumelet remained his slave for three years before he attempted to escape.

Sometime around 1760, the opportunity came for Mumelet to escape with some Sama Bajo sailors ("Toridjeenders"). Yet, the situation was not as it seemed and Mumelet's newfound freedom would prove to be short-lived. According to his testimony, Mumelet begged the Sama Bajo to take him to the nearest Dutch comptoir, but once aboard the Sama Bajo's ship the men refused and sailed instead to Sandao. After a few days' sail, the Sama Bajo arrived in the roadstead of Reo and brought their captive before the “Raja of Reo,” the Papuq named Daeng Makkulle. In exchange for the mestizo burgher, the Papuq gave the Sama Bajo men two slaves of unknown ethnicity. For the next five or so years, Mumelet remained a slave in the Papuq’s retinue, serving in the capacity that he knew best, that of a military drummer. Then, in 1765, Mumelet attempted to secure his freedom once more, this time commandeering a small vessel and setting out across the treacherous straits that separated Reo and the nearest Dutch post in Bima. Somewhere along his journey, however, Mumelet was captured yet again, this time by a “pirate” named Daeng Mamango. Daeng Mamango sailed back to Reo with Mumelet in tow and traded him to Papuq Daeng Makkulle, though this time Mumelet was apparently worth only one slave.

Perhaps irritated by the escape attempt and the loss of another slave, Papuq Daeng Makkulle had Mumelet bound at the hands and feet and his neck placed in iron shackles. It was also at this point, according to Mumelet, that the Papuq ordered him to be circumcised and forcibly converted to Islam. The Papuq then sent Mumelet to live in the mountains and serve as drummer under “Craeeng Galong” (perhaps, Karaeng Golo(ng), who was one of the Makassarese or Sama Bajo nobles living in Sandao at the time and who was loyal to the Papuq).428 Mumelet remained in the mountains under the Karaeng’s guard until the onset of the west monsoon in 1769, when yet another war with Bima broke out and he was brought down to the coast to serve as a drummer in the Papuq’s army. On the battlefield, Mumelet

428 According to the Bo’ Sangaji Kai, Karaeng Golo(ng) possessed his own negeri in Sandao/Manggarai, but was considered to be subject to the Papuq. Bima attacked his negeri in 1763. Bo’ Sangaji Kai, 193.
marched alongside a Dutchman named Johannes Spruijt, who apparently had deserted his position as soldier of the VOC in 1767 and ran off to Sandao with a slave owned by the Company’s Resident in Bima, Jacob Bikkes Bakker. Spruijt too was made to serve as “drummer and drillmaster” in the Papuq’s army.

As we will see in chapter six, the battle between the Papuq and Bima in 1769 would be the Papuq’s last. In the wake of the Papuq’s defeat, Mumelet, Spruijt, and numerous others, likely including many Sama Bajo, were taken as war captives of the Sultan. According to Mumelet’s testimony, Sultan Bima Abdul Kadim Muhammad Syah feared being caught with a deserter from the Company army and had offered Spruijt to the Dalu Todo, a Manggarai ally, in exchange for two slaves, but then decided against this and ordered that Spruijt be handed over to the Dutch. Yet, Spruijt never made it ashore in Bima. The morning before the fleet set sail for Bima, the captain of the kora-kora took Spruijt, who, like the other war captives, was bound and had heavy stones attached to his fetters, and threw him overboard to drown. Mumelet was more fortunate and survived the return voyage to Bima, where he managed to be placed in the custody of Dutch authorities.

**Piracy and the Sama Bajo**

The archival record of Mumelet’s interrogation offers an all too rare glimpse into the ways in which slaves circulated in eastern Indonesian social and commercial networks, and their function and value in the Sama Bajo polities of the region. In terms of value, it is interesting that Mumelet, a mestizo burgher, and his Dutch counterpart, Spruijt, were valued more highly than other, likely Manggarai, slaves. Whether this was based on the desirability, and indeed, novelty of their skills as drummers and drillmasters in the European military tradition, we cannot be certain. It is telling, nevertheless, that Mumelet served as a drummer for each of his masters, and Spruijt too was made to serve in the same capacity he once served as a Company soldier. In Mumelet’s life history we also see how shipwrecked sailors, lone vessels, and desperate individuals were easy targets for more powerful, predatory seafarers of the Indonesian seas. Mumelet is perhaps rare, in that he was captured and sold into slavery on three separate occasions within twelve years, but
the archives are full of reports regarding similar incidents of “piracy” and “people robbing.” Native and European ships were assailed at sea regularly enough that few dared to sail alone, and shipwrecked crew and cargo were long a favored prey for other, less benevolent ships. The Sama Bajo, like many other maritime communities in the Indonesian archipelago, were frequently accused of committing such “piratical” acts. In addition to “stealing” the cargo of wrecked vessels, as in the case of the Rijksdorp, “smuggling” trade goods such as spices, wax, and marine products, or sailing in “forbidden” areas of the eastern seas, from the Dutch perspective the most egregious examples of Sama Bajo “piracy” involved the raiding of coastal villages and assaults on ships in order to capture people for the slave trade.

We find this categorization of the Sama Bajo as pirates and slave raiders in one of the earliest descriptions of the Sama Bajo found in European sources. Writing shortly after the Portuguese conquest of Melaka in 1511, Tomé Pires described them as being “mainly corsairs,” and “greater thieves than any in the world” who “sail about plundering, from their country [Sulawesi] up to Pegu, to the Moluccas, and to Banda, and among all the islands around Java.” Pires went on to say that the Sama Bajo “have fairs where they dispose of the merchandise they steal and sell the slaves they capture...”429 This reputation of the Sama Bajo, though obviously a blanket generalization about a large and diverse ethnolinguistic community, was not entirely undeserved. Makassarese sources tell us that the role of the Papuq and his Sama Bajo subjects as naval forces of Makassarese kingdoms often entailed the destruction of enemy fleets or villages and the subjugation of distant polities, and those on the receiving end of the violence may very well have called this “piracy.”

Dutch sources also offer a picture of maritime warfare and raiding by Sama Bajo and Makassarese groups throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, both in the service of Gowa-Talloq and the Papuq, as well as acts by other groups. Sama Bajo notoriety as “zwervers” (wanderers) and “zeeroovers” (pirates) heightened in the wake of the Makassar War, as large numbers of Sama Bajo and other Sulawesians roamed the seas and coasts of Lombok, Sumbawa, Flores, Borneo,

Bali, and east Java, raiding coastal villages and kingdoms, and robbing ships they encountered at sea. Powerful Sama Bajo figures like Kare Kanjararq Bajo in the 1680s and 1690s, or Kare Gappa Matayang in the 1720s and 1730s are described in the Dutch archives as commanding large followings and regularly preying on local populations, and were therefore a cause for serious concern among the Dutch authorities. The Sama Bajo’s reputation for piracy and slave raiding was also prevalent among native populations in certain parts of eastern Indonesia, such as the islands of the Solor-Alor archipelago, Rote, and Sumba, as well as the north coasts of Flores and Timor, where local communities were regular targets for such violence. Here local peoples often looked upon them as “an evil scum of the sea” who were “pleased to do wickedness,” and during the west monsoon season coastal communities were constantly on guard against their predation.

Despite the sometimes fearsome reputation they gained through such activities, Sama Bajo historical experiences with piracy and slave raiding were never so one-dimensional as the portrayal in the Dutch sources. For one, it is important to remember that, throughout the eighteenth century and increasingly so in the nineteenth, Sama Bajo peoples also were targets of seaborne violence and robbery. Marauding fleets from the southern Philippine archipelago, Maluku, and elsewhere regularly attacked Sama Bajo and other coastal communities, and, when traveling alone or in small numbers, Sama Bajo vessels were sometimes targeted and attacked while at sea. The Sama Bajo’s reputation as strong and capable fighters, however, did serve to deter raiders in some areas, like in the Tukangbesi archipelago where Sama Bajo regularly clashed with Tobelo fleets from Ternate. The frequency of such clashes with sea raiders like the Tobelo and Ilianun and their historical importance for Sama Bajo communities is still remembered today in many iko-iko, where fights between Sama Bajo heroes and various pagora (pirates) are a regular element in stories of past times. In the nineteenth century, the Dutch even sought to

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put the Sama Bajo’s bravery and martial skill to good use in their own fight against piracy, as they did in Obi in 1879 and Togean shortly after.431

Yet, it is also important to consider how the definition of “piracy” and the determination of who is, or is not, a “pirate” can change dramatically depending on one’s perspective. Many maritime activities deemed by the Dutch to be piratical, like raids on coastal villages, naval warfare against enemy fleets, and the taking of war captives, would have been considered by the Papuq or the rulers of Gowa-Talloq, for example, to be meritorious acts in service of the ruler.432 On the other hand, it is safe to assume that some Sama Bajo would have perhaps agreed with the Dutch categorization of certain Tobelo, Ilanun, and Maguindanao as pirates. This is suggested by the fact that in many iko-iko, the term pagora (pirate) is always associated with these groups, and the names “Tobelo” or “Ilanun” are often used in place of other indigenous terms for “pirate.” However, it is also highly probable that many Sama Bajo peoples would have seen the Dutch in the same light. Where the Dutch understood it to be their legal right to inspect, apprehend, or even destroy any vessel they encountered in waters they had deemed off limits, or those they suspected of trading and navigation without a Company-issued pass, the captains and crews of those vessels undoubtedly saw the Dutch’s actions in a different light.

The events involving the Sama Bajo who were arrested off the coast of Baranusa in 1725 described in the beginning of this chapter bring this difference of perspective into sharp focus. The forty-one Sama Bajo men, women, and children had sailed from the lands of the Papuq on Sandao to the waters surrounding the Solor-Alor archipelago, Timor, and Rote in order to fish tortoiseshell and engage in other trade activities. They had left Sandao in seven small vessels with the onset of the west monsoon, but evidence suggests that at least three other Sama Bajo vessels may have left as part of the same rambangah and then separated from the fleet once they arrived in the target area. In the months of March and April, these latter three

431 On the Dutch’s efforts to enlist Sama Bajo assistance in the fight against pirates around Obi, see Koloniaal Verslag (‘s-Gravenhage, 1879), 28. For a similar endeavor in Togean, see Verschuer, “De Badjo’s,” 6-7.
432 Andaya makes this point in his study of the Orang Suku Laut communities in the context of their relationship to Johor during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. See, Andaya, Kingdom of Johor, and Andaya, Leaves of the Same Tree, chapter six in particular.
vessels and their armed Sama Bajo crews conducted violent attacks on coastal villages on the islands of Rote and Adonara in order to take captives, and they also attacked a VOC patrol boat off Kupang, nearly succeeding in killing the Dutch captain and Solorese crew. While these three Sama Bajo boats were never captured, the forty-one Sama Bajo on the other seven vessels were apprehended in mid-April by native and Dutch authorities off the north coast of Pantar. They were accused of slave raiding and piracy and placed in Dutch custody on the island of Timor. Within a few weeks of their arrest, sixteen of the men attempted to escape and attacked their captors, only to be beaten back by the more numerous and well-armed guards.

The Sama Bajo prisoners remained in custody in Kupang for another two months while the Company officials in Kupang, Makassar, and Batavia determined what to do with them. In late August of 1725, Batavia sent orders for the Sama Bajo to be sent to Batavia to stand trial for crimes of piracy. When the day came for the Sama Bajo to be transported to Batavia, however, officials in Kupang only sent eighteen men. In a letter explaining his actions to the High Government in Batavia, the opperhoofd of Kupang, Hendrik Engelens, wrote that he elected not to send the women and children on the Company ship the Langerak to Batavia, for fear that “the [VOC] sailors would come to mix with the women of these people on the journey.” He also informed his supervisors that in the four months since they were captured, five of the Sama Bajo had died in custody, including a few small children. Engelens closed his letter by writing that he would await the High Government’s advice regarding the surviving women and children that remained in custody on Timor.

Several more months came to pass before the Sama Bajo captives learned their fate. In early September, letters from the sengaji of Lamakera, Mau Dasi, and the VOC interpreter on Solor arrived on the Chief Prosecutor’s desk in Batavia, detailing their accounts of the events and each underscoring the Sama Bajo’s reputation in eastern Indonesia as pirates and “people robbers” (menschenroovers). These accusatory letters were used as evidence and weighed against the letters written by the Papuq and Sultan Sirajuddin of Gowa in defense of their subjects. Finally, on 6 February 1726, ten months after the Sama Bajo were first apprehended, the Chief Prosecutor issued his verdict on the case. After a careful
review of the evidence and interrogation of the Sama Bajo men, it was determined that there was insufficient evidence to prove that these particular Sama Bajo had engaged in piracy or slave raiding in the region. The Chief Prosecutor went on to recommend that all forty-one Sama Bajo “should be freed and returned to their land in the most suitable manner, along with repayment of their confiscated goods.”

Yet, after reviewing the Chief Prosecutor’s report the Council of the Indies (Raad van Indië) disagreed and determined that the suspicion was too great and the Sama Bajo would not be freed. Instead, the Council declared the eighteen men “as slaves of the Noble Company, to serve in public labor along with their wives and children who remain in Timor, to which end they will be summoned hither, along with an inventory of their vessels, goods, weapons, etcetera, which were also confiscated for the benefit of the Company.” For reasons not explained in the correspondences between Batavia and Kupang, however, the Sama Bajo women and children were never sent to Batavia, where they presumably were to be enslaved alongside their male companions. On 30 August 1726, the Kupang administration informed the High Government that a lack of space on the Company ship had once again caused them to postpone the delivery of the women and children to Batavia, but that the vessels and goods “confiscated” from the Sama Bajo had been sold in public auction and the proceeds from that sale would be credited to the Company comptoir in Kupang. After this correspondence, the Sama Bajo captives disappear from the archival record. The women and children, who had been living in the slave’s quarters of Fort Concordia in Kupang for the last several months, presumably remained there as Company slaves, and the men remained enslaved in Batavia or perhaps elsewhere.

Thus, after spending almost a year in captivity on charges of piracy, the surviving thirty-six Sama Bajo were found not guilty. But, rather than being given their freedom, they were instead made slaves “for the benefit of the Company.” In this series of tragic events that befell the Sama Bajo from Sandao, the distinction between “piracy” and state-sanctioned “arrest,” “confiscation,” and enslavement becomes especially muddled. In reviewing the case, one can begin to see how these events might have been understood by the Sama Bajo men, women, and children
apprehended in the Solor-Alor archipelago. One can imagine the terror they experienced when, anchored in the lee of Baranusa harbor on a relatively calm afternoon in April, the seven Sama Bajo vessels were attacked by a fleet of ships approaching from the west. The armed ships set upon the group, capturing the men, women, and children, and seizing their vessels and cargo. Bound and beaten, the Sama Bajo were transported to Kupang and placed under guard. After two months in this state, the men were separated from their women and children and sent away to labor as slaves in a distant land, never to see them again. The women and children remained in custody in Kupang, where they too spent the remainder of their lives as slaves of their new masters. The ships and cargo seized from the Sama Bajo were divided up among their captors. The sengaji Mau Dasi, who had led the assault, took the valuable cargo of tortoiseshells, and the Company took the seven vessels and remaining cargo, tackle, and weapons, in addition to the forty-one Sama Bajo slaves they claimed as their own. Here, it is the VOC officials and their native allies who we find attacking ships at sea, seizing the cargo, and carrying off the crews in order to enslave them. And, in this context, it is the Sama Bajo who were victims of the very acts of which they were accused, and for which they were arrested and enslaved.

**Conclusion**

The archival records of events surrounding the arrest and enslavement of the Sama Bajo families from Sandao are remarkably rich in detail. These documents provide a rare look at a particular fleet of the Papuq’s subjects and offer important details regarding their ships, their cargo, their voyage, and their harrowing encounter with the VOC and its allies. Although the experience of these particular individuals was perhaps unique, their voyage is representative of a larger, longstanding pattern of Sama Bajo movement and trade in eastern Indonesia.

From the time of their very earliest settlement in the region, the Sama Bajo were active and highly important participants in local and regional trade networks. Their sea-centered lifestyle uniquely suited the Sama Bajo to exploit the valuable resources of eastern Indonesia’s seas and coasts, and their mobility enabled them to do so throughout a vast area. Their knowledge of the seascape and their skills as
seafarers, hunters, and fishers were crucial to the success of the sea products trade in general, and positioned them as the vital core of the trade in the two most valuable marine commodities, tortoiseshell and trepang. These products were the foundation of the China trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and were therefore vital to the success of several eastern Indonesian port polities. Yet, the Sama Bajo’s participation in these local and regional trade networks was not limited to the collection of marine goods, but also involved a number of valuable forest products and other commodities. As in the sea products trade, their familiarity with the sea lanes, coasts, and rivers of the archipelago made the Sama Bajo important to trade networks based on wax, spices, and slaves.

The Sama Bajo’s important role in these trade networks made them highly valuable to the landed communities of the region and assured them positions of strength and prestige within the region’s most powerful kingdoms. This is seen most clearly in the Papuq polity’s relationship to the Makassarese dual kingdom of Gowa-Talloq and the Lolo Bajo polity’s relationship to the Bugis kingdom of Bone. Through their relationship with the Sama Bajo polities, the landed kingdoms were guaranteed a steady flow of sea products, spices, slaves, and other commodities. From their seaboard bases in Sandao and Bajoé, the Papuq and the Lolo Bajo polities facilitated trade in key goods and served as extensions of Makassarese and Bugis power, thereby contributing to the wealth and prestige of their landed allies in south Sulawesi. Moreover, the Sama Bajo were instrumental to the process by which Gowa-Talloq and Bone created and maintained links with distant islands and resource areas in eastern Indonesia, and to the resilience of those links in the face of Dutch efforts to control trade and constrain Makassarese and Bugis influence in the archipelago. Indeed, throughout the early modern period the Sama Bajo remained an “unbound” (ongebonden) and “excessively free” (overmagtig vrij) element in a world where the Dutch sought to contain and constrain native movement. The chapters that follow look closely at the formation of these powerful Sama Bajo polities, their hierarchical structure, and the enduring relationships they formed with the kingdoms of Gowa-Talloq and Bone.
Chapter Three

The Papiq Polity

And so it was. The Wélénreng tree was cut and with it all the eggs of all the birds in the world came crashing down. The flood [of yolk] was so great it swept away all the people. The Sama [Bajo] people too were washed away to sea. When the flood passed, I Papiq ordered his people to go and search for his daughter, I Lolo, for the poor girl was washed away too. They searched day and night, as far as Johor, the Philippines, even Papua, but they could not find the princess [I Lolo]. One day, news arrived that I Papiq’s daughter had been found on the shores of Gowa, washed up in a mountain of sea foam. The fisherman [who found her] brought her to the Raja Gowa. So I Papiq gathered all the Sama [Bajo] and together they sailed to Makassar to find I Lolo.

Mboq Hadiah, Permaang

The Sama Bajo of eastern Indonesia possess a rich repository of oral and written traditions, many of which recount tales of heroes and heroines, merciless pirates, humble servants, sea battles, fishing exploits, and sailing adventures. These stories are meant not only to entertain, but many of these traditions are also a vital means of conveying important historical and cultural knowledge to willing listeners. Perhaps the most widely known traditions are those concerning the dispersal of the Sama Bajo from a prior homeland, their advent in the southwest Sulawesi littoral, and the intimate relationship they subsequently formed with one or another landed kingdom in the region. Today, these popular etiological traditions, like the one quoted above, continue to circulate in one form or another in Sama Bajo communities throughout eastern Indonesia, just as they did in past centuries. For the Sama Bajo people such traditions provide answers to fundamental questions about their history and serve as a powerful reminder of a more illustrious era when they occupied positions of great importance and they too were held in high esteem.

Sama Bajo traditions regarding their advent in the region and the formation of relationships with landed kingdoms have also been an interest of scholars and

433 Interview with Mboq Hadiah, Pulau Permaang (East Flores), 04-07-2011.
other outsiders who crossed paths with Sama Bajo peoples since the sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{434} Intrigued by the prospect of a “wandering race” who “knows no home but the sea,” some modern scholars, like European travelers in earlier centuries, have looked to these traditions as a means to discovering the “origin” of the Sama Bajo people.\textsuperscript{435} Others interested in Sama Bajo history have more recently described these particular traditions as “sea-based rationalization[s] of their presence in South Sulawesi,”\textsuperscript{436} or as “cultural capital [which] signals connections with powerful others in the past,”\textsuperscript{437} and as having “more to do with political ideologies and the subordination of maritime peoples... than they do with actual migrations or literal origins.”\textsuperscript{438} Because of the mythological component of Sama Bajo oral traditions, such as the giant \textit{wélenreng} tree, the flood of egg yolk, or a massive heap of sea foam, many scholars have elected to focus their efforts on creative interpretation of the traditions in search of some intrinsic meaning or structural function of the narrative in Sama Bajo culture. Yet, in dismissing elements of the traditions as purely myth or metaphor, some of these analyses have perhaps unintentionally passed over vital information about the early history of the Sama Bajo in eastern Indonesia.

In this chapter and those that follow, we will look closely at a number of these Sama Bajo historical manuscripts and oral traditions, concentrating on what these traditions tell us about the history of Sama Bajo peoples in eastern Indonesia, as well as what light they can shed on Sama Bajo perceptions of the past in present contexts. In particular, I argue that these traditions, when read in conjunction with a wide range of other historical sources, reveal the existence in the early modern

\textsuperscript{434} These traditions are often cited as “origin stories,” however the traditions themselves are actually not an account of Sama Bajo origins. Rather, as Jennifer Gaynor has argued, these narratives are more concerned with explaining the advent of a particular Sama Bajo community in the southwest Sulawesi littoral and the foundations of a strong relationship with landed polities that followed their arrival. Gaynor, “Liquid Territory,” 9.
\textsuperscript{435} Francois Valentijn, \textit{Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indië, vervattende een nauwkeurige en uitvoerige verhandeling van Nederlands mogenheid in die gewesten}, (Doordrecht-Amsterdam, 1724-1726), 66-67. Recently the desire to discover the “true” origin of the Sama Bajo has sent researchers in new directions. A group of scholars from La Rochelle University (France) and Haluoleo University (Kendari, Indonesia) has launched a project in which blood samples will be collected from Sama Bajo peoples in villages across eastern Indonesia in order to conduct DNA analysis as a possible means of discovering their origin. “Analisis DNA Deteksi Asal-usul Suku Bajo,” \textit{Kompas} 8 May 2011.
\textsuperscript{436} Liebner, “Four Oral Versions,” 129.
\textsuperscript{437} Gaynor, “Liquid Territory,” 254
\textsuperscript{438} Sather, \textit{Bajau Laut}, 17-18.
period of two different Sama Bajo loci of power: those under their leader, the Papuq, allied with Gowa and Talloq at least since the beginning of the fourteenth century; and the other under the Lolo Bajo, which gave allegiance to Bone after the Makassar War. Comprised of numerous groups dispersed throughout eastern Indonesia, these sea-centered Sama Bajo polities helped to extend the authority and influence of their respective allies and were a dominant presence in key regional trade networks. Although much remains unknown regarding the histories of both groups, a detailed study of a diverse set of source materials allows us to begin to outline the histories of these important polities, their networks, and the structures of power that served to join such large numbers of widely dispersed Sama Bajo communities under the authority of a paramount leader. Out of these varied sources emerges a hitherto unstudied history of Sama Bajo political authority and social organization; a history that calls for a reevaluation of the place of the Sama Bajo in Indonesian history as well as a reconsideration of our understanding of fundamental aspects of Sama Bajo culture, both past and present.

The two polities examined in this dissertation are unique examples that demonstrate the fascinating world of the Sama Bajo of eastern Indonesia during the early modern period. These widely dispersed cultural-political networks of communities exemplify the ways in which the Sama Bajo became an integral component in the social, political, and economic workings of south Sulawesi and, as they dispersed throughout the region, served to link the eastern islands to their Sulawesi homeland and beyond. As a highly mobile and skilled maritime people, the Sama Bajo quickly became perhaps the most vital element in the growth of the kingdoms of Gowa and Talloq, as well as an integral factor in the creation, expansion, and maintenance of maritime trade networks that spanned the eastern seas. Likewise, in the wake of the Makassar War, the Sama Bajo communities under the leadership of the Lolo Bajo came to serve an equally vital function in the kingdom of Bone, to which they had sworn their allegiance.

In the remaining chapters we will discuss the Papuq and Lolo Bajo polities, focusing on the histories of their leaders, the hierarchical structure, functions, and limits of their networks, the extent and mechanisms of political and cultural
authority, as well as the relationship of these polities to the land-based polities of the region. As the sociopolitical leadership of the Papuq and the alliance to Gowa and Talloq predates, and indeed prefigured the Lolo Bajo polity, I will begin with the Sama Bajo communities linked to the paramount authority of the Papuq. Chapter five will do the same for the Lolo Bajo polity.

Despite the comparative dearth of sources regarding those persons who held the title of Papuq, we can formulate a general outline of the history of this office, some of the personalities who once held this esteemed title, the structure and the parameters of the networks under his leadership, as well as the relationship of the Papuq and his people to the landed polities of south Sulawesi, particularly the powerful dual kingdom of Gowa-Talloq. In doing so, our focus will follow the Sama Bajo members of this extended community far beyond their homeland in the southwest Sulawesi littoral, charting some of their voyages and activities in land- and seascapes distant from Makassar in order to bring into focus the larger realm in which this polity and its affiliated communities operated. This will not only help to clarify the geographic extent of the Papuq polity in so far as possible, but this will also allow us to see more clearly the widespread importance of the Sama Bajo in the region’s past.

The Papuq

Beginning sometime in the mid-thirteenth century, an unknown number of Sama Bajo communities settled in the littoral of southwestern Sulawesi and its offshore islands. A great deal about the history of these early settlers remains unknown but we can be certain that, as discussed in chapter one, they occupied a position of importance and prestige in the region from early on, much earlier than previously assumed.439 Furthermore, based on the oral and written traditions of the Sama Bajo, as well as a variety of other indigenous and European historical sources, it is clear that among those early Sama Bajo communities there was a common

439 The archaeological findings of Bulbeck, Caldwell, and others, as discussed in chapter one, have demonstrated the need to drastically rethink the accepted theories and chronology regarding Sama Bajo settlement and influence in south Sulawesi prior to the sixteenth century.
recognition of the paramount cultural and political authority of an individual selected from among their noble ranks. According to these sources, this individual was known by the title of Papuq.

The Papuq appears most prominently in oral and written traditions concerning the advent of the Sama Bajo people in the greater southwest Sulawesi area and remains a recurrent feature of Sama Bajo, Makassarese, and Dutch historical records well into the closing years of the eighteenth century. After that point, the title disappears from the extant record and only traces of its former significance remain in oral tradition. While the origin of this baong Sama term beyond what is related in the manuscripts is unknown, the power implicit in the title itself is clear in both historical and present-day contexts. With the defeat of the Papuq by the Sultanate of Bima and the loss of the Sandao negeri of Pota and Reo in the late 1700s, the title of Papuq disappears from the sources. But for Sama Bajo communities in eastern Indonesia today Papuq serves as the baong Sama name for the supreme deity or god, and in certain contexts it is used in lieu of, or in conjunction with Allah (as in, Papuq Allah Taala). The title still does retain traces of its former connotation in several Sama Bajo communities of the northern Flores coast, where is it remembered as a respectful form of address used in the not so distant past for high status Sama Bajo individuals who had a large number of slaves in their following. Importantly, even in those communities where the meaning has taken on a different importance in contemporary contexts, the memory of the Papuq as a historical ancestor of great power and importance is still quite strong in oral and written traditions of the Sama Bajo, particularly those pertaining to the formation of the earliest relationships between Sama Bajo and the landed polities of southwest Sulawesi.

440 As far as I am aware, the term Papuq or any variant thereof is not found in Sama speaking communities of the Sulu and northeast Borneo areas. The absence of the term or title in these areas may indicate that Papuq came into use only after the arrival of Sama speakers in the eastern Indonesian archipelago. The first instance of the Papuq in that context is in conjunction with Luwuq in the northwest corner of the Gulf of Bone. See below.

441 This was given to me as the meaning of “Papuq” in several Sama Bajo villages in the Flores region, namely Papagarah, Messah, Labuan Bajo, Kukkusang, Manjaga, Bolong, Boléh, and Medang. Verheijen received the same explanation of the title from Sama Bajo communities in northern Flores and related that explanation in his useful monograph on Sama Bajo language. Verheijen, The Sama/Bajau Languages.”
In these traditions the Papuq is well known as the paramount leader of the Sama Bajo people who first came to the southwest coast of Sulawesi. There are countless variations of the story of the Papuq’s arrival, but the basic outline of the narrative inscribed in the LB Lemobajo and MS 260 can be regarded as the most widely recounted of these traditions among the Sama Bajo peoples of eastern Indonesia. As stated above, these narratives are concerned with explaining the advent of a particular Sama Bajo community in the southwest Sulawesi littoral and offshore islands, and the foundations of a strong relationship with the ruler of Gowa that followed their arrival.\textsuperscript{442} With such important elements of the Sama Bajo past at its core, the story of Papuq’s arrival in the region is central to understanding Sama Bajo conceptions of place, identity, and status in early modern eastern Indonesia. For that reason, relevant sections of the LB Lemobajo, MS 260 manuscript, and related traditions will be discussed at length in the following sections.

**The Coming of the Papuq**

The opening sections of the LB Lemobajo and MS 260 manuscripts are heavily influenced by the *La Galigo* cycle of Bugis tradition and by Bone court culture more generally. In these first few passages the Papuq is introduced as the *puwang*, or lord, of a particular Sama Bajo community living in Ussuq or Makuttuq, which we know was located in a rich estuarial area of the northeast corner of the Gulf of Bone.\textsuperscript{443} Like the oral version quoted at the start of the chapter, the Papuq’s people are said to have been among those who were affected by a flood caused by the felling of the giant *wélénreng* tree by Sawerigading, the *Opu*, or lord, of Wareq and a primary character of the *La Galigo*. The tree held the nests of all the world’s birds in its branches, and so, when Sawerigading succeeded in chopping the colossal tree down, the eggs of all the world’s birds too came crashing down, causing a flood of egg yolk that would wash away the people of Mangkuttuq. Among the victims of


\textsuperscript{443} A Bugis transliteration and Indonesian translation of the of the *La Galigo* based on the NBG 188 manuscript version is published in, Arung Pancana Toa, Muhammad Salim, Nurhayati Rahman, *I La Galigo* (Jakarta: Djambatan, 1995).
the flood, the daughter of the Papuq, whose name or title was I Lolo, was washed away at sea.

In the wake of the flood, the Papuq is said to have ordered his followers to search for his daughter, I Lolo. Upon his order the Sama Bajo people scattered in all directions to find her, but none succeeded. Some of these followers heard later that their puwang’s daughter had been found by a fisherman of Gowa who brought I Lolo to the “Somba ri Gowa” (the Karaeng, or ruler of Gowa). Upon hearing word of his daughter’s presence in the palace of the ruler of Gowa, the Papuq ordered his followers to prepare to set sail for Gowa: “Listen to what I say. Early tomorrow we will sail. If you have already heard the waves, immediately pull your mooring posts, fasten your oars, raise your mast, pull your halyard, and we will sail into Gowa to see about this news of the presence of your puwang’s child I Lolo in the palace of Gowa, in the house of the Somba.” For several nights the massive Sama Bajo fleet, led by I Papuq, sailed to Gowa. Their arrival there in the early morning hours was quite the spectacle, and even the royal representative of the Somba ri Gowa joined the multitudes gathered along the shoreline to witness the procession of Sama Bajo vessels sailing into the roadstead. The arrival of so many unknown perahu raised an alarm, and soon the ruler dispatched an envoy to greet the new arrivals and inquire as to the reason for their visit.

The ruler’s representative asked to be taken to the perahu [lopi] of I Papuq, and was promptly ferried to the ship by one of the Papuq’s followers, who, in the manuscripts, are always referred to as the “many children and grandchildren” of the Papuq. Importantly, it is in this meeting of the representative of the ruler with I

444 In certain oral versions, the daughter of Papuq is brought to the ruler of Bone.
445 MS 260, f.2. This is also translated in Gaynor, “Liquid Territory,” p.134-135, although she has “hear the call” rather than “waves,” and she has “punting poles” for toddoq, rather than “mooring posts.”
446 MS 260, f.2; MS 250a, f.2.
447 The Papuq’s manner of referring to his “many children and grandchildren” is a common way for a ruler to discuss his or her subjects in South Sulawesi. Among the Makassarese, for example, the ruler often refers to his subjects as “his children,” and in many written treaties between south Sulawesi polities, the relationship between overlord and vassal is also stated in terms of father and child or mother and child. In agreement with Gaynor, I believe that in the context of the Papuq and his followers, “many children and grandchildren” is meant in both the figurative and literal sense. H. Th. Chabot, Kinship, Status and Gender in South Celebes (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1996), 149; Leonard Y. Andaya, “Treaty Conceptions and
Papuq that the power and, indeed, royalty of the Papuq is first declared. When asked who was the leader of these ships and what business they had in Gowa, the Papuq spoke: “As for the purpose of the arrival of these many perahu, we desire to meet with Karaeng Torisombaé [ruler of Gowa]. And the panngulumna [leader] of these many people is I Papuq Tidung Karaeng Bayo ri Sombatonji. Now, tomarilaleng [minister], you already know all that is needed to report to Karaeng Torisombaé.”

Thus, in these opening scenes of the narrative, the Papuq is depicted in a commanding position, assertive rather than reverent in his interaction with the kingdom of Gowa.

At sunrise later on an auspicious day chosen by the Papuq in consultation with his followers, I Papuq and his children and many grandchildren filed into the palace of the Karaeng Gowa. It is said that the Papuq’s following was so large that they filled the palace and spilled out onto the palace grounds. After serving his many guests food and drink, the Karaeng and his court listened to I Papuq explain how his daughter had been swept away in the flood caused by the wélénreng tree and how he had received news that a fisherman had found her and brought her to the ruler in Gowa. Upon hearing the Papuq’s story, the Karaeng and his council of advisors were stunned, realizing that the Karaeng’s beautiful new wife, whose origins until then were unknown, was perhaps the cherished daughter of I Papuq. The Karaeng resolved to call her forth to stand before him and I Papuq in order that “everything be open.”

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448 As the words of I Papuq quoted above suggest, the LB Lemobajo and MS 260 manuscripts perhaps should be understood as interesting examples of oral tradition pertaining to the place of the Sama Bajo in the early modern world of the Makassarese polity of Gowa, retold and repackaged in Bugis-Bone vernacular. The title used here for the Karaeng Gowa, “Karaeng Torisombaé,” for instance, is the title used most specifically for the fifteenth Bugis ruler of Bone, Sultan Sahaduddin La Tenritatta Matinroé ri Bontoalaq, most famously known as Arung Palakka (r.1672-1696). Yet, for the author(s) of the LB Lemobajo and MS 260 manuscripts, writing from within a decidedly Bugis-Bone milieu, Karaeng Torisombaé apparently could more simply signify the paramount ruler of the kingdom, be it Gowa or Bone. Likewise, the Bugis title Tomarilaleng is used rather than the Makassarese equivalent, Tumailalang, to denote those ministers charged as intermediaries in the realm. Thus, while the story relates the advent of the I Papuq and his followers in Gowa, both LB Lemobajo and MS 260 recount this important oral tradition in the same vernacular and context that they likely had heard it themselves, a world in which the Sama Bajo nobility linked themselves primarily to the histories of Bone rather than Gowa. MS 260, f.3; MS 250a, f.3.

449 MS 260, f.5.
After she arrived and sat before the regalia and Karaeng Torisombaé, the room again became silent. All in attendance were taken aback by the enchanting presence of the child of I Papuq, tall and slender, as beautiful as the rising moon of the fifteenth day, the one who shared a sarung with Karaeng Torisombaé, under the protection of the mosquito net. Karaeng Torisombaé said in his heart, as did the Adeq Tomaritaleng, and all those in attendance, in their hearts they said, ‘I Papuq is the puwang [father] of the one joined to our Karaeng Torisombaé. I Papuq is the puwang of I Lolo. She is his child’.

At that moment, I Lolo spoke to the Karaeng, “Truly, my Karaeng, the one called Papuq is also called Tidung Karaeng Bayo Nisomba Tonji.”

To understand the precise meaning of the full title— *I Papuq Tidung Karaeng Bayo ri Sombatonji*—declared by the Papuq to the representative of Gowa, and stated again by his daughter, requires more than a straightforward translation, as it joins elements of widely popular oral, and later written traditions into a single appellation. Nevertheless, the weight of the title and the intention of its telling would be clear to knowledgeable Sama Bajo and Makassarese listeners in the past as well as today. By examining the constituent parts of the title within in the context of other similar traditions captured in Sama Bajo and Makassarese oral and written traditions, we can discern something of its cultural and historical importance for both Sama Bajo and Makassarese audiences.

The first element of the title, “Tidung,” and its connection to the Sama Bajo of Sulawesi has long been a mystery to interested scholars and continues to be a source of confusion among knowledgeable Sama Bajo and Makassarese even today. While it is clear in the extant sources that the Sama Bajo are linked in some manner to Tidung, the nature of that association remains unknown. In the Makassarese context, the Sama Bajo and Tidung are often paired together in *kelong* and other traditions, but the relationship is never explicit. Likewise, seventeenth century Spanish sources indicate a close relationship between the Tidung and those Sama

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450 MS 260, f. 6; LB Lemobajo, f.8-9 (sec.11-12)
Bajo groups who formed a powerful component of the Sultan of Brunei’s navy, but the exact nature of their association is unclear.

For early Spanish observers, the Tidung were an assortment of peoples living in the coastal regions of northeast Borneo who played an important role as the maritime forces of the kingdom of Brunei in the seventeenth century, and were later subjugated by the Sulu Sultanate. They were also involved in the trade networks linking northeast Borneo to Sulu, Sulawesi, and Maluku, likely operating on under the authority of Brunei. Because of their attacks on Mindanao and Sulu, seventeenth-century Spanish sources consistently refer to the Tidung as pirates, and they are often called *Camuçones*, which was also the name the Spanish gave to Sama Bajo groups affiliated with Brunei during that period. In 1774, the English captain Thomas Forrest likewise described the Tidung as “a savage piratical people...who live far up certain rivers” in northeastern Borneo and who regularly cruised the coast of Borneo and the Philippine archipelago in order to prey on unsuspecting ships. Forrest himself nearly fell victim to a Tidung raid while anchored off the coast of Borneo, but the presence of several armed Sama Bajo vessels in the area apparently discouraged the Tidung fleet. I have not come across any reference in the seventeenth and eighteenth century records of the VOC to Tidung as either a people or a place, but their reputation as fearsome pirates continued to be cited by Dutch authors in the later colonial period, when Dutch ships still regularly clashed with Tidung, Sama Bajo, and Ilanun groups of seaborne raiders along the Borneo coast. By the mid-nineteenth century, however, the Dutch colonial government laid claim to the so-called “Tidung lands” (*Tidoengsche landen*), a coastal region of northeast Borneo formerly claimed by the Sultan of Bulungan. By this time, many Tidung peoples apparently had lost their dominance in local maritime trading and raiding networks and moved inland, taking on new roles in agriculture and the

453 *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol.4, 333.
forest products trade.\textsuperscript{454} Taken as a whole, these diverse sources suggest that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Tidung and Sama Bajo peoples lived side-by-side in a number of areas along the northeast Borneo coast and may have operated together in some of their maritime activities.

The references to “Tidung” in the Makassarese and Sama Bajo traditions, however, seem to point to an even earlier connection between the two groups. What is not clear, however, is whether the “Tidung” in question refers to the Tidung of east Borneo or to a land of the same name in the Makassar region of south Sulawesi. In one of the earliest explanations of the Sama Bajo’s relationship to Tidung, Dutch adventurer and trader J.N. Vosmaer was told that Tidung referred to a village of that name near Gowa, not Borneo, and that the Sama Bajo people had once settled there and were thus known by that name.\textsuperscript{455} Matthes restated a similar explanation in his 1859 Makassarese dictionary, and according to Jilis Verheijen, as late as the 1970s the autochthonous population in the Maumere region of north Flores still referred to the Sama Bajo as \textit{ata Tidung}, or “Tidung people,” for the very same reason.\textsuperscript{456} In their translation of the Chronicle of Talloq, Rahim and Ridwan provide a different explanation. Elaborating on Tumamenang ri Makkoayang’s (Karaeng Talloq, r.1540/3-1576) conquest of a land called Tidung in 1534, they explain that “Tidung is name of a coastal area in eastern Kalimantan and the population there are expert shipwrights. The people of Tidung have migrated widely, including to south Sulawesi and mainly to the area of Mandar, Makassar, and Bugis...[and] because they always worked at sea, the local population called them \textit{Turijeqneq or Bayo}. One of their villages was named after the land from which they had come: Tidung; and they were sometimes called “Tidung,” meaning a people who come from the land Tidung, in coastal East Borneo.”\textsuperscript{457} Thus, according to Rahim and Ridwan, Tidung on east Borneo is the origin of the Sama Bajo people living in South Sulawesi, who were

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{454} Okushima, “Ethnic Background of the Tidung,” 234.
\item \textsuperscript{455} Vosmaer, “Korte beschrijving,” 125.
\item \textsuperscript{456} Matthes, \textit{Makassaarsch-Hollandsch Woordenboek}, 40; Verheijen, \textit{The Sama/Bajau Language}, 203, fn. 66.
\item \textsuperscript{457} Abd. Rahim and Ridwan Borahima, \textit{Sejarah Kerajaan Tallo’} (Ujung Pandang: Lembaja Sejarah dan Antropologi, 1975), 30-31. The Chronicle of Talloq states that Tumamenang ri Makkoayang conquered Tidung at age fourteen, and according to Cummings, Tumamenang ri Makkoayang was born in 1520. Cummings, \textit{A Chain of Kings}, 110.
\end{itemize}
later called Turijeqneq ("water people") and Bayo, both of which are Makassarese names for the Sama Bajo. Furthermore, whereas Vosmaer and Matthes were told Tidung was located near Gowa, the Chronicle of Gowa and Talloq instead states that the land of Tidung conquered by Talloq lies "in Majeneq," which apparently is a reference to the minor polity of that name on the coast of west Sulawesi, roughly 100 miles north of Gowa.458

In interviews I conducted with various knowledgeable Sama Bajo and Makassarese elders, the precise link between the Sama Bajo and Tidung, as well as the location of Tidung itself, was also unclear. Many of these elders referred to the region called Tidung in eastern Borneo, while others pointed to an area of Tamalate (near Gowa), which they said was at one time located along an inland tributary of the Garassiq River. Others drew a connection between both lands and explained that Sama Bajo groups from the area of Tidung in south Sulawesi settled in eastern Borneo when Gowa-Talloq extended its influence to that area in the early seventeenth century, and consequently that area too became known as Tidung. One elder explained that the Sama Bajo and Tidung were separate ethnic communities (suku), and the Tidung came from Borneo, but because both groups had a similar maritime orientation and lifestyle they were eventually seen by the Makassarese as one.

While the various sources cited above do not exactly clarify the relationship of Tidung to the Sama Bajo of south Sulawesi, each of these traditions nevertheless point to the importance of early and ongoing links between the Sama Bajo and eastern Borneo, and to the role of the Sama Bajo in the formation of the Gowa polity. The linguistic research of Pallesen and Blust cited in chapter one identifies eastern Borneo as an area where maritime Sama speakers settled prior to their initial arrival in south Sulawesi, and, if Blust is correct, east Borneo may be the earliest known origin of Sama speaking peoples. In subsequent centuries, Europeans drew clear distinctions between the Sama Bajo and the Tidung, but these apparently separate communities lived side-by-side in the Borneo littoral and both sailed under

458 Cummings, Chain of Kings, 85.
Brunei’s flag on trading and naval expeditions to areas of the Sulu archipelago and Sulawesi. It is, therefore, highly possible that in this period Tidung and Sama Bajo were seen by some groups as related, or as one, but this does not account for the coupling of the two ethnonyms in Makassarese traditions regarding the founding of Gowa’s royal line nor in the title of the Papiq. I believe these traditions suggest that any understanding of the association of the Sama Bajo with Tidung must focus on the earliest period of Gowa’s history, as Makassarese and Sama Bajo traditions and the archaeological evidence all indicate that Sama Bajo peoples were an influential part of the south Sulawesi political landscape by the mid-thirteenth century.\(^{459}\) The continued close relationship between Sama Bajo peoples and the Makassarese in subsequent centuries also greatly diminishes the possibility that the Sama Bajo and Tidung would have become indistinguishable in the Makassarese conception at a later date. Further research in relevant Makassarese manuscripts and on the linguistic and historical affinities between the area of Tidung in south Sulawesi and that in eastern Borneo is required to clarify this matter, but it is clear that in the Makassarese conception Tidung is linked to the Sama Bajo, and for the Makassarese the Sama Bajo—as represented by figure of Karaeng Lolo Bayo—are an integral part of their earliest history and the foundation of the Gowa kingdom.

The second element of I Papiq’s title, that of *Karaeng Bayo*, is well known but no less complicated. As mentioned in chapter one, Karaeng Bayo, or the “lord of the Sama Bajo,” was the title given to the mysterious man of unknown origin who was chosen to marry the heavenly being known as the *tumanurung*, thus founding the kingdom of Gowa and its ruling lineage. According to Bulbeck’s analysis of the Makassarese chronicles and archaeological evidence, he estimates that the marriage of the Karaeng Bayo and the *tumanurung*, and thus the founding of the Gowa polity, would have taken place sometime around 1300.\(^{460}\) The precise details of the early relationship of the Sama Bajo to the Makassarese polities unfortunately remain beyond our reach, but the evidence we do have clearly demonstrates the existence of Sama Bajo peoples in south Sulawesi by c. 1300, and that those groups of Sama

\(^{459}\) Bulbeck, “Tale of Two Kingdoms,” 34.

\(^{460}\) Bulbeck, “Tale of Two Kingdoms,” 32-34.
Bajo were a constitutive element in the earliest years and later growth of the polity of Gowa. Aside from the use of title of Karaeng Bayo, however, Sama Bajo traditions regarding their advent in south Sulawesi do not explicitly refer to the *tumanurung* tradition. Instead, the manuscript’s narrative focuses on establishing the royalty of the Papuq in the context of a Gowa kingdom that existed prior to the Papuq’s arrival. Nevertheless, by claiming the title of Karaeng Bayo for the Papuq, these oral and written traditions unmistakably link the Papuq, as lord of the Sama Bajo who came to form a lasting alliance with Gowa, to one of the most important figures in Makassarese history.

The further designation “*ri Sombatonji*” also appears in a few well-known Makassarese traditions and is still widely known in similar contexts by Sama Bajo across eastern Indonesia today. One popular *kelong*, for instance, ends with the stanza “*Bayo ri somba tonji,*” which is often translated as “the Bayo [Sama Bajo] have the right to rule as well.”461 Likewise, in the Jampea manuscript of Usman Tawang we find a similar *kelong* in which the Sama Bajo wife of the ruler in Gowa sings to her child, assuring him of the prestigious position of the Sama Bajo people in the kingdom of Gowa:

- *Manna Tidung ta Tidungnu*  
  Whether Tidung or not Tidung

- *Manna Bayo ta Bayonu*  
  Whether Bayo or not Bayo

- *Tidung Karaeng*  
  Tidung Karaeng

- *Bayoka nisomba tonji*  
  Of the Bayo is revered as well

Some informants have suggested to me, however, that this particular *kelong* and perhaps its popular variants, such as that published in Matthes’ *Chrestomathie*, were not in reference to the early marriage of the Karaeng Gowa to the Papuq’s daughter, I Lolo.462 Rather, it was suggested that this widely known *kelong* alludes to the much later marriage of the Karaeng Gowa Sultan Ala’uddin Tumenanga ri Gaukanna (r.1593-1639) to a Sama Bajo woman. Though we cannot be certain of this explanation, the Gowa chronicle records that Sultan Ala’uddin did in fact marry a

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462 Interview with Haji Badeq, Bajoé, 03-06-2008; Interview with Mboq Baleh, Allas, Sumbawa, 14-07-2009; Interview with Jufri Tenribali, Sombaopus, Makassar, 10-09-2011; Interview with Mboq Nahaseng, Sulamu, Kupang, 13-09-2011.
Sama Bajo woman from Garassiq named I Uru. In his explanation of the *kelong*, Matthes states that, to understand this particular *kelong* the listener must be familiar with the marriage of one of the rulers with the "king of the Toe-ri-djene’s" a man named Lolo Poleyang.  

It is important to remember that the narrative contained in MS 260 and LB Lemobajo does not suggest that I Papuq was the leader of all the Sama Bajo people, but rather he is said to be the leader of a particularly large community that had its base at Ussuq in the Luwuq region. The veracity of this reference cannot be established with certainty, but the known history of the Luwuq region suggests that it is highly plausible. Based on extensive archaeological excavations, as well as analysis of available manuscript sources, Bulbeck and Caldwell have determined the existence of several Sama Bajo communities in the coastal and riverine areas of greater Luwuq, most notably those around Ussuq and Tampinna, which were settled in the early fourteenth century at the latest, as well as an earlier settlement at Katué. These communities are thought to have played a vital role in the upstream-downstream trade of highly prized iron ore and ironware that characterized the dendritic trade networks of the area. According to Bulbeck and Caldwell, settlements such as the one at Katué provide clear evidence of Sama Bajo involvement in the long-distance trade along the south and southeast Sulawesi littoral in the first millennium AD, prior to Bugis settlement in those coastal areas.

**The Nature of the Papuq’s Authority and His Relationship to the Sama Bajo**

When combined with information provided in other extant oral and written historical traditions, the narrative of the Papuq’s initial arrival on the southwest Sulawesi coast offers important details about the nature of the Papuq’s authority.

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463 Unfortunately the chronicle of Gowa offers no further information about this marriage, other than the fact that I Uru bore one son named I Mattalle, who died while still young. Cummings, *Chain of Kings*, 44.
464 Matthes, *Makasaarsche Chresomathie*, 226. We cannot be certain, but it is possible that this is a reference to the man listed in the Chronicles of Gowa-Talloq as Lolo Pujang, who is remembered as a close friend of Karaeng Matoaya, the advisor to Sultan Ala’uddin. Cummings, *Chain of Kings*, 90.
and his relationship to his Sama Bajo followers. At the most basic level, the oral and written traditions clearly establish the Papuq as the paramount leader of a particularly large group of Sama Bajo people who came to form an alliance with an emergent Makassarese polity identified in the manuscripts as Gowa. Furthermore, his daughter is known by the title or name I Lolo; a fact of great importance when we consider the history of that designation in both pre- and post-Makassar War contexts.

Makassarese manuscript sources also clearly identify Papuq as the title of the head of the Sama Bajo, or Turijeqneq, who were loyal to the kingdoms of Gowa and Talloq. Yet, the earliest dateable reference to the Papuq in the Makassarese sources is to a particular unnamed Papuq who formed a relationship with Karaeng Tunilaburi Suriwa, the second ruler of Talloq (r. late fifteenth century to early 1500s).468 Although prior to the mid-nineteenth century the Dutch were apparently unaware of the Papuq’s role as leader of the Sama Bajo under Gowa-Talloq and assumed instead that the Papuq must have been Makassarese nobility, in these sources it is evident that Papuq was not a Makassarese term, title, or position, but rather it was a title given to the Sama Bajo leader by the Sama Bajo themselves, and the title itself is said to predate the relationship of the Sama Bajo to Gowa.

From the first two references to the Papuq that appear in the lontaraq bilang, or royal annals, of Gowa-Talloq, we learn that on 12 March 1703 the reigning Papuq, Daeng Numalo, passed away and was replaced by a man named Daeng Makkulle Ahmad less than three months later. Importantly, the entry regarding his investiture states that Daeng Makkulle was “installed as Papuq by his family.”469 Based on other entries in the annals and information from other manuscripts we know that Daeng Makkulle was the grandson of an important Sama Bajo woman of noble birth named I Amboq, who was well respected in Makassarese elite circles, and that he was either the son or the nephew of the previous Papuq, Daeng Numalo. From this brief but telling passage we know that the Papuq was not appointed by the ruler of Gowa, but by his “family” (Mak., pamanakanna). Thus, whereas high-ranking positions within

468 NBG 17, f.97-99; NBG 208, f.62-63; MS 193, f.12; KITLV Or.545, no.233, f.3-6.
469 Cummings, Makassar Annals, 176.
the Gowa court, such as tumailalang, tumakkajannang, or sabannaraq, were “appointed” (nanitannang) by the ruler, the one who would bear the title of Papuq was chosen as lord of the Sama Bajo peoples allied with Gowa-Talloq by his kinfolk. The manner of the Papuq’s appointment accords with Sama Bajo traditions as well. In Sama Bajo communities today, and throughout the LB Lemobajo and MS 260 manuscripts, we find that the leadership group is comprised of respected elders, many of whom are of noble birth, and part of a widely dispersed extended family. Oral traditions I recorded in areas of Sulawesi, Sumbawa, and Flores likewise indicate that Sama Bajo leaders were traditionally appointed from this high-status group on the basis of both ascribed and achieved status, selecting from among those of noble blood the individual who demonstrated the desirable qualities of a leader.

As in Makassarese society, many Sama Bajo place a great deal of importance on lineage and such noble genealogies serve as the basis for established social hierarchies. Rather than the descent from the tumanurung, however, for the vast majority of Sama Bajo peoples in the eastern Indonesian archipelago today, noble status is proven by the ability to trace one’s lineage to the Lolo Bajo bloodline, and thus, ultimately to the progenitor of that line, the Papuq. This extended family of individuals who claim to belong to this bloodline of early Sama Bajo nobility still forms the upper strata of the Sama Bajo communities throughout the region today. It is said that in the past they emphasized their position high-status by donning certain clothing, demonstrating wealth through extravagant ceremonies and celebrations, and by amassing an entourage comprised of kin, supporters, clients, and slaves. In the LB Lemobajo manuscript we are given numerous examples of adat law that further delineated the many of the rights, privileges and protections afforded those of high-level status in the community. Such status determined matters of bride price, form or severity of punishment, and tribute. From these and similar records we are given a clear sense that status and hierarchy were pervasive in Sama Bajo society and, just as Cummings noted for their Makassarese neighbors,
served to mark out a “coherent system of relative statuses and clear political and social relationships within an integrated whole.”

In many Sama Bajo communities today, tangible evidence of one’s noble lineage is found in the possession of certain regalia, such as lontaraq manuscripts (rumored or real), keris and other weapons, clothing, musical instruments, and perhaps most importantly, a uniquely Sama Bajo banner or pennant known as ula-ula. Today ula-ula are still found scattered about the archipelago, stored with the utmost reverence in the homes of certain Sama Bajo nobility, some of which date to the early nineteenth century and perhaps earlier, and others newly made to replace the tattered banner of their ancestors. These pennants are typically very large, sometimes five meters in length, and in my experience are almost always in the shape of a human, complete with a head and flowing arms and legs (see Fig.3). It is said that ula-ula can be owned only by those belonging to the bloodline of the Lolo Bajo, and those who dare create their own ula-ula in order to pretend to higher status could be stricken by all sorts of calamities. Some say that ula-ula were once the pennants flown above the decks of noble Sama Bajo ships, and as banners marched into war, but more commonly, and still today, ula-ula are only brought out on special occasions such as circumcisions and wedding ceremonies for high-status youth. As objects of the living past that provided a link to the power and authority

470 Cummings, Making Blood White, 29.
471 An interesting relationship may exist between Sama Bajo practices involving the ula-ula and the Makassarese traditions pertaining to ula-ula in earlier periods. In his Makassarese dictionary, Cense defines ula-ula based on Makassarese historical manuscripts as follows: “Formerly used as a symbol for royal vessels from Goa, Tanete, and Sanrabone, [which was] hoisted at the masthead, a figurine with a head, neck, and a portion of the chest, from wood, trunk, arms and legs from cloth filled with cotton and wearing shoes.” He cites a sumptuary law regarding the use of ula-ula from a manuscript, which states, “Only three rulers may carry an ula-ula aboard their ship, namely the rulers of Gowa, Sanrabone, and Tanete, but only the ruler of Gowa, wherever he sails, may hoist the ula-ula to the top of the mast. The rulers of Sanrabone and Tanete may not do this. The ruler of Sanrabone may only fly the ula-ula at the top of the mast sailing to Sanrobengi, beyond that he must lower it to half-mast. So too the ruler of Tanete may only fly the ula-ula at the top of the mast as far as Kalorrang, beyond that he must lower it to half-mast.” He also notes that ula-ula were used aboard the royal ships to indicate that the ruler was onboard. Cense and Abdoerrahim, Makassaars-Nederlands Woordenboek, 897.
473 In an interview with knowledgeable descendants of the Wolio nobility in Buton I was told that, in former times, the leader (punggawa) of the Sama Bajo in the Buton-Tukangbesi region would raise the ula-ula or “Sama Bajo flag” (bendera Bajo) prior to entering the harbor at Bau-Bau in order to signal his arrival
of the ancestors, these heirlooms were, and often still are, thought to be sources of immense supernatural power.

Sama Bajo royal regalia are also mentioned in the LB Lemobajo and MS 260 manuscripts. After the birth of the child of I Lolo and the Karaeng Gowa—the grandchild of I Papuq—a ceremony and celebration were held at the palace for the child’s circumcision. Once again I Papuq and his many children and grandchildren were invited to the palace. At this ceremony the regalia of Gowa were exhibited, which would have included royal clothing, banners or flags, swords, kerises, and other objects that embodied the greatness and spiritual potency of the kingdom.474 The manuscripts note that the regalia of the kingdom of I Papuq were also prepared, and, most importantly, that the Sama Bajo regalia were of equal status to those of Gowa.475 At the close of the ceremony, I Papuq declares that he is leaving his grandchild in the palace of Gowa as “a symbol of the kingdom of I Papuq,” along with objects said to represent his greatness (tanra arajang), including an unnamed flag (perhaps an ula-ula), royal clothing, punting poles, an ambaralaq476, and musical instruments.477

Even with such symbols and traditions of hierarchy and status centered on noble blood, oral and written sources emphasize that authority in the Sama Bajo context was also dependent on the consensus of the elders, and that this council at times included individuals who held leadership roles in Sama Bajo communities to the Sultan. A similar account was related to me by a descendant of a famous Punggawa Bajo in Tukangbesi, who still possesses the ula-ula said to belong to his ancestor. Interview with Haji Adam in Mola, Tukangbesi, 04-05-2011.

474 On the importance of such royal regalia, most often referred to as kalompoang or gaukang in Makassarese contexts and gaukeng in Bugis contexts, see, Cummings, Making Blood White, 53-57; Andaya, Heritage of Arung Palakka, 15; Chabot, Kinship, Status and Gender, 83-84; Shelly Errington, Meaning and Power in a Southeast Asian Realm (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 125-126.

475 From MS 260, the original Bugis reads: “Napada tettonna maddauq pakéyang arajanggalé nadéq assitétatana ritatingq riita mappada pangkaq arajanna I Papuq na pakéyang arajanna Karaengta Torisombae, nadéqna narisedding esso wenni,” MS 260, f. 9; LB Lemobajo, f.12-13 (sec.20).

476 The use of ambaralaq in this context is unclear. In his Bugis dictionary, Matthes has amabarala as “admiral,” with the further mention of ambarala lau for “sea guardian.” Likewise, for the Makassarese language Cense has ambaralaq or amaralaq as meaning “admiral,” and notes, that “in older Makassarese sources the two highest Company officials in Celebes, namely Speelman and Smout, were always designated along with their naval rank.” In the context of Sama Bajo manuscripts, it seems unlikely that an “admiral” would be listed among the items left in the palace by the I Papuq as symbols of his kingdom. B.F. Matthes, Boegineesch-Hollandsch Woordenboek (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1874), 796; Cense and Abdoerrahim, Makassars-Nederlands Woordenboek, 12-13.

477 MS 260, f. 9; MS 250a, f.10; LB Lemobajo, f.12-13 (sec.20).
distant from the Papuq. Throughout the LB Lemobajo and MS 260 manuscripts, for example, we find evidence that the Papuq’s authority was premised on the advice and agreement of the community, or perhaps at least a council of elders which represented the various and widely dispersed constituent communities of the polity. When, for example, the Papuq learns of his daughter’s whereabouts in Gowa, the manuscript records that, “After hearing the news that their Puwang’s daughter was in the palace of Karaeng Torisombaé, the Bajo people gathered together to discuss the matter. The Bajo agreed and told their Puwang of their decision and said, ‘Whatever is the decision and desire of I Papuq, that is what we will do’.”  

Likewise, after their arrival in the Gowa roadstead the Papuq informs the royal envoy of Gowa that he and his followers would come to visit the Karaeng in his palace on an auspicious day. The Papuq then gathered all of his followers and together they discussed and agreed upon the proper day to go before the Karaeng. In these and many other instances in the manuscripts, decisions are first made in consensus with the Papuq’s “many children and grandchildren,” and only then does the Papuq issue his order. This tradition of rule rooted in greater group consensus would continue to be an integral feature of the Lolo Bajo polity after its split from the Gowa-Talloq in the late 1670s.

Although the manuscript sources and oral traditions provide much more information regarding the political and social network of the later Lolo Bajo polity, there are still some important clues as to the structure of the network of Sama Bajo communities under the Papuq. From these traditions, as well as from other sources, we are given an impression of the Sama Bajo network under the Papuq as an ever-shifting constellation of communities and mobile groups distributed throughout the eastern Indonesian seas. According to oral traditions, each community had its own leaders who were selected from among the elders, most often on the basis of their abilities and qualities, as well as on their noble lineage, if such nobility existed in the area. In certain communities in southeast Sulawesi, north Maluku, and western Flores, I was told that such group leaders were sometimes known as gonggoh, and

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478 MS 260, f.2; MS 250a, f.1
479 MS 260, f.4; MS 250a, f.4.
were selected based on bravery and charisma, as well as their ability to predict weather, fishing conditions, and their skills in locating fishing areas and in navigation more generally.\textsuperscript{480} In those communities who linked themselves to the Lolo Bajo polity and Bone (as will be discussed below), we know that leaders held the title of \textit{punggawa} and \textit{gellareng} (Bug., \textit{gellareng}; Mak., \textit{gallarrang}) and the limited information we have suggests that the same titles were also used in the communities under the Papuq. Furthermore, from the VOC records and Bima manuscripts we know that the various men who held the title of Papuq had an impressive following that included official envoys (with the title of \textit{punggawa} and \textit{gallarrang}), scribes, artisans, and military men of some sort, in addition to ordinary subjects.

VOC reports for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, for example, note that Company officials and Dutch burghers met with representatives of the Papuq in the Sandao settlements of Pota and Reo, both on the northwest coast of Flores.\textsuperscript{481} Likewise, on two different occasions, the Dutch in Makassar intercepted letters from the Papuq. In the first instance, a letter was written to the ruler of Gowa and another to Karaeng Bontomanompoq in 1711, each written in Makassarese language and script. In the second case, which was discussed in the previous chapter, letters were written to the Dutch \textit{tolk} (interpreter) in Solor and to the \textit{sengaji} of Pandai (Alor) in 1724, both in Malay using Arabic script.\textsuperscript{482} Furthermore, in 1768, in one of the last times we hear of the Papuq in the VOC records, we are given a detailed account of the Papuq’s retinue and his holdings on the Manggarai coast by a slave who was released to the Company administration in Makassar. In the interrogation of the former slave, we learn that the Papuq maintained a considerable force of armed

\textsuperscript{480} Though I encountered this title in interviews with individuals in widely disparate settings who had no known connections between them, I was unable to gather further information regarding its history from other sources. Prior to this usage, I was only aware of \textit{gonggoh} as a baong Sama name used for the species of fish commonly known as the Red Cornetfish (\textit{Fistularia petimba}). Verheijen records the same fish as \textit{Tali gonggoh} in his list of baong Sama fish names. Verheijen, \textit{The Sama/Bajau Language}, 52.

\textsuperscript{481} VOC Makassar 1453, f.143r-146v; VOC Makassar 8191, f.283-284; VOC Makassar 8200, f.572-573.

\textsuperscript{482} VOC Makassar 8182, f.203-204; VOC 742, f.73; VOC Timor 8321, f.51.
men, including drummers and flag bearers, and that he was in control of at least three benteng or fortresses at various negeri on the northwest coast of Flores.483

In the Makassarese records we also find scattered references to Sama Bajo nobles who served under the Papuq and bore the title of I Lolo. Though the examples are few, those we do have clearly indicate their identity as Sama Bajo nobility and their subordination to the Papuq. In a manuscript B.F. Matthes had copied from the lontaraq collection of the kali (kadi, Islamic official) of Gowa, we find a rapang, or a genre of Makassarese writing that contains the knowledge of renowned and revered ancestors, which mentions a “Lolo Bayo” (Lolo Bajo) of Sanrabeone. In this rapang, which concerns matters of shipping and ship technology, the Lolo Bayo refers the audience to a set of customary laws issued by the Papuq and cites the Papuq as the ultimate source of the edicts rather than himself.484 Additionally, there are indications that not only Sama Bajo but Makassarese nobles too answered to the authority of the various Lolo Bajo and the Papuq. In one rapang, for example, a Makassarese noble named Kare Jinne refused to appear before the Karaeng of Gowa without first visiting an unspecified Lolo Bayo.485 Several other Makassarese nobles, such as the troublesome figure Daeng Mangaliki who will be discussed below, appear in the sources as representatives and subjects of the Papuq. Likewise, in 1743 the former Tumabicarabutta of Gowa and ruler of Talloq, Karaeng Majannang Abdul Kadir I La Sanresang, told Governor Smout that the Papuq was the “leader of the Makassarese in Sumba and Manggarai.”486

Even in those cases where the ethnic identity of the individual is not stated so explicitly, it is still worth considering the possibility that some of the more infamous bearers of the title “I Lolo” in Makassarese history might also have been members of the Sama Bajo nobility. An I Lolo Tamakana, for example, is known in the Gowa chronicle as the man who killed the twelfth ruler of Gowa, Tunijalloq (r.1565-1590), while sailing off the coast of Lipukasiq. If he were indeed a Sama

483 VOC Makassar 3277, f.39-46.
484 See for example, NBG 23, f.8-11; KITLV Or.545, no.85; Lathief recorded a Makassarese oral tradition involving the “I Lolo Bayo Karaeng Sanrabeone” regarding the origin of the ritually important garrang drum in Makassar. See Halilintar Lathief, Gendang Makassar (Ujung Pandang: n.p., 1996), 14-15.
485 KITLV Or.545, no.266: “Rapang Tunipassala.”
486 “Papoe, hoofd der Macassaren op Soemba en Mangareij.” VOC Makassar 8219, f.133.
Bajo noble, then the chronicle would reveal that this individual was of extremely high status, raised as a milk-sibling of the ruler of Gowa, and that his was a grievance great enough for him to commit regicide.487 Another bearer of the title I Lolo, I Lolo Pujiang, is mentioned in the Talloq chronicle as being the family friend of the wife of Karaeng Matoaya Tumamenang ri Agama (r.1593-1623), and is referred to in a manner that suggests that his name was known and indeed worth being recorded in the history of Gowa and Talloq’s kings.488

The Relationship of the Papuq Polity to the Makassarese Polities of South Sulawesi

To reconstruct the general outlines of the Papuq polity as it functioned in eastern Indonesia between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries, it is necessary to situate the Papuq and his Sama Bajo followers within the context of their relationship to several Makassarese polities in southwest Sulawesi. As mentioned above, the earliest communities of Sama Bajo peoples were established in the region sometime in the last half of the thirteenth century, and Sama Bajo oral and written traditions state that the leader of these initial groups was known by the title of Papuq. In the Makassarese historical sources, the earliest mention of the title “Papuq” appears only in reference to events of the late 1400s. Compiling the scattered references found in these various sources, as well as archaeological evidence, a picture emerges in which Sama Bajo communities established themselves in a number of areas of the southwest Sulawesi littoral and offshore islands as early as the mid-thirteenth century, and they appear to have been a vital element in local commerce from the outset.

In addition to their presence in the offshore Sangkarang and Pabbiring islands (the Spermonde Archipelago), important sites of early Sama Bajo settlement were also established at the mouths of the four major rivers in the Gowa-Talloq

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487 Cummings, Chain of Kings, 38. Cummings, Making Blood White, 85-86.
488 Cummings, Chain of Kings, 90. As stated previously, Matthes makes reference to a Lolo Polyeang, as the “ruler of the Toe-ri-djene’s” whose daughter had married either the ruler of Bone or the ruler of Gowa. It is possible that these were in fact the same individual, though it is impossible to say for certain. Matthes, Makassaarsche Chrestomathie, 255.
region, namely the Talloq, Jeqneqberang (Garassiq), Galesong, and Sanrabone rivers. Importantly, each of these sites was known by the toponym “Bayoa” ("place of the Sama Bajo") and archaeological excavation in each area has uncovered several boat-shaped wooden coffins (*duni* or “ship of the dead”), which is a burial practice characteristic of the early Sama Bajo sites and which later became popular among the Makassarese in the pre-Islamic period. The dating of the Bayoa settlements ranges between the mid-thirteenth to the early sixteenth centuries, with the Karaeng Lolo Bayo gravesite at the mouth of the Sanrabone River being the earliest dateable site (c.1260-1360AD).489 The settlement of Sama Bajo peoples in these locations, which we discussed in chapter one, predated the arrival of the Malay trading community and appears to have been an initial catalyst in transforming these once unremarkable estuaries into important ports for local and regional commerce. Located at the mouths of the major rivers, the Bayoa settlements sat at the junction of the interior and the coast, where the Sama Bajo could act as intermediaries between certain local inland Makassarese communities, such as Talloq and Gowa, and the maritime trade networks that extended from Sumatra and Java to Maluku and the southern Philippines.490 The significant quantities of Vietnamese, Thai, and Ming tradewares excavated from Bayoa gravesites attests to the broader commercial linkages of these ports.

Thus, from their very inception in the Makassarese world, the Sama Bajo served as a primary link between inland-oriented Makassarese and the riches of the maritime world. Their important position as a maritime trading community and as a source, and perhaps locus of wealth, evidently translated into a high level of status for the Sama Bajo community within the Makassarese world. This is seen most clearly in the person of Karaeng Lolo Bayo, who not only figures prominently in the foundation histories of Gowa and Talloq but also in those of the earlier Makassarese polity of Bantaeng. Additional evidence directly linking the Karaeng Lolo Bayo of the Sanrabone Bayoa site with the progenitor of the ruling line of Gowa-Talloq is

needed, but these traditions do suggest that the members of the Sama Bajo nobility intermarried with local Makassarese elites and wielded a high degree of influence in the political development of early Makassarese polities. Such influence is evident in the adoption of burial practices associated with the Sama Bajo by the pre-Islamic Makassarese, particularly the “ship of the dead” burial sites described above. Bulbeck argues that the Sama Bajo very likely were the first group to practice this form of burial in the region, which included the use of a boat-shaped coffin, the adornment of the dead with golden eye and mouth covers, and a primary east-west inhumation. It was perhaps because of the Sama Bajo’s important status as a trading community that the coastal Makassarese adopted this burial procedure.\textsuperscript{491} The extent of Sama Bajo influence on the Makassarese communities of these areas, particular those around the southern coast, can also be seen in the adoption of certain Sama Bajo dance traditions by Makassarese and the prominence of Sama Bajo elements in local oral tradition.\textsuperscript{492}

Through their important role in maritime trade the Sama Bajo formed relationships with several of the small coastal polities that comprised the south Sulawesi political landscape during this early period. Makassarese historical manuscripts record that certain Sama Bajo groups formed alliances with the polities of Bantaeng, Garassiq, Katingang, Barasaq, and Kandea in particular, but there may have been others. The process by which these alliances were formed is not noted in the sources, but if the history of the Sama Bajo’s relationship to Gowa is any indication, the partnership between the Sama Bajo and the local lords was likely based on the Sama Bajo’s abilities as seafarers, fishers, and traders.

There is evidence to suggest that Bantaeng may have been one of the earliest examples of this common arrangement between the Sama Bajo and landed communities or polities in southwest Sulawesi. In one account, conveyed by a Sama


\textsuperscript{492} See, for example, the practice of the \textit{Kondo Buleng}, or “White Heron” dance, by Makassarese as documented by Claire Holt in the 1930s. Claire Holt, \textit{Dance Quest in Celebes} (Paris: Les Archives Internationales de la Danse, 1939), 18-21. See also, Lathief, \textit{Gendang Makassar}. 

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Bajo elder and recorded in manuscript form probably sometime in the late seventeenth century, we are told that prior to forming an alliance with Gowa, there were Sama Bajo peoples living under a leader “to the west of Doang-Doangang” island (located in the Tanakeke islands) and this community made regular visits to Bantaeng, on the south coast of the peninsula, presumably for trade.493 Bougas has demonstrated that, prior to its incorporation into Gowa’s sphere of influence in the early sixteenth century, Bantaeng was a principal Makassarese entrepot within an expansive trade network that stretched from Sumatra to Maluku. The burgeoning polity of Bantaeng was not originally maritime-oriented, thus it relied extensively on the seafaring Sama Bajo, as well as Javanese, to provide access to the regional trade on which its wealth and power was based.494

The polity of Garassiq is also illustrative of the Sama Bajo’s importance to the political and commercial development of early Makassarese polities. With its substantial Sama Bajo settlement located at the mouth of the Jeqneqberang River (formerly the Garassiq River), Garassiq was ideally situated to become a trading harbor of great importance. Archaeological evidence, as well as later historical records, indicates that Garassiq was the site of substantial trading activity by the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, and may have become a key node in the Javanese trade networks that linked eastern Indonesia to the north Java ports of Majapahit.495 Because of Garassiq’s prominence in overseas trade, and perhaps because of the value of the Bayoa settlement there, the rulers of Gowa and Talloq sought early on to establish control over Garassiq through intermarriage and conquest. Prior to the late fifteenth century Garassiq may have been a vassal of the larger polity of Siang, but towards the end of that century a marriage alliance was formed with Gowa when its seventh ruler, Batara Gowa, married a daughter of the ruler of Garassiq (c. early fifteenth century).496 Talloq’s second ruler, Tunilabu ri Suriwa, also married a woman from Garassiq later in that century, perhaps

493 NBG 17, f. 99-100; NBG 208, f.63-64; MS 193, f.13-14.
494 Bougas, “Bantayan,” 84, 89.
495 Bulbeck, “Tale of Two Kingdoms,” 382-383, 397-398
496 Cummings, Chain of Kings, 30-31, 109.
indicating that Talloq by then assumed control of Garassiq.\textsuperscript{497} Garassiq’s importance as key trading port and a source of wealth apparently led Gowa and Talloq to fight for control of the polity on three occasions in the first half of the sixteenth century, but by 1544 Gowa had gained control of the polity.\textsuperscript{498} Garassiq quickly became the main trading outlet of the nascent kingdom, as well as the general location of Gowa’s royal residence and citadel, Somba Opu, which was also called \textit{Macciniqdanggang} (“watching trade”).\textsuperscript{499}

The relative abundance of tradewares excavated from the Bayoa settlement at Garassiq is indicative of the Sama Bajo’s vital role in that polity’s rise to commercial success. As in other areas and in earlier time periods, their role as the primary procurers of sea produce and as sailors capable of navigating both sea and river passages would have placed the Sama Bajo at the center of Garassiq’s early development. Indeed, the very presence of Sama Bajo traders and fishers was surely a principal catalyst in transforming Garassiq into a port polity of local and regional importance. The Sama Bajo of Garassiq remained a valuable element of local politics and trade in the centuries following Gowa’s absorption of Garassiq in the sixteenth century. This is indicated by the continued presence of sixteenth and seventeenth century tradewares at the Bayoa site, and perhaps by the marriage of Gowa’s thirteenth ruler, Tunipasuluq (r.1590-1593), to a Sama Bajo woman of Garassiq.\textsuperscript{500}

Yet, of all the Makassarese polities, it is the relationship with the kingdoms of Gowa and Talloq that developed most strongly and which figures most prominently in Sama Bajo historical memory. In the LB Lemobajo and MS 260 manuscripts, and in most of the oral traditions circulating among Sama Bajo peoples in eastern Indonesia today, this relationship is said to have begun with the marriage of the Papuq’s daughter to the Karaeng of Gowa. In the Sama Bajo traditions quoted above, it is said that once the identity of the Karaeng’s new wife was discovered, upon hearing her words the audience “said in their hearts”: “Great royalty of the sea was made the wife of our Karaeng Torisombaé,” and thus, the narrator concludes, “The

\begin{footnotes}
\item[497] Cummings, \textit{Chain of Kings}, 84; Bulbeck, “Tale of Two Kingdoms,” 122-123.
\item[498] Bulbeck, “Tale of Two Kingdoms,” 125.
\item[499] Bulbeck, “Tale of Two Kingdoms,” 125-6; Cummings, \textit{Makassar Annals}, 42.
\item[500] Bulbeck, “Tale of Two Kingdoms,” 384-386; Cummings, \textit{Chain of Kings}, 44.
\end{footnotes}
bond between Karaeng Torisombaé [the ruler of Gowa] and I Papuq grew stronger.”

In these passages and their allusion to a history of “great royalty” prior to arriving on Gowa’s shores lies yet another unmistakable assertion of the power of the Papuq and an affirmation that he was a ruler in his own right. In their initial encounters with the Papuq the Karaeng and his ministers recognized the nobility of the Papuq and the strength represented by his large following, and in some versions of the tradition, the Karaeng is even relieved to know that his beloved bride is also of sovereign status. Indeed, up to this point the author(s) of the manuscript portrays the Papuq and the Karaeng of Gowa as equals. In response to this newly formed bond between the Papuq and the ruler of Gowa, the Karaeng and his council decided to request that Papuq and his followers remain and settle “under the shadow of Gowa,” offering the Papuq the choice of any place within the Karaeng’s realm for their settlement. It is at this point, then, that the author(s) first imply an act of submission on the part of I Papuq: “I Papuq then said, “Oh Karaeng Sombaé, we will follow what has been decided by the customs and laws of the land of Gowa. We will seek shade under the shadow of the kingdom of the Karaeng.”

The notion of seeking the shade or shelter provided by another ruler is a common feature of south Sulawesi historical manuscripts and treaties from the early modern period. It refers to a relationship in which one places oneself under the protection of a lord in exchange for one’s loyal support. When used in treaties, the relationship implies a degree of subordination on behalf of the one seeking shade but the sovereignty of the vassal state is never dissolved. In this particular situation we are unfortunately given no further details of the agreement beyond the fact that the ruler had offered I Papuq the choice of any land in his kingdom. In accepting the Karaeng’s offer, the Papuq chose an expansive stretch of the

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501 MS 260, 6. “Arung maraja ha palég ri lauq napobainé Karaénta Torisombaé nisokoq itta-ittana engka ri salassaé na éwa sipuppureng karaénta re laleng balékona ceppaqniagaé,” “Nasiesserina Karaénta Torisombaé sibawa I Papuq assi issengenna sombaé na I Papuq.”

502 MS 260, 7.

southwest Sulawesi littoral and the offshore islands as a space where he and his followers could live and seek their livelihood from the sea.

It is important, however, that we not interpret the Papuq seeking “shade” under the shadow of Gowa simply as an act of submission by the Sama Bajo. Likewise, the taking of the Papuq’s daughter as the wife of the Karaeng Gowa should not be taken to represent the social subordination of the Sama Bajo in Makassarese society.\(^{504}\) In early modern south Sulawesi marriage was a crucial mechanism for establishing and reinforcing social and political links between high-status families and between polities. The marriage of the Papuq’s daughter to the Karaeng Gowa, therefore, was a powerful means of cementing the bonds between the two polities and signifies the formation of a mutually beneficial alliance. The evidence suggests that the Sama Bajo were already an important trading community at this point and thus the ruler of Gowa would have had great reason to persuade the Papuq and his followers settle in Gowa’s domain. His offer of open access to a large portion of the surrounding seas and littoral for the Sama Bajo is comparable to the offer made later to the leader of the Malay trading community by Tunipalangga (Karaeng Gowa, r.1546-1565) in an effort to entice them to settle in Makassar.\(^{505}\) In both cases, the ruler allowed the foreign community to remain a mostly autonomous entity within Gowa’s realm in return for the flow of trade goods that both the Sama Bajo and Malays would funnel into Makassar.

In many oral traditions regarding this marriage, from the moment the fisherman finds her drifting among flotsam off the coast of Gowa, I Lolo is entirely silent. She does not respond to any of the Karaeng’s questions, in any language, nor will she eat any of the food offered to her. Though silent, she does not resist the Karaeng’s advances and soon she is pregnant with his child. The Karaeng is perplexed by her silence and worried because she has not eaten. In some versions, the princess will only eat *bantunang*, a type of trepang that is among the few species

\(^{504}\) Cf. Gaynor, “Liquid Territory,” where the history of the lost daughter of I Papuq and her eventual marriage to the Karaeng Gowa is interpreted as a euphemism for the processes of social subordination of the Sama Bajo and their incorporation into the kingdoms of South Sulawesi.

consumed by the Sama Bajo rather than collected solely for trade, and which can perhaps be understood as an act signifying her Sama Bajo identity. In these versions the Karaeng only becomes aware of her identity and royal status after his son is born. In the Jampea manuscript it is said that, one day when the child would not cease his crying, the princess took her son into her chamber and began to sing to him in baong Sama, “Eee...Suppineko nyomba aku anaq, tidor sikareh” (Oh, my child stop your crying, my reverence for you my child, sleep for a while”). She then continues in Makassarese, “Teyako callai Bayoku, biqnyara Turijeqneku, niaqpa Bayo, naniaq Somba ri Gowa” (“Do not slander my Bajo, do not ridicule my Turijeqneq, later when there is a Bajo, only then will there be a ruler in Gowa”). While she sang, the Karaeng sat listening outside the room. Upon hearing her lullaby, hearing her voice for the first time the Karaeng finally understood that his wife, whose origins were unknown, was in fact a Sama Bajo.

These traditions, like the manuscript versions quoted above, allude to a fundamental element in the historical relationship of the Makassarese people to the Sama Bajo. The marriage of I Lolo and the Karaeng Gowa, and the subsequent birth of their child, was the beginning of Gowa’s relationship with the Sama Bajo, and importantly it was the foundation of the white blood lineage from which all future kings of Gowa and Talloq would derive. Thus, the traditions declare, the Sama

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506 In the iko-iko recorded by Celia Lowe in Togean, the mute princess also chooses to eat bantunang as her only meal. This is the only instance I am aware of in which this well-known narrative of the Papuq’s daughter married to the ruler of a South Sulawesi kingdom is recounted, though briefly, in the form of an iko-iko. Lowe, Wild Profusion, 76-80.

507 These quotations come from Lontaraq Jampea, f.38-39. The song sung by the princess varies in the oral traditions, but the general point remains the same. I have rarely seen baong Sama written in Makassarese or Bugis script, and never in historical manuscripts. Thus, the use of baong Sama in this particular quotation is highly unique. However, as I was only able to see the Makassarese transliteration of the original manuscript, I am forced to rely on Usman’s rendition, which may account for some of its odd sentence structure and spelling (which can also be attributed, perhaps, to the imperfections resulting from the use of the Makassarese script to write baong Sama). There is a Makassarese manuscript in the possession of Daeng Ngago in Takalar (south Sulawesi) that, according to the ANRI Makassar manuscript catalog, contains a section in the “Bajo language.” According to the expert assessment that Abdul Kadir Manyambeang provided Jennifer Gaynor, however, baong Sama is apparently not used in any portion of that manuscript. When I met with Daeng Ngago, he was adamant that the manuscript did in fact contain a history of the Sama Bajo people, though he was less certain that it contained the “Bajo language.” He also showed me a typescript silsilah (genealogy) that connected his family to the line of the Karaeng Lolo Bayo, which he said was based on the details of the lontaraq in question. See, Gaynor, “Liquid Territory,” 96, fn.95.

508 Cummmings, Making Blood White, 79.
Bajo too are worthy of honor and reverence, for without the Sama Bajo there can be no ruler in Gowa. However one chooses to interpret these traditions, whether to accept them as fragmented memories of an actual past relationship or simply as legendary symbols devised to create and explain the links between the Sama Bajo and the landed polities of south Sulawesi, the importance and power of these traditions for the Sama Bajo people is clear: We too are of a powerful past, and we too are worthy of the honor accorded to the most powerful kings in Gowa.

Though it is not declared in such emphatic terms, the Makassarese traditions regarding the founding of Gowa allude to the same fundamental point. The chronicles of Gowa and Talloq, as we have discussed, relate that the marriage between a mysterious being from the Upperworld known as the tumanurung and a powerful man of unknown origins called the Karaeng Bayo led to the birth of the first ruler of Gowa and the foundation of that kingdom’s ruling line. In some versions the “lord of the Sama Bajo,” Karaeng Bayo, was chosen by the Bate Salapang (Mak. “nine banners,” the rulers of the nine original polities that first formed Gowa) to marry the tumanurung; in other versions the Karaeng Bayo is chosen by the tumanurung herself as the only mortal worthy of marrying her.509 Regardless of the exact circumstances of their marriage, however, the implications of their union for the history of Gowa and Talloq are clear: without the Lord of the Sama Bajo, there can be no kings of Gowa or Talloq, and without the valuable role of the Sama Bajo the kingdoms of Gowa and Talloq could not have prospered. The memory of the Karaeng Bayo’s potency is preserved not only in oral and written tradition but it is also manifest in material form. To this day the sword of Karaeng Bayo’s sibling known as the Sudanga, along with the crown worn by the tumanurung (Salakowa), is considered to be among the most sacred and powerful of the kalompoang or sacred regalia of Gowa, seen not as mere relics but as the very essence of Gowa’s greatness.510

Thus, although the Makassarese and Sama Bajo traditions memorialize the royal union in very different ways, they both acknowledge the Sama Bajo as crucial

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509 Cummings, Making Blood White, 98-103.
510 Cummings, Making Blood White, 12, 54-57.
in the foundation of Gowa’s ruling line. As mentioned in chapter one, archaeological research has produced tantalizing evidence to suggest the historicity of such a union, pointing to the figure of Karaeng Lolo Bayo who was buried in Bayoa at the mouth of the Sanrabone river in the last half of the thirteenth century. Even if, in the face of considerable evidence to the contrary, one still chooses to interpret these narratives as simple myths, it is significant that both the Sama Bajo and Makassarese accounts proudly recall the central role of the Sama Bajo in the establishment of Gowa and its ruling lineage. This marriage was of fundamental importance within the Makassarese context. Indeed, as Cummings has argued, “in a culture” such as the Makassarese, “in which kinship provided not simply the metaphorical language of politics, but also mapped its substance, these marriage links were of the highest significance.”

Unfortunately, in the Makassarese accounts of this union we learn nothing more of the Karaeng Bayo and the relationship of the Sama Bajo to the nascent Makassarese polity of Gowa more generally. In the chronicles, the Karaeng Bayo simply disappears soon after the birth of his son, Tumassalangga Barayang, the first ruler of Gowa and who is said to have possessed great supernatural powers. In some oral traditions it is said that, just as the tumanurung returned to the heavens, the Karaeng Bayo too returned to his medium, and disappeared into the sea. The Sama Bajo traditions, particularly the narrative inscribed in MS 260 and the LB Lemobajo, also offer precious little information about the events that followed the settlement of the I Papuq and his followers in the region. Fortunately, however, there are several other Makassarese manuscript sources that provide important, albeit fragmentary details about the relationship of the Sama Bajo to Gowa and Talloq and of the position of the Sama Bajo within the social and political world of the Makassarese.

As mentioned in chapter one, sometime in the mid-fifteenth century a dispute arose between the two sons of the sixth ruler of Gowa, Tutangkalopi. From this dispute the ruling line of Gowa, descended from the marriage of the Karaeng

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512 Cummings, Chain of Kings, 30.
Bayo with the *tumanurung*, was divided into two polities, Gowa under the eldest son, Batara Gowa, and Talloq under the younger Karaeng Loe ri Sero. While Gowa remained an inland-oriented polity, Talloq was eventually founded at Campagaya near the mouth of the Talloq River and its orientation was decidedly seaward from then on. Eventually, after more than a century of separation that witnessed two wars between the polities and the final defeat of Talloq, Gowa and Talloq would reconcile their past differences and unite in the mid-sixteenth century to form one of the most formidable alliances in Indonesian history.

The position taken by the various Sama Bajo groups in this internecine conflict between Gowa and Talloq is not entirely clear, but we do know that the Papuq and his followers remained close to the rulers of Talloq during the period of separation. Not long after the split, for example, we find references in the manuscripts to the close alliance between the second ruler of Talloq, Tunilabu ri Suriwa (c. late fifteenth century), and the Papuq. In this period, and continuing during the reign of Tunilabu ri Suriwa’s son, Tunipasuruq (r.1500s-1540/3), the Papuq and his followers remained a vital element in the maritime expansion of Talloq, leading expeditions into distant areas of the western and eastern Indonesian archipelago. There is also good reason to believe that Sama Bajo groups affiliated with the “seaward Polombangkeng” polities, namely Katingang, formed an essential component of the naval forces which joined Talloq in the attack on Gowa in the 1530s. Manuscript sources clearly state that these Sama Bajo acknowledged the Papuq as their paramount lord. We cannot be certain, however, that this meant that the Papuq himself had indeed chosen sides in the conflict and was no longer an ally of Gowa until the reunification that took place prior to 1543. However, the scattered references over the subsequent centuries do suggest that the relationship of the Papuq polity to Talloq remained stronger and more intimate than that between the Papuq and Gowa.

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513 The chronicles state that was done upon the initiative of an unnamed gallarrang who had scouted for better sites for the polity in the coastal region.
514 The role of the Papuq and the Sama Bajo as naval forces, navigators, and other important functions will be discussed below. NBG 17, f.97-99; NBG 208, f.62-63; MS 193, f.12.
Still, there is evidence to suggest that at least four Sama Bajo groups came into conflict with Talloq shortly after the war between Gowa and Talloq in the 1530s, despite their ultimate allegiance to the Papuq. In one particularly valuable Makassarese codex, an important Sama Bajo noblewoman relates the history of several Sama Bajo communities to the eminent Talloq noble and tumabicarabutta of Gowa in the late seventeenth century, Karaeng Bontosunggu. Bontosunggu apparently had sought the elderly woman’s council on matters related to the history of the Sama Bajo people and their relationship to Gowa-Talloq. According to this elder, the Sama Bajo of Katingang, together with those of Barasaq, and those of “Sitawa to the west of Barrang [Lompo?]” joined forces and “went up to fight” the ruler of Talloq, Karaeng Pattingalloang Tumenanga ri Makkoayang (r.1540-1576), and ultimately were defeated.

According to another Makassarese source, the coastal polities of Katingang and Barasaq, though geographically distant, are said to belong to the same family of seven sibling polities, four of which allied with Talloq after Karaeng Loe ri Sero left Gowa. The remaining three brothers, who ruled Katingang, Barasaq and Bajeng, are not listed among Talloq’s allies.515 The chronicles suggest, however, that Katingang was among the seaward Polombangkeng polities that later joined Talloq in an effort to defeat the ascendant Gowa in the 1530s. A major portion of this battle was apparently waged from the sea and, though we cannot be certain, it is possible that the Sama Bajo of Katingang and Talloq formed an integral part of that naval force.516 As mentioned earlier, Gowa defeated Talloq and its allies in this battle and a lasting alliance was formed between Talloq and Gowa soon after. The Gowa chronicle notes that Gowa and Katingang remained allies after the war and continued to strengthen that alliance through marriages until the 1560s.517 At that point, one would presume, Katingang would also have been considered an ally of Talloq. Barasaq, which is not listed among those polities that attacked Gowa in the 1530s, appears to

517 Gowa’s tenth ruler, Tunipalangga (r.1546-1565), and its twelfth ruler, Tunijalloq (r.1565-1590), married women from the ruling house of Katingang. Cummings, Chain of Kings, 35, 38.
have remained apart from the struggle. It is, however, mentioned in the chronicles as having been conquered twice between 1565 and 1576 by the joint forces of Tumaparisiq Kallonna of Gowa and Tumenanga ri Makkoayang of Talloq.

In her history, the Sama Bajo elder states that it was the Sama Bajo affiliated with Katingang and Barasaq who joined forces with other Sama Bajo groups to attack Talloq but in the end were defeated. They were defeated by the Karaeng Talloq and made his subjects, thereafter to be called “Bayo Pattingalloang.” She further describes the parameters of their relationship to the Karaeng, stating: “There were then three groups whose purchase price came to the Karaeng, they could also serve in the palace, because all of these were defeated [by the Karaeng Talloq].” Based on the known period of Barasaq’s defeat by Gowa and Talloq (c.1565-1576), in conjunction with the information that these conquered Sama Bajo groups were given the name “Bayo Pattingalloang,” it appears that these Sama Bajo communities were conquered by and made subjects of Karaeng Pattingalloang Tumenanga ri Makkoayang of Talloq (r.1540/3-1576). It is not clear, however, whether they were defeated by Talloq alone or by a Gowa-Talloq alliance, or why these particular Sama Bajo groups felt it necessary to attack Talloq.

What is clear in the narrative that the Sama Bajo elder woman recounted for Karaeng Bontosunggu is the existence of two other Sama Bajo groups who were not among those conquered and who were not considered to be subjects (ata) of the Karaeng Talloq nor of Gowa. She told Bontosunggu that, “[t]here were only two groups of Bayo who were not subject to the Karaeng, those Bayo who came with I Papuq when he first came before the Karaeng, as well as those Bayo who had been persuaded by the Turijeqneq [of I Papuq to join the Karaeng].” Thus, during the years in which Gowa and Talloq were rivals, the I Papuq and his followers maintained an alliance with Talloq and, more importantly, their status was not that of a slave, client, or even of ordinary subjects. Instead, as the sources indicate, the Papuq retained his sovereignty over his Sama Bajo followers, “his many children

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518 NBG 17, (sec 4) f.97-99; NBG 208, (sec 5) f.62-63; MS 193, f.12.
519 NBG 17, (sec 4) f.97-99; NBG 208, (sec 5) f.62-63; MS 193, f.12. This is a clear example of how the Makassarese manuscripts use “Bayo” and “Turijeqneq” interchangeably in reference to the Sama Bajo.
and grandchildren,” and his polity continued to operate in a semi-autonomous manner. The Papuq polity would retain its position within the political and social world of Gowa-Talloq, functioning as both a part of and apart from Gowa-Talloq until the Papuq’s final defeat in the late eighteenth century.

This is not to say that the Papuq did not consider himself and his followers as subjects of the Karaeings of Gowa-Talloq. To the contrary, there are numerous examples in both Sama Bajo and Makassarese sources that clearly demonstrate the Papuq polity, like other lesser polities, showed deference to the rulers of Gowa-Talloq and is said to have provided kasuwiyang (or kasuiang), which in this context refers to a form of services and tribute to the ruler.\(^{520}\) In the LB Lemobajo and MS 260 manuscripts, for instance, there are ambiguous references to the Papuq providing goods to the Karaeng of Gowa, perhaps tortoiseshell, in the measurement of a boatload (sikappalaq) after their initial agreement is made.\(^{521}\) In a Makassarese manuscript it is said that when the Sama Bajo leader first came to visit the Karaeng, an agreement was made that “their children and the people who were in their household, and their grandchildren, will not be taken by the Karaeng against their will, let alone be sold...[and] when all is taken, then it is divided in half.”\(^{522}\) What exactly was taken or what was to be divided is not made explicit in the manuscript, yet the lines that immediately follow state that the Karaeng gave the Sama Bajo a choice of his lands in which to settle and seek a living, and thus we might presume that the Karaeng expected a portion of whatever valuable sea produce the Sama Bajo harvested from the waters of their new homeland. As we saw in chapter two, later VOC records for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries also suggest that

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\(^{520}\) Cense has kasuiang (varia. kasiang, kusiang, kasian, kosian), and defines it as: “tribute to a superior, service to the lords; formerly: regimented corvee, also an old title for the Bate Salapanga, the nine leaders of Goa, who according to tradition, along with the patjalla, appointed the ruler of Goa and together formed an governing body.” He has pakkasuiang as, “the show of homage, the performance of work for a superior; something one brings as a gift of tribute; something given as proof of tribute.” According to Cummings, who follows Cense’s definition of the term, kasuwiyang can be spelled six different ways. Zainal Abidin, on the other hand, has Kasuwiang as a title of the representative of the people, and/or a contract made by the ruler with the representative of the people, and equates it with Ulu Anang or Matoa in Bugis. A.A. Cense and Abdoerrahim, Makassae-Nederlands Woordenboek, 308; Cummings, A Chain of Kings, 23; Andi Zainal Abidin, “The Emergence of Early Kingdoms in South Sulawesi,” Kyoto Southeast Asian Studies 20.4 (1983): 456.

\(^{521}\) LB Lemobajo, f. 61 (sec.104); Ms. 260, f. 29; Ms. 250a, f. 32.

\(^{522}\) NBG 17, f.99-100; NBG 208, f.63-64; MS 193, f.13-14.
this was the arrangement, as Dutch officials in Makassar reported that the Sama Bajo of the Papuq polity traditionally paid a portion of their marine goods, such as tortoiseshell and trepang, and other tradewares to the ruler as tribute. The *kasuwiyang* arrangement made between the Papuq and Gowa is cited as the basis for the subsequent Lolo Bajo and Bone arrangement formed in the time of the Makassar War. According to the manuscripts, as noted above, the agreed *kasuwiyang* payment to Bone at that time was set at a pikul of tortoiseshell each year.

It is important that any such contractual arrangement be understood in terms of what each party stood to benefit from the agreement. There is no doubt the ruler profited from his alliance with the Sama Bajo, and I agree with Bulbeck’s assertion that the settlement of the Sama Bajo in Sulawesi was a primary catalyst in Gowa’s rise to prominence and a major incentive for the Malays and other traders to settle there at a later date. Just as the ruler of Gowa saw benefit in the arrangement, the Sama Bajo too must have perceived some benefit from entering into this alliance. Surely the promise of bountiful seas and littoral spaces in close proximity to areas suitable for local and regional trade would have been appealing to the Sama Bajo people. The strength gained by allying with a landed polity would have been attractive as well. It was precisely this element of mutual benefit, the dual-sided nature of contractual agreements between peoples and polities in early modern Sulawesi, that was overlooked by early Dutch observers like Speelman, who cited the provision of tortoiseshell by the Sama Bajo to the ruler of Gowa as evidence of their position as “slaves” of the king.

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523 The matter of tribute payments to Gowa-Talloq will be discussed below, as well as in chapters four and five, where the tribute arrangement between the Lolo Bajo polity and Bone are discussed in detail as well. 
524 LB Lemobajo, f. 61 (sec.104); Ms. 260, f. 29; Ms. 250a, f. 32.
526 Andaya suggested that the Sama Bajo were keen to find suitable markets for their products and this in turn led them to support the establishment of entrepots in eastern Indonesia. Andaya, “Historical Links.”
527 Speelman, *Notitie*, 27. We must also consider the possibility that Speelman’s description of the Sama Bajo as slaves of the ruler may have been true for certain Sama Bajo groups, such as those Bayo Pattingalloang conquered by the Karaeng Talloq in the previous century.
The Sama Bajo followers of the Papuq entered into the relationship with Gowa on the strength of oaths that guaranteed that they would not lose their identity or autonomy. Moreover, the ruler of Gowa swore that he would never enslave or subjugate the Papuq’s followers. The MS 260 manuscript records that, after the Karaeng Gowa asked the Papuq to settle in his lands, he guaranteed that the Sama Bajo would be “given the freedom in regard to the laws, in regard to the adat of Papuq. They would also be free to use the rivers, the wells, as well as wood. They would be given freedom to use [them] as they pleased.”528 Another passage records the Karaeng Gowa as saying to the Papuq, “The door of Gowa is open for you to enter and it is also open if you leave, and whatever is desired and needed by Papuq, I Lolo is the one who will have it done.”529 Similar formulations are found in oaths and treaties Gowa and Talloq concluded with other polities in South Sulawesi.530

Such oaths guaranteed the sovereignty of the Papuq and certain rights for the Sama Bajo in their relationship with Gowa. The nature of the oaths and treaties, moreover, reveal a sense of the Sama Bajo’s importance to Gowa. The tremendous value of the Sama Bajo people to the overall commercial and political ambitions of early Makassarese polities would have ensured the status and privileges they were accorded in the early periods of their relationship with the landed polities. Similarly, the value of the socioeconomic and cultural-ecological niche filled by the Sama Bajo people was a powerful incentive for maintaining their distinct political and cultural identity within the cultural landscape of south Sulawesi. The sea-centered culture of the Sama Bajo and their prowess as fishers, sailors, navigators, traders, and navies set the Sama Bajo apart from other Sulawesians, and, despite centuries of intimate interaction and association with the Makassarese and others, the Sama Bajo retained core elements of their distinctive culture, language, and worldview, and

528 MS 260, f.7.
529 MS 250a, f.10. The position of I Lolo is not entirely clear, nor is it clear which I Lolo is being referenced. It is possible that this passage refers to the time when the Papuq’s daughter, I Lolo, was the wife of Karaeng Gowa and would therefore indicate that I Lolo served as an intermediary of some kind between the Papuq and the Karaeng. This was not the case in later centuries, as we know that the Papuq communicated directly with the Karaengs of Gowa and Talloq and he alone was the intermediary between the Sama Bajo and the landed kingdoms.
remained marked as sea peoples “par excellence.” It was also for these reasons that the Papuq polity, though an integral part of the Gowa-Talloq kingdoms, never ceased to exist apart from the Makassarese as a uniquely Sama Bajo entity, just as it was prior to the alliance with Gowa.

The manuscript sources also provide a sense of the Papuq’s power and authority over the Sama Bajo communities in the region and suggest that his influence went beyond his immediate following. The Makassarese sources clearly show that the Papuq’s authority even extended to those Sama Bajo communities who had allied with other landed polities. According to the narrative related by the Sama Bajo elder to Karaeng Bontosunggu in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, after the Karaeng Talloq had conquered the Sama Bajo of Barasaq, Katingang, and Sitawa, the Papuq appeared before the ruler. Seeing the Papuq, the captured Sama Bajo pointed to him and declared to Karaeng Talloq, “That is our Karaeng.” The Papuq is said to have agreed, replying, “Yes, these are my subjects.” The manuscripts state that, upon hearing this, “Then spoke the ruler: ‘These three Bayo groups are my subjects [ata] because they were conquered by me. I place them under your authority in order to serve me.’” The Papuq then emphasized his loyalty to the Karaeng, stating, “Though these Bayo are my subjects, they are your subjects too, for I am your subject.” The sources unfortunately do not convey a sense of the size of the groups that were conquered by Tumenanga ri Makkoyang, nor do they offer any clues as to the size of the communities that were considered among the Papuq’s immediate following. It is nevertheless clear that the Papuq was widely respected in the Makassarese lands and that his authority extended over most, if not all Sama Bajo peoples in the expanding realm of Gowa-Talloq prior to the Makassar War.

531 O.W. Wolters once described the Orang Suku Laut as “the Maharaja’s maritime subjects par excellence.” Wolters, The Fall of Srivijaya, 10.
532 NBG 17, f.97-99; NBG 208, f.62-63; MS 193, f.13; KITLV Or.545, no.233, f.3-4.
The Importance of the Papuq Polity in Gowa-Taloq

The written and oral traditions of the Sama Bajo and Makassarese demonstrate that the primary role of the I Papuq within the social and political world of Gowa-Taloq was to serve as the paramount head of the Sama Bajo communities that operated within the ever-expanding realm of those kingdoms, and perhaps beyond. In the sources described above it is evident that, upon incorporation into the Gowa polity the Papuq retained his traditional authority and role as lord of his Sama Bajo followers. The available sources unfortunately do not provide enough information for even an approximate count of the Sama Bajo population in southwest Sulawesi during the early modern period. However, of the several Sama Bajo communities we do know of in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the manuscript sources clearly indicate that the Papuq was acknowledged as paramount head of the Sama Bajo, including by those groups who were not reckoned as part of the Papuq’s immediate following.

During Gowa-Taloq’s sixteenth-century expansion and incorporation of surrounding polities, the rulers of the dual kingdom called upon the Papuq to oversee matters dealing with the Sama Bajo people. One example of the way in which the Papuq’s authority was implemented on behalf of Gowa-Taloq was through the management of corvee by subject Sama Bajo populations. The Gowa chronicle records that Tunipalangga (r.1546-1565) was the first ruler to issue frequent summons for corvee labor, and there is reason to believe that it was in this period that the Papuq served a supervisory role in the process. One manuscript source notes, for instance, that the Papuq managed and oversaw the performance of corvee labor (pappaqngara) by those Sama Bajo considered to be subjects of the kingdom. Among those called up were the descendants of the Sama Bajo of Katingang, Barasaq, and Kandeaq who were conquered by Taloq and who came to be known as the Bayo Pattingalloang. Yet, the sources also indicate that the Papuq’s

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533 In his notes on the MS 193 manuscript, Cense translates pappaqngara as meaning corvee labor. In his Makassarese dictionary Mathes offers pangara as “often mentioned in the Rapang as invitation to work for the ruler, i.e. corvee [heerendienst],” while papangarang is “to enable or to make corvee [heerendienst] occur.” Cummings transliteration of the Gowa chronicle has paqnarana, which he too translates as corvee labor. KITLV Or.545, no.18; Mathes, Makassarsch-Hollandsch Woordenboek, 96-97; Cummings, Chain of Kings, 35, 69.
authority was not limited to the Sama Bajo population but also extended to non-Sama Bajo peoples. The sources mention, for example, that the Papuq was also charged with supervising the corvée of all those who came to settle in the areas around Bayoa.\footnote{NBG 17, f.97-99; NBG 208, f.63-64; MS 193, f.13-14; KITLV Or.545, no.233, f.3-4. Which Bayoa settlement is meant by this passage is not clear.}

There are also a few interesting albeit vague references in the Makassarese manuscripts that suggest that the ruler of Talloq may have granted the Papuq authority over the Makassarese of the inland riverine polity of Panaikang in the early 1500s. In a record of the subject domains (paqrasangang) of Talloq found in a manuscript stored in the Special Collections of the KITLV, for example, it is said that the people of Panaikang belonged to the Sama Bajo, and that the Sama Bajo requested to extend that control along the river as far west as Pateqne.\footnote{Based on Bulbeck’s identification, Panaikang was located along a branch of the Talloq River roughly four miles to the south-southeast of the Talloq fortress. KITLV Or.545, no.82; See also, NBG 17, f.105-106.} Based on the information given in the text it is possible that this is a description of the territories during the reign of either Tunipasuruq (r.1500s-1540/3) or Tumenangari Makkoayang (r.1540/3-1576). As we know that the Papuq was the paramount authority of the Sama Bajo under Talloq during this period, it is likely then that the Papuq would have been in control of the Panaikang people.\footnote{Though we cannot be certain of the correlation, the Talloq chronicle records that the earliest identified Talloq ally of the Papuq polity, Tunilabu ri Suriwa, gave the lordship of both Panaikang and Pateqne to children from his marriage to an unknown woman from Garassiq, which was an early and important Sama Bajo settlement. Cummings, Chain of Kings, 84.}

The Papuq’s authority also extended well beyond the Gowa-Talloq heartland and included many of those Sama Bajo peoples who lived and traveled in other areas of eastern Indonesia. As described in the previous chapters, the rich seas of the vast eastern archipelago were an ideal setting in which the Sama Bajo could seek a livelihood. Furthermore, their sea-centered culture and highly mobile lifestyle was conducive to extensive exploration and settlement far beyond Sulawesi’s horizon. Thus, early on Sama Bajo sailors and fishers set out from southwest Sulawesi and navigated to distant areas of the Indonesian archipelago. Yet, even as they dispersed into various areas of the eastern archipelago, there is a strong indication that the
Papuq maintained a measure of authority and control over many of these mobile Sama Bajo communities. When, for example, the VOC governor of Ternate led an expedition along the northern Sulawesi coast in 1681, off the coast of Gorontalo he encountered a large fleet of Sama Bajo from Manggarai bearing the flag of their “prince” en route to Kaidipang. This “prince” undoubtedly was the Papuq, who at this time resided mostly in Manggarai.537 Throughout the 1680s and 1690s we also find frequent mention of mixed Makassarese and Sama Bajo fleets roaming the coasts of Borneo, Sumbawa, Flores, and Timor, many of which were involved in local trade and politics as well as smuggling. At the behest of the VOC administration in Makassar, which was extremely frustrated by the disturbances caused by these roving groups in the overseas territories, the Karaeng Gowa asked the Papuq to order his Sama Bajo constituents to return to Makassar.538

In addition to the paramount leadership of the Sama Bajo populations under Gowa-Talloq, Makassarese sources also suggest that the Papuq was an authority in matters of shipping, ship technology, and shipping law within Gowa and Talloq. In an early, but undated rapang collection, for example, the words of the Papuq are quoted as the source of knowledge regarding the laws that applied to ships, their captains and crew. The Papuq’s laws not only determined the distribution of profit shares among the ship’s owner, the captain, and crew, but they also define the particular financial and legal obligations for these parties in the case of various unfortunate circumstances. Certain statutes also determined the various rates of tax (sima) to be paid by incoming ships and the freight price for shipped goods.539 These same laws appear in another manuscript, this time conveyed by the Lolo Bayo of Sanrabone as “the words of our ancestor the I Papuq.”540 It is not clear whether these maritime laws and the Papuq’s position as arbiter in such matters predated the creation of the separate office of sabannaraq (harbormaster) by the ruler of Gowa Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna (r.1510-1546), but the fact that the words of the

537 VOC Ternate 1366, f.691-692. Kaidipang came under Gowa-Talloq overlordship in the early sixteenth century but after Gowa-Talloq’s defeat by the VOC in 1667 it was listed among those polities that were to be relinquished to Ternate. Andaya, World of Maluku, 166.
538 VOC Makassar 1403, f.254v; VOC Makassar 1414, f.121r.
539 MS 159a, f.51;
540 NBG 23, f.8-9.
Papuq regarding these laws were recorded in the rapang for later rulers and officials to consult is noteworthy.541

The authority of the Papuq and Sama Bajo nobles in maritime affairs is further attested by the successive appointment of several Sama Bajo nobles as sabannaraq of Gowa-Talloq between the late sixteenth and mid-eighteenth centuries, at least two of which were also chosen to become Papuq by the Sama Bajo people. Scholars, such as Mukhlis and Bulbeck, have suggested that the position of sabannaraq was a non-hereditary post.542 The Makassarese records indicate, however, that many of the Sama Bajo nobles who were appointed as sabannaraq were in fact related by blood, and the position remained in the Papuq lineage, at least for a time.543 According to the lontaraq bilang of Gowa-Talloq, Daeng Makkulle Ahmad was appointed in 1710 as sabannaraq, succeeding the recently deceased I Daeng Makkulle Abdul Wahid, who likely was his father.544 In 1703, this same Daeng Makkulle Ahmad would be appointed as Papuq by his family. That there was at least a de facto hereditary succession within one family to the position of sabannaraq during this period is further suggested by the fact that, after his death in 1724, Daeng Makkulle Ahmad was replaced as sabannaraq by his nephew, Daeng

541 After a brief, initial analysis of the respective texts, I did not find any reason to believe that any of these laws were borrowed or adapted from the Maritime Law Code of Melaka (Undang-Undang Laut Melaka) nor from the later Navigation and Commercial Laws of Amanna Gappa, which are far more detailed and extensive in their scope. A more extensive analysis of Makassarese laws regarding navigation and seaborne commerce is needed to place the Papuq’s laws in proper context. Further research in Makassarese manuscripts may also identify additional maritime laws attributed to the Papuq. R.Winstedt and P.E. de Josselin de Jong, “The Maritime Laws of Malacca,” JMBRAS 29.3 (1956): 22-59, and O.L. Tobing, Hukum Pelayaran dan Perdagangan Amanna Gappa (Makassar: Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara, 1961).


543 At certain periods in Gowa-Talloq history there were two sabannaraq who held the post simultaneously. The Dutch often referred to these as the “First” and “Second” Syahbandar. There is no clear delineation of responsibilities between the two sabannaraq in the Makassarese or Dutch sources I have consulted.

544 Cummings notes that I Daeng Makkulle Ahmad was “presumably the son and successor to the sabannaraq I Daeng Makkulle who died on 7 September 1677.” Cummings, Chain of Kings, 139, fn. 358. It is important to note that Bulbeck’s analysis of the sabannaraq position in his dissertation (p.25) is based on the transcription and Indonesian translation of the Lontaraq Bilang in H.D. Kamaruddin, et.al, Lontarak Bilang Raja Gowa dan Tallok (Naskah Makassar) (Ujung Pandang, 1985-86), which Cummings has shown to be deficient on several matters including, most importantly for this discussion, those pertaining the identification of the sabannaraq. Kamaruddin, et.al, for instance, incorrectly treat Daeng Makkulle Abdul Wahid and Daeng Makkulle Ahmad as one person. Cummings, Makassar Annals, 22,
Mangewai. Though the *lontaraq bilang* does not state their relationship, we know that in 1733 Daeng Mangewai was replaced as *sabannaraq* by Daeng Manggappa Mommiq, who would also be chosen by his family to become Papuq sometime in the 1730s.

As far as the *lontaraq bilang* is concerned, the history of this important, high-status Sama Bajo family begins with an entry for the birth of I Amboq in 1611, the mother of I Papuq Daeng Numalo (d.1703) and the grandmother of Papuq and *sabannaraq* Daeng Makkulle Ahmad (d.1725). The record of her birth in the royal annals is notable, as it was added retrospectively in the 1630s and shares the page with some of the most important events in Makassarese history such as the adoption of Islam, the wars of Islamization, and the birth of the highest status royals. Between the birth of I Amboq in 1611 and the *lontaraq bilang*’s last entry in 1751, the annals contain forty-five entries recording the births, deaths, marriages, divorces, and important actions taken by the Sama Bajo nobles in her extended family. It is also noteworthy that one of the known annalists, Karaeng Lempangang Safiyuddin, who would go on to become the ruler of Talloq (r.1739-1760), refers to two of these Sama Bajo men as his “grandparent.” The extant genealogical information does not reveal any direct links between these men and Karaeng Lempangang, but even a fictive kin relationship with the ruling lineage of both Gowa and Talloq is telling.

The *lontaraq bilang* entries pertaining to this particular extended family of Sama Bajo nobles allow us a rare insight into the world of Sama Bajo elite in the

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545 I Daeng Mangewai was appointed on 27 November 1724 and died on 17 November 1733. We do not know if he was ever appointed as Papuq.

546 He is listed as *sabannaraq* by 6 November 1735.

547 Because of the nature of the Makassarese script, in which the velar nasals and glottal stops are not written, we cannot be certain of the correct spelling of her name. Some possible transliterations are I Abo, I A(m)bo, I A(m)bo(ng), I Amboq. Furthermore, in the manuscripts we find variations in the initial characters as well. For example, in MS 193: ’*iiaiybo* (I Yamboq); in NBG 17 and NBG 208: ’*iyibo* (I Yamboq; condensed); in VT 25: ’*iaijbo* (I Jamboq). However, these are minor differences that can be attributed to scribal error during the process of reinscribing the manuscripts. Throughout this dissertation, I will use the spelling I Amboq, which is used in the first relevant entry in the *lontaraq bilang*.

548 This would mean that she was possibly the mother of I Daeng Makkulle Abdul Wahid as well. See fn.545 above.

549 Cummings notes that “Makassarese frequently use kinship terms as honorifics,” and the use of “grandparent” was “a sign of respect and kinship. Cummings, *Makassar Annals*, 211 fn.558. The fictive Sama Bajo grandparents, Daeng Maingaq and Daeng Manggappa, are listed on pp.219, 268.
seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Indeed, the very fact of their appearance in the royal annals affords historians a clear sense of the status and sociopolitical importance of the Sama Bajo in the Gowa-Talloq court during this period.\textsuperscript{550} As William Cummings, the translator of the most complete and accurate version of the \textit{lontaraq} bilang to date, has argued, “\textit{Lontaraq bilang} map the lives of prominent individuals. The more closely related an individual was to the ruler of Gowa...the greater the chance that the events of his or her life (and even the fact that he or she existed) would be judged significant.”\textsuperscript{551} In regard to the extended family of the successive Papuq during this period, the social status and political favor of these individuals must have truly been great.

In addition to the position of \textit{sbannaraq} and as an authority of matters of shipping and ship technologies, the seafaring prowess of the I Papuq and his followers also positioned them as an invaluable element in all sorts of maritime ventures. The Makassarese admiration of the Sama Bajo skills and bravery on the sea is well documented in the oral and written record. The trust such skill engendered also made the Sama Bajo ships the preferred mode of transportation for voyages taken by many important nobles. When, for instance, in 1646 Sultan Malikussaid of Gowa (r.1639-1653) arranged the marriage of his daughter Karaeng Bontojeqneq to the Sultan of Bima, I Ambela Abi’l Khair Sirajuddin, as a means of cementing Gowa-Talloq’s overseas bond with that kingdom, he entrusted her passage across the dangerous Flores Sea to a crew of Sama Bajo.\textsuperscript{552} A similar situation took place in 1767, when two Sama Bajo vessels were chosen to transport and protect the refugee prince Batara Gowa Amas Madina, transporting him to Sumbawa, Bali, and ultimately to Bima.\textsuperscript{553} In addition to these incidents, Dutch sources also note that Sama Bajo sailors and ships comprised a significant component of the many refugee Makassarese and Bugis princes that roamed the

\textsuperscript{550} Cf. Bulbeck, who, relying on the flawed and incomplete Indonesian translation of the \textit{lontaraq bilang} felt that, “the unmeticulous records [pertaining to the harbormaster] match the insignificance of the harbourmasters in the world, all important to the texts, of Makassar aristocratic relations.” Bulbeck, “Tale of Two Kingdoms,” 107.

\textsuperscript{551} Cummings, \textit{Makassar Annals}, 17; William Cummings, “Historical Texts as Social Maps.”

\textsuperscript{552} \textit{Bo’ Sangaji Kai}, 119-120.

\textsuperscript{553} ANRI Makassar 273cc.29, f.2-4.
archipelago at the end of the seventeenth century. Though he interpreted it as a sign of their bondage, Speelman noted in 1669 that the Sama Bajo were at the ready to sail wherever the ruler asked, further indicating the level of confidence the ruler placed in these communities. A Makassarese kelong captures this sentiment of trust in poetic verse: “I am not afraid of drowning, for I sail with the Bayo, and even have a Turijeqneq at the helm.” Though the references to these voyages are few and scattered across two centuries, Makassarese wisdom regarding the sailing skill and fearlessness of the Sama Bajo as recorded in the manuscript sources suggests that these sorts of voyages likely occurred much more frequently.

Their legendary prowess as sailors and navigators made the Sama Bajo the desired means of communication and transporting goods overseas. In the preceding chapter we saw that, in addition to the precious cargo of Makassarese princes and princesses, the Sama Bajo were a key means of conveying a wide variety of goods. When, for example, in the beginning of the eighteenth century the rulers of Gowa-Talloq sought to establish a commercial and military alliance with the English at Banjarmasin, the gifts, goods, ammunition, and communications exchanged clandestinely between the two parties were entrusted to the Papuq’s Sama Bajo sailors, who sailed out from the river of Gowa under the nose of the VOC administration in Makassar to the eastern shore of Borneo and back without detection by Dutch authorities. The Company records, as we saw in chapter two, contain numerous reports of Sama Bajo “smuggling” on behalf of the Papuq and the

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554 A prominent example are the Sama Bajo that sailed with Karaeng Jarannika and Karaeng Pamolikang under the leadership of Kare Kanjaraq Bajo. These groups were deeply implicated in the trade and politics of Gowa-Talloq’s overseas vassals such as Salaparang, Sumbawa, Dompu, Pekat and Bima in the late seventeenth century. The Sama Bajo element of the larger Makassar-Bugis diaspora will be discussed in chapter four. For an excellent overview of these events see, Leonard Y. Andaya, “The Bugis-Makassar Diasporas” *JMBRAS* 65.1 (1995): 119-138. Hans Hagerdal also offers an excellent study of these events and the role of the Makassarese-Sama Bajo seafarers in the politics of Sumbawa, Bima and Salaparang specifically, in his *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects: Lombok and Bali in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2001).

555 Speelman, *Notitie*, 27.

556 B.F. Matthes, *Eenige Proeven van Boegineesche en Makassaarsche Poëzie* (’s Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1883), 60. Gaynor used this kelong to open her dissertation on the Sama Bajo of Southeast Sulawesi. Here I use her translation from the Matthes’ Dutch. Gaynor, “Liquid Territory.” Though this particular kelong seems to suggest a difference between “Turijeqneq” and “Bayo,” the vast majority of Makassarese manuscripts I have consulted seem to use the two names interchangeably.

557 VOC Makassar 1663, f.201-203. Their activities were only discovered at a later date, when a local informant was interrogated regarding English activities in Banjarmasin.
rulers of Gowa-Talloq. While some of these sailors were caught and punished, the vast majority succeeded in avoiding capture, leaving the Dutch to only complain about the frequency of such illicit movement in their domain. Indeed, one Dutch official in Makassar reckoned the Sama Bajo were the very source of Gowa-Talloq’s power and prestige, referring to them as “the muscles and sinews” of the kingdom.\textsuperscript{558} Rulers in other areas of the archipelago also employed Sama Bajo to carry communications and goods overseas and to serve as eyes on the water, such as in 1770 when Sama Bajo sailors reported the presence of English ships in the waters around Salaparang (Lombok) and Taliwang (west Sumbawa) to the Sultan of Pekat (central Sumbawa), who then hired the same Sama Bajo men to carry a letter to Makassar to inform the Dutch of the problem.\textsuperscript{559} The ultimate usefulness of the Sama Bajo did not go unnoticed by the Dutch, and early on in their encounters with Sama Bajo in eastern Indonesia the VOC administration discussed the idea of paying several Sama Bajo families living in the Buton and Tidore areas to move to Batavia and serve as the Company’s couriers.\textsuperscript{560}

This same skill and courage on the part of the Papuq and his followers also made them an invaluable component of the imperial expansion undertaken by Gowa-Talloq between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. As mentioned previously, there are indications in the sources that the Sama Bajo had an important role in wars waged by Gowa and Talloq against surrounding Makassarese polities early on in the process of expanding their respective domains on the southwestern peninsula.\textsuperscript{561} Yet, their usefulness as a naval force is seen most clearly in Gowa and Talloq’s efforts at expanding their authority overseas.

According to Makassarese manuscript sources, the Papuq and his followers were essential in the first overseas voyage of war mentioned in the chronicle of Gowa-Talloq, namely the war expedition to Sandao (a large area of Flores and East Nusa Tenggara) undertaken by the second ruler of Talloq, Tunilabu ri Suriwa, in the

\textsuperscript{558} VOC Makassar 8201, f.105-106.
\textsuperscript{559} VOC Makassar 3307, f.439-440.
\textsuperscript{560} From Batavias Uijtgaande Briefboeck 1667, f. 723rv, cited in F.W. Stapel, Het Bongaais Verdrag (Leiden: University of Leiden, 1922), 205. See also Speelman’s suggestion in his Notitie, f.27.
\textsuperscript{561} NBG 17, f.89-91, f.105-106; KITLV Or.545, no.82; MS 193, f.86.
late 1400s. The sources state that it was, “I Papuq who lead Karaeng Tunilabu ri Suriwa across to war in Sandao. Thus the Karaeng crossed together with I Papuq and defeated the land of Sandao.” To reward the Papuq for his role in the conquest of Sandao, Tunilabu ri Suriwa offered him a choice of land in Sandao as his own and appointed him as representative of Talloq in the surrounding lands. That the Papuq was able to “lead” (ampicini-ciniki) the Talloq fleet to Sandao in the late fifteenth century is evidence that he was well acquainted with the Sandao area and that the Sama Bajo were a crucial part of Talloq’s early military expansion beyond the southwest Sulawesi peninsula.

The Talloq chronicle mentions that Tunilabu ri Suriwa made extensive voyages to Banda in the east and to Melaka in the west, journeying for three years before returning to Makassar. It is likely that the Sama Bajo were also an important part of these Talloq voyages. Tomé Pires’ writing in the sixteenth century describes Sama Bajo fleets from south Sulawesi roaming with impunity in the waters of Melaka and the western archipelago. Reference in the Sejarah Melayu to Karaeng Semerluki, the war leader from Makassar or Talloq who is cited as having attacked Melaka during the reign of Sultan Mansur Syah (r.1459-1477), could also have occurred with the involvement of the Sama Bajo of the Papuq polity.

The Sama Bajo followers of I Papuq were undoubtedly a part of the later Talloq conquests of Sandao, Solor, and Ende that took place under Tunilabu ri Suriwa’s son and successor, Tunipasuruq (c.1500s-1543), and the recurring expeditions into those areas that took place until the late eighteenth century. The importance of the Papuq in the Talloq and, later, Gowa conquests of Flores and areas

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562 Cummings, Chain of Kings, 84.
563 NBG 17, f.97-99; NBG 208, f.62-63; MS 193, f.12; KITLV Or.545, no.233, f.3-6.
564 Cummings, Chain of Kings, 84.
566 Later ventures into Sandao will be discussed in chapters three and six.
of the Solor-Alor archipelago is further underscored by a lengthy list of the *paqrasangang* (subject domains) of Sandao and Ende found in a Makassarese manuscript, in which the Papuq, rather than any other Makassarese ruler or noble, is recorded as the primary source of knowledge regarding these territories.567

The Papuq and his Sama Bajo followers likely remained an integral component of the rapid expansion of a united Gowa-Talloq that took place in the sixteenth century and lasted until the final conquest of Makassar in 1669. The Sama Bajo’s renown as brave sailors and warriors of the sea during this period is a recurrent feature in oral traditions still remembered by descendants of the Makassarese nobility. As one descendant of the Gowa court told me, “The spirit of the Turijeqneq was strong, their virtue was bravery. That is why they were always the warriors at the tip of Gowa’s spear. They sailed into war first, and once the Turijeqneq flag was raised, then the rest [of the fleet] would follow.”568 Their strength as paddlers and expertise in the art of sailing and navigation made them a highly valued group within the impressive Makassar armada. Thus it is not hard to imagine, for example, the ships of the Sama Bajo being represented among the “forest of sails” that comprised Sultan Malikussaid’s massive war fleet, as described by one observer in 1640.569

We must also consider the association of the Sama Bajo with ship types used as war vessels in Makassarese society, namely the *lambere Bayo* and the *pancajaq*. Sopher and Pelras have suggested that the ships on which the Sama Bajo traveled in the Melaka region, which Pires described as “*pangajavas,*” were the long and narrow two-masted vessels known to the Makassarese *pancajaq*. These war vessels could be supplemented by the rowing power of twenty or more men and were often used in war. The similarities between the *pancajaq* or *pangajavas* and the ship-type known as *lambere Bayo*, which was described in chapter one as being propelled by upwards

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567 KITLV Or.545, no.233a, f. 3-6.
568 Interview with Jufri Tenri bali, Sombaopu, Makassar, 10-09-2011.
of eighty rowers and was said to be used in Gowa-Talloq’s armada, are noteworthy.\footnote{See chapter one for references regarding the \textit{lambere Bayo}. Important transliterations of Makassarese texts on the late sixteenth century ships can be found in KITLV Or.545, no.82. On the \textit{pancajaq}, see Pelras, \textquotedblleft Célèbes-sud avant l'Islam,	extquotedblright 165; Sopher, \textit{Sea Nomads}, 322.}

Just as in later periods when the Papuq is listed among the other war leaders sent to battle overseas, the Papuq and his followers would have been involved in the sixteenth and seventeenth century naval expeditions by Gowa-Talloq into areas such as Buton, Muna, Banggai, Sula, and Tobungku in eastern Sulawesi, as well as Salaparang on Lombok, and Pasir and Kutei in east coast Borneo.\footnote{Cummings, \textit{Chain of Kings}, 41, 42, 84-86, 88-89, 91-92.} There are even a few unfortunately ambiguous references in the Makassarese manuscripts that suggest Daeng ri Bulekang, the noted Makassarese war captain who led Gowa-Talloq in the conquests of Buton (1639) and Ambon (1652), may have been kin to I Amboq, and thus related to Sama Bajo nobility.\footnote{NBG 17, f.97-99; NBG 208, f.62-63; MS 193, f.12; Cummings, \textit{Makassar Annals}, 55, 77.} That Gowa and Talloq-linked Sama Bajo subsequently settled in each of the abovementioned areas cannot simply be a coincidence.\footnote{For information on settlement in these areas refer to chapter one.}

It is not surprising that the Papuq and his Sama Bajo followers would have played such a decisive role in the expansion of Gowa-Talloq’s sphere of influence into the eastern Indonesian archipelago. In the period following their initial arrival in the region, the Sama Bajo of the Papuq polity ventured out from their new homeland in the littoral and offshore islands of southwest Sulawesi and dispersed widely throughout the seas of eastern Indonesia. By the late fifteenth century substantial numbers of Sama Bajo people under the leadership of the Papuq established an additional center at Pota on the northwest coast of Flores, and came to settle in a number of strand and satellite island villages in that area. Sources suggest that by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Papuq’s Sama Bajo followers frequented and perhaps even settled in the islands of Nusa Tenggara, namely Lombok and Sumbawa, and in areas further east, such as the Sikka and Ende regions of Flores, the Solor-Alor archipelago, and parts of western Timor. Their search for sea products and other trade goods (described in chapter two) led Sama
Bajo fleets under the orders of the Papuq to venture from their bases in southwest Sulawesi and northern Flores to areas of northern Sulawesi, Maluku, the whole of Nusa Tenggara, and as far east as the Papuan islands.

**Conclusion**

The preceding discussion on the Papuq polity—the earliest known Sama Bajo polity—demonstrates how the relationship of the Sama Bajo people to the sea structured their relationship to the landed polities of southwest Sulawesi and the roles they came to play in Makassarese society. The culturally specific ways of seeing, knowing, and interacting with the sea that marked the Sama Bajo as sea people, were the same qualities and attributes that ensured their value and prestige in their relationships with others during the early modern period. As fishers, sailors, navigators, traders, and naval forces, the Papuq and his Sama Bajo followers were of great importance in the histories of eastern Indonesia, and particularly in the world of the Makassarese. The constellation of Sama Bajo communities that acknowledged the paramount authority of the Papuq proved to be crucial in the political expansion and economic prosperity of the kingdoms of Gowa-Talloq. Inhabiting the littoral zone of the southwest coast of Sulawesi and the numerous islands that lay offshore, the Sama Bajo were ideally located to stimulate the growth of trade in the area, thereby promoting and contributing to Gowa-Talloq’s rapid rise as a major player in local, regional, and international commerce. The Sama Bajo of the Papuq polity were not only at the heart of Makassar’s trade but they were also a primary force in the extension of Makassar’s influence throughout eastern Indonesia.

Although the Sama Bajo, like other sea people such as the Orang Laut, are well known in Southeast Asian history, few historians have ever attempted a detailed examination of their past. This dearth of historical research has perpetuated a number of inaccurate views of the Sama Bajo communities in the region, namely their supposed lack of hierarchy, leadership, and political unity, their perceived lack of attachment to particular places or territories, and their presumed status as slaves of the Makassarese king. The material presented here, informed by a wide range of sources, will hopefully provoke a reassessment of many of these
uncritical assumptions. Indeed, in the history of the Papuq polity and its relationship with the Makassarese kingdoms of Gowa and Talloq, each of these long-standing hypotheses is shown to be wide of the mark.

In the following chapter we will look more closely at the structure and functions of the Papuq polity in action by focusing on the history of the Papuq in the land known to the early modern Sama Bajo and Makassarese as Sandao, and more specifically the region centered at Pota on the northwest coast of Flores. It was here that the Papuq established a new political and commercial center outside of Sulawesi in the late fifteenth century. It would serve as the territorial seat of the Papuq polity and become a thriving, though clandestine entrepot and base for multipurpose voyages to points further east for nearly three hundred years. In the context of Sandao and the greater Pota region in particular, many of the arguments regarding the Papuq and his followers I have made thus far can be seen in more specific detail.
Chapter Four
“Potami Sombangku” (Pota is enough, my Lord): The Papuq Polity in Sandao

The sun beat down with brutal intensity as I walked along the worn planked bridge that ran down the center of the village. The sea sparkled through the gaps between boards, its translucent green and blue hues accentuated by the bright white sandy seafloor below. Children played loudly in the shallows on either side of the bridge, swimming and splashing along the surface, and two women sat aboard their small dugouts with colorful reef fish strewn across the bottom, waving to me as I passed.

As I made my way down the small footbridge that linked the main bridge to the entryway of the small pile home of Mboq Kandi, the two large bamboo poles lashed together to serve as a walkway bounced and creaked under my weight. The familiar smell of drying fish rode along the onshore breeze from the seaward side of Mboq Kandi’s home and crept into my nose as I entered through the open doorway. “Assalamualaikum.” “Wa’alaikum Salam,” Mboq Kandi answered back in a hoarse voice. A small, elderly woman stepped from behind the wooden wall that stretched halfway across the center of her home, and walked towards us, hunched over with the burden of age. Mboq Kandi was well known in the area as the most knowledgeable about past times and she is said to belong to a long line of “datu Sama,” or Sama rulers, who came to Flores from Makassar sometime after the Makassar War. Given her reputation, I went to Mboq Kandi in order to learn more about the history of the Sama Bajo people in northern Flores, an area known by the Makassarese as Sandao.

A similar moment took place over three hundred years ago. Sometime in the late 1600s, the tumabicarabutta (“speaker of the land”) of Gowa, Karaeng Bontosunggu Tumamenang ri Taenga, a man of extremely high status in Makassarese society, a man of “white blood,” sought an elderly Sama Bajo woman of high status for precisely the same reason as I had to seek out Mboq Kandi. Karaeng Bontosunggu desired to learn about the history of the relationship of the Papuq and
the Sama Bajo to Gowa-Talloq, of Gowa-Talloq’s claims on the land of Sandao, and
the role of the Sama Bajo in that territory.

To obtain information on such matters the Karaeng paid a visit to I Amboq, the elderly Sama Bajo noblewoman introduced in the previous chapter. Though the manuscripts do not mention where I Amboq lived at the time, we can assume that it was somewhere in coastal southwest Sulawesi. According to the lontaraq bilang of Gowa-Talloq, I Amboq was born in 1611 and died in 1710, an extraordinarily long life by any standard. She was the matriarch of the prominent family of Sama Bajo nobility mentioned so frequently in the lontaraq bilang, which I have discussed above. She was the mother of Daeng Numalo, the reigning Papuq at the time of the Karaeng’s visit, and the grandmother of Daeng Makkulle Ahmad, who was appointed as Papuq in the wake of Daeng Numalo’s death in 1703 and who was later appointed as sabannaraq of Gowa-Talloq.

At the time of the Karaeng’s visit I Amboq was likely in her late seventies or perhaps her eighties, and clearly was the most knowledgeable person in the Karaeng’s wide circle regarding matters of the Sama Bajo and the land of Sandao. The conversation between I Amboq and Karaeng Bontosunggu, presumably carried out in Makassarese, was recorded in manuscript form with the express intention of making I Amboq’s historical wisdom accessible to future rulers and figures of authority in Gowa-Talloq. Just as most other Makassarese manuscripts of this genre do, the record of I Amboq’s conversation with Karaeng Bontosunggu begins by informing the reader who it is that first conveyed this knowledge: “This is what was said by I Amboq, the mother of Papuq Daeng Numalo, when she was asked by our Karaeng Bontosunggu regarding her knowledge of the matter of the Turijeqneq and the land of Sandao.”

As Cense remarked about this form of Makassarese historical manuscript, “One may consider the short historical summaries, which typically have the explanation of certain situations or events as their objective, as the beginnings of historical writing [in Makassarese society],” and “such notes are based on

574 NBG 17, f.97.
information from recognized experts on adat and history, who, in turn, have often sought information from others.” I Amboq’s narrative is thus an oral tradition told by Sama Bajo nobility and committed to text by a royal scribe of Makassar. It is intended to clarify matters of imperial power and authority in faraway lands at a time when these issues were a subject of confusion, argument, and even war.

What follows is a unique and largely untold history of the Papuq and his Sama Bajo followers in the overseas territories referred to by the Makassarese as Sandao. It is based on the wisdom of Sama Bajo elders past and present, like I Amboq and Mboq Kandi, as well as on Makassarese, Bima, and Dutch records. This history spans roughly the late fifteenth century to the last quarter of the eighteenth century and demonstrates more clearly many of the arguments previously made about the Papuq and the Sama Bajo, their relationship to Gowa-Talloq, and their importance for Indonesian history.

Locating Sandao

At the close of the fifteenth century, the reigning Papuq at the time led an expedition for the second ruler of Talloq, Tunilabu ri Suriwa, into the land of Sandao. As far as the Makassarese manuscripts tell us, this expedition was the first of its kind. The pertinent passages of these manuscripts have been discussed in the above, but are worth repeating here. The manuscripts record that, after successfully conquering Sandao, the ruler asked the Papuq, “What land do you desire?” to which the Papuq replied, “Pota is enough my lord (Potami Sombangku).” Tunilabu ri Suriwa purportedly responded, “Take it, and the rest around it will be placed under you.” Thus, Sama Bajo and Makassarese sources both agree that the first Makassarese claims on Sandao were established by force in the late fifteenth century, and that it was the Papuq and his Sama Bajo followers who led the expedition. As stated before, the Papuq or his people must have known about Pota and the Sandao area in general prior to the Talloq expedition. The Papuq’s decision to select Pota may have been influenced by his knowledge that the Pota coast would

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576 NBG 17, (sec 4) f.97-99; NBG 208, (sec.5) f.62-63; MS 193, f.12.
provide the environment and resources that suited the Sama Bajo. This would be in keeping with the Papuq polity’s other judicious choice of the South Sulawesi littoral and offshore islands as an area for settlement.

The general consensus among scholars has been that Sandao was simply another name given by the Makassarese for the northwestern portion of the large island of Flores, commonly referred to as Manggarai. A closer look at Makassarese manuscripts, however, suggests that in the early modern period Sandao may have signified a much larger area (Maps 9 and 10).577 One important rapang, which was copied from a manuscript belonging to Sultan Abdul Jalil Tumamenang ri Lakiung (Gowa, r.1677-1709), records the wisdom of the Papuq regarding the Makassarese territories in Sandao and was intended for consultation by rulers and officials.578 It states: “Such were the words of the Papuq of old, these are the settlements [paqrasangang] in Sandao from which tribute [maquisika] is brought along with Ende[:] Lamala, Lamakera, Taro, Adonara, Laowaraq, Reo, Sarania, Sarawiti, Lasnama, Sikka, Paga, Nubbaq,579 Caraboro, Pota, [...] Buttalaq, Kude,580 Tompo, Lolokata,581 Nawalae, Palue, Mada, Banua, Karekeda, Galette.” Another rapang from the same collection adds, “these are the territories of Sandao from which tribute is brought to Karaeng ri Loe Karaeng ri Talloq[:] [...] Gile, Lingge,582 Rammang,583

577 On those few occasions when Sandao enters the eighteenth century VOC records, the Dutch either provide no comment, or, when it appears in the context of Makassarese actions in Makassar’s overseas territories (“de overwal”), it is explained as meaning “Manggarai, or Ende.” Sandao (or as it is sometimes transliterated, Sandawo) also appears in the Makassarese dictionary compiled by Dutch linguist B.F. Matthes in 1859, and is again defined therein as “a territory on Flores or Ende.” Albertus Ligtvoet also gave the same basic definition in his 1880 transcription and translation of the court annals of Gowa-Talloq. Throughout most the VOC period, and even after, the Dutch regularly referred to the whole of Flores as Ende, which was a small area in southeast Flores. VOC Makassar 1663, f.93; VOC Makassar 8214, f.336-337; VOC Makassar 8225, f.58; Matthes, Makassaarsch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek, 574; A. Ligtvoet, “Transcriptie van het dagboek der vorsten van Gowa en Tello’,” BKI 28.1 (1880): 164; Cense, Makassaars-Nederlands Woordenboek, 654-655.

578 KITLV Or.545, no.233.

579 Though it may only be a coincidence, it is worth remembering that nubbaq is the baong Sama term to describe the activity of gleaning the coral flats and inshore areas during falling and low tides. Nubbaq was discussed in chapters one and two.

580 Bo’ Sangaji Kai, appendix IV, lists “Kudu” as part of the Reo area.

581 Lolakata Bay and Tanjung Lolakata are located near Geliting, west of Nanga Rujong Bay. See the map archived as NA Collectie Le Roux, no.9 (1912).

582 Lingge Bay is located to west of Pota. Again, see the map in NA Collectie Le Roux, no.9 (1912). In a letter from the Papuq to the ruler of Gowa in 1711 found in the Makassar VOC records, the Papuq lists “Linggeh” and “Towah” as some of the areas under his control in Sandao. VOC Makassar 8182, f.203-204.
Wera, Ka(?polokang, Pota, Batalaq, Riung, Watanriu, Toring, Toa,584 Dae, Labo, Kiddi585 Bayo, Kolate, Palue.”586

I have not yet been able to identify several of the toponyms listed by the Papuq as territories of Gowa-Talloq in Sandao, but those we do know certainly complicate our understanding of what exactly was meant by “Sandao” for the Papuq and his audience of early modern Makassarese rulers and officials. The toponyms Reo, Linggeh, and Pota, are well known bays and harbors on the northwest coast of Flores that appear on the earliest detailed maps of the island, and Ramma(ng) is consistently listed in Dutch, Makassarese, and Bimanese records as the river border between the respective territories of the Papuq (on behalf of Gowa-Talloq) and Bima, which both parties agreed to in 1658 and then violated at several points in history.587 While these territories fit within the conventional boundaries of Manggarai, the inclusion of Riung, Toring, Toa, Lolokata, Palue, Galette (which is most likely Geliting or, in baong Sama “Galeteh”), and Sikka, pushes the boundaries of Sandao beyond Manggarai and much further east into the Ngada and Sikka (or Maumere) regions of central and eastern Flores. Moreover, the mention of Lamala (which is likely Lamahala) and Lamakeru on the island of Solor, and the island Adonara, both at the easternmost extremity of Flores, suggests that early modern Sama Bajo and Makassarese conceptions of Sandao may have encompassed these areas as well. We know from the chronicles that Solor was listed among the areas conquered by Talloq during the reign of Tunipasuruq (r.1500s to 1540/3), surely with the assistance of the Papuq and his followers, and it was still claimed by Gowa-

583 Rammang, though spelled variously as Ramu, Rama, Ramma, and Rema, is consistently listed in Dutch, Makassarese, and Bima records as the border drawn between the respective territories of the Papuq (on behalf of Gowa-Talloq) and Bima, which both parties agreed to and then violated at several points in history. More on these disputes will follow here and in chapter six.


585 Bo’ Sangaji Kai, appendix IV, lists a “Kindi” as part of the Reo area.

586 Bo’ Sangaji Kai, appendix IV, lists a “Palu” as part of the Roti area, but the Pulau Palue, located offshore of Tanjung Lolokata in central Flores, is more likely the one referred to by the Papuq in the manuscript.

587 Bo’ Sangaji Kai states that this border was established sometime before 1661. Bo’ Sangaji Kai, 134. A section of the NBG 17 codex dates the border to the early years of Sultan Malikussaid Tumamenang ri Papambatuna’s reign (r.1639-1653). NBG 17, f.95-96.
Talloq in 1602 and 1613, when "Makassarese" fleets appeared in the roadstead of that island to demand tribute.588

The simple fact that it was the Papuq who was named in the rapang as the source of information on Sandao indicates that he was the most knowledgeable person in the Gowa-Talloq court on matters pertaining to that extensive territory. This is to be expected, as it was the Papuq and his Sama Bajo followers who led the first known war expedition into Sandao, and it was the Papuq who was positioned to rule Sandao on behalf of Talloq in the late fifteenth century and on behalf of a united Gowa-Talloq until the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Sandao, Ende, and Solor (Soloka) also are listed among the areas conquered by the subsequent ruler of Talloq, Tunipasuruq (r.1500s to 1540/3), and it is likely that the Papuq and the Sama Bajo would have been an integral part of these expeditions as well.589 These sources not only establish Sama Bajo involvement in the Nusa Tenggara region at least by the end of the fifteenth century, but they also point to the powerful position of the Papuq at the forefront of the expansion of Makassarese influence and authority into the eastern archipelago. Indeed, practically every expedition conducted by Gowa and Talloq listed in the chronicles would have required extreme naval strength and expertise, and, given the available evidence, it appears that the Sama Bajo were a central component in many of these early endeavors.

**Why Pota?**

At first glance the area of Pota appears to be an unremarkable open harbor on a relatively isolated stretch of the northwest coast of Flores. Yet, a closer look at the local bathymetry, natural resources and ecology, as well the location in relation to local and regional trade networks, provides important clues as to why the Papuq may have chosen Pota as his territory in Sandao. Moreover, given the highly mobile lifestyle of the Sama Bajo it is also necessary to situate our understanding of Pota’s value in the context of its wider surroundings. Accordingly, Pota should be

589 Cummings, *Chain of Kings*, 84-85.
understood as a central place within a sequence of natural harbors, bays, estuaries, and offshore islands that stretch from the scattered islands off Labuan Bajo in the west, to Bari, Linggeh, Reo, Pota, and as far as Riung in the east. Throughout the early modern period the sizeable maritime territory of Pota and its environs served as an important center of the Papuq polity.

The availability of vital natural resources would have been a foremost concern of the Papuq and his followers. The area around Pota provided these and more. The greater Pota seascape is characterized by a unique underwater topography, where deep-water environments rise abruptly to meet shallow fringing reefs that ring the coastline. Recent satellite imagery reveals an expansive and diverse system of fringing, patch, atoll and barrier reefs, which encircles this part of the island like a necklace of corals. The various offshore seamounts, underwater canyons, deep-water reefs and satellite islands offer stable pelagic habitats for large marine species including whales, sharks, rays, as well as tuna and other pelagic fish, and the extensive reef formations, seagrass beds, mangroves, and estuaries of the littoral are home to an astonishing variety of marine fauna, including fish, turtles, trepang, dugong, and numerous crustaceans, mollusks, and other species. As is the case for several other areas of Sama Bajo settlement, the tremendous marine biodiversity found in the greater Pota area has led to the creation of a marine protected area and a national marine park in the region.

Such sea life constitutes the most crucial source of sustenance and livelihood for the Sama Bajo and would have been a primary consideration in the Papuq’s choice of Pota. In addition to providing nourishment for the Sama Bajo people, the

590 The Millennium Coral Reef Project Geomorphological Reef Map contains a massive database of satellite images of the world’s major coral reef formations and can be accessed online at: http://oceancolor.gsfc.nasa.gov/cgi/landsat.pl
592 The Komodo National Park encompasses most of the numerous islands between the western shore of Flores and Komodo Island. The Riung Conservation Area consists of several marine and terrestrial reserves including the Pulau Tujuhbelas (Seventeen Islands) region. The creation of marine protected areas like these in regions long inhabited by the Sama Bajo people (such as in Bunaken and Wakatobi in Sulawesi) constitutes a major problem for Sama Bajo communities living in the vicinity of the protected areas.
territories chosen by the Papuq were an important catchment area for highly prized sea products, and these waters supplied distant markets such as Bima, Makassar, and Batavia with tortoiseshell, ambergris, agar-agar, mother-of-pearl, and, toward the end of the seventeenth century, trepang. As described in chapter two, prior to the eighteenth century boom in the trepang trade, karet or tortoiseshell, harvested from the hawksbill turtle was far and away the most important trade item for Sama Bajo fishers in eastern Indonesia. Recent research has demonstrated the area’s abundance of hawksbill and green turtles, which were important for trade, consumption, as well as Sama Bajo cultural practices, identifying at least eighteen marine turtle nesting locations in the greater Pota region alone, and sixty-five beaches used with regular frequency for nesting by both hawksbill and green turtles.\(^{593}\) It is no surprise then that Dutch reports on the Manggarai trade consistently note an abundance of tortoiseshell among the desirable items to be purchased there.\(^{594}\)

The large reef complexes of the greater Pota littoral not only provided sustenance and trade products for Sama Bajo peoples but they also afforded protection from any unwanted outside attention. In one of the early official VOC voyages to the region, Company surgeon and resident in Bima, Christoffel Nootnagel, described the area in 1688 as a land “surrounded with reefs like a fortress, so that there were only a few openings found where one could come in as into ports—not without some effort however.”\(^{595}\) The navigational skills and shallow draught boats of the Sama Bajo allowed them to move about freely in such dangerous waters, but for those unfamiliar to the area, and especially those aboard larger ships such as the VOC cruise pencalangs, one had to approach with great caution to avoid being wrecked on the shallow reefs. These reefs thus provided a measure of natural protection from both stormy seas and unwanted visitors.

595 VOC Makassar 1453, f.144r.
Perhaps the Papuq had this natural fortress in mind when selecting his territory, but for the Dutch the treacherous approach to the harbors and rivers of the northwest coast of Flores ensured that region would remain among the lesser-known spaces in their imagined Indies territory well into the nineteenth century.

In addition to the bounty provided by the sea, the greater Pota area was also rich in other resources of importance to the Sama Bajo and regional trade more generally. In choosing a settlement, access to freshwater is always a principal concern. Situated on the northernmost point on the cape that came to be called Tanjung Jeqneq (Mak., *jeqneq* = water), the primary settlement at Pota had direct access to several fresh water sources, including wellsprings and the navigable Ramma(ng) and Wera rivers. The interior was also known to be rich in lumber, rice, wax, honey, cassia linea, and there were reports of bezoar and even silver mines as well.\(^{596}\) Dutch reports from the seventeenth century also note the existence of indigenous Manggarai communities in the mountains behind Pota and Reo, and oral traditions point to a longstanding practice of protein-starch exchange between the coastal and riverine Sama Bajo and those upland populations. Yet the Sama Bajo peoples who settled in Pota, while definitely a sea-centered people, may have been cultivators in their own right. In his 1686 report Nootnagel observed, for instance, that many of the “Makassarese” (which undoubtedly included the Sama Bajo) of Pota and Reo established gardens at the base of the local mountains, taking advantage of the more frequent rainfall to grow a variety of food crops.\(^{597}\)

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\(^{597}\) VOC Makassar 8266, f.436r-437v. On present day Sama Bajo gardening practices, see Lowe, “The Magic of Place,” 109-133.
In addition to natural resources, slaves were perhaps the most important trade “commodity” to be found in Sandao. As described in chapter two, frequent wars between local dalu (Manggarai polities) made for a regular and predictable supply of captives, as the victors regularly sold the vanquished to traders in the coastal ports of Pota and Reo. Dutch observers noted that the Sama Bajo, Makassarese, Bugis and other traders in these ports were in tune with local conflicts and were at the ready to purchase slaves when word of war spread through the region. This happened with such regularity that on Nootnagel’s second visit to Pota, a “Makassarese” trader named Daeng Matira was able to advise him precisely when to schedule his next visit, counseling Nootnagel to arrive in March or April to coincide with the peak of the slave season, as this was prior to the harvest season when wars and kidnapping were less frequent and both rice and slaves would be harder to come by. Even during the “off-season,” and despite the local Makassarese’s best efforts to prevent the Dutch from trading in the area, however, Nootnagel was still able to purchase thirty slaves for the Company during his brief visit.

Inter-dalu warfare on Manggarai was not the only source of the slaves bought and sold in seaboard trading centers such as Reo and Pota. The evidence provided in chapter two suggests that the Sama Bajo under the Papuq used the greater Pota littoral as a base from which to launch slave-raiding ventures along Flores’ northern coast and to the islands further east. On these multipurpose voyages Sama Bajo fished for both marine goods and people, targeting villages along the north coast of Flores, as well as communities on the island of Sumbawa, the Solor-Alor archipelago, Sumba, Rote, and Timor. Fleets of Sama Bajo, sometimes in conjunction with other ethnic groups, launched seaborne attacks on coastal villages in order to capture goods and people to be sold in the Sandao and Makassar slave markets. By combining tortoiseshell and trepang fishing with devastating raids on distant shores

598 For similar patterns of seasonally-dictated periods of warring, kidnapping and headhunting in eastern Flores, see R.H. Barnes, “Construction Sacrifice, Kidnapping and Head-hunting Rumors on Flores and Elsewhere in Indonesia,” Oceania 64 (1993): 154.
599 VOC Makassar 1453, f.144r-145v.
600 Some of these slaves may have been transported to Ende (on the southeast coast of Flores), where there was another thriving slave market. The sources I have used, however, mention nothing about the Ende link.
Sama Bajo under the Papuq applied their maritime prowess to further their trading interests and developed a fearsome reputation among communities in the seas of eastern Indonesia as a result.601

Perhaps because of the steady supply of slaves and other important products, the greater Pota region attracted a relatively large and diverse group of traders throughout the early modern period. Yet, the few archaeological surveys conducted in the region suggest that areas of western Flores were linked to regional and international trade networks even earlier, with excavations in coastal areas uncovering significant quantities of Chinese, Vietnamese, Thai, and Makassarese ceramics dating from the twelfth through seventeenth centuries.602 By the late seventeenth century Dutch authorities began to comment on what was still a multi-ethnic itinerant and permanent trading community, which, in addition to Sama Bajo peoples, consisted of Sulawesian merchants from Mandar, Wajoq, Selayar, Buton, Galesong, Makassar, and the Bugis lands, as well as traders from Bima, Sumbawa, Solor, Johor, Minangkabau, Chinese, and peranakan from Batavia and Makassar, Portuguese who had married into the local community, and visiting Dutch burghers.603

The presence of a large and organized Sama Bajo community under the Papuq undoubtedly would have been a primary reason for attracting such a diverse set of foreign traders, just as was the case in the development of trade in areas of early south Sulawesi. With the fall of Makassar into Dutch hands in 1669, both Pota

601 In addition to oral traditions I have recorded in areas of Bali, Sumbawa, Flores, Rote and Sumba, See J.J. Verheijen, Komodo: Het eiland, het Volk, en de taal (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1982); Verheijen, The Sama/Bajau Language; Fox, “Notes on the Southern Voyages.” For an interesting account of the Sama Bajo in early modern Bali, see “Jayaprapa Versi Lain,” Tempo 25 Juni 1977.


603 The 1687 and 1688 reports by Nootnagel to the VOC governor in Makassar describe these communities most colorfully, but subsequent visits to Reo and Pota by VOC cruisers also provide a useful register of the vessels and their crew that came to trade in the area. In 1688 Nootnagel’s expedition demanded that the Portuguese residents leave from Reo, but did not force their departure because “having been married there, [they] could not really separate from wife and children.” VOC Makassar 1453, 145r. I am grateful for Josephine Issac’s assistance with my translation of this and other particularly difficult passages from Nootnagel’s 1688 report.
and Reo quickly became a key secondary site of eastern Indonesian trade and a feeder port for Makassar. Under the guidance and authority of the Papuq and his followers both of these harbors also served as clandestine entrepôts where prized commodities forbidden by the VOC, such as Malukan spices, could be bought and sold alongside precious sea products, woods, resins, waxes, foodstuffs, and slaves, without any real threat of Dutch interference. Traders from near and far, traveling with or without Company passes, came to Pota, Reo and other nearby seaboard settlements in order to conduct their business far from the prying eyes and burdensome taxes levied by the VOC government in Makassar, and the infrequent VOC cruise patrols were unable to curtail the regular breach of Company laws. With his Sama Bajo followers in south Sulawesi and in Sandao roaming the eastern Indonesian seas on his behalf, as well as for their own gains, the Papuq was in an enviable position of providing essential commodities for regional and international commerce. As ruler of his own realm in Pota and as representative of Gowa-Talloq in Sandao, the Papuq was uniquely positioned to facilitate this trade and channel its rewards for his own benefit as well as those of his erstwhile allies in Gowa-Talloq.

**The Papuq polity in Sandao**

The Papuq was by all accounts the paramount authority in the greater Pota region. In various reports on the “rebellious” actions of the Papuq in Sandao the Dutch, albeit with some confusion, referred to him variously as *coning* (king), *prins* (prince), *onderconing* (viceroy), and *hoofdregent* (head regent) of Manggarai, yet they apparently never understood the Papuq’s greater role as the leader of the Sama Bajo loyal to Gowa-Talloq. To clarify the matter, in 1740 the Dutch governor in Makassar, Adriaan Hendrik Smout, summoned the *tumabiscarabutta* and future ruler of Talloq, Karaeng Majannang, to Fort Rotterdam and pressed him to explain just who the Papuq was. Karaeng Majannang simply described the Papuq as the ruler of Sandao, “the land of the Papuq.”604 Whenever the Papuq’s subjects were encountered or captured and interrogated by VOC patrols, these Sama Bajo and

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604 VOC Makassar 8214, f.336-337.
Makassarese seamen consistently referred to him as Karaeng Papuq ("Craen Papoe") or simply Papuq ("Papoek").

True to the arrangement established in the late fifteenth century by Tunilaburi Suriwa, the Papuq continued to oversee the numerous territories of Sandao on behalf of the rulers of Gowa-Talloq until the late eighteenth century. During these three centuries, the lands of Sandao and the greater Pota region in particular served as an area of usufruct for the Papuq and his Sama Bajo followers, as well as a base for their multipurpose ventures into the eastern archipelago. The Papuq created a political and commercial center in Pota where he presided over matters of law, trade, and war, and maintained regular communication with the Karaeng Gowa and tumabicarabutta in Makassar. From Dutch burghers and VOC patrols that visited the area we learn that the Papuq provided traders with permission to establish residences during their stay and enforced the rule of law when residents or visiting traders disturbed the trade. In 1713, for example, a Chinese skipper from Batavia named Tjoa Onko came to Pota to purchase trepang and received permission from the Papuq to establish a home there for the duration of the east monsoon. Yet, when two of Tjoa Onko's crewmen were caught stealing wax, the Papuq made the culprits his slaves and fined Tjoa Onko ninety rixdollars as punishment for the transgression. The Papuq further demonstrated his authority in 1711 when the ruler of Gowa sent a letter to the Papuq in Pota, instructing him to apprehend the regent of Barrang-Barrang who had fled to Sandao after his subjects murdered ten Company men, including the captain and governor in Makassar. In less than a month's time, the Papuq captured the regent and his following of four vessels and brought them to Makassar for prosecution.

At its highest levels, the Papuq polity had two centers: Makassar and Pota, the latter serving as the seat of the Papuq. Many of the numerous Sama Bajo communities dispersed throughout the eastern archipelago came to acknowledge

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605 For example, VOC Makassar 2133, f.167; VOC Makassar 8181, f.155-157; VOC Makassar 8191, f.163-164.
606 VOC Makassar 8183, f.151-153.
these centers, and a significant number settled in the Sandao littoral and offshore islands. In addition, there would have been a multiplicity of smaller centers, each based on a particular Sama Bajo group or groups. The Sama Bajo community living in Buton in 1677, for example, or those living on Bacan and Obi in northern Maluku in the mid-eighteenth century, undoubtedly regarded their particular settlement or groups of settlements as the center of their world. These groups had punggawa and other leaders of their own, chosen from among their ranks, and each operated largely independent of the Papuq or Gowa-Talloq, fishing, trading, and even forming alliances with local rulers.\(^{608}\) As demonstrated in the previous chapter, there is reason to suggest, however, that many of these geographically dispersed communities of Sama Bajo acknowledged the Papuq as the paramount leader and remained linked to the Papuq through a formalized hierarchical structure.

How the Papuq exercised leadership among the Sama Bajo is unfortunately not mentioned in any detail in either the Makassarese or the Dutch sources. When combined with oral traditions, however, there is enough information to sketch the rough outlines of a formalized hierarchical structure in the Papuq polity. In Sandao, the Papuq was surrounded by an entourage of nobles, which, in some periods at least, was comprised of kinfolk as well as those with Makassarese noble blood.\(^{609}\) Many of these kinsmen and women were powerful in their own right and governed important territories in Sandao as representatives of the Papuq.\(^{610}\) Some of these figures bore the titles of punggawa and gallarrang, and assumed the responsibility of carrying out orders on behalf of the Papuq, which included the collection of tribute. At the sub-regional, village, or even family group level, there seems to have been in place a system of leadership by prominent members and elders who, by virtue of their prowess, abilities, age, and experience came to serve as leaders. These

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\(^{608}\) Oral traditions retained by the Sama Bajo of Kayoa (north Maluku), as well as those by a descendant of the Sultan of Tidore, refer to agreements established between Sama Bajo groups from Makassar and the Sultanate that defined the parameters of their early relationship. There are also indications of this relationship in archival records of the VOC for the late eighteenth century. See VOC Ternate 3764, f.7-9.

\(^{609}\) Given the history of intermarriage between Sama Bajo and Gowa-Talloq nobility, it is highly likely that many of the “Makassarese” nobles listed were related by blood to the Papuq polity nobility.

\(^{610}\) The Bo’ Sangaji Kai discusses several of these “Makassarese” individuals and their subordination to the Papuq, especially on pp.134-140. See also the VOC reports regarding the conflicts over Manggarai in VOC Makassar bundles 8206, 8207, 8208, 8209, and 8214. These conflicts are the subject of chapter six.
too sometime carried the title of punggawa or gallarrang. At least prior to the Makassar War, leadership at all levels would surely have included those who were known by the honorific title of Lolo, which signified one’s noble ancestry from the line of the Papuq.

Sources suggest that within the Papuq polity this hierarchical system of leadership effectively linked many of the dispersed and highly mobile Sama Bajo communities to the cultural and political authority of the Papuq centered in Pota and Makassar. In the VOC records there are scattered references to Sama Bajo fleets roaming in areas of the archipelago distant from Pota. As mentioned in chapter three, Governor Padtbrugge in 1681 encountered one such group in northernmost Sulawesi, subjects of the “prince” in Manggarai, and another group headed to Tonsaben to avenge the death of one of their leaders the previous year. These often large, mobile *rambangah* had their own leaders and were intimately involved in the local politics of distant polities, yet they apparently also acknowledged the authority of the Papuq.

In the wake of the Makassar War, similar large groups of Sama Bajo joined ranks with other refugee princes from Makassar who roamed and raided coastal villages throughout Borneo, Nusa Tenggara and even eastern Java, seeking to re-establish themselves outside south Sulawesi. Within the massive group of refugees headed by Karaeng Jarannika, Karaeng Bone, and Karaeng Pamolikang, a large group of Sama Bajo operated under the leadership of a Sama Bajo nobleman named Kare Kanjarraq Bajo. His fleet, said to consist of over one hundred ships at one point, was a key component in the exploits of the Makassarese nobles, attacking traders around Lombok and Sumbawa, as well as waging war on Tambora and Pekat on Sumbawa. This powerful leader of a roving band of Sama Bajo was also the uncle of the reigning Papuq, possibly Daeng Numalo, who was residing in Pota at the time. Thus, in 1685 when the Dutch demanded that the ruler of Gowa rein in these “vagabonds and rascals,” the Karaeng sent a letter to the Papuq asking him to recall

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613 VOC Makassar 1359, 394v.
Kare Kanjaraq and his other subjects back to Makassar. Dutch sources mention another Sama Bajo figure named Kare Gappa Matajang who was “raised up” as leader by a group of Sama Bajo from Manggarai. He subsequently led piratical and other “illegal” seaborne activities along the coasts of Selayar and West Nusa Tenggara in the 1730s.

Some of these important leaders, perhaps those closest to the Papuq in Pota and Reo, were tasked with collecting tribute in the form of sea products from the Sama Bajo communities under the Papuq, including those living outside of Sandao. These goods, or a portion thereof, were then sent on to the rulers of Gowa-Talloq on behalf of the Papuq. The VOC was of the opinion that any such involvement by Makassarese in the trade and politics of Gowa-Talloq’s former overseas territories (the “overwal”) contravened the 1669 Bungaya Contract and therefore was illegal. Yet, even though these transactions took place right under the nose of the VOC administration in Makassar, the Gowa-Talloq court simply denied that any tribute came to them from the Papuq in Sandao and apologized for meddling in overseas affairs. On rare occasions the Company officials in Makassar got wind of the movement of tribute and once even intercepted a prized cargo. In 1725, two VOC cruisers patrolling the north Flores coast intercepted a Sama Bajo vessel headed to Makassar from Pota and discovered that the captain, a man called Punggawa Sana, was carrying a load of trepang to be delivered to the ruler of Gowa on behalf of the “Crain Papoe” (Karaeng Papuq). Similarly, in 1727 Governor J.F. Gobius complained that the Sama Bajo regularly delivered tribute to the Karaeng Gowa, consisting of trepang, tortoiseshell, and wax, which were collected in Maluku and the Nusa Tenggara region.

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614 VOC Makassar 1376, f.368v, 375rv; VOC Makassar 1403, f.254rv; VOC Makassar 1414, f.121r; VOC Makassar 8165, f.64; VOC Makassar 7969, f.116-154; VOC Makassar1579, f.15-30; VOC Makassar 1637, f.83-86; GM IV, 716. These matters will be discussed in chapter five. The rulers of Gowa and Talloq received no benefit from complying with demands for the return of their subjects from abroad, and they maintained intermittent contact with the refugee nobles even as they appeared to follow Dutch orders. Considering the attitude of the rulers toward the return of their subjects, it is likely that the Papuq intentionally neglected to force the return of Kare Kanjaraq and others of his subjects.

615 VOC Makassar 8205, f.61-62.

616 VOC Makassar 8191, f.164-167.

618 VOC Makassar 8194, f.134.
The Papuq’s authority extended not only over the Sama Bajo but also to Makassarese and other foreign ethnic communities living and trading in Sandao. As mentioned in the previous chapter, in one communication between the VOC governor in Makassar and his superiors in Batavia in 1743, the Papuq is described as the “head of the Makassarese on Sumba and Manggarai,” suggesting that his reach perhaps included those Makassarese living beyond the conventional confines of Sandao.619 The Papuq’s command in Sandao is again evident in the context of the Makassarese refugees who flooded the Nusa Tenggara region in the period of chaos that surrounded the end of the Makassar War. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, Sandao and the seaboard negeri of Pota and Reo in particular, became a haven for powerful Makassarese leaders and other anaqkaraeng (noble offspring), as well as commoners, who fled southwest Sulawesi. Company missives throughout this period list a number of formidable figures such as Karaeng Jarannika (tumailalang of Gowa), Karaeng Pamolikang (a descendant of Gowa’s twelfth ruler, Tunijalloq), and Karaeng Bontolangkasaq (a nephew of Sultans Muhammad Ali and Abdul Jalil), who fled to areas of Sandao, far from the Company’s reach. While these Makassarese noblemen sought to enrich themselves and salvage a measure of their former power and prestige by playing a decisive role in foreign territories such as the kingdoms of Bima, Sumbawa, Dompu, Pekat and Tambora on the island of Sumbawa, the sources suggest none of these powerful men ever attempted to usurp the Papuq’s authority in Sandao.620

When Makassarese nobles did settle more permanently in Sandao and assumed a stature befitting their noble lineage, they were integrated into the existing structure of authority headed by the Papuq. The case of a nobleman named Daeng Mangaliki is one for which we have relatively ample documentation in the Dutch, Makassarese, and Bima records. Daeng Mangaliki was a descendant of the honorable lineage that included Karaeng Cenrana Mallewai Daeng Maqnassa (a Tumailalang of Gowa) and Sultan Ala’uddin Tumamenang ri Gaukanna (r.1593-

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619 “Papoe, hoofd der Macassaren op Sumba en Mangareij.” VOC Makassar 8219, f.132-133.
620 VOC Makassar 8166, f.13-19; VOC Makassar 1312, f.1933rv; VOC Makassar 1414, f.122v-144r; VOC Makassar 1453, f. 148r-149r; VOC Makassar 1637, f.83-86; VOC Makassar 1676, f.54-55, among others.
1639), and, through his sister, Karaeng Bontoa Sitti Muthiatullah, he claimed possession of the negeri Reo after her death in 1714.\textsuperscript{621} Even with his noble pedigree, however, when asked by the Dutch envoy in 1724, Daeng Mangaliki identified himself as the “representative of the Craijn Papoe [Karaeng Papuq]” and explained he was on a mission to carry out the Papuq’s orders.\textsuperscript{622} From further sources we know that Daeng Mangaliki governed the trade settlement at Reo on the Papuq’s behalf intermittently between 1715 and 1755, and prior to this he was reported in 1702 to have led a Sama Bajo fleet from Pota to the Talloq river in Makassar at the behest of the Papuq. Here he loaded gifts from the Karaeng Bontosunggu to transport to the newly settled English East India Company captain at Banjarmasin.\textsuperscript{623}

The Papuq’s control over the greater Pota area, especially Reo, however, did not go uncontested. Indeed, these areas of Sandao were the subject of constant dispute and the cause of recurring wars between the Papuq and the Sultanate of Bima. Between the early seventeenth century and the final battles of the late 1760s, Bima warred with the Papuq and his followers over territory on Sandao on several occasions. Much to the consternation of the Dutch, Gowa-Talloq sent troops and armaments to assist the Papuq against Bima on several occasions. The Company provided the same assistance, though to a much greater extent, to the Sultan of Bima. The backing of the Dutch proved decisive in the defeat of the Papuq’s forces in Reo on at least two occasions and in the final battle against the Papuq in Pota.\textsuperscript{624}

These conflicts and their effect on the Papuq polity are the subject of chapter six, but I will note here what the records of the wars reveal about the Papuq’s defenses. In one account from a witness to one of the final battles in 1768, as well as in the Bima accounts, we learn that the Papuq maintained at least four fortresses (\textit{pager/benteng}), at Pota, Pawo, Reo, and Gunung Talloq, respectively. In his battles

\bibitem{622} VOC Makassar 8191, f.167.
\bibitem{623} VOC Makassar 1663, f.201-203.
\bibitem{624} Based on the available Makassarese and Dutch sources we know that Daeng Mangaliki was born to Karaeng ri Balloq and Karaeng ri Lakiung sometime after 1645. His siblings were Daeng Mabela and Karaeng Bontoa Sitti Muthiatullah. VOC Makassar 8199, f.444-448; VOC Makassar 8183, f.18; VOC Makassar 8202, f.124-126; VOC Makassar 8206, f.85-86; Cummings, \textit{Makassar Annals}, 40. 97.
against Bima the Papuq was said to have a large contingent of fighting men assembled at each fortress under the leadership of Makassarese/Sama Bajo nobles. The Papuq’s forces were complete with standard bearers (perhaps carrying an ulalula), drillmasters and marching drummers (tamboer), who in the 1760s included the captured mestizo and Dutch slaves Jeremius Mumelet and Johannes Spruijt, introduced in chapter two. In addition to support from Gowa-Talloq, the Papuq formed an alliance with the dalu of Cibal, Lambaleda, and Welak against the coalition of Bima (with Dutch assistance) and the rival dalu of Todo, and Bajo.625

Bima was not the only source of difficulty for the Papuq. In 1712 a fleet sailed from the island of Kalao (southeast of Selayar) and attempted to take possession of several coastal settlements on Sandao, this time on behalf of the Sultan of Bone, La Patau Matanna Tikka Matinróëi Nagauleng (r.1696-1714). Although one Makassarese source indicates that the previous Sultan of Bone, Arung Palakka Matinroë ri Bontoalaq, recognized the authority of the Papuq in Sandao, his nephew and successor La Patau apparently had a change of heart or at least a strong desire to establish control over the Sulawesian refugees settled in Sandao.626 Because the relationship of Gowa-Talloq to Bone was at the time complicated by the fact that La

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625 Dami N. Toda, Manggarai Mencari Pencerah an Historiografi (Ende: Penerbit Nusa Indah, 1999), 126-127, 141-143, 264-274. Here it is important to clarify that, as far as I can gather based on the available sources, the dalu Bajo bears no discernible relationship to the Sama Bajo people. Located in the southwest of Manggarai, the dalu Bajo was a strong ally of Bima in the mid-eighteenth century and became one of the most powerful dalu after the defeat of the Papuq. Local oral traditions and genealogies that I collected highlight the connection between the ruling line of the dalu and a stranger-king from Sumatra (Minangkabau), known as Ama Keka. There are a few shared words between baong Sama and the language spoken in the dalu Bajo territories, but that is the extent of the linguistic similarities I discovered during my research. Interview with Kosmas Gaib, Agustinus Aben, Dhan, and Aventinus Jandu, Lembor, West Flores, 24-06-2011. See also, NA Collectie Coolhaas, no.3, “Genealogische staten van vorsten- en bestuurdersgeslachten in de noordelijke en zuidelijke Molukken, in de landstreek Manggerai en aan de Oostkust van Sumatra, opgemaakt in verband met troonopvolgingskwestie [c.1910-1925],” which has a detailed genealogy of the dalu Bajo compiled in 1918.

626 VOC Makassar 8182, f.170-178, 203-204; GM VI, p.916. For reasons not entirely clear, in 1704 a joint expedition of troops from Makassar and over a thousand Bugis soldiers from Bone sailed together to war in Sandao. As a result of Bone’s participation in this expedition, in 1712 the ruler of Bone instructed his subjects on Kalao to occupy those lands that were “given” to Gowa-Talloq (read: Papuq) by the Sultan Bone in 1704. Thus, the participation of Bone led La Patau to claim areas of Sandao as his own, namely those settled by “the people of Kalao.” It appears that it was left to the Papuq to retain control over the remaining territories in Sandao and regain control of those that were claimed by Bone. On this matter, see VOC Makassar 8181 and VOC Makassar 8182, as well as Cummings, Makassar Annals, 169. For Arung Palakka’s recognition of Gowa-Talloq’s claims on Sandao, and the authority of the Papuq there, see NBG 17, f.96-97.
Patau was also the father of the reigning Sultan of Gowa, the Papuq sent two letters to Gowa (written in Makassarese), seeking the counsel of the Sultan Ismail Tumamenang ri Sombaopu of Gowa and his trusted advisor, Karaeng Bontomanompoq, respectively.\textsuperscript{627} In his letters, which were intercepted by the Dutch, the Papuq informed the court in Makassar that the ruler of Bone sought to take possession of all the areas in Sandao inhabited by subjects of Bone and Kalao, and he requested instruction as to the Sultan’s wishes before he took further action. The Dutch reported in the following year, however, that the Sultan of Gowa did not take any action against Bone on Sandao, preferring to wait until they were able to carry out their will more effectively.\textsuperscript{628} The sources, unfortunately, are also mostly silent regarding what actions the Papuq had taken in the matter, but we know that assistance was sent from Makassar in subsequent years, and the Papuq apparently regained control of those territories in later years.\textsuperscript{629}

In these and other battles to retain and expand control over the greater Pota region, the strong ties between the Papuq and the rulers of Gowa-Talloq are unmistakable. Between 1693 and 1732 the \textit{lontaraq bilang} note eight separate war expeditions to Sandao in order to assist the Papuq in his fight against Bima and others, as well as to expand the Makassarese territories in Sandao.\textsuperscript{630} In the VOC records there are several mentions of additional instances when war fleets and supplies were sent by Gowa-Talloq to Sandao during those years but were not mentioned in the royal annals. Company officials in Makassar were angered by these expeditions and confronted the Sultan of Gowa on multiple occasions, as the Company understood any Makassarese involvement in the \textit{overwal} to be an egregious violation of the Bungaya Treaty.\textsuperscript{631} The loyalty of the Papuq to the rulers

\textsuperscript{627} According to the Talloq chronicle, Karaeng Bontomanompoq was a descendant of Karaeng ri Popoq (son of Karaeng Matoaya) and I Bayang I Kare Pate (daughter of a Gallarrang from central Gowa). He is listed in the annals as having made several voyages to Sandao. The annals also record that Karaeng Sirajuddin of Gowa moved into the house of Karaeng Bontomanompoq in 1719. He died in 1733. Cummings, \textit{Makassar Annals}, 169, 171, 179, 225, 274; Rahim and Ridwan, \textit{Sejarah Kerajaan Tallo’}, 21-23; Cummings, \textit{Making Blood White}, 76.

\textsuperscript{628} VOC Makassar 8183, f.106-108.

\textsuperscript{629} VOC Makassar 8183, f.106-108.

\textsuperscript{630} Cummings, \textit{Makassar Annals}, 163, 169, 179, 233, 237, 265, 266, 272.

\textsuperscript{631} Among others, see, VOC Makassar 1556, VOC Makassar 1637, VOC Makassar 1663, VOC Makassar 1676, VOC Makassar 8181, VOC Makassar 8182, VOC Makassar 8183, VOC Makassar 8197, VOC
of Gowa-Talloq is also clear in these incidents. When, after Bima’s troops succeeded in taking Reo from the representatives of the Papuq, an envoy of the Sultan Bima confronted the Papuq himself in 1763 and demanded that he relinquish authority over Pota. The Bima court annals record that the Papuq of the time, Daeng Mangemba, purportedly responded to the Sultan’s demands by stating, “There is nothing that I will say and nothing that I will do other than what is ordered by Makassar; what is said by the Raja Gowa, that is what I will do.” 632

Despite the distance between Makassar and Pota a brotherly closeness between the Papuq and the rulers, particularly those of Talloq, is also noticeable in the sources. In the first quarter of the eighteenth century, for example, the Papuq sent the powerful Talloq noble, Karaeng Bontomanompoq, a gift of a snaphaunce named “Gabar” along with a letter, in which he sent his fond greetings to the Karaeng and his wife. 633 Similarly, in the late 1690s, tumabicarabutta Karaeng Bontosunggu sent a spear “completely covered in gold” and a golden kris with a hilt of carved fishbone, among many other goods, as presents to the Papuq in Sandao. 634 This exchange of gifts and personal inquiries about the well being of the family convey something of the deep trust and familiarity that characterized the Papuq polity’s relationship to Gowa and Talloq over the centuries.

The Papuq polity nevertheless operated independently of Gowa-Talloq. His power and authority over Sandao was bestowed by Tunilabu ri Suriwa, but the cultural and historical foundations of his power and respect among the Sama Bajo long predated this event and any partnership with Gowa or Talloq. The role of the Papuq as lord of this highly mobile and modular polity of Sama Bajo seafarers was not an external imposition but a consensus arising from Sama Bajo culture. This age-old veneration of the Papuq was perhaps most evident in the mid-sixteenth century when, standing before their conqueror Karaeng Pattingalloang Tumenangen ri

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633 VOC Makassar 8182, f.204.
634 VOC Makassar 1663, f.128, 202. Though the sources regarding such exchanges are few, it is telling that the Papuq appears to have remained closest to the leaders and nobles of Talloq. From the era of Tunilabu ri Suriwa until the time of Karaeng Bontosunggu Tumenanga ri Taenga, most interaction with and communication about the Papuq is through the Talloq nobility.
Makkoayang, the vanquished Sama Bajo of Katingang, Barasaq, and Barrang declared outright that the Papuq, not Talloq, was their lord.\textsuperscript{635} In similar fashion, in later periods those Sama Bajo peoples considered to be subjects of Gowa-Talloq would identify themselves first and foremost as the followers of the Papuq. When inquiring VOC patrols encountered Sama Bajo ships at sea, the crew often identified themselves not as subjects of Gowa, but as people of the Papuq.\textsuperscript{636} In other words, it was through the Papuq that Gowa-Talloq was able to exercise a measure of control over the Sama Bajo, and thus rely on this highly valuable people to assist in the expansion and prosperity of their kingdoms.

Within Gowa-Talloq and in its overseas territories, then, the Sama Bajo remained a distinct and semi-autonomous entity. While the Papuq did indeed rule Sandao on behalf of Gowa-Talloq, he also acted on his own behalf and on behalf of his people. Sources suggest that a significant portion of what the Dutch referred to as “unbounded wandering” (\textit{licentieuse zwerven}) by the Sama Bajo was orchestrated by the Papuq. On the Papuq’s orders, large fleets of Sama Bajo ships left from the coasts of greater Makassar and Sandao and sailed throughout eastern Indonesia in order to collect and transport tortoiseshell, trepang, fish, spices, wax, slaves, and various other commodities. This commercial activity undoubtedly served as an important source of wealth for the Papuq, just as it helped to fill the coffers of Gowa-Talloq. Reports scattered throughout the archives of the various VOC comptoirs suggest a state of affairs in which the Papuq directed the shipment of goods, such as marine products and ammunition, between Sandao and Makassar. Oral traditions retained by Sama Bajo elders in the northern Flores region similarly recall that in times past large flotillas of Sama Bajo vessels were launched on the order of the Papuq to hunt marine turtles and collect trepang.\textsuperscript{637} More often, however, the Sama

\textsuperscript{635} NBG 17, f.97-99; NBG 208, f.62-63; MS 193, f.12.

\textsuperscript{636} In all cases where Sama Bajo peoples were caught and arrested by Company cruisers, the VOC administration in Makassar and Batavia dealt exclusively with the ruler of Gowa in resolving the matter and bypassed the role of the Papuq as leader. This is not only emblematic of the Dutch preference for dealing directly with heads of state but perhaps also of the Dutch’s lack of understanding regarding the Papuq and his role as the paramount leader of the Sama Bajo in question.

\textsuperscript{637} See for example, VOC Makassar VOC 2050, f.173-176; VOC Makassar 8191, f.165-166; VOC Makassar 8192, f.283-286. Interview with Mboq Ping, Pulau Permaang (E. Flores), 05-07-2011; Interview with Mboq Hadiah, Pulau Permaang (E. Flores), 04-07-2011; Interview with Puah Maja, Pulau Medang
Bajo fishers and sailors of the Papiq polity would have undertaken *palilibu, sakai,* and *lamaq* ventures to acquire these goods primarily in order to fulfill their own needs. Their allegiances may have been to the Papiq and, more distantly, to the rulers of Gowa-Talloq, and an unspecified portion of their catch went to those rulers as tribute, but it is certain that the movements and activities of this Sama Bajo population were not wholly confined to this arrangement.638

The relationship of the Sama Bajo populace to the Papiq would have been mutually beneficial. In this relationship the Papiq acted as a central authority figure for many Sama Bajo communities, and due to his influence and esteem within the Sama Bajo population, as well as his important standing within Makassarese royal circles, he was uniquely suited to mediate between these communities. In the ensuing centuries, with the expansion of the Sama Bajo and Gowa-Talloq into eastern Indonesia, the Papiq was rewarded with areas of usufruct, such as Pota. His position enabled the Papiq to facilitate flows of trade and tribute into Pota-Reo and Makassar, thereby maximizing the benefits to all parties. As we saw in chapter two, from their position in Sandao the Papiq and his Sama Bajo followers roamed the eastern Indonesian seas fishing, hunting, and raiding with great skill to acquire the commodities vital to regional and international trade. Pota-Reo became bustling entrepots and feeder-ports to Makassar, assuring the latter’s preeminence as a trading center for eastern Indonesia well after the Dutch conquest in 1669.

A reasonable guarantee of security and safety would have been an additional concern for the Sama Bajo communities under the Papiq, as this too was a prerequisite for trade and for quality of life in general. Sources clearly indicate that individual groups and village communities of Sama Bajo peoples were more than capable of defending their interests against external threats, but the alliance of the Papiq with the formidable kingdoms of Gowa-Talloq served to further increase Sama Bajo strength, authority, and security. The Sama Bajo thus gained important advocates in both the Papiq and the rulers of Gowa-Talloq. When, for example, the

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638 In 1727 Governor Gobius reported that Sama Bajo fishers gave ten pikul of their tradewares to Gowa as tribute. VOC Makassar 8194, f.134.
forty-one Sama Bajo were arrested in the Solor-Alor archipelago in 1725 on charges of piracy and slave raiding, it was the Papuq who first wrote letters to the relevant authorities, arguing the innocence of his people and requesting they be released to return to him in Sandao. The ruler of Gowa, as the ultimate mediator between the Sama Bajo and the Dutch, also interceded on behalf of the Sama Bajo people on several occasions, petitioning the Company that Sama Bajo vessels be exempt from the pass system and regulations forbidding navigation into eastern Indonesia. These were expected acts of a patron, to whom the Sama Bajo had given their allegiance as subjects.

Conclusion

By focusing on the Papuq polity in the context of Sandao and the greater Pota region, this chapter illustrates many of the arguments laid out in the previous chapter and connects those findings to the trade activities discussed in chapter two. Though there is much we still do not know about the Papuq polity in Sandao and Makassar, the available evidence offers valuable insights into the structure and function of the Papuq polity and its role in the history of the kingdoms of Gowa-Talloq and eastern Indonesia more generally. As the vanguard of Talloq’s earliest known expansion into the eastern Indonesian archipelago, the Papuq and his followers demonstrated their skill as sailors, navigators, and fighters as an effective component of the Talloq navy. For their role in the expedition, the Papuq and the Sama Bajo were rewarded with the greater Pota region as an area of usufruct from which he and his followers would derive sustenance, wealth, and power.

The rich natural resources, both on land and sea, and the particular geography and ecology of the greater Pota region undoubtedly were factors in the Papuq’s choice to settle there. This region proved as satisfying and lucrative as the littoral areas that the Papuq polity had also selected along the littoral of southwest Sulawesi in an earlier period. Pota and Reo became important entrepots where the spices of Maluku and other “contraband” could be purchased alongside tortoiseshell,

639 For example, VOC Makassar 8191, f. 38-39; VOC Makassar 8192, f.468-472, 4-6 (book 2); GM VIII, p.60, 75; GM IX, p. 148.
trepang, wax, resins, cinnamon, hardwoods, and other products of the eastern archipelago. The VOC was never able to exert any measurable control over the Sandao trade. Thus, while Makassar’s power waned in the years immediately following their defeat, the strong link between the rulers of Gowa-Talloq and the Papuq polity ensured Makassar’s continued influence in the region and involvement in its trade networks. In contrast to the failure of the diasporic Makassarese refugees to establish themselves in new territories following the Makassar War, the Papuq and his Sama Bajo, also victims of the Makassar War, successfully created a new political and commercial center at Sandao and pursued a profitable trade from Pota till the end of the 1760s. Many Sama Bajo communities in the eastern Indonesian seas remained loyal to Gowa-Talloq and continued to supply vital trade goods to Makassar.

The history of the Papuq polity belies arguments for the absence of political structure and authority among the Sama Bajo because of the perceived nature of their small and scattered settlements and mobile lifestyle. The Sama Bajo in the Papuq polity were attached to specific places, played diverse roles in the region’s trade and politics, and maintained strong links to the landed kingdoms in Sulawesi. Where the previous chapter discussed the power and prestige of the Sama Bajo and the Papuq within the kingdoms of Gowa-Talloq, the material presented in this chapter focused on the Papuq’s position as the paramount authority in Sandao. From their bases in the greater Pota region, the Sama Bajo followers of the Papuq ventured into nearly every corner of the eastern Indonesian archipelago, fishing and collecting valuable sea products, smuggling spices from Maluku and Buton, and even conducting slave raids on coastal villages. The Sama Bajo of the Papuq polity formed an essential link in the chain that connected the numerous islands and fishing grounds of the east to key trading centers such as Makassar, Batavia, Melaka, and China.

In the next chapter we will look at the formation of the Lolo Bajo polity. The decisive years of the Makassar War witnessed a rupture in the Papuq polity that

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640 On the Makassarese diaspora and its failure to create permanent and successful centers of authority outside South Sulawesi, see Andaya, “Bugis-Makassar Diasporas.”
resulted in the formation of a new cultural and political structure centered on the descendants of the Papuq lineage who carried the title of Lolo Bajo. Like the Papuq polity from which it derived, the Lolo Bajo polity came to be an important component of the dominant Bugis kingdom of Bone.
Chapter Five
The Makassar War and the Formation of the Lolo Bajo Polity

Just as the sun began to sink beyond the northwest horizon on the fourteenth of June 1669, the combined forces of the VOC and its mostly Bugis allies began their attack on Sombaopu, the royal citadel and enduring symbol of Gowa’s greatness. After more than a week of heavy fighting and numerous casualties on both sides, the alliance of the VOC and the massive Bugis force assembled by the Bugis prince La Tenritatta Arung Palakka Matinroé ri Bontoalaq proved superior and Sombaopu finally fell to its conquerors. The loss of Sombaopu to the VOC and its allies brought the Makassar War to a close, signaling the end of Gowa-Talloq’s dominance in eastern Indonesia and the beginning of a new era. The Company had established itself as a permanent presence and unchallenged power in south Sulawesi. For Arung Palakka the defeat of Gowa-Talloq was much more meaningful. For years he had watched the people of Bone suffer under the weight of Gowa-Talloq’s authority and in 1661 he fled from Sulawesi, vowing to gather allies and to return and seek revenge on the Makassarese who had conquered the Bugis. For Arung Palakka and his followers, the fall of Sombaopu brought the long sought for restoration of honor and self-respect, as well as the beginning of the period of Bone’s dominance in Sulawesi and eastern Indonesian affairs.641

While the Makassar War and its consequences for Gowa-Talloq, Bone, and for Indonesia in general, have been discussed in a number of important studies, the effects of the war on the Sama Bajo peoples of eastern Indonesia have never been considered. The fall of Sombaopu sent shockwaves throughout eastern Indonesia and brought about tremendous changes in the social, commercial, and political landscape of south Sulawesi that had profound consequences for the Sama Bajo of the Papuq polity. In the wake of Makassar’s defeat south Sulawesi underwent a major political realignment, positioning the VOC and Arung Palakka’s Bone as the region’s overlords. In the upheaval large numbers of Makassarese and Sama Bajo

641 The history of the Makassar War and Arung Palakka’s struggles to free the kingdom of Bone from the rule of Gowa-Talloq is documented in great detail in Andaya, The Heritage of Arung Palakka.
took to the seas rather than live under the joint rule of the VOC and Arung Palakka, spreading to new, as well as familiar areas of the archipelago in order to seek new opportunities. Yet, while many Sama Bajo followers of the Papuq remained loyal to Gowa-Talloq throughout the war and in its demoralizing aftermath, a number of others chose to shift with the changing political tides and joined the ascendant Arung Palakka and Bone. In what appears to be a watershed moment in the histories of Sama Bajo peoples, this faction broke rank with the Papuq. It allied itself with Arung Palakka, the victorious Bugis lord who became ruler of Bone in 1672, and created the new and powerful Sama Bajo polity, referred to here as the Lolo Bajo polity. In this chapter we will focus on the formation of the Lolo Bajo polity, its structure and inner workings, the extent of its authority, its relationship to Bone, and the functions these Sama Bajo came to serve in the kingdom of Bone. It will first begin by examining the impact of the war on the Papuq polity and the flight and further dispersal of the Sama Bajo people from Makassar to other lands.

**War and Flight**

The chaos of the war period undoubtedly wreaked havoc in the lives of the Sama Bajo living in the south Sulawesi region. More than three years of fighting had taken a tremendous toll on the people and the landscape of Makassar. Untold numbers were killed in battle and even more suffered the destruction of their villages and food supplies and the interruption of their livelihood. Harbors were blockaded and seaborne travel of any kind was extremely dangerous, leaving the sea-centered Sama Bajo populations of the Makassar area to either remain in their besieged homeland or flee to areas outside the conflict zone where they could carry out their fishing and trade. Yet, the loyalty of the Papuq polity—so clearly stated in the manuscript sources and evident in their actions in the preceding centuries—

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642 A similar event took place among the Orang Laut of the western archipelago after the 1699 regicide of Sultan Mahmud of Johor. Upheavals, such as the Makassar War, disrupt the status quo, and so the Sama Bajo, like the Orang Laut, sought to establish new relationships in order to be able to continue to survive and prosper as in the past by realigning themselves with the dominant landed kingdom. I am grateful to Leonard Andaya for pointing out this similarity. Andaya, Kingdom of Johor, 186-189.
ensured that the Papuq and many of his followers would remain at the side of their Gowa-Talloq allies.

Many of the Papuq’s Sama Bajo followers would have participated in the war effort, though we cannot be certain of the number. Contemporary Dutch accounts of the war unfortunately do not offer much information on the role of the Sama Bajo in the Makassarese fighting force. This, however, is not surprising. The Dutch were rarely entirely sure who exactly was Bugis, Makassarese, Wajoere, or Sama Bajo in most contexts, let alone when facing the masses of boatmen and soldiers that comprised the Makassarese navy during the wars. Thus, in the VOC records we find only hints of the Sama Bajo’s role. We know, for instance, that Gowa’s sabannaraq Daeng Makkulle Abdul Wahid, who was a close kin of the reigning Papuq and a son or nephew of I Amboq, led forces against Sula, Banggai, and Buton in 1666 and led a large unit in the pitched battles of 1668. Given his status among the Sama Bajo people it is certain that Sama Bajo men were among his troops. The large numbers of Sama Bajo fighters who remained in the following of powerful figures of the Gowa-Talloq court after the war are a further indication of the involvement of the Sama Bajo in the resistance against the VOC and Arung Palakka. Even with the unfortunate dearth of sources, if we remember the historical role of the Papuq and his followers as a naval power within the Gowa-Talloq kingdom, it is clear that, whether as members of the larger Makassarese contingent or as individual naval units, the Sama Bajo’s skills as a seaborne fighting force would have been important to Makassar’s war effort. Likewise, the fact that the Papuq polity was a loyal ally and valuable component of Gowa-Talloq before the war and remained so for a century after the fall of Sombaopu suggests that the Papuq and many of his followers remained in the service of the ruler through the tumult of the war period.

The defeat of Gowa-Talloq in 1669, therefore, would have also meant defeat for the Sama Bajo of the Papuq polity who had joined in the fight against the Company and Arung Palakka. After nearly four years of fighting, Dutch blockades of Makassar’s harbor, and the burning of countless villages and rice fields, the

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643 VOC Makassar 1257, f.511; VOC Makassar 1267, f.433v-435r; Andaya, The Heritage of Arung Palakka, 126.
Makassarese people and their allies were shattered and humiliated. Unimpeded pillaging of the Makassar countryside by Bugis soldiers and Bone’s relentless demands for corvée labor in the wake of the war took a further toll on the once proud but now impoverished people of the region. The unprecedented intrusion of Arung Palakka and the Company in nearly every aspect of Gowa-Talloq’s internal affairs only compounded the misery and humiliation of the Makassarese nobility. In this climate of despair many of the most powerful Makassarese nobles and their followers set out from south Sulawesi to seek refuge in neighboring lands, preferring to live elsewhere rather than remain at home and suffer under their new overlords. In fleets often numbering hundreds of ships, these refugees roamed the waters of the archipelago and became an important, if unpredictable element in the affairs of kingdoms on Java, Bali, eastern Borneo, Sumbawa, Flores, Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, and even as far as Ayutthaya (Thailand). Among these disaffected bands of refugees were untold numbers of Sama Bajo peoples, many of whom were the followers of the Papuq.

As a result of the hardships of the war and its immediate aftermath, many Sama Bajo groups left southwest Sulawesi and took to the sea in search of better horizons. In his 1669 Notitie Speelman noted that large numbers of Sama Bajo who had once lived throughout the southwest Sulawesi region had since left to eastern Borneo, Lombok, Sumbawa, Flores, and elsewhere, with what he believed to be the largest concentration settling in the islands of West Nusa Tenggara.644 In the post-war years, Dutch ships reported encounters with Sama Bajo fleets in various parts of the archipelago with increasing frequency, suggesting high numbers had left South Sulawesi to settle elsewhere. Dutch reports note that these Sama Bajo groups had been “driven” from Makassar after its conquest by the Company.645 The LB Lemobajo and MS 260 manuscripts also list Kangean (an archipelago roughly 75 miles north of Bali) as well as Libukeng Tengaé —perhaps referring to the islands of

644 Speelman, Notitie (deel 1), 27.

645 For example, VOC Ternate 1320, f.113r; VOC Ternate 1366, f.580-581; VOC Ternate 1376, f.305v-306v; VOC Makassar 8201, f.103-104. See also the comments of Predikant Montanus on the dispersal of the Sama Bajo made in 1675 and based on his observations in northern Sulawesi. These are paraphrased (though clearly with some alteration) in Valentijn, Oud en nieuw Oost Indiën, vol.1, 66-67. Sopher also provides translations for some of Valentijn’s quotes taken from Montanus. Sopher, Sea Nomads, 300-304.
the same name in the Spermonde group or those of the Kepulauan Tengah or Postillion Islands lying between Sulawesi and Sumbawa—as places where Sama Bajo allies of Gowa-Talloq had sought refuge.646

Rather than wandering aimlessly, as Company officials described it, these Sama Bajo refugees sailed to familiar shores, often settling in places where they had traveled and traded previously and where other Sama Bajo had come to settle earlier. A primary destination, of course, was Sandao and the greater Pota region. As the centuries-old seat of the Papiq and a common destination point for traders and fishers of various ethnicities, Sandao was a logical choice for many of the Sama Bajo loyal to the Papiq and Gowa-Talloq. Additional groups settled in other areas of Nusa Tenggara, with large numbers in Lombok and in areas of western and northern Sumbawa. Others traveled westward to Pasir, Kutei, and Banjarmasin on the eastern coast of Borneo. Like Sandao, the areas of east Borneo and Nusa Tenggara were frequented by Makassarese and Sama Bajo fleets at least since the period of Karaeng Matoaya (r.1593-1623), and many of the Sama Bajo communities there continued to identify themselves as subjects of Gowa well into the nineteenth century.647 As was the case when their ancestors arrived with the Papiq on the shores of southwest Sulawesi, or when the Papiq’s war fleets landed in Sandao, the choice of where to move and settle after the Makassar War was not haphazard but would have been a calculated decision based on prior knowledge of the area, its people, its trade, and, most importantly, its ocean environment.

In 1779 Governor Paulus van der Voort issued a directive (placcaat) to the Sama Bajo in the Makassarese language and script, which was to be posted in trade centers around Bima, Sumbawa, Dompu, and Pekat (Kingdoms on the island of Sumbawa), as well as in Kampung Bugis and Kampung Malayu in Makassar proper. These were places still frequented by Sama Bajo traders from abroad. The "Badjo billet," (Bajo notice) as it was often referred to, declared that all the Sama Bajo “who

646 MS 260, f.26-27; MS 250a, f.29; LB Lemobajo, f.54 (sec.93).
had ever followed Gowa, and followed blindly in leaving [Makassar]...all of you Turijeqneq are requested by the Governor and the jurubicara to come forth, return here." To convince these Sama Bajo descendants of the original refugees, “who remained subjugated by the Makassarese,” to return to Dutch Makassar, Governor van der Voort assured them that, “there is no longer unrest due to poverty and destruction” in Makassar and he cajoled them with promises of limited taxation and the Company’s protection “from anyone who might disturb you.”\textsuperscript{648} The “Badjo billet,” issued more than a century after the war, suggests the success with which the Sama Bajo refugees adapted to life in Nusa Tenggara.

Of the many Sama Bajo who left Sulawesi and sought new opportunities in distant lands a number of groups traveled further west. The Kangean archipelago, located roughly 290 miles to the southeast of coastal Makassar, quickly became another important post-war settlement of Sama Bajo peoples, who came to be known locally as “wong kambang,” or “floating people,” and remains so today.\textsuperscript{649} Sama Bajo manuscripts record Kangean as one of the areas the Sama Bajo traveled to in response to the war, and oral traditions recorded by Dutch colonial figures in the nineteenth century also point to south Sulawesi as the previous homeland of the Kangean Sama Bajo.\textsuperscript{650} Balinese oral and written traditions record the coming of Makassarese and Sama Bajo to the western, northern, and eastern shores of Bali after the war, though the “wong Bajo” (Balinese for “Sama Bajo”) are remembered more for conducting violent raids on coastal settlements and establishing themselves for a time on the west coast.\textsuperscript{651}

The settlement of Sama Bajo peoples in areas distant from Makassar posed a threat to the Company’s attempts to control regional trade, and remained a problem for more than a century after the war. The massive roving fleets of Sama Bajo and Makassarese nobles found increasingly throughout the archipelago were especially

\textsuperscript{648} VOC Makassar 3552, f.134, 163-164; VOC Makassar 3556, f.498; VOC Makassar 8245, f.170-171; VOC 3586, f.54; ANRI Makassar 69a.1, f.11-12; ANRI Makassar 406.2, daghregister entry for 16 Sept 1779; KITLV Or.545, no.220c.
\textsuperscript{651} See p.119 fn. 206. See also, \textit{Sejarah Masuknya Islam}, part IV, 16.
distressing for the High Government in Batavia. Wherever they came ashore these groups quickly became involved in local political affairs that disrupted trade, threatened the Company and Arung Palakka's hold on south Sulawesi, and upset the overall stability of the region. For nearly two decades, Dutch and Bugis forces pursued the refugees, whose leaders were not initially interested simply to settle a new home. Their principal motivation, as Leonard Andaya has noted, was to seek allies and arms in anticipation of an eventual return and reconquest of Makassar.\footnote{Andaya, The Heritage of Arung Palakka, 226.}

Moreover, the settlement of these Makassarese and Sama Bajo outside Sulawesi guaranteed that a measure of Gowa-Talloq’s former power and influence would remain intact in the eastern archipelago, albeit in a different form. By operating in areas with which they had longstanding connections as both overlords and allies, and where the Dutch had no real control, these refugees functioned as an appendage of the Makassarese rulers in the overseas territories. Of the various groups that roamed the archipelago, the enormous fleets under the leadership of Daeng Tulolo (an uncle of Gowa’s ruler Karaeng Bisei), Karaeng Galesong (son of Sultan Hasanuddin), Karaeng Jarannika, and Kare Kanjaraq Bajo (the Papuq’s uncle) were perhaps most troublesome for the Company. Before their defeat at Keper (east Java) in 1679, these men and their followers had established themselves in various areas of Bali, Kangean, and East Java, and remained involved in the affairs of Lombok and Sumbawa well into the eighteenth century.

As an uncle of the reigning Papuq, Kare Kanjaraq Bajo attracted a large following of Sama Bajo, and he and his followers in turn comprised a major component of the Makassar refugee groups led by Daeng Tulolo, Karaeng Galesong, and others.\footnote{VOC Makassar 1403, f.254v. Based on the dates of the reports that Kare Kanjaraq Bajo was the uncle of the reigning Papuq (1688) and the related dates from the lontaraq bilang, it is highly likely that the Papuq at the time was Daeng Numalo (d.1703), the son of I Amboq and uncle or father of his successor, Papuq Daeng Makkulle Ahmad.} It is unclear whether Kare Kanjaraq Bajo was among the nobles when they left Makassar or he joined their ranks once abroad. We first encounter Kare Kanjaraq Bajo in the Dutch sources at the time of the fall of the refugee stronghold at Keper in 1679. After their defeat, some 4000 Makassarese and Sama Bajo returned
to Kangean, only to be pursued there by a Dutch-Bugis fleet, including twenty ships under the prominent Bugis nobles Arung Teko and Arung Maruangen.\textsuperscript{654} Then, in early 1680 the Dutch received word that Kare Kanjaraq Bajo had led a fleet of a hundred vessels to Sokong on Lombok after being forced from Kangean by the Dutch and Bugis forces.\textsuperscript{655} According to the Dutch reports, Kare Kanjaraq Bajo and his followers sailed along the northern shores of Lombok and Sumbawa acting as “pirates” (zeeroovers), disturbing the trade and political situation in those islands, as well as raiding coastal villages and robbing vessels at sea.\textsuperscript{656} In 1684, the Dutch advised Arung Palakka to use deadly force against Kare Kanjaraq Bajo and the other Gowa-Talloq nobles, warning him that their desire for vengeance would not cease.\textsuperscript{657} Yet, Kare Kanjaraq Bajo remained a forceful presence and a valuable component of the Makassarese-Sama Bajo refugees for another sixteen years.

Between 1682 and 1700 the Dutch continued to receive regular reports of Kare Kanjaraq Bajo and his followers, along with Karaeng Bone, Karaeng Jarannika, Karaeng Pamolikang and other Gowa-Talloq nobles, crisscrossing the seas between eastern Borneo, Java, Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa, and Sandao (especially Manggarai). These men became involved in complicated marriage alliances, embroiled in local political contests for territory and influence, and ultimately, entangled in several wars involving the principalities of Karangasem on Bali, Salaparang on Lombok, and Sumbawa, Tambora, Dompu, Pekat and Bima, all on the island of Sumbawa. Though the Dutch received word that Kare Kanjaraq Bajo had been killed in Pekat in March of 1696, he appears once more in the records in 1700.\textsuperscript{658} In this final mention of Kare Kanjaraq Bajo, we learn that he and his men were guarding the women and children of the Makassarese nobles at a fortress in Allas (west Sumbawa) when a

\textsuperscript{654} VOC Makassar 1359, f.394v.
\textsuperscript{655} VOC Makassar 1359, f.394v.
\textsuperscript{656} VOC Makassar 1376, f. 368r, 375r-376v, 378v; VOC Makassar 1403, f.254v; VOC Makassar 1414, f.121r-122v, 126rv; VOC Makassar 1579, f.15-21, 29-30; VOC Makassar 1637, f.83-86: VOC Makassar 8165, f.64-65, 77-78; GM IV, 716.
\textsuperscript{657} GM IV, 716.
\textsuperscript{658} VOC Makassar 1579, f.28-29.
massive force of men from Tambora and Dompu attacked. Thirty of the refugees were killed in the battle and the women and children were taken captive.\textsuperscript{659}

Throughout this period the VOC administration put pressure on the ruler of Gowa, demanding that he recall his subjects to Makassar. To do so he enlisted the Papuq on at least two occasions in 1683 and 1685, yet Kare Kanjaraq Bajo and other Sama Bajo refugees, like their Makassarese counterparts, preferred to remain abroad than live under the Dutch and Arung Palakka in their homeland. The Papuq apparently did not force their return.\textsuperscript{660} Indeed, some of those nobles sent by Gowa to recall the refugees, such as Karaeng Jarannika who was dispatched in 1677, ended up staying overseas and joining the refugees.\textsuperscript{661} The existence of such large groups of men loyal to Gowa-Talloq posed a considerable threat to Arung Palakka’s authority in south Sulawesi and to the commercial stability of the region. In addition to envoys sent by Gowa at the behest of the Company, Arung Palakka personally led an expedition against the refugees in Sumbawa and Flores in 1675 and against those in Keper in 1678, and he sent Bone fleets under Arung Teko and other nobles to force the return of Makassarese, Sama Bajo, and Bugis from abroad on several occasions. These envoys of Bone did not neglect to take advantage of the authority granted to them to conduct devastating raids and attacks on villages and ships in several areas.

In 1679, for example, the governor in Makassar received disturbing reports that the Bugis nobleman Arung Teko had attacked several places in Kangean, Lombok, and Sumbawa during his mission to recall the refugees to Sulawesi, taking with him a large number of slaves and booty on his return to Bone. In one village in Sumbawa that had a number of Papuq Sama Bajo inhabitants, Arung Teko was reported to have killed all the male inhabitants and to have taken eighteen women and children as slaves.\textsuperscript{662} Sixteen years later these Sama Bajo remained as slaves in “Bugis lands” as noted among the grievances listed in a letter from Sultan Abdul Jalil

\textsuperscript{659} VOC Makassar 1637, f.85-86.
\textsuperscript{660} VOC Makassar 1403, f.254v; VOC Makassar 1414, f.121r.
\textsuperscript{661} Andaya, \textit{The Heritage of Arung Palakka}, 216-217.
\textsuperscript{662} VOC Makassar 1359, f.346v-347r, 350rv, 372rv, 891v.
of Gowa to the Dutch in Batavia.663 In an inventory of Arung Teko’s possessions taken at the time of his exile from Sulawesi in 1701, it is recorded that, of the slaves he had taken from Sumbawa 124 remained in his possession, and it is highly likely that Sama Bajo refugees were among that number.664

In addition to those Sama Bajo taken as slaves from the settlements in Nusa Tenggara, there were others closer to home that suffered a similar fate. At the very opening of the war, Arung Palakka and the Dutch fleet stopped at Tanakeke, a small island to the southwest of Makassar long known as a place of Sama Bajo settlement. The lontaraq bilang of Gowa-Talloq records that, on 18 December 1666 “Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] captured the Bayo of Tanakeke,” and Dutch reports indicate that one of these Sama Bajo provided Arung Palakka with important information about the current political situation in Makassar prior to his advance on the port city.665 Further reports note that this Sama Bajo “slave” was taken to Makassar the following day and made to deliver the Company’s demands to the ruler, but we learn nothing more of his fate.666 Later, as the war progressed, the inhabitants of the Bayoa settlement at the mouth of the Garassiq River, where Sama Bajo had lived since at least the fourteenth century, were taken as the slaves of Arung Teko and were charged with caring for the nobleman’s fishponds. These villagers remained under Arung Teko’s control until he fell out of favor with the ruler of Bone in the late 1690s and was forced into exile in 1701, at which point the inhabitants of Bayoa apparently fled elsewhere rather than be placed under the control of another overlord.667 These and other Sama Bajo who came under the jurisdiction of Bone or its nobles by force would have been considered subjugated peoples and, like the Bayo Pattingalloang who were conquered by Talloq in the mid-sixteenth century, they would not have enjoyed the status accorded to the semi-autonomous subjects of the Papuq polity within the realm of Gowa-Talloq. For many

663 Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Ind. XXIII, f.6-7. A Dutch translation from the original Malay can be found in VOC Makassar 1595, f.223-227.
664 Sutherland, “Slavery and the Slave Trade,” 269. See also, VOC Makassar 1663, f.174-86; VOC Makassar 1676, f.2 (book 2).
665 Cummings, Makassar Annals, 100; Stapel, Het Bongaais, 99-100; Andaya, Heritage of Arung Palakka, 73-74.
666 Stapel, Het Bongaais, 99-100; Andaya, Heritage of Arung Palakka, 73; VOC Makassar 1264, f. 21r.
667 VOC Makassar 1676, f.29-30.
Sama Bajo peoples, then, the defeat of Gowa-Talloq meant the loss of status and protection, leaving them vulnerable within the changed political landscape of Sulawesi.

**Parting Ways**

There was one faction within the Papuq polity, however, who took a radically different stance in the conflict of the late seventeenth century. According to the Sama Bajo traditions, at an early stage of the war a group of Sama Bajo left Makassar and gathered at Libukeng Tengaé under the leadership of members of the Sama Bajo nobility—those considered as kin of the Papuq and who bore the title of Lolo. As the MS 260 manuscript records:

> At that time they had heard about Petta Torisompaé [Arung Palakka] and the Bajo feared that they too would be suspected and attacked. Thus, the Bajo gathered and discussed, and in the end agreed to sail into Gowa and meet Petta Torisompaé, for when the soldiers of Gowa are defeated by Petta Torisompaé, it is Bone who will be victorious. The greatness and power of Bone cannot be challenged by the Bajo. We cannot wait to be sought and only then go. Do not [wait] until later when we are visited [by Arung Palakka] and only then enter into Bone.668

In this scene the Sama Bajo manuscripts record the careful consideration and practical politics of survival that led a faction of the Papuq polity to break their traditional alliance with Gowa-Talloq, form a new grouping under the leadership of the one called Lolo Bajo, and transfer their allegiance to Arung Palakka and Bone.

Based on a close reading of the MS 260, MS 250a, and LB Lemobajo, I suggest that these manuscripts were produced by the distant descendants of those Sama Bajo peoples who left Gowa-Talloq and the Papuq and chose to form an alliance with

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668 MS 260, f.27. For this section, all three manuscripts are mostly the same, though there are slight differences. Nevertheless, the meaning, intention, and style remain the same. The statement can be glossed as, “We cannot wait until Arung Palakka comes looking for us, we cannot wait until he ‘visits’ us and only then submit and enter into Bone. We must go to him first and in so doing, have the advantage of coming as friend rather than subjugated enemy or as allies of his enemy.”
the ruler of Bone. The manner in which this radical parting of ways is recorded in the manuscripts indicates as much. From the moment the narrative changes its focus from the Papuq’s relationship with Gowa to the story of Arung Palakka’s exile and eventual return to Sulawesi, the Papuq is no longer mentioned as a living figure and the Lolo Bajo then assumes the role of the paramount authority of the Sama Bajo people for the remainder of the text. The author(s) of the manuscripts effectively render the person of the Papuq to the role of a historical ancestor and the institution of the Papuq polity to a relic of the past, despite the fact that the Papuq continued to be the title of the paramount authority over the Sama Bajo loyal to Gowa-Talloq for another century after the war. It was perhaps easier for these families to explain and remember the genesis of the Lolo Bajo polity and the formation of their alliance with Bone in this manner, eliding the no doubt difficult break from the Papuq and those followers who remained loyal to Gowa-Talloq.

After stating that Gowa’s troops had been defeated and that the Karaeng Gowa had surrendered to Arung Palakka, the manuscripts record that the ruler of Gowa advised the Lolo Bajo and his followers (not the Papuq) to “leave the territory of Gowa because Gowa is facing difficult times,” telling them, “It is best if all you Bajo seek secure refuge. Later, once Gowa is at peace, then you may return under the shadow of Gowa.” Sensing its impending defeat, in 1667 Gowa sent a similar message to another of its close allies in Barru, which stated: “Go home and seek your own welfare because Gowa is hardpressed and can no longer provide you the wings under which you can shelter.” These statements, as Andaya has argued, acknowledged that the ruler of Gowa could no longer provide the protection guaranteed its allies according to their solemn oath, and thus the allies were free to seek their own welfare. Here again the manner in which the actual departure from Gowa’s shadow is described indicates the difficulty that surrounded the decision to break with tradition. As it is presented in the manuscripts, it is as though all of the Sama Bajo decided to flee Gowa and join Arung Palakka, and none remained or

669 MS 260, f.26; LB Lemobajo, sec.93, f.54; Cense 262, f.29.
670 From a lontaraq owned by the former Patola Wajoq, translated in Andaya, The Heritage of Arung Palakka, 114.
returned under the shadow of Gowa. Rather than its painful birth from within the ranks of the Papuq polity, the Lolo Bajo polity that came to ally with Bone instead appears without introduction and assumes the central place in the narrative once occupied by the Papuq.

A decisive split thus occurred within the Papuq polity, with one faction remaining under the Papuq and Gowa-Talloq, and the other uniting under a new paramount leader, said to be a child of the Papuq, who was given the title of “Lolo Bajo.” By electing to go and meet Arung Palakka before he had sought them and joining him on his return to Bone, the Lolo Bajo and his followers wisely understood that this would position them more favorably as part of Arung Palakka’s allies rather than war captives or defeated enemies; a calculated strategy to preserve one’s strength, status, and limited autonomy within the transformed sociopolitical landscape of Sulawesi. Unfortunately the sources tell us virtually nothing about the internal politics of this division or its lasting effects within Sama Bajo society. Sama Bajo oral traditions reveal little, Makassarese sources, as far as I am aware, are silent, and later Dutch sources simply note that the Sama Bajo were formerly under Gowa-Talloq and that after the war a group became the subjects of Bone. The LB Lemobajo and MS 260 indicate that many of those who left to join Arung Palakka were family of the Papuq, which would have been wrenching both politically and personally for the Sama Bajo community.

**Under the Shadow of Bone**

The Sama Bajo manuscripts tell us that after making their decision, the Lolo Bajo, as the leader of those who left Gowa, “said to all his many children and grandchildren, ‘Pull your *toddoq* [mooring post], hoist your sails, together we will

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671 While “Lolo” is the traditional title of Sama Bajo nobility who claim descent from the Lolo Bajo, and thus the Papuq, the manuscripts reserve the title of “Lolo Bajo” for the paramount authority among those Sama Bajo groups allied with Bone.

sail to the land of Makassar.”673 They travel until they reach a place called “Lipu Toddoq” (the mooring place) where they are to meet Arung Palakka “before he enters into Bone.”674 The manuscripts then describe a scene reminiscent of the Papuq’s arrival in the roadstead of Makassar centuries earlier. The Sama Bajo fleet led by the Lolo Bajo appears on the horizon, and “Petta Torisompaé [Arung Palakka] is startled to see the mass of raised sails of those Bajo who would become the followers of Petta Torisompaé.”675 He then orders his men to prepare a perahu pelari to take him to meet the Sama Bajo fleet. The Lolo Bajo also boards a perahu and meets the vessel carrying Arung Palakka. “Petta Torisompaé asks Lolo, ‘Whose many perahu are these?’ and Lolo Bajo replies, ‘My lord, these children are only your subjects, the Bajo people.’ Petta Torisompaé then asks Lolo Bajo, ‘Why have all of you come here?’ To this the Lolo Bajo replies, “We know that my lord wishes to enter Bone [and] we desire to accompany you my lord, for we wish to be in the shadow of Bone.”676

Upon hearing the Lolo Bajo declare his desire to become a subject of Bone, Arung Palakka rewards him with an ornate keris and ties a songkoq bolong (a type of headdress) on Lolo’s head. More than simple gifts, in the Bugis-Makassar context these were, as Andaya has described, tokens of honor “in reward for a faithful deed to the overlord and as an acknowledgement of a new interstate relationship.”677 By giving these gifts Arung Palakka expresses his gratitude for the Lolo Bajo’s actions, and in accepting them the Lolo Bajo symbolically acknowledges the Arung Palakka as his lord. The Lolo Bajo and his Sama Bajo followers then accompany Arung Palakka into Bone. Once in Bone, Arung Palakka offers the Lolo Bajo his choice of land to settle, just as the ruler of Gowa had once done centuries earlier upon the

673 LB Lemobajo, f.57 (98); MS 260, f.27; MS 250a, f.30. “Nakkedana Lolo Bajo ri anaq eppona maegaé pada redduqni toddoqmu mutwatei sempeqnu mapada sempeq tomaegaé mangolo lao ri Tana Mangkasaq.”
674 It is not clear exactly when this “return to Bone” was, as Palakka returned to Bone on a couple different occasions during the war and after its conclusion.
675 MS 260, f.27.
676 MS 260, f. 27; Importantly, in the Malay translation of the story found in MS 250a, the translator has Arung Palakka refer to the Lolo Bajo as his uncle, which would be a sign of tremendous respect for the Lolo Bajo on behalf of the ruler. MS 250a, f.30-31.
677 Andaya, The Heritage of Arung Palakka, 96.
Papuq’s arrival in southwest Sulawesi. “Lolo Bajo,” the ruler commands, “choose any place in Bone [panganuanna maiyye Bone], from Ujung Labu Peneki, Batu Manu, as far as Siwa.” But, the manuscript tells us, “none pleased the Bajo; only Batu Lappaé was desired and that is where they wished to settle.” Arung Palakka agreed saying, “Stay Lolo, and everything to the east of the benteng [Watamponé] will be your land, and as for wood, as far as you can throw, that is yours together with the sea to the east. And whoever comes and builds a home among the Bajo, they too are Bajo. Further, if one marries a Bajo, they too are Bajo.”

Whereas the Papuq is said to have selected a massive stretch of the southwest Sulawesi littoral and offshore islands, the Lolo Bajo and his followers chose only a specific area on the east coast of the Gulf of Bone, near the area known as Celluq. As with the toponym Bayoa, which is frequently encountered in the Makassarese areas, the place chosen by the Lolo Bajo and his followers would soon come to be known as Bajoé, meaning “the place of the Bajo.” The reason why the Lolo Bajo and his followers deemed the other areas of Bone unsuitable is not stated in the manuscripts, but the reasoning behind their choice of Bajoé can again be explained in part by the local ecology. The numerous coral reef complexes located offshore and stretching to the south would have been a primary factor in determining their settlement area. In 1977 Herman Soesangobeng documented over sixty separate reef complexes in the area, each known to the local Sama Bajo communities by a specific name, and each serving as a site of rich local historical memory. Local oral traditions recall that the Sama Bajo of Bajoé regularly ventured offshore to harvest the resources of these reefs, including the plentiful green and hawksbill sea turtles (bokko and kulitang), dugong (duyoh), agar-agar, giant clam (kima), trochus (lolaq or lalaq), squid (kenda), and an enormous variety of fish species.

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678 MS 260, f.28; MS 250a, f.31; LB Lemobajo, f.59 (101).
The Sama Bajo manuscripts point to another important factor in the decision to settle at Bajoé, namely the presence of a landed population with which to trade. When asked by the ruler, Arung Palakka, what his followers were doing in their newly chosen land, the Lolo Bajo explained that, “after my followers return from the reefs, they make an agreement [Bug., janci] with the people of Celluq, they bring tuaq (palm wine), sirih, and things to trade [for our sea products].”681 The ability to trade sea products for necessary and desired terrestrial goods was an essential prerequisite for any location to become a permanent or semi-permanent Sama Bajo settlement in the Bugis lands, just as it was with the Sama Bajo who came to ally with Gowa in earlier periods. In areas of southeast Sulawesi, north Maluku, and Flores, many of the Sama Bajo I met recalled that in past times, the concept of janji or majanji (from Malay, “Janji” meaning promise, agreement, etc.) referred to agreements made with bagai daraq (non-Sama Bajo landed populations) to meet at a particular location at a given time in order to trade. Such places were often called janji or majanji.682

A further consideration may have been the proximity of Bajoé to the historical and royal center of Bone in Watamponé, literally the “trunk or body of Bone.”683 The settlement of the Lolo Bajo and his followers at Bajoé was not simply a relocation to new fishing grounds and trading centers, but entailed a tremendous social and political realignment within the Sama Bajo community. For over two centuries, the Papuq and the rulers of Gowa and Talloq served as central sites of power, prestige, and protection for the Sama Bajo of the Papuq polity. With their break from that traditional alliance, the Lolo Bajo and his followers may have found it desirable to settle close to the center of Bone, their new center of authority, status, and security. As we will see, in subsequent years, Sama Bajo peoples allied to Bone would travel widely and come to settle in areas distant from Watamponé, creating

681 LB Lemobajo, f.59 (101); MS 260, f.28; MS 250a, f.31.
682 Interview with Haji Badeq, Bajoé, 03-06-2008; Interview with Mboq Baleh, Allas (W. Sumbawa), 14-07-2009; Interview with Puah Salamaq, Kayoa (N. Maluku), 06-06-2012; Interview with Mboq Ping, Pulau Permaang (E. Flores), 05-07-2011.
new centers of community and trade, but these communities would remain strongly linked to Bajoé and the center of royal authority in Bone.

The settlement of the Lolo Bajo and his followers at Bajoé precipitated a rapid development of local trade that would transform an unexceptional stretch of the Bone coastline into a thriving entrepot in a matter of years. According to LB Lemobajo and MS 260, sometime after the land of Bajoé was given to the Sama Bajo, Arung Palakka summoned the Lolo Bajo and offered to "establish a market there for you [Lolo Bajo], so that you can carry out your trade there." The manuscripts record that soon after its establishment, Bajoé was busy with traders and the ruler ordered the Lolo Bajo to collect taxes from those who came to the market and he allocated two tax collectors to assist in the task. As the trading community at Bajoé grew the Dutch began to receive reports of the "illegal" trade conducted there. In 1714, the VOC Governor in Makassar, Johannes Sipman, was disturbed by the information given to him by a Bugis trader from Soppeng named Angalulang. The latter explained to the governor, who had never before heard of Bajoé, that Arung Palakka had allowed the Sama Bajo to settle on the coast twelve miles from the Cenrana River, where they formed a settlement that was given the name "Badjo" (Bajo). He went on to tell the governor: "At present there is such a great confluence of people who have taken up residence there and...a daily market is held, at which all sorts of nations come to trade, such as the Johorese, Chinese, Malays, Wajorese, Cerammers [Seramese], Tambockers [Tobungku], and some come with their vessels from Manado, and others like the Mandarese, etc. come overland." According to Angalulang, by this time Bajoé had already become an important site for the "contraband" trade in spices, slaves, and the like, by way of links with Halmahera, Seram, and the southwestern islands (Zuidwestereilanden) of the Maluku region, as well as with Banjarmasin and Pasir in eastern Borneo, and Buton, Tukangbesi, and Kalengsusu in southeast Sulawesi (see chapter two). Thus, in Bajoé we see a similar phenomenon as in early Garassiq, in the later entrepot of Makassar, and in

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684 LB Lemobajo, f.59-60 (102); MS 260, f.28.
685 LB Lemobajo, f.59-60 (102); MS 260, f.28.
Pota and Reo, where the settlement of Sama Bajo peoples served as an initial catalyst for the development of these entrepots and the creation of links to regional and international trade networks.

The Lolo Bajo

The Sama Bajo manuscripts and oral traditions are really our only source of information regarding the identity and personal histories of those who were appointed as Lolo Bajo between the late seventeenth and early twentieth centuries. In addition to providing reign lists of the former Lolo Bajo, the manuscripts offer numerous vignettes that describe important events that took place during the tenure of certain Lolo Bajo. The post-Makassar war narrative of the manuscripts is similar to what Marshall Sahlins described as “heroic history,” in that it is largely structured around the great deeds of the Lolo Bajo and of the Arumpone (ruler of Bone).\(^{687}\) In LB Lemobajo, MS 260, and MS 250a combined, we are given three separate lists of Lolo Bajo with some notable contradictions among and even within these lists (See Fig.2). It is nevertheless possible to establish the sequence and approximate period of rule for several of the Lolo Bajo listed in the manuscripts, though I have yet to find any mention of these leaders in the VOC or the later colonial government archives.\(^{688}\)

The first Lolo Bajo recorded in the manuscripts is known simply as “Puang ri Pasaqna,” or “lord of the market,” as it was he who was placed in charge of the market place at Bajoé by Arung Palakka. Said to have been the child of a Papuq, this Lolo Bajo led the Sama Bajo in their flight from Makassar during the war and initiated their later alliance with Arung Palakka and Bone. Other than the various agreements, oaths, and arrangements between Puang ri Pasaqna and Arung Palakka (which will be discussed in detail below), we learn nothing more about this first

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\(^{687}\) Marshall Sahlins, *Islands of History* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1985), 35-54. As Sahlins describes it in the Fijian context, heroic history “really is a history of kings and battles, but only because it is a cultural order that, multiplying the action of the king by the system of society, gives him a disproportionate historical effect,” 41.

\(^{688}\) Further research in the Dutch archival material for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries would likely uncover important information regarding the various Lolo Bajo and their followers. The use of the numerous royal annals of the ruler of Bone will no doubt assist in this effort.
Lolo Bajo aside from the fact that he had no children and that his sister, Puah Suria, was appointed as his successor after his death. Likewise, we learn nothing of this important matriarch other than her appointment as Lolo Bajo.

This is the only time in which a female paramount leader of the Sama Bajo is identified explicitly in the sources. Each of the Papu q identified in the Makassarese sources, for instance, are male. The manuscript’s author(s) state that Puah Suria was chosen because the previous Lolo Bajo had no children, but the sources also list a number of positive qualities (which will be discussed below) that one must possess in order to become Lolo Bajo. It is therefore likely that Puah Suria was chosen based on a combination of her noble lineage and the possession of these important attributes.689 The existence of female Lolo Bajo is not surprising in light of the fact that the first Lolo mentioned in the Sama Bajo traditions was the daughter of the Papu q who came to be married to the ruler of Gowa. Furthermore, the existence of female rulers in the Lolo Bajo polity accords with the common Sama Bajo practice of reckoning kinship bilaterally.

Although the gender of the Lolo Bajo is specified only once in the manuscripts, there is reason to believe that female leaders may have been more common. Haji Mahmud, a knowledgeable Sama Bajo elder living north of Kendari in Lemobajo and the husband of the owner of the LB Lemobajo manuscript, has at times claimed that all of the former Lolo Bajo listed in the manuscript were women.690 Other informants and sources, however, have suggested that this was not the case. In interviews with high status elders in Sama Bajo communities in Bajoé, Banggai, Tiworo, east Flores, and Kupang, I was told that indeed some Lolo Bajo were women, but not all.691 The heirloom silsilah I copied in western Flores (Silsilah Bajo/Bugis, SBB), for instance, lists one of the former Lolo Bajo named I Wawo as being male. Moreover, although on two separate occasions Haji Mahmud has stated

689 MS 250a, f.54; LB Lemobajo, f.118 (220).
690 Gaynor, “Liquid Territory,” 208; Interview with Haji Mahmud, Lemobajo (S.E. Sulawesi), 19-04-2011, and 22-06-2007. It is also telling that the Sama Bajo manuscripts state the gender of only one Lolo Bajo while the rest are not marked. One would assume that if indeed all the Lolo Bajo were female, there would not be a need to explain that one in particular was female.
691 Interview with Mboq Dannga, Bajoé, 04-06-2008; Interview with Puah Sahammaq, Banggai, 12-04-2010; Interview with Lolo Moto, Pulo Balu (Tiworo), 22-05-2011; Interview with Lolo Tajaq, Burêh (E. Flores), 03-07-2011; Interview with Mboq Nahaseng, Sulamu (Kupang), 08-07-2011.
that his ancestor, I Wawo, was a woman, a genealogy produced by Haji Mahmud and his sons in the late 1990s lists the same Lolo Bajo as a man. Though we cannot be certain of the number of women who served as Lolo Bajo, the history of Puah Suria, or that of the highly influential noblewoman of the Papuq polity, I Amboq, suggests that women did indeed occupy positions of great prestige within the Sama Bajo community and had considerable influence within the polities.

The next Lolo Bajo, known in the texts as Toappa, was purportedly born to Puah Nati and Puah Timboro, who are said to be from Kaju (anaqna tokajunna), a village in Bone.692 Based on information contained in the manuscripts, we know that Toappa was appointed as Lolo Bajo during the reign of Arung Palakka’s nephew and successor, Sultan Bone La Patau Matanna Tikka Matinróë ri Nagauleng (r.1696-1714). It is noteworthy that that Lolo Toappa is said to have been based at Lambego on Kalao (an island southeast of Selayar), rather than Bajoé, before he was asked by the Arumpone to return to the shores of Bone.693

Determining who succeeded Lolo Toappa as the next Lolo Bajo is more difficult because the manuscripts contain conflicting accounts. The lists of rulers contained in MS 260, MS 250a, and the first list in LB Lemobajo (f.118, sec. 220), name a Tojamila or Tojadalla as the fourth Lolo Bajo, yet the second reign list given in LB Lemobajo (f. 135, sec. 252) has I Galimbo as the successor to Lolo Toappa. The MS 260, MS 250a, and the first reign list of LB Lemobajo instead name I Galimbo as the last Lolo Bajo prior to the fall of Bone in 1905. Furthermore, all three manuscripts describe numerous events involving Lolo I Galimbo that took place during the reigns of Sultana Fatimah Banri (r.1871-1895) and Sultan La Pawawoi Karaeng ri Segeri (r.1895-1905), indicating that I Galimbo was the Lolo Bajo in Bajoé until the final Dutch conquest of Bone in 1905. According to the second list of Lolo Bajo given in LB Lemobajo, however, the last Lolo Bajo is said to have been I Wawo. According to this latter portion of the manuscript, it was I Wawo who

692 LB Lemobajo, f.118; MS 260, f. 50; MS 250a, f.55.
693 The reasoning behind the move to Kalao is left unexplained in the texts, but it is likely that Kalao was simply Toappa’s home and that is where he or she desired to stay after becoming Lolo Bajo.
declared his or her loyalty to Fatimah Banri and was still the Lolo Bajo in Bajoé at the time of this particular inscription, not I Galimbo.

There is reason to believe that the second reign list of Lolo Bajo given in LB Lemobajo was added at a later date and may be an intentional amendment to the first list. Firstly, almost immediately prior to the list in question the scribe notes that he or she is making a “copy” of an old lontaraq: “Salamaq, [this is] copied from an old lontaraq in Lemo[bajo], copied in this village in the month of Muharram, on Friday in the year 1333 Hijrah [c. November, 1914].”694 Less than three sections later, we are given a list of the sultans of Bone, followed by the second reign list of Lolo Bajo in the manuscript, which names I Wawo as the Lolo Bajo “who rules in Bajoé,” rather than I Galimbo.695 Whether this scribe simply “copied” the text of the older manuscript, modified or added to it, we cannot be entirely certain. But even a cursory glance at the styles of Bugis script used in the text reveals that the extant manuscript is the result of more than one scribe, or was made at different times and under different conditions that would result in widely dissimilar styles of writing. Additionally, where the first list of Lolo Bajo in the LB Lemobajo manuscript, as well as those in MS 260 and MS 250a, describe each of these figures simply as “Lolo” or “Lolo ri Tanaé Bajoé,” the second list in LB Lemobajo refers to them as “Sultan Bajo” and enumerates them in Malay rather than in Bugis (e.g. “Sultan Bajo kelima,” or “the fifth Sultan Bajo”). It is also worth noting in this context, as Gaynor pointed out in her dissertation, that the current owners of the LB Lemobajo manuscript, namely Maulana and her husband (also, second cousin) Haji Mahmud, are themselves descendants of I Wawo. As mentioned in the introduction, Haji Mahmud once told me (as he told Gaynor in 1990) that his grandfather had “written” the lontaraq in Bajoé and that his family had brought the manuscript with them to Lemobajo after they left Bajoé.696 Though there is no way to be certain, it is possible that the most

694 “Salamaq narilemba pole ri lontaraq towaé ri lemo narilemba ri kampongé ri lalenna ulen Muharrang ri essona Jumaé ri muttamaqna taung ja hujerana 1333…” LB Lemobajo, f.131-132 (sec. 249).
695 “…riasengngé I Wavo Lolo makkarungngé ri Bajoé.”
696 Interview with Haji Mahmud, Lemobajo (S.E. Sulawesi), 19-04-2011, and 22-06-2007. On the relationship of the current owners of LB Lemobajo to I Wawo see, Gaynor, “Liquid Territory,” 204-207. Though, here Gaynor also states incorrectly that, “there is no explicit indication of time or place of
recent scribe revised the list of former Lolo Bajo when copying an older manuscript in 1914, and may have done so in order to accord with the family’s claim that I Wawo was the last Lolo Bajo in Bajoé before its fall to the Dutch in 1905.697

Unfortunately, the remaining sequence of Lolo Bajo given in both reign lists of LB Lemobajo is also at odds with the lists in MS 260 and MS 250a, though the first list presented in LB Lemobajo (that of, f.118, sec. 220) is closer to those of MS 260 and MS 250a. The information supplied in the narrative of all three manuscripts, however, enables us to identify some of these Lolo Bajo, the periods in which they were appointed, and some of the events that took place during their reign. In the narrative of the manuscripts, for instance, we are given substantial information regarding events that took place during the reigns of two subsequent Lolo Bajo. One, named I Palettei (or Topalettei Lamatoaba), was appointed as Lolo Bajo during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Ismail Toappatunru Matinróë ri Lalebbatana (r.1812-1823), and is said to have lived in Kendari prior to his move to Bajoé. Evidence provided in the Sama Bajo manuscripts, as well as in the lontaraq Bajoé/Bone suggests that Lolo Palettei was the paramount Lolo Bajo during the British interregnum and the British attack on Bone in 1814. The next Lolo Bajo for which we have specific records is referred to as Lolo I Makku, or Puah Asiguna. Lolo I Makku is said to have been appointed during the reign of La Parenrengi Arumpugi Muhiddin Matinróë ri Ajabenteng (r.1845-1857), and remained as Lolo Bajo during the reign of Singkerring Rukka Matinróë ri Topaccing (r.1860-1871). In the sections that follow we will look closely at the histories surrounding these and other known Lolo Bajo and the nature of their authority among the Sama Bajo people.

The Nature of the Lolo Bajo’s Authority Among the Sama Bajo

At the most fundamental level, the source of the Lolo Bajo’s power and esteem among the Sama Bajo people rested in his or her descent from the noble lineage of the Papuq and the history associated with that distinguished bloodline.

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697 Gaynor notes that in one interview with Haji Mahmud he had told her that I Wawo “had been installed as the Sama ruler in Bajoé, (but) before carrying out (duties), disbanded.” Gaynor, “Liquid Territory,” 206.
Sama Bajo oral and written traditions tell us that the offspring of the first known Papuq bore the title or name of Lolo. For later periods, we see in the Makassarese manuscript sources evidence that Sama Bajo nobility in the Gowa-Talloq realm continued to use that appellation. Furthermore, within Sama Bajo communities today the title of Lolo still signifies those men and women who are, or at least claim to be, descendants of earlier nobility and Sama Bajo leaders in the Lolo Bajo line stemming from the Papuq.

On the basis of the extant historical sources, in combination with observed contemporary cultural practices, we can explain the Lolo Bajo’s status and authority as follows. Prior to the Makassar War, the Sama Bajo communities allied with Gowa-Talloq recognized the Papuq as their paramount authority. Those who traced their lineage to the noble bloodline of the Papuq were known by the title of Lolo, which was also the name or the title given to the daughter of the first known Papuq in the Sama Bajo oral traditions. Sometime during, or at the close of the Makassar War a faction within the Papuq polity led by members of the nobility, and thus family of the reigning Papuq, bearing the title of Lolo, set out to form an alliance with Arung Palakka. After the formation of a new polity under the leadership of the Lolo Bajo, the Sama Bajo manuscripts no longer refer to the Papuq as the leader of the Sama Bajo people. Ignoring the continued existence of the Papuq and his followers, in the manuscripts the Papuq instead becomes a distant but still apical ancestor of the reigning Sama Bajo nobility.

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698 Though we cannot be certain of the connection to the Sama Bajo nobility, Gervaise was told by his Makassarese refugee informants of a class of Makassarese nobles known by the title of Lolo, which he explained as being equivalent to “our plain Country Gentlemen in France,” and notes that “the King enobles [sic] them by his Letters-Patents, and some Presents which he sends them either for Services done him, or for Services which he expects from them.” Gervaise was told that some pretend to the class and title of Lolo, “But…the true and ancient Lolo’s are very careful how they call these counterfeit Nobles by any other than their own proper Names.” Nicholas Gervaise, *An Historical Description of the Kingdom of Macasar* (London: N.p., 1701 [1685]), 90.

699 Several Sama Bajo communities in western Flores are an important exception to this statement. Certain villages in this area, such as Permaang near Maumere, and Messah, Bolong and Longos near Labuan Bajo, link themselves historically to former Papuq who resided in Pota until the late eighteenth century and others who purportedly maintained the use of that title in the region after that period. These communities are the exception, however, as most Sama Bajo peoples today understand themselves to be linked historically to Bajoé and Bone, though some are aware of a prior link to Gowa.
Just as the kings of Gowa traced their royal line to the marriage of the Karaeng Bayo to the Tumanurung, the Sama Bajo nobility and the leaders who were elected from that class likewise traced their lineage to the first Lolo Bajo and ultimately to the Papuq. Because status and indeed a large degree of one’s potency and charisma were inherited from ancestors, the ability to demonstrate such links was extremely important for Sama Bajo nobles. The preservation of genealogical information, both orally and textually, was therefore essential for the maintenance of one’s lineage and hence social status. In the particularly elaborate genealogy of the SBB, the line of a certain Lolo Bajo family is linked not only to earlier Sama Bajo nobles but also to the rulers of Bone, and even rulers of Soppeng, Wajoq, Gowa, and Talloq through marriage. Although many Sama Bajo people were literate in Bugis and Makassarese and may have used genealogies to validate their claims to noble status, the mere possession of such manuscripts alone was and continues to be evidence of one’s high social position within Sama Bajo society. As in the Papuq polity, the possession of certain regalia, such as manuscripts, weapons, and especially ula-ula, was an incontrovertible marker of noble status within the Lolo Bajo polity. As we discussed in regard to the Papuq polity (chapter three), these inherited heirlooms continue to carry immense social weight within Sama Bajo communities today, as symbols of one’s rank and authority traced to powerful ancestors.

The royal bloodline of the Papuq, therefore, was at the core of the Lolo Bajo polity, and members of that noble lineage assumed leadership roles at various levels in numerous communities around the archipelago. Ostensibly every member of that noble bloodline may have carried the title of Lolo, but in the Sama Bajo manuscripts it is clear that only one from among the Lolo rank was elected to become the Lolo Bajo. This individual was selected not only on the basis of his or her noble lineage but also on the basis of achieved status. A scene depicted in LB Lemobajo and MS 250a offers a sense of this selection process and lists the qualities one must possess in order to become the paramount Lolo Bajo. In the early nineteenth century, a

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700 Silsilah Bajo/Bugis (SBB).
nobleman named Puah Baringeng was selected by a council of Sama Bajo elders to become “Lolo ri Tanaé ri Bajoé,” the paramount Lolo Bajo in Bajoé. The manuscripts list a council of venerable elders who had come to Bajoé from Kendari, Togean, Banggai, and elsewhere, in order to appoint a successor to the recently deceased Lolo Bajo, who was known as I Makku. Puah Baringeng is said to have protested at first by humbly asking, “Why have you agreed to have me become Lolo ri Tanaé ri Bajoé when there are many others who are elders, and there is still my uncle Puah Sabité who may become Lolo?” The manuscript then provides a list of the necessary qualities one must possess, in addition to noble blood, in order to be appointed Lolo Bajo. “The one who may be appointed as pattola ri Tanaé ri Bajoé [successor in the land of Bajoé] is the one who possesses potency [patu], wealth [gau], is hard-working [watakkale], possesses physical strength, and is skilled in speech [paulle ada-ada makkopiro]. If one lacks any of these, one may not [become Lolo Bajo].”

Appointment of the paramount Lolo Bajo was by consensus among influential elders who represented important Sama Bajo communities elsewhere in the archipelago with links to Bajoé. These men, and likely women as well, would have been counted among the extended “family” with kinship links to the Lolo Bajo line. It is clear that neither the rulers of Gowa-Talloq nor Bone had a role in the actual selection of the leaders of the Sama Bajo. In the Lolo Bajo polity context, the ruler of Bone only becomes involved after the fact by approving the appointment through renewed oaths and the bestowal of the royal seal. Based on the information given in the lontaraq bilang the same appears to be true for Gowa-Talloq.

The Hierarchical Structure of the Lolo Bajo Polity

Because the sources regarding the organization of the Lolo Bajo polity are fortunately far richer in comparison to those for the Papuq polity, we can describe the structure and inner workings of that polity with greater precision. Based on oral and written traditions, as well as a few European sources, the formal hierarchical structure of the Lolo Bajo polity appears to have mirrored that of the Papuq polity

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701 LB Lemobajo, f.136-137 (256-257); MS 250a, f.59. See also, LB Lemobajo, f.191-192 (368).
from which it originated, as well as aspects of systems of leadership in Makassar-Bugis society. Below the paramount Lolo Bajo were numerous leaders at various levels, many of whom were given the title of punggawa and gellareng (Mak. gallarrang). As far as we can tell from the sources, many of these titled leaders were members of the noble class. According to LB Lemobajo, MS 260, and MS 250a, there was a punggawa Bajo and at least one gellareng Bajo residing in Bajoé, or wherever the Lolo Bajo was located. These can be considered the head punggawa and gellareng and appear to have served a role roughly similar to that of the tomarilaleng in Bone (Mak., tumailalang), as an intermediary of sorts between the Lolo Bajo as paramount leader and the local leaders of his or her dispersed Sama Bajo communities. The head punggawa and gellareng are depicted in the manuscripts traveling widely to convey instructions and collect tribute on behalf of the Lolo Bajo and delivering it to the ruler of Bone. These various leaders served as links connecting the dispersed Sama Bajo communities of the Lolo Bajo polity to the Lolo Bajo, and through the Lolo Bajo to the ruler in Bone. The manuscripts further describe a sociopolitical landscape in which the place of residence of the Lolo Bajo, wherever it was located, became the center of the dispersed polity, while Bajoé functioned as the polity’s permanent heartland and the potent symbol of the polity’s relationship to the Arumpone.

There were also leaders in Sama Bajo communities distant from Bajoé who held the title of punggawa and gellareng. LB Lemobajo and MS 250a record, for example, that during the reign of Lolo I Makku (c. 1845-1871) a man named Uwa Ujala was appointed as “pongawaé ri lauq” (Punggawa of the East). Though the texts do not describe his duties in much detail, they suggest that the pongawaé ri lauq acted as the foremost punggawa in a substantial area of the eastern Sulawesi littoral and offshore islands, presiding over many Sama Bajo settlements including those in Salabangka, Banggai, Tobungku, and possibly even Togean, Tiworo, and Buton. A list of the pongawaé ri lauq given in the manuscripts states that Uwa Ujala was succeeded by his son, I Sakka Uwa Dakka, who in turn was followed by Uwa Aripasi. The last pongawaé ri lauq listed in the manuscripts is a man named Uwa
Lupa, who is said to have served at the time “Kompania Balandaé [the Dutch Company] arrived to govern because Bone had been defeated.” 702

A Dutch colonial official named O.H. Goedhart met Uwa Lupa during his visit to Banggai in the early twentieth century. Goedhart describes Uwa Lupa as a seventy-year old man of Mandarese ancestry who had married into the Sama Bajo community, perhaps to a noble Sama Bajo woman through whom he might have claimed his status. 703 According to Goedhart, from his seat in Kalumbatang (east Peleng Island) Uwa Lupa presided over all the Sama Bajo village heads in Banggai, as well as a gellareng and what Goedhart called an “under-punggawa” in Salabangka. 704 His main duties were to collect tribute and to mediate disputes among his constituents. Goedhart was told that the tribute was collected annually from each of these communities and then conveyed to the ruler in Bone through the Lolo Bajo. In addition to tribute to Bone, Goedhart’s predecessor in Banggai had previously demanded that the Sama Bajo pay taxes to the Dutch government. Uwa Lupa and his constituents had defiantly refused, saying that only if the Dutch post-holder showed them an edict from the Raja in Bone would they comply with his demands. During their meeting in 1906, however, Goedhart explained to Uwa Lupa that the Dutch had recently defeated the kingdom of Bone (1905), and thus the Sama Bajo were now subjects of the Dutch and were therefore required to pay taxes to the colonial government. As Goedhart describes it, the Sama Bajo leaders were initially defiant and showed little respect to him in their meeting. But, after Goedhart informed Uwa Lupa and his entourage of Bone’s defeat, and did so in the Bugis language, the men begin to show deference to him and agreed to pay taxes to the colonial government. 705

The manuscripts describe a similar arrangement in other areas where Sama Bajo communities acknowledged the leadership of the Lolo Bajo and the

702 LB Lemobajo, f.144-5; MS 250a, f.62.
703 It is still common today to meet with important men in Sama Bajo communities who are of non-Sama Bajo or part-Sama Bajo ancestry and who married into a Sama Bajo family of high status on the basis of their own claimed noble status. Importantly, in every case with which I am familiar, the non-Sama Bajo man who married into a Sama Bajo family and into a Sama Bajo village adopted the culture, traditions, and language of the Sama Bajo people.
704 Kalumbatang is still the site of a Banggai Sama Bajo community.
overlordship of the Arumpone. Names are provided of local punggawa for the areas of Togean, Mekongga (Kolaka), Tiworo, and Kendari, and list the names of several elders for each of these areas and elsewhere.\textsuperscript{706} For Togean, LB Lemobajo and MS 250a give the names of successive punggawa beginning with a man named Pua Danga who was at the helm sometime in the late eighteenth century and ending with Uwa Becceq who is said to be the punggawa at the time the kompania Balandaé came to rule (i.e., 1905).\textsuperscript{707} In describing the leaders and elders of the Tiworo region, the LB Lemobajo provides a telling statement of the position of these dispersed communities in relation to the Lolo Bajo and their loyalty to both the Lolo Bajo and the Arumpone: “As for the many children and grandchildren who lived in Tiworo in order to seek their livelihood [\textit{marapé}], they were as one, and they were earnest in carrying out [their duties] for the greatness of their Lolo [Bajo] as well as for the ruler in Bone.”\textsuperscript{708}

In addition to the various punggawa and gellareng, there are lists of names of elders who had served the Lolo Bajo, participated in an important event, or simply resided in a particular area at a certain time. Their very inclusion in the manuscripts suggests that these elders were well respected and important enough to warrant mention in the histories of the Lolo Bajo polity. Their influence is seen most clearly in gatherings to discuss important matters with the Lolo Bajo and the other leaders. They gathered from time to time to elect a new Lolo Bajo, to renew their oath to the Lolo Bajo or to a new ruler in Bone, or to make major decisions such as joining Arung Palakka and Bone during the Makassar War. While there was a formalized hierarchy and leadership structure headed by the Lolo Bajo, the polity as a whole operated more so on the basis of consensus reached by an assembly of elders representing the widely-scattered Sama Bajo communities loyal to the Lolo Bajo.

We might envision a similar process operating at each level of the greater Lolo Bajo polity. Oral traditions and life histories I have recorded in areas of Selayar,

\textsuperscript{706} LB Lemobajo, f.146-147 (sec.278-280); MS 250a, f.62-64.
\textsuperscript{707} LB Lemobajo, f.147 (sec.278); MS 250a, f.63.
\textsuperscript{708} “\textit{Naiya napoaanq eppo maegaé pada ko ri Tiworo marapeq makkatuwo-katuwo pada macceddi manenni sikuwaero mappa mallaku-laku ri arajanna akkarungenna alolongngé enrengngé ri arajannngé puwang ri Bonena.”} LB Lemobajo, f. 147, sec. 279.
Kolaka, Tiworo, Tukangbesi, Kendari, Salabangka, and Banggai, for instance, consistently make mention of respected individuals who came to serve as leaders and spokespersons for their particularly community, having been chosen by the people or coming to assume that role because of some combination of age, prowess, personality, and/or noble lineage. The manuscripts suggest that many of these respected figures would have been a part of those gatherings where important decisions were made that to some extent affected the Lolo Bajo polity as a whole. These select men and women, therefore, served a leadership role that extended far beyond their particular community and were a part of the hierarchical structure of the larger polity. Likewise, the various punggawa, gellareng, and even the Lolo Bajo would have been chosen from this select group of respected individuals assembled from throughout the larger polity. As primus inter pares the Lolo Bajo was at the helm of the polity, but his or her status as paramount authority depended on this assembly of elders and leaders, who were themselves chosen from among their own communities. Thus, while the Lolo Bajo commanded the utmost respect and his or her voice carried the greatest weight, that authority ultimately derived from and therefore remained dependent on the larger community.

The collection of tribute reveals something of the workings of Lolo Bajo polity and the ties that bound the many dispersed Sama Bajo communities to the Lolo Bajo and to Bone. In the late eighteenth century, during the time of Lolo I Makku, when Uwa Ujala was to be appointed as ponggawaé ri lauq, the head punggawa, named Uwa Manilung, ordered that “all the elders and the many grandchildren” be summoned in order to “remind” them of the laws and traditions (adeq abbiasangenna) regarding their kasuwiyang (tribute and duties) to the Lolo Bajo and the Arumpone. Gathered before the Lolo Bajo, the head punggawa asked the assembled Sama Bajo elders to recall the traditional practice regarding tribute. Two punggawa responded by describing the practice in the east coast of Sulawesi at the time. In their account the Lolo Bajo first orders the head punggawa to send a gellareng to visit the ponggawaé ri lauq to request that tribute be collected from all the areas under his authority. Once this is done, the gellareng then delivers the tribute to the head punggawa, who in turn meets with the Lolo Bajo and the
Syahbandar of Bajoé\textsuperscript{709} to determine if the tribute is ready to be delivered to Bone. The punggawa and gellareng then bring the approved tribute to an official in charge of customary laws (adeq pabbicaraé) in the Bone court who submits it to the Arumpone.\textsuperscript{710} A later section of the manuscript adds that, if there was a problem with the collection of tribute, then the punggawa and gellareng are expected to sail “along the coast, village by village” to gather the tribute.\textsuperscript{711}

The sources convey a clear sense of the loyalty that reinforced the bonds between these distant communities and the Lolo Bajo. In the LB Lemobajo and MS 260 this devotion is most often expressed in terms of kinship. The Lolo Bajo, like the Papuq, consistently refers to his or her followers as children and grandchildren. As mentioned in chapter three, this manner of addressing his or her people could refer to both fictive and real blood ties and reflected the idea of intimate governance as a family unit. In one example, a number of elders from widely dispersed communities gathered before the Lolo Bajo Toappa to seek his advice regarding the delivery of tribute to Bone. After hearing the Lolo Bajo’s response, the head punggawa says, “If that is the desire of Lolo Bajo for his children, then it is only appropriate that the child honors the wishes of his parents.”\textsuperscript{712} Though the text is not in baong Sama, the use of Bugis kinship idiom to describe the relationship of the Lolo Bajo to his followers as one of parent (matowanna) to child (anaqna) is a feature common in south Sulawesi manuscripts. The symbolism of parent and child was used to clarify the status of the parties involved in a particular political relationship, implying the

\textsuperscript{709} According to the Sama Bajo manuscripts, a sabennaraq ri pabbiring (syahbandar of the coastlands) was appointed during the reign of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh Syamsuddin (r.1775-1812). The person who held this office assumed the role of overseeing matters of trade and tolls. The reasons for this appointment are not stated in the manuscripts or any other source that I am aware of. LB Lemobajo, f.118-119 (sec. 221); MS 260, f.50; MS 250a, f.55.

\textsuperscript{710} Based on entries in the royal diaries composed during the reign of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh Syamsuddin, we know that, on occasion, the Lolo Bajo also joined the Punggawa in delivering the tribute to Bone. See BL MS Add.12373.

\textsuperscript{711} LB Lemobajo, f.144-153; MS 250a, 57-58; MS 260, f.52. For an interesting oral tradition regarding the delivery of tribute to the Arumpone that was committed to writing for a festival of the Kekar Bajo Morowali, see Suku Bajo (Sama) Dalam Lintasan Sejarah (Sejarah Singkat): Bajo Pasakaiyang Festival 2011 (Buku Panduan Pesta Bahari, Padakauang Danakang Sama, Kerukunan Keluarga Bajo (KEKAR Bajo) Kabupaten Morowali, Kecamatan Bungku Selatan, 2011).

\textsuperscript{712} LB Lemobajo, f.157-158.
subordinate status of the follower (the child) in relation to their lord (the parent). Yet, as in the relationship of parent to child, the Lolo Bajo’s position as parent entailed a responsibility of support and protection for his or her followers.

The great distances traveled by the elders of the various dispersed groups in order to gather before the Lolo Bajo are alone indicative of the strength of the ties that bound the communities to their Lolo Bajo. When Toappa was appointed as Lolo Bajo in the early eighteenth century, for example, the manuscripts state that large fleets traveled from various parts of Sulawesi to attend the installation ceremony on Kalao, with some sailing from as far as Togean, which lay some 600nm to the north. One village leader named Tirongeng apparently died on the journey while stopping in Tobungku and his casket was brought to Bajoé to be buried. Similar gatherings were convened on numerous other occasions, such as the investiture of a new Lolo Bajo, the appointment of the ponggawaé ri lauq, or the renewal of the oath to the Arumpone. Whether the Lolo Bajo resided in Bajoé, in Kalao, or, as in the case of Lolo Bajo I Palettei, Kendari, large numbers of Sama Bajo peoples sailed from distant villages to partake in the political traditions of the polity. On each occasion the loyalty of the elders and the greater community to the Lolo Bajo is expressed in similar terms of kinship, such as the sentiment expressed by punggawa Uwa Ujala to Lolo Bajo I Makku in the mid-nineteenth century: “[What we have done] is in accordance with the customary tradition of old in the Land of Bajoé, for the greatness of the Lolo Bajo, and the greatness of our lord in Bone, as well as for the sake of the prosperity of the many children and grandchildren.”

While such lengthy voyages are indeed impressive, it is worthwhile to remember that calculating distance at sea is not simply a straightforward tally of the miles one must sail to reach a particular destination. For the Sama Bajo, travel by sea is measured by an approximate calculation of the number of days required to

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713 On such elements in the treaties of south Sulawesi polities in the seventeenth century, see Andaya, The Heritage of Arung Palakka, 110-112.
715 LB Lemobajo, f. 135 (254). He is referred to as the “Madoqna named Tirongeng.” Madoq apparently was a Bugis title of a village leader and, according to Matthes, is equivalent to the more common leadership title of “Matowa.” Matthes, Boegineesch-Hollandsch Woordenboek, 249.
716 “…ri adeq abbiasangenna riolo ri Tanaé ri Bajoé ri arajanna Lolo Bajona napoarajangngi Puwang ri Bonéna napoasalamakengngé ri poana-eppo maegaé.” LB Lemobajo, f. 152-153 (sec.290).
reach one’s destination based on previous experience and known weather and ocean conditions. For this reason, a captain’s familiarity with the seascape along a particular course is an important variable in assessing the distance and potential hardship of a particular voyage. An assessment of the distance one will travel by sea must consider a variety of environmental factors such as winds, currents, tide, and the composition of the seascape. Wind and current patterns are greatly influenced by local geography and bathymetry, and a captain must know and take into account the way local sea conditions will affect his or her progress at each point of the voyage. A voyage from Togean to Kalao, for example, may take only four days in the ideal wind conditions, but the same voyage could take a week or even longer in adverse winds and ocean currents. In plotting his or her course a captain must also account for the existence of potentially hazardous rock formations, shoals, reefs, and particularly treacherous currents. A course, therefore, is rarely plotted along the most direct route possible. With few exceptions, the voyage is plotted along the safest distance, avoiding the various hazards and treacherous conditions known to the captain. Thus, while we can calculate the voyage from Togean to Kalao to span nearly 700 miles and to have taken at least four days in a traditional sailing vessel like the soppeq, the actual distance and duration of the voyage varied depending the route chosen and one’s familiarity with the local weather patterns and the unique features of the seascape.

We must also bear in mind that what you or I might consider to be a voyage of great distance and hardship, would likely have been perceived differently by Sama Bajo seafarers. For many Sama Bajo peoples, long-distance sakai voyages were, and continue to be a regular part of daily life. The majority of movements by Sama Bajo are of shorter distances and are done within a comparatively smaller area, one which radiates outward from one’s home village to encompass a network of other villages, market places, reef complexes, and other fishing grounds. Voyages of several hundred miles were and are quite common. For centuries Sama Bajo ships have sailed in search of sea products and trading opportunities from south Sulawesi to Java, Singapore, the Malay Peninsula, or Maluku, and from various places in eastern Indonesia to the northwest Australian coast. The pervasiveness of such
long-distance travel in Sama Bajo lives fosters familiarity with particular routes, and, in a sense, shortens the distance of the voyage in the perception of the voyager. Thus, while the voyages undertaken by the dispersed communities in order to gather before the Lolo Bajo do indicate the expansiveness and the strength of the links that connected the Lolo Bajo to her or her constituents, we cannot assume the Sama Bajo people themselves perceived these voyages as a hardship or even to have been of great distance.

**Charting the Contours of the Lolo Bajo Polity**

Like those of the Papuq polity, the boundaries of the Lolo Bajo polity are not easily defined. Unlike landed kingdoms where territory is often geographically determined and can therefore be demarcated on maps, Sama Bajo political formations are delineated not so much by territory as by people. Thus, the boundaries of the polity were as moveable as the peripatetic Sama Bajo populations. Like the Orang Laut described by Chou, the Lolo Bajo polity was very much a “network of constituents,” bound by ties of kinship, trade, and identity rooted in a shared history, culture, and language. Beyond Bajoé, the power and influence of the Lolo Bajo, as with the Papuq, extended only to those areas where loyal Sama Bajo communities resided. For this reason our efforts to determine the spatial extent of the Lolo Bajo polity are frustrated by the semi-nomadic and sea-centered culture of the Sama Bajo people. While one area may have been considered a “territory” of the Lolo Bajo polity, if the followers of the Lolo Bajo vacated that area for one reason or another, that area would have essentially ceased to be a part of the Lolo Bajo’s sphere of influence, even if only temporarily. By listing the names of elders and individuals, dispersed as they were throughout the littorals and offshore islands of the region, the manuscripts essentially chart the Lolo Bajo’s network of constituents. For each of these named individuals there was a coterie of family members, clients, slaves and even outsiders.

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As with the Papuq polity, the Lolo Bajo polity was characterized by a paramount ruler governing with the cooperation of local Sama Bajo leaders scattered throughout the extensive seas that were their home and source of livelihood. While the Lolo Bajo and Bajoé were regarded as the primary central nodes of the modular polity, there were other centers each with its own set of appointed leaders and elders (punggawa, gellareng, kapitan, etc.). Here, Chou’s description of Orang Laut communities in the Riau-Lingga archipelago as forming “numerous micro-polities” is appropriate in the Sama Bajo context as well. Each of the geographically dispersed Sama Bajo micro-polities nevertheless maintained ties with other communities and to the paramount Lolo Bajo, who embodied a center of political and cultural authority. Bolstered by kinship and a shared history, culture, language, and identity, these loose, but enduring linkages served to unite the numerous micro-polities into a larger unity, which I have called the Lolo Bajo polity.

Efforts to determine the Lolo Bajo’s sphere of influence are complicated by the continued existence of the Papuq polity. The Sama Bajo manuscripts, written from the perspective of the Lolo Bajo polity, do not mention the Papuq after the Makassar War period, perhaps intending to imply that all the Sama Bajo people in eastern Indonesia followed the Lolo Bajo in transferring their loyalty to Bone. There is, however, substantial historical evidence (see chapters three and four) of the continued existence of the Papuq polity at least until the last quarter of the eighteenth century. We, unfortunately, have almost no record of the relationship between these two polities and their respective networks. Given the kinship links that existed between the Sama Bajo nobility and leadership in both the Lolo Bajo polity and the Papuq polity, as well as among the larger Sama Bajo population, it is highly unlikely that intergroup contact ceased after the split in 1669. Furthermore, the mobility of Sama Bajo peoples, the hunt for specific sea products in key fishing grounds, and the use of key centers of trade would have guaranteed regular encounters between the constituents of both polities. This likely would have been

718 Chou, Orang Suku Laut, 41.
the case in areas of eastern Sulawesi, such as the Tomini Bay, Tobungku, and areas around Buton, where Sama Bajo of the Papuq polity were operating, and probably settled in the late seventeenth century and perhaps earlier. By the mid-eighteenth century, we know these areas came to be settled by large numbers of Sama Bajo groups loyal to the Lolo Bajo and Bone. One can only speculate on the nature of the interaction between these groups and those loyal to the Papuq and Gowa-Talloq, but such encounters undoubtedly took place.

In the sources, however, there are clues that suggest conflicts may have occurred between the two Sama Bajo polities, at least in the decades following their break. In 1712, VOC officials in Makassar intercepted letters sent by the Papuq from Sandao to the Sultan of Gowa, in which the Papuq informed the ruler of recent attacks on Makassarese territories in Sandao by “representatives of Bone from Kalao.”719 In these letters, which were discussed in chapters three and four, we learn nothing more about the invading fleet other than their affiliation to the Sultan of Bone, La Patau Matinroé ri Nagauleng, and that they came from the small island of Kalao, located next to Bonerate in the south-easternmost corner of the Selayar archipelago. Based on the information given in the Sama Bajo manuscripts, we know that the Lolo Bajo during the period of this conflict was Lolo Bajo Toappa and we are told that his “dwelling place” was “Lambego in Bonerate,” which was actually the main settlement on the east coast of Kalao.720 We cannot be certain about the involvement of Lolo Bajo Toappa and his followers in these attacks on Sandao, but it would be a rare coincidence that the territories under the Papuq’s jurisdiction (as representative of Gowa-Talloq) were attacked by invaders from Kalao (representing Bone), precisely when the Lolo Bajo Toappa and his immediate following were settled on the same small island. LB Lemobajo also contains a perhaps related short history of a small-scale war on Kalao that took place between Lolo Toappa and a local Sama Bajo leader named Pua Kabeta, who is said to have challenged Toappa’s

719 Unfortunately, I have only found the Dutch translation of the letters and not the Makassarese originals, which would have provided important clues as to the relationship of the Papuq to the invading forces, such as the language the Papuq used to refer to the “representatives” of Bone on Kalao. VOC Makassar 8182, f.203-204.
authority. As a result of his challenge, Pua Kabeta and his followers were attacked by Toappa’s followers and forced to flee Kalao. Interestingly, the manuscript records that Pua Kabeta and his followers fled to Sandao (Manggarai) and settled there.\textsuperscript{721} One can only speculate, but it is likely that Pua Kabeta would have sought the protection of the Papuq.

Conflicts such as these arose because of the contingent nature of political loyalties and the manner in which such allegiances were often negotiated in everyday life distant from the centers of political power. Given the nature of these Sama Bajo polities as widely dispersed constituent communities loosely linked to an acknowledged principal political center at Bajoé, Bone, Gowa, or Pota, local networks would have been a primary concern to individual Sama Bajo villages. Their loyalty was contingent upon particular circumstances and the perceived benefit of being affiliated with either the Lolo Bajo or the Papuq polity and its respective patrons the ruler of Bone of Gowa-Talloq. Of course, there would also have been some who remained outside either of these two polities. With relatively large numbers of small communities of Sama Bajo existing in nearly every region of the eastern Indonesian archipelago, and others that roamed widely, living in their boats more so than on land, it is doubtful that every community, much less each individual family unit, considered themselves as subjects of either the Papuq or the Lolo Bajo.

**Relationship of the Lolo Bajo Polity to Bone**

The alliance forged between the Lolo Bajo and Arung Palakka in the Makassar War was maintained for nearly three centuries, though its strength was tested on numerous occasions. Sama Bajo manuscripts and oral traditions frequently mention a shared bloodline between the rulers of Bone and the Sama Bajo nobility. MS 250a provides a Malay translation of the description of Lolo Bajo’s first meeting with Arung Palakka, where the powerful Bugis leader refers to the Lolo Bajo.

\textsuperscript{721} LB Lemobajo, f.185-191.
Bajo as his “uncle.” Similarly, all three manuscripts contain passages in which the author(s) attempt to explain the genealogical relationship of Arung Palakka to the Papuq and the Lolo Bajo, with one passage incorporating Arung Palakka among the grandchildren of I Papuq. These sources have only limited information, and many of the passages are confused, anachronistic, and uncorroborated by other documents. Nevertheless, their claims demonstrate a desire to be linked to one of the most prestigious figures in the history of south Sulawesi. In that regard, they are no different from many Bugis and Makassarese nobility and royalty, who have also sought to be linked to this semi-legendary ruler. For the Sama Bajo the manuscripts effectively legitimate their alliance with Bone by locating the roots of that relationship in their shared bloodline. In this way these statements not only emphasize the antiquity of the relationship of the Sama Bajo to Bone, but they also further underscore the noble status of the Lolo Bajo line by linking Lolo Bajo Puang ri Pasaqna to Arung Palakka.

Similar genealogical claims are still common in the oral traditions circulating in Sama Bajo communities across eastern Indonesia today. In many areas it is commonplace to hear versions of the familiar etiological tradition about the lost daughter of the Papuq and her marriage into royalty, in which Bone replaces Gowa as the ultimate destination of the Sama Bajo people. In these versions the Papuq’s daughter, I Lolo, washes ashore in Bone and is brought to the ruler of that kingdom rather than Gowa. Accordingly, the lost Sama Bajo princess marries the ruler of Bone and, in some versions their union establishes the ruling line of Bone and the

722 The Bugis rendering of this section in MS 260 is, “Sombaku iyanaé ata Bajona Sombaku nakkedana walué engkao palé puto” (f.27). In LB Lemobajo, “annakeng ata Bajona Sombaku nakkedana walué ingkau pole pottonang” (f.57-8).
723 LB Lemobajo, f. 102; MS 260, f.44; MS 250a, f.54.
724 A particularly confused example can be found in MS 260: “To summarize, his daughter that gave birth to Petta Torisompaé [Arung Palakka, r.1672-1696], who became Mangkaué in Rompegading [posthumous title of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh Syamsuddin, r.1775-1812]. He then went to Jakarta. When he returned from Jakarta, then he attacked Gowa, and Gowa was defeated [reference to events involving Arung Palakka in 1660s]. After he entered into Bone and was enthroned in Palakka, Lolo Bajo together with his followers also entered [into Bone], because Lolo Bajo considered Petta Torisompaé as his grandchild, whose origins were in Gowa, the offspring of the marriage of Karaeng ri Lembangparang ri Gowa [r.1816-1825] with the child of I Papuq named I Lolo. They gave birth to Petta Torisompaé. This is the beginning of the Lolo [Bajo] in Bone.” MS 260, f.44.
Sama Bajo. In another version, a woman descends from the heavens (Bug., *tomanurung*) to become the first sovereign of Bone and her brother, who descends shortly after her, appears from within a bamboo section floating atop a mass of sea foam off the coast of Bajoé. The two agree to share their earthly authority, with the woman reigning on land as Arumpone and the brother ruling the seas as the Papuq. The SBB places a line of high status Sama Bajo squarely in the succession of Bone kings and nobles, with links to Gowa mentioned only when Gowa royalty married Bone elites. For the descendants of those Sama Bajo who broke from the Papuq and joined Arung Palakka, the kingdom of Bone and its rulers replaced Gowa-Talloq as the most important reference point in the histories of the Sama Bajo people. By retaining their memory of the Papuq as the apical ancestor of their line, however, the histories enshrined in the Sama Bajo manuscripts maintain the claim that their ruling lineage is rooted in a powerful Sama Bajo kingdom that predates their alliance with Gowa and Bone, or is of heavenly origin as well.

“Until the Crow Turns White”

Rooted in a shared sense of respect and mutual benefit, the relationship of the Sama Bajo to Bone was formalized and reinforced through a series of oaths and the power of the written word. The Sama Bajo manuscripts record several of these declarations of loyalty, spanning a period from the first moments of their relationship in the 1660s to the last days before Bone’s fall to the Dutch colonial government in 1905. In reading the oaths and agreements made throughout this period one is struck by the continuity in style and significance and the unwavering loyalty to Bone presented in the manuscripts. The earliest oath recorded in the manuscripts is said to have taken place at the time of Arung Palakka’s hair-cutting ceremony, which according to VOC records took place in 1672. It is said that the ruler called the Lolo Bajo, then known as Lolo Puang ri Pasaqna (as he was the lord

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726 Pelras, “Populations aquatiques,”158-159.
727 SBB.
of the market at Bajoé), to Bone in order to request his attendance at the festivities and to establish the tribute the Sama Bajo people would pay to Bone. After concluding their agreement Arung Palakka vows to uphold his compact with the Sama Bajo people, saying to Lolo Puang ri Pasaqna: "If the crow’s feathers turn white, only then will I change your customary tradition, Lolo Bajo." Lolo Puang ri Pasaqna then replies in kind, saying to the Arumpone: "If the white heron’s feathers turn black, only then will I change my customary tradition of service to Bone and to my lord." By invoking imagery of the unimaginable, the oath sworn by the two rulers signified the unbreakable bond between the Lolo Bajo and the Arumpone.

This powerful declaration of loyalty established in the earliest years of the relationship of the Lolo Bajo polity to the kingdom of Bone came to serve as the basis for all subsequent oaths and agreements between the two parties. In the time of Lolo Toappa’s reign as a Lolo Bajo (c. early eighteenth century), the Arumpone La Patau Matinroé ri Nagauleng is said to have sent a letter to Lolo Toappa, who lived in Lambego on Kalao at the time, requesting that he and his followers return to the “land of the Bugis” (mattana ugi). Upon reading the letter, Lolo Toappa called the punggawa, gellareng, and his “many children and grandchildren,” to gather and discuss the matter. The leaders expressed their desire to “do what is good for the many children and grandchildren and that which will ensure the peace and prosperity of the land of Bajoé,” but left the final decision to Lolo Toappa. In explaining the need to return to Bajoé, Lolo Toappa recalled the oath sworn between Lolo Puang ri Pasaqna and Arung Palakka: “Our ancestor in past times said, if the white heron’s feathers turn black, only then will I change my customary tradition of service; and our lord in Bone also said, if the crow’s feathers turn white, only then will I change the customary tradition of Bone toward the land of Bajoé.”

730 “Malotoppi campongngé kupinrai kasuwiyang adeq abbiasangéku ri Bone nennia ri puwammeng.” LB Lemobajo, f. 182-193 (sec. 349).
731 “Nasaba jancinna neneq riolona ri poana-eppo maegaé sibawa ri Puwang ri Bonena, nasaba ri makkedanna neneq rioloa malotoppisa campongngé napinrangengé adeq abbiasang nakkedana toosi Puwang ri Bone mapute toopasisa kao-kaoé nasipinrangeng adeq abbiasangenna tanaé ri Bone ri tanaé ri Bajoé.” LB Lemobajo, f.162 (sec.309).
The manuscripts describe several such moments in subsequent years when the Lolo Bajo and his or her followers are called to appear before the ruler to reaffirm their loyalty and service to Bone.\textsuperscript{732} The evidence provided in the manuscripts, as well as in oral traditions preserved by descendants of former Lolo Bajo living in villages throughout eastern Indonesia, suggests that such gatherings regularly took place at the investiture of a new ruler in Bone and on other important occasions. In Bone, as in Gowa-Talloq, the appointment of a new ruler required the attendance of allied lords, princes, and nobles, and each declared anew their loyalty to the Arumpone. The power and importance of these oaths was tremendous and, as Cummings has noted, “To break their word invited the gravest consequences: exile or death in life and everlasting ignominy in people’s memory.”\textsuperscript{733} Such oaths, then, were indeed much more than empty words.\textsuperscript{734} As Lolo Bajo Topalettei once declared to the Sullewatang Bontoalaq (a Bone noble), “I offer my word to our lord in Bone, and if one transgresses [this oath] they will not obtain goodness in this life or in the hereafter, the Bajo people are but followers of our lord who has allowed us to set down roots in Bajoé.”\textsuperscript{735}

In those gatherings where the Lolo Bajo and the Arumpone reaffirmed the oath of their ancestors, we can discern some of the fundamental elements of the arrangement between the two parties. In addition to offering the Lolo Bajo Puang ri Pasaqna his choice of Bone’s lands in which to settle and unfettered access to the local resources, Arung Palakka is purported to have said, “Anyone who enters the area where the Bajo are settled [and] builds a home, they too are Bajo, and if [a person] marries a Bajo, they too are a Bajo.”\textsuperscript{736} Another similarly important agreement was made during the reign of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh Syamsuddin (r.1775-1812) and, according to the manuscripts, was conveyed in the form of a

\textsuperscript{732} LB Lemobajo, f.62, 101-102, \textit{inter alia}130-131; MS 260, f. 28-29, 39, 40-42, 44, \textit{inter alia} 53; MS 250a, f. 47, 50, 54, 58.
\textsuperscript{733} Cummings, \textit{Making Blood White}, 40.
\textsuperscript{734} See also, Andaya, \textit{Heritage of Arung Palakka}, 107-108; Matthes’ comments on the Bugis notion of “sitellig,” \textit{Boegineesch-Hollandsch woordenboek}, 366; Reid, “Pluralism and Progress in seventeenth-century Makassar,” 65.
\textsuperscript{735} MS 250a, f.49-50. See also, MS 260, f. 41.
\textsuperscript{736} LB Lemobajo, f.58-59 (sec.101): “Natoagi-natoagi muttama ri Bajoé makkampong mabhola Bajonisatu iyappagisa nako matteppangengngi ri Bajoé Bajonisatu.” See also, MS 260, f.28-29; MS 250a, f.31.
letter with the royal seal affixed (sureq caq). In one section of the letter, as quoted in the manuscripts, the ruler states: “carry out your duties great and small according to the customary tradition of service [kasuwiyang abbiasangngē] in the land of Bone” and “I will not change your customary tradition [adeq abbiasangngē], Lolo.”

Subsequent Lolo Bajo retained possession of this seal, and with the appointment of each successive Arumpone the Lolo Bajo brought the royal letter of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh before the new ruler so that they would be reminded of the former relationship and they too would respect the customary traditions of their ancestors and renew the agreement with the Lolo Bajo; a tradition that is rooted in the very first alliance between Arung Palakka and Lolo Puang ri Pasaqna after his separation from the Papuq and Gowa-Talloq.

The implication of “customary tradition of service to Bone” (kasuwiyang adeq abbiasangé ri Bone) is evident enough when situated within the larger body of information conveyed in the manuscripts and from other related sources, as will be discussed in the following section. Yet, what exactly was meant by the “customary traditions” (adeq abbiasangngē) of the Sama Bajo is not made explicit in the text. Based on a close reading of the traditions of the Lolo Bajo polity described in the manuscripts and in oral traditions, and when compared with what we know about the Papuq polity we can nevertheless gain a relatively clear picture of what this imprecisely defined concept entailed in practice.

In entering into a contractual agreement with Bone, one solemnized by the declaration of a powerful oath of reciprocal loyalty, perhaps the foremost concern of the Lolo Bajo and his followers would have been the ability to retain their autonomy in matters of tradition. As mentioned above, the manuscripts clearly show that the appointment of the Lolo Bajo was achieved through the consensus of the polity’s elders and leaders and was an internal process of selection, independent of the Arumpone. Though there is less information regarding the appointment of the head punggawa and gellareng (those closest to the Lolo Bajo and who had the most direct

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737 LB Lemobajo, f.126-127 (sec. 238).
interaction with the Bone court), there are indications that these leaders too were chosen by the Sama Bajo elders and the Lolo Bajo rather than by Bone.\textsuperscript{739} This appears to be a continuation of the practice in the Papuq polity, regarding which the Makassarese court records explicitly state that the Papuq was elected by “his family” and not the Karaeng Gowa. In his study of south Sulawesi, Andaya notes that the preservation of cultural and political autonomy was a common feature in the contracts between south Sulawesi polities, and he cites a seventeenth century contract between Arung Palakka and the recently defeated Toraja groups in which it was stated, “Keep the land which is your land, the rocks which are your rocks, the rivers which are your rivers [...] the \textit{adat} [custom] which is your \textit{adat}, and the \textit{bicara} [legal system] which is your \textit{bicara}.”\textsuperscript{740} Thus, much like the treaty formed with the Toraja cited above, the notion of “customary traditions” cited in the verbal and written agreements of the Sama Bajo and Bone encompassed the right to retain political traditions such as the appointment of their leadership without outside interference.

A further sense of political autonomy and the authority guaranteed the Lolo Bajo is implied in the agreements. Arung Palakka’s statement that, all who entered and settled in Bajoé, and all those who married a Sama Bajo person, would be considered a “Bajo,” is likely more a reference to the authority of the Lolo Bajo over Bajoé and those who settled there than some sort of categorical shift in ethnic identification.\textsuperscript{741} Several additional passages of the manuscripts describe occasions in subsequent years, in which the Lolo Bajo appears to wield authority over a portion of the coastal population (i.e. \textit{toBone monroé ri pabbiring}, “the Bone people living on the coast”) in areas such as Rompé and Tippulué (1 mile south, and 2 miles north of Bajoé respectively), not simply the Sama Bajo people.\textsuperscript{742} The authority granted to the Lolo Bajo to administer justice in the areas under his control is also stated, this time more explicitly, in a passage where the agreement between the Lolo

\textsuperscript{739} See for example, LB Lemobajo, f. 148-149 (sec.282-283).
\textsuperscript{740} Andaya, \textit{The Heritage of Arung Palakka}, 112.
\textsuperscript{741} This statement does imply an interesting concept of ethnicity, in which one’s “ethnicity” is determined by the perceived ethnicity of one’s leader.
\textsuperscript{742} A prime example of this is found on, LB Lemobajo, f. 87-89 (sec.158, 159, 160), and MS 260, f. 37-39.
Bajo and Bone is once again renewed during the reign of La Mappasesseu Toappatunruq Matinroé ri Lalebbata (r.1812-1823), and the contents of the royal seal of service (*caq kasuwiyang*) were read aloud. The passage states, “If there is an outsider who desires to act as he pleases, in a manner not in accordance with *adat*, then show him the royal seal [*caq*]. If he transgresses these laws, then expel him from the place. If he still transgresses, regardless of whose child he is, join together and surround him and threaten to take his life or bring him before the *mabbicarana Bone* so he will be punished at the palace. If he runs amok, then kill him.”743

An equally important concern for the Sama Bajo when entering into such treaties with Bone would have been the promise of uninhibited access to the resources of the surrounding sea and coast. The initial promise by Arung Palakka to Lolo Bajo Puang ri Pasaqna of all the lands east of Watamponé as well as the seas as his area of usufruct implies as much.744 The choice of where to settle was based on the desire to have access to the sea resources that were the basis of the Sama Bajo’s livelihood. Both the Lolo Bajo and the Papuq were well aware of their people’s needs in making their selection. For the rulers of Gowa and Bone, the primary consideration was the retention of the loyalty of the Sama Bajo, who were indispensable for the ongoing prosperity of their kingdoms. The treaty guarantees of Sama Bajo autonomy ensured that they would retain their system of leadership and continue to pursue their traditional lifestyle, which was the basis for the great economic and political benefits that they brought to the landed kingdoms.

Widely dispersed as they were, however, not every Sama Bajo community loyal to the Lolo Bajo maintained contractual agreements exclusively with Bone. In the areas where Sama Bajo settled beyond the territories of Bone, they necessarily became implicated in the local political scene and often concluded their own contractual agreements with the rulers of the territories where they settled. The communities settled in Banggai, Salabangka, and Tobungku clearly demonstrate the complex political realities that the mobile Sama Bajo of the Lolo Bajo polity had to

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743 MS 260, f.43. The passage is slightly different in LB Lemobajo (f.100), yet the basic meaning remains the same.
744 LB Lemobajo, f.59 (101); MS 260, f.28; MS 250a, f.31.
negotiate. As subjects of the Lolo Bajo and Bone the Sama Bajo population of the Tobungku littoral and the nearby islands of the Salabangka and Banggai archipelagos were obliged to pay tribute annually to the Lolo Bajo and to the Arumpone through the hierarchical channels of the Lolo Bajo polity described above. Yet, because Banggai and Tobungku were considered subject territories of the kingdom of Ternate during this period, the Sama Bajo inhabitants of the archipelago were obliged to also recognize the authority of the Ternate sultan and local rulers. Thus, in order to fish the reefs of Banggai and Tobungku Sama Bajo fishers were required to pay a reef tax of sorts, known as “bea pasi,” to the sultan of Ternate and the local ruler (of Tobungku or Banggai respectively), which in the 1850s amounted to two guilders per fishing vessel in Tobungku and a third of the catch in Banggai. The memory of this arrangement is retained in the oral traditions of the Sama Bajo living in Salabangka today, where elders recall that the “Raja Bungku” [Raja of Tobungku] gave the Sama Bajo permission to settle in Salabangka on the condition that they obeyed the laws of Tobungku and Ternate.

Similar situations existed throughout the eastern coast of Sulawesi, as it was an area that encompassed numerous smaller polities and was itself the subject of competing claims by larger polities such as Bone, Buton, Ternate, as well as the VOC and later Dutch colonial government.

**The Role of the Lolo Bajo Polity within the Kingdom of Bone**

The loyal followers of the Lolo Bajo served a wide variety of functions in their service of Bone. Like the Papuq polity, they too came to occupy positions and performed duties that were congruent with their sea-centered culture. As sailors,

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746 Interview with Mboq Haji, Kalumbatang (Banggai), 12-08-2011; Some of these oral traditions were committed to writing in a pamphlet produced by the Kekar Bajo of Morowali in, *Suku Bajo (Sama) Dalam Lintasan Sejarah (Sejarah Singkat): Bajo Pasakaiyang Festival 2011*.

747 Esther Velthoen has written extensively about coastal eastern Sulawesi and the various political and commercial entanglements that mark the region’s history. See for example, Velthoen, “Contested Coastlines,” and Velthoen, “Pirates in the Periphery: Eastern Sulawesi, 1820-1905,” in *Pirates, Ports, and Coasts in Asia: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, eds. John Kleinen and Manon Osseweijer (Leiden and Singapore: IIAS and ISEAS, 2010), 200-221.
fishers, traders, pilots, shipwrights, and as a powerful component of the kingdom’s military forces, the maritime prowess of the Sama Bajo proved invaluable to Bone. Many of the services provided by the Sama Bajo of the Lolo Bajo polity, as well as the rights and obligations of the Lolo Bajo, are almost always described in the Sama Bajo and Bugis manuscripts as a form of *kasuwiyang*. Though the term is generally understood as tribute, in local understanding it involves a more complex array of practices and obligations. The form “*mapakasuwiyang*,” for example, could mean the performance or bestowal of *kasuwiyang* and often referred to instances where the ruler granted an area of usufruct, or conferred a series of duties or privileges to a noble subject. In such circumstances *kasuwiyang* refers to the duty conferred or the land bestowed.⁷⁴⁸ The more ubiquitous meaning, however, is, as Friedericy stressed, the notion of service to the ruler as obliged by *adat* and the contractual agreements negotiated by ruler and subject.⁷⁴⁹

In the Sama Bajo manuscripts *kasuwiyang* is used in numerous contexts to signify an array of obligations, services, and rights that structured the relationship of the Lolo Bajo to the ruler of Bone. Significantly, the majority of these *kasuwiyang* are firmly rooted in the Sama Bajo’s mastery of the sea and their unparalleled skill in harvesting the ocean’s resources. The first *kasuwiyang* of the Lolo Bajo discussed in the manuscripts is that of the tribute paid to the Arumpone. In the meeting between the Lolo Bajo Puang ri Pasaqna and Arung Palakka that is said to have taken place at the time of Arung Palakka’s hair-cutting ceremony in 1672, the two parties first agree on the tributary payment of the Lolo Bajo to Bone. Though the passage is difficult to decipher fully, the two parties agree on what appears to be an annual payment of a pikul and ten real.⁷⁵⁰ The goods that were to amount to a pikul are not mentioned explicitly in this passage, but other sections of the manuscript, as well as information provided in several Bone court diaries and the records of the

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⁷⁵⁰ The *real* (or *rial*, rial-of-eight, *reaal*, etc.) was a Spanish silver coin that was valued as slightly more than a rixdollar, or roughly 48 *stuivers*. C.R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1600-1800* (London: Penguin Group, 1988), 341.
VOC, all indicate that the commodity in question was tortoiseshell (Bug., *sisiq*). The phrasing of this passage—specifically when Lolo Puang ri Pasaqna states, “My lord, when we followed Gowa, one boat, one time”—also suggests that this new arrangement with Bone was based on the previous tribute arrangement between the Sama Bajo and Gowa-Talloq.⁷⁵¹

In this somewhat ambiguous passage it is agreed that the Lolo Bajo would provide the Arumpone with a pikul, most likely of tortoiseshell, as the *kasuwiyang* or customary tribute of the Lolo Bajo polity. In earlier sections we discussed how the tribute was gathered through localized hierarchies from among the various, dispersed communities of Sama Bajo loyal to the Lolo Bajo, then conveyed to the Lolo Bajo by the head punggawa and gellareng before being delivered to the ruler in Bone. Bone court records, as well as those of the VOC, corroborate some of this detail, noting that the punggawa and gellareng brought the tribute to Bone on an annual basis.

Disappointed by the Company’s inability to tap into the tortoiseshell trade and feeling pressure from Batavia to acquire larger quantities of the shell, in 1716 the governor of Makassar, Johannes Sipman, sought information from Sultan Sulaiman La Paddasajati Toappawareq Matinróe ri Béula (r.1715-1718) regarding Bone’s source of the prized commodity. The Sultan informed Governor Sipman that he received annual tribute in the form of tortoiseshell from the “*Toradjeners*” (Turijeqneq) who were loyal to Bone. The shell was brought each year to Bone, usually in September, and was delivered by the *punggawa* of the Sama Bajo.⁷⁵² From the detailed records of *kasuwiyang* (tribute) payments found in the royal court diaries from the reign of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh Syamsuddin Petta Matinróe ri Rompegading (r.1775-1812), we know that the Sama Bajo paid their tribute to Bone in the form of tortoiseshell, *real*, gold, or a combination thereof.⁷⁵³ LB Lemobajo and MS 260 note that, beginning with Sultan La Patau Matinróe ri Nagauleng (r.1696-

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⁷⁵¹ “Sombaku iya arolakku ri Gowa siseng sikappalaq.” LB Lemobajo, f. 61 (sec.104); Ms. 260, f. 29; Ms. 250a, f. 32. I believe that this can be interpreted as meaning “one boatload, one time a year.”

⁷⁵² VOC Makassar 8184, f. 96-97.

1714), the *kasuwiyang* could be paid in *real* as well as tortoiseshell, with a hundred *real* equal to one pikul of tortoiseshell.754 Of the tribute collected from the Sama Bajo communities, the Lolo Bajo and the paramount *punggawa* only received whatever remained after delivering the required amount to the Arumpone.755

The commercial value of the tribute paid in tortoiseshell depended on a variety of factors, including the size and coloration of the shell, as well as supply and demand in the Makassar market, and it varied over the years.756 On average, however, VOC records show a pikul of tortoiseshell to have been roughly equal to 124 Amsterdam pounds (c.137lbs), and was comprised of approximately thirty to thirty-five shells of various sizes.757 Knaap and Sutherland’s analysis of VOC harbormasters’ registers between 1717 and 1797 indicates that one pikul of tortoiseshell was valued at 110-115 rixdollars in 1715 (avg. 89 *real*) and as much as 225 rixdollars (roughly 180 *real*) in 1769, with the average for the period closer to 100 *real*.758 In the Bone court diaries for 1775-1795, we see that the Lolo Bajo’s annual payment (which in actual practice sometimes arrived biennially in the form of a larger payment to also cover the previous year’s tribute) remained a pikul of tortoiseshell or a hundred *real*, or in the case of the tribute delivered on 11 October 1782, a combination of tortoiseshell, twenty-five *real*, and six *tael* of gold (roughly 225g).759 Similarly, the entry for the twenty-fourth of January 1795 in the diary of La Mappatunruq, who would later become the Arumpone in 1812, recorded that the Lolo Bajo and *punggawa* Bajo delivered an assortment of sea products, like *talibo* (*Tridacnid*, giant clam)760 and fish, in addition to *real* as the *kasuwiyang* payment of the Lolo Bajo polity.761 There is also a suggestion in the manuscripts that trepang

754 LB Lemobajo, f.183-184 (sec.351).
755 LB Lemobajo, f. 150-151; MS 250a, f. 65.
756 Sutherland, “Sino-Indonesian Commodity Chain,” 180.
757 Knaap and Sutherland, *Monsoon Traders*, 178; Sutherland, “A Sino-Indonesian Commodity Chain,” 180, 196, fn.52.
758 Knaap and Sutherland, *Monsoon Traders*. Averages derived from Tables T and U.
759 A *tael* was the trade name of a Chinese ounce and was equivalent to about 37.5 grams.
761 BL MS.Add 12373, cited in Ricklefs and Voorhoeve, *Indonesian Manuscripts in Great Britain*, 33. In the synopsis provided by Cense, it is incorrectly assumed that the *punggawa* was the head of the Sama Bajo people and that the Lolo Bajo was his “sub-chief.” This interpretation of the text was presumably based on
may have formed a part of the Sama Bajo’s *kasuwiyang* payment to Bone in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, specifically from those “in the east” (i.e. under the *ponggawaé ri lauq*).\(^{62}\) Although the local do not offer any further details on the payment of trepang to Bone by communities in east Sulawesi, Dutch records for Selayar in the late 1850s note that the Sama Bajo of the Selayar region paid a portion of their trepang catch to the Arumpone on an annual basis.\(^{63}\) It is probable that this would have been included among the *kasuwiyang* of the Lolo Bajo polity.

Equivalent to at least a hundred *real* annually, the tribute provided by the Lolo Bajo to Bone was a valuable contribution to the royal coffers. As in the case of the Papuq’s arrangement with Gowa-Talloq, the ruler in Bone benefited financially from the unparalleled skill of the Sama Bajo in hunting sea turtles and in the collection of other marine products. Beyond the purely financial aspect of the *kasuwiyang* payments, the tribute was a symbol of continuing allegiance of the Sama Bajo to the Lolo Bajo and to the Arumpone. In the words of the Sama Bajo manuscripts, the tribute was collected and paid “in accordance with the customary traditions of old in the land of Bajoé” and done “for the greatness of our Lolo and the greatness of our lord in Bone.”\(^{64}\) Moreover, the collection and payment of tribute to the Lolo Bajo is often described in the manuscripts as a means by which the dispersed peoples of the polity are reminded of their relationship to the Lolo Bajo and the symbolic center of Bajoé. “Listen my many children and grandchildren,” Punggawa Uwa Danga declared to the many Sama Bajo people who attended the investiture ceremony of Lolo I Makku in Kendari sometime in the mid 1800s, “enlarge your recollection [regarding your customary tribute] for the greatness of the land of Bajoé and the Lolo Bajo as well as the greatness of our lord in Bone.”\(^{65}\)

\(^{62}\) LB Lemobajo, f. 149; MS 250a, f.64.

\(^{63}\) ANRI Selayar 146, no.61.

\(^{64}\) LB Lemobajo, f.152 (sec. 290): “*ri adeq abbiasangenna riolo Tanaé ri Bajoé ri arajanna Lolona napoarajangni Puwang ri Bonea.*”

\(^{65}\) LB Lemobajo, f. 139 (sec. 261): “*nakkedasi Uwa Danga iko ripoanaqeppo maegaé pada parajaawi paringnerammu ri arajanna tanaé ri Bajoé sibawa Loloén enrengngé arajanna Puwang ri Boneta.*” MS 250a, f. 59, has “expand” rather than “fix.”
Through the payment of tribute, the communities of Sama Bajo living in areas distant from the Lolo Bajo are thus reminded of the power and authority of the Lolo Bajo and their connection to that noble lineage.

The *kasuwiyang* system also linked the dispersed populations of the Lolo Bajo polity to the Arumpone and did so across large expanses of seaspace, thereby helping to extend Bone’s reach far beyond the shores of southwest Sulawesi. Lolo Bajo Puang ri Pasaqna conveyed as much in his oath of loyalty to Arung Palakka in the 1670s, stating: “No matter where we dwell, we will not fail to honor the *kasuwiyang* as a sign of loyalty to Bone.”766 The manuscripts demonstrate that this oath was honored by subsequent generations despite the great distances that sometimes separated the Lolo Bajo and the Arumpone, such as when Lolo Bajo Toappa was centered in Kalao some 200 miles to the southeast of Watamponé or when Lolo Bajo I Makku was temporarily located in the Salabangka archipelago 287 miles to the northwest. The case of Lolo Toappa discussed earlier provides a particularly vivid example of how this chain of tribute linked communities across vast stretches of seaspace, with the Lolo Bajo residing in Kalao, and his head punggawa and gellareng traveling widely to collect tribute from numerous communities, even sailing as far as Togean before transporting that tribute to the Arumpone in Bone.767

*Kasuwiyang* also refers to the rights, privileges, and authority granted by the ruler to his noble subjects and allies. In the initial agreement between the Lolo Bajo and Arung Palakka, the Bajoé littoral is referred to as a *kasuwiyang*—an appanage or area of usufruct granted by Arung Palakka to the Lolo Bajo and his followers. Soon thereafter, Bajoé quickly became a bustling center of trade and the Lolo Bajo was placed in charge of the running of the market, hence the title given to him, Puang ri Pasaqna, or “lord of the market.” Arung Palakka then ordered the Lolo Bajo to collect taxes from all those who came to trade at Bajoé and provided him with two tax collectors, a husband and wife named I Lanai and I Dauleng, to assist him in that task. These tax collectors too are referred to as *kasuwiyang* of the Lolo Puang ri

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766 LB Lemobajo, f. 62 (105); MS 260, f. 29; MS 250a, f. 33.
767 LB Lemobajo, f.149-150; MS 250a, f.64-69.
Pasaqna. Based on what we know from the VOC records regarding the bustling international trade that was taking place in Bajoé by 1714 at the latest, the revenue generated through such taxes would have been considerable. We lack details for the intervening period, but the Sama Bajo manuscripts suggest that this kasuwiyang arrangement—the Lolo Bajo charged with overseeing the commerce and collection of taxes at Bajoé—continued until the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

It was then, according to the manuscripts, that Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh (r. 1773-1812) is said to have appointed a harbormaster in Bajoé, referred to in the texts as the “sabannaraq ri pabbiring” (syahbandar of the coastlands). The sultan is also said to have appointed a translator (anreguru jurubasa) to serve the Lolo Bajo, "because his Bugis was not good enough." The reasons for the appointment of the sabannaraq are not mentioned in the text, but it is clear that the kasuwiyang duties related to governance in Bajoé and the coastlands (pabbiring) were divided between the sabannaraq and the Lolo Bajo. Specifically, in several different sections of the manuscripts, the kasuwiyang of the Lolo Bajo was the authority over matters of navigation and sailing (allopi-lopings), while the sabannaraq was charged with overseeing matters of trade (pabbalu-balus).

The sabannaraq ri pabbiring was also required to pay tribute (kasuwiyang) to the Arumpone and in a few instances he is said to have accompanied those who delivered the tribute on behalf of the Lolo Bajo, including the punggawa and gellareng. The manuscripts state that if the Lolo Bajo was unable to resolve a dispute, official protocol required that the sabannaraq be consulted to seek a solution together; only after this failed was the matter to be brought before the Adeq Pitu. In one passage the Sullewatang Bontoalaq states that, “the sabannaraq is a deputy of the Arumpone and his duty is to resolve major conflicts.”

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768 LB Lemobajo, f.119.
769 LB Lemobajo, f. 142, 155-156.
770 LB Lemobajo, f. 87-88, 90, 119, 176; MS 260, f. 40, 51; MS 250a, f.47, 55-56.
771 LB Lemobajo, f. 167 (sec.319). The manuscript has “Puwang ngadeqkeng ri Bonea.” In consultation with several Bugis informants and scholars, it was decided that this is a reference to the Adeq Pitu or Arung Pitu, the council of seven lords who served as advisors in the kingdom of Bone. Personal communication with Muhlis Hadrawi (Makassar), Sudarmi (Makassar), and Petta Sipeq (Baru).
772 “…apa iyatu sabannaraq passullenai Arumpone patajangengé maraja toi.” LB Lemobajo, f.171-172 (sec. 329).
The relationship between the sabannaraq and the Lolo Bajo was itself not without conflict, however. A particular dispute between the two over the matter of tribute and their respective rights and authorities, for instance, is treated in great detail in the manuscripts, and the sabannaraq is spoken of in somewhat disparaging terms on a few occasions. The manuscripts, however, are unequivocal in asserting the superiority of the Lolo Bajo’s position within the Bone kingdom, noting that it is the Lolo Bajo, and not the sabannaraq, who shares the noble lineage of the Arumpone.\textsuperscript{773}

On the matter of sailing and navigation, the sources provide little information on the Lolo Bajo’s duties in this regard. What can be said is that, like the Papuq, the Lolo Bajo had jurisdiction over maritime affairs. One element of the Lolo Bajo’s kasuwiyang described in the manuscripts was his or her duty to provide ships and to transport important persons or troops for the Arumpone. In the sureq caq (letter with the royal seal) given to the Lolo Bajo (perhaps Palettei) by Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh Syamsuddin Matinroé ri Rompegading in the end of the seventeenth century, it is stated that the right to “take” the perahu (malaé lopi) of the Sama Bajo people living in Bajoé belonged only to the Arumpone and those who carried out the ruler’s orders, such as the adeq tomabbicarana Bone.\textsuperscript{774} Thus, it was the obligation (kasuwiyang) of the Lolo Bajo and his or followers to offer their vessels in the service of the ruler and the adeq tomabbicarana Bone. In one example, the Arumpone La Parenrengi Arumpugi (r.1845-1857) ordered the Sama Bajo to transport the ruler of Banggai (arung Banggai) to Bone “because his land had been destroyed.” In accordance with the Arumpone’s wishes, Lolo Bajo I Makku ordered the punggawa Uwa Camau and Uwa Ujala (then the ponggawaé ri lauq) to transport the ruler of Banggai on their journey from Togean (in the Tomini Bay) to Bajoé.\textsuperscript{775} Though contemporary Dutch sources do not mention any Sama Bajo involvement, it is likely that this ruler of Banggai was none other than the one named Agama who was forced to flee Banggai in 1846. According to Velthoen, who has researched this

\textsuperscript{773} LB Lemobajo, f. 176-177 (sec. 338); MS 250a, f. 53.

\textsuperscript{774} LB Lemobajo, f. 125-126 (sec. 236).

\textsuperscript{775} LB Lemobajo, f.144-5; MS 250a, f.57-8, 61-62.
event extensively for her dissertation, Agama had angered the Sultan of Ternate by
killing an ulama and chasing the Sultan’s envoys away from Banggai when they
came to investigate. When Ternaten-Dutch troops came to punish Agama, the ruler
of Banggai escaped with the assistance of a fleet of “Bugis in the Tomini Bay.”776 The
Sama Bajo manuscripts claim, however, that at least some of ships of this fleet were
in fact manned by Sama Bajo sailors in the service of the Lolo Bajo and the
Arumpone rather than Bugis leaders from the region.777 We find similar instances of
this kasuwiyang in the sureq caq of Sultan Lapawawoi Karaeng Segeri (r.1895-1905)
to the Lolo Bajo, written on 25 November 1901. In this letter, which, like earlier
sureq caq from the Arumpone and served as a tangible symbol of the Lolo Bajo’s
authority as well as a royal document that outlined the parameters of the Lolo Bajo’s
kasuwiyang, the Arumpone reminds the Lolo Bajo and his or her followers, “if an
order comes from the Arumpone regarding sailing [allopingngé], as well as [an
order] for an ocean crossing [appalimbangengngé], just as when you were ordered
to go to Luwuq in order to attack Toraja [rimusui Toraja], then you [must] do so.”778

Although the manuscripts do not provide any further information on the role
of the Sama Bajo in any attacks on Toraja, or exactly which attacks these were, a
large portion of the texts are dedicated to describing their valiant efforts in other
military conflicts.779 In each of these battles, fighting on behalf of the Arumpone is
also described as the kasuwiyang of the Lolo Bajo and his followers, and is heralded

777 Velthoen notes that the fleet that rescued Agama was comprised of twelve kora-kora, seven Bugis
perahu, and “six small vessels,” and it is possible that the “six small vessels” were those of the Sama Bajo,
and, in fact, the rescue was a joint venture of Bugis and Sama Bajo from Tomini. If that was the case, it is
significant that the manuscripts make no mention of a Bugis contingent, or the kora-kora belonging to
Agama. The omission of Bugis involvement strikes me as yet another indication that the manuscripts were
778 LB Lemobajo, f. 128-129 (sec.243);MS 260, f.54; MS 250a, f.57.
779 This is perhaps a reference to Bone’s war expedition to Luwuq and the Toraja lands in 1897, which
consisted of 4500 Bone soldiers in 100 boats, and was led by Sultan Lapawawoi’s son, Baso Pagilingi
Abdul Hamid Lita (Petta Ponggawaé). A record of these events can be found in the diary of Haji Daeng
Salé, which is kept in the manuscript collection of the Indonesian National Library in Jakarta (Perpustakaan
Nasional Indonesia) as Vt.139.8, “Maleis Dagboek (kennelijk uit Boegis. vertaald) van des krijgsbedrijven
van de Bonese legen aanvoerder Petta Ponggawa over het tijdvak 25 Juni 1897-20 Maart 1900.” This
manuscript and its relevance to the Toraja expeditions is discussed in Roger Tol, “Toen de Rode Baretten
de Torajalanden Binnenvielen: Over het Maleis/Buginese Dagboek van Haji Daeng Sale, 1897-900,” in A
Man of Indonesian Letters: Essays in Honour of Professor A. Teeuw, eds. C.M.S. Hellwig and S.O. Robson
in the manuscripts as evidence of the tremendous courage of the Sama Bajo people and their loyalty to Bone. One passage, for example, states that the Lolo Bajo and his followers were on the front lines of an attack on Peneki even though the Arumpone had not ordered them to do so. It is not clear whether the Sama Bajo joined the land based troops in this conflict or their role was limited to the naval component of the war. In this context the author(s) claim that, though it was the duty (kasuwiyang) of the Sama Bajo to fight alongside Bone in their war against Peneki and Wajoq, they went above and beyond that obligation by preceding the other troops into battle.780

Far more than any other conflict described in the manuscripts of the Sama Bajo, however, Bone’s war against the invading forces of the British East India Company in 1814 occupies a central place in the written histories of the Lolo Bajo polity. All three manuscripts contain roughly the same lengthy and highly detailed description of the war that took place during the British interregnum (1811-1816), when forces from British India took control of Dutch possessions in the archipelago in the context of the Napoleonic Wars.781 The focus of these narratives is overwhelmingly on the actions and experiences of the Lolo Bajo and the Sama Bajo people of the Bone coast, with numerous accounts of their bravery and loyalty to Bone. They tell of how the Lolo Bajo (who may have been Lolo Bajo I Palettei) and his followers fought off British and other enemy incursions at Bajoé and several other coastal villages during the course of the brief but violent war.782 The Sama Bajo people built fortifications at Bajoé and the Lolo Bajo together with a Bugis nobleman, Daeng Matteruq, led a contingent of soldiers comprised of Sama Bajo and other inhabitants from the coastal villages. The Sama Bajo people are depicted not

780 LB Lemobajo, f. 141-142 (sec. 267). The leading role of the Sama Bajo as the advance troops in the Peneki war is reminiscent of the role attributed to the Sama Bajo in Gowa-Talloq wars in Makassarese oral traditions. See chapter three.
782 This is based on the known period of Lolo Bajo Palettei’s reign as well as by comparing lists of Sama Bajo who participated in the war effort against similar lists of Sama Bajo elders who served under Lolo Palettei.
only bravely attacking enemy vessels and ground troops but also serving as seaborne scouts and messengers in their armed vessels. In one humorous vignette the bravery of the Sama Bajo is contrasted with the cowardice of the sabannaraq of Bajoé and his men, who fled in the face of the British advance and abandoned their posts and weapons while the Lolo Bajo and several of the Sama Bajo elders stood their ground, climbed atop the walls of the fortification and repulsed the British troops, eventually forcing them to retreat.783 Upon seeing the British retreat, the Lolo Bajo and his men headed north to join the Bugis troops gathered at Téngngé and there they engaged the British once more. In the midst of the heated battles at Téngngé, Caleppaé, and Pattiro, the Sama Bajo women and children are said to have climbed onto the roofs of their homes in order to watch the spectacle rather than flee for safety.784

The heroic deeds of the Sama Bajo in service (kasuwiyang) of the Arumpone is indeed a central feature in the narrative of the Bone-English war, in which, “The English could not defeat the Bajo people.”785 Rather than simply showcasing the bravery of the Lolo Bajo and his followers, however, great emphasis is also placed on the importance of honoring the kasuwiyang arrangements that undergirded the Lolo Bajo polity’s relationship with Bone. As they fought to repel the well-armed British sloops from landing at Bajoé, for example, the Lolo Bajo is said to have declared to his companions, “We must continue to fight to defend our lord in Bone. We are united as one family, Puah Soro, Puah Sauma, Puah Sitti, Puah Usuq, Puah Kati, I Cokkeng, Puah Karido, punggawa, gellareng. None may rest in this war, because that is our kasuwiyang. Let us defend Bajoé against the advance of the troops from the sloop.”786 At a later point in the narrative, the Lolo Bajo warns an elder, Pua Kati, that the Sama Bajo people must be careful that their actions do not tarnish their name in Bone for future generations, admonishing him that, “we must

783 LB Lemobajo, f. 62 (sec.107)-83 (sec.145); MS 260, f. 29-38; MS 250a, f. 33-45.
784 LB Lemobajo, f. 72; MS 260, 33; MS 250a, f. 38.
785 LB Lemobajo, f. 178 (sec. 342): “natenaulle anggarisié patassurewai bajo.” A similar declaration of Sama Bajo strength and independence is seen in an iko-iko recorded in Togean by Celia Lowe, in which the singer states, “Sama [Bajo] people were never ruled by the Dutch.” Lowe, Wild Profusion, 79.
786 LB Lemobajo, f. 72 (sec. 122); MS 260, f. 33; MS 250a, f. 38.
be mindful of our virtue before our lord in Bone.”  

The loyalty and virtue of the Lolo Bajo and his followers did not go unnoticed. At the end of the hostilities, before the assembled Bugis nobles at the court the Arumpone praised the Lolo Bajo, saying, “I know and have seen your virtue Lolo and that of your family, and your determined service to the Arumpone and the land of Bone.” The ruler then turned to the audience of nobles and declared, “Look at the virtue of Lolo and his family before the Arumpone, he has proven his words with his actions.”

Beyond the series of obligations and rights that structured the relationship of the Sama Bajo to the kingdom of Bone, *kasuwiyang* is also used in the manuscripts to describe some of the duties performed by the Sama Bajo people in service of the Lolo Bajo. The manuscripts and some oral traditions suggest that, once the agreed upon tribute was delivered to the Arumpone, the balance would go to the Lolo Bajo and the head punggawa and gellareng. In addition to the annual or biennial provision of tribute, a variety of services was performed for the Lolo Bajo and high-ranking elites of the Lolo Bajo polity. It was the duty (*kasuwiyang*) of the head punggawa and gellareng, for instance, to travel great distances to communicate with the Lolo Bajo’s dispersed constituency. When Lolo Toappa was appointed Lolo Bajo in the first decade of the eighteenth century, the head punggawa and gellareng sailed “along the shoreline, village by village as far as the ocean crossing to Togean...in order to invite [the Sama Bajo] to enter Bone [for the investiture ceremony].” Among other *kasuwiyang* obligations was to provide transport for the Lolo Bajo and the punggawa. When the Lolo Bajo I Makku relocated to the Salabangka archipelago around 1860 or shortly thereafter, the manuscripts record that, “Lolo went aboard the *perahu* of the man named Puto Aduq,” while the

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787 MS 260, f.35; MS 250a, f.41-42; LB Lemobajo, f.35, (text partially corrupted).
788 LB Lemobajo, f. 83; MS 260, f. 37; MS 250a, f. 43.
789 LB Lemobajo, f. 150-151; MS 250a, f. 65. Oral traditions recorded around Kendari, Kolaka, Bonerate, Banggai, and Buton stated that tribute (in various forms) was given to the Lolo Bajo, but the informants were not sure what portion of that tribute went to the ruler in Bone and what portion was for the Lolo Bajo. Unfortunately the manuscripts do not offer further information as to the amount of revenue this generated for these leaders either.
790 LB Lemobajo, f. 135 (sec. 253).
punggawa was transported aboard the perahu of Uwa Raisa, the ponggawaé ri lauq, “because it constituted their kasuwiyang.”\textsuperscript{791}

Of the various services and duties listed as the kasuwiyang of the Lolo Bajo, it is clear in the manuscripts and oral traditions that the foremost duty of the Lolo Bajo was to serve as the paramount authority and, ultimately, as the most powerful representative of the Sama Bajo communities loyal to him or her. Chosen from the nobility on the basis of both ascribed and achieved status the Lolo Bajo garnered a tremendous amount of respect from a large and widely dispersed following of Sama Bajo peoples. The Lolo Bajo’s importance lay not only in his or her noble bloodline, however, but also as the voice of the dispersed Sama Bajo people and as intermediary between the Sama Bajo and the ruler in Bone. Numerous scenes are depicted in the manuscripts, in which Sama Bajo from various communities gather before the Lolo Bajo in order to discuss a matter of great importance. In each of these scenes, the opinion of “the many children and grandchildren” is sought first, along with those of the elders and the head punggawa and gellareng. Yet, the last word belongs to the Lolo Bajo, as it is the Lolo Bajo who speaks for all those under him or her. On one such occasion, after hearing the opinions of those gathered around him, Lolo Bajo Toappa asked the elders if they were certain of their decision, reminding them that “If I speak what is in my heart, then that becomes the word of all the Bajo people.”\textsuperscript{792}

\textbf{Conclusion}

The Lolo Bajo polity shared many features with the Papuq polity because it emerged from and built on the experiences of the latter. Once again we can see how the sea-centered culture of the Sama Bajo people structured their relationship with the landed kingdom of Bone and the roles they came to play in the shared history of these two communities. They were regarded as extraordinary sea peoples, even among the seafaring Bugis, because of their knowledge of the ocean environment and their unmatched skills at sea. As traders, sailors, navigators, fishers, and naval

\textsuperscript{791} LB Lemobajo, f. 148-149 (sec. 281-282).
\textsuperscript{792} MS 250a, f. 49.
forces, the Sama Bajo of the Lolo Bajo polity served similarly vital functions for the ruler of Bone as they had done in Gowa-Talloq. The establishment of the Sama Bajo community at Bajoé in the late seventeenth century, like the earlier settlement of Sama Bajo peoples in the strand and estuarine areas of Sulawesi’s southwestern shore or the northern coast of Sandao, was an important catalyst for the rapid development of regional commerce on Bone’s shores in the post-Makassar War era. By allying with the Lolo Bajo, Bone gained privileged access to and influence among a widely dispersed network of Sama Bajo communities that were the foundation of the trade in sea products.

The mutually beneficial relationship of the Lolo Bajo polity to Bone described in this chapter spanned a period of more than two centuries. Throughout that time, the Sama Bajo people remained a loyal and important ally of the kingdom. Beginning in 1824, however, a series of wars between Bone and the Dutch colonial government caused significant hardship and suffering for the Sama Bajo people of Bajoé and placed considerable strain on their relationship to the Arumpone. The last of these wars, which took place in first decade of the twentieth century, would bring about the end of the independent kingdom of Bone, and would force the Lolo Bajo polity to disband. In the following chapter we will discuss this tumultuous period and its devastating effect on the Lolo Bajo polity. It will also look at the protracted struggle for control over areas of Sandao that took place between the Papuq polity, with Gowa-Talloq’s backing, and the Sultanate of Bima. These wars spanned the better part of a century and would end in the defeat and dissolution of the Papuq polity. In both cases, the wars resulted in the loss of their respective political and symbolical centers of authority, and the severing of ties between the polities and the rulers of Gowa-Talloq and Bone, and thus, marked the end of an important chapter in Sama Bajo history.
Chapter Six

The End of the Polities and the Decline of Sama Bajo Power and Prestige in Eastern Indonesia

As the sun rose above the hilly outline of Tanjung Jeqneq on the morning of 13 April 1769, forty-one warships had sailed into the harbor of Pota. The Sultan of Bima, Abdul Kadim Muhammad Syah, assembled the fleet in order to launch an attack on the Papuq and his allies, and they were met there by additional forces allied to Bima who had traveled overland from western Manggarai. The Papuq, Daeng Mangemba, would not have been surprised to see the sultan’s forces gathering around his negeri. He and his followers had spent the better part of the last decade warring with Bima and its allies for control of territories along the northwest coast of Sandao, and he had spent the past year preparing his forces to fight in order to regain the conquered lands. From his vantage point within the fortress at Pota, the Papuq would have witnessed the growing assembly of Bima’s well-armed troops encircling the negeri, his last stronghold in Sandao. The Sultan Bima joined the battlefield astride his horse. He was shaded by an umbrella made of lontar leaves, and was surrounded by gong-players, flag bearers, a line of “Company guns,” and his retinue of nobles.

The people of Pota began fleeing from the negeri, but the Sultan’s troops did not give chase and remained focused on the Papuq’s forces. Shots rang out from inside the fortress, barely missing the sultan, and Bima’s troops responded with brutal force. The Papuq’s men struggled to match the weaponry of the Sultan’s forces, which the VOC administration in Makassar had gladly supplied in preparation for the attack on Pota, and by the close of the following day the war had come to an end. The Sultan’s troops set fire to the surrounding villages and razed the fortress of Pawo, and then began looting. Witnessing the destruction of his negeri, the Papuq and his retinue had no choice but to surrender, thus bringing to a close nearly three centuries of Sama Bajo and Makassarese rule in the lands of Sandao.
Nearly a century and a half later, in 1905, the Lolo Bajo polity faced a similar challenge when the Dutch colonial government waged its final war against the kingdom of Bone. Similar colonial expeditions against Bone had occurred in 1824/1825 and 1859/1860, and each of these wars had taken a toll on the Lolo Bajo polity. In this final battle, Dutch steamships and armed sloops filled the roadstead of Bajoé on the morning of 28 July 1905, and more than 2000 colonial troops went ashore at nearby Beneq. Within hours of landing, some 500 of Bone’s soldiers lay dead and Bajoé was emptied of its inhabitants. At 10:30am the Dutch flag was ceremoniously raised above the Bajoé fortress; perhaps the same fortress where Lolo Bajo I Palettei and his closest followers had successfully repelled the British attack in 1814. Shortly after the conquest of Bajoé, Watamponé too was defeated and the Arumpone was captured and sent into exile, thus bringing to an end the independent kingdom of Bone and its centuries-old relationship with the Lolo Bajo polity.

The wars described above were the last in a series of battles fought by the Papuq and Lolo Bajo polities and their Makassarese and Bugis allies in an effort to retain control of their respective territories in Sandao and southwest Sulawesi. More than simply territories, however, Pota and Bajoé were the political and symbolical center of their respective polities. As the seat of the Papuq and of the Lolo Bajo respectively, these seaboard centers of trade came to represent the polity as a whole. The widely dispersed communities of the Lolo Bajo polity, for example, retained their own leaders and over the years had formed relationships with landed populations in their particular areas of settlement, but each of those communities looked to Bajoé as the center of their larger network. For these communities, Bajoé stood as a symbol of their relationship to the noble bloodline of the Lolo Bajo, of their relationship to the kingdom of Bone, and as a powerful symbol of their shared history. Even in times when the Lolo Bajo resided in areas distant from Bajoé, Bajoé remained the symbolic focal point for the larger polity. Thus, the loss of Bajoé and Pota in many ways signaled the end of these Sama Bajo polities.
The Struggle for Sandao

Since at least the first half of the sixteenth century, the Papuq faced regular challenges in maintaining his hold on the subject territories (paqrasangang) of Sandao. The Chronicles of Gowa-Talloq record an expedition to “conquer” Sandao in the decades following the Papuq’s initial placement as lord of Pota and representative of Talloq’s dominion in Sandao. It is likely that this expedition was to acquire additional territories in Sandao and not to re-conquer the lands taken by the Papuq and Tunilabu rí Suriwa in the late 1400s. There are several indications in the sources, however, that the kingdom of Bima from very early on posed a serious challenge to the Papuq and Gowa-Talloq’s authority over Sandao. According to Bima’s history, Manggarai (northwest Flores, and part of Sandao) and the island of Sumba to the south, were subject territories of Bima since sometime in the early or mid-fifteenth century.

The Bima chronicles claim that in that period, Maharaja Sang Dewa Bima, subdued Manggarai and Sumba and bequeathed control of those territories to his son, Maharaja Indera Temurut, the first ruler of Bima.793 Bima’s control of Manggarai and Sumba was renewed nearly a century later in a series of conquests by the Raja Bicara, Makapiri Solo. According to the chronicles, Bima’s claim to Manggarai continued to be enforced despite Bima being subjugated by Gowa-Talloq in 1619 and again in 1626 and 1632. The Makassarese sources do not record any of Bima’s activities in Sandao during this period, but there is a record of a visit to Sandao in 1626 by Gowa’s Sultan Ala’uddin.794 Makassarese sources note that Sultan Ala’uddin stopped over in Sandao during a four-month voyage in which Gowa-Talloq defeated the kingdoms of Buton, Bima, Sumbawa, Dompu, and Kengkelu (Tambora), the last four being on the island of Sumbawa. It is noteworthy that the Makassarese records do not mention any battles taking place in Sandao. Both the Bima and Makassarese sources do, however, record that the Sultan of Bima Abdul

793 KITLV Or.86, “Tjaritiera Manggarai,” f.1; Bo’ Sangaji Kai, 3-6, 28.
794 NBG 17, f.95-96; Cummings, Makassar Annals, 36, 39. The Dagh-Register (daily journal) of Batavia also reports that Sultan Ala’uddin stopped over in “Endeh” (read: Manggarai) on his return from Buton. Dagh-Register gehouden in ’t Casteel Batavia van’t passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlands-India, 1626-1629 (Batavia/’s-Gravenhage, 1886-1931), 256, 278.
Khair gave Ala’uddin large areas of land in Sandao during this visit, though the respective sources are in disagreement on exactly which lands were given to Ala’uddin. The Bima sources state that Sultan Abdul Khair gave as tribute (“like a gift of sirih leaf and tobacco”) to Ala’uddin “the lands to the left of where my lord [Ala’uddin] harbored, namely those of Pota Sangga [to] the rivermouth of Ramo [Ramma(ng)], from the foot of the mountains to the edge of the sea, that is the land that will be governed by Papuq.” The Makassarese sources offer a different description, stating that the Sultan Bima gave to Ala’uddin the lands of Buwa and Araka, and that Reo and Ramma(ng) were already under the control of Gowa-Talloq. Thus, whereas Bima’s history suggests that in the early seventeenth century Sandao was divided between Gowa-Talloq and Bima, with Reo belonging to Bima, Pota belonging to the Papuq, and the Ramma(ng) River serving as the boundary between the respective territories, Makassarese sources recall that at this date all of these lands were still included among Gowa-Talloq’s possessions.

After Gowa-Talloq’s defeat in the Makassar War, Bima was technically freed from Makassar’s overlordship. The VOC forbade Gowa-Talloq from interfering in the affairs of its former overseas territories and prohibited “Makassarese” navigation to Sandao and elsewhere in the region. But, as we have seen in the previous chapters, Makassarese connections to Sandao remained strong through the presence of the Papuq and his Sama Bajo followers and their activities in the Nusa Tenggara region. Marriages between the ruling houses of Gowa-Talloq and Bima also bound the latter to Makassar in ways that frustrated Dutch attempts at severing the ties between the two kingdoms. According to Bima and Makassarese records, the first marriage between the two royal houses, that of Ala’uddin’s sister-in-law (Daeng Sikontu) to Sultan Abdul Kahir of Bima, was arranged during the 1626 meeting between Sultan Ala’uddin and Sultan Abdul Kahir. The second Sultan Bima, I Ambela Abi’l Khair Sirajuddin Mantau Uma Jati (r.1640-1682), was an offspring of that union, and he too would marry a Gowa princess. Over the next century, six more marriages between the ruling lines of Bima and Gowa-Tallow were arranged, thus cementing

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795 Bo’ Sangaji Kai, 134.
796 NBG 17, f.95-96.
the ties between the two kingdoms in ways that complicated the dispute over Sandao.

The boundary between the Papuq’s lands and those of Bima continued to be the primary source of conflict between the two parties over the next century, culminating in the final war for control of Pota in 1769. The historical records of both kingdoms, as well as the VOC records indicate that on several occasions the possession of Reo passed back and forth between Bima and the Papuq (who ruled that land on behalf of Gowa-Talloq) as the result of the marriages between the two parties. Whether wars were fought over Reo prior to the second-half of the seventeenth century is not clear in the sources, but both Bima and Makassarese sources clearly state that the Papuq’s dominion over the land of Pota was never in question. Gowa-Talloq and Bima each mounted war expeditions to Sandao on numerous occasions during the last half of the seventeenth century, but the sources unfortunately lack any details regarding these wars and the Papuq polity’s involvement.797

The first detailed records of conflict come in the first decades of the eighteenth century, when the Makassarese nobleman Daeng Mangaliki claimed Reo as his rightful territory. As mentioned in chapters three and four, Daeng Mangaliki was a representative of the Papuq in Reo and introduced himself as such to Dutch visitors in 1725. He is also named in the sources as sailing on a Sama Bajo vessel from Sandao to Makassar in 1702 and again in 1725 in order to “carry out the business” of the Papuq.798 Daeng Mangaliki first asserted his claim to Reo in 1714 after the death of his sister, Karaeng Bontoa Sitti Muthiatullah, who had inherited control over Reo from her grandmother Karaeng Bontoa Ralle Daeng Paikaq—a daughter of Mallewai Daeng Maqnassa Karaeng Cenrana and sister of Karaeng Lengkeseq. Makassarese and Bima sources agree that her grandmother was given

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797 In Bima’s case, several of the war expeditions were to subjugate local *dalu* and to create or enforce a tributary relationship with the *dalu*. This may have been the case for the Papuq and Gowa-Talloq as well but further research is required to be certain.

798 VOC Makassar 8191, f.167; VOC Makassar 1663, f. 201.
Reo as a gift after marrying Sultan Bima I Ambela Sirajuddin on 30 August 1658.\footnote{Bo’ Sangaji Kai, 134-136; Cummings, Makassar Annals, 39,85,97, 207; Ligtvoet, “Dagboek,” fn.89; VOC Makassar 8206, f.96; VOC Makassar 8166, f.24-25; VOC Makassar 8183, f.18.} There is reason to believe, however, that the Papuq retained his status as the highest authority over all Makassarese lands in Sandao even when these noblewomen were said to possess Reo, and Makassarese sources show that he continued to expand his territories on Sandao during this period.\footnote{For example, the Papuq is listed among the war leaders who conquered Toring (30 miles east of Pota) in 1721. Cummings, Makassar Annals, 233.}

Bima refused to recognize Daeng Mangaliki’s claims to Reo. The Bima annals record that prior to her death Karaeng Bontoa Sitti Muthiatullah relinquished her control over Reo to Bima and requested that her siblings, Daeng Mangaliki and Daeng Mabela I Mangassengi, be given small negeri in the area, but Sultan Hasanuddin Muhammad Ali Syah Mabata Bo’u (r.1696-1731) refused her request.\footnote{Bo’ Sangaji Kai, p.136-137; VOC Makassar 8206, f.93-94.}

Incensed by his exclusion from lands that he considered rightfully his, Daeng Mangaliki together with the Papuq took control of Reo and its adjacent territories. As the primary entrepots of Sandao, Reo and Pota were the focal points of several regional trade networks that linked much of eastern Indonesia to Makassar and other international port cities (see chapters two and four), and therefore represented an important source of revenue for the Papuq as well as Gowa-Talloq.

The loss of Reo’s profitable harbor was therefore unacceptable to Bima and the sultanate sought Dutch assistance in reclaiming the profitable territory. I have yet to find any details of this early war between Bima and Daeng Mangaliki and the Papuq, but VOC records show that a Sama Bajo vessel intercepted by VOC patrols in 1727 was transporting weapons from Gowa to Pota to support the Papuq’s war against Bima.\footnote{VOC Makassar 8192, f.283-285.} Bima apparently regained control of Reo, as the royal annals of that kingdom record that Daeng Mangaliki was forced from Reo in 1727 and an envoy was sent there to record the taxes and tribute Daeng Mangaliki had collected from traders and the surrounding dalu (Manggarai polities) in the previous years.\footnote{Bo’ Sangaji Kai, 137-140.} The marriage of Sultan Gowa Sirajuddin Tumamaliang ri Talloq’s daughter to the Sultan
Bima Ala’uddin Muhammad Syah in that year once again complicated the matter and, according to VOC reports, Sultan Sirajuddin demanded that Bima give control of Reo to him. Governor Arrewijne advised the young Sultan Bima that doing so would “carry with it great regret and therefore [he] ought to refuse the request....which will really be better for the peace of the kingdom as well.” Sultan Ala’uddin followed the governor’s advice and denied his father-in-law’s request. Bima’s victory and control of Reo, however, proved to be short lived, and a representative of the Papuq was again stationed there in 1729 when Dutch cruise patrols visited Reo and the Ramma(ng) River settlements.

By 1730 the seas around Bima and Sandao were reported to be too dangerous to navigate due to the ongoing dispute between Bima and the Papuq over the control of Reo, and perhaps other areas of Sandao. Sama Bajo fleets, like those under the leadership of Kare Gappa Matajang roamed the area, preying on passing ships and attacking coastal settlements in the Sape Strait and Flores Sea. The lontaraq bilang of Gowa-Talloq records that in early October of 1730, “the royal banners were smeared with blood as warriors went over to Sandao,” and several Makassarese nobles sailed to Sandao later that month. The Bima records say nothing about these wars, but Dutch sources report that Bima conquered the fortress at Reo and Daeng Mangaliki was once again driven from the area before the Gowa-Talloq fleets even arrived. Yet, within two years of Bima’s apparent victory, the Papuq had regained control of Reo and by 1735 Daeng Mangaliki had returned as the Papuq’s representative in the seabornd negeri. The Governor of Makassar, Josua van Arrewijne, had by this point grown increasingly frustrated in his attempts to sever Gowa-Talloq’s ties to Sandao. Bima had sent envoys to request Dutch assistance on numerous occasions, and convinced the governor of Bima’s rightful

804 VOC Makassar 8206, f. 98.
805 VOC Makassar 2133, f.167.
806 VOC Makassar 8198. f.25; VOC Makassar 8200, f.86-87, 303.
807 VOC Makassar 8200, f. 86-87, 303, 433-434.
808 The smearing of blood on the royal banners was a symbolic element of the preparation for war in Makassarese society. Cummings, Makassar Annals, 265.
809 VOC Makassar 8198, f.49-55, 57-58.
810 VOC Makassar 8199, f.444-448; VOC Makassar 8205, f. 61-62.
claim to all of Manggarai. The Dutch, of course, viewed any Makassarese involvement in the area as an impermissible violation of the Bungaya Treaty.

Despite the VOC’s best efforts warfare between Bima and the Papuq and Daeng Mangaliki continued intermittently for more than a decade without any real resolution in sight. Gowa-Talloq sent its fleets to assist the Papuq on several occasions and continued to ship armaments to Sandao, likely aboard Sama Bajo ships as in 1727. The VOC had sent a ship to support Bima’s attack on Reo in 1736, but they could not force Daeng Mangaliki’s retreat. The Dutch blamed their failure on the “unusual timidity” of the Sultan Bima, but it is clear that the Papuq’s forces presented a greater challenge than the VOC had anticipated. In 1738 the Dutch governor sent a letter to Sultan Al’uddin Muhammad Syah in Bima, ordering him to expel all Makassarese from Sandao and to inflict as much damage as possible. The Sultan agreed and asked for ammunition to carry out the task. The VOC in Makassar provided Bima with weapons as promised, but the expedition was again unsuccessful. Frustrated with the lack of progress, Governor Smout summoned the Tumailalang of Gowa-Talloq in 1740 to demand that Daeng Mangaliki be recalled to Makassar and arrested and that the Makassarese refrain from interfering in the overseas territories. The Tumailalang assured the governor that Daeng Mangaliki would be punished and denied Gowa-Talloq’s involvement in the wars, but the Papuq and Daeng Mangaliki continued to resist Bima’s forces for another decade and Gowa-Talloq continued to supply the Papuq with ammunition despite the VOC’s threats. The decisive battle for Reo took place in 1755. In preparation for the battle, Bima requested and received from the Company 200 lbs of cannonballs and 300 lbs of gunpowder. The Tumailalang of Gowa-Talloq also rallied support from various communities in south Sulawesi and assembled a fleet and arms to send to Sandao to support the Papuq. Despite the strong resistance

812 GM IX: 787; VOC Makassar 8208, f. 414-416; VOC Makassar 8209, f.121-126.  
813 GM X: 122.  
814 VOC Makassar 8214, f. 336-337; VOC Makassar 8219, f.12-14, 133; VOC Makassar 8220, f.81-83, 137.  
815 VOC Makassar 8230, 52, 62, 73-74.
offered up by the Papuq and Gowa-Talloq, Bima was able to take Reo and Daeng Mangaliki was forced to flee from Sandao.

Given the Company’s investment in Bima’s conquest of Reo in 1755, one can imagine the Dutch administration’s frustration when, four years after the successful expedition, Governor Blok received a letter from the Sultan Bima reporting that the Papuq and Gowa-Talloq had retaken all of Manggarai (western Sandao). The Sultan declared his resolve to once again regain control of his lands and requested that the Company send weapons, which they did in April of 1760 amounting to 200 flints, 100 snaphaunces, and 300 lbs of gunpowder.\footnote{Bima’s debt to the Company for these weapons amounted to £3157.17, and was to be paid in sappanwood and slaves. VOC Makassar 3120, f.192 (book 2).} To assist in the attack on Reo, Bima enlisted the help of its local Manggarai allies, the dalu Bajo and Todo. The Bima coalition mounted its attack on Sandao in November of that year and successfully drove the Papuq’s forces from the negeri Gunung Taloq (on Flores’ western shore, roughly fifty miles SW of Reo), before taking Reo and forcing the local Makassarese and Sama Bajo nobility to take refuge in Pota.\footnote{A report from the Dutch resident in Bima to Makassar in 1765 states that many of the “Makassarese” of Reo fled to the Selayar region after the Bima coalition had taken Reo. VOC Makassar 3157, f.160-161.} The Bima royal annals record that after conquering Gunung Taloq, Bima used war captives to build a fortress there in order to “remind the people that Manggarai belongs to Bima.” As mentioned in chapter two, the Sultan also imposed a tax on all “Makassarese” trepang fishers in the Gunung Taloq market, reminding them that they were no longer under Makassar and the Papuq.\footnote{\textit{Bo’ Sangaji Kai}, 180-182.} After finally conquering Reo the Sultan is said to have announced to the remaining population of the negeri: “the land of Reo and all who are inside Reo are now the slaves of Bima.”\footnote{\textit{Bo’ Sangaji Kai}, 216.}

Sultan Abdul Kadim then set his sights on Pota, the seat of the Papuq and the last vestige of Sama Bajo and Gowa-Talloq power in Sandao. The newly appointed Governor in Makassar, Cornelis Sinkelaar, enthusiastically encouraged Bima to “drive the Makassarese from the whole coast [of Flores]” and supplied the sultan with another large shipment of arms.\footnote{VOC Makassar 3094, f.42-43, 120-121.} Bima envoys were dispatched to again...
solicit the support of its allies, the *dalu* Bajo and Todo, and to prepare its troops at Reo. The Bima royal annals record that the Papuq Daeng Mangemba also sent messengers to the surrounding *dalu* of Lambaleda, Congkar, and Cibal in an effort to gather support against the Bima coalition.821 The Bima annals also record that in the months leading up to the war, a brother of the Papuq named Daeng Malaja came before the representative of Bima in Reo and declared his allegiance to the sultan, as did the *dalu* Leda.822 Daeng Malaja’s reasons for defecting are not given in the texts, nor are they remembered in local oral traditions, but the traitorous act surely would have been disheartening for his brother the Papuq. By March of 1769 the stage was set for the Papuq’s final battle.

On the morning of 13 April 1769, Bima and its allies attacked Pota on two fronts: from the sea and through the low-lying mountains of Lambaleda to the west. After two days of fierce fighting Pota had been razed to the ground, looted, and most of its inhabitants had fled to safer lands. On the morning of the sixteenth, the Papuq, along with an entourage of his nobles, surrendered to Bima and presented their weapons and *saqbukatti* (war indemnities) of gold, slaves, buffalo, and rice to the Sultan Bima.823 Then, according to Bima’s record of the events, the Sultan gathered the defeated Papuq Daeng Mangemba and his nobles at Reo to witness the appointment of the Papuq’s brother, Daeng Malaja, as the new Papuq. With this act

821 Dami Toda argues that the alliance of *dalu* Bajo and Todo with Bima, and that of the *dalu* Cibal, Lambaleda, and Congkar with the Papuq are the result of longstanding conflicts between the *dalu* more so than the conflict between Bima and the Papuq. He also argues that Bima could not have been successful in its attack on Reo and Pota without the assistance of the powerful *dalu* Bajo and Todo. According to Nooteboom, however, the conflict between Todo and Cibal stems from the alliances they formed with the kingdoms of Bima and Gowa-Talloq respectively, when those kingdoms fought over land in Manggarai in 1666. Toda, *Manggarai*, 126-127. C. Nooteboom, “Enkele feiten uit de geschiedenis van Manggarai (West-Flores),” in *Bingkisan Budi* (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1950), 208.

822 KITLV Or.86, “Tjaritera Manggarai,” lines 28-29; *Bo’ Sangaji Kai*, 266; Toda, *Manggarai*, 142.

823 *Saqbukatti* is a Makassarese term for the payment the vanquished paid to the victor, but it is also used in the Bima royal annals. The nobles who surrendered with the Papuq are listed in the Bima annals as: Karaeng Balloq, Daeng Makkulle, Daeng Manasa, Daeng Ngiwa, Daeng Mangandar La Hasi, Daeng Tamemang, Daeng Nasanga, Daeng Pana, and Daeng Mamuji. According to the Bima sources, as well as a few references in the VOC records, Daeng Makkulle was the Papuq’s representative in Reo when Bima finally conquered that negeri in 1762/1763. Daeng Tamemang was also living in Reo and may have been a descendant of the Daeng Tamemang who married Sultan Bima Nuruddin Abu Bakar Ali Syah in 1684. She was the sister of Karaeng Lengkeseq and Karaeng Jarannika, and mother of the fourth sultan of Bima, Jamaluddin Ali Syah Mawa’a Romo (r.1687-1696). *Bo’ Sangaji Kai*, 276-278. On Daengta Daeng Tamemang see, Cummings, *Makassar Annals*, 113, 150.
the Sultanate of Bima effectively absorbed the institution of the Papuq and repurposed it as a title and figure whose ultimate allegiance was now to Bima rather to Gowa-Talloq, and whose authority came from Bima rather than the Sama Bajo people. In this respect, the title of Papuq no longer designated the paramount leader of the large number of Sama Bajo people allied to Gowa-Talloq, and instead it came to represent the authority of Bima in the land of Sandao. For the next ten years Daeng Malaja ruled as representative of Bima in Pota and he regularly brought slaves, cloth, and buffalo as tribute to the sultan. In 1779 he was granted the Bimanese title of Bumi Pareka and assumed the role of naib Pota, the viceroy of the Sultan Bima in Pota and second highest Bima official in Manggarai after the naib Reo. According to genealogies of the naib Reo and Pota produced by a Dutch official in the early 1900s, Daeng Malaja’s descendants continued to hold this office and other high positions in Reo and Pota for over a century after the fall of Pota. With the granting of the titles of Bumi Pareka and naib Pota at the end of the eighteenth century, the title of Papuq disappears from the extant historical record. After this point the once illustrious title is no longer seen in Bima’s manuscripts or in the Dutch archives, and over time the memory of the Papuq polity and its role in Sandao would largely fade from the memory of Sama Bajo peoples across Indonesia.

The sources are mostly silent on the effects of these numerous wars on the Sama Bajo of the Papuq polity. Dutch records note that after the conquest of Reo in 1755 many of the area’s inhabitants fled to the Selayar archipelago, and it likely that

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824 The Bima annals claim that Gowa had approved the appointment of Daeng Malaja as Papuq in place of his brother. Due to the lack of Makassarese sources for this period we cannot verify this claim, but it does not seem likely given Gowa-Talloq’s investment in retaining the lands of Sandao and their longstanding relationship with the Papuq polity. Gowa-Talloq surely would have understood that the appointment of Daeng Malaja by Bima effectively severed the ties that bound the Papuq and Sandao to Gowa-Talloq. Bo’ Sangaji Kai, 268-272; Nooteboom, “Enkele Feiten,” 209, 212-213.

825 NA Collectie Le Roux, no. 9: “Beschrijving van het Eiland Flores (1912), 129-130.

826 NA Collectie Coolhaas, no.3: “Genealogische staten van vorsten- en bestuurdersgeslachten in de noordelijke en zuidelijke Molukken, in de landstreek Manggerai en aan de Oostkust van Sumatra, opgemaakt in verband met troonopvolgingskwestie ca. 1910-1925.”

827 The Chronicles of Gowa-Talloq end with the reign of Sultan Hasanuddin (r.1653-1669), and the entries of the Lontaraq Bilang stop in 1751, and thus do not contain any information pertinent to the position of the Papuq after the loss of Pota in 1769. I am not aware of any other Makassarese historical manuscripts produced by the court of Gowa-Talloq for this later period.
Sama Bajo would have been among those refugees. Others perhaps scattered to points east and west, joining the existing Sama Bajo communities in northwest Sumbawa, Lombok, the Sape Strait, and the numerous other settlements that dotted the northern coast of Flores. The settlements of Bari, to the west of Reo, and Riung, to the east of Pota, remained important sites of Sama Bajo activity after the loss of Pota, as they are today, due in large part to the extensive coral reef complexes located nearby. With the defeat of Gunung Talloq, and perhaps because of the taxes imposed by the Sultan Bima on trepang fishers there, Sama Bajo groups living on that portion of the western shore of Flores dispersed to the many small offshore islands and the larger island of Rinca that lay to the west. Oral traditions recall that some groups left the coastal settlement at Gunung Talloq and moved to a small island and adjacent harbor that lay ten miles to the north, which later came to be known as Pulau Bajo and Labuan Bajo respectively (Bajo Island and Bajo Harbor). By the nineteenth century, it is clear that the numerous Sama Bajo communities of northwest Flores and the offshore islands were no longer subjects of the Papuq polity and any remaining functioning ties to Gowa-Talloq were severed.

Beginning in this period a Punggawa Bajo was appointed by the Sultan Bima to head the Sama Bajo communities of northwest Flores. He was given a royal seal as a symbol of his authority and he was charged with collecting tribute and, later, taxes from the Sama Bajo people and resolving disputes among them (see Fig.5). His power, however, was subsumed within the local hierarchy of Bima officials headed by the naib Reo and Pota, and did not derive from the Sama Bajo people. Although the Punggawa Bajo served an important function within the Sama Bajo community
until the early twentieth century and garnered a great deal of respect and prestige, his power and authority pale in comparison to the greatness of the former Papiq.

The Wars in Bone and Bajoé

Although the Dutch had forcefully established their permanent presence in south Sulawesi in 1669, their influence and authority in the region continued to be limited until the late nineteenth century. Indeed, as Sutherland has described it, despite two centuries of involvement, “the colonial regime was still an uneasy, rootless superstructure, with little grasp of local politics and an extremely shallow influence on the life and loyalties of the people.” The kingdom of Bone, the Company’s erstwhile ally in the late seventeenth century, increasingly became the biggest threat to Dutch authority in Sulawesi over the course of the eighteenth century. The contest between Bone and the Dutch for political and commercial supremacy in the region worsened in 1816 when the Dutch returned to power in Sulawesi after a brief period of British rule and Bone rejected any claims of Dutch sovereignty. The discord between the two parties finally came to a head in 1825 after the Dutch and Bone each took steps to assert their authority to the detriment of the other. In an effort to check Bone’s growing strength and force the Arumpone to sign a revised and less favorable treaty of Bungaya, the Dutch colonial government launched a major military expedition against Bone in the spring of 1825. Before attacking Bone, however, the large and well-equipped Dutch forces first attacked several of Bone’s allies, including the area of Sinjai and the offshore islands of Pulau Sembilan to the south of Bone, where a substantial population of Sama Bajo resided and which served as a gateway for ships sailing to Bajoé.

The battle of Sinjai did not last more than a few days, but the Dutch faced stiff resistance from the local troops. The Dutch fleet arrived off Mangarabombong, a coastal area north of Sinjai, in March of 1825 and sent its infantry ashore while supporting the land troops with mortar fire from several ships. Local oral and written traditions record that the Sama Bajo of Pulau Sembilan were a formidable

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component of the local naval forces in this battle and they purportedly sunk a Dutch supply ship in the area of Pulau Burungloe (Pulau Sembilan).\textsuperscript{832} The troops of Bone-Sinjai were able to repel the Dutch attack for some time but were eventually forced to retreat in the face of the Dutch’s superior weaponry. Having defeated Sinjai, the Dutch fleet continued onto Bajoé, where an attack was launched in late March. Bone’s troops, which likely included men from the Lolo Bajo polity, fiercely defended the coastline and the fortress of Bajoé. Dutch reports note that a “Karaeng Bajoé” led a contingent of 400 men against the landing party, but we cannot be certain whether this figure was the Lolo Bajo or another commander of the Bone troops. Their weapons, however, could not match those of the Dutch forces, and they were soon forced to retreat inland and by sea. By 9am on the day of the attack, the Dutch flag was raised above the fortress of Bajoé, and, as the Dutch General van Geen phrased it, “thousands of Bone soldiers had paid for their obstinacy with their lives.”\textsuperscript{833}

The war of 1824/1825 did little to further Dutch authority in Bone and served only to exacerbate Bone’s ill feelings toward the colonial government in Makassar. Tensions remained high in the following decades as Bone maintained its oppositional attitude toward the Dutch. By the late 1850s the colonial government planned to punish Bone for its intransigence and to force the reigning queen, Bessi Kajuara Matinroé ri Majennang (r.1857-1860), to abdicate the throne. On 6 February 1859, a massive Dutch force arrived in the Bajoé roadstead.\textsuperscript{834} Colonial reports note that Dutch troops took control of Bajoé in a matter of days and established a base there from which they could launch their attack on Watamponé. The Dutch remained encamped in Bajoé for two months before many of the troops

\textsuperscript{832} Halilintar Lathief, \textit{Perang Mangarabombang 1825} (Ujung Pandang: Macassar Impersario Corp., 1994), 10-11. Lathief writes that the Sama Bajo were part of the naval force that faced the Dutch fleet in 1825 and that they sunk the Dutch supply vessel, the K.M. Coornigen. I have not yet been able to verify this account in the Dutch sources. For a published account of the war based on Dutch sources see, J.C. van Rijneveld, \textit{Celebes, of veldtocht der Nederlanders op het eiland Celebes, in de jaren 1824 en 1825; onder aanvoering van zijne excellantie den heere Luitenent-Generaal (destijds Generaal-Majoor) Baron J.J. van Geen; uit officiële rapporten} (Breda: Brose & Co., 1840).

\textsuperscript{833} Rijneveld, \textit{Veldtocht der Nederlanders}, 258.

\textsuperscript{834} The Dutch force consisted of nine steamships, six cruisers, and twenty-four transport vessels carrying 2800 Dutch soldiers.
became sick with cholera and dysentery, and were forced to withdraw to Makassar, leaving behind only a small fleet to blockade Bajoé. The Dutch military organized fresh troops and the fleet returned to Bajoé in December 1859 to complete its conquest of Bone. After another month of fierce fighting and numerous casualties, Watamponé came under Dutch control and in January 1860 the Queen of Bone Bessi Kajuara abdicated. With the blessing of the colonial government, the council of Bone (Aruppitu) then appointed Singkerru Rukka Arung Palakka Matinróé ri Toqpaccing (r.1860-1871) as Arumpone. Shortly after his inauguration, Singkerru Rukka signed a new contract with the Dutch in which Bone surrendered the territories of Kajang, Bulukumba, and Sinjai to Dutch control, and accepted Bone's new status as a "vassal" (leenvorstendom) of the colonial government.835

At the start of the twentieth century, Bone remained a vassal state of the Netherlands Indies government. Therefore, when the Dutch demanded that Bone relinquish control over the ports of Pallima and Bajoé along with the right to levy taxes on all goods imported and exported from those ports, they fully expected the new Arumpone, Singkerru Rukka’s son Lapawawoi Karaeng Ségéri Matinróé ri Bandung (r.1895-1905), to comply. The Arumpone’s rejection of the Dutch demands set the stage for the 1905 Bone expedition which, as stated above, resulted in the final conquest of Bajoé and the arrest and exile of Lapawawoi, thus bringing an end to Bone’s independence.

Unlike the war fought by Bone against the British in 1814, which is described in great detail in the LB Lemobajo, the Sama Bajo sources offer few comments on the role of the Sama Bajo people in subsequent battles against the Dutch. Information from LB Lemobajo and MS 250a indicates that Lolo I Palettei was still the Lolo Bajo during the 1824 attack on Bone, but there is no mention whether he or his followers

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participated in the war effort. Given his role in defending Bajoé during the 1814 war with the British, it is likely that Lolo Bajo I Palettei would have also fought in 1824/1825. It is, nevertheless, clear in the sources that the Bone-Dutch wars had a disastrous effect on the Lolo Bajo polity. Each of the wars devastated Bajoé and its neighboring communities, interrupted trade and other livelihood pursuits, and triggered a flood of Sama Bajo and Bugis refugees from the area. Writing of the war of 1824/1825, Vosmaer noted that the fighting at Bajoé had forced many Sama Bajo to flee their homes and settle elsewhere. Vosmaer had heard, for example, that Sama Bajo refugees from Bajoé had built more than 200 homes at the mouth of the Pasalui River at the southern end of Mekongga Bay (on the eastern shore of the Gulf of Bone), but none remained when he visited that area in the 1830s. Oral traditions recall that similar villages were established elsewhere along the eastern shore of the Gulf and in areas north of Bajoé. Though the manuscripts do not list them, it is likely the refugees also went to other areas of longstanding Sama Bajo settlement such as the Selayar archipelago, Kendari, Banggai-Tobungku, and Togean, all of which had strong links to Bajoé.

The war of 1859/1860 caused a similar outflow of Sama Bajo refugees from the Bajoé area. The protracted nature of that war had a much more devastating effect on Bajoé than did the previous wars, as Bajoé was occupied by Dutch forces for the better part of ten months. The LB Lemobajo records that during the war the Sama Bajo people fled Bajoé to points east, and the Lolo Bajo I Makku and head Punggawa Uwa Maniluang were among those groups who fled to the Salabangka archipelago off the east coast of Sulawesi, some 400 miles from Bajoé. It is not clear how long the Lolo Bajo and other refugees stayed away from Bajoé, but the manuscripts state that, “after some time in power” the new Arumpone, Singkerru Rukka, “ordered his messenger [anreguru ceraq] to bring the [royal] seal to the east

836 Lolo Palettei was first appointed as Lolo Bajo during the reign of La Mappasesseu Toappatunru (r.1812-1823). LB Lemobajo, f.136-137; MS 250a, f.59.
838 Interview with Haji Burman, Hakatutobu (Kolaka, SE Sulawesi), 30-01-2011; Mboq Nandi, Boépinang (Kolaka, SE Sulawesi), 03-02-2011; Mboq Naraga, Kabaena (SE Sulawesi), 22-02-2011; Mboq Manu, Bajoé, 12-04-2011.
and go village by village to seek all those who had fled.” The manuscripts record that the royal seal asked the Sama Bajo refugees to “hold fast to your traditions, keep your laws, and return to your land to the east of Celluq [Bajoé].” The Lolo Bajo and the Sama Bajo people agreed to return to Bone “because of their longing for their Puwang [the Arumpone],” and sailed to Bajoé. “There they settled and built their homes...[and] once again arose the existence of Tanaé ri Bajoé.”

Thus, after each of the wars prior to 1905 the Lolo Bajo polity and its center in Bajoé were restored, and the strong relationship with the kingdom of Bone was renewed. Despite the traumatic experience of the wars and the destruction of Bajoé that resulted, the Sama Bajo remained closely connected to the land of Bajoé and to the Arumpone. They renewed their oath to each new ruler and, as far as we can tell based on the limited sources, the Lolo Bajo polity continued to function much as it had done prior to the wars. With the defeat of Bone and the absorption of Bajoé into the Dutch territories in 1905, the leadership of the polity, along with their families and many followers, left the shores of Bajoé once again to seek stability and new opportunities in other areas of eastern Indonesia. They dispersed eastward, traveling to familiar Sama Bajo areas in east Sulawesi, such as Mekongga, Kabaena, Tiworo, Buton, Kendari, Lemobajo, and Salabangka, and settled in various villages. According to oral traditions recorded by Gaynor, it was along these routes that the LB Lemobajo manuscript traveled from Bajoé after the war and ended up in Lemobajo. After 1905, however, the vast majority of the Sama Bajo refugees, and the leadership of the polity in particular, did not return to Bajoé. Once a bustling port and thriving Sama Bajo settlement, by 1930 the Sama Bajo population of the Bajoé area had dwindled to a handful of families, and their total population in all of Bone was reported to be less than 500 individuals.

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840 LB Lemobajo, f.121-123. “…napada marapeqna mabhola…naraepq si riatettongenna paimeng Tanaé ri Bajoé.”
841 These areas were all frequently mentioned in oral traditions I recorded in Bajoé, Boépinang, Tiworo, Tukangbesi, Kendari, Sulamu (Kupang), and Bureh (East Flores) between 2007 and 2011.
842 Gaynor, “Liquid Territory,” 207. The oral traditions I recorded in Lemobajo, Boépinang, and in Tiworo regarding the LB Lemobajo’s move from Bajoé to Lemobajo do not differ from those recorded by Gaynor.
843 Volkselling 1930 (Batavia: Departement van Economische Zaken, 1930). Compare this figure with the 642,401 Bugis living in Bone at the time.
After the defeat of Bone and Bajoé in 1905, the Lolo Bajo polity ceased to exist as the powerful, functioning sociopolitical entity it had once been. The mechanisms of *kasuwiyang* and the oaths that tied the Sama Bajo people to Bone for over two centuries appear to have ended with the exile of the Arumpone. This is suggested in a passage of the LB Lemobajo, in which the author recounts the tribute arrangements made through the years with various Arumpone and then closes by saying: “Then came the Company [Kompania] and all *kasuwiyang* was ended, only the Company remained in power because Bone and Gowa were defeated.” The end of the *kasuwiyang* system, in many ways represented the end of the Lolo Bajo polity’s functioning relationship to Bone. The memory of their links to Bone would remain strong, as they still are today, but the working relationship to Bone in the form of tribute payments, the bestowal of the royal seal, the large gatherings before the Arumpone, and fighting in the service of the Arumpone, came to an end in 1905.

The role of the Lolo Bajo as the paramount leader of a large and widely dispersed network of Sama Bajo people also seems to have declined in the period after the flight from Bajoé. The manuscripts do not record any ongoing tributary or political relationships between the Lolo Bajo and the constituent communities of the polity after 1905. Although the scattered communities of the region continued to be linked to one another through kinship, trade, a common culture, and a shared past, the Lolo Bajo’s authority no longer radiated as widely throughout the greater community. Members of the Lolo Bajo’s extended family (those of high status who bore the title of Lolo), as Gaynor suggests, continued to be influential and were highly respected, but the status and authority of these individuals was limited to their respective areas. In many of these areas, then, local leaders were those who claimed descent from the Lolo Bajo bloodline, possessed evidence of their royalty, like the ula-ula, keris, royal seals, or *lontaraq*, and traced their origins to Bajoé. The migration of these high-status individuals from Bajoé after the Bone-Dutch wars, as

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844 LB Lemobajo, f.183-184 (351). “…napolena kompania parape manengngi pada mappakasisiwangngé apa lennyeqna kompania mani mattungkeriwi gau apparentangngé nasaba nacaunana boné nennia gowa.”

well as further migrations from Southeast Sulawesi to other parts of eastern Indonesia during WWII and the post-war DI-TII rebellion, have assured that the Lolo Bajo and the Sama Bajo’s relationship to Bone overshadows the Papuq polity and the former relationship to Gowa-Talloq in Sama Bajo collective memory today.846

The End of the Polities in the Larger Context of Socioeconomic Decline among the Sama Bajo of Eastern Indonesia

Sama Bajo communities throughout eastern Indonesia underwent a major transformation in the twentieth century in regard to their political and socioeconomic status. The once powerful and highly valued Sama Bajo people came to occupy a decidedly lower economic status and became socially subordinated in their relationships with neighboring landed populations. Even among their closest allies, the Bugis and Makassarese, the Sama Bajo came to be viewed in a disparaging light. It can be argued that the process of their decline began in the previous century. The Sama Bajo’s relationship to the seas and mastery of vital maritime activities had made them extremely valuable throughout the early modern period. Yet, as colonial authorities steadily chipped away at native sovereignty in Gowa-Talloq and Bone, and Dutch seapower came to more forcefully dominate eastern Indonesian waters, the Sama Bajo increasingly were deprived of their traditional sources of power and prestige.

The dissolution of the two largest and most powerful Sama Bajo polities played a major role in the overall decline of political and socioeconomic status among the Sama Bajo populations of eastern Indonesia. While we cannot say that all Sama Bajo peoples were directly involved with the Papuq and Lolo Bajo polities, for those that were, the loss of these entities had serious repercussions. Their formalized hierarchy had for centuries connected dispersed communities into a fluid and functional unity that created trade opportunities and provided

846 The more recent existence of the Lolo Bajo polity and its relationship to Bone, and the continued presence of those who claim descent from the Lolo Bajo also influence this perception. In areas of western and northern Flores, the Papuq is a much more distant memory that has been overshadowed by, and even subsumed within the memory of the Punggawa Bajo.
camaraderie, protection, and prestige for their constituents. Their centers in Bajoé, Makassar, and Pota were the focus of many of the polities' activities, and they represented not only the power and prestige of their indigenous leaders, but also their ties to the royalty of Gowa-Talloq and Bone. Thus, the loss of these important centers meant not only the loss of considerable revenue for both the polities and the landed kingdoms but also, more importantly, it led to the demise of Sama Bajo authority and the undermining of Sama Bajo status.

Equally destructive was the termination of the Sama Bajo's privileged relationship to the landed kingdoms. For most of the period of history under consideration in this dissertation, the Sama Bajo and the kingdoms of Gowa-Talloq and Bone lived side-by-side in a relationship of mutual dependency. The Sama Bajo provided the much-needed sea power and were a key source of trade goods, especially the valuable marine products. The landed kingdoms in turn provided a degree of protection, status, and power. In the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, the Sama Bajo contributed to Gowa-Talloq’s, and later, Bone’s rise to dominance in the eastern archipelago, and in turn the Sama Bajo leadership reaped the benefits of that power. With the demise of the Papuq in the last half of the eighteenth century, the Sama Bajo of the Papuq polity were dislodged from that source of power and prestige. The defeat of Bone and Bajoé in 1905 likewise separated the Lolo Bajo and his constituents from a major source of their source of strength and esteem.

Outside of their relationship with the landed kingdoms, the Sama Bajo's maritime skills lacked their former relevance. By the mid-nineteenth century their skills as navigators, shippers, and as naval forces were largely eclipsed by the superior naval technologies of the colonial government and shipping companies. The Sama Bajo remained important to eastern Indonesian trade, but the context in which that importance had once garnered a high degree of social and political esteem no longer existed. Established commodities like trepang continued to comprise a valuable portion of Makassar’s trade in the nineteenth and twentieth century, but the Sama Bajo’s role in supplying these goods was increasingly subsumed within a different sort of patron-client relationship, from which they received little more than financial recompense. Further research is required to chart
more fully the process of socioeconomic decline experienced by Sama Bajo peoples across Indonesia in the modern period, but the social and political dislocation brought about by the demise of the Sama Bajo polities described in this chapter had played a significant part in that transformation.
Conclusion

The Sama Bajo’s socioeconomic and political situation at the start of the twentieth century stands in stark contrast to their former position in eastern Indonesia in the early modern period. When Sama Bajo peoples established themselves in the littorals and offshore islands of south Sulawesi around the mid-thirteenth century, they quickly became one of the most important and indeed most formidable communities in the eastern Indonesian archipelago. The Sama Bajo communities under the Papuq and Lolo Bajo retained their highly respected and valued position in Indonesian affairs for several centuries before they experienced a major transformation of their socioeconomic status. Although the Sama Bajo’s importance in this early period has been suggested by several scholars, their impoverishment and social subordination in the present has more often clouded our view of their once powerful past. Unable to see beyond the Sama Bajo’s present situation, and influenced by questionable ethnographic and historical descriptions produced by past observers, the Sama Bajo’s earlier, more distinguished history has largely been forgotten. Revisiting that early world of the Sama Bajo in eastern Indonesia has been the primary focus of this work.

The importance of the Sama Bajo for eastern Indonesian history, I have argued, cannot be understood apart from their unique relationship to the sea. The sea is at the center of the Sama Bajo culture and thus at the heart of their history. The Sama Bajo’s deep familiarity with the sea and their unmatched maritime skills in many ways determined the roles they came to play in early modern maritime Southeast Asia and defined their relationship to various other communities in the region. Throughout this study we have seen how the Sama Bajo’s exceptional knowledge of the seas and their skill as fishers, traders, sailors, navigators, and naval forces made them invaluable allies highly sought after by ambitious rulers of expanding kingdoms such as Gowa-Talloq and Bone. More than any other group, the Sama Bajo were best suited to exploit the ocean’s resources in eastern Indonesia. In addition to their intimate knowledge of the seas, their vast repertoire of fishing and
hunting methods established the Sama Bajo as the foundation of the valuable sea products trade, and their mobility made it possible for them to carry out their activities throughout the archipelago. While observers have long remarked on the Sama Bajo’s involvement in trade, the extent to which they participated in Indonesian commerce and the complexity of their networks have never been fully appreciated. The material presented in the preceding chapters demonstrates that the Sama Bajo were involved not only in the trade of marine goods but also in a wide variety of forest products, such as Malukan spices, and slaves. More than simply participants, however, it is clear that the Sama Bajo were vital to the formation, expansion, and maintenance of the multi-ethnic and wide-ranging trade networks through which these commodities circulated. Moreover, in the context of the coastal Makassarese polities prior to the seventeenth century, in Bajoé on the western shore of the Gulf of Bone, and in the seaboard negeri of Sandao in Nusa Tenggara, the Sama Bajo clearly emerge as a crucial catalyst for the establishment and growth of key entrepots.

The most important relationships were established between the Sama Bajo and the south Sulawesi kingdoms of Gowa-Talloq and Bone. The latter were guaranteed a steady supply of sea products, forest commodities, and slaves, and, in turn, the Sama Bajo were assured the protection of a powerful ally, as well as a considerable degree of power and prestige within their ally's kingdom and its subject territories. In the years after the Makassar War (1666-1669), the Sama Bajo’s mobility and familiarity with the seascape enabled them to successfully maintain important trade links between the resource zones, various feeder ports, and the entrepots of southwest Sulawesi despite the best efforts of the VOC to stop such trade and to prevent native ships from sailing to prohibited areas. The Papuq polity in particular took on new significance after the war as primary means by which Gowa-Talloq continued to participate in overseas trade even after its crushing defeat in the war. In addition to the valuable role in trade, the Sama Bajo also provided a number of services for the landed kingdoms. They served as harbormasters, couriers, transport vessels, sailors in the royal fleet, and, most
importantly, as a formidable naval force. Each of these services was rooted in the Sama Bajo’s relationship to the sea and their skills as seafarers.

The importance of the Sama Bajo to the kingdoms of Gowa-Talloq and Bone is seen most clearly in the histories of the powerful Papuq and Lolo Bajo polities. The Papuq polity represents the earliest of these unique and hitherto mostly unknown Sama Bajo sociopolitical formations. Presiding over a multiplicity of small communities spread across vast stretches of seaspace, the Papuq linked his respective constituents into a discernible sociopolitical and economic network centered on his authority. The Papuq was chosen by the Sama Bajo people and governed with the cooperation of local Sama Bajo leaders scattered throughout the vast seas and coasts of Sulawesi, Borneo, Maluku, and Nusa Tenggara. While Pota and Makassar were regarded as the primary centers of the polity, each community formed an individual center with its own set of leaders and elders. Each of these geographically dispersed communities was nevertheless linked to the other communities of the polity and to the Papuq through the powerful bonds of kinship, culture, and a shared history. It was only through the Papuq, then, that the influence of the rulers of Gowa-Talloq was brought to bear on the dispersed Sama Bajo people.

A similar network emerged in the end of the seventeenth century with the formation of the Lolo Bajo polity and its center in Bajoé in the Gulf of Bone. The leaders of the new polity claimed descent from the noble bloodline of the Papuq, and they too commanded great respect from a large number of widely scattered Sama Bajo communities. As in the Papuq polity, the Lolo Bajo maintained links to the various loyal communities of the polity through a dispersed hierarchy of punggawa, gellareng, and community elders, and it was through these kin-based channels that tribute and various services for the ruler of Bone were arranged. In each case, however, the Sama Bajo polities operated simultaneously as both a vital but subordinate component of the landed kingdom, as well as a semi-autonomous Sama Bajo polity with a political tradition that predated their alliance with the Makassarese or Bugis. With its own dispersed hierarchy of leaders, its own culturally specific institutions and systems of law, trade, tribute, and ways of seeing
the world around them, the integration of the Sama Bajo into the Makassarese and Bugis world could never be total. The highly mobile and sea-centered Sama Bajo filled an important and valuable cultural-ecological niche that allowed their importance and influence to extend well beyond their particular roles in Gowa-Talloq or Bone. In many ways, this unique position—as both a part of and apart from the landed kingdoms—ensured that the dispersed Sama Bajo communities of the Papuq and Lolo Bajo polities would continue to create and maintain the archipelagic networks that had contributed to the wealth and power of both Gowa-Talloq and Bone.

The history of the Papuq polity’s involvement in Sandao, and that of the Lolo Bajo polity in Bajoé provide concrete examples of this complex relationship. The Papuq was the highest authority in Gowa-Talloq’s territories in Sandao, as was the Lolo Bajo in Bajoé, and each served their respective patron in variety of capacities. Each of the polities provided military support, governed multiethnic populations, oversaw the collection of tolls, and facilitated communications, trade, and tribute on behalf of their respective allies. Yet, in these areas the Sama Bajo polities continued to operate as mostly autonomous entities, each with its own hierarchy of chosen leaders, its own laws and customs, and its own network of constituents. In this regard, the activities of the Lolo Bajo polity in Bajoé, and those of the Papuq polity in Sandao, represent a continuation of the tradition of Sama Bajo sociopolitical organization and leadership that predates their alliance with the landed kingdoms of south Sulawesi. Furthermore, in Sandao and Bajoé we see a situation that is markedly different from that of the other sea peoples in maritime Southeast Asia. In each of these areas Sama Bajo peoples acquired, maintained, and defended their seaboard territories and areas of usufruct, and each served as a political and symbolic center for several centuries. Thus, although the Sama Bajo people of the Papuq and Lolo Bajo polities were highly mobile and were predominately oriented to the sea, they were nevertheless deeply attached to these particular coastal areas and exhibited a landed quality hitherto unseen among the various groups of sea peoples in the region.
The histories of the Papuq and Lolo Bajo polities presented in this study offer a view of the Sama Bajo that is vastly different from that which is typically presented in the literature. At the most basic level, the histories of the polities demonstrate that large groups of Sama Bajo peoples were organized in a much more sophisticated manner than previously assumed. Where most scholars presumed the Sama Bajo lacked any sort of identifiable leaders and formal hierarchy beyond the village level, the histories offered in this study confirm and expand on the research of those few scholars who suggested otherwise. The existence of these thriving polities and their longstanding alliance with the kingdoms of Gowa-Talloq and Bone bring into question the long-held view of the Sama Bajo as mere pliant clients or slaves of their landed lords. In fact, the Sama Bajo leaders were highly valued and were linked the south Sulawesi rulers by kinship and by solemn oaths that guaranteed the cultural and political autonomy of the Sama Bajo polities. In both Gowa-Talloq and Bone the Sama Bajo came to occupy positions of considerable status and exercised a great deal of authority, serving as war leaders, syahbandar, and as representatives of the rulers in their extensive kingdoms.

The Sama Bajo’s relationship to the kingdoms of Gowa-Talloq and Bone were not their only source of power and prestige, nor were the landed kingdoms the only source of the Papuq and Lolo Bajo’s legitimacy. The power and authority of the Papuq and Lolo Bajo derived foremost from a long tradition of Sama Bajo leaders and their status as the elect of the Sama Bajo people. The loss of this relationship, nevertheless, proved to be devastating for both polities. In addition, there were already other changes in the offing that would undermine the position of the Sama Bajo. By the nineteenth century, and especially by the end of the twentieth, the Sama Bajo were no longer the masters of the sea lanes. Their fighting abilities could not match the more sophisticated military and naval technologies of the Dutch and some of the native kingdoms, and they were no longer “the most feared nation” as perhaps they had once been. That designation now belonged to the Dutch and a slew of multi-ethnic raiding bands, not least those referred to as the Tobelo and Ilanun. Dislocated from their longstanding and mutually beneficial relationships with Gowa-Talloq and Bone, the Sama Bajo were in some ways set adrift in changing
times. In the sources for the modern period it is clear that the Sama Bajo continued to live and operate in many of the same areas they had for centuries. They continued to provide sea products, which had largely maintained their value, and to participate in the ever-shifting trade networks of the archipelago, sailing cargos of copra and other goods to Makassar, Batavia, Singapore, and elsewhere. Some continued to carry out slave raids and attacks on coastal villages and vessels at sea. But, each of these activities no longer garnered the same respect and prestige they once had.

The end of the Sama Bajo polities, however, did not mean the demise of the Sama Bajo people. Despite the socioeconomic and political transformations they have experienced in recent centuries, Sama Bajo peoples today remain a strong and dynamic element of Indonesian society. Since the formation of the Indonesian nation in 1945, Sama Bajo peoples have been the target of focused efforts by the government to change their way of life and to more fully assimilate them into Indonesian society. Resettlement programs, projects to refocus livelihood practices, and more recent schemes to regulate maritime activities in newly created marine reserves, have all had negative consequences for Sama Bajo peoples. Yet, despite centuries of bleak predictions of cultural death and absorption into more dominant cultures, the Sama Bajo people have weathered these changes and attacks on their way of life. As their ancestors had done in the past, the Sama Bajo people have continued to adapt and survive in the transformed social and political landscape of modern Indonesia.
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Map 4, Southwest Sulawesi
Map 5. Drainage patterns of the equivalent sections of the modern (left) and 1693 Dutch maps of South Sulawesi. Bulbeck, "A Tale of Two Kingdoms," Fig. 5-4.
Map 6. Gulf of Bone
Map 7, Eastern Sulawesi
Map 8, East Borneo, Sulawesi, and the Maluku World
Map 9, Nusa Tenggara
Map 10. Western Sandao (Western Flores)
Fig.1: Grave of the Karaeng Lolo Bayo in Sanrabone, South Sulawesi.
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<tr>
<td>4. Lolo I Galimbo</td>
<td>4. Lolo Tojamila (MS 260)/Lolo Tojadala (MS 250a)</td>
<td>4. Lolo Tojadalla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Lolo Pua I Makku</td>
<td>5. Lolo Topalettei La Matoaba (MS 260)/Lolo Topalettei Lamatoala (250a)</td>
<td>5. Lolo Pua Sauma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Lolo I Makku</td>
<td>7. Lolo La Suppaq</td>
<td>7. Lolo I Bojo Puang Matoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Lolo I Wawo</td>
<td>8. Lolo I Galimbo/Galibo</td>
<td>8. Lolo Lasupu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Youngest child of Lolo Matoa (Ms 260)</td>
<td>• Youngest child of Lolo Matoa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 2: Comparison of Reign Lists for the Lolo Bajo from LB Lemobajo, MS 260, and MS 250a
Fig. 3: *Ula-Ula* of a Former Punggawa Bajo in Tukangbesi.
Fig. 4: A Dry-docked Soppeq in Mantigola (Kaledupa), Tukangbesi.
Fig. 5: Seal of a former Punggawa Bajo in West Flores (Pulau Longos). Translation: “Official Statement of the Punggawa Bajau 1322 Hijriah [1904 CE].”