

PASSOMPE'S TRADITION: Tracing Back the Maritime Culture of South Sulawesi's People in Southeast Asia before the 16th Century

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ABSTRACT

This article examines the traces of South Sulawesi's maritime culture in Southeast Asia and before the sixteenth century. The choice of a period prior to the 16th century is based on the fact that existing literature on the subject generally mentions the involvement of South Sulawesi merchant seamen in trade in Southeast Asia and even Asia, which occurred in the first half of the 20th century AD 16 century or earliest second half of the 15th century. These writings always refer to the 1512 voyages of the Portuguese navigator Tom Pires, who found merchants from the island of Macassar establishing trade with various parts of Southeast Asia. However, based on the authors' assessment of available external and local sources, it is concluded that their involvement dates back to the first century AD.

Introduction

Kompas Daily has reported an interesting expedition as follows:

“The experiences of the sailboat's crews on Jakarta-Vancouver expedition, covering a distance of approximately 11,000 miles across Pacific ocean, also show that the construction of the wooden sailboat build with a specific system of construction and materials selection inherited from Indonesian sailors' ancestor is truly strong and powerful. The sturdiness of the boat is integrated with the power of its crews, and this was proven later on September 15, 1986 (at dawn in Indonesia time zone) Phinisi anchored off at Marine Plaza port, at Expo '86 location in Vancouver. The experience of the crews sailing in strong wind, no less than 30 knots, surrounded by big waves about 3 meters high, four days and nights after leaving Honolulu, Hawaii, also prove that the construction of the wooden vessel side was highly reliable. The success of Phinisi Nusantara and its crews to sail across Pacific Ocean demonstrates the possibility of combining traditional technology with the modern one. Traditional technology is part of a nation culture that is clearly an invaluable national asset” (*Kompas*, March 4, 1987).

Phinisi Nusantara with a 170,000 kg weight, 37.5 m length, 8.5 width, 3.5 m height and 25 m diameter, was cut its keel (as the beginning process of the making of the traditional boat of Bugis-Makassar) on November 1985 under the coordination of two *panrita lopi* (boat experts): Haji Usman and Haji Damang. Leaving Makassar Harbor on June 15, 1986, and Jakarta on Juli 9 1986 (Darmawan, 2006:101), the Phinisi Nusantara as if it was demonstrating to international world that

it is a historical eyewitness on the integrity of *sawi* (crew) and *lopi* (boat) of South Sulawesi on the ocean. Phinisi Nusantara was the construction product of *panrita lopi* (boat artisans of Bugis-Makassar). It is undoubted that the innovation and the construction of the sturdy Phinisi Nusantara is the combination of traditional expertise on the making of boat and values of belief integrated into their culture as the inheritors of sailor generation that has been maintained well since centuries ago.

It is absolutely unique that in this modern era where navigation tools has been based on advanced technology and the sailors rely on contemporary oceanology there are some ethnic groups (e.g. Bugis-Makassar) that still maintain their traditional values like their logical thinking as well as the making of boat. Consequently, these aspects attract national and international observers. It is not exaggerated nor fabricated. The sturdiness of Phinisi Nusantara, as described previously, is the proof of this. Since docking in Vancouver in 1986 until 1999, it was recorded that no less than 250 Phinisi sailboats, in various size, have been bought by buyers abroad. The buyers were mainly from France, Australia, Japan, Taiwan, Germany, England, Belgium, USA, Panama, China, and Nederland (Darmawan, 2006:101).

As the inheritors of seaman generation, people of South Sulawesi have a tradition called *massompe*. This tradition is convinced to be the original inheritance of their ancestor and up to now is still maintained. *Massompe* which means "sailing" is (derived from word: *sompe* which means 'sail') a kind of crystallized culture of Bugis-Makassar. The crystallized culture gives certain abstraction of logic and thinking which eventually motivates the emergence of a traditional law called *adeq allopi-lopian ri bicaranna paqbaluq-baluuE* (merchant sailing law) (Hamid, 2007:71). The tradition also encourages them to sail to Southeast Asia, Australia, and Europe.

It seems that there is no distinct documentation of the journey of South Sulawesi people and their participation in the trade routes in Southeast Asia (or even on longer routes) before 16th century. Just at the beginning of the 16th century, the earliest information was recorded. The record was written in 1512 by Tome Pires reporting trading activities of people from Makassar archipelago. The report was documented well by Cartesao (1944) in *The Suma Orientale of Tome Pires* (Abidin, 1983). Pires, in his report, describes that those people loved adventure, trading and sometimes being pirates.

Macassar archipelago are situated about four or five days of sailing passing by an island that we just call Borneo, on the middle way from Malacca to Moluccas. ...The people were all infidel; and it is said that there are about 50 kings or more there. The islands traded with Malacca, Java, Brunei, Siam and all other areas between Pahang and Siam. No other nation bears resemblance to them more than Siamese. They have their own language different from others.

They are all courageous and many of them are keen on waging war. There are many provisions. The people of the islands are the most terrifying robbers all over the world, having big power and many boats... They sail around Sumatra Island. Most of them are pirates. Javanese called them Bajuss (Bajau) and Catales (people of Strait). They brought their treasures to Jumaia next to Pahang, where they traded and organized market continually. Those who were not pirates came to Malacca bringing their merchandise with big well-made boats *pangjawas* (pa'jawa). They came with foods, very white rice, and a bit gold; they return home with *bertanggih* cloth, cloth from Cambay, and a few from Bengal and Keling with a lot of *luban jawi* and incense. The islands had many inhabitants, a lot of meat, and plenty supplies. All people carry a dagger, and they were tough. They sailed here and there and bearing horror anywhere, indeed all other pirates obeyed them.

Pires' report is supported by another report in a letter from another Portuguese, Trintao de Ataide, to the king of Portugal dated February 20, 1534:

“I have decided to command the ship San Geronimo which has just come from India and is being repaired on land to go and find OS. Macacares (Makassar people or islands) extending between Kalimantan and ... Moluccas ... I have heard that there are gold there which they bring to Malacca ... the ship will carry His Majesty’s cloth to exchange for gold ... The Muslims here sincerely said that the source of the gold is very close from here, probably 70 *legoas* (around 380 to 450 km), and there also come an ethnic group from Celebes which lies next to Macacar (Abidin, 1983).

Based on the reports of those Portugal sailors at least two facts can be drawn as a conclusion: (1) the word *Macacar* in those two excerpts clearly head to the name of an island or group of islands. This is supported by Pires’ note that there were about 50 kings or more. The term does not refer to Makassar as an ethnic group, which is only one group among several ethnic groups in South Sulawesi. It is most likely covers people of Bugis (including Bajau), Mandar, and Luwu which are also known as merchant sailing communities since centuries ago. This article is titled *The Maritime Culture of South Sulawesi’s People*, not only *Bugis-Makassar* as many writers have written. Therefore, South Sulawesi’s people in this article means all ethnic groups mentioned previously. In certain cases, however, each group might be mentioned separately or would just be called Bugis-Makassar but the meaning refers to all groups. (2) The sailing routes and visited lands reported in Pires and local citizens, the Muslims who were most likely from Malacca, as reported by Tristato de Ataida, may lead to a conclusion that the tradition had been carried out for long time.

The next discussion will focus on the second conclusion on the following basic questions: since when and what lands did they visit? This is important because most researchers on this topic refer to Cartesao’s report. As a result, they conclude that the from merchant-sailors South Sulawesi took a part intensively in the beginning of 16th century, or in the end of 15 century. Therefore, this article will focus on the possibility to follow the trace of their journeys before 16th century. However, the discussion on this will be preceded by explanations on the origin of maritime culture of South Sulawesi’s society which yielded a tradition known as *massompe*’.

The Origin of Maritime Culture of South Sulawesi People

The maritime culture of Bugis-Makassar people can be traced back to 20th century B.C. when Malaya-Polynesians in Oceania migrated and came to Nusantara (Indonesia Archipelago). Liebner, at.al. (2004:61), who has examined the history of shipping and sailing in South Sulawesi, explains that in 20th century B.C. the Malaya-Polynesian migrants coming to Nusantara had created boat with outriggers as their ocean transportation, and the development of the Nusantara’s boats as well as Oceania’s were generally based on that kind of boat. Along the migration route of the speakers of Austronesia languages from Madagascar in the southwest of Indian Ocean to Polynesia islands in the east of Pacific Ocean there were many kinds of boat with outriggers. Some studies bear out the possibility of Sulawesi as the spread center of the outrigger boats. The construction of the boat is considered technically to be sophisticated. Based on the construction patterns and technology, Doran proposes a hypothesis that there was a center of complex technology of boats construction around 1000-500 B.C. in South Sulawesi.

Doran’s hypothesis is strengthen by the geographical position of Sulawesi island, which is situated in the eastern part of Nusantara. This area as well as southern Philippine was the main entrance of ethnic groups who spoke Austronesia languages to the Pacific area. According to Liebner, et. all. (2004), there were morphological similarities between several languages in South Sulawesi and Polynesia. One thing that can be as a proof to the similarities is the terminology used by ‘contemporary traditional’ sailors in marking maneuvers of a sailboat. Basic techniques in sailing a boat are the same among the sailors, and the resemblance of main terminologies in Sulawesi

languages may possibly be traced to Polynesia or Madagascar, where Austronesia languages originally come from (Libner, *at. All*, 2004:61).

The explanations above prove that is not exaggerated or even fabricated to state that the people of South Sulawesi are historically the inheritors community of maritime culture.

Massompe' Tradition

The term *massompe'* is a verb which is derived from a noun *sompe*. The word *sompe* means 'sail': a large piece of strong fabric to catch the wind and propel a vessel forward. Thus, *massompe* means working or doing something using *sompe*, or in the other words, it is to sail. Then, the person who works with the sail is called *passompe* or sailor. The lexical definition above may lead to the conclusion that all seafarers using *sompe* or sail as a tool to propel their boats can be generally called *passompe*. However, on the cultural view of Bugis-Makassar, not all people sailing can be called *passompe'*. In Bugis-Makassar culture, *passompe'* has two meanings: (1) merchant sailors sailing from one island to another or from one country to another for trading activities. *Passompe'* in this sense has drawn attention of several national and foreign researchers, among them L.J.J Caron (1937), H.J. Frederice (1931), P.A. Laupe (1849), Kohler (s.n.), and Ph.O.L. Tobing (1961). Their studies are mostly focused on merchant sailing law, such as work contract, consortium, debit and credit, and other trade agreements; and (2) wanderers or migrants (Hamid, 2007:43-44).

The tenacity of South Sulawesi people in sailing through the ocean on wooden boats built by themselves was obviously reflected in the life principles of *passompe'*. Those principles can be easily found in their expressions or proverbs (Hamid, 2007:52-53). For example:

Pura ba'bara sompe'ku
Pura tangkisi' gulikku'
Ule'birenggi tellengnge natowalie

Translation:

The sail of mine has been hoisted
 The rudder of mine has been attached
 I would rather founder than to return
Pitte' Cina uala renreng lopi
Jarung sipeppa' uala balango
Naku sompe' mua
 Somperengnge uala pa'daga-daga
Tasi'e uala lini pottanang
Lolangeng ri masagenae
Nalawa mua salreng riwu
Nakungciri' gulingku
Kuola mua tellengnge natowalie
 Dua sompe' kupattinja
 Dua guling kupatte'jo
 Dua balango kupasangatta
 Makkarewangeng maneng

Translation:

Even if Chinese thread becomes the ropes of my boat
 And a needle turns into my anchor

I will still sail
 Sailing is my pleasure
 No matter land or sea
 Wandering for freedom
 Let the hurricane gets in my way
 I will wind my rudder
 I would rather founder than to return
 Two sails have been hoisted
 Two rudders have been mounted
 Two anchors have been prepared
 All will be set together

Both sayings above demonstrate that *massompe'* or *passompe'* has been part of a culture indicating the integrity of South Sulawesi merchant sailors since long ago until now. A maritime tradition that ultimately makes them travel to almost all islands in the Archipelago, Southeast Asian, and even more.

The Trace of South Sulawesi Merchant Sailors in Southeast Asia Before 16th Century

There might be no clear and specific documentation on the activities of the merchant-sailors (*passompe'*) from South Sulawesi and on their systematic participation in regional as well as international routes of maritime trade. Even if it is available, the writers only mention them generally as 'merchant-sailors of the Archipelago. The term may refer to those from Java or Sumatra. However, there is also possibility that among them were from South Sulawesi.

To track it down, the writer will start to investigate the international trade routes from some centuries before Christ to ten centuries after Christ (500 B.C. to 1000 A.D.) and the involvement of the merchant-sailors of the Archipelago in the routes. Liebner et.al (2004) says that various spices from Maluku (Indonesia the Archipelago) were well known and consumed in China since the 5th century B.C. and at least since the 2nd century A.D. the citizens of Rome could buy the them in the local markets (Liebner et.al, 2004). The spices were imported from India, Persia, Arabia, and Egypt by Greeks who had established their trading network since the 7th century B.C. along Mediterranean Ocean ~ after the campaign of Alexander the Great in Persia and India at the end of the 4th century B.C. - and from Persia Gulf and the Red Sea to India. As the result of the trading activities up to the 6th century A.D., some kingdoms had been established along the Malacca Straits, which did not only take over and hold the power in the main route of trade between India and China, but also being the main supplier and owner of merchant fleet distributing various spices and other products of the Archipelago, Chinese ceramics and silk, cloth and manufacturing products of India among the trading cities along Bengal Sea and China Sea (Liebner et.al, 2004).

Kohler's in Liebner et.al, (2004) explanation, as mentioned previously, is obviously general. He only mentions "the Archipelago merchant sailors". The mentioning, however, does not deny the possibility of the involvement of South Sulawesi merchant-sailors in the international trade routes. This is supported by Kohler's own statement that various spices known in China in 5th century B.C. and in the markets of Rome City in 2nd century A.D. derived from Moluccas which is very close to Sulawesi Island.

This assumption is supported further by several research findings that the sailors of South Sulawesi had set their feet on Madagascar, an island located at the southwest of Indian Ocean. This island was an international trade route, as stated previously. Hromnik, who has conducted a research in that area, proposed these evidences. He reports that since 1st century A.D. to 10th century A.D. the people of South Sulawesi had visited the island. He also had obtained information from local

people that they are the descents of Sulawesi people, especially the southern part of Sulawesi. They were most likely from Luwu kingdom, because this kingdom was possibly founded in the period appointed by Hromnik (1st century A.D. to 10th century A.D.) (Abidin, 1983). With regard to these facts, there is also a story of *pao jengki* (big mango which is only available in Madagascar island) mentioned in the epic of *I Lagaligo*. This story is also widely spread among Bugis-Makassar and passed on orally from one generation to the next. This kind of mango was brought by the merchant-sailors of Bugis-Makassar from the island to meet the order of their wives (Abidin, 1983).

Harmonic's conclusion and the story of *Pao Jengki* are in accordance with Dick-Read's views (2005) stated in *The Phantom Voyagers: Evidence of Indonesian Settlement in Africa in Ancient Times* (unfortunately, the writer of this article could only find an Indonesian translation of the book and, therefore, the excerpts of the book were taken from the translated version). Dick-Read has collected some authentic facts on the traces of Nusantara (Indonesia) culture in Madagascar, even in East Africa.

In explaining about their settlement in Africa, after proposing several proves on the interconnection of Indonesian sailors and *Zanj* tribe inhabiting the coast of East Africa, Hromnik cautiously concludes that "the story of Indonesian sailors taking a trip to Indian Ocean in the first millennium is still in debates. However, in Indonesian's perspective, it is probable that those mysterious sailors came from *Bajo* and *Bugi* (*Bugis*), and the possibility of their survival along the coast of Africa cannot be denied. Although supported by less evidence, a similar argument can also be proposed that Manda Island, which is inhabited by *Bajun*, is derived from boats maker of *Mandar* in (South) Sulawesi Island (Dick-Read, 2008:157).

In discussing their existence in Madagascar, Dick-Read (2008:157), proposes two evidences: (1) the origin of *Malgache* (the original inhabitants of Madagascar). According to Dick-Read, as he quoted from Otto Dahl, it is possible that *Malgache* was originated from *Bajo* and *Bugis* of Celebes (Sulawesi), (2) the origin of the term '*Madagascar*'. Dick-Read says that "It is commonly known that Marco Polo is considered to be the first person naming the island in the end of 13th century when he wrote about it, which refers to Madagascar, in one of his reports and called it *Magastar*. Dick-Read, then, points out that the similarities among terminologies like *Bajun* and *Bajoo*, *Manda* and *Mandar*, and the meaning of Swahili word *Bukini*: the Big Island, may lead to a conclusion that Madagascar has a close relation with sailors group in Sulawesi: Makassar, which includes Bugis, Bajo, and Mandar.

The early Chinese literatures inform that around 3rd century A.D. there has been a big boat called *kun lun po*. They called it as "the sailboat of South Ocean people". Manguin concludes that the boat came from Nusantara (Libner, 2004:65). This information, yet again, is apparently not enough to support the assumption on the involvement of Bugis-Makassar sailors at that time. However, there is interesting information in that Chinese literature about the construction of the boat *kun lun po*:

With the fibers of palm tree bark, they made ropes that bound the parts of the boat. Nails were not used (...the boats) were constructed by binding together (some) planks because the planks were thin and they worried that the planks might be broken.

According to Manguin the construction of the boat, especially by 'binding' parts of the hold with ropes made of palm fiber or of rattan, which might still be seen in 1970s in some islands of eastern Indonesia (Libner, 2004:72). He says further that evaluation on archeologists findings support the occurrence of this technology. Moreover, evaluation and time measurement on the boards signify that "joining the planks by stitching which was later done by pegging" is a traditional boat construction in South Sulawesi that has been maintained until now.

Regarding to the Chinese report, Manguin has no information on the time the so called 'Nusantara boat' began to anchor off at China harbor. However, detailed information on the boat's construction in that report implies that the boats were quite familiar. It means that they had seen the boats for long time. Then, if it is assumed that the mention of Nusantara boats refer to South Sulawesi boats, it can be concluded that the merchant sailors of South Sulawesi had docked in China's port before 3rd century A.D.

Manguin's explanation is supported by Perlas' report, although in different set of time, that Bajau ethnic (a member of of Bugis ethnic group, a.k.a Bugis Bajau, and today still inhabit most part of Bone Gulf coast) had participated actively in the international trade route of Nusantara, concentrated on Malacca peninsula, since 7th - 12th century A.D. This conclusion is inline with Read notes on their foot step in Africa and Madagascar as mentioned before.

Perlas' information is strengthened by Paul Mus (in Andaya, 2004), a French scientist, who has conducted a research on sacred stones of Champa, Vietnam. According to Mus, Champa is a kingdom inhabited by Indonesian race people who developed extraordinary civilization from the 9th to 14th century. Champa people believed that Soil Gods, possessing living energy for the earth, lives in the stones. The stones are not merely representations of gods but real Soil Gods made invisible to human beings. Since Soil Gods could not communicate with human in that situation, a mediator between human to the gods is needed. A person appointed as a mediator among them became spiritual and daily affairs leader to his community because of being a spokesman to the Soil God.

The stones of Champa have similar origin, functions, and meaning of *gaukeng* in South Sulawesi. Concerning Mus' findings, it is probably not a mere incident if the word 'champa' is quite familiar among South Sulawesi people today. As far as the writer concern, there are at least five region and one plant that are similar to the word: Campalagi (a village in Bone Regency), Camba (a district region in Maros Regency which is located next to Bone), Campalangi and Camba-Camba (in West Sulawesi, which was the part of Sulawesi Selatan), Cambaiya (a district in Makassar), Cempa (a name for tamarind in three ethnic groups: Bugis, Makassar, Mandar in South Sulawesi). Is there a connection between those names and Mus' finding? It is obviously should be proved by further studies.

The assumption is stronger when it is discovered that international maritime trade was more organized around 1000 A.D. (the 10th century). The relationship between the two ends, i.e. China and Arabia, was not set up in a single voyage anymore, but in a trade pattern involving three segments: (1) Western part connecting Arabia Peninsula (including Minor Asia, Africa, and Europe) with India, (2) Middle part between India and Malacca Strait, and (3) Eastern part, China and Nusantara. The routes, directions, and time of trade in each segment were adjusted to the weather in a year so that could support and accelerate the flow of goods to the three regions. It means that prior to 10th century there had been international trade routes involving the merchant sailors of Nusantara (including South Sulawesi, particularly Bajau), although the routes were not well organized and was still as single voyages.

In the centuries after the 10th, South Sulawesi people became more intensive in establishing trade contacts with at least Southeast Asian countries and most likely with Asia through the second and the third route. This is based on Sutherland's conclusion that maritime trade in the eastern part of Indonesia had become trading zone since the 14th century (Andaya, 2004). It shows that inter-island trading activities had been established centuries before. This conclusion is supported by Patunru's report in Andaya referring to a maritime law of Malacca monarchy in the 15th century that the merchants from South Sulawesi have sailed intensively to Sumbawa, Johor, Malacca, Perak, Aceh, and Timor (Andaya, 2004:25).

Previous information emphasizes more on the participation of merchant sailors from South

Sulawesi outside their area. Conversely, were there any visitors to South Sulawesi region at that time? Discussion on this include the existence of Makassar port as a trade port and main gate of South Sulawesi. Concerning this, writers commonly conclude that Makassar was developing to be the main port of Nusantara, even of international in 16th century. This is based on the assumption that when Malacca, including its port, was annexed by Portuguese in 1511 (the beginning of 16th century) and merchant sailors who usually used the port looking for another alternative. At this moment, indeed, Makassar port had a chance. However, an interesting information is from Effendi in Liebner et al who has studied on the existence of Chinese in Makassar (Libner, 2004). He found that the Chinese have inhabited the region at the first part of 15th century, or possibly prior to that time. This is based on the discovered two tomb stones dated 1446 and 1458. There is no further information from Effendi whether the Chinese tombstones belonged to sailors or not. Anyway, this fact signifies that outsiders had recognized the existence of Makassar port for long time before 16th century.

Correspondingly, Andaya (2004) states that Majapahit sovereignty, referring to *Negarakertagama* (a Javanese written resource in the 13th century), considered Luwu kingdom as its dominion and had an intensive trade relation. Despite the truth of Luwu being a dominion of Majapahit, which is also doubted by several researchers, South Sulawesi has been recognized widely by outsiders and most likely since long time before *Negarakertagama* was written.

The details above are in accordance with those in the epic *I Lagaligo*, the one and only written source of the early history of South Sulawesi, even of Sulawesi in general, which was produced in the golden age of Luwu kingdom. A kingdom that was considered, by outsiders as well as local people, to be the first kingdom in South Sulawesi. From this kingdom, other kingdoms such as Gowa, Bone, Wajo, and Soppeng were developed. Based on *I Lagaligo*, although this might be considered academically weak since the manuscript has no year of writing, as a result, Luwu kingdom as the background of the epic is unknown. However, local scientists state that the epic was written in Luwu after the 9th century (Libner, 2004).

If *I Lagaligo* was really written when Luwu was in its golden age around 9th century, it can be concluded that the kingdom had been established long time before that century. This assumption is supported by Abidin (1983) who says that the kingdom was probably has existed since 1st century A.D. In the context of the maritime culture of South Sulawesi, it was told in the epic that Sawerigading, a king of Luwu, roamed by sailing to several countries that according to Eerdsman and Kern (in Andaya, 2004:25) are identified as Ternate, Bima, Java, and Coromandel coast in India. Furthermore, in the other part of the book, it was told that Sawerigading has sailed to China. In writing about maritime culture of South Sulawesi, especially on merchant sailors (*passompes*), local researchers like Abu Hamid in his *Pesan-pesan Pelaut Bugis* (2006) commonly referred to the story. The same story can also be found today in the folklore told by *panrita lopi* (traditional boat makers of Bugis Makassar). The same matter can also be found in the research findings of Darmawan Salman in *Jagad Maritim* (2006) about sailors community and boat makers in Tanjung Bira, the production center of *Phinisi* boat in South Sulawesi which is still being operated currently. Moreover, when this article was written, there was a cultural event called *Pekan Budaya Nusantara 2008* where a national seminar on culture was held by FKP (Pusat Kegiatan Penelitian Unhas, Makassar) in July 14th, 2008. One of the speakers in the seminar, Ishak Ngeljaratan (a Christian cultural observer of South Sulawesi) also has the same conclusion (*Fajar Daily*, 15 July 2008).

Epilogue

Based on the previous explanations, there are two main points to conclude, i.e. (1) the merchant sailors of South Sulawesi had established trade relations with Southeast Asia regions as well as Asia and Madagascar, *bahkan sampai ke Afrika Timur* since 1st century to the 10th century, long time before

the occurrence of two Portuguese sailors' report (the 16th century); and (2) if Mus' and information is accurate and the Indonesian race mention in the text is that from South Sulawesi, it is likely that some of them settled and built their own community. This is in accordance with Hromnik and Dick-Read's finding in tracing their existence in Afrika and Madagascar. This assumption could be clearly seen in the 17th century or later (especially when Gowa and Makassar port were subjugated by Netherlands' soldiers in cooperation with the king of Bone, Arung Palakka in 1666-1667). They, for several reasons, mostly settled at some areas like Kalimantan, Sumatra (particularly in Riau), Malaysia (especially in Johor), and Thailand (particularly in Ayuthiya).

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