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‘The Muscles and Sinews of the Kingdom’: The Sama Bajau in Early Modern Eastern Indonesia

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INTRODUCTION

The Sama Bajau of eastern Indonesia are one part of the larger Samalan ethnolinguistic group, the members of which are found not only throughout the eastern Indonesian archipelago but also scattered across the littorals of the southern Philippines and the Borneo states of Malaysia. Distributed across an area of roughly 1.25 million square kilometres, it has been suggested that Samalan peoples are ‘the most widely dispersed ethnolinguistic group indigenous to Southeast Asia’ (Sather 1995: 256–7). In this vast archipelagic world, the Sama Bajau have long filled an important cultural-ecological niche as ‘sea peoples’ in a region dominated by the sea. They were expert seafarers, the principal components of the navies of landed kingdoms, and primary procurers and traders of sea products. In essence, their value lay in their ability to link the land and sea environment more effectively than any other group.

Because of their unique adaptation to the marine environment and their highly mobile lifestyle, the Sama Bajau came to be called ‘sea nomads’ or ‘sea gypsies’ by Europeans and by a variety of names by Southeast Asians, including ‘*orang laut*’ (Indonesian/Malay: sea people), ‘*Turijeqneq*’ (Makassarese: people of the water), and ‘*wong kambang*’ (Javanese/Balinese: floating people). In certain contemporary contexts these names have taken on derogatory connotations based on stereotypes that ignore the dynamic and historically rich Sama Bajau culture. Among the Sama Bajau peoples themselves, the descriptive *dilau* or *madilau* (‘of the sea’) is commonly added to the autonym Sama, as in *Sama dilau* (meaning ‘Sama of the sea’), to emphasise the importance of the sea in their culture and history. Thus, while these exonyms carry unwelcome discursive baggage, they nevertheless clearly demonstrate the centrality of the sea to the Sama Bajau people, much of whose history has been determined by their relationship to the sea.

The unique sea-centred lifestyle of the Sama Bajau has long attracted the attention of outsiders and inspired a fair amount of scholarly inquiry. Some of the most detailed accounts come from nineteenth-century Dutch colonial officials, government employees and traders seeking answers to questions about Sama Bajau origins and political status. These authors relied on the assessments of their predecessors and a handful of local, but non-Sama Bajau informants. Writings from this period were often heavily influenced by earlier seventeenth-century descriptions of Sama Bajau peoples and were coloured by the transformed socio-political status of the Sama Bajau in mid- to late nineteenth-century Indonesia. In the writings of Cornelis Speelman—who led a Dutch-Bugis alliance in defeating the dominant south Sulawesi kingdom of Gowa-Talloq in the 1660s—the Sama Bajau were depicted as nomads of the sea wandering in search of tortoiseshell and other sea products, with no homeland, ruler, nor any political unity. Observers believed that they were slaves of the powerful landed kingdoms of Gowa-Talloq and Bone in south Sulawesi and served them in the capacity of fisherfolk and seaborne couriers. They were described as living a humble existence and were wholly dependent upon sea products, which they brought as tribute to their lords and sold to foreign traders.[1]

While there is some truth in the description, it ignores the major role that the Sama Bajau played in the history of Island Southeast Asia (ISEA). This chapter depicts a community that was essential to the creation, expansion and maintenance of some of the region's most powerful polities and most successful trading networks (Nolde 2014; Nolde 2015: 6–7). Their mastery of the seas also assured them of prestigious and powerful positions within many littoral kingdoms. What is not generally known is that many of the numerous groups of Sama Bajau peoples dispersed throughout the eastern Indonesian seascape in the early modern period were organised in a much more complex manner than previously assumed and some became important territorial powers in their own right.

A diverse body of oral traditions and written sources provide evidence of the existence of two important Sama Bajau entities in eastern Indonesia, which are referred to in this chapter as the Papuq and Lolo Bajau polities. Each was led by a paramount head of noble lineage and consisted of a loose unity of a large number of geographically dispersed communities of Sama Bajau under their own local leaders. These paramount leaders served as the primary links between the scattered Sama Bajau population and the Makassarese kingdom of Gowa-Talloq and its rival, the Bugis kingdom of Bone. Although these two Sama Bajau polities served rival kingdoms, they had a shared history and lineage. The first and oldest polity was headed by the Papuq and was allied with Gowa-Talloq, and the second and more recent polity was headed by the Lolo Bajau, with strong links to Bone.

This chapter will focus on the history of the Papuq Sama Bajau and their relationship to the Makassarese kingdoms of Gowa and Talloq.[2] The principal aim is to bring into sharper focus the importance of the Sama Bajau to the socio-

political and commercial networks of eastern Indonesia between the thirteenth and late eighteenth centuries.

EASTERN INDONESIA[3]

The early modern world of eastern Indonesia was one of expansive seas punctuated by numerous large, high islands and small, low-lying coral atolls. This vast area stretched from Bali and eastern Borneo in the west to the Bird's Head peninsula of New Guinea in the east and encompassed a great diversity of languages and cultures. For the Sama Bajau in particular, this 'sea of islands' (Hau'ofa 1994) comprised numerous settlements, fishing grounds and catchment areas, spiritually potent places, navigation routes, anchorages and safe harbours, as well as seaboard markets and port cities. The sea was and still remains the central feature of their world and formed 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 entrances to rivers.

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. The natural riches of the eastern islands impressed early European naturalists like Gerhardus Rumphius and Alfred Lord Wallace, 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 (Hoeksema 2007: 117–78; Majors 2008: 263). The uniformly warm and relatively shallow seas, moderate salinity and strong ocean currents combined to make eastern Indonesia particularly rich in certain marine species, such as neritic phytoplankton, which formed 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 were and still 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 formed a central element in the Sama Bajau world. This importance is reflected in the richness of the Sama Bajau language with regard to the maritime environment, including specific names to describe numerous types of reef formations.

The numerous islands and coral reef formations that peppered the region were also home to large populations of various species of sea turtle, holothurians or trepang, agar-agar, molluscs (like trochus), giant clams, pearl-oysters, amongst many others. These creatures played a vital role in the histories of Sama Bajau peoples in the eastern archipelago. For most Sama Bajau, their daily activity involved the gathering, hunting, fishing and sale of sea turtles, trepang, clams and other molluscs, fish, sharks, rays, cephalopods and large marine mammals like the dugong. This wealth of marine resources in eastern Indonesia served as a primary source of subsistence for local populations and has for centuries attracted traders from the region and beyond. The Sama Bajau were an essential

link between sea and shore, coast and hinterland, making the much 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 Bajau. While comparatively poorer than the western archipelago in terms of agricultural production, the inland areas of the islands of eastern Indonesia were 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 in 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 early modern period, enslaved people were another important export of eastern Indonesia, most of whom came to market as war captives, debt slaves or 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 (south Sulawesi), Banjarmasin (east Borneo) and Batavia (Jakarta), and finally to international markets in China, India, the Middle East and Europe. Sama Bajau peoples were among the chief collectors, shippers and traders of sea products in eastern Indonesia. They sailed as captains as well as crewmen and operated vessels of various styles and tonnage (Nolde 2014: 81–96, 122–207). The extensive eastern Indonesian trade 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 archipelago.

THE SAMA BAJAU IN SOUTH SULAWESI

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. As traditionally defined, the four major ethnic groups include the Makassar, Bugis, Toraja and Mandar, of which the Bugis and Makassar peoples have historically been the largest and most politically dominant groups. Although important to the region's history, the Sama Bajau traditionally have not been included among the major ethnic groups of South Sulawesi. Most scholars have instead categorised the Sama Bajau as a non-native ethnic community, pointing to their foreign origins and what scholars believed to be a relatively late arrival in the region, sometime in the sixteenth century. More recent archaeological and historical

research has provided strong evidence for sustained Sama Bajau settlement and influence in the region from at least the mid-thirteenth century onward (Bulbeck 1992; Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000; Bulbeck and Clune 2003; Nolde 2014: 102–20). Evidence of such a long history of interaction, intermarriage and exchange calls into question the prevailing conception of the Sama Bajau as foreigners in the world of South Sulawesi.

The earliest polities to benefit from south Sulawesi's geographic position amid the natural resource zones of eastern Indonesia were those that formed in the rich agricultural lands on the peninsula or those that had access to the most favourable harbour and riverine sites for trade. It is important to note that each of the polities that once dominated South Sulawesi politics and trade benefitted from Sama Bajau populations living within their realm. 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 (Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000). 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 entrepôt 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 in the early sixteenth century (Bougas 1998: 83–123). To the north, the Makassarese port polity of Siang was favourably situated along the west coast of Sulawesi and controlled yet another important site of trade, making it another centre of power between the fourteenth and early sixteenth centuries (Pelras 1973). In each of these early polities, the presence of Sama Bajau peoples was crucial to their success.

Beginning in the sixteenth century, the Makassarese kingdom of Gowa in South Sulawesi rose to become the dominant power in all of eastern Indonesia. Having absorbed several smaller surrounding Sulawesian polities—including the prime seaport of Garassiq, which would become Makassar—and having formed an alliance with the related kingdom of Talloq, Gowa positioned itself to quickly become a primary centre of the eastern Indonesian world. The union of the dual kingdom of Gowa-Talloq in the mid-1500s 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. It maintained a strong relationship with local Sama Bajau communities under the authority of their paramount leader, a high-status Sama Bajau who was given the title of Papuq.[4] Gowa, on the other hand, was mostly an inland-oriented polity with access to extensive agrarian populations and resources, but it too had ambitions

to control 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 until the latter half of the seventeenth century.

Gowa-Talloq embarked on a period of expansion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that would firmly secure its position as a dominant power in the archipelago. These major naval expeditions in eastern Indonesia subjugated new lands, which joined others such as Sandao, Solor and Ende conquered earlier by Talloq and its Sama Bajau allies led by the Papuq in the late 1400s and early 1500s.[5] They also expanded Makassarese influence into areas of eastern Borneo, northern and eastern Sulawesi, the islands of Buton, Ternate, Tidore and 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 Islamisation', 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 (Cummings 2002: 32–3; Andaya 1981: 32–5). Islam was introduced to the kingdom of Bima on Sumbawa by similar means beginning in 1618 (Noorduyn 1987: 312–42).

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' (Reid 1983: 117). 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 socio-political 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 entrepôt. The presence of Gowa-Talloq's Makassarese subjects and Sama Bajau allies in nearly every corner of the archipelago assured a steady supply of sea products, Malukan spices, enslaved people and other key commodities in Makassar's harbour 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 on the east coast of Sulawesi; Ternate, Tidore and Banda in Maluku; Salaparang in Lombok; Sumbawa, Dompu, Pekat and Bima, all on the island of Sumbawa; Ade, Wehali and Manatuto on Timor; Pasir and Kutei on east Borneo etc. Many of these social bonds were the basis for valuable trade and tribute arrangements which fed Makassar's insatiable demand for commodities from eastern Indonesia (Cummings 2015: 215).

With the conquest of Gowa-Talloq by the Dutch United East India Company (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, VOC) and its Bugis allies in 1669, the kingdom's control over its peripheries and its domination of eastern Indonesian trade were greatly reduced. The VOC took control of Makassar in order to mostly eliminate what had been the main source of spices outside its control. Gowa-Talloq's defeat also resulted in a permanent Dutch presence in South Sulawesi and the creation of a system of port controls, maritime patrols and sailing passes designed to regulate and restrain the movement of people and goods between Makassar and other areas of the Indo-Malay Archipelago.

While many readers may be familiar with the above history of Makassar's rise to a position of dominance and its subsequent demise at the hands of the VOC and its Bugis allies, the role of the Sama Bajau in the history of south Sulawesi and eastern Indonesia during this formative period is poorly understood. Yet, through a close reading of Dutch archival sources, Sama Bajau oral traditions and manuscripts (*lontaraq*) in Bimanese, Makassarese and Bugis (including the valuable *Lontaraq Bajo Lemobajo*, a history of the Sama Bajau kept in the southeast Sulawesi village of Lemobajo, hereafter, *LB Lemobajo*), a clearer picture of the Sama Bajau's important place in this history begins to emerge.[6] From the thirteenth century until well into the eighteenth century, the Makassarese kingdoms benefited greatly from alliances with Sama Bajau peoples, particularly those united loosely under the leadership of the Papuq. These Sama Bajau communities and their extended networks constituted a vital source of power and wealth for Gowa-Talloq. The alliances formed between Gowa-Talloq and the paramount leaders of the Sama Bajau people ensured a steady flow of valuable trade items from those groups of Sama Bajau linked to the Papuq. These relationships were also central to the expansion and maintenance of territorial control of key areas in the archipelago for the kingdom, as well as the defence of their interests against external threats.

Thus, it would be a mistake to see the Sama Bajau as simply subordinates or enslaved people of the landed kingdoms, as Speelman and later authors believed. Instead, the Sama Bajau formed highly regarded and independent cultural and political entities that operated as a part of—as well as apart from—these larger land-based polities. The highly mobile and polycentric nature of the Sama Bajau 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 PAPUQ SAMA BAJAU 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.[7] The story thus extends to vast areas of the eastern Indonesian seas far beyond their homeland in the southwest Sulawesi littoral. It reveals the geographic extent of the Papuq polity and the significant role played by the Sama Bajau in the politics and the economy of the region in the early modern period.

Beginning sometime in the mid-thirteenth century, an unknown number of Sama Bajau communities settled in the littoral of southwest Sulawesi and its offshore islands. A great deal about the history of these early settlers remains unknown but we can be certain that they occupied a position of importance and prestige in the region from early on, much earlier than previously assumed.[8] Furthermore, based on the oral and written traditions of the Sama Bajau, as well as a variety of other indigenous and European historical sources, it is clear that among those early Sama Bajau communities there was a common 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 Bajau people in the greater southwest Sulawesi area and remains a recurrent feature of Sama Bajau, Makassarese, Bimanese and Dutch historical records well into the closing years of the eighteenth century. After that point, the title disappears from the record and only traces of its former significance remain in oral tradition. While the origin of the name is unmentioned in the sources, there is no doubt that in both historical and present-day contexts the title was associated with power.[9] With the defeat of the Papuq by the Sultanate of Bima and the loss of two Papuq-ruled settlements on Flores in the late 1700s, the title disappears from the extant written sources.[10] But for Sama Bajau communities in eastern Indonesia today, Papuq has come to serve as the Sama Bajau 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 Ta'ala*). The title still retains traces of its former connotation in several Sama Bajau communities of the northern Flores coast, where it is remembered as a respectful form of address used in the not so distant past for high status Sama Bajau individuals who owned a

large number of enslaved people (Verheijen 1986).[11] Even in those communities where the meaning has changed in contemporary contexts, the memory of the Papuq as a historical ancestor of great power and importance is still strong in oral and written traditions of the Sama Bajau, particularly those pertaining to the formation of the earliest relationships between Sama Bajau and the landed polities of southwest Sulawesi (Liebner 1998: 107–33).

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 Bajau people who came to form an alliance with an emergent Makassarese polity identified in the manuscripts as Gowa. Furthermore, in these traditions his daughter is known by the title or name 'I Lolo', which became the primary marker of Sama Bajau noble lineage in the period before and after the Makassar War (1666–69).

Makassarese manuscript sources also clearly identify Papuq as the title of the head of the Sama Bajau, or *Turijeqneq* (Makassarese: 'people of the water'), who were loyal to the kingdoms of Gowa and Talloq. 'Papuq' is first mentioned in Makassarese sources to refer to an individual who formed a close relationship with Karaeng Tunilabu ri Suriwa, the second ruler of Talloq (r. late 1400s to early 1500s).[12] Prior to the mid-nineteenth century the Dutch were apparently unaware of the Papuq's role as leader of the Sama Bajau under Gowa-Talloq and assumed instead that the Papuq must have been a title of Makassarese nobility (Nolde 2014: 208–60; Nolde 2015: 6–7). It is clear, however, that Papuq was not a Makassarese term, title, or position, but rather a title given to the Sama Bajau leader by the Sama Bajau themselves and predated the Sama Bajau's presence in Gowa.

From the first two references to the Papuq that appear in the *lontaraq bilang*—royal court 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. The entry regarding his investiture states that Daeng Makkulle Ahmad was 'installed as Papuq by his family' (Cummings 2010: 176). Based on other entries in the annals and information from other manuscripts we know that Daeng Makkulle Ahmad was the grandson of an important and well-respected Sama Bajau woman of noble birth named I Amboq, 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' (Makassarese: *pamanakanna*). Thus, whereas high-ranking positions within the Gowa court, such as *tumailalang*, *tumakkajannang*, or *sabannaraq*, were always 'appointed' (Makassarese: *nanitannang*) by the ruler, the Papuq was chosen by his kinfolk as lord of the Sama Bajau peoples allied with Gowa-Talloq. The manner of the Papuq's appointment accords with Sama Bajau traditions. In the *LB Lemobajo* and MS 260 manuscripts, as well as in oral traditions, 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. Manuscripts and oral traditions from Sulawesi, Sumbawa and Flores affirm that the individual was selected as leader based on both ascribed and achieved status, in that he or she had the desired qualities and came from noble lineage (Nolde 2015: 208–58).

In Sama Bajau communities the social hierarchy is based on noble status determined by one's link, fictive or real, to the Lolo Bajau 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 Bajau nobility still forms the upper strata of the Sama Bajau communities throughout the region today. It is said that in the past they emphasised their position of high-status by donning certain clothing, demonstrating wealth through extravagant ceremonies and celebrations, and by amassing an entourage comprised of kin, supporters, clients and enslaved people. In the *LB Lemobajo* manuscript we are given examples of *adat* or customary law that further delineated the many rights, privileges and protections afforded those of high-level status. 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 Bajau society and, just as William Cummings noted for their Makassarese neighbours, served to mark out a 'coherent system of relative statuses and clear political and social relationships within an integrated whole' (Cummings 2002: 29).

In many Sama Bajau communities today, tangible evidence of one's noble lineage is found in the possession of certain regalia, such as *lontaraq* manuscripts (rumoured or real), *keris* and other weapons, clothing, musical instruments, and perhaps most importantly, a uniquely Sama Bajau 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 Bajau nobility. Some traditions suggest that *ula-ula* were once the pennants flown above the decks of noble Sama Bajau 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. As objects of the living past that provided a link to the power and authority of the ancestors, these heirlooms were, and often still are, thought to be sources of immense supernatural power.

RELATIONSHIP OF THE PAPUQ SAMA BAJAU POLITY AND GOWA-TALLOQ

The primary role of the Papuq within the social and political world of Gowa-Talloq was to serve as the paramount head of a large number of Sama Bajau communities that operated within the ever-expanding realm of those kingdoms, and perhaps beyond. In the written and oral traditions of the Sama Bajau and Makassarese it is evident that, upon incorporation into the Gowa polity, the Papuq

retained his traditional authority and role as lord of his Sama Bajau followers.[13] The available sources unfortunately do not provide enough information for even an approximate count of the Sama Bajau population during the early modern period. However, of the several Sama Bajau 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 Bajau, including by at least some of those groups who were not reckoned as part of the Papuq's immediate following.[14]

During Gowa-Talloq's sixteenth-century expansion and incorporation of surrounding Sulawesi polities, the rulers of the dual kingdom relied upon the Papuq to oversee matters dealing with the scattered Sama Bajau people. One example of the way in which the Papuq's authority was implemented on behalf of Gowa-Talloq was through the management of corvée by subject Sama Bajau populations. The Gowa chronicle records that Tunipalangga (r.1546–65) was the first ruler to issue frequent summons for corvée labour, and in this period the Papuq served a supervisory role in the process. One manuscript source notes, for instance, that the Papuq managed and oversaw the performance of corvée labour (Makassarese: *pappaqngara*) by those Sama Bajau considered to be subjects of the kingdom.[15] Among those called up were the descendants of the Sama Bajau of Katingang, Barasaq and Kandeaq (all in southwest Sulawesi) who fought against and were defeated by the ruler of Talloq in the mid-sixteenth century.[16] Yet, the sources also indicate that the Papuq's authority was not limited to the Sama Bajau population but also extended to non-Sama Bajau 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 the region of Bayoa.[17]

There are also 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 Makassarese manuscript, for example, it is said that the people of Panaikang belonged to the Sama Bajau, and that the Sama Bajau requested that their authority be extended along the Talloq river as far west as Pateqne.[18] Based on the information given in the text it is possible that this is a description of the territories controlled during the reign of either Tunipasuruq (r.1500s–40/43) or Tumenanga ri Makkoayang (r.1540/43–76). As the paramount leader of the Sama Bajau under Talloq during this period, the Papuq would likely have been in control of the Panaikang people.[19]

The Papuq's authority also extended well beyond the Gowa-Talloq heartland and included many of the Sama Bajau who lived and sailed in other areas of the eastern Indonesian archipelago. As described above, the rich seas of the vast eastern archipelago were an ideal setting in which the Sama Bajau could seek a livelihood. Furthermore, their sea-centred culture and highly mobile lifestyle was conducive to extensive exploration and settlement far beyond their base

in Sulawesi. Early on, Sama Bajau sailors and fishers set out from southwest Sulawesi and navigated to distant areas of the archipelago. Yet, even as they dispersed into various areas, the sources show that the Papuq maintained a clear measure of authority and influence over some of these mobile Sama Bajau groups. When, for example, a VOC Company official led an expedition along the northern Sulawesi coast in 1681, he encountered a large fleet of Sama Bajau from 'Manggarai' (West Flores) bearing the flag of their ruler en route to the small polity of Kaidipang. This ruler undoubtedly was the Papuq, who at this time resided primarily in Sama Bajau controlled territories of western Flores, known to the Sama Bajau and Makassarese as Sandao.[20] Throughout the 1680s and 1690s there is frequent mention of mixed Makassarese and Sama Bajau fleets roaming the coasts of Borneo, Sumbawa, Flores and Timor, many of which were involved in local trade and politics as well as what VOC Company officials called 'piracy' and '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 (Dutch: *overwal*)—on more than one occasion the ruler of Gowa asked the Papuq to order his Sama Bajau constituents to return to Makassar.[21]

In addition to the paramount leadership of the Sama Bajau populations under Gowa-Talloq, Makassarese sources also suggest that the Papuq was an authority in matters of shipping, ship technology and maritime law within Gowa and Talloq. In an early, but undated *rapang* collection, for example, the words of the Papuq are quoted as the chief source of knowledge regarding the laws that applied to ships, their captains and crew.[22] The Papuq's laws not only determined the distribution of profit shares among the ship's owner, the captain and crew, but they also defined 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.[23] These same laws appear in another, later manuscript, this time conveyed by a Sama Bajau noble known as the *Lolo Bayo* (Lolo Bajau) of Sanrabone as 'the words of our ancestor the I Papuq'.[24] 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* (harbourmaster) by the ruler of Gowa Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna (r.1510–1546), but the fact that the words of the Papuq regarding these laws were recorded in the *rapang* for later rulers and officials to consult is noteworthy.

The authority of the Papuq and Sama Bajau nobles in maritime affairs is further attested by the successive appointment of several Sama Bajau nobles as *sabannaraq*, or harbourmaster, of Gowa-Talloq between the late sixteenth and mid-eighteenth centuries. At least two of those men were also chosen to become Papuq by the Sama Bajau people. Some scholars have suggested that the position of *sabannaraq* was a non-hereditary post (Mukhlis 1975: 92; Bulbeck

1992: 105–7). The Makassarese records indicate, however, that many of the Sama Bajau nobles who were appointed as *sabannaraq* were related by blood and the position remained in the Papuq lineage, at least for a time. According to the *lontaraq bilang* (royal annals) 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 (Cummings 2007: 139; 2010: 22).[25] 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 Mangewai.[26] 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.[27]

As far as the *lontaraq bilang* is concerned, the history of this important, high-status Sama Bajau family begins with an entry for the birth of I Amboq in 1611, the mother of Papuq Daeng Numalo (d.1703) and the grandmother of Papuq and *sabannaraq* Daeng Makkulle Ahmad (d.1725).[28] The record of her birth in the royal annals is notable, as it was among a select number of events 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 Islamisation, 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 45 entries recording the births, deaths, marriages, divorces and important actions taken by the Sama Bajau 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.1739–60), refers to two of these Sama Bajau men as his 'grandparent' (Cummings 2010: 219, 268).[29] The extant genealogical information does not reveal any direct links between these men and Karaeng Lempangang, but the desire of the ruler to create a kin relationship, even a fictive one, to the ruling lineage of the Sama Bajau is noteworthy.

The *lontaraq bilang* entries pertaining to this particular extended family of Sama Bajau nobles allow us a rare insight into the world of Sama Bajau elite in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Indeed, the very fact of their appearance in the royal annals affords historians a clear sense of the status and socio-political importance of the Sama Bajau in the Gowa-Talloq court during this period. As argued by William Cummings, the translator of the most complete and accurate version of the *lontaraq bilang* to date, the '*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' (Cummings 2010: 17; Cummings 2005: 40–62). In regard to the extended family of the

successive Papuq during this period, the social status and political favour of these individuals must have truly been great.

In addition to the position of *sabannaraq* as an authority of matters of shipping and ship technology, the seafaring prowess of the Papuq and his followers also made them invaluable in any maritime venture. The Makassarese admiration of the Sama Bajau's skills and bravery on the sea is well documented in the oral and written record. Important Makassarese nobles preferred being transported on Sama Bajau ships. When, for instance, in 1646 Sultan Malikussaid of Gowa (r.1639–53) arranged the marriage of his daughter Karaeng Bontojeqneq to the Sultan of Bima, I Ambela Abi'l Khair Sirajuddin, he entrusted her passage across the dangerous Flores Sea to a crew of Sama Bajau (Chambert-Loir and Salahuddin 1999: 119–20). A similar event took place in 1767, when two Sama Bajau vessels were chosen to transport and protect the refugee prince Batara Gowa Amas Madina to Sumbawa, Bali, and ultimately to Bima.[30] In addition to these incidents, Dutch sources also note that Sama Bajau nobleman, sailors and their ships comprised a significant part of the following of the many refugee Makassarese and Bugis princes that roamed the archipelago at the end of the seventeenth century (Nolde 2014). Though he interpreted it as a sign of their bondage, Speelman noted in 1669 that the Sama Bajau were at the ready to sail wherever the ruler asked, further indicating the level of confidence the ruler placed in these communities (Speelman 1669: 27). A famous Makassarese tale, *sinriliq Datu Museng*, captures this sentiment of trust in verse, in which the protagonist declares: 'I am not afraid to sail to distant lands; Behold! I sail on a Bayo [Sama Bajo] ship' (Matthes 1883: 129). Though the references to these voyages in the archives are scattered across two centuries, Makassarese wisdom regarding the sailing skill and fearlessness of the Sama Bajau as recorded in the manuscript sources suggests that these sorts of voyages likely occurred frequently.

Their universally recognised prowess as sailors and navigators made the Sama Bajau the desired means of communication and transport of goods overseas. In addition to the precious cargo of Makassarese princes and princesses, the Sama Bajau 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 Bajau. They sailed out from the river of Gowa to east coast Borneo and back without being detected by the VOC post in Makassar.[31] The VOC Company records contain numerous reports of Sama Bajau 'smuggling' on behalf of the Papuq and the rulers of Gowa-Talloq, by which much needed goods and revenue flowed to the rulers despite the Company's best efforts at regulation and monopoly. 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 Bajau were the very source of Gowa-Talloq's power and prestige, referring to them as 'the muscles and sinews' of the kingdom.[32]

While the Sama Bajau played a significant part in the ability of Gowa and Talloq to subdue their rivals in southwest Sulawesi, it was their unrivalled skill and courage at sea which made them so valuable in Gowa-Talloq's overseas expansion between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries.[33] In the first documented attack on the land known as Sandao (a large area of Flores and East Nusa Tenggara) undertaken by the second ruler of Talloq, Tunilabu ri Suriwa, in the late 1400s, the sources state that it was, 'I Papuq who led 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.[34] 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 Bajau 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 (Cummings 2007: 84). It is likely that the Sama Bajau were also an important part of these Talloq voyages. Tomé Pires' writing in the sixteenth century describes Sama Bajau fleets from South Sulawesi roaming with impunity in the waters of Melaka and the western archipelago (Pires 1944: 326–7). 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.1459–77), could also have occurred with the involvement of the Sama Bajau of the Papuq polity (Brown 1970: 90–2; Pelras 1981: 154–5; Abidin 1974: 164).[35]

The Sama Bajau 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–43), 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 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 it the Papuq, rather than any other Makassarese ruler or noble, is recorded as the primary source of knowledge regarding these conquered territories.[36]

The Sama Bajau'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 said, '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.'[37] 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 Bajau being represented among the 'forest of sails' that comprised Sultan Malikussaid's massive war fleet, as described by one observer in 1640 (Tapala 1975: 159–71).

It is worthwhile to also consider the association of the Sama Bajau 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 Bajau travelled in the Melaka region, which Pires described as '*pangajavas*', were the long and narrow two-masted vessels known to the Makassarese as *pancajaq*. These war vessels could be supplemented by the rowing power of 20 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 as being propelled by upwards of 80 rowers and said to be used in Gowa-Talloq's armada—are noteworthy.[38]

Just as in later periods when the Papuq is listed among the war leaders sent to battle overseas, the Papuq and his followers would have been involved in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Gowa-Talloq naval expeditions 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 (Cummings 2007: 41, 42, 84–6, 88–9, 91–2).There are even a few scattered references in the Makassarese manuscripts that suggest that Daeng ri Bulekang, the much lauded 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 Bajau nobility.[39] The presence of Sama Bajau settlements in these lands today may have been a consequence of the involvement of the Sama Bajau in the Makassarese fleets that conquered these areas in earlier centuries.

CONCLUSION

The preceding discussion of the Sama Bajau under the Papuq is perhaps the only well-documented record of the existence of a polity founded and organised by sea people. It explains how the Sama Bajau's special knowledge of the maritime environment, their expertise at sea, and their fearsome reputation as warriors made them valuable allies to ambitious littoral kingdoms. While the role of sea-centred peoples in the emergence and maintenance of powerful kingdoms in the island world of Southeast Asia is comparatively well known, less documented is the intricate workings of the societies of the sea people in this crucial period. By fortunate coincidence, oral traditions and indigenous manuscripts combined with archival documents have revealed the existence of a Sama Bajau polity and

its intimate relationship with the Makassarese kingdom of Gowa-Talloq in the early modern period.

The existence of an actual paramount leader of the Sama Bajau is not only mentioned but discussed in detail over an extended historical period. It is thus possible to see how the sea people interacted with coastal kingdoms, and how they organised and conducted their affairs as any other political entity in the early modern period. While previous scholars have written about this relationship often based on very meagre documentation, the story of the Papuq Sama Bajau can be reconstructed more thoroughly with existing records. The constellation of Sama Bajau communities that acknowledged the paramount authority of the Papuq proved to be crucial in the political expansion and economic prosperity of the dual kingdom of Gowa-Talloq and a primary force in the extension of Makassar's influence throughout eastern Indonesia. The perception of sea peoples as lacking a ruler, a social and political hierarchy, and a political unity can now be critically reassessed in light of the new and exciting materials that we now have of the Papuq Sama Bajau polity.

NOTES

[1] Cornelis Speelman, '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 Opperhooft 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'.

[2] See Lance Nolde 'Changing Tides', for a more detailed account of the histories of the two Sama Bajau polities.

[3] Although anachronistic, this chapter follows the most common scholarly convention of using 'eastern Indonesia' in the geographical sense to refer to a particular region of the Indo-Malay Archipelago, which now falls roughly within the borders of the modern nation-state of Indonesia. This convention also serves to demarcate for the reader the particular space of the Papuq Sama Bajau polity, which, as far as we know, did not regularly extend into areas of what are today the southern Philippines and island Malaysia.

[4] Nederlandsch Bijbel Genootschap (hereafter NBG) 17, f.97-9; NBG 208, f.62-3; Matthes Stichting (hereafter MS) 193, f.12; Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (hereafter KITLV) Or.545, no.233, f.3-6.

[5] NBG 208, f.62-3; MS 193, f.12.

[6] I am aware of only a few extant *lontaraq* manuscripts owned by high status Sama Bajau families that form an invaluable source of Sama Bajau history. Written in the Bugis language and in the Bugis script, these extremely rare manuscripts relate the histories of certain Sama Bajau groups in eastern Indonesia from well before the Makassar War (1666–69) to the early twentieth century. The lengthiest of these manuscripts is in the possession of a high status Sama Bajau family living in the small coastal village of Lemobajo, north of Kendari (southeast Sulawesi). *LB Lemobajo* is a codex of around 300 pages and contains a wealth of valuable information on the history of the Sama Bajau in eastern Indonesia.

Jennifer Gaynor (PhD, University of Michigan, 2005) analyses elements of a Sama Bajau etiological tradition told in *LB Lemobajo* and gave it the title, which I use here. The only extensive historical studies of the entire manuscript published to date are Nolde, 'Changing Tides' and Jennifer Gaynor, 'Liquid Territory: Subordination, Memory, and Manuscripts among the Sama People of Sulawesi's Southern Littoral'.

[7] The *LB Lemobajo* manuscript contains a far more detailed description of the Sama Bajau socio-political and economic networks that comprise the Lolo Bajau polity than for those of the Papuq. This is probably because Lolo Bajau and Bone-affiliated Sama Bajau elites appear to have produced this particular Sama Bajau *lontaraq*. See Nolde, 'Changing Tides', 19–27.

[8] The archaeological findings of Bulbeck, Caldwell and others, as well as the historical evidence presented in Nolde, 'Changing Tides', have forced scholars to rethink the accepted theories and chronology regarding Sama Bajau settlement and influence in South Sulawesi prior to the sixteenth century.

[9] As far as I am aware, the term 'Papuq' or any of its variants are 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.

[10] In a forthcoming manuscript, I detail the history of the Papuq polity's establishment of the Sandao settlements and the more than two centuries long struggle to retain territorial and commercial control over those coastal centers of trade. See also Nolde, 'Changing Tides'.

[11] This was also explained to me as the meaning of 'Papuq' in several Sama Bajau villages in the Flores region. Verheijen received the same explanation of the title from Sama Bajau communities in northern Flores.

[12] NBG 17, f.97-9; NBG 208, f.62-3; MS 193, f.12; KITLV Or.545, no.233, f.3-6.

[13] MS 260, f.1-4; MS 250a, f.3; *LB Lemobajo*, f.8-9. See also Nolde, 'Changing Tides', 208–30.

[14] NBG 17, f.97-9; NBG 208, f.63-4; MS 193, f.13-14; KITLV Or.545, no.233, f.3-4; Nolde, 'Changing Tides', 242–47.

[15] KITLV Or.545, no.18.

[16] According to the Makassarese sources these three Sama Bajau groups fought against Talloq in the mid-sixteenth century and were defeated by the ruler of Talloq, Tumamenang ri Makkoayang Karaeng Pattingalloang. The Makassarese manuscripts clearly state that, even after defeat, these Sama Bajau groups acknowledged the Papuq as their lord rather than the ruler of Talloq. They all occupied roles of relatively high status as far as the defeated peoples were concerned. See Nolde, 'Changing Tides', 242–7.

[17] NBG 17, f.97-9; NBG 208, f.63-4; MS 193, f.13-14; KITLV Or.545, no.233, f.3-4. Exactly which of the several South Sulawesi settlements known as Bayoa is meant by this passage is not clear.

[18] 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.105–6.

[19] Although 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 Bajau settlement. Cummings, *Chain of Kings*, 84.

[20] VOC 1366, f.691-2. 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. Leonard Y. Andaya, *The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993), 166.

[21] For example, VOC Makassar 1403, f.254v; VOC Makassar 1414, f.121r.

[22] *Rapang* can be defined as a genre of Makassarese writing that contains the knowledge of renowned and revered ancestors.

[23] MS 159a, f.51.

[24] NBG 23, f.8–9.

[25] 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'. 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 to the identification of the *sabannaraq*. Kamaruddin et al., for instance, incorrectly treat Daeng Makkulle Abdul Wahid and Daeng Makkulle Ahmad as one person.

[26] 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.

[27] He is listed as *sabannaraq* by 6 November 1735.

[28] This would mean that she was possibly the mother of I Daeng Makkulle Abdul Wahid as well.

[29] Cummings notes that 'Makassarese frequently use kinship terms as honorifics', and the use of 'grandparent' was 'a sign of respect and kinship'. The fictive Sama Bajau grandparents are Daeng Maingaq and Daeng Manggappa.

[30] ANRI Makassar 273cc.29, f.2-4.

[31] VOC Makassar 1663, f.201-3. Their activities were only discovered at a later date, when a local informant was interrogated regarding Makassarese and English activities in Banjarmasin.

[32] VOC Makassar 8201, f.105-6. The value of the Sama Bajau did not go unnoticed by the Dutch, and from their earliest encounters the Dutch considered the idea of paying several Sama Bajau families living in the Buton and Tidore areas to move to Batavia and serve as the Company's couriers. *Batavias Uijtgaande Briefboeck* 1667, f.723rv; F.W. Stapel, *Het Bongaais Verdrag* (Leiden: University of Leiden, 1922), 205. See also Speelman's suggestion in his 'Notitie', f.27.

[33] NBG 17, f.89-91, f.105-6; KITLV Or.545, no.82; MS 193, f.86.

[34] NBG 17, f.97-9; NBG 208, f.62-3; MS 193, f.12; KITLV Or.545, no.233, f.3-6.

[35] Pelras argues that Karaeng Semerluki described in the *Sejarah Melayu* were possibly Sama Bajau sailors from South Sulawesi. He suggests that the commonly used Romanised transliteration of the title, 'Keraing Semerluki', is incorrect and should instead be transliterated as 'Karaeng Samaq ri Luq' (Lord Bajau of Luwuq). Zainal Abidin suggests the proper transliteration and translation is 'Karaeng Samaq ri Liukang' (Lord Bajau of the Islands).

[36] KITLV Or.545, no.233a, f. 3-6.

[37] Interview with Jufri Tenribali, Sombaopu, Makassar, 10-09-2011.

[38] KITLV Or.545, no.82.

[39] NBG 17, f.97-9; NBG 208, f.62-3; MS 193, f.12; Cummings, *Makassar Annals*, 55, 77.

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