

Bugis *Kitab* Literature. The Phase-Out of a Manuscript Tradition*

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Abstract

The tradition of writing Bugis manuscripts (South Sulawesi, Indonesia) came to an end many decades ago. However, there is one small niche where we can see the Bugis manuscript tradition still at work and that is the realm of lithographs made after hand-written models. These lithographed texts exclusively deal with Islamic matters. Up until the present day these texts (written in Buginese and Arabic) are still available in Bugis society, although they are becoming increasingly rare. This Bugis *kitab* literature represents the last remnants of the Bugis manuscript tradition. I will describe its forms, contents, authors, and scripts.

Keywords

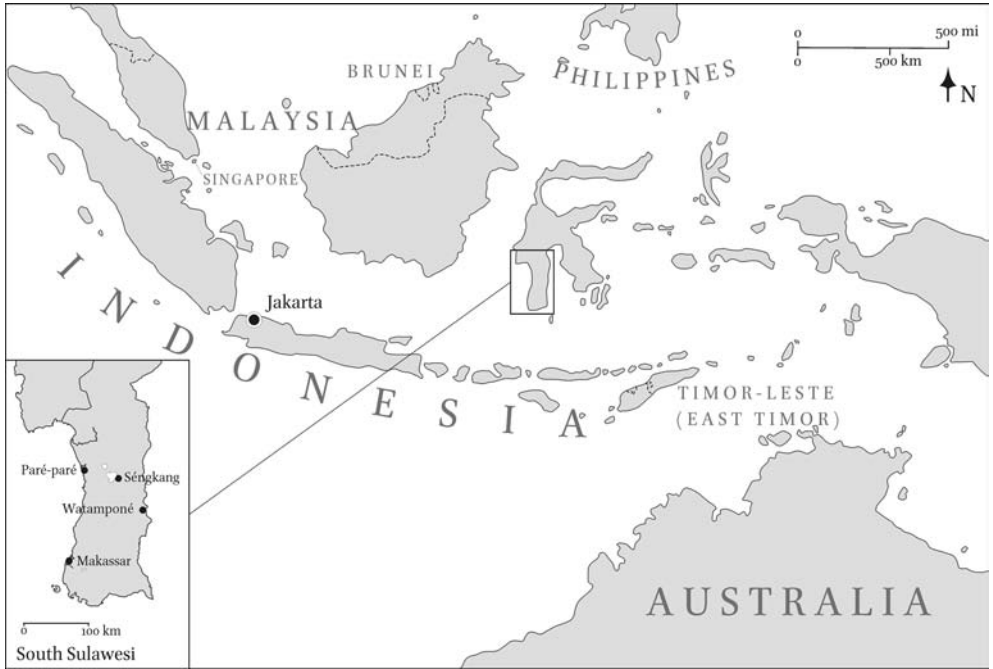
Bugis – South Sulawesi – Indonesia – Islam – lithographs – writing traditions – scripts – *kitab* literature

Introducing the Bugis of South Sulawesi¹

The province, which occupies the south-western arm of the Indonesian island of Sulawesi (also called Celebes), bears the name South Sulawesi. Its most

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1 See also Roger Tol, 'A separate empire: writings of South Sulawesi', in: Ann Kumar and John H. McGlynn (eds.), *Illuminations: The writing traditions of Indonesia: Featuring manuscripts from The National Library of Indonesia*, Jakarta (The Lontar Foundation) / New York (Weatherhill) 1996, pp. 213–230.



Indonesia and South Sulawesi. Map originally designed by kitlv-Jakarta (based on Google Maps)

important urban centre is Makassar. The approximately five million inhabitants of South Sulawesi belong to a variety of ethnic groups. The Bugis form the largest ethnic group (50 per cent of the population) and are mainly located in the east and large parts of the west. Significant numbers of Bugis are also found outside their 'homeland' with large settlements in East Kalimantan, Riau, and elsewhere in the Indonesian archipelago, and in Malaysia. Other groups in South Sulawesi include the Makassarese (30 per cent; Makassar and surroundings, also in the south), the Saqdan Toraja (5 per cent; northern mountain regions) and the Mandar (5 per cent; northwest). The rest of the population is made up of people of other ethnic origin such as Malay, Javanese, Chinese, Ambonese, and Manadonese. In urban areas in particular, many people are of mixed descent.

With the exception of the Toraja, all inhabitants of South Sulawesi profess the Islamic faith since the early seventeenth century. Over 80 per cent of the population live in the countryside and work as farmers. An important minority of Bugis, Makassar and Mandar, consists of fishermen and sailors. Especially this latter category has been instrumental in establishing the image of the Bugis, Makassar and Mandar people as men of the sea and ingenious boat

builders. Up until today, they have played a major role in the interinsular trade of the archipelago. They are also renowned throughout Indonesia and Malaysia in the field of politics and the military and have fulfilled all kinds of influential functions through the ages. A number of them became notorious as mercenaries or pirates. While these groups are closely related to each other, they differ in their languages and their customs. Each has its own distinct language, traditions, and cultural identity.

The literary products of the Bugis rank among the most interesting of South-east Asia, both in quality and in quantity. A wide variety of genres are represented in texts such as myths, local histories, ritual chants, law books, Islamic legends and tracts, daily registers, genealogies, wise sayings, folk tales and others. Special mention should be made of the vast *La Galigo* epic myth, probably the most voluminous work in world literature, and since 2012 inscribed in UNESCO's Memory of the World register. It is a full-fledged literary corpus.

Hundreds of manuscripts have survived the times and can be found in private and public collections in South Sulawesi, Jakarta, Europe, and the United States. The majority of Bugis manuscripts contain the epic *La Galigo*, local history and Islam, and in many cases in a mixture of two or all three genres.

Bugis Script²

Bugis texts have been written not only in its own script, but also with Arabic and Roman letters. In view of the prominent role of Islam since the beginning of the seventeenth century among the Bugis, and with the example of Malay in mind, one would expect that, at least for Islamic texts, the Arabic script would have been used. This is not the case, however. In fact, the least used script for writing Bugis is the Arabic script. Bugis manuscripts entirely written with Arabic letters do exist but are quite rare.³ The majority of Bugis manuscripts use the indigenous script, also the ones dealing with Islamic matters.

Use of the different scripts is chronologically determined, in the order Bugis-Arabic-Roman. The Bugis script starts being used at the beginning of the fif-

2 See the appendix. J. Noorduyn, 'Variation in the Bugis/Makasarese script', in: *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (= *BKI*), *Manuscripts of Indonesia*, 149 (1993), pp. 533–570, provides a detailed exposé on the various forms of the Bugis script.

3 A few are mentioned in Mukhlis Paeni (et al.), *Katalog induk naskah-naskah Nusantara: Sulawesi Selatan*. Jakarta (Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia) 2003.

teenth century,⁴ the Arabic script becomes known with the introduction of Islam at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards the Roman script is introduced to the Bugis. Obviously, in Islamic manuscripts we see the Arabic script used quite frequently, though not for writing Bugis, but for writing Arabic. In other words, there seems to be no relation between script and topic.

When we compare the use of scripts throughout the centuries among the Bugis with Malay practice, some differences are noteworthy. Taking the introduction of Islam and the arrival of the printing presses as the big markers in the history of their scripts, the following picture emerges.

| Language | Scripts used | | | |
|----------|-------------------|---|---|--|
| | Before Islam | After Islam | Printing presses (19th century) | 21st century |
| Malay | (<i>Indian</i>) | <i>Arabic</i> All genres 12th century | <i>Arabic/Roman</i> | <i>Roman</i> (In Indonesia <i>Arabic</i> only for Islamic texts; in Malaysia <i>Arabic</i> also for general purposes) |
| Bugis | <i>Bugis</i> | <i>Bugis</i> All genres 17th century <i>Arabic</i> mainly for Arabic language in Islamic texts | <i>Bugis/Roman</i> <i>Arabic</i> only for Arabic language in Islamic texts | <i>Roman</i> <i>Bugis</i> for Islamic texts <i>Arabic</i> only for Arabic language in Islamic texts |

4 Ian Caldwell, *South Sulawesi A.D. 1300–1600: Ten Bugis texts*. Canberra (Australian National University [PhD thesis]) 1988, p. 174.

The End of the Bugis Writing Tradition

In the Bugis area a strong and dynamic manuscript culture was alive until the end of the nineteenth century. Although at that time printing presses became widely available in the country, remarkably there has never been a publishing tradition among the Bugis. With the presence of the printing press, not only the tradition of writing manuscripts died out, but also more or less the complete written literature. Of course, the language did not die. It is still very much alive and spoken by an estimated three million speakers and the same holds for the oral literature of the Bugis.

Since written specimens of Buginese in Roman script are almost non-existent⁵ we will witness the demise of the Bugis writing tradition in the very near future. Almost nobody writes in Buginese anymore. Modern Bugis authors write in Indonesian, the prestigious national language. There is no new literature, no living tradition of writing in Buginese. The works that still appear are all transcriptions and translations of works from the old Bugis writing tradition: chronicles, wise sayings, historical poems and, recently, *La Galigo* texts. This situation is in stark contrast with e.g. the island of Bali, where literature both in the indigenous script and in romanized form is still being produced on a wide scale.

However, a very small segment of this formerly extensive literature did survive, in the form of the Bugis *kitab* literature, texts with Islamic contents. These are still being produced, though in rapidly decreasing numbers.

Bugis *Kitab* Literature

Many of these local Bugis publications using the Bugis script are kept in the libraries of Leiden University and KITLV.⁶ In my examination I will also include books that I have collected privately over the last 25 years. Although not complete, it is certainly a representative collection of about seventy volumes, consisting of about 35 titles.

5 Occasionally short texts in romanized Bugis can be found in local newspapers.

6 KITLV = The Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (Dutch: Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde). These types of publications are mentioned by Van Bruinessen in his article on *kitab kuning*, but they were explicitly left out of his discussion because of the Bugis script used. See Martin van Bruinessen, '*Kitab kuning*: Books in Arabic script used in the *pesantren* milieu', in: *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (BKT), 146 (1990) pp. 226–269, p. 228.



FIGURE 1 *Haji Hamzah Manguluang* (1925–2000), translator of the Qurʾān. With handwritten Arabic and Bugis (Hamzah Manguluang 1978–1988, vol. 2, pp. xiv–i).

With only a few exceptions, all these contemporary publications using the Bugis script deal with Islamic matters.⁷ They are also very similar in their outlook with their use of low quality paper, ink and covers. As such, they look like the nineteenth-century products of the Malay lithographic press, similar to handwritten manuscripts, except for the curious fact that a number carry photographs of the authors [Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5]. Most texts have been handwritten and were then multiplied, some by lithographic techniques or just by simple photocopying. As the illustrations show, they usually display a number of scripts, both handwritten and using printing types: Bugis (almost always handwritten),

7 The exceptions known to me are a book on the seventeenth-century king Arung Palakka, published over four decades ago: La Side Daeng Tapala, *Lontaraqna Petta malampéqé gemmeqna* (Sulawesi ri Attang 1611–1696). Juppandang (no publisher indicated) 1971, 3 vols., and schoolbook series such as *Lantéra* 'The lantern' (Tamin Chairan, *Lantéra: abbacang basa Ugiq untuk sekolah dasar*. Ujung Pandang (Karya Bakti) 1981, 6 vols.), and *Ada sulessana* 'Wise words' (M. Daud et al., *Ada sulessana: aggurung basa Ugiq untuk SMP*. Ujung Pandang (Toko Buku Pesantren Muhammad Jamil Hamid) 1991, 3 vols.), for learning the Bugis language and script.



FIGURE 2 Kyai Haji Daud Ismail (1907–2006), head of the pesantren Yatsrib in Watansoppéng and prolific author. With handwritten Arabic and Bugis (Daud Ismail 1980, pp. 2–3).

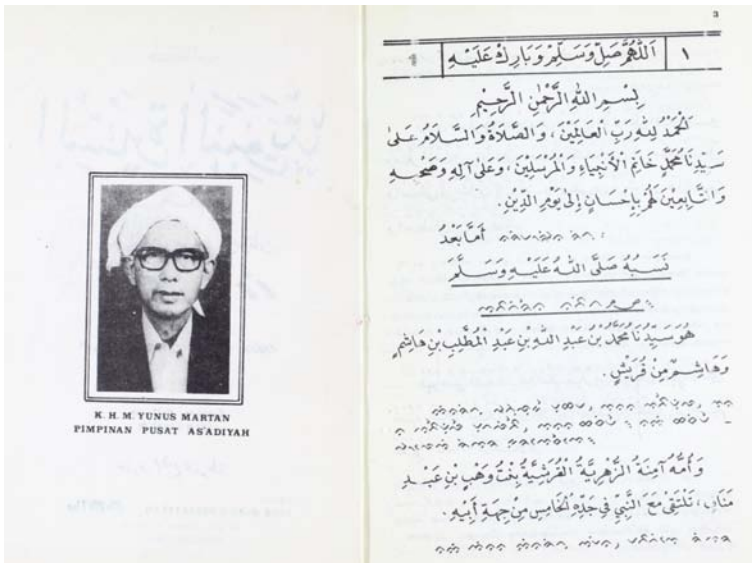


FIGURE 3 Kyai Haji Muhammad Yunus Martan (1906–1986), head of pesantren As'adiyah in Ségkang, prolific author and founder of an Islamic radio station. With handwritten Arabic and Bugis. Typewritten Indonesian under the photo (Muhammad Yunus Martan 1980, pp. 2–3).



FIGURE 4 *Haji Abdul Syukur Abubakar (1955–), prolific writer on various subjects. This page shows his short biography (Abdul Syukur Abubakar 1984, pp. ii–iii).*



FIGURE 5 *Haji Abdurrahman Ambo Dallé (1900–1996), influential ulama and author. With typewritten Arabic, Bugis, and Indonesian (Abdurrahman Ambo Dallé, [c2005]).*

Arabic (usually handwritten, but quite a number are printed using printing types) and Roman (both handwritten and printed; sometimes written with a typewriter). In all these publications the use of a particular script bears a direct relation to the language of the text: Bugis script for writing Buginese, Arabic script for Arabic and Roman script for Indonesian. We never came across instances of Buginese written with Arabic letters, and only recently we see romanized Buginese appear. Sometimes Islamic terms are written with Bugis letters, but that is because Buginese has adopted most of these terms.

Books using Bugis printing types are very rare. Apparently there is, or was, only one printing press operating that owns Bugis printing type, the Al-Khairiyah press in Paré-paré. A book published by Abdurrahman Ambo Dallé (1900–1996) in 1971 is an example, but the letters are already fading.⁸

The resemblance of these publications to each other is also due to the fact that only very few publishers are still operating in this field. Three of them are quite prominent and produce about 75 per cent of all publications. They are

8 مزية اهل السنة والجماعة بين النحل والفرق المبتدعة / Alebbirennah ahelusunna walejamaa ri palawan-genna alirang2 nennia golongeng bideqa/pusaqé. Pare2 (Al-Khairiyah) 1972.



FIGURE 6 *'Life without books is like a baby without a mother, without milk, without a torch.'*
Advertisement for the Toko Buku Pesantren
at the back of Muhammad Jamil Hamid
1968, vol. 2.

Toko Buku Pesantren in Makassar, formerly called Ujung Pandang⁹ [Fig. 6], CV Bintang Selatan, also in Makassar, and Toko Buku & Percetakan Adil in Sengkang.¹⁰

Taken together, the impression that these publications with their old-fashioned techniques, unattractive manufacture and general sloppiness make on the present reader is that they are very much something of the past. We came across books having the colophon of another book [Fig. 7], whereas pages displaying three different scripts are a usual sight [Fig. 8].

⁹ Also spelled Ujungpandang or Jupppandang.

¹⁰ The names of these publishers mean, respectively, 'The Pesantren Bookshop', 'The Southern Star Company' and 'The Righteous Bookshop and Printer'.

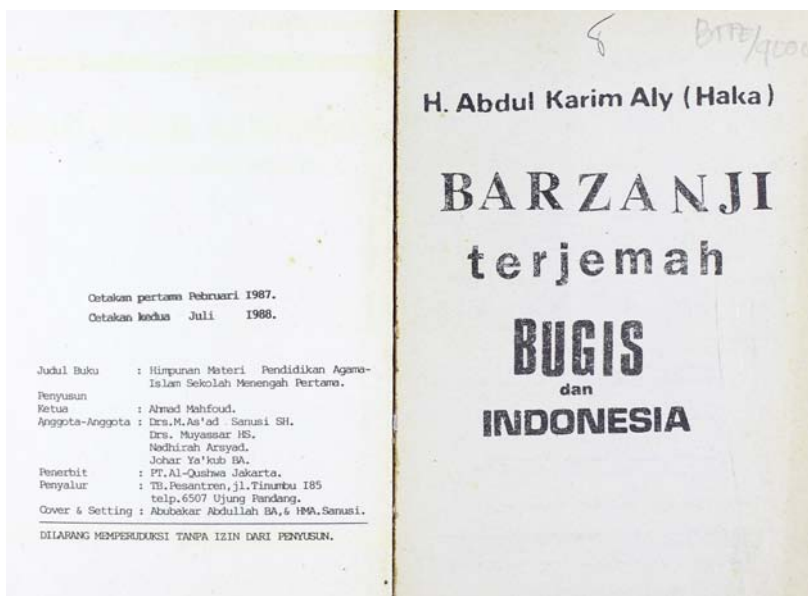


FIGURE 7 Title page of Barzanji terjemah Bugis dan Indonesia with colophon of another book (H. Abdul Karim Aly, [c1990]).

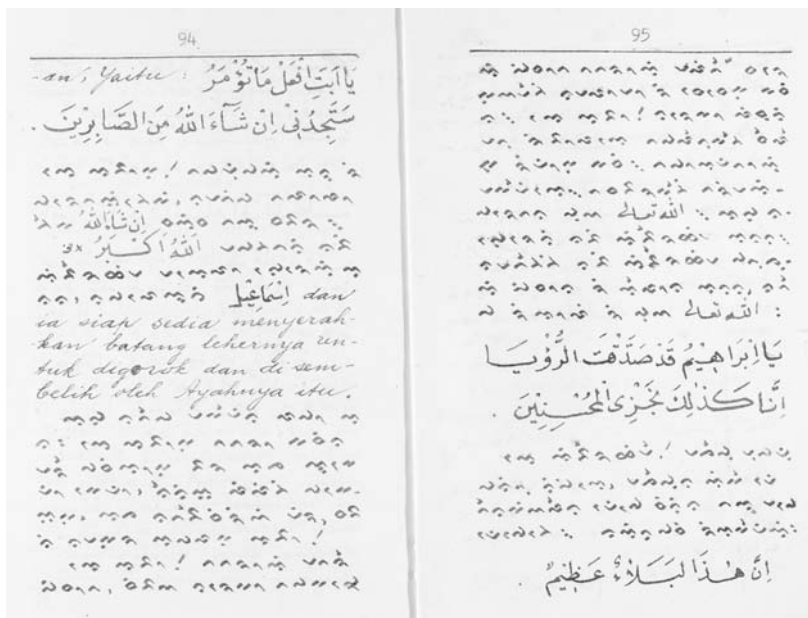


FIGURE 8 Three handwritten scripts in three languages (Muhammad Jamil Hamid 1996, vol. 1, pp. 94–95).

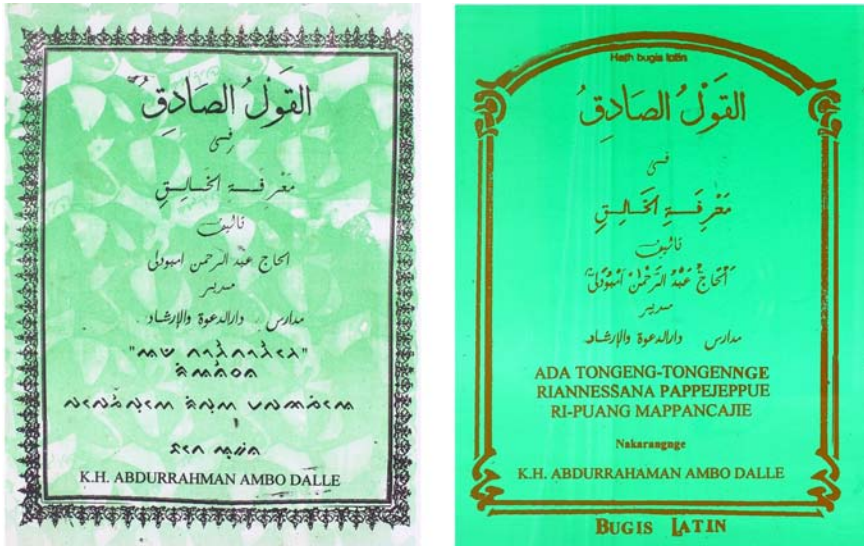


FIGURE 9 *Bugis script in decline. Covers of two editions of Ambo Dallé's القول الصادق / Ada tongeng-tongengngé. On the left the traditional one with typewritten Arabic and handwritten Bugis, on the right typewritten Arabic and romanized Bugis ('Bugis Latin') (Abdurrahman Ambo Dallé, [c2005] and [c2007]).*

Indeed, the production of new books is slowing down.¹¹ Also, the use of Bugis script seems in decline, as is evident from a 2007 re-edition of Abdurrahman Ambo Dallé's classic work القول الصادق / *Ada tongeng-tongengngé* in romanized Bugis [Fig. 9].¹² The small number of other recent publications, such as the mystical treatise '1001 secrets'¹³ and M. Arsyad Sanusi's translation (2006) of Imam an-Nawawi's *Kitab al-Azkar*, also no longer use Bugis letters, but have typewritten romanized Bugis and occasionally even romanized Arabic.¹⁴

11 E.g. a visit to Toko Buku Karya Agung in Watamponé in May 2004 did not reveal any new titles and a visit in 2008 to Toko Buku Pesantren in Makassar only very few.

12 القول الصادق في معرفة الخالق / *Ada tongeng-tongengngé riannessana pappejeppue ri-Puang Map-pancanjie. Bugis Latin. Ujung Pandang (Toko Buku Pesantren) c. 2007* [in romanized Bugis]

13 *1001 Rahasia: Alebbirennan Nabitta nennia massalawaé*, c. 2003. [no further indication about place of publishing and publisher].

14 M. Arsyad Sanusi, ترجمة الاذكار الامام النواوي *Tarjumana kitta al-azkar al-Iman an-Nawawi (Bugis-Latin)*. Makassar (Toko Buku Pesantren) 2006.

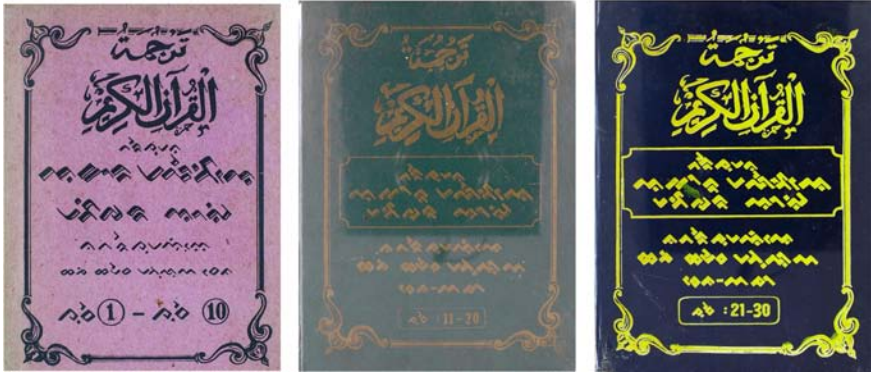


FIGURE 10 Bugis translation of the Qur'an in three volumes by Hamzah Manguluang (1978–1988).

Contents of Bugis *Kitab* Literature

As regards subject matter, Bugis *kitab* literature can be categorized as follows:¹⁵

1 *Qur'an*

a In Translation

A complete translation was published in three volumes, each containing thirty *juz'*. It is published as a bilingual edition printed in two columns, the Arabic on the left, the translation on the right. This is the work of one person, Haji Hamzah Manguluang (1925–2000), who started his vocation in 1975 [Fig. 10]. It is a most intriguing piece of work, bearing traces of the age-old manuscript tradition in South Sulawesi. The second volume is of particular interest from this point of view. It starts with an introduction dated 21 June 1979 by Kyai Haji Daud Ismail (1907–2006), head of the *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) Yatsrib in Watansoppéng [see Fig. 2]. Then we find handwritten Arabic, handwritten Buginese, some handwritten words in Indonesian or Buginese-Indonesian,¹⁶ and also printed Arabic that obviously has been cut manually from a printed Qur'an. In the third volume a note is part of the text, saying that the translator 'checked at 2 o'clock at night, 7–1988.'¹⁷ [Fig. 11]. All in all this three-volume translation of the Qur'an is a unique accomplishment. On the one hand, it is a transitional work between the handwritten and printed book, but at the same time it also contains a full-colour photograph of the author.

15 Of help is the list of 24 titles written by Muhammad Yunus Martan in شرح اسماء الله الحسنى Aseng-aseng makessinna Puang Allataala. Sengkang (Adil) 1984 p. 46 [Fig. 13].

16 Such as *pendirianna*, which is the Bugis form of Indonesian *pendiriannya*, 'his standpoint'.

17 Hamzah Manguluang 1978–1988. Vol. 3, p. 90: *jam 2 [-] malam 7–1988 periksa*.

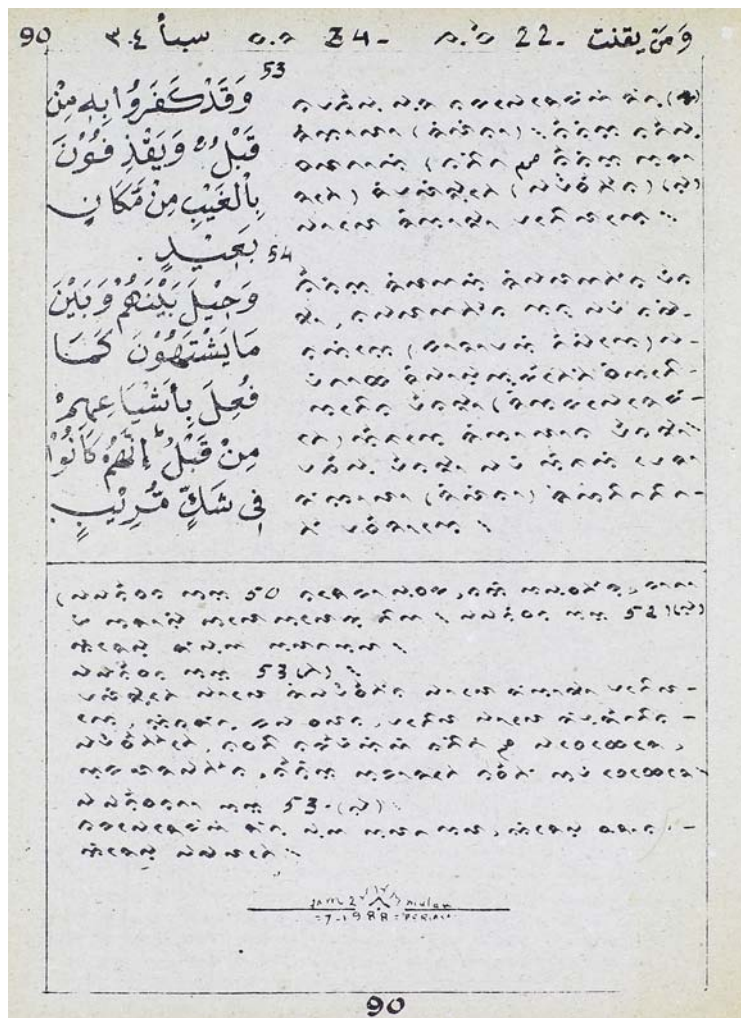


FIGURE 11 Qur'an. At the bottom of the page: 'checked at 2 o'clock at night, 7-1988' (Hamzah Manguluang 1978-1988, vol. 3, p. 90).

b Commentaries on Parts of the Qur'an

A neatly produced example is the book by the above mentioned Kyai Haji Daud Ismail, which contains a translation and commentaries on the 30th *juz* (*juseq amma*) in the Qur'an.¹⁸ [Fig. 2]

18 Daud Ismail, ترجمة وتفسير الجزء الثلاثون / *Tarejumana nennia tapeséréna juseq amma mabbicara Ogiq*. Ujung Pandang (Bintang Selatan) 1980.

2 *Tales of the Prophets*

An example is the five-volume series by Haji Abdul Syukur Abubakar. [Fig. 4] The title is *Késa-késa ri lalenna Akorang malebbiqé*, literally ‘Tales from the Holy Qurʾān’. The book contains stories of the prophets, 26 in total, beginning with the prophet Adam and ending with the prophet Muhammad.¹⁹

Also the so-called *barzanji*, tributes to the life of the prophet Muhammad, fall in this category. In fact, these are translations or adaptations from عقدا الجواهر, *Iqd al-Jawāhir*, ‘The necklace of jewels’, the *Mawlid* text by Syekh Jaʿfar al-Barzanji bin Husain bin Abdul Karim (Madinah, 1690–1766).²⁰ An example of this genre is H. Abdul Karim Aly, which is also of typographical interest with its sloppy layout, handwritten Bugis, printed Arabic (sometimes also handwritten), typewritten Indonesian and with the colophon of another book²¹ [Figs. 7, 12].

3 *Islamic Practice*

This category is represented by books on performing the *salat*,²² on regulations of the *zakat*,²³ on inheritance law²⁴ and by a number of other titles by Muhammad Yunus Martan on the hajj, prayers and many other topics [see Fig. 13].

19 Abdul Syukur Abubakar, قصص القرآن / *Késa-késa ri lalenna Akorang malebbiqé*. Ujung Pandang (Pustaka Pesantren) 1993–, 5 vols.

20 Of the Arabic prose version, usually known as *Mawlid al-Nabī* or *Mawlid Rasūl Allāh*, or simply *Barzanjī*, there is also an older Buginese translation; see B.F. Matthes, *Kort Verslag aangaande alle in Europa bekende Makassaarsche en Boegineesche handschriften, vooral die van het Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap in Amsterdam*. Amsterdam (C.A. Spin) 1875, p. 56 (No. 145). In Arabic bibliography (Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, vol. 2, Leiden (E.J. Brill) 1949, p. 384) Barzanjī is known as Jaʿfar b. al-Ḥasanb. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad Khādim b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn al-Barzanjī al-Madanī (d. 1179/1765).

21 H. Abdul Karim Aly (Haka), *Barzanji: Terjemah Bugis dan Indonesia*. Juppandang (Pesantren Hamzah Manguluang) not dated (c. 1990).

22 Abdul Syukur Abubakar, الصلاة مفتاح كل خير / Sempajangngé: Patimpaqna tungkeq-tungkeq décéngngé. Ujung Pandang (MDIA-Taqwa) 1979, and later editions (1984, [c1991], 1995) with the same title but different contents.

23 Muhammad Yunus Martan, كتاب الزكاة / *Kittaq sekkeq*. 3rd printing. Sengkang (Adil) 1973 [1st edition 1957].

24 Muhammad Yunus Martan, كتاب الفرائض / *Kittaq paraéleq*. Sengkang (Adil) 1972.

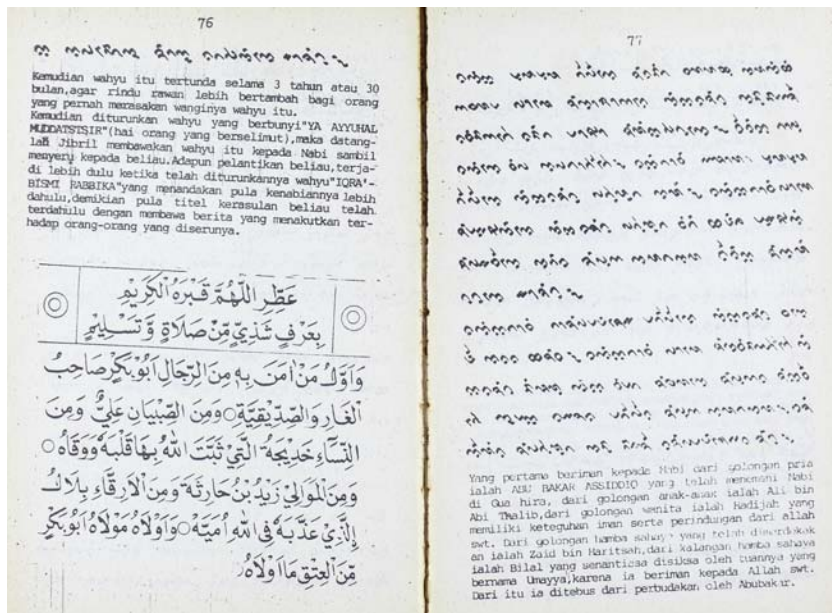


FIGURE 12 Barzanji. *Three scripts (one handwritten; two typewritten), three languages, and sloppy layout in H. Abdul Karim Aly [c1990], pp. 76–77. See also Fig. 7.*

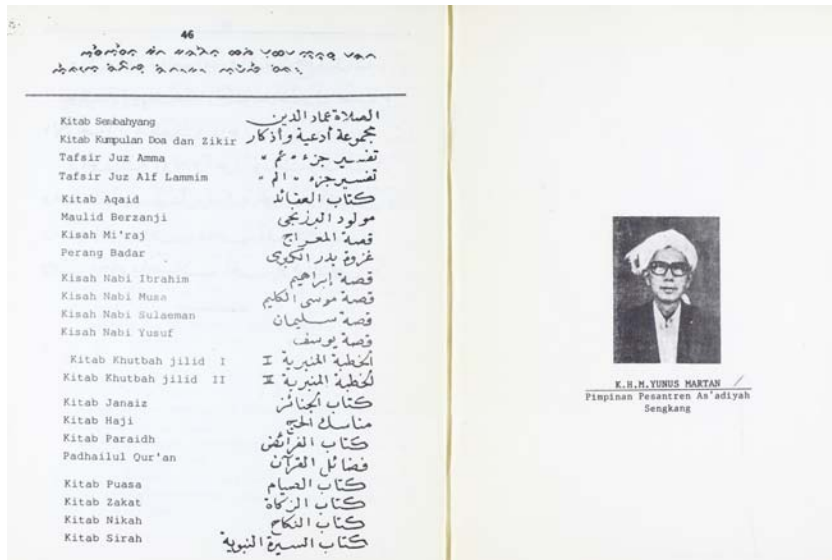


FIGURE 13 *List of works by the prolific author Muhammad Yunus Martan, printed at the end of his شرح اسماء الله الحسنى / Aseng-aseng makessinna Puang Allataala (Muhammad Yunus Martan 1984, pp. 46–47).*

4 *Islamic Traditional Tales and Works*

Examples are the book on the 99 names of God²⁵ and Haji Harun Arrasid Caco's translation (from the Arabic) on Muhammad's heavenly journey.²⁶ Muhammad Yunus Martan wrote a biography of the Prophet Muhammad.²⁷ The Qur'ān translator Haji Hamzah Manguluang also published a book on dogma.²⁸

5 *Original Islamic Works*

a Texts of Friday Sermons

There are several publications containing collections of *katobba Jumaq*, 'Friday sermons', such as those by Muhammad Jamil Hamid, which has been reprinted regularly.²⁹ Haji Abdul Syukur Abu Bakar produced a series of at least nine volumes.³⁰

b Other Original Works

There are only very few instances of other original works known to me. An example is the work by Haji Abdul Syukur Abu Bakar, *Amaupeqna rupa taué ri lino nennia ri ahéraq*, 'Man's fortune in this world and the hereafter', which he wrote in Cairo³¹ [Fig. 14].

The Authors³²

Just a few writers, which we must take in the sense of both author and scribe, have been active in creating *kitab* literature, but they could sometimes be very productive indeed. Apart from the already mentioned Qur'ān transla-

25 Muhammad Yunus Martan, شرح أسماء الله الحسنى / *Aseng-aseng makessinna Puang Allataala*. Sengkang (Adil) 1984.

26 *Pau-pauang mérajeq mabasa Araq napabasa Ogiqé* Haji Harun Arrasideq Caco. Paré-paré (La Side Daeng Tapala) n.d.

27 Muhammad Yunus Martan, كتاب السيرة النبوية / *Kittaq sira*. Sengkang (Adil) 1980.

28 Hamzah Manguluang, العقائد / *Atékaé karangenna Haji Hamesa Manguluang ToSéngkang-ngé*, 1989. [no further indication about place of publishing and publisher].

29 Muhammad Jamil Hamid, منبر الجمعة لعامة المسلمين / *Katobba mabbicara Ogiq*. Ujung Pandang (Toko Buku 'Pesantren') 1968, 4 vols. [several reprints]

30 Haji Abdul Syukur Abu Bakar, خطبة الجمعة في السنة الكاملة في طريق الحق / *Katobba jumaq sukkuq: Alalenna sitaungngé panessaéngngi laleng patujué*. Juppandang (Pesantren) 1989– [2nd edition].

31 *Amaupeqna rupa taué ri lino nennia ri ahéraq*. Ujung Pandang (Bintang Selatan) 1987.

32 See the websites mentioned in the References for additional biographical information.

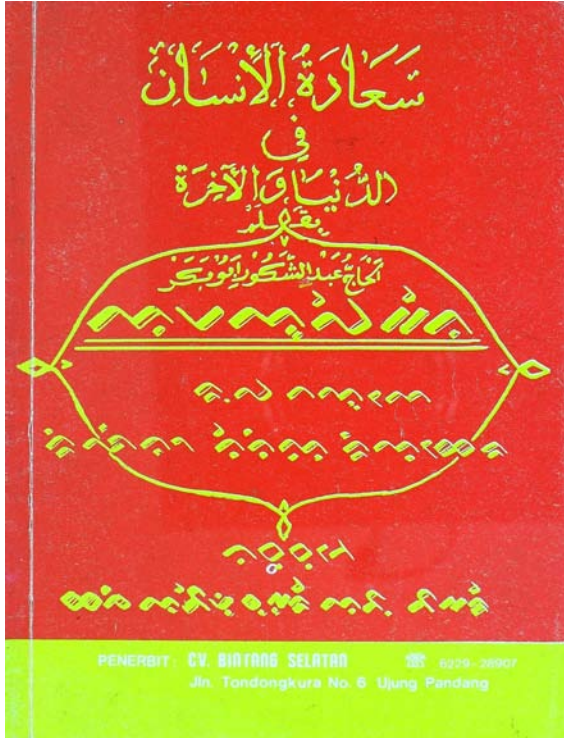


FIGURE 14 Cover of *سعادة الانسان في الدنيا والاخرة* /Amaupekkenna rupa taué ri lino nennia ri ahéraq, an original work by Abdul Syukur Abubakar 1987.

tor Hamzah Manguluang, who identifies himself as coming from the town of Séngkang,³³ one such author is Haji Abdul Syukur Abubakar, who has written works in various genres: Quranic tales, on the *salat*, and also a multi-volume series containing his Friday sermons. Born in 1955 in Séngkang, Wajo, he lectured in Sulawesi and Sumatra. He studied at Al-Azhar University in Cairo in 1981 and in 1982 he started there writing his work on ‘Man’s fortune in the world and the hereafter’. On his return, he became a lecturer at the State Institute of Islamic Studies Alauddin in Watamponé³⁴ [Figs. 4, 14].

33 Hamzah Manguluang, *العقائد / Atékaé karangenna Haji Hamesa Manguluang ToSéngkang-ngé*, 1989, cover, p. 62.

34 Abubakar, *Sempajangngé: Patimpagna tungkeq-tungkeq décéngngé*, p. i; Abubakar, *Késa-késa ri lalenna Akorang malebbiqé*, vol. 1, p. 112; Abubakar, *Amaupeqna rupa taué ri lino nennia ri ahéraq*, p. xvi.

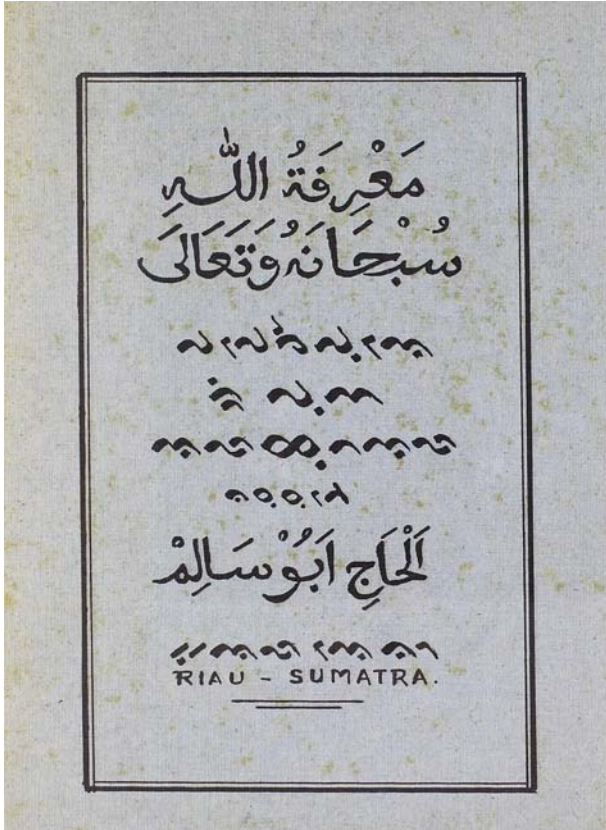


FIGURE 15 Cover of *معرفة الله سبحانه وتعالى* / Pappéjeppué ri Puang Allahu Taalla, published outside South Sulawesi, in Kuala Enok, Riau, Sumatra (Abu Salim 1984a).

Another productive and prolific writer was Kyai Haji Muhammad Yunus Martan (1906–1986), head of the *pesantren* As’adiyah in Séngkang. However, he did not limit himself to writing. In 1967, he established the radio station *Radio Siaran As’adiyah* as part of his Islamic missionary activities. A list of his books published by Adil in Séngkang numbers 22 titles in the categories described above³⁵ [Fig. 13].

During his long life Haji Abdurrahman Ambo Dallé (1900–1996) has been a very influential figure in educational circles as is evident from his epithet *gurutta*, ‘our teacher’. He was the driving force behind the establishment of the

35 Martan, *Aseng-aseng makessinna Puang Allataala*, p. 46.

Islamic organisation Darud Da'wah Wal Irsyad (DDI), which from 1950 onwards had its centre in Paré-paré. His publications were reprinted frequently³⁶ [Figs. 5, 9].

One Bugis author published his works outside Sulawesi Selatan. He is Haji Abu Salim, also known as HAS, whose didactic works appeared in Kuala Enok, Riau³⁷ [Fig. 15]. They were available in his homeland South Sulawesi as well and at least one of his other books was published in Watamponé.³⁸

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Appendix: Scripts of South Sulawesi

At least four different scripts can be distinguished in South Sulawesi manuscripts. More or less chronologically arranged they are: Makassarese (also called Old Makassarese), Bugis (also called Bugis/Makassarese), Arabic and Roman. There was a great overlap in time in the use of these scripts. Moreover, we often see more than one used in a single manuscript. For instance, Makassarese and Bugis have been used in the seventeenth century side by side for quite a time, whereas the former script was exclusively used for texts in the Makassar language.

We regularly see the use of Bugis and Arabic occurring side by side in manuscripts containing Islamic texts [Fig. 16]. Also in historiographical manuscripts personal names and words like *fasal*, *bab* and *tammat* are often spelled with Arabic letters, frequently in red ink. In Malay, the position of the Arabic script (*jawi*) was much more prominent than for the Bugis. With the introduction of Islam and the Arabic script in the Malay world the Arabic script completely superseded the use of the script(s) used so far. In the Bugis realm, however—where Islam was introduced at a much later stage—the Bugis script retained its position as the main vehicle for writing. The Arabic script was only used for writing Arabic words.

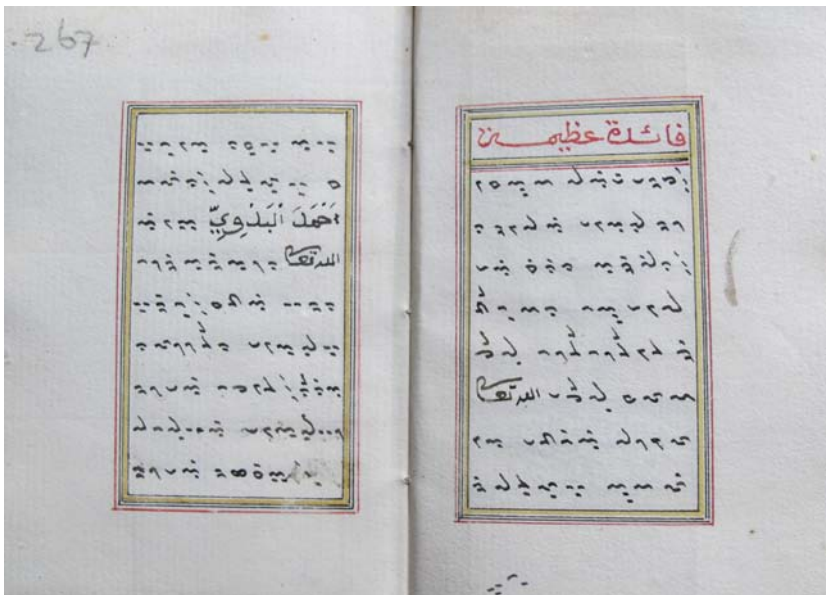


FIGURE 16 Arabic words occur regularly in Bugis manuscripts containing Islamic texts, such as in this manuscript dated 1883 (Faedah azimat MS Witkam 31, ff. 266^b–267^a).

Just as a number of other indigenous scripts of Indonesia, such as Kawi (Old Javanese), Modern Javanese, Batak, Lampung, Rejang and Tagalog, the indigenous scripts of South Sulawesi derive from an Indian prototype, the so-called Brahmi script. Apart from similarities in shape of the letters, evidence for this common origin is that the script is syllabic, each character indicating a syllable consisting of a consonant followed by the vowel 'a'. Other vowels are indicated by putting diacritics over ('i' and 'e'), under ('u'), before ('é') and after ('o') the main character. Furthermore, the traditional sequence of the characters is similar to the Indian alphabetic listing, which is according to the articulatory features of the consonants. The alphabet starts with the gutturals in the order voiceless, voiced, nasal, prenasalised, so 'ka', 'ga', nga', ngka' and this same order is maintained with the labials, dentals and so forth. The scripts of South Sulawesi are traditionally written without spaces between words and with only one marker (:) to distinguish semantic entities, in transcription usually represented by a dot or comma. Another characteristic is that the glottal stop (*hamzah*, 'q'), consonant gemination, the final velar nasal ('ng'), and in many cases prenasalation are not written.

Bugis and Makassarese letters, using the font BugisA.³⁹

| Base letter | + 'i' | + 'u' | + 'é' | + 'o' | + 'e' |
|----------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| ka | ki | ku | ké | ko | ke |
| ga | gi | gu | gé | go | ge |
| nga | ngi | ngu | ngé | ngo | nge |
| ngka | ngki | ngku | ngké | ngko | ngke |
| pa | pi | pu | pé | po | pe |
| ba | bi | bu | bé | bo | be |
| ma | mi | mu | mé | mo | me |
| mpa | mpi | mpu | mpé | mpo | mpe |
| ta | ti | tu | té | to | te |
| da | di | du | dé | do | de |
| na | ni | nu | né | no | ne |
| nra | nri | nru | nré | nro | nre |
| ca | ci | cu | cé | co | ce |
| ja | ji | ju | jé | jo | je |
| nya | nyi | nyu | nyé | nyo | nye |
| nca | nci | ncu | ncé | nco | nce |
| ya | yi | yu | yé | yo | ye |
| ra | ri | ru | ré | ro | re |
| la | li | lu | lé | lo | le |
| wa | wi | wu | wé | wo | we |
| sa | si | su | sé | so | se |
| a | i | u | é | o | e |
| ha | hi | hu | hé | ho | he |
| : [dot, comma] | | | | | |

³⁹ The BugisA font is developed in 1995 by Jim Henry and Andi Mallarangeng.