

The Impeachment of Mara'dia Balanipa: A Study Based on a Mandar Manuscript

Muhammad Amir^{1, *}, Bahtiar Bahtiar², Tini Suryaningsi³, Abdul Asis⁴

^{1,2,3,4}Balai Pelestarian Nilai Budaya Sulawesi Selatan

*Corresponding author. Email: muhamir69bpnb@gmail.com,

ABSTRACT

This research aimed to explain the impeachment or the dismissal that was done to *mara'dia* (King) Balanipa's throne in the kingdom of Balanipa. The method used in this research is the history and philology method. The result of the research showed that since the beginning of the Balanipa kingdom, between the *mara'dia* Balanipa with the board of *ada' kaiyang* (major board) as the Balanipa people's representative, there was a contract made related to the government (*assitalliang*) which ruled the rights and obligations between the two sides. Hence, *assitalliang* was constantly mentioned during the coronation of *mara'dia* Balanipa. Meaning, everytime a *mara'dia* was crowned, he ought to read the *assitalliang* for him and the people of Balanipa to obey. If the *mara'dia* committed a violation to the *assitalliang*, especially if the *mara'dia* was incompetent in doing his duties and responsibilities, then it is clear that the consequence was an impeachment or dismissal to the reigning *mara'dia*. In the manuscript entitled *pattodioloang* di Mandar, it was mentioned that the board of *ada' kaiyang* Balanipa had impeached a *mara'dia* as much as 27 times. However, some *mara'dia* regained their throne after being impeached. According to the notes in the Mandar manuscript, several *mara'dia* were crowned again after their impeachment, they were (1) *Mara'dia* Balanipa Tomatindo di Langgana; (2) *Mara'dia* Balanipa Tomatindo di Limboro, and (3) *Mara'dia* Balanipa I Mannawari.

Keywords: *impeachment, mara'dia, and the Kingdom of Balanipa.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Balanipa is one of the most interesting kingdoms in Mandar to study due to the many acts of impeachment being done towards their *mara'dia* (kings) from their throne. These impeachments were mentioned in a local manuscript called lontara. One of the manuscripts is called the *pattodioloang* di Mandar. This manuscript is not only giving information regarding many events, including the impeachment of the Balanipa's *mari'dia*, but is also giving information concerning the society's socio-cultural way of living in the past. Because of that, other than transliteration and translation, conducting in-depth research is important to study the *pattodioloang* manuscript. This effort has significant meaning in order to take Indonesian's cultural study to the next level, especially in building the nation's character and identity.

The *pattodioloang* manuscript had given information that many events such as natural disaster and calamity that were happening had something to do with the succession of the current reigning king in Balanipa kingdom. The aforementioned events usually happened

during the cancellation of the crowning process of the new *mara'dia* or *ana'pattola payung* or the impeachment of a *mara'dia*. According to the *pattodioloang* manuscript, the first impeached *mara'dia* was called Tomatindo di Burio in the middle of the 17th century. Record showed that more than half of Balanipa's *mara'dia* out of 52 were impeached since the beginning of the 16th century until the second-half of the 20th century (MPD 1: 69-91; MPD 2:10-105).

Strangely, every *mara'dia* that had been impeached has the second chance to regain the title of *mara'dia* of Balanipa. Hence, the record shows that several *mara'dia* that had been impeached managed to regain the title of *mara'dia* for the second time. Several impeached *mara'dia* who regained their crown for the second time again such as Tomatindo di Limboro, Tomatindo di Lanrisang, Tomappeleo Musu'na, and Tomessung di Kota'na. While these names below regained the third chance of becoming *mara'dia*, Tomatindo di Langgana, Tomatindo di Pattina, and I Mannawari (MPD 2:11-105; MPT)

The description shows that the impeachment that were being done by the Balanipa kingdom can be seen

as implication from the consistency of *assitaliang* that were being agreed upon together. Therefore, this study is important to commit in order to explain thoroughly things regarding the impeachment of *mara'dia* in Balanipa kingdom, to understand better about the wealthy dynamic of Balanipa kingdom according to the manuscript. Apart from that, this study will enable explanation to build the nation's character and identity, and to raise awareness to society's more civilized way of living. Aside, this study can also donate thoughts that are appropriate in building power and strengthening the democracy for building a better nation.

In regards to this simple writing, the main discussion in this research would be why does the impeachment to Balanipa's *mara'dia* happened? The main problems are summarized in several research questions, such as: (1) how is the power hierarchy structure in Balanipa's kingdom according to the Mandar manuscript? (2) how is the promise and *assitaliang* in Balanipa kingdom according to Mandar's manuscript? And (3) how is the dynamic of *mara'dia* impeachment according to Mandar's manuscript?

The *pattodioloang* manuscript, which is the main data resource of this study, was written approximately back by the end of the 19th century, because it is discovered that the date 'November 26th, 1800' was written in the script. This manuscript consists of 210 pages of paper and each page contains the average of 40 lines, with the size of 20 x 32 centimeter. This manuscript has been transliterated and translated in two volumes, the first volume has 192 pages and the second one has 156 pages. This study is also using the manuscript regarding the Mandar culture which was gathered and written by Darmawan Mas'ud. Other than that, it is also using Mandar manuscript (Balanipa), which was written in 1223 Hijri year, and the writing was done gradually. This manuscript consists of 203 pages of paper with the size of 27 x 35 centimeter.

2. METHOD

This study was using qualitative descriptive analysis method with historical and philology approach. Therefore, this study was using a historical research method which explain a problem using historical perspective which also consider heuristic, sources critique, interpretation, and historiography. Data that were successfully obtained then were analyzed through the process of sources critique, until it became a fact. Then, the facts were interpreted and correlated with another fact and another fact, until it became a historical narration to the rules of descriptive-analysis (historiography).

Apart from that, this study is also using philology approach, which was using local manuscript as a data source. The philology study will be able to explain whether a manuscript is real or a copy according to the

date when the manuscript was written. It can also help authors to understand the meaning of a word or a sentence in a manuscript (Latif, 2014:3). That is why this approach was done to reveal the content of the *pattodioloang* manuscript in Mandar and other manuscripts regarding Mandar which was restored from the Mandar District Museum in Majene and South Sulawesi Cultural Foundation in Makassar. In this context, it is important to understand the underlying meaning in the text which lead to the writing of the sentence in a local manuscript (Andaya, 2010: 19-20).

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Structure of Power

Before the kingdom of Balanipa was established, people of Mandar had formed groups which was well-known as *banua* or *lembang* (nation) where they stand as a free, independent, and sovereign country. Among those nations were *banua kaiyang* Napo, Samasundu, Mosso, and Todatodang. Each *banua kaiyang* were led by a *penghulu ada'* with the title of *tomakaka*. The role was not solely to act as a leader who cleared the dispute between people, and unite the power of the people to face outside threat, but also a religious leader, a leader in costume ceremony, state of work and harvest (Rahman, 1988:170).

During their progress, the four *banua kaiyang* developed a unity known as *appe banua kaiyang* (four big nations) which consist of Napo, Samasundu, Mosso, and Todatodang. This alliance formed a customary council, where the members were the elader of *banua kaiyang*, and the four of them voted for one person to become the leader of the customary council. This council functioned as a court institution to solve problems between the member of *banua kaiyang*. Each member of the council – leader of *banua kaiyang*, remained in their reign territory, leading the government according to each of their own way without the disturbance of other council member (Saharuddin, 1977:14).

The *appe banua kaiyang* alliance then develop into one kingdom which is now known as Balanipa Kingdom. The changes not only resulted in the change of the leader's title (formerly *tomakaka*, now *papuangan*), it also changed the relationship of power and the structure of government. In the form of an alliance, the relationship between the council leader with the *banua kaiyang* was coordinative, then in form of a kingdom, the position of *mara'dia*, as the supreme leader in the new government power turning the leaders of *banua kaiyang* into his subordinances. The *banua kaiyang* governance territory became the main area for the heart of the kingdom. The relationship between the *mara'dia* and the leader of *banua kaiyang* turn into a command relationship.

The member of customary council of *appe banua kaiyang*, which throned the Todilaling as the first *mara'dia* of Balanipa, then turned into the board of *ada' kaiyang* (major customary council) of Balanipa Kingdom which consists of the *papuangan* from *appe banua kaiyang*. Hence the *ada' kaiyang* board is often mentioned as the customary board of *appe banua kaiyang*. The first leader of Balanipa's *ada' kaiyang* was called *Puang Dipoyosang*. He is the one who appointed and committed *assitalliang* with Todilaling. This board functioned as the board who chose and appointed and also impeached the *mara'dia* from their throne if the *mara'dia* committed a violation from the *assitalliang* that has been agreed upon together (Rahman, 1988:174; Saharuddin, 1977:14-15).

Aside from the board of *ada' kaiyang*, there is also another board of customary stakeholder known as *parri'ba ada'* which was known as *ada' sappulo sokko* (ten officials or customary stakeholders), that is *pa'bicara kaiyang*, *pa'bicara kenje*, *papuangan Limboro*, *papuangan Biring Lembang*, *papuangan Lambe*, *papuangan koyang*, *papuangan Lakka*, *papuangan rui*, *papuangan Tenggeleng*, and *papuangan Luyo*. The appointment of the board of customary stakeholder in the government central needed to get approval from the *mara'dia* and the board of *ada' kaiyang* or the board of *ada' sappulo sokko*. Therefore, the *mara'dia* cannot dismissed a member of customary stakeholder without the approval from the board of *ada' kaiyang* or *ada' sappulo sokko*. The member of this board had to earn their position only if they were related to the previous member of this board, not from the bloodline of a *mara'dia* (MKD; Rahman, 1988:271; Saharuddin, 1985:6).

Aside from helping the *mara'dia* in government affairs, the members of *ada' sappulo sokko* were still taking their role as the leader of the *banua* to each of their own territory. They deliver the policy from *mara'dia* to their people if it was related to the public. They gathered for a trial within the kingdom or being called specifically and giving opinion to the *mara'dia* through the *mara'dia matoa* as the vice *mara'dia* (Rahman, 1998:190; Saharuddin, 1977:15).

Other than having roles as the executives, the board of *ada' sappulo sokko* also functioned as the legislative. In terms of government affairs, all decisions and rules that were set by the *mara'dia* had to receive approval from the board of *ada' sappulo sokko*. A *mara'dia* cannot act for themselves (Saharuddin, 1977:14). Therefore, if we are looking from the power structure, the position of *ada' sappulo sakko* is equal to the position of *mara'dia*. However, in its function as the executives to help the *mara'dia* in government affairs or the leader of the *banua* and the head of government in their territory, then their position is below the *mara'dia*.

3.2 Coronation of Mara'dia Balanipa

The officials who had the duty to pamper the bloodline of the *mara'dia* who had the predicate of *ana' pattola payung* (successor of the *mara'dia*) was the *peandonggunna ana' mara'dia*. They are the head of the education institute that ran under the customary official that had the skills and abilities that were needed for a successor, so that the successor can appear appealing in the eye of the public. Although the institution was under the coordination with the reigning *mara'dia*, the full right and power lies in the hand of the customary stakeholder, making the people to be the judge of the student (*ana' guru*) which was being taught by the *andongguru* (teacher).

Peandonggurunna ana' mara'dia means the place where the future *mara'dia* studied. It is also called *pekaka na ana' mara'dia* (place to learn or people who are considered older by the future *mara'dia*) and *tomabubenna ana' mara'dia* (parents of the future *mara'dia*). The criteria mentioned for the 'noble' feature are *malabbi pau* (decent speech), *malabbi gau* (decent act), and *malabbi kedo* (doing good) (MKD, in Rahman, 1988:222).

Before officially taking the title of *mara'dia* Balanipa, a future *mara'dia* chosen by the *ade' kaiyang* board need to be officiated by the *Puang Limboro*. They are the *penghulu ada' kaiyang* (head of the main customary board), presenting the *appe banua kaiyang* in the name of the public. In the coronation ceremony, a *mara'dia* was crowned (*diparakkai*), where they were given the crown of *mara'dia* above their head, which then followed by reading a pledge by *Puang Limboro* (Saharuddin, 1985:12). The pledge, as written in the manuscript, is '*Upakaiyangngo'o, mupakaraja, madondong duang bongi anna marrattoso'o wake, maruppu-ruppu'o batu, uwalai membali akaiyangan*' (we officiate you as the head of the government, but you have to respect us, in tomorrow days, in case you broke the root of the custom, and destroy the rules of this nation, then we will be taking the blessing that we gave) (MKD, in Rahman, 1988:213). After that, the reading of *assitalliang* were conducted, uttered by the *mara'dia* with the *Puang Limboro* representing the people. Each holding on to the umbrella of greatness by saying the sworn pledge as follow:

Mara'dia Balanipa said;

Malewu parri'di' mo'o? (have you all agreed?).

Puang Limboro replied; *Malewu parri'di' mang* (we have fully agreed).

Mara'dia Balanipa said; *Jari lappar lapparumo'o?* (do I own all the land), *Buttu-buttu'u mo'o?* (are all the mountains own?), *Sasi sasi'u mo'o?* (is the whole sea, is it my sea?), *Tau*

tau u mo'o? (is it all the people, my people?), *Iri'ma na daun aju mo'o* (wind me and you are wood leaves),

rarumma'na buttang mo'o (my needle and you are the thread) Puang Limboro replied; *O diada o dibiasa* (that's right, as long as it is by customs and habits) (MKD, in Rahman, 1988: 226; Saharuddin, 1985:13).

If we read carefully, the pledge and *assitalliang*, we can see that between the *mara'dia* and the people were connected in a government treaty since the beginning of the Balanipa Kingdom. This treaty is an agreement between the people's voice and the *mara'dia* that will carry the government. The treaty contained set of rules and limit that were settled between the two side, let it be the right and obligations *mara'dia* towards his people, or vice versa. That is why the promise and the *assitalliang* were mentioned everytime a *mara'dia* was being throned. Meaning, every time a *mara'dia* was throned, the treaty was read for the people and the *mara'dia* to follow.

Aside from the promise and the *assitalliang*, during the coronation process, a *mara'dia* must follow the words of *Mara'dia* Balanipa Todilaling. At the end of his reign, he said "*Madondong duambongi anna matea, mau ana'u mau appo'u da' muannai menjari mara'dia mua tania tonamasayanni lita'na to massayanni pa'banua. Da' muannai dai di peuluan, mua masuanni pulu-pulunna, mua maddori kedona, apa iyamo ta'u namarruppu-ruppu lita'*" (If my day has come, do not throne a *mara'dia* who does not love his people and the nation, even though the person came from my bloodline) (MKD, in Rahman, 1988:220). The words of Todilaling became the guidance in choosing and throning the new *mara'dia* and the customary board, not only in Balanipa, but every other kingdom in Mandar (Saharuddin, 1977:20-21).

3.3 The Impeachment of *Mara'dia* Balanipa

The board of *ada' kaiyang* of Balanipa kingdom had dethroned 52 *mara'dia* since the beginning of the 16th century until the second half of 20th century. Out of 52, half were impeached (*dipassung*), some were told to dethrone themselves (*messung*). According to the *pattodioloang* manuscript, the name of the impeached *mara'dia* are: 1) Tomatindo di Burio; (2) Tolabus, (3) Tomatindo di Buttu; (4) Tomatindo di Marica, (5) Tomatindo di Langgana, (6) Tomatindo di Limboro, (7) Tomatindo di Lakkading; (8) Tomatindo di Tamangalle, (9) Tomatindo di Barugana; (10) Tomatindo di Pattinna, (11) Tomatindo di Lanrisang, (12) Tomappelei Musu'na; (13) Tomessung di Kota'na; (14) Tomessung di Talolo; (15) Tomattolle Ganrannga, (16) Tomappelei Pattujunna, (17) Pakkalo'bang, (18) Panggandang, (19) Momange Alelannga, (20) I Mannawari, dan (21) Tonaung Anjoro.

Generally, the impeachment process was done by the board of *adat' kaiyang* in the name of the people because the reigning *mara'dia* were considered unable to handle their assignment and their obligation or had violate the *assitalliang*.

One of the impeached *mara'dia*, Tomatindo di Burio, in the middle of the 17th century, was impeached due to violating the *Pitu Babana Binanga* alliance. It was told that when he became the *mara'dia* Balanipa, Tomatindo di Baurang came with heart full of sorrow toward his brother the *mara'dia* Pamboang. Long story short, the *Mara'dia* Balanipa, together with his army had helped Tomatindo di Baurang to attack *mara'dia* Pamboang, even though he was given a warning from the customary board of Balanipa. He ignored the warning and even gave his army, Ipakallong, the order to stab *mara'dia* Pamboang which then caused his death (MPD 1:69).

The act of *mara'dia* Balanipa was considered to cause fraction in the *Pitu Babana Binanga* alliance (*namaruppu-ruppu ditia di' e puwange apituang*). Hence, the *mara'dia* Balanipa reign was cut short. In the manuscript, it is also mentioned that '*I'dai masae mara'dia anna dipassui apa' namaruppu'di apituang*' (It was not long after his reign, it was discovered that the *mara'dia* wanted to break the alliance, hence were impeached) (MPD 1:70). It is implied that the alliance was the *Pitu Babana Binanga* alliance. *Mara'dia* Balanipa Tomatindo di Burio had a son, named Tolabus and Tomatindo di Lakkading.

Tolabus then took over the reign over his father, the *mara'dia* Balanipa Tomatindo di Burio. After two years of being in the throne, Tolabus were impeached. In the *pattodioloang* manuscript, it is mentioned that "*duappariamai di Lalang mara'dia anna dipassu'i*" (two years of reign and were impeached) followed with "*Apa dipassu'i Tolabus apa' i'dai nasiuang padanna puang*" (Tolabus were impeached because he could not work properly together along the other officiates). Not much were known about his profile, other than being impeached and went missing after being titled as Tolabus (MPD 1:71).

During the Makassar war (1667), the king of Gowa reached for help to the soldiers from the kingdoms in Mandar, specifically towards the Balanipa Kingdom, since they were the head of the *Pitu Babana Binanga* alliance. The reigning *mara'dia*, Tomatindo di Buttu, head earlier than the soldiers and arrive at Gowa (around fort Sombaopu, near the Makassar strait). Arung Palakka approached the *mara'dia*'s boat and agreed to work together. But, when the *Pitu babana Binanga* soldiers arrived at Gowa, the *mara'dia* asked them to meet Arung Palakka because they had made an

agreement together. However, the customary board of Balanipa refused to meet Arung Palakka because it was not aligned with what their ancestors said. 'other calls, others being approached' (*I;da' ayau nalao, apa' i'dai nanna todiolo nalaeng meperoa nalaeng disolang*). In which the *mara'dia* replied 'how is the solution? I have made a promise.' The Balanipa people answered "*Upassu'o, apa dota' sisara' mara'dia u, dada' sisara abiasa u*" (We will impeach you, because it will be better to lose a *mara'dia* rather than losing our identity) (MPD 1:72). This impeachment happened because what was promised was different than the action.

After the impeachment of Daeng Riosok, Tomatindo di Langgana was given back the throne of *mara'dia* Balanipa. One of the most important events that happened during his reign was the occurrence of the Salemo Treaty. This treaty came from the great teamwork between *Pitu Babana Binangan* with Arung Palakka in solving the Datu Bakke problem. Because of the help from *Pitu Babana Binangan*, Datu Bakke was caught and murdered by an assassin sent by Arung Palakka in Salemo island. The main point of the Salemo Treaty is, if people from Bone came to Mandar, then they will become a Mandar people too, and vice versa (MPD 2:13). Hence why Bone is called East Mandar, and Mandar is West Bone. Meaning Mandar and Bone are equal and considered family to each other. However, Tomatindo di Langgana were impeached later and replaced by Tomate Malolo as the *mara'dia* Balanipa.

Tomate Malolo were replaced by Tomatindo di Limboto as the *mara'dia* Balanipa. Once when he visited Ujung Pandang, the board of *ada' kaiyang* dethroned him and throned Tomatindo di Batana to become the *mara'dia* Balanipa. However, Tomatindo di Limboto regained his position back with the help of the Bone kingdom. In the manuscript, it is written that: "*Ia bomo naengei rabung to Bone umbawai Tomatindo di Limboto. Nauwamo to Bone polea' Balanipa, iami jancitta' ri Lanriseng tessireddu' taneng-taneng, tessiattana-tanangi, ia mua upoleang magisio mupalesso'i puwammu. Apa' lao mui sita sijinna na engka manemmui nabarekkang to mabbicarae. Engkamisa madeceng rewekko ri puawammu. Narekko teako rewe' ri puawammu. Ikomitu melo' rija, temmelo ri deceng. Melo' rimate temmelo rituoe. Membali' mi di oroanna Tomatindo di Limboto*" (At that time, the people of Bone came to bring Tomatindo di Limboto home. The people of Bone said: I came to Balanipa because the promise we made in Lanrisang was not to pull each other crops, I came because why did you impeach your king? He only went to meet his family and the customary board members agreed. We will consider you good if you take him back as your king, if not then you are not demanding kindness, you crave

death. Hence the throne was given back to Tomatindo di Limboto) (MPD 2:20).

Tomatindo di Limboto was replaced by Tomatindo di Lakkading as the *mara'dia* Balanipa. However, it only took him seven days before his impeachment from his throne as the *mara'dia* because no one was happy with the fact that his father (Tomatindo di Burio) used to murder many people (MPD 2:19). The board of *ada' kaiyang* then appoint Tomatindo di Langgana as the *mara'dia* Balanipa. What is unique is that he then got impeached, as written on the manuscript that "*Apa dipassung bomi di to Bakanipa Tomatindo di Langgana natolami appo ana'naurena disanga Imanggawari ana'na Tomatindo di Limboto*" (Alas, Tomatindo di Langgana were impeached and his throne was given to his grand-nephew called Imanggawari) (MPD 2:20).

Imanggawari was throned as the *mara'dia* to replace Tomatindo di Langgana, and also cover the title as the *mara'dia* at Sajoang. In the manuscript, it was mentioned that "*Amessa pariamanna dilalang mara'dia, anna' dai'mo di Juppandang. Polei dai' dipasummi di aja*" (Reigning as the *mara'dia* Balanipa for nine years, and then going to Ujung Pandang and impeached once returned). Imanggawari were replaced by Tomatindo di Barugana (MPD 2:1). This is interesting to study because it appears that the customary board weren't liking a *mara'dia* Balanipa that has connection to VOC in Ujung Pandang.

Tomatindo di Barugana were replaced by Tomatindo di Pattina as the *mara'dia* Balanipa. Tomatindo di Pattina was impeached and then replaced by Tomatindo di Lanrisang as the *mara'dia* Balanipa. After five years had gone, Tomatindo di Lanrisang went to Ujung Pandang and immediately impeached. Back in Mandar, he sued the *ada' kaiyang* board and regained his throne as the *mara'dia* Balanipa. However, two years later, he went to Ujung Pandang with 40 others carrying their own supplies. When he arrived at Ujung Pandang, he was impeached again and after his visit to Ujung Pandang, he went to Buku (MPD 2:27).

Tomatindo di Pattina was given the throne again, replacing Tomatindo di Lanrisang. Tomatindo di Pattina also cover the role of *mara'dia* Banggae, making him the first *mara'dia* of two kingdoms, Balanipa and Banggae. After eight years of reigning, he was then impeached, in the manuscript, it is mentioned that "*Dipasumbomi Tomatindo di Pattina. Mendulu bomi mettama ana'na bojang pissanna disanga Imuking Daeng Manguju, Tomatindo di Lanrisang. Pitumbongi dilalang mara'dia anna dipassu'i*" (Tomatindo di Pattina was impeached again. His nephew, Imuking Daeng Manguju Tomatindo di Lanrisang will replace

him. Seven days after being throned as the *mara'dia*, he was also impeached. After his impeachment, he went back to Buku and stayed there until the end of his life, and was buried in Lanrisang (MPD 2:28).

There are still several *mara'dia* Balanipa that were impeached, but it is not possible to be discussed further in this paper. The aforementioned *mara'dia* that were impeached include: *Mara'dia* Balanipa Tomappelei Musu'na, *Mara'dia* Balanipa Tomessung di Kota'na, *Mara'dia* Balanipa Tomessung di Talolo, *Mara'dia* Balanipa Tomatolle Ganrannga, *Mara'dia* Balanipa Tomappelei Pattujunna, *Mara'dia* Balanipa Pakkalo'bang, *Mara'dia* Balanipa Panggandang, *Mara'dia* Balanipa Tomange Alelannga, *Mara'dia* Balanipa I Mannawari, dan *Mara'dia* Balanipa Tonaung Anjoro.

4. CONCLUSION

The power structure in Balanipa's government consists of: (1) The board of *ada' kaiyang* (major hadat), which was the highest rank institution which job was to appoint, raise, crowning, and impeach a *mara'dia*. (2) *Mara'dia* Balanipa as the head of government or the executive. (3) *Ada' sappulo sokko*, a board of customary stakeholder which functioned as the legislatives, but also the executives which job was to help the *mara'dia* in government affairs.

In terms of power structure, the sole power was not being held by the *mara'dia* alone in Balanipa Kingdom. The power given to *mara'dia* was based on *assitalliang* (government contract), so that the *mara'dia*'s power is limited. *Assitalliang* is a treaty that connect the people of Balanipa and the *mara'dia* that will soon reign. In the treaty, a set of rules were set for the *mara'dia* and the people of Balanipa, about the *mara'dia* rights and obligations to the public, and vice versa.

Violation towards the *assitalliang* and the inability to properly doing their job and obligation as the *mara'dia* clearly implied that the *mara'dia* will soon be impeached. In the manuscript, it is written that the board of *ada' kaiyang* had dethroned 27 *mara'dia*. The reasons were varied, one of them is being unable to serve the people properly, cannot work together with the board of customary, having a connection to VOC or the Dutch East Indies government, or a disaster and a plague occurred among the people, and most importantly a moral problem, which was marrying someone while ignoring the tradition and custom that applied in the kingdom of Balanipa.

However, for some impeached *mara'dia*, they managed to regain their position as the *mara'dia* Balanipa. According to the manuscript, here are the names of the returning *mara'dia*, (1) *Mara'dia* Balanipa Tomatindo di Langana; (2) *Mara'dia* Balanipa

Tomatindo di Limboro, (3) *Mara'dia* Balanipa Tomatindo di Pattinna, (4) *Mara'dia* Balanipa Tomatindo di Lanrisang, (5) *Mara'dia* Balanipa Tomatolle Ganrannga atau Puanna Icalla, (7) *Mara'dia* Balanipa Momange Alelannga, dan (8) *Mara'dia* Balanipa I Mannawari.

REFERENCES

- [1] Amir, Muhammad, 2011. *Konflik Balanipa – Belanda 1862-1872*. Makassar: Tesis (belum diterbitkan) Pascasarjana Universitas Hasanuddin.
- [2] Andaya, Leonard Y. 2010. *Diaspora Bugis, Identitas, dan Islam di Negeri Malaya*, dalam Andi Faisal Bakti, *Diaspora Bugis di Alam Melayu Nusantara*. Makassar: Innawa.
- [3] Anonim, 1909. *Mededeelingen Betreffende Eenige Mandharsche Landschappen*, dalam *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch – Indie*, 62, hlm. 649-746.
- [4] Asdy, Ahmad, 2003. *Mandar Dalam Kenangan Tentang Latar Belakang Keberadaan Arajang Balanipa Ke-52*. Makassar: Yayasan Maha Putra Mandar.
- [5] Daeng Patunru, Abd. Razak, 1983 *Sejarah Gowa*. Ujung Pandang: Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulaesi Selatan.
- [6] Hafid, Abd., 2000. *Sistem Pemerintahan Tradisional Pada Masyarakat Mandar di Kabupaten Polmas*. Makassar: Laporan Penelitian Balai Kajian Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional Makassar.
- [7] Kila, Syahrir, 2001. *Sejarah dan Budaya Masyarakat Mandar*. Makassar: Laporan Penelitian Balai Kajian Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional Makassar.
- [8] Latif, Abd. 2011. *Konfederasi Ajatappareng 1812-1906: Sejarah Sosiopolitik Orang Bugis di Sulawesi Selatan*. Bangi: Disertasi Fakultas Sosial dan Kemanusiaan Universitas Kebangsaan Malaysia.
- [9] Leyds, W.J. 1940. *Memori van Overgave, Assistant Resident Mandar*. Majene: 9 Februari 1940. Diterjemahkan oleh Hanoch Luhukay dan B.E. Tuanakotta. 2006. Makassar: Yayasan Kaitupa.
- [10] Lopa, Baharuddin, 1982. *Hukum Laut, Pelayaran dan Perniagaan*. Bandung: Alumni.
- [11] Mallinckrodt, J., 1933. *Zuid-Celebes Serie P. No. 77, Gegevens over Mandar en Andere Landschappen van Zuid-Celebes*, dalam *KITLV (Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal, Land en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie) Adatrechtbundels XXXVI*. 's Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff.

- [12] Mandra, A. Muis, dkk., 1991. *Lontar Mandar* (Transliterasi dan Terjemahan). Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.
- [13] Mappangara, Suriadi (Editor), 2004. *Ensiklopedia Sejarah Sulawesi Selatan Sampai Tahun 1905*. Makassar: Dinas Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata Provinsi Sulawesi Selatan.
- [14] Manuskrip Kumpulan Darmawan (MKD). Koleksi Keluarga Prof. Dr. Darmawan Mas'ud Rahman
- [15] Manuskrip *Pattodioloang di Mandar* (MPD). Koleksi Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan.
- [16] Manuskrip *Pattappingan Mandar* (MPT). Koleksi Museum Daerah Mandar.
- [17] Manuskrip *Balanipa Mandar* (MBM). Koleksi Museum Daerah Mandar.
- [18] Mattulada, 1985. *Latoa, Suatu Lukisan Analitis Terhadap Antropologi Politik Orang Bugis*. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.
- [19] Rahman, Darmawan Mas'ud, 1988. *Puang dan Daeng Kajian Sistem Nilai Budaya Orang Balanipa Mandar*. Ujung Pandang: Disertasi (belum diterbitkan) Fakultas Pascasarjana Universitas Hasanuddin.
- [20] Saharuddin, 1977. Susunan dan Sistem Pemerintahan Kerajaan Balanipa Dahulu Dalam Hubungannya Dengan Kebudayaan Daerah Mandar, dalam *Bingkisan Budaya Sulawesi Selatan Thn 1-3*. Ujung Pandang: Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan.
- [21] Saharuddin, 1985. *Mengenal Pitu Babana Binanga (Mandar) Dalam Lintasan Sejarah Pemerintahan Daerah di Sulawesi Selatan*, Ujung Pandang: C.V. Mallomo Karya.
- [22] Silsilah Raja-raja Balanipa, Koleksi Balai Pelestarian Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional Makassar.
- [23] Syah, M.T. Azis, 1991. *Lontarak Pattodioloang di Mandar 1* (Transliterasi dan Terjemahan). Ujung Pandang: Yayasan Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan "Taruna Remaja.
- [24] Syah, M.T. Azis, 1992, *Lontarak Pattodioloang 2* (Transliterasi dan Terjemahan). Ujung Pandang: Yayasan Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan "Taruna Remaja.