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

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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, assistalliang was constantly mentioned during the coronation of mara’dia Balanipa. Meaning, everytime a mara’dia was crowned, he ought to read the assistalliang for him and the people of Balanipa to obey. If the mara’dia committed a violation to the assistalliang, 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 mara’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 indepth 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 pattodiloang 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 pattodiloang 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 subordinates. 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 throne 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 each of 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 the 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 sokko 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).

Peandonggunnana 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 tomahubbena ana’ mara’ dia (parents of the future mara’ dia). The criteria mentioned for the ‘noble’ feature are malabbi puu (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 (diperarakka), 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 ‘Upakaiyangngoo o, mupakaraja; madondong duang bongi anna manratosoo o wake’, marupp-ruppoo u batu, ulwali membali akaiyang” (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 lapparuma 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
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 Lakadting; 8) Tomatindo di Tamangalle; 9) Tomatindo di Barugana; 10) Tomatindo di Pattinna; 11) Tomatindo di Lannirang; 12) Tomappele Musu’na; 13) Tomessung di Kita’nna; 14) Tomessung di Talolo; 15) Tomattolle Gana’ranga; 16) Tomappele Pattujunna; 17) Pakkalo’bang; 18) Panggandang; 19) Momange Alelanga; 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 dita di’ e puwange apituan). 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 apituan’ (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 nasiuanga 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 nala, apa’ i’ dai nanna todololo 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 abiisa 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 Binanggan with Arung Palakka in solving the Datu Bakke problem. Because of the help from Pitu Babana Binanggan, 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 rabling to Bone umbavai Tomatindo di Limboto. Nauwamo to Bone polea’ Balanipa, iami jancitta’ ri Lanriseng tessiredu’ taneng-taneng, tessiattana-tanangi, ia mua upoleang magisio mupalesso’i puwammu. Apa’ lao mua sita sijinna na engka manemmui nabarekkang to mabbicarae. Engkamisa madeceng rewekko ri puwammu. Narekko teako rewe’ ri puwammu. Ikemitu melo’ rija, temmelo ri deceng. Melo’ rimite 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 Langganna 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 were thened as the mara’dia to replace Tomatindo di Langganaa, 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. Poleti 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 Pattinsa as the mara’dia Balanipa. Tomatindo di Pattinsa 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 Pattinsa was given the throne again, replacing Tomatindo di Lanrisang. Tomatindo di Pattinsa also cover the role of mara’dia Banggaa, making him the first mara’dia of two kingdoms, Balanipa and Banggaa. After eight years of reigning, he was then impeached, in the manuscript, it is mentioned that “Dipasummbomi Tomatindo di Pattinsa. Mendulu bomi mettama ana’na bojiang pissanna disanga Imuking Daeng Manguju, Tomatindo di Lanrisang. Pitumbongi dilalang mara’dia anna dipassu’i” (Tomatindo di Pattinsa 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 Pattujuna, *Mara’dia* Balanipa Pakkalob’bang, *Mara’dia* Balanipa Panggandang, *Mara’dia* Balanipa Tomange Alelanna, *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 legislators, 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 Langgana; (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 Tomattole Ganrannga atau Puanna Icalla, (7) *Mara’dia* Balanipa Momonge Alelanna, dan (8) *Mara’dia* Balanipa I Mannawari.

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