

Karaeng Pattingalloang and the Advancement of Makassar in Seventeen Century (1636 – 1654)

Karaeng Pattingalloang dan Kemajuan Makassar pada Abad XVII (1636 – 1654)

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ABSTRACT

Strategic location is not the only determining factor for a region to develop readily and quickly. Although the Makassar Kingdom had a strategic location, it required a long time to develop and played an active role in the spice trading network. Many factors contributed to this improvement, particularly the rulers' role in this Kingdom. This paper will explore the role of Karaeng Pattingalloang in advancing the Makassar Kingdom during the spice route. Karaeng Pattingalloang was the *tumabicara butta* (Prime Minister) of the Makassar Kingdom in 1639 - 1654. He carried out his duties as the *tumabicara butta* accompanying three kings, namely Sultan Alauddin, Sultan Muhammad Said, and for about a year served during the reign of Sultan Hasanuddin. This study used a historical methodology that emphasizes the analysis of manuscripts, documents, and libraries. The study results show that the Makassar Kingdom's development during the Karaeng Pattingalloang period was relatively rapid. In that time, Makassar not only emerged as an international port but also as a transit port. Makassar was not only a spice trade route but also a center for stockpiling commodities. Traders visited Makassar to obtain a much-needed commodity, namely spices, even though the Makassar Kingdom was not a spice-producing region. Karaeng Pattingalloang as *tumabicara butta* had an important position in helping *Sombaya* run the government. He was a thinker and planner of the development of the Makassar Kingdom after the death of Karaeng Matoaya.

Keywords: Karaeng Pattingalloang, Makassar Kingdom, Spice Route, Foreign Relations, International Port.

1. INTRODUCTION

According to Alfred Thayer Mahan, the geographical factor is one of the essential factors in building sea power (A.T. Mahan 2018). In the early 16th century, the Makassar Kingdom emerged as a trading center in the Southeast Asian region because of its proximity to the spice-rich region of Maluku. In the middle of the shipping lane that connects the western region with the spice islands, the Makassar Kingdom protects from the monsoon winds. It also made trading the main activity in this Kingdom (Rahman 2013:31). However, the strategic location was not the only factor that caused the Makassar Kingdom to appear as a

trading center, but some figures played a role behind its glory.

Before the 16th century, the largest trading port was Malacca. It was because Malacca locates in a strategic shipping lane in the world's major shipping lines. Malacca became the estuary of all the spice trades. Maluku and Banda islands were the Maluku spice trade routes, especially cloves and nutmeg. Such routes started from the Makassar Port, the North Coast of Java, and ended in Melaka. At the same time, the spice trade route of pepper started from the west coast of Sumatra and Aceh to Melaka. Furthermore, this spice trade was from Melaka to South and West Asia through Bengal, Cochin, Calicut, Gujarat, Ormuz, Aden, and Alexandria

distributed throughout Europe before heading to Italian ports. At the same time, the East Asian route was Malacca through Ayuthaya to Canton in Southeast China (Amir 2020:90).

However, in 1511 the Malacca Sultanate fell to the Portuguese. It was a starting point for the development of the Makassar Kingdom. The Portuguese proclaimed gold, glory, and gospel motifs became a solid reason to conquer Malacca Sultanate. As soon as the Sultanate of Malacca occupied, the Portuguese began implementing burdensome trade policies for the traders who stopped. The Muslim traders, affected by the conquest, looked for a new place to start their livelihood (Syafiera 2016:723). Then, ports emerged and grew in coastal areas. Trading by sea gave rise to the new routes in trade, especially the spice trade, which was excellent and needed by many countries. Spices helped preserve food, flavoring food, and adding to the food taste.

The presence of the Portuguese had changed the spice trade routes that had existed for a long time. The trade route that initially passed through the Malacca Strait turned to the Sunda Strait. This change triggered the emergence of the new ports that replaced the role of Malacca, which was previously a stopover for various world nations. The examples of ports that emerged as a result of the control of Malacca were the ports of Banten, Sunda Kelapa, Jepara, Gresik, Aceh, Ternate, Banda, Makassar, Banjarmasin, and Palembang (Syafiera 2016:723).

Until the end of the 16th century, the Makassar Kingdom, which emerged from a seaport, turned into an entrepot port and placed the Makassar Kingdom as a route that forced traders to stop. In this place, traders could find trading commodities, spices, and other goods, including marine and woven products and daily necessities to forest products. Although not all of these goods produce in the Makassar Kingdom and its influence in South Sulawesi, as an entrepot port, the commodity moved ships in the Makassar port.

The triumph of Makassar certainly would not occur without the role of the character behind the event itself. At least two pairs of rulers throughout the 16th and 17th centuries were considered the pioneers of Makassar's progress. They were Sultan Alauddin – Karaeng Matoaya and Sultan Muhammad Said – Karaeng Pattingalloang. These two pairs of kings and *Mangkubumi* were kings in their respective territories who had their autonomous rights. The king (*Sombayya*) came from the Gowa Kingdom and *Mangkubumi* (*tumabicara butta*) came from the Tallo Kingdom. It happened from the 16th century during King Tumapa'risi Kallonna-Tunipasurung until Muhammad Said - Karaeng Pattingalloang. This union was better known as *sereji ata na rua karaeng*. Based on the background above, this paper will **explore the role of Karaeng Pattingalloang in the advancement of the**

Makassar Kingdom during the Spice Route of the 17th century.

Writing about the characteristics of Karaeng Pattingalloang is significant because currently, the Spice Route propose as a world heritage, and the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology expects that the Spice Route will be established by 2024. Writing about the Spice Route without mentioning the person behind the development is impossible. The most important figure at that time, apart from Karaeng Matoaya, was Karaeng Pattingalloang. Karaeng Matoaya is widely discussed in several historical writings, while Karaeng Pattingalloang has not been explored, especially in local sources.

In addition, there is a tendency for historians and history observers to write and tell stories about the Gowa Kingdom. In their several books, when writing about the Makassar Kingdom, historians prefer to call it the Gowa Kingdom so that the Gowa Kingdom is more popular than the Tallo Kingdom. The Tallo Kingdom does not have an equal place with the Gowa Kingdom when discussing issues in the 16th and 17th centuries. In both centuries, the Gowa and Tallo Kingdoms were one, and each had a role in its expansion.

Articles about Karaeng Pattingalloang have been available in books, parts of books, theses, papers, and documentary films or vlogs made by historians or historical observers. Some are: Sejarah Modern Awal Asia Tenggara dan Asia Tenggara dalam Kurun Niaga 1450 – 1680 (Anthony Reid), Jaringan Perdagangan Makassar Abad XVI – XVII (Muslimin AR. Effendy), thesis Somba Opu dalam Jaringan Pelayaran dan Perdagangan Nusantara Abad XVII (Darmawati), Peranan Kerajaan Gowa dalam Perniagaan Abad XVII (Mualim Agung Wibawa) also made a valuable contribution to this paper. This paper is different from the existing writings or works. The main difference is that this paper connects Karaeng Pattingalloang as a *tumabicara butta* to the currently viral issue, which is the spice route. Another difference is the existing writings are more perpetuating Karaeng Pattingalloang as an intelligent ruling figure but have not connected it to the way he managed a country, accompanied by the *sombayya* of the Makassar Kingdom.

2. METHOD

This paper used the historical method. Four steps must be complete, which are:

2.1 Heuristics

The heuristic stage is the stage of finding sources that are used to reconstruct historical events. Data collection activities were carried out using the literature study method. The study was conducted by examining

chronicles, Portuguese travel reports, books, theses, and reports related to the object of writing.

2.2 Source Critique

The second stage is to make source criticism. At this stage, the author only conducts internal criticism by comparing one source to another. Criticism aims to validate the sources. The information obtained from one source to another turned out to be mutually supportive and complementary.

2.3 Source Interpretation

This stage is the third stage in the historical method. At this stage, the authors are required to be careful and objective about the obtained data.

2.4 Historiography

In the end, the writer then compiles the data into an article about Karaeng Pattingalloang and Makassar Development in the XVII Century.

3. DISCUSSION

3.1 Get to Know Karaeng Pattingalloang

The self-name Karaeng Pattingalloang assigned to him is pretty long, namely I Mangadacinna Daeng I Ba'le Sultan Mahmud Karaeng Pattingalloang. After he died, he was given the title Tumenanga ri Bontobiraeng. He is the 8th King of Tallo and the first to speak blindly of the Makassar Kingdom, accompanying three Kings at once, Sultan Alauddin, Sultan Muhammad Said, and a year during Sultan Hasanuddin. Although he accompanied three kings at once, his work was better known when with Sultan Muhammad Said.

Karaeng Pattingalloang is the son of the 6th King of Tallo, Sultan Abdullah, better known as Karaeng Matoaya. His mother, Karaenga ri Naungan is a descendant of King Tunijallo, the 12th King of Gowa. The marriage of Karaeng Matoaya and Karaenga ri Naungan gave birth to 17 sons and three daughters. Karaeng Pattingalloang himself is the second child. Blood ties have long connected the kingdoms of Gowa and Tallo. They intermarry with each other. This is also a factor so that the Kingdom of Gowa and Tallo can synergize well.

Karaeng Pattingalloang was not the King of Tallo when he succeeded his father as Mangkubumi in the Makassar Kingdom. Karaeng Matoaya died at the age of 63 years on October 1, 1636, and at that time, Karaeng Pattingalloang's older brother named Karaenga ri Kanjilok Sultan Mudhaffar had become King of Tallo. Karaeng Matoaya had abdicated and appointed his son Karaenga ri Kanjilok Sultan Mudhaffar Tumammalianga ri Timoro to be King in Tallo. Karaeng Matoaya appointed Sultan Mudhaffar to replace his position as

King in Tallo when Karaeng Matoaya had ruled for 28 years, i.e., circa 1621 (Manyambeang 1973:36–39).

In both European and lontarak sources, Karaenga ri Kanjilok is not shown, but it is said that Karaeng Matoaya accompanied Sultan Alauddin on several occasions. Karaeng Matoaya continued to play an essential role in his duties as the *tumabicara butta* of the Makassar Kingdom until he died even though Tallo himself already had another king. Karaenga ri Kanjilok did not have the same skills and knowledge as his father, Karaeng Matoaya. In Tallo's lontarak, Karaenga ri Kanjilok is not a scholar, expert, or knowledgeable person. But he is better known for his bravery and luck in buying and selling (Manyambeang 1973:39).

Even though Karaeng Matoaya abdicated and installed his son as King of Tallo, this did not necessarily make Karaenga ri Kanjilok a *tumabicara butta* of the Makassar Kingdom. In several events that occurred, although these two regions had united with the expression *se're ji at ana rua karaeng*, in its development, King Tallo did not have to become a blind talker of the Makassar Kingdom. When Karaenga ri Kanjilok became King of Tallo, he didn't necessarily become a tumultuous person to accompany Sultan Alauddin. Furthermore, it also occurred during the leadership of Sultan Hasanuddin in the Makassar Kingdom. At that time, it was Karaeng Karunrung, who became the main speaker of the Makassar Kingdom. He was not the King of Tallo at that time, but the one who became the King of Tallo was the son of Karaenga ri Kanjilok whose name was I Mappaio Daeng Mannyauru. It seems that the capacity of Karaenga ri Kanjilok or I Mappaio as King of Tallo did not immediately make them the blind talkers of the Makassar Kingdom at that time.

In various sources, Karaeng Pattingalloang is said to have only accompanied Sultan Malikussaid or Muhammad Said. The author himself believes that Karaeng Pattingalloang had accompanied Sultan Alauddin after the death of his father, Karaeng Matoaya, in 1636. This was based on the argument that the position of *tumabicara butta* blind had to be filled at that time, considering that the Dutch were aggressively taking action to control various regions for the sake of his trade monopoly. At that time, Karaeng Pattingalloang was quite old, and Karaeng Pattingalloang is mentioned in many sources as being prepared to succeed his father.

Several European sources state that before occupying the throne during the tumult of the Makassar Kingdom, Karaeng Pattingalloang was known as an intelligent young man. He is said to be proficient in Portuguese and Spanish. His proficiency in Portuguese is described as fluent as those of Lisbon. This, of course, is a skill in itself that makes it easy for him to relate to the traders who enter his territory. Because of his

intelligence, it is said that he was assigned the task of managing the Ujung Tanah area in the city of Makassar in 1632.

Besides being mangkubumi in the Makassar Kingdom, Karaeng Pattingalloang was inaugurated as King of Tallo, replacing his older brother, Sultan Mudhaffar, in 1641. His position as mangkubumi of the Makassar Kingdom was taken advantage of. He can interact quite closely with visiting Europeans, and his language skills are beneficial in that interaction. He was able to build good relations with Europeans who visited Makassar, including the Dutch. Alexander de Rodhes, a Catholic missionary who visited in 1946, described Karaeng Pattingalloang as wise and honest. Apart from his understanding and knowledge, Rodhes thought that Pattingalloang had carefully read the chronicles of the kings of Europe. Rodhes witnessed that Karaeng Pattingalloang was a person who was very passionate and thirsty for knowledge, as seen from his desire to study day and night (Reid 2004:194). Although de Rhodes tried hard to get Karaeng Pattingalloang to embrace his religion, he remained true to his beliefs.

Karaeng Pattingalloang also used this relationship with Europeans to study various fields of knowledge, including Mathematics. In addition, he also asked the U.K. to send discoveries about their shipping technology. Alexander de Rhodes was asked to bring books, maps, and rare objects from Europe. He was even willing to send a whole load of sandalwood to Batavia to obtain various kinds of rare items, including two globes, a giant world map, or *Mappa Mundi* whose descriptions were written in Spanish, Portuguese or Latin; a book describing the state of the whole world, an atlas in Latin, Spanish or Portuguese complete with attached maps (Reid 2004:194–96)(Stapel, 1922:40–41).

This enthusiasm for learning and the knowledge he gained from various countries helped Karaeng Pattingalloang in developing Makassar. Knowledge of Spanish-language weaponry was translated into Makassarese in 1635 and fully translated in 1652. As a leader in the XVII, of course, knowledge of military technology was needed.

Karaeng Pattingalloang is a Mangkubumi of the Makassar Kingdom who thinks far ahead. The efforts made by his father, Karaeng Matoaya, continued. The Tallo area has become an industrial area. This area became the center of the weaving industry, shipbuilding, and weapons equipment. Many weapons such as cannons are also made in this region. This, of course, could not be separated from the help of the British and Portuguese. The Makassar Child Cannon, one of the giant cannons owned by the Makassar Kingdom, was made. His position as Mangkubumi of the Makassar Kingdom contributed to helping Sultan Muhammad Said in advancing the Makassar Kingdom.

Karaeng Pattingalloang has a wife named Karaeng Ani and has children named Karaeng Karunrung, I Makmina Daeng Sangnging, and I Bate Daeng Tommi Karaeng Pakbineang. Karaeng Pattingalloang and his wife Karaeng Ani were buried in a kobbang (dome) in the Arung Pallakka cemetery complex on Jl Pallantikang III, Bontobiraeng Village, Katangka Village, Sombaopu District, Gowa Regency. Sultan Hasanuddin, who became King replacing Sultan Muhammad Said, had married his son, Karaeng Pakbineang, but ran aground in the middle of the road.

To this day, the people of Gowa and Makassar know Karaeng Pattingalloang as a ruler and intelligent trader in his time. He has knowledge and language skills that are beyond his time. The era where schools like today are not yet available, but he can have such a comprehensive knowledge thanks to his interests and position.

3.2 Karaeng Pattingalloang and Makassar Progress

Makassar is a region allied into one during Tumapa'risi Kallonna (King of Gowa)-Tunipasurung (King of Tallo). The alliance known as *se're ji ata na rua karaeng* (one people, two kings) is estimated to have lasted around 1528 (Rismawidiawati 2012:101). Since the alliance, these two kingdoms have emerged as one Kingdom that cannot be separated. "Whoever pits Gowa and Tallo against him will be cursed by the Gods" *ia iannamo tau ampasiewai Gowa-Tallo iamo nacalla rewata.* The King (sombayya) of this alliance is the King of Gowa and King Tallo, who appears as mangkubumi (tumabicara butta). Internally, each Kingdom constantly changes the King according to the mechanism of each Kingdom. In the arrangement of outgoing relations, the one who appears as King is Gowa, who is accompanied by King Tallo as mangkubumi.

The alliance between Gowa and Tallo (Kingdom of Makassar) further made this region come forward in the trade sector after subduing and conquering the kingdoms in South Sulawesi, such as Garassi, Katingan, Parigi, Siang, Suppa, Sidenreng, Lembanga, Bulukumba, and Selayar. This, of course, forced the traders who previously used Siang, Suppa, Bacukiki, Sidenreng, and others to shift their activities to trading ports in the Makassar Kingdom (Rismawidiawati 2012:6) (Wibawa 2011:36).

Until the 17th century, the Makassar Kingdom was actively expanding its territory and engaged in trade and shipping. However, in the records of local and European sources, it is stated that the heyday of Makassar occurred at the end of the 16th century and reached its peak in the middle of the 17th century until the end of the 17th century. The triumph of Makassar in the 17th

century cannot be denied, one of which is the fall of Malacca to the Portuguese in 1511. Since then, Islamic traders have moved their activities to other ports, and immediately, there has been a change in trade and shipping networks in Southeast Asia. The overgrowing centers of trade and power include Aceh, Banten, Demak, Tuban, Gresik, Makassar, Ternate, and Tidore. The Portuguese, who had succeeded in controlling Malacca, fought hard to control the sources of spices, markets for goods, and trade routes. At the same time as the control of Malacca, the Maluku spice islands were also controlled by the Portuguese.

Malacca, which was previously an international port, was avoided, and Islamic traders conflicted with Portuguese traders. They diverted the direction of their shipping and trade by opening new trade routes along the west coast of Sumatra. Islamic traders departed from Banten and then entered the Sunda Strait and continued to sail abroad through the west coast of Sumatra. Many ships that came from Banten or to Banten stopped at Aceh. As a result, Aceh also developed. Trading commodities were cloves from Ternate, Ambon, and Seram (Maluku), fruit and mace from the Banda Islands, and pepper from Sumatra, Banten, and Malacca.

Malay traders say that God created Timor for sandalwood, Banda for mace, and Maluku for cloves, and these merchandise are unknown anywhere else in the world except that place (Reid 2014:4) (Cortesao 1944:204).

In almost all of these areas, kings and nobles played an essential role in trade, and even some kings were also involved. The involvement of kings and aristocrats resulted in trade and politics being intertwined. For the sake of trading areas mastery, the mighty kings expanded and conquered the small kingdoms. The politics of territorial expansion were also carried out by the Mataram Kingdom, especially the Senapati and Sultan Agung administrations. Small kingdoms along the northern coast of Central and East Java and the interior areas were conquered. The conquest of these coastal areas had another goal that made the coastal areas to be an agricultural orientation. This was acceptable because Mataram was a kingdom located in the interior (Wiharyanto, 2008:57).

The conquest of these coastal cities by Mataram caused trade and shipping on the north coast of Java to decline and eventually collapse. The traders then moved on a large scale to Banten, Banjarmasin, and Makassar. After 1625, shipping and trade from Malacca to Maluku no longer passed through East Java but Makassar. Makassar appeared as an international port. More Makassar people are active in the world of trade, including kings and nobles.

Sultan Alauddin, who Sultan Muhammad Said followed, were two pairs of kings (sombaya) who emerged as rulers and made Makassar an international port in the 16th and 17th centuries. Their role cannot be denied thanks to the strong support from their mangkubumi (tuma talk butta), namely Karaeng Matoaya and Karaeng Pattingalloang. *Tumabicara Butta* Makassar Kingdom is not only tasked with accompanying the King of Makassar Kingdom but has other duties. He has the right to replace Sombaya at any time if Sombayya is unable to attend. He also acts as an advisor to sombayya, assisting sombayya in making decisions. In addition *tumabicara butta* is also obliged to educate the sons and daughters of the King so that they can understand pangngadakkang. Another task that is crucial and influential is his obligation to be responsible for the welfare of the royal palace. These officials built palaces, places of worship, forts, docks, and so on (Paeni 1975:97).

His duties and obligations made Karaeng Pattingalloang have an essential role in the development of the Makassar Kingdom. His intelligence and extensive relationship with outside traders made Karaeng Pattingalloang carry out his duties well while building the Makassar Kingdom. In fact, according to Liebner, in many ways, Karaeng Pattingalloang is assumed to have performed more than Sultan Muhammad Said (Horst Liebner interview, August 2021). The same argument was also expressed by Reid, who stated that Sultan Muhammad Said spent more of his time planning and gambling (Reid 2004:199).

He governs the Kingdom and can benefit us or harm us, while the King spends most of his time roaming around and gambling. . . . Karaeng Patengalo had a close relationship with Vlamingh and discussed the peace policy between Portugal and the Spanish throne, he showed himself to be someone who had extensive knowledge of the sciences and understood them with wisdom (Reid 2004:199).

Based on the above sources, it is also explained that Karaeng Pattingalloang can handle foreign affairs. He was able to handle complex issues and competition among Europeans. He entered into a relationship with the Portuguese, who was not liked by the Dutch. However, the Dutch people respect him.

Foreign relations were very well established during the reign of Sultan Alauddin and Karaeng Matoaya. During the reign of Sultan Muhammad Said – Karaeng Pattingalloang, friendly relations with the outside world were further expanded. Established relations and cooperation agreements with the Spanish Governor in Manila, the Portuguese Governor in Goa (India), the Rivet Ruler in Coromandel, the King of England, the

King of Portugal, the King of Castile (Spain), and the Mufti of Mecca (Poelinggomang and Mappangara 2004:67). The expansion of Makassar's friendly relations with the outside world was one of the steps taken by the Makassar authorities to place their territory as an equal and recognized territory at that time. Even though the countries have chosen to agree, it is possible to smooth their trade business in Makassar. Of course, in every agreement, each party has its interests.

After Malacca-Portuguese fell to the Dutch in 1641, Makassar took great advantage. With the fall of Malacca into the VOC, the business movements of the traders were limited and finally paralyzed. The trade monopoly implemented by the VOC began to hinder the efforts of traders. Since then, Makassar has become the main anchorage for the Portuguese in the archipelago, with more than 3,000 Portuguese living in this city. Makassar was progressing and becoming an international airport (Jacobs 1988:3).

This Portuguese gave many benefits to the people of Makassar, so it was called the mainstay of Makassar's prosperity and essential figures in the life of the sultanate (the key figures in the life of the sultanate) (Jacobs 1988:3). For the past twenty years, the Makassar Portuguese community has supported and defended the prominent merchant Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo. He owned many ships and created a large trading company headquartered in Nagapatam, India, and from 1642 in Makassar. Sombayya Muhammad Said and *Tumabicara butta* Karaeng Pattingalloang were also pleased with the presence of this Portuguese person. He was sometimes given enough trust to be a representative against other countries in political matters and even brought merchandise belonging to Karaeng Pattingalloang. This was because Vieira had a reasonably good diplomatic quality.

The King ruled and controlled his territory politically, but the King was also influential in commerce. The position of the merchants was not accessible because the traders had control over their kings. It was these kings who carried out trade relations with their families. J.C. van Leur in his dissertation, states that:

Some data on the trade of Indonesia's great people can be mentioned: such as the *kaja patani* Sri Maharaja Indra, who sent wine to Maluku. Ownership of cargo and ships of Syahbandar Patani and Datuk Besar is there. Ownership and trading of ships of the princes of Aceh, Djohor, Djambi, Surabaya and Makassar; from Bantensche, Djambic, Djakatrache, Ternatan and Makasar; the governor of Demak, the syahbandar of Gresik; from the governor of Kendal, from the

governor of Sukadana; stranger:
(Leur 1934:172).

The King and his family regulated everything related to trade, and even all facilities belonged to the kings. The kings and aristocrats provided capital, bought up merchandise, owned ships or junks, and held a monopoly on sales to foreign nations. Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo also often carried the name of Sultan Muhammad Said - Karaeng Pattingalloang throughout the trading business. In 1649, Vieira sent a cruise ship to Macau via Manila using a cargo consisting primarily of Indian textiles, gold, preserved ginger, porcelain roots, and other Chinese goods. Sultan Muhammad Said - Karaeng Pattingalloang, Pedro de la Mata were the investors in this cargo (Villiers 1986:147). Despite this effort, Vieira and his colleagues were reported to have lost more than 60,000 rials when the ship sank. On December 19, 1651, Vieira again appeared in Batavia with a cargo of sandalwood, cloves, benzoin, gold, and rials, which he gladly sold to the Dutch, but they refused to buy. Therefore, he continued his journey to the Coromandel Coast to dump his cargo there. He admitted that some belonged to Pattingalloang and some belonged to "Moorish" merchants who had arrived in Makasar from Coromandel two years earlier. These Muslim traders were probably the representatives of the famous Mir Muhammad Sayyid, Mir Jumla, or Nawāb of Golconda (Boxer 1967:7-8).

Vieira was not expelled until 1665. The Makassar rulers expelled the Portuguese from the Kingdom later in 1660 at the will of the Dutch. Although at that time, the Makassar rulers did it reluctantly and as quietly as possible. The main exodus occurred in 1661, but some managed to survive until 1668. That was the end of the Portuguese.

Karaeng Pattingalloang could secure Makassar from the trade monopoly that was being intensified by the Dutch. Cooperation agreements with several regions, including Mataram and Aceh, were made to avoid the Dutch who wanted to do business in Makassar. The period 1637 – 1654 was the most peaceful period between the Makassar Kingdom and the VOC. Karaeng Pattingalloang always welcomed Dutch envoys, and he was able to convince the VOC that war would be more dangerous than peace for their relations (Reid 2004:199).

All efforts taken by Sultan Malikussaid - Karaeng Pattingalloang continued to place Makassar Port as an international port and a large transit port in Eastern Indonesia in trading activities in the Southeast Asia Region. Commercial relations that took place at Makassar Port were recorded to be quite dense from and to: Manggarai, Timor, Tanimbar, Alor, Bima, Buton, Tombuku, Seram, Mindanao, Sambuangan, Macao, Manila, Cebu Cambodia, Siam, Patani, Bali, Ports on the coast northern Java, Batavia, Bantam, Palembang,

Jambi, Johor, Malacca, Aceh, Banjarmasin, Sukadana, Pasir, Kutai, Berau and trading cities in the Sulawesi and Maluku regions.

Traders from the visited trade center also made commercial voyages to Makassar. The recorded trade commodities included spices, sandalwood, slaves, textile production, forest production (*sapan* wood, rattan, candles, and so on), the results of the household industry (machetes, swords, axes, Selayar cloth, Bima cloth, and others).

The development of Makassar at this time was quite impressive and increasingly advanced. Commercial shipping between east and west was no longer taken directly. Traders from China or the Persian Gulf just arrived in Makassar, where trade could be carried out. They could meet merchants from various corners and regions. Traders from Malacca also did not need to continue their shipping and trade to Maluku and only docked in Makassar to obtain trading commodities from Maluku.

Makassar was not a spice-producing area, but it was reported that the spices in Makassar were much cheaper than in the Spice Islands, Maluku. This was one of the strategies of the Makassar authorities to create a market that allowed traders to make transactions. Makassar provided all kinds of products that traders were looking for. Makassar could establish a trade representative in Manila because Makassar could provide spices and other commodities such as rice.

To ensure the availability of rice in Makassar, the rulers also made contact with the Bima Kingdom. The relationship was established through agreements and cooperation, but according to the Gowa chronicle, many nobles of the Makassar Kingdom were married to the Bima Kingdom's nobles. Therefore, that blood relationship strengthened the relationship between the two.

Trade transactions at that time were barter. Rice and other commodities purchased by Makassar Bugis traders were then sold in barter with spices. This barter exchange was based on a comparison determined and agreed upon by both parties.

In Makassar, the Portuguese often brought cash in the Chinese tin currency, then handed it over to traders in Makassar. To support buying and selling transactions in Makassar, in 1630 and 1640, the government of the Makassar Kingdom issued a local currency called the peso. Makassar gold currency was given a principal value in the market at about four-fifths of silver reals. However, during Sultan Hasanuddin, this currency had to be withdrawn (Reid 2014:124).

In addition, traders were subject to taxes, but the taxes were not burdensome for traders in Makassar. Indian ships paid a 5% tax on imports and exports in

Aceh, and Europeans paid a 7% tax. In Makassar, there is no charge for docking and weighing (Darmawati 2001:115)(Effendy 2005:173). Until the reign of Sultan Hasanuddin, Makassar rulers did not collect taxes.

To make Makassar an international airport, it needed to be free from government monopoly, free from government regulations that hindered the development of business capital, and free from high import and export taxes. From the 16th century until the end of the 17th century, the Makassar kingdom had established this policy to record progress and prosperity (Poelinggomang 2002:6).

Makassar was getting busier with foreign traders, not just because of trade. This was due to the guarantee of security and freedom given by the Makassar rulers to foreign nations who were anchored. These foreigners did not hesitate to settle in Makassar like the Malay merchants who built their mosques and settlements in Mangallekana.

In 1635, Datuk Maharaja Lela and his family settled in Makassar after leaving his country due to the political disappointment in the Patani palace (Rismawidiawati 2017:298). In 1640, the Portuguese were allowed to build a place of worship in Makassar. According to the Gowa chronicle, this Kingdom, during King Mohammad Said and Karaeng Pattingalloang, Gowa and Tallo was never attacked by epidemics, great wars, and severe disasters (Reid 2004:200).

Sultan Muhammad Said Tumenanga ri Papambatuna died on 5 November 1653 and soon after his death, his son, Sultan Hasanuddin, took his place as Sombaya. Karaeng Pattingalloang still accompanied Sultan Hasanuddin as a *tumabicara butta* before he died on September 15, 1654. On October 22, 1654, Sultan Hasanuddin announced that he would act as a *tumabicara butta* in the Makassar Kingdom (Basang and Wahid 1986:116).

4. CONCLUSION

The reign of Sultan Muhammad Said - Karaeng Pattingalloang was a time when the Makassar Kingdom was increasingly glorious. The Makassar Kingdom appears as an entrepot port where spices can be obtained at a lower price than in the spice-producing area itself (Maluku), even though the Makassar Kingdom is not spice-producing. In this place, traders can trade commodities, spices, and other goods, ranging from marine and woven products and daily necessities to forest products. Although not all of these goods produce in the Makassar Kingdom and its influence in South Sulawesi, as an entrepot port, the commodity moved ships in the Makassar port.

Karaeng Pattingalloang appeared, and the position of Karaeng Pattingalloang as a tumultuous speaker gave him the freedom to act and advance the Makassar

Kingdom. He was able to represent the King, including dealing with foreign nations, making treaties, and at the same time being a trader by taking advantage of the Portuguese presence during the spice route. He was able to provide security guarantees for outside traders who entered Makassar.

Karaeng Pattingalloang has been forgotten and educated by his father, Karaeng Matoaya, to become a blind man one day. His capacity, broad knowledge and interests, mastery of the language, and association with European nations made Karaeng Pattingalloang make policies that positively impacted Makassar in that period. In addition to making policies in trade and government, he also continues the legacy of Karaeng Matoaya. Karaeng Pattingalloang was able to become a *tuma talk butta* (mangkubumi) of the Makassar Kingdom accompanying three kings, namely Sultan Alauddin, Sultan Muhammad Said and Sultan Hasanuddin (1636 – 1654).

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