

Early History of Bugis Settlement in Selangor

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ABSTRACT

The Bugis have already forged trading relationship with the government of Melaka since the 15th century. At the end of the 17th century, they started to establish new settlements along the coast of the Malacca Strait. As a foreign power, their intervention in the politics of Malaya especially at the end of the 17th century and the beginning of 18th century could be seen obviously without any doubt. Their existence has shaped the history of Malaya in particular, and the Malay Archipelago in general. Majority of the Bugis could be traced in two states in the Malay Peninsula, namely, Johor and Selangor. In fact, both these states are said to be ruled by the rulers who had descended from the Bugis. The presence of the Bugis community in Johor can still be traced in several settlements which remain until today. Since their arrival in Johor, the Bugis community has managed to put their names in the local history to the extent that this particular community was said to be more pronounced than the other ethnic groups in the state. This situation is different from the state of Selangor, despite the fact that the Bugis community arrived there much earlier. Based on the Dutch's record, the Bugis settlements in Selangor (Sungai Selangor and Sungai Klang) were established by 1681. In 1700, Tuk Engku Klang, the relative of Sultan Abdul Jalil Riayat Shah of Johor, gave a power seal to Yamtuan Bugis to move freely in Selangor (Kuala Selangor). The gift marked the beginning of the Bugis influence in Selangor. In fact, the Dutch was worried to see the increasing number of Bugis in Selangor. However, a recent study shows that the number of Bugis in Selangor is relatively low in comparison

with other Malay groups. Thus, this paper is an attempt to discuss the dissipation of the Bugis community in Selangor.

Keywords: Bugis, Migration, Settlement, Selangor, Malaya

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INTRODUCTION

The Bugis community, who was active and famous in the politics of the Malay Peninsular, especially around the 18th century, was not entirely made up of the Bugis ethnic.¹ In fact, they came from several different ethnic groups under the auspices of two dominant groups, namely, the To-Ugi (Bugis) and To-Mengkasar (Makasar). The Bugis consisted of several tribal groups including Wajo, Soppeng, Bone and Balannipa, whereas the Makasar comprised of tribal groups such as Gowa, Bontonompo, Takalar, Jeneponto (Janaponto) and Tembolo. Both To-Ugi and To-Mengkasar groups occupied a large area in South Sulawesi. In general, the living in this area generally use the Bugis and Makasar languages. In reality, both the groups form a single unit of culture which is inseparable. Therefore, they are also known as Bugis-Makasar. In Indonesia, often use only the term Bugis without using the term Makasar (Hamid Abdullah, 1984). Thus, in this paper, the term Bugis is also used to represent the Bugis-Makasar in general.

The Bugis were well-known as seafarers and traders in the Malay archipelago (Nordin Hussin, 2011, 2010, 2009, 2008). Their mastery of trading and commercial networks in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago was recorded in both the Dutch and British documents (ibid). Their dominance could be reflected by the evidences and reports stating that they were the traders or merchants who had sailed through the Java Sea, Borneo, the Spice Islands, Strait of Malacca and even Pegu in Burma. Their mastery in the trading

activities also led to the establishment of many settlements, majority located in major ports such as Java, Riau, Borneo, Siak, Siam and the Malay Peninsula (ibid).² Therefore, studies on the Bugis have long been done by both western and eastern scholars, as well as local scholars. What was truly interesting about the Bugis-Makasar was their passion, courage and bravery which, as recognized by the international community since the pre-colonial era in Asia. In fact, they were also determined, competitive and able to face challenges in upholding the dignity and prestige of their .

In addition, the culture of *siri* has also been identified as the stimulant for the Bugis to improve themselves, promote their families and community in order to build a great civilization that will enable them to compete with other ethnics, races and nations in the world. In particular, the *siri* factor has given motivations to the lives of the Bugis who have positive and dynamic characteristics, causing many of them to be wanderers. Pires (1944) has described the Bugis as with muscular body, brave, strong, handsome and speaks in language that they understand. These characteristics were the basis for their feeling of patriotism as a part of the Malay . With their determination, courage and heroism, the Bugis have become one of the immigrant ethnics based in Malaya. There are also records in the history that the Bugis were actively involved in the politics of several states in Malaya including Kedah, Perak and particularly in Johor and Selangor. In Selangor, the Bugis successfully founded a government in the

mid 18th century and the state is now said to be ruled by the kings who descended from the Bugis. However, a recent study shows that the number of Bugis in Selangor is relatively low as compared to other Malay groups, such as Java, Minangkabau, Mandailing, Banjar and Kerinci. Thus, this paper will attempt to discuss the dissipation of the Bugis community in Selangor.

THE HISTORY ARRIVAL AND SETTLEMENT

The exact arrival date of the Bugis in Malaya is yet to be proven. In general, their early arrival was recorded through the presence of five Bugis brothers from an aristocrat family. However, according to Pires's record in *Suma Oriental*, it was stated that Bugis and Makasar seafarers visited Melaka in 1511, although their numbers were relatively small compared to other nations (Pires, 1944). In addition, it was also mentioned in the *Malay History* that an invasion was done on Melaka by a person who was said to have originated from Makasar during the reign of Sultan Mansur Shah, whose name was written in Jawi as *s-m-r-l-w-k* (Semerluki or Samarluka) (Shellabear, 1975). Assuming that the real name of this particular person is Karaeng Sama ri Luka, i.e. a king of Bajau from Luwuk, who was probably also referring to a figure named Karaeng Bayo mentioned in the tradition regarding the founding of the Makasar Government, by the name of Gowa (Pelras, 1991).

The arrival of the Bugis and Makasar in Malaya was more noticeable in the

17th century when the city of Makasar fell into the hand of the Dutch. The Dutch's domination in South Sulawesi through its Governor had indirectly ruined the career of a large number of the Bugis merchants, whose lives depended heavily upon spice trade. As a result, this particular group of Bugis merchants chose to migrate to another place or state rather than living under the Dutch's administration. These smart and armed Bugis left their homeland and sailed under the leadership of their traditional leaders to initiate and establish new residences in other states instead. Some of them established the new settlements in the northern and southern Borneo (Sabah and Kalimantan today). Some went to the eastern part of Java Island, while the rest sailed west to the Strait of Malacca.

Those who came to the Strait of Malacca established new settlements inland, but were not far from the sea, especially in the valley of Sungai Klang. This view is also supported by Andaya who stated that the Bugis and Makasar were found living in Klang in 1678. In fact, Raja Ibrahim from Minangkabau, who had the support from the Minangkabau in Rembau, Naning and Sungai Ujong, also requested for the help of the Bugis-Makasar people in Klang when he wanted to launch an attack on the Dutch in Melaka in 1678. Even though the Bugis did not answer Raja Ibrahim's call to perform a jihad attack on the Dutch, the Dutch were alarmed to see the influx of the Bugis-Makasar migrants from South Sulawesi (Watson-Andaya & Andaya, 1983) who established their settlements on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula under

the authority of Johor, including Selangor, Linggi and Klang. Andaya also mentioned about a Makasar prince named Daeng Mangika who was involved in the war between Johor and Jambi in 1679 (Andaya, 1975). Furthermore, the *Dagh Register* of the Dutch also mentioned that there were several large Bugis villages in the valley of Sungai Klang and Selangor by 1679 (Winstedt, 1962). At that time, the state of Selangor was still under the authority of Johor (Winstedt, 1962).

Wilkinson said that the Bugis had settled down in the state of Selangor and resided in Klang in the 17th century. The Bugis leader who first came to establish the new settlements in Selangor was Daing Lakani (Buyong Adil, 1971). In *Dagh Register* dated 1625-1685, it was mentioned that a Kedahan who claimed to be the brother of Sultan Kedah had asked for the permission from the Dutch to use Dinding as a gathering spot for 150 Bugis from Klang who would assist him to attack the Sultan of Kedah (Buyong Adil, 1971). In January 1682, the same person asked for the permission from the Dutch once again to go to Selangor to seek for assistance from the Bugis to attack his brother, the Sultan of Kedah (Buyong Adil, 1971). He even said that with two ships and three or four hundreds of Bugis, he would be able to claim the throne as the Sultan of Kedah. According to Bonney, this is a very interesting phenomenon in the context of power struggle in Kedah, where members of the royal family sought for the assistance and support of the foreign army in their efforts to become the Sultan (Bonney,

1977). There was a possibility that the Bugis could be regarded as the first foreign Malay power from the western part of the archipelago, who in fact were involved in the throne struggle in Kedah.

In 1700, Tuk Engku Klang, the relative of Sultan Abdul Jalil Riayat Shah of Johor gave a power seal to the Yamtuan Bugis to move freely in Selangor (i.e. Kuala Selangor) (Winstedt, 1934, 1962). The move marked the starting point of the Bugis influence in Selangor. Although the official power was still in the hand of the Sultan of Johor, through his representative - Tuk Engku Klang, in reality, the Yam tuan Bugis was more influential in the local governance and the lives of the people.³

On 25 October 1701, the Treasurer by the name of Tun Mas Anum⁴ from Johor briefed the members of the Dutch mission from Melaka about the Bugis settlements in Linggi. In the briefing, the Treasurer Tun Mas Anum reported that the settlements consisted of approximately 600 Bugis, excluding women and children. They were said to have moved there from Selangor without the consent and permission of the government of Johor (Andaya, 1975). Based on this report, it seems that the Bugis had started establishing their settlements in Linggi around the end of the 17th century or early 1701, while their settlements in Selangor were established much earlier than that.

The arrival of the Bugis to Linggi was not in the form of a large group, but in a small group instead. Based on the information available, there were at least

three groups of the Bugis migrants that set up their settlements in Linggi. Among their leaders were Punggawa to'Mingo, to'Campo and Datuk Janggut. According to the report of the Treasurer Tun Mas Anum, the Bugis who came from Selangor probably came from the district of Langat (Norhalim Ibrahim, 1998). The presence of the Bugis in Linggi had raised the concern of the Dutch government, whereby they became too worried that they asked the government of Johor to expel the Bugis from Linggi.⁵ Nonetheless, the government of Johor was slow in taking action.⁶ On 2nd November 1701, however, the Treasurer Tun Mas Anum assured the Dutch ambassador in Johor that he would send his representatives to solve the problem of "illegal settlements" in Linggi in a month. By February 1702, the government of Johor had not taken any action. Thus, in February 1702, the *Syahbandar* of Melaka, Willen van der Lely immediately contacted the Treasurer Tun Mas Anum and sternly warned him that the Bugis in Linggi could not be trusted and needed to be punished (Andaya, 1975).

Thus, in September 1702, the Bugis leaders in Linggi were called by the government of Johor to go to the state to discuss about their "illegal settlements" there. The Bugis were asked to leave Linggi in the discussion. They were also asked to return and settle down in Selangor. After a long and serious negotiation, the Bugis agreed to the government's request. Starting from November 1702, the Bugis started to leave Linggi in stages. The last Bugis group to leave was the group led by Datuk

Janggut in the early 1703. They moved back to Selangor (Norhalim Ibrahim, 1998). The relocation of the Bugis at the end of 1702 and early 1703 signified the end of the Bugis settlement in Linggi (Kuala Linggi)⁷ was rather a temporarily.⁸

At the beginning of the 18th century, the five sons of the King of Bugis (namely, Daeng Parani, Daeng Manambun, Daeng Marewa, Daeng Cellak and Daeng Kemase⁹) received an offer to assist Sultan Sulaiman to defeat Raja Kecil in Riau in 1721. The five brothers also received assistance from the Bugis in Selangor. They also went to Langat and Kuala Selangor to recruit the Bugis army and to prepare for the equipment needed for the war with Raja Kecil that might happen again. At that time, there were many Bugis in Langat and many of them owned businesses in Melaka and were extremely wealthy (Buyong Adil, 1971).

In 1721, a Bugis force from Selangor led by Daeng Merewa and his brothers launched an attack on Linggi because the *penghulu* of Linggi had been mean to the Bugis fishermen who caught fish in Kuala Linggi. After the five brothers defeated Raja Kecil in Riau and surrendered the government of Johor-Riau to Sultan Sulaiman Badrul Alam Shah, they travelled back and forth from Riau to Selangor to recruit the Bugis in Selangor into their troops and forces.

During the reign of Sultan Muhammad Jiwa II (1710-1778) in the early 18th century, the Sultan faced pressure and challenge from his step brother 'Raja Nambang' who had claimed to be more qualified to have the throne as Sultan Kedah; thus, Sultan

Muhammad Jiwa II requested for the assistance of the Bugis troops who were led by Daeng Parani. Raja Nambang, on the other hand, sought the assistance from Raja Kecil from Siak. After 1724, i.e. when the war finally ended, Raja Kecil retreated to Siak and the Bugis returned to Selangor (Mohamad Isa Othman, 1990).

From the facts mentioned above, it could be stated that Selangor had been a strong base for the Bugis ever since their arrival. One could also assume that the strength of the five Bugis princes was not be strong enough without the support from the Bugis who had been living in Selangor before them. Thus, it is undeniable that the position of Bugis in the Strait of Malacca was strengthened and became more influential with the arrival of the five brothers at the beginning of the 18th century, as they assisted the Malay rulers in regaining their throne in Kedah, Johor and Perak, respectively. However, Selangor was the place to gather and mobilize the Bugis troops and their *hulubalang* for all the assistance given (Paiman Keromo, 1989). In fact, the five brothers had also successfully dominated the politics in the government of Johor-Riau. This could be seen through the appointment of Daeng Marewah as the first Yamtuan Muda in Riau. Selangor remained as a strong base for the Bugis to the extent of the emergence of a Bugis dynasty in Selangor.

This also indicated that the small settlements founded by the Bugis along the shore of the Malacca Strait, especially in Kuala Selangor, Klang, Jeram and Langat,

continued to develop. Eventually, the Bugis managed to appoint a Bugis prince (Raja Lumu) as the first Sultan of Selangor (Khoo Kay Kim, 1985). From its base in Kuala Selangor, the sultanate managed to combine the provinces such as Jeram, Klang, Langat, Jugra Lukut and Sungai Raya. In the northern part, the Bugis had always been fighting for Bernam and areas in Perak. The Bugis won every war they fought. Finally in the 18th century, the Bugis in Selangor succeeded to gain control over Bernam (Suleiman & Lokman, 1999).

Although the Bugis had been successful in gaining power and control over the Sultanate of Johor-Riau under the leadership of the five Bugis princes, the Bugis in Selangor preferred establishing their own base without being influenced by the Malay rulers. Since the state of Selangor had been occupied by the Bugis since the 17th century, it was appropriate to serve as their base in the Malacca Strait so that they could carry out their own political system as in Sulawesi (Suleiman & Lokman, 1999). Their dream came true when Raja Lumu, the prince of Daeng Chelak succeeded in building a Bugis dynasty which has reigned in the Sultanate of Selangor until today.

The Dutch started to worry about the Bugis' activities in Malaya when their power and influence reached its peak in the state of Selangor, particularly in a few other states in Malaya in general. This signified the feeling of being threatened. The influence and power of the Bugis was taken seriously and it started to disappoint the Dutch monopoly in the tin trade in

Malaya. The Dutch in Melaka also realised that they were surrounded by the Bugis who were well-known for their bravery and determination in fighting. Thus, the Dutch tried their best to avoid any open conflict with them. Johore's attempt to eliminate the Bugis gave the opportunity to the Dutch to sign a cooperation treaty with Johor in 1745. According to the treaty, Johor was required to hand in Siak to the Dutch in return for their assistance to overthrow Yamtuan Muda Bugis in Riau. However, the result of this treaty was rather unpromising. Both parties signed another treaty 10 years later, and this really brought tensions to the Dutch-Bugis relations.¹⁰ As a result, wars between the Dutch and Bugis erupted for a few times. The Dutch attacked the Bugis forts in Selangor and left the Sultan with no choice but to fled to Pahang. However, the Sultan managed to expel the Dutch from Selangor and to regain his throne with the help of Pahang.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES AND COMMUNITY

Since their early arrival, the Bugis in Selangor had demonstrated their existence in the field of politics and trade. They even brought colours to the politics in Malaya in general and Selangor in particular. Although their contributions in the field of socio-cultural were not obvious and prominent, their settlements could still be traced in a few areas in the state of Selangor by the 19th century. During the time of Sultan Abdul Samad, i.e. when Raja Abdullah's mines in Ampang started producing tins, many

Chinese from Lukut, Sungai Ujong and Larut came to Kuala Lumpur and Kanching to open roof shops and to work in the tin mines in the areas. Four years later in 1861, these Chinese looked up to Taukeh Hiu Sieu as their leader, who was also known as "*Kapitan China*". Other areas in Selangor such as Langat, Jugra, Klang and Kuala Selangor on the other hand were said to be inhabited by the Malays who originated from the land of the Bugis because those areas were ruled by the kings of the Bugis descent (Buyong Adil, 1971).

However, the population census carried out several times in the early of the 20th century (as shown in Table 1 below) raised a question about the existence of the huge Bugis community living in Selangor all these while. Have they moved to other areas, or have they been assimilated into other Malay ethnic groups to the extent that many of them said that they are Malays and only a few have claimed that they are actually Bugis? Or they probably have no idea about their origin due to the lack of exposure regarding this matter from the previous generation.

Despite all the questions mentioned above, a field study conducted revealed that there were indeed challenges to detect the Bugis settlements in Selangor. This situation was not only caused by the difficulties in characterizing the Bugis settlements, such as the name of an area, but this was also due to the lack of the Bugis traditions found in the field study, either in terms of food or oral traditions. In fact, many Bugis in Selangor can no longer speak the Bugis language.

TABLE 1
Bugis in Malaya (1911-1947)

State	1911	1921	1931	1947
Singapore	1280	1142	792	705
Penang	20	-	4	4
Malacca	25	18	34	49
Perak	23	91	42	20
Selangor	52	56	84	64
Negeri Sembilan	5	1	5	11
Pahang	2	1	16	9
Johore	5033	7026	8983	6080
Kedah	16	41	21	7
Kelantan	-	-	1	2
Terengganu	-	-	7	11
Perlis	-	11	8	-
Total	6456	8387	9997	6962

Source: Tunku Shamsul Bahrin (*The Indonesians in Malaya*, p. 160)

However, one remarkable trend from these ethnic immigrants from Indonesia is that they tend to establish their own associations or groups. The Bugis associations and groups, whether or not they are recognized by the government “have grown like mushrooms after the rain”. This has become an enthusiasm generator among the Bugis to search for their origin, whereby many of them have already started to rearrange and restructure their family tree.

This is because from these associations and groups, one can still trace many Bugis descendants in Selangor today. Although many of them have no idea about the part of Sulawesi they were from, they have firmly claimed that they are of the Bugis descent. These are the people living in areas such as Kuala Selangor, Jeram, Permatang,¹¹Klang,¹²Batang Berjuntai, Tanjung Karang and Sabak Bernam.

They are the members of several Bugis associations including *Persatuan Anak-Anak Melayu Bugis Daerah Kuala Selangor*,¹³ *Persatuan Zuriat Almarhum Raja Abdullah Ibni Almarhum Raja Jaafar*, *Persatuan Bugis Sabah*, *Persatuan Kebajikan Ekonomi Bugis Malaysia*, *Persatuan Keluarga Haji Rajuddin* (which also published their own family magazine – *Teraju*), *Persatuan Bugis Sabak Bernam* and many more. Many of the Bugis traditions and customs, however, are no longer in practice. Hence, majority of the younger generation of Bugis only know about Bugis by its name.

CONCLUSION

Based on the historical information discussed above, one can sum up that the main goal or objective of a Bugis life is to always preserve, construct, rehabilitate and enhance the reputation, pride and dignity of

the Bugis. All these are closely related to their culture, thinking and the philosophy of their lives which are based on the system of *siri'*, *sara'*, *pessé babua* dan *paccé*. In order to achieve a meaningful and blessed life, the Bugis will have to adhere to the practices and guidance of Islam, *adé'* system and logic thinking. Thus, historical and oral prose, such as proverbs and other expressions, play a very important role as source of reference in order to enhance the spirit of perseverance, courage, determination and hardwork. Besides *siri'* and *sara'*, the Bugis will also need to believe in their own ability, capability and skills so that they will not solely rely on fate or luck. Therefore, the concept of *takéderé* in the lives of the Bugis will not turn them into a fatalistic ethnic.

Meanwhile, the factors mentioned above enabled them to become successful sailors, wanderers and settlement establishers outside Sulawesi. They also always ensured self-changes such as becoming successful merchants or high-level, powerful and charismatic leaders through *masompé*. The Bugis had to be alert in new places once they left their homeland (South Sulawesi) because they brought along with them the *siri'* that was still in the process of enhancement or upgrading. Therefore, a practical and rational strategy was needed. This certainly involved the strategy with three ends, namely, tongue, *keris* and genital. This strategy was successfully carried out where the Bugis emerged as powerful and successful leaders overseas. Similarly, in their efforts to establish their new settlements, they accepted the

fact that they must mix around with the local community, and this resulted in the occurrence of intermarriages. The situation in Selangor showed that the Bugis had realized that they would not be able to maintain their overall genuine culture and traditions. Furthermore, Selangor was one of the Malay states which received much attention from non-Malay foreigners as well as wanderers from a variety of Malay ethnics, such as Java, Minangkabau, Mandailing, Banjar, Rawa and many more. The Bugis were also very active in the field of commerce and trade besides being active in land exploration and establishing new settlements. Although everything they did were based on *siri'*, the interactions and assimilations with the Malay community have actually diluted the original spirit of the *siri'* and transformed it into a new form of *siri'* to achieve success in a foreign land. This is one of the major factors why the younger generation of the Bugis in Selangor today are not sure about their own origin or do not know that they are actually the descendants of the Bugis. Educational factor, as well as the integration with the non-Bugis, has also played an important role in influencing the collapse of the Bugis culture and traditions. However, there are a small number of Bugis descendants who are still aware of their origin, especially those who are from the Bugis aristocrat families even though a huge part of their Bugis nature and characteristics have disappeared, including the terminology and culture of *siri'* which is no longer known nor understood by them. Thus, it seems like

they need a nostalgic history of the Bugis in Malaysia, which is in fact a source of inspiration and pride for their contributions to the history of Malaysia.

From the point of view of a developing Malaysian society, there is no doubt that the historical experiences of the Bugis have made major contributions as traders, diplomats, political refugees, sojourners, and land settlers because of their determination, desire, perseverance, courage and open-mindedness, which can be regarded as good examples to motivate the new generation today and in the future.

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ENDNOTES

¹The population in Southern Sulawesi actually consists of several ethnic groups. Generally, there are four major ethnic groups, namely Bugis/ to' Ugi, Makasar/to' Mengkasar, Mandar/to' Menre and to' Raja. However, the Mandar and Raja groups are almost unknown in the political chessboard of the Malay states. See Hamid Abdullah, "Pandangan hidup dan Kepimpinan Masyarakat Bugis Asli" in *PURBA* No.1, Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Muzium Malaysia, 1982, p. 32.

²Ibid. For further explanation, please refer to Nordin Hussin. (2003). "Kepahlawanan, Kejujuran, Kegagahan, Kebijaksanaan dan Keberanian: Lambang Keperbadian Pedagang-Pedagang Bugis di Selat Melaka", Seminar Internasional Sawerigading, Masamba, Makassar 10-14 December 2003.

³In the opinion of Buyong Adil, the state of Selangor was no longer under the authority of Johor after the government of Johor-Riau was ruled by Raja Kecil Siak (1718-1722). During that time, there was already a Bugis ruler in Selangor (i.e. Kuala Selangor) who was called "Yamtuan Selangor" (the real name remains unknown). In this period of time, Selangor was also the place where the strength of the Bugis from the western part of the Malay Archipelago was located (see Buyong Adil, 1971). *Sejarah Selangor*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, p. viii.

⁴Treasurer Tun Mas Anum was an influential minister in the government of Johor between year 1699-1708. He is the brother of Sultan Abdul Jalil Riayat Syah.

⁵The Dutch were still haunted by the bitter event during their encounter with the people who liked to fight in Sulawesi and Java. For further explanation, see Vlekke (1967), *Nusantara (Sejarah Indonesia)*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. The Dutch also questioned the real purpose of the Bugis who had moved from Selangor to Linggi, a place which was near to the Dutch's border in Melaka. Was that an early incentive of the Bugis in their efforts to seek revenge from the Dutch who had

conquered Makassar? In addition, Kuala Linggi was also a militarily and economically strategic area. It was the exit route for trading goods from remote areas such as Rembau, Sungai Ujong and Naning. Approximately one year after the 1699 coup, most of the trading goods especially tins from the remote area of Sungai Linggi valley were brought to Melaka through Kuala Linggi and not to Johor like before. Andaya (1975). *The Kingdom of Johor (1641-1728): Economic and Political Developments*. Kuala Lumpur, p. 198. Therefore, if the Bugis were to strengthen their position in Kuala Linggi, and this situation would directly or indirectly affect the economic growth and 'peace' in Melaka. The presence of the Bugis in Kuala Linggi was like 'a thorn in the flesh' for the Dutch. These were the reasons for the Dutch to urge the government of Johor to expel the Bugis from Linggi.

⁶The delay in the response of the Johor's government was due to the fact that the presence of the Bugis had never been a threat to the government itself. See Andaya (1973). *The Kingdom of Johor (1641-1728): Economic and political developments*. Kuala Lumpur, p. 31. The government of Johor, however, also understood the culture of the Bugis, who would remain under the leadership of the Johorians but would only offer their loyalty to the government on name. Such attitude was what made the government of Johor to become suspicious towards the Bugis.

⁷This did not mean that Linggi was unoccupied. The area was still occupied by the Malays who were mostly the descendants of Minangkabau from Sumatera (Siak, Rokan and Kuantan) under the leadership of a penghulu. See also Norhalim Hj. Ibrahim (1998). *Sejarah Linggi Pintu Gerbang Sejarah Pembangunan Negeri Sembilan*, Shah Alam: Fajar Bakti Sdn. Bhd, p. 32.

⁸It was mentioned here as 'temporary' because the Bugis came back to Linggi and established their settlements there few years later. According to the Dutch's report in the late 1711, Daeng Manompok and his father Daeng Matimo, together with their followers, arrived in Kuala Linggi. See Andaya (1975). *The Kingdom of Johor (1641-1728): Economic and Political Developments*, Kuala Lumpur, p. 230. They left their homeland Soppeng in Southern Sulawesi around 1691, with the blessing of Sultan Ibrahim Shah, Raja Lompoko. They left their homeland because Daeng Matimo was punished by Arung Palakkan by cutting off both of his lips for committing insult. From Sulawesi, they then went to East Java and sailed to Bentan and then to Selangor. Finally in 1711, they moved to Kuala Linggi. See

Norhalim Hj. Ibrahim (1998). *Sejarah Linggi Pintu Gerbang Sejarah Pembangunan Negeri Sembilan*. Shah Alam: Fajar Bakti Sdn. Bhd., p. 35. Andaya further elaborated that when Daeng Manompok arrived in Kuala Linggi, Daeng Marewah was already came into power there. This indirectly showed that the five brothers of Daeng had reached Kuala Linggi earlier than Daeng Menompok. The presence of Daeng Menompok in Kuala Linggi signified the emergence of a new power in the area. Andaya (1975). *The Kingdom of Johor (1641-1728): Economic and political developments*. Kuala Lumpur, p. 230.

⁹For the origin of these five figures and their relations with raja-raja Luwu', see Noorduyn (1988). The Bugis Genealogy of the Raja Muda family of Riau-Johor. *JMBRAS*, 61(2), 63-92. Two other Bugis figures who who were siblings included Daeng Menompok and Daeng Matimo from Soppeng also played an important role during the period of time in the Malay political arena. See Andaya (1975). *The Kingdom of Johor (1641-1728): Economic and political developments*, Kuala Lumpur, p. 228. At the same time, a Bugis man named Daeng Sulili was traced in Perak. Some stated that he was the cousin of the five Bugis brothers. See Abdul Halim Nasir (1977). *Sejarah Perak, Sri Pertama Zaman Prasejarah hingga Zaman Kedatangan Pengaruh Orang Luar*, Kuala Lumpur, pp. 176-189.

¹⁰According to this agreement, the Dutch promised Johor to regain all the territories which had been taken away and ruled by the Bugis, provided that they would gain control over the tin trade in the states under the Bugis authority such as Selangor, Kelang and Linggi. Also, with the condition that they would be given control over a part of the textile trade in Siak. Sultan Johor also agreed to exclude taxes on all the Dutch vessels trading in Johor. On the other hand, the Dutch were required to prohibit other powers from trading or interfering in the internal affairs of Johor. The agreement caused the Bugis to become infuriated to the extent that in 1756, a war almost erupted between the Bugis on one side with the Dutch and Malay-Johor, on the other side. The Bugis then burned down the area of Melaka and the Dutch responded by attacking and capturing Linggi in 1757. The Bugis were then forced to handover their trading monopoly rights to the Dutch and promised not to pressure Johor anymore. The minor won but failed to maintain the Dutch's interest in assisting Johor. As a result, the Bugis took the opportunity to rearrange, restructure and regain their strength. Knowing that the Dutch were unreliable,

Sultan Johor permitted the return of the Bugis power into the state. Between 1760 and 1780, the Bugis-Dutch relation was smooth. At that time, the Bugis were busy transforming Riau into a prosperous state in the east. This peaceful period encouraged Raja Haji (a top Bugis figure at that time) to expand the influence of the Bugis to the northern part of Malaya. He launched an attack on Kedah and then travelled to Borneo in search of wealth. When the *Yamtuan Muda* of Bugis (Daeng Kemboja), who ruled Riau had passed away, Raja Haji went back to Riau and declared himself as the new *Yamtuan Muda* Bugis. Raja Haji had always been ambitious. He wished to expand the influence of the Bugis not only in Malaya, but also in Sumatera. The Dutch were often offended by Raja Haji's ambition to revive the power of Johor in a few places in East Sumatera and Perak. In 1782, a conflict erupted between the Dutch and Raja Haji regarding the arrest of a British vessel carrying opium in the waters of Riau. Raja Haji urged the Dutch to surrender parts of the seizure since it was done in the waters of Riau. However, the Dutch insisted not to fulfil the request. Meanwhile, there were also tensions in the Bugis-Dutch relations because the Bugis had used Riau as a centre to export tins which were smuggled from Malaya. The Bugis were also said to attack the Dutch vessels in the Straits of Malacca. The Dutch then sent their armada to conquer Riau but the effort failed due to the strong opposition from the Bugis. On the contrary, the Bugis turned to be the aggressors. In 1784, the Bugis troops led by Raja Haji launched a massive attack on the Dutch in Melaka by taking the port under siege for quite some time before the war actually broke out between the two parties. In this war, Raja Haji got himself the support of Sultan Ibrahim from Selangor, while the Dutch in Melaka received assistance from Terengganu and Siak, as well as from Batavia. Eventually the Dutch have won the war in June 1784, while Raja Haji with his army of 500 were killed in the war. The Dutch then launched an attack on the Bugis forts in Selangor. Sultan Ibrahim was forced to run away to Pahang and some other Bugis were also forced to flee to Borneo. The Dutch then moved on to attack Riau as the centre of the Bugis power. The Bugis forces were decisively defeated. As a result, the Bugis were expelled from Johor which was protected by the Dutch thereafter. However, Sultan Ibrahim who had fled to Pahang regained his throne when he succeeded in eliminating the Dutch from Selangor with the help of Pahang (Ibid, pp. 85-87).

¹¹According to Dato' Dr. Hj. Yusuf Bin Hasan, the name *Permatang* has been there since the 17th century, i.e. since the arrival of the Bugis and the establishment of their power in Selangor. See Dato' Dr. Hj. Yusuf Bin Hasan (2005). *Sejarah Kuala Selangor 2*, p. 9. However, based on the field work conducted by Ahmadin Bin Muhd Yusoff, Kampung Permatang was established by his ancestor in the early 18th century. His ancestor mentioned here is the grandson of Megat Sri Rama (one of the officials of the Johorian government before the death of Sultan Mahmud Mangkat Dijulang). According to Ahmadin, approximately four miles of the area in Permatang was opened Tuk Usuh and his family. Although many of Tuk Usuh's descendants have moved to Perak, Ahmadin and other family members who are still living in Permatang have claimed themselves to be the descendants of the Bugis, as well as the descendants of Megat Sri Rama. In terms of marriages, they often get married among themselves. It was until the generation of Ahmadin that they started to get married with people from outside their community/group. An interview was carried out with Hj. Ahmadin Bin Muhd Yusuff at his house (No. 419 Jalan Permatang Pasir Penambang, Kampung Permatang, Kuala Selangor) on 21st October 2010. This is quite interesting or even contradictory if we assumed that the Bugis interference in the government of Johor started after the five Bugis brothers had succeeded in helping Sultan Sulaiman to eliminate Raja Kecil. If it was so, it cannot be said that Ahmadin is a Bugis descendent, and this is further made impossible by his own statement saying that all the descendants of Tuk Usuh married those from among their own community, except for those of or after Ahmadin's generations. If mix marriages were assumed to have occurred between the descendants of Tuk Usuh with the Bugis who had already arrived in Permatang before Ahmadin was born, there is a possibility that Ahmadin is a Bugis descendent. Moreover, if we look further back to 1679, Daeng Mangika assisted Sultan Ibrahim Shah in Johor (1677-1685) to attack and conquer the government of Jambi. If Daeng Mangika stayed in Johor after the war and had relationship with Megat Seri Rama, it is then possible that Ahmadin is a Bugis descendent. Although Ahmadin has claimed to be a Bugis and even registered himself in the *Persatuan Anak-anak Bugis* in the district of Kuala Selangor, his family members do not practice any of the Bugis customs and traditions. Furthermore, Ahmadin does not even know which part of Sulawesi his ancestor

hailed from. This means that the origin of Ahmadin and his family can still be doubted.

¹²Sungai Pinang, which is an area in Klang, is also occupied by many Bugis. It is said that in the late 19th century and early 20th century, there were already close relationships between the Malays and Bugis, Kampar and Javanese. Here, they established new settlements and began farming in the area. By the end of 1911, the Malays (including Bugis, Kampar and Javanese) were the most numerous, with approximately 900 persons, while the Chinese were with only 300 people. Based on the research by Wan Muhammad bin Wan Sulong in 1975, there were only 30 to 40 Bugis families traced in Sungai Pinang. The earliest settlement of these families was in the 1890s. Today, the Bugis families are difficult to trace due to their close relationships with the Malays in the area either through marriages or migration which occurs every year. See Wan Muhammad B. Wan Sulong, "Sungai Pinang, Kelang Sebelum 1900" in Prof. Khoo Kay Kim, Dr. Abdullah Zakaria Ghazali, Mohamad Abu Bakar, Adnan Haji Nawang (eds.), *Selangor Dahulu dan Sekarang*, Muzium Negara Kuala Lumpur, 1985, p. 57-59.

¹³Based on the name list and address stated in the membership book of "*Persatuan Anak-Anak Bugis Daerah Kuala Selangor*" with approximately 584 members, 284 of them are living in Kuala Selangor, 107 in Tanjung Karang, while the rest are staying in Jeram, Klang, Batang Berjuntai, Kapar, Bukit Rotan, Banting, Sungai Buloh and Batu Cave. See the book of "*Senarai Nama-Nama Ahli Persatuan Anak-Anak Melayu Bugis Daerah Kuala Selangor*", Selangor Darul Ehsan, 2009 (unpublished).