

The Makassar annals

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translated and edited by
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Cover photo: Gowa's main mosque, c. 1925 (KITLV 34239)

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Preface

Beginning in perhaps the 1630s, a series of annalists at the main courts of Makassar began keeping a novel form of historical record. *Lontaraq bilang*, or 'counting manuscripts', contained carefully dated and chronologically ordered entries recording significant or surprising events. They were a clear departure in form and function from the genealogically-structured chronicles being composed about the ruling families of Gowa and Talloq in the same era. Most significant, perhaps, whereas Makassarese chroniclers ceased their work with (or at least by the time of) the conquest of Gowa and Talloq by the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and their Bugis allies in the 1660s, the annalists continued to make entries in their manuscripts. The Makassarese annals translated here continue unabated until the close of 1751. Moreover, the genre itself flourished in South Sulawesi and similar annals became a common form of record keeping among Makassarese and Bugis into the twentieth century.

The greatest obstacle to historical investigations into the events and dynamics of premodern Southeast Asia has long been the availability of sources. Manuscripts are too few, and too subject to the vagaries of chance and the depredations of a harsh tropical climate. Often we have little more than the impressionistic or inconsistent observations of European voyagers whose descriptions of Southeast Asian shores yield frustration at unasked questions as often as they do kernels of insight. The Makassar annals are a welcome refuge for historians accustomed to working with fragments like so many scattered tea leaves. Over the course of nearly a century and a half a series of annalists recorded 2360 entries – an average of 19.1 entries per year beginning in 1631. Moreover, these entries are carefully dated and the vast majority appear factually accurate as well as chronologically precise.

A textual lode of 2360 historical entries describing seventeenth and eighteenth-century events is a rare and precious resource for scholars of Southeast Asia. This translation is an invitation to scholars to use this rich resource in as many ways as possible to shed light on a fascinating part of the Indonesian archipelago. There are many possibilities here whether our interest is in biographical accounts of nobles and notables, the scaffolding

of significant events to write narrative accounts of Makassarese and early colonial history, prosopographical analysis of distinct social groups and their dynamics over time, quantitative studies of entries to answer demographic questions, or any other approach to the multitude of subjects that captured the attention of generations of annalists at the courts of Makassar. We have an opportunity to repay their diligent efforts with our own.

My labors in translating and analyzing the *lontaraq bilang* have been considerably eased by friends, colleagues, and family. I owe Michael Decker for a thousand espressos, and John Belohlavek for nearly that many glasses of wine. Such friends make the solitary work of pondering and puzzling archaic historical entries bearable. Campbell Macknight and Anthony Jukes offered suggestions on this manuscript at different stages, no doubt too few of which I have followed. I would also like to express my ongoing appreciation to my teachers at the University of Hawai'i: Leonard Andaya, Barbara Watson Andaya, and Robert Van Niel. Portions of the Introduction were previously published in the *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* and *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*. I owe a great debt to my Makassarese tutor, the late Djohan Daeng Salengke. Maile and Sophie were also much in my thoughts as this project came to fruition. My greatest obligation and thanks, however, belong to Sharon. How someone who can make all this seem so irrelevant and yet still encourage me is a wonderful mystery I have yet to fully untangle.

Abbreviations

ANRI	Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia
NBG	Nederlandsch Bijbel Genootschap
VOC	Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie
VT	Miscellaneous languages collection [Verschillende Talen], Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia, Jakarta

I

Introduction

The Makassarese genre of historical writing known as *lontaraq bilang*, or 'counting manuscripts,' contain specific and dated information about a wide variety of topics, including the births and deaths of notable individuals, the actions of rulers, the spread of Islam, trade and diplomacy, the built environment, ritual activity, warfare, internal political struggles, social and kinship relations, eclipses and comets, and more.

These texts are what are commonly called 'annals'. They are records of year-by-year events set down serially. *Lontaraq bilang* have been useful indeed to historians of South Sulawesi. More than other available writings, they have been seen as supremely factual, reliable, and uncontaminated by mythical or controversial elements. Historians have trusted the facts in these texts as by and large referential and accurate. Cense (1966:418) described *lontaraq bilang* as 'pre-eminently [*sic*] characterized by a sober conciseness, and which, as far as I know, is met with in Indonesia only in South Celebes [South Sulawesi] and a few other areas which have undergone influence from the Macassarese and Bugis'. Based on this assessment, Cense and other historians (Noorduyn 1965; Omar 2003; Tol 1993) have considered *lontaraq bilang* reliable sources of factual historical information. This is how the Makassar annals have typically been used: historians have looked in them for facts about wars, political successions, inaugural events, and so forth, attempted to determine their veracity through comparison with other indigenous sources and Western accounts, and then used these facts as scaffolding on which to build historical narratives. But collectively we have only begun to make use of this rich archive and its possibilities for yielding insight into South Sulawesi's past. In part this is because of how we approach annals.

Historians have commonly seen annals like *lontaraq bilang* on their own as being incomplete, inferior, or quasi-historical forms of record-keeping because they do not contain the causal chains of reasoning that transforms a collection of facts into a coherent story with a definable plot and outcome. As Hayden White writes of the medieval *Annals of Saint Gaul*,

What is lacking in the list of events to give it a similar regularity and fullness is a notion of a social center by which to locate them with respect to one another and to charge them with ethical or moral significance. It is the absence of any consciousness of a social center that prohibits the annalist from ranking the events he treats as elements of a historical field of occurrence. And it is the absence of such a center that precludes or undercuts any impulse he might have had to work up his discourse into the form of a narrative. (White 1987:11.)

However, this may not be accurate in the case of the Makassar annals. The inferred textual position of the rulers of Makassar provides precisely such a social center, making this text rather more complex than White's example.

This social centrality is also conveyed spatially. The *lontaraq bilang* are written from what is nearly, but not quite, a geographical location: Gowa and Talloq, and the Gowa and Talloq courts in particular. Ships and people are recorded arriving and departing. But in reality this is done because this is where the ruler dwells. He is the true spatial anchor of the text and its entries during any given reign. The effort to record the construction, repair, and fate of the various royal palaces (Tamaqrappo, Tamalate, Macciniq danggang) of the rulers of Gowa are important not just because they are significant structures, but also because they textually locate the presence of the ruler. The perambulations of rulers are followed closely as they made war, supervised construction or irrigation projects, attended meetings with other rulers, or simply went to live elsewhere while palaces were renovated. In all but a few cases, no other events are recorded in *lontaraq bilang* before the ruler returns. The exceptions involve notations about the births of high-ranking offspring of Gowa nobles. For the most part, however, activity stops when the ruler is absent. More precisely, history and activity revolves around the ruler, and where he goes they follow. *Lontaraq bilang* are not apolitical and objective, but have a subject and a politics.

There are other contexts too that have influenced the annalists who wrote these manuscripts and which make them more promising than Hayden White's description indicates. The social context in which rank and status-rivalry motivated behavior and shaped events; the political context in which Gowa's empire first expanded, then collapsed, and finally gave way to renewed struggles for pre-eminence; the religious context as Islam spread and transformed Makassar into a Muslim society tied to the Islamic networks across the archipelago; even the temporal context in which later annalists made determinations about which early entries needed to be copied and preserved and which did not changed dramatically from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century – all of these contexts and more besides make the *lontaraq bilang* a far more complex historical source than 'annals' have customarily received. This introduction will briefly explore some of these contexts and

illustrate a few of the many analytical paths that scholars might follow in examining and making use of this unique body of material. We can begin by considering the nature of the genre and how it grew within the historical context of early seventeenth century Makassar.

The lontaraq bilang genre; Origins and development

In appearance, Roger Tol described this genre as ‘more or less similar to a condensed form of the modern executive diary’ (Tol 1993:618). The annalist typically wrote the year at the top of each page, placed a vertical column for the names of months and days (both Gregorian and Hijri or Islamic dating) along one side of the page, thus making horizontal spaces for entries. On those days in which events judged significant take place, the annalist notes what occurred. Many, and in some cases most, days are left blank. Early *lontaraq bilang* had very few entries each year, suggesting that when the genre began this preformatted grid was not yet used. The seventeenth-century Makassarese annal entries tend to be shorter than the equivalent Bugis *sureq bilang* entries reviewed by Cense (1966), who described them as containing much longer and more detailed descriptions of events.

There are clues to the origins, purpose, initial date, and social context in which the first Makassarese annalist inscribed his text from the initial entries. Six of the first seven entries are marked with the term ‘purportedly’, *kutaeng* or *bedeng* in Makassarese. The first writer put these entries in retrospectively (presumably at the same time) based on personal memory, oral report, or calculated backdating. The death of Tunijalloq is recalled precisely, for it was a decisive moment that did not need to be estimated. The 1602 entry for the Dutch East India Company, or VOC, undoubtedly dates from a later period, and was interpolated into the *lontaraq bilang* because of its significance to later Makassarese history combined with Makassarese convictions about the significance of origins.

The next entry is the famously erroneous dating for the 22 September 1605 conversion of Karaeng Matoaya of Talloq and Sultan Ala’uddin of Gowa (Noorduyn 1956). It is risky to read too much into what after all could simply be scribal error, but it is nevertheless hard to imagine that the writer would have gotten the date wrong by two years if he was recording contemporaneously. The first fully dated and presumably reliable entry is for the birth of Ala’uddin’s son and later successor Malikussaid, on 11 December 1607. The next entry comes from the same year, and apparently took place slightly before Malikussaid’s propitious birth. On 9 November 1607 Friday prayers were begun in Talloq and, purportedly, a war was fought in Tamappalo. We also read that the people of Soppéng embraced Islam after their defeat

in battle, an undated event that probably took place in 1609. The improper chronology and use of *kutaeng* or *bedeng* suggest that these events too were recorded by the writer afterwards rather than contemporaneously. It is when Gowa and Talloq forced the people of Wajoq to accept Islam on 10 May 1610 that the *lontaraq bilang* entries become more chronologically ordered, carefully dated, and freer of the tentativeness of purported events.

The momentousness of this date is worth underscoring, for it is clear that entries related to Islam are a prominent feature of the early *lontaraq bilang*. This was a landmark event marking a new chapter in the tumultuous rivalry for dominance between Gowa and the major Bugis states of Wajoq, Soppéng, and Boné. From this perspective, the *lontaraq bilang* were initiated within a specific historical context involving the spread of Islam and the concomitant expansion of Gowa's empire. Indeed, the second contemporary entry on 23 November 1611 records Gowa's defeat of Boné in their war of Islamization (*bunduq kasallannganna*). Historically, it is quite possible that the 1607 war at Tamappalo also involved the spread of Islam by force of arms. For that matter, historiographically it is conceivable that the entry describing the 1609 defeat of Soppéng and their forced embrace of Islam was recorded in 1610 as well. However, the recordings of these specific events probably pre-date the creation of the *lontaraq bilang* genre, as becomes clear from other evidence within the text.

Considered together with the entries describing Matoaya and Ala'uddin's initial conversion and the formal marking of the beginning of Friday prayer services in Talloq, it is remarkable how the *lontaraq bilang* written later focused on marking watershed dates in the history of Islam's spread. This is an essential clue to understanding the genre's origins. The early decades of the seventeenth century were a time when Gowa and Talloq's rulers were active in recreating the social and political landscape around them in the image of an Islamic society. The function of *lontaraq bilang* became in part to commemorate this transformation and to mark the expansion of Islam.

It is also noteworthy that Makassarese historically wrote using a modified form of Arabic script known as *serang* when they wished to emphasize or impart an aura of religiosity to a text. Using *serang* itself connoted that a text is Islamic. From this perspective it should be mentioned that VT 25 – which is the main text used in this translation and edition – is written in the *serang* script. While this suggests a connection between the genre and Islam, other *lontaraq bilang* manuscripts were written in the conventional Makassarese script. Unfortunately we do not have access to original seventeenth-century manuscripts which could confirm the suspicion that the first *lontaraq bilang* texts employed *serang* and thus in appearance were 'Islamic'.

With this historical context in mind, we can also consider the historiographical dimension of *lontaraq bilang*'s early development. In Makassarese

eyes all histories, by definition, began with accounts of origins (Bellwood, Fox, and Tryon 1995; Fox and Sather 1996). Thus in addition to focusing on turning points in the spread of Islam in South Sulawesi, the contents of the early entries also deal extensively with the births and deaths of rulers. This genealogical component comes as no surprise given the central importance of rulers in the lives of Makassarese and their pivotal role in historical chronicles. *Patturioloang* were structured as elaborate genealogies relating the history of Gowa and Talloq's chains of kings. It was the lives of rulers that defined eras and marked the passage of time. This conception of the past dominated Makassar at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The writer of the *lontaraq bilang* incorporated this reverential, genealogical aspect of Makassarese historical thought by adding the births of seven of the most prominent Makassarese (all but Karaeng ri Barombong were rulers of either Gowa or Talloq) and the death of one.¹ While *patturioloang* and *lontaraq bilang* have substantial differences in form and purpose, the perception that the lives of rulers are an inescapable structural feature of the past is an important continuity between the two genres. Nor should we forget that conversion to Islam itself was a practice initiated and encouraged by Gowa and Talloq's rulers.

We can gain a sense of the genre's development by examining the entries that over the next two decades recorded significant moments in the history of this Muslim kingdom. As a glance at the entries for the 1610s and 1620s makes evident, adjudicating between the Gregorian and Hijri calendars used by the *lontaraq bilang* annalist is difficult. It is not possible to conclude that one or the other calendrical system is accurate. On balance the Hijri dates are more reliable. Six entries have no Gregorian date; only two have no Hijri date. In terms of chronology, in numerous cases the Hijri dates seem more dependable because they better match the sequential order of the entries, but again this is not always so. For several entries there is no obvious reason to prefer one date over the other. Overall, however, there seems to be a tendency for the annalist to prefer the Islamic calendar. The more important considerations are what this tendency and the high frequency of contradictory dates tells us about Makassarese society in the early seventeenth century.

To answer these questions, let us assume that we are not dealing with calendrical incompetence on the part of our annalist. A few mistakes are easily understood, but the steadfast inconsistency witnessed here suggests another explanation. I think the annalist did not consider getting the date

¹ It is also worth considering whether the inclusion of these moments within what was a text concerned primarily with Islam was in itself a subtle act of incorporation that implicitly and retroactively Islamicized Karaeng Matoaya and Sultan Ala'uddin's predecessors. Such an act would have been in keeping with what we know of Makassarese desires to claim the earliest possible link to Islam.

precisely correct very important. That is to say, in the early years of this genre what was significant about the events chosen for inclusion in the text was not their precise position along a time line. Chronological accuracy was less valued than we might expect when first viewing these premodern executive diaries. To put this still another way, the column with Gregorian and Hijri dates was not the focus of the text; that honor belonged to the information about people and events. So what was the writer of the *lontaraq bilang* accomplishing by recording this information and why was he doing it?

I believe what we witness over the early decades of the seventeenth century is a changed perception of dating and time and, in particular, the relationship between Makassarese and universal systems of marking time. We do not need to argue that this is a cognitive change of the sort suggested by Eviator Zerubavel (2003). The perception that concerns me is a social one about how Makassarese converts viewed their connection to the Muslim umma as a whole. Rulers remained the lodestone of their communities, but alongside this heroic conception of history developed a sense that the place of Makassarese Muslims in the umma and in Islamic history needed articulation.²

Muslims and Christians both reckoned time by universal calendars that, theoretically, could locate any and all events along a linear path. The world now possessed a Beginning and an End. The decision of the early *lontaraq bilang* writers to employ both of these calendrical systems was a deliberate choice that evidences their desire to place events and people in Makassar within a wider context. It was this intent that is striking. This is an example, I think, of how the form of a text can be deceptive to modern eyes. We should not mistake the appearance of accuracy and specificity – columns of dates – for accuracy and specificity. Including an event such as the 28 Zulkaedah 1028 (5 November 1619) feasting at Tamaqrappo or even the explicitly Islamic circumcision of Tumamenang ri Papambatuna that same year within the text was itself a means of locating it within the context of universal, calendrical time. Its precise location was less important than the fact of its inclusion. Precise dates aside, we can even legitimately question the importance of sequential accuracy in the entries as well. After all, *patturioloang* reign narra-

² We see this trend in Makassarese chronicles as well. As reign accounts progress in the Gowa and Talloq *patturioloang* there is increasing concern to provide specific dates. Indeed, there is a dramatic change in the amount of calendrical information over the course of Ala'uddin's reign in particular. While at the beginning we are not told the date of his birth, at the end of the account of his reign we read, 'This *karaeng* lived to age fifty-three. For forty-six years he ruled then died. Above in Cikkoang, while inside Jongaya, illness came to him on the ninth night of the month of Safar, on the tenth night of June, on Sunday night. Once it was day on Sunday he was brought down to his home. On the twelfth of the [Islamic] month, on the fifteenth night of the Christian month, on Wednesday, at the stroke of one in the night, he died, 1639 of the Christian calendar, 1049 of the Islamic calendar' (Cummings 2007a:45).

tives do not relate events in chronological order, and this was the dominant historiographical style when the *lontaraq bilang* were begun.

The genealogical entries of births and deaths help make this point. Being granted a textual place within the *lontaraq bilang* was recognition that an individual was of high status. It meant they were considered likely to have a decisive influence on the Makassarese around them because of their social position. Inclusion marked status and potential significance. The entries between 1611 and 1630 included many more non-rulers than did the first entries. All were important figures, usually close kin of the rulers of Gowa and Talloq, and their appearance in the *lontaraq bilang* presents us with a social map of the pre-eminent figures that dominated Makassarese society. The three instances of 'purportedly' that we encounter during these two decades are best interpreted as later additions to the text estimating the birth dates of individuals who had achieved prominence. Shaykh Yusuf, born around 1626, is a perfect example of this, for it was only toward the end of the century that this Sufi master gained fame as an Islamic scholar and enemy of the Dutch throughout the archipelago.

In an analogous fashion what events and which people were inscribed in the *lontaraq bilang* was a politically aware decision rather than a neutral judgment of historical significance. It was only later that the fit between Gregorian and Hijri dates became closer. The apparent confusion and inconsistency of dates is a clue to how Makassarese adopted textual practices from (most likely) the Portuguese and the Malays and put them to uses which were not entirely novel or removed from the original, but which clearly were adapted to local needs and purposes. Makassarese found use in these imported calendars and systems of temporal reckoning for integrating their society into the global community of believers. They did not import Islamic genres of historical writing from the Middle East wholesale with the possible exception of the Makassarese compilations of guidelines from renowned ancestors known as *rapang* which resemble Arabic *hadith* and *akhbar* (Cummings 2002; Khalidi 1994; Robinson 2003).

In addition to what this examination of dates and calendrical systems reveals, several themes also emerge from a consideration of the contents of these entries that indicates the presence of shaping contexts that charged the entries with special significance. The genealogical expansion of the text to include a somewhat wider array of individuals has already been noted. A second evident theme is overseas conquest. In particular, Makassarese naval expeditions brought the islands of Buton and Sumbawa into the ambit of Gowa's expanding empire. In early 1626 Karaeng Matoaya and Sultan Ala'uddin personally led a voyage eastwards to Buton. Buton was an important source of slaves traded in the archipelago and occupied a strategic position athwart the shipping lanes leading to the spice islands of Maluku.

Matoaya and Ala'uddin conquered the island and accepted the formal submission of its local rulers. Soon afterward they departed Buton and sailed south and west to the island of Sumbawa. Four main kingdoms on the island—Bima, Dompu, Sumbawa, and Kengkulu [Tambora]—all succumbed quickly to the Makassarese forces. But this was not the first time that Matoaya and Ala'uddin had conquered Bima. Nearly a decade earlier Sumbawa had been the first overseas target of Gowa after its defeat of the Bugis lands of Soppéng, Wajoq, and Boné. In roughly 1618 'I Luqmuq ri Mandalleq went over to Bima and conquered Bima with only nine vessels' and then again in 1619 'Karaeng ri Maroanging went over to Bima and conquered Bima and Sumbawa'. There is uncertainty about the dates, but clearly it took three wars and the personal attention of Matoaya and Ala'uddin before the kingdom of Bima accepted Gowa's overlordship.

Entries describing the defeat of Bima in the *lontaraq bilang* are particularly important because the explicit purpose of the conquest was to spread Islam. This was the first extension of Gowa and Talloq's wars of Islamization (*bunduq kasallannganna*) outside of South Sulawesi. We know a considerable amount about this effort from other Makassarese historical texts and European sources that have been analyzed by J. Noorduyn (1987). One such Makassarese text describes how the kingdoms on Sumbawa 'were defeated as infidels, were made to embrace Islam, and were all enslaved by the karaeng except for Sanggar, which the karaeng freed because it had been the first to allow them to land'. It was after the second expedition that Islamic practices began to be enforced. There was significant resistance to the Makassarese proselytizers and internal political divisions between those who accepted the new faith and those who refused. The same Makassarese text describes the tribute obligations of the defeated kingdoms. It also describes how Makassarese established *mokkeng*, from the Arabic word *muqim*, meaning 'inhabitant' in Bima. This referred to people the ruler of Gowa appointed to attend the Friday prayer service, ensuring that the minimum number of forty people demanded by Shafi'ite doctrine were present for the service to be valid. The text relates, 'He [Karaeng Matoaya] established the Friday service in those overseas countries. The karaeng hope to gain reward by appointing *mokkeng* and then setting them free. Just those people called *mokkeng* were free, and the commoners were slaves.'

Gowa's expanding empire certainly had many motivations, and we would be remiss if we failed to acknowledge the political and economic benefits that accrued to Matoaya and Ala'uddin, but there is no doubt that the extension of Gowa's authority was conceived of as a fundamentally Islamic act of faith. Having joined the umma, Matoaya and Ala'uddin took seriously their religious obligation to extend the community of believers. The author of the Talloq *patturioloang* praised Matoaya for precisely this, recording that

'This *karaeng* Islamicized the people of Makassar until they became Islamic. Except for Luwuq, he Islamicized the Bugis throughout the Bugis lands, except only for the unbelievers [highland groups]' (Cummings 2007a:87-8). Their conquests stemmed from religious certainty. Empire and Islam were two sides of the same coin, and they came together both in the expeditions to Sumbawa and in the entries of the *lontaraq bilang* recording these expeditions. It is also in this context that it became important to enter into the annals events related to the VOC, Gowa's chief adversary in the eastern archipelago and a representative of Islam's own rival Christianity. It would be fascinating indeed to know when the 2 March 1602 entry about the founding of the VOC was interpolated into the annals.

By 1631 Gowa had become a very different place than it was two decades before when the *lontaraq bilang* was initiated. In 1610 Sultan Ala'uddin was a seventeen year old young man dependent on his uncle and patron Karaeng Matoaya; in 1631 he was now a mature ruler sure of his grip on power, confident in his abilities, and possessed of a remarkable history of victories in expanding Gowa's authority and influence. Karaeng Matoaya, though still alive, had abdicated Talloq's throne and his position as *tumabicarabutta* or chief advisor of Gowa in favor of his equally capable son Tumammaliang ri Timoroq. Reading the *Talloq Chronicle* makes clear the extraordinary changes that took place under Matoaya and Ala'uddin: there is a long list of communities that had been conquered and now acknowledged Gowa and Talloq's supremacy, a long list of military innovations in such areas as building ships and forging firearms, and a long list of advances in areas as diverse as writing and woodcarving. What had begun as a fairly unpromising reign by a young boy following the expulsion of his elder brother and successor Tunipasuluq flourished beyond what anyone could have expected. By 1631 Ala'uddin and Gowa had reached the pinnacle of their influence in eastern Indonesia.

The *lontaraq bilang* changed by 1631 as well. After averaging 1-2 entries per year for the preceding two decades, beginning in 1631 we see large numbers of entries recorded. There are sixteen entries for 1631 alone. Whether this can be explained by simply positing that a new, more dedicated annalist succeeded one much stingier with his words is difficult to determine. It may be that something changed in Makassarese society that encouraged a more intensive interest in recording significant events. In addition, beginning in late 1629 the annalist's use of Gregorian and Hijri calendars consistently coincides or matches. In no cases do the dates differ by more than a month; most refer to the same day or are but a few days apart. In all likelihood, then, the *lontaraq bilang* genre as we know it dates to 1631.

One possible theory is that Datoq Hafid, who died on 13 November 1629, was the annalist in charge of the *lontaraq bilang* and that he was succeeded by a more diligent writer who began, fittingly, by recording his predeces-

sor's death. Lacking other evidence this can be no more than conjecture. If true it indicates that the *lontaraq bilang* genre either originated with or at least was influenced by Datoq Hafid's Malay background. There was a thriving Makassarese Malay community in Makassar during Sultan Ala'uddin's reign that had close links to the ruling families of Gowa, Talloq, and other coastal Makassarese communities. The 29 October 1631 conflagration in the Javanese quarter refers to this Malay community, for Makassarese used the term 'Javanese' to refer to all those from the western archipelago, primarily Malays. It would be a diffusionist error, and sloppy scholarship, to simply argue that this genre was imported by Malays to Gowa, however. Neither Makassarese annals nor chronicles resemble Malay historical genres such as *hikayat* and *syair*. What is intriguing and suggestive about this theory is that Malays certainly are well known for their role in spreading Islam to Makassar. The presence of a Malay community was impetus for Tunijalloq (r. Gowa 1565 to 1590) to build the first mosque in Mangallekana and encourage Muslims to make the *hajj*, for example. It was a Mingangkabau Malay named Katte Tungallaq who led Karaeng Matoaya and Sultan Ala'uddin in their profession of faith in 1605. Malays frequently served as religious officials and teachers in seventeenth-century Makassar as well. This would at least provide contextual support for the argument that *lontaraq bilang* represent an Islamicized genre of Makassarese historical writing. If Datoq Hafid indeed was a *lontaraq bilang* annalist this is best interpreted as testament to the deep connections between Malays and Makassarese and the two-way process of acculturation taking place during Ala'uddin's reign.

From their beginning *lontaraq bilang* displayed an interest in marking the births and deaths of powerful nobles because history was conceptualized and society organized genealogically. But births and deaths began to take on an added significance, for they now also marked the boundaries of the growing Muslim community in Makassar. We see an increase in the quantity and quality of genealogical information recorded. Instead of children simply 'appearing' we now get information on genealogical relationships. For example, on 3 June 1631 'a wife of Karaeng ri Popoq gave birth to his oldest son named I Liba who lived just twenty-nine days' and on 25 June 1631 the 'wife of I Daeng Kalula had a daughter named I Taniq'. It is difficult to be certain, but in a society where Islam spread through kinship and patron-client ties, these details about relationships may have gained in importance during the course of Ala'uddin's reign. Important relationships with kingdoms such as Mataram did make their appearance in the annals as Gowa and Talloq forged ties with other Muslim kingdoms. Later entries from Ala'uddin's reign contain a growing number of entries marking these relationships as envoys and messengers from Aceh, Maluku, Banten, and elsewhere arrive and depart Gowa. Annals entries recorded and in so doing affirmed the significance of

Gowa within the network of Muslim kingdoms spanning the archipelago.

Linked to this concern with the boundaries of the umma was a growing concern with how Makassarese Muslims should behave. We can begin to sense around this time interest in and possibly debate over the role of Islamic practices, requirements, and prohibitions in Makassarese society. Christian Pelras (1994) posited that there were elements of Islamic doctrine that rulers from South Sulawesi judged incompatible with indigenous beliefs, delaying conversion to Islam until the beginning of the seventeenth century. While this is unlikely to explain the timing of Matoaya and Ala'uddin's conversion, he is correct that Makassarese had to find ways to overcome potential conflicts and incorporate Islamic requirements into existing practices. For example, maritime trade played an important role in providing revenue sustaining Gowa's empire. We know this from a variety of sources, including the entries here noting that Ala'uddin had a royal hall constructed near where these transactions took place named 'Watching Trade' or Macciniq danggang. Yet Islamic law's concern over usury also prompted Ala'uddin and Matoaya to decide that it would be forbidden to pay interest on debts. The inscription of this decision on 24 May 1631 recorded Ala'uddin's desire to further Islamicize Makassar and was an instrumental textual act that itself helped achieve this end.

By 1631 we can consider the *lontaraq bilang* genre mature. The style of entries and broad range of concerns that annalists would record had become established. There would be no more significant transformations of the genre in either form or content until the tribulations of defeat in the Makassar War in 1669 made themselves felt in these pages. During this 'classical' period in Makassarese historical discourse the textual influence of Gowa as a powerful Islamic empire would remain strong.

For example, there was great concern on the part of the annalist to mark important steps in Gowa and Talloq's Islamization. This particularly involved tracking the adoption of what was considered proper religious practices. Most obviously, it was for this reason that the 1605 conversion of Matoaya and Ala'uddin was included. This was also true for the commencement of Friday prayer services in Talloq in 1607, Tumamenang ri Papambatuna's circumcision in 1619, the use of Islamic wedding rites beginning in 1626, and the forbidding of interest on debts in 1631. All of these are in addition to the multiple entries tracing the advances in the wars of Islamization to spread the faith in and beyond South Sulawesi. This steady progress of Islamization clearly continued during this period. In rapid succession in 1632 there apparently was a public declaration about how tobacco interfered with Islamic teachings about sobriety, the first Makassarese man (that we know of) was encouraged to embark on the pilgrimage to Mekka, and people were pointedly assembled for Friday prayer services. We read the

first reference to an 'Arabic name' given to a newborn, and indeed Muslim names make ever more frequent appearances. The construction of new mosques, initial Friday prayer services, and the arrival of Islamic shayks from overseas would become standard features of the annals. In short, it was intensely important to the text's annalists to make explicit Gowa's Islamic character and identity. The Makassar annals was not simply a neutral record, but an interested account or argument that through its entries demonstrated commitment to Islam.

So too Makassarese annalists closely tracked events related to Gowa's empire. Uprisings overseas on Bima and efforts to subdue the recalcitrant rebels are noted with regularity. A 1632 revolt against Gowa's rule took place not long after the third Makassarese conquest of Bima recorded earlier in the *lontaraq bilang*. We know from Dutch harbor records from Batavia that a Makassarese armada of some 400 vessels devastated the kingdom, destroying houses and sending people fleeing into the hills. So thoroughly was the revolt crushed by Karaeng ri Buraqne, and so in awe of Gowa's power was the ruler of Bima, that he forbid the VOC to trade in Bima (*Dagh-Register* 1631-1634:174-5). Even the formal act of submission by envoys from Bima on 21 June 1633 did not end the desire of many to escape Gowa's overlordship, for shortly after Ala'uddin's death news arrived of another impending revolt. In subsequent years dozens of entries track the efforts of Sultan Ala'uddin and Tumammaliang ri Timoroq to maintain or extend their authority over South Sulawesi. Armed expeditions to Toraja, Kabaena, and Mandar; envoys from major kingdoms in the archipelago such as Maluku, Mataram, and Aceh; and messengers from the Sula and Banggae islands, Luwu, Mandar, Boné, and Ambon all find their place in the text. In short, Makassarese annalists continued to feel that marking Gowa's empire and the status of its relations with other polities was essential. Just as it was a record as well as a manifestation of Gowa and Talloq's Islamic identity, it was a record and a manifestation of Gowa's imperial ambitions.

To return to Hayden White's bleak assessment of annals, we can in contrast identify in the early *lontaraq bilang* entries strong unifying social contexts and centers of attention that relate events together and give them at least the sense of a narrative that White found so lacking in the annals of medieval Europe. Analyzing the origins and development of the *lontaraq bilang* reveals much about when and why they were composed in the early seventeenth century. Through a similar close reading we can also establish where they were kept and by who as the annals evolved over the course of the next century.

Based on internal evidence, it appears that the Gowa court was where the annalists worked, at least until the Makassar War of the 1660s and probably for the remainder of the seventeenth century. The best indication of this is

the paucity of entries about Talloq's rulers compared to those about Gowa's rulers during this period. Tumammaliang ri Timoroq, who ruled Talloq from 1623 until 1641, and his brother and successor Karaeng Pattingalloang, who ruled until 1654, make relatively few appearances in the *lontaraq bilang*. The year of Tumammaliang ri Timoroq's purported birth is included, and one marriage in 1637, but the next we hear is that he refused to return to Gowa on 25 December 1640. His voyage and return from Timor the following year, and his subsequent death are recorded, but of his actions as ruler of Talloq nothing is written. Pattingalloang too is only mentioned incidentally before his 15 September 1654 death. Pattingalloang's succession to the throne is not noted, nor is the succession of his nephew Harrunarasyid (which took place in either late 1654 or possibly early 1655). These omissions are striking both because Tumammaliang ri Timoroq and Karaeng Pattingalloang were such important figures and because this scant treatment contrasts strongly with the quantity and quality of entries about Gowa's rulers during this period.

Sultan Ala'uddin, who ruled Gowa from 1593 to 1639, his son and successor Sultan Malikussaid, who ruled until 1653, and in turn his son and successor Sultan Hasanuddin appear frequently in the annals. During the 1630s when we hear of Tumammaliang ri Timoroq once we hear of Ala'uddin sixteen times. The same discrepancy exists with Malikussaid. We are told of when he first received his karaeng-title, two of his marriages (along with one reconciliation and a divorce), the ritual establishing him as *patimatarang* or heir designate, his installation as ruler of Gowa, his precise actions in war (once to the hour), his movement while one royal hall was rebuilt and later his occupation of a new one, how word reached him of events elsewhere, his departures and returns from trips, and his anger at being disobeyed. Hasanuddin is afforded the same careful attention from his birth, circumcision, and teeth filing to his deliberations in war and pronouncements at court before his own death in 1670. In short, the preponderance of internal evidence suggests that the early annalists lived at the Gowa court and were far more concerned about events there than those in nearby Talloq.

If this conclusion is accurate, it means that the *lontaraq bilang* were being composed at a different court than the Makassarese royal chronicles being written at the same time. The internal evidence, albeit suggestive rather than definitive, for the *patturioloang* suggests that they were composed at the behest of the rulers of Talloq (Cummings 2007a:22-3). The historiographical differences between the two genres and the surprisingly few instances in which people mentioned in one genre also appear in the other are discussed below. At some point, however, the *lontaraq bilang* began to be kept at the Talloq court. This probably took place around the turn of the eighteenth century. The overall pattern of entries (see Figure 1) in VT 25 and the existence of several *lontaraq bilang* manuscripts such as ANRI 16/6 (which ends in 1682)

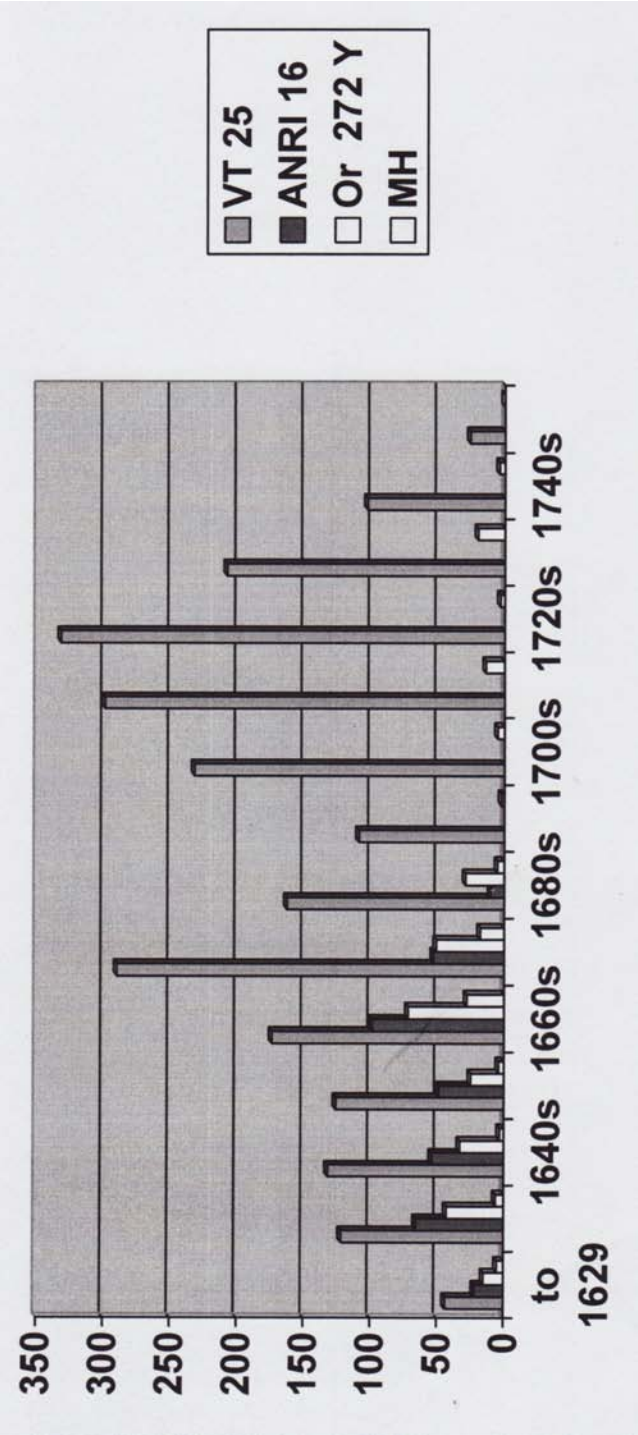


Figure 1. *Lontanaraq bilang* manuscript entries by decade

and Or. 272Y (which ends in 1689) that only cover the seventeenth century fit this hypothesis. It is during the early eighteenth century that the annals seem to recover from their nadir in the 1690s. Politically, it was also during the early eighteenth century that Talloq's rulers 'captured' the throne of Gowa through marriage, installing a son of Sultan Abdul Kadir of Talloq as Gowa's ruler in 1709. Moreover, it is shortly after this that we get definitive proof that the Makassar annals were now being composed by a Talloq noble.

The one annalist whose identity we know was Karaeng Lempangang, who was born on 7 December 1709. He was a son of the newly-crowned ruler of Talloq Sultan Sirajuddin, and himself succeeded a brother as ruler of Talloq in 1739. When Karaeng Lempangang became an annalist is uncertain, as is exactly how long he performed this duty. It may have only been a few years, but he performed the important work of making a new copy of the annals and in so doing inscribed his identity into the text. He did so by using the first person, identifying other nobles as 'my younger uncle', 'my grandparent', 'my mother', or 'my friend'. His recopied 18 December 1714 entry describing when he gained his karaeng-title reads, 'the people of Lempangang went to myself'. He was not always consistent at this, however, for a 1 December 1722 entry using his personal name reads 'I Mappaingaq Syafiuddin circumcised'. But in numerous entries from 1713 to 1731 Karaeng Lempangang used the first person to describe his kinship relations with those whose actions were recorded in the annals. After this period, however, all later references to Karaeng Lempangang are in the customary third person, beginning 15 June 1733. This indicates that he had passed on the *lontaraq bilang* duties to another annalist in the early 1730s. In the manuscript that Ligetvoet (1880:3) copied and used, a change in paleography coupled with the entries about Karaeng Lempangang convinced Ligetvoet that after 1731 a new annalist took over. It seems likely that sometime in 1731 Karaeng Lempangang made a complete copy of the *lontaraq bilang* manuscript that he had inherited and which he bequeathed to a new annalist shortly thereafter.³

The kind of editorial changes that Karaeng Lempangang made were not unusual. Numerous writers replaced names or titles of individuals in a given entry with posthumous or other titles that the subject had received later. The proliferation of titles and the inconsistency of annalists sometimes makes it difficult to determine whose actions are being recorded, especially because many karaeng-titles in particular were held by several people over the

³ A second annalist who refers to himself by name is Makkaraeng Zainuddin, who recopied the entry noting his birth on 26 December 1722 using the first person. His 27 January 1748 entry suggests he had taken over the duties of annalist by that point. The only other annalist to use the first person was an unknown successor to Karaeng Lempangang who on 16 June 1751 wrote 'I hear of the death of I Puaq Ninaq across on Sumbawa.'

course of a century or more. Even more problematic are entries describing people in terms of kinship relations from a much later period. For example, a 1626 entry reads, 'a grandparent of Karaeng ri Bontoa born who was only four months older than the mother of Karaeng ri Balloq'. In some cases we can determine the names of such individuals, and in other cases we cannot. These entries do mark the importance of, in this case, Karaeng ri Bontoa and Karaeng ri Balloq in the eyes of the annalist copying the text, which opens up other analytical possibilities even as it complicates identifying individuals in the text. Annalists also interpolated events they considered of special importance into the manuscript, such as the 2 March 1602 founding of the VOC, Arung Palakka's 25 December 1660 flight from Boné to Buton, and Shaykh Yusuf's death at the Cape of Good Hope on 22 May 1699.

There was clearly no sense among annalists that the text was inviolate and needed to be preserved verbatim. But overall the changes they made were cosmetic, at least when they were making a new copy of the *lontaraq bilang* to replace an older (and probably decaying) manuscript. But as the section below describing other *lontaraq bilang* manuscripts indicates, writers were free to create new texts that were extracted from the main court manuscript that VT 25 represents. In these texts, Makassarese could pick and choose the entries for inclusion they considered relevant based on criteria far different from those annalists used many decades earlier.

Whether Karaeng Lempang and other annalists decided on their own which events were worthy of recording, or whether they entered events into *lontaraq bilang* at the instruction of the ruler of Gowa (or Talloq) is unknown. Given the political implications of the choices it seems certain that at least some events were entered at the command of the ruler. But other events may have been at the discretion of the annalist.

We also have no way of knowing how Makassarese read, consulted, or used *lontaraq bilang* during the seventeenth or eighteenth century. We can speculate that Makassarese at the Gowa and Talloq courts may have turned to them for examples of how past rulers confronted different situations, but whether this was with practical, pedagogical, or pleasurable intent is uncertain. It is quite likely that they were important as tangible incarnations of a sacred past, the paper equivalent of the genealogical ties that linked Gowa and Talloq's rulers to an illustrious past. From this perspective, simply having the manuscript may have been more important than actually reading it. It may have been enough to charge a court annalist with the crucial symbolic task of adding new entries to the text, thereby linking the current court and ruler with his chain of predecessors. We simply do not know.

The *lontaraq bilang* are usefully contrasted with the *patturioloang*, or royal chronicles, of Gowa and Talloq. From the outset it is clear that these two genres represent quite different historiographical projects. The chronicle

tradition evolved from oral tales about past rulers and the sacred origins of communities; the annals tradition was borrowed from foreigners, probably Portuguese. Chronicles were genealogically-structured accounts of individual reigns; annals were chronologically-structured accounts of events. Segments of the chronicles were composed at the end of a ruler's life; the annals were progressively composed and events entered as they occurred. It is likely that different individuals were responsible for these two different historiographical genres, for we have no good evidence that *lontaraq bilang* were a source used by chroniclers, or vice versa. For example, very few individuals named in a given reign of the Gowa or Talloq chronicle are also found in the annals, and the annal entries contain abundant historical information not incorporated into the chronicles. This intriguing fact is further indication of the wide gulf that separates modern historiographical sensibilities from those that influenced the practices of Makassarese historians of the seventeenth century.

Lives, deaths, and other analytical possibilities

The simplest way that scholars have used the *lontaraq bilang* is to search among the entries for information about the lives of individuals (especially rulers) or about a particular historical subject such as the establishment of Islamic practices or the construction of fortifications. The sheer quantity of entries also allows us to analyze them in other ways, and this section explores some (but by no means all) of these further analytical possibilities.

As noted previously, we do not know how Makassarese read, consulted, or used *lontaraq bilang*. But the wealth of genealogical information VT 25 contains allows us to follow the lives of prominent individuals whose birth, experiences, marriages, children, and death were recorded. This biographical perspective on individuals also yields insights into the social dynamics that shaped the lives of the Makassarese nobility. *Lontaraq bilang* mapped the lives of prominent individuals. Who was deemed worthy of inclusion by the annalists of *lontaraq bilang* depended on two main factors: rank and political favor. The more closely related an individual was to the ruler at the time that entries were made, the greater the chance that the events of his or her life (and even the fact that he or she existed) would be judged significant. But politics played its inevitable role too.

Not all births, marriages, and deaths were recorded by annalists, even among those closely related to the ruler. The *Gowa Chronicle*, for example, tells us that X married X times, but only X of his marriages to these wives is commemorated in VT 25. In general, those whose children's births were recorded represent those who were politically in favor at the Gowa court at

that moment. As court factions contested for influence, gaining or losing the favor of the ruler, the political significance of any one figure would thus wax and wane over time. With the exception of the rulers of Gowa in the seventeenth century, and the rulers of Talloq later, no figure's presence in the *lontaraq bilang* remained consistent. Reading when a given person appears in the annals, and when they do not, provides insight into the never-ending contests for status and influence that permeated Makassarese political and social life.

An excellent and dramatic example of this is the controversial Makassarese noble Karaeng Karunrung, a central figure at Sultan Hasanuddin's court in the 1650s and 1660s. *Lontaraq bilang* entries inform us that Karunrung, a son of the ruler of Talloq Karaeng Pattingalloang, was born on 4 September 1631. In 1654 he became *tumabicarabutta* or 'speaker of the land', the chief advisor and minister of Sultan Hasanuddin, and in 1660 helped in the fight to put down a major Bugis rebellion. Dutch sources indicate that Karunrung favored war with the VOC and that his advice carried much weight, though it appears that by 1661 he had been replaced as *tumabicarabutta* by his chief rival, Karaeng Sumannaq (Andaya 1981:60-1). Another political enemy was Sultan Harrunarasid, the ruler of Talloq who had succeeded Karunrung's father, and the two convinced Sultan Hasanuddin to exile Karunrung in 1664 and then again in 1666. The Makassar annals dutifully record his changing fortunes, including his first exile and loss of possessions on 26 May 1664, his return from banishment on 17 February 1666, his second exile nine months later on 28 November 1666, and his subsequent return to Gowa and to favor on 20 July 1667.

Karaeng Karunrung's turbulent career in Makassarese politics would continue unabated until his death on 27 January 1685. It is particularly noteworthy that while in exile Karaeng Karunrung for all intents and purposes ceased to exist. Dropping off the page and dropping off the face of the earth were much the same thing, it seems. For Karaeng Karunrung, and for other figures in the *lontaraq bilang* as well, social and textual exile were identical. His presence or absence in the text indicates the changing nature of his relationship to Sultan Hasanuddin, the ruler of Gowa during its most turbulent years. Biographically, then, the Makassar annals can be read as a 'who's who' that assigns significance based on blood rank and political status.

We are not confined to tracking such obvious luminary figures as Karaeng Karunrung, however. Selecting other figures can often shed the most light on Makassarese society and politics. Consider, for example, the role of powerful women in Makassarese politics, something only hinted at in the royal chronicles and the fragmentary Dutch sources of the time. One of the noble women about whom we can learn a substantial amount from her many appearances in the Makassar annals is Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq.

During her lifetime Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq married and divorced four times, twice to rulers of overseas kingdoms within Gowa's political ambit

(Bima and Sumbawa) and twice to Karaenta ri Jarannika, one of the foremost nobles in Gowa. The motives for these marriages and divorces are not transparent, but their overall effect is clear: they placed Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq along the lines linking future generations with powerful forebears. The rulers of Bima would trace their ascent through her, and had the marriage not failed, the same might have been true of later rulers of Sumbawa and even Gowa through her daughter's marriage to Tuammenang ri Lakiung. Though they produced no children, Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq's two marriages to Karaenta ri Jarannika were strategic and potentially of enormous significance. In fact, Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq was apparently active in court politics, forcing her brother Sultan Hasanuddin to temporarily exile her in 1662. Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq also supervised politically important marriages of her daughters from her first marriage. One married a son of Karaeng Karunrung, the dominant figure at the Gowa court and in Makassarese politics for over two decades. Another daughter was married to a son of Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq's brother Sultan Hasanuddin. Offspring from this marriage of first cousins would have been influential and high-ranking figures at the Gowa court, but the marriage failed shortly before Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq died. Undaunted, her daughter married the ruler of Talloq three months later.

The expansion of a political and social order in which marriage and descent were critical shaped how noble Makassarese women sought influence both in the present and in the future by becoming ancestors linking later generations with influential forebears. Historical records are often made with an eye toward how those in the future will read the past. While this sense of acting for posterity may be increasingly rare in the modern world, it was of the utmost significance in seventeenth-century Makassar. This was a world in which ancestors provided the social rank of their descendants. It was from their blood that one's potential for greatness flowed. Makassarese viewed notable ancestors as the source of their most important values and traditions, and for centuries handed down their words unchanged, seeing them as repositories of ancient, unimpeachable wisdom. The social heights that ancestors occupied was therefore a resource to which later Makassarese were eager to demonstrate connections. Makassarese charted their histories along genealogical lines, passing from one ancestor to the next, tracing their ascent back to the high-ranking and most ancient ancestor possible. It is no surprise that to some day be remembered as an important ancestor was a potent stimulus for Makassarese.

With their ability to marry numerous prominent men, and to bear high-ranking offspring from more than one noble, Makassarese women such as Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq maximized their chances to become revered ancestors even as they positioned themselves as formidable individuals wielding great influence at court. Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq was not the only

Makassarese woman to manipulate the politics and possibilities of marriage, offspring, and divorce. Throughout *lontaraq bilang* manuscripts there are women who astutely maneuver themselves into positions of influence, aligning first with one noble and then another. Examining their lives as recorded in *lontaraq bilang* brings into sharp focus perspectives on status, success, and political life of high-ranking women in seventeenth-century Makassar.

One final figure whose life and unusual presence within the *lontaraq bilang* is also worth examining, both for his historical importance and for what he illustrates about the analytical possibilities in these annals. Yusuf was a Makassarese purportedly born, the annals tell us, in 1626. The fact of his birth was no doubt interpolated into the text at a later date when the significance of his life had become clear. Subsequent entries report with precision that Yusuf requested permission from Gowa's ruler Sultan Malikussaid to go on the haj to Mecca on 22 September 1644 and set sail a month later on October 20th. He likely never returned to Makassar, but occasional entries indicate his importance to annalists. Finally, an entry on 22 May 1699 reports that this was, 'the night of I Tuang Shaykh Yusuf's death overseas at the Cape at the age of 74.' Indeed, it is only then that the curious story of Shaykh Yusuf's posthumous influence over Makassar begins to unfold in earnest.

What followed over the next few years was considerable debate over what to do with Yusuf's corporal remains. We know from other sources that Gowa's ruler Abdul Jalil formally requested that his remains be returned to Makassar, and that this was the subject of much debate among VOC officials. The Makassarese even presented 2000 *rijksdaalders* on 11 May 1689 to President Hartsink to pay for the expense of returning Shaykh Yusuf (Andaya 1981:276-7). Suspicion over Abdul Jalil's motives and the possible impact of such a repatriation meant that years were to pass before anything happened. Of this diplomatic wrangling the annalists have nothing to say, though it is likely that the 15 June 1699 entry reporting that three moons were seen and the 25 July 1699 entry reporting that two suns were seen were portents connected to Yusuf's death.

Eventually, on 5 April 1705, 'the remains of I Tuang Shaykh Yusuf (may Allah bless him) arrived and was buried in Lakiung the next day.' Burials were elaborate affairs in premodern Makassar (Gervaise 1701:140-7) and locating Yusuf's grave in Lakiung in close proximity to the royal graves of the rulers of Gowa was an indication of his significance in both life and death. It is from this date that the tradition of Shaykh Yusuf's grave as a site of spiritual pilgrimage dates. Subsequent entries confirm Shaykh Yusuf's importance in Makassar. His descendants married into the royal families of South Sulawesi, and an entry from 3 July 1747 specifically describes the completion of a domed structure over his grave. In other words, with the case of Shaykh Yusuf we have a range of textual clues about Makassarese attitudes toward the death of exceptional individuals and the development

of religious practices within a contested colonial environment.

The lives of individuals like Karaeng Karunrung, Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq, and Shaykh Yusuf are a rich province for historical analysis. As one would expect in a genre centered on royal courts inhabited by an ever-changing cast of nobles and notables concerned with the omnipresent struggles for social status and political influence, the social maps we can sketch are by and large concerned with the pre-eminent figures of their time. Tracking such luminaries as they jockeyed for power, moved in and out of the textual record, or in other ways cast a long shadow over the Makassarese historical landscape is one of the most obvious ways historians can tap these records. But there are other ways to analyze the Makassar annals that move beyond simple biographies or tracking events.

For example, a coherent body of 2360 entries is ripe for demographic and quantitative analysis. One way to begin mining this enormously rich vein of information is by asking which of these diverse topics most consistently captured the attention of annalists. From this perspective, it is clear that the greatest concern of Makassarese annalists was death. For over a century, the deaths of their fellow nobles, close relatives, and even notables far from Makassar were the events annalists were most inclined to preserve. From the first entries in the early seventeenth century until the last entry at the close of 1751, successive annalists recorded 768 deaths in the 2360 dated entries in the text. In other words, a third of all entries dealt with the fact of death. This is over twice the number of entries dealing with the other great social and demographic concerns of premodern Makassar: births are noted in 342 entries (14%), marriages of one sort or another in 327 entries (14%), and divorces in 155 entries (7%).

Death forces us to find meaning in tragedy (or triumph) and to order social relationships with those already dead and those still living. For Makassarese, memorializing deaths was a means to grapple with the dominant social and political themes of their era, such as the spread of Sufi Islamic brotherhoods and the existential threat posed by the advent of Dutch colonial rule in the late seventeenth century. It was also a chance for individual annalists to ponder more personal questions about their own identities and systems of belief.

Demographics and the lives of individuals like SY with his life, death, and subsequent career can also be a starting point for other kinds of analysis. We can calculate a wide array of demographic information of which for most of Southeast Asia during this period we have only impressionistic evidence. For example, we can calculate the average age at which such rituals as circumcisions and teeth filings were performed, the age of men and women at their first marriage, the frequency of divorce, lifespan among noble men and women, and so forth. These examples are but the proverbial tip of the iceberg. The richness of these entries to historians is limited only by our imagination in putting them to creative analytical use.

The lontaraq bilang manuscripts

There is no canonical *lontaraq bilang* text. In 1880 A. Ligtvoet published a transcription and Dutch translation of a Makassarese *lontaraq bilang* manuscript currently catalogued as Or. 236 in KITLV. He made his copy of the manuscript in the mid-nineteenth century, but noted that it was not the only *lontaraq bilang* manuscript (Ligtvoet 1880:1-2). Or. 236 is nearly identical to and seems to be a copy of VT 25, an Indonesian National Library manuscript dated 1874 that may itself be the manuscript Ligtoet used or another copy of it. Ligtoet's 'Transcriptie van het Dagboek der Vorsten van Gowa en Tello' is the standard text that subsequent scholars have consulted, preferring it to an Indonesian translation of the same manuscript published more recently (Kamaruddin et al. 1985-1986). Yet Kamaruddin et al. (1985-1986) contains numerous entries not found in Ligtoet, who stated clearly that he was only publishing extracts rather than a complete transcription and translation of the manuscript. For example, there are 122 entries in VT 25 for the 1630s, all of which are in Kamaruddin et al. but 27 of which are not found in Ligtoet. There is also the problem that sometimes the Makassarese text is given but no translation provided in Ligtoet, which makes this edition problematic for scholars working only with the Dutch translation. Furthermore, some entries contained in VT 25 are found in neither Ligtoet nor Kamaruddin, with the result that important information has not been available to historians of the period. Indeed, an entire manuscript page of seventeen entries from 1721-1722 is missing in Kamaruddin and reduced to seven entries in Ligtoet. In total, while VT 25 contains 2360 entries, Kamaruddin's Indonesian translation contains 2320 entries (98%) and Ligtoet's Dutch translation only 1241 entries (53%).

Figure 1 represents the total number of entries per decade in VT 25 and three other *lontaraq bilang* manuscripts. Two of these additional manuscripts contain only seventeenth-century entries. VT 25 stands out for both its chronological breadth and its quantity of entries. VT 25 has 175 manuscript pages containing 2360 individual entries. There are only 46 entries from 1545 to 1630, and then 2314 entries (an average of 19.1 per year) from 1631 to 1751. Some decades are comparatively rich with entries (the 1720s average 33.2 entries per year) and some are comparatively poor (the 1690s average 10.9 entries per year). The number of entries begins to decline in the early 1740s, though there are 16 entries for the final year of 1751. The first spikes in entries during the 1670s, followed by a decline in annalist activity before another period of intense recording in the 1710s and 1720s, indicate that this was by no means a static or consistent tradition. The paucity of entries in the last decade of the seventeenth century may well be a reflection of the chaos and despair that gripped Gowa in the wake of the Makassar War (1666-1669). The tradition moved to Talloq's court in the eighteenth century, and the upswing

in entries beginning in the 1710s no doubt reflects the personal diligence of Karaeng Lempangang.

The following additional manuscripts were consulted in preparing this edition:

1. ANRI 16/6 (a copy is held at the Universiteitsbibliotheek, Universiteit Leiden under catalog number Cod. Or. 14,450 and is described as a manuscript owned by Andi Ijo, former *karaeng* of Gowa) has a section of *lontaraq bilang* entries on pages 47-65 that cover years 1605 to 1682. It is written in the *lontaraq beru* script. The text does not give days of the week for entries, and it omits much of the genealogical information about births, marriages, and deaths found in VT 25. Yet it does contain valuable information not found in VT 25. This includes details within entries and complete entries not found in VT 25. The unique entries in this manuscript are provided in chapter III.

ANRI 16/6 is the most fascinating of the *lontaraq bilang* texts because of its striking uniqueness.

The variations in phrasing, word choice, and word order within parallel entries are evidence that this text is not a simple copy of VT 25's ancestor. Coupled with the presence of entries either not found or substantially different from those in VT 25 and the differences in dates for the same events (such as the initial conversion to Islam in 1605), it is highly likely that the ancestor of ANRI 16/6 represents a separate *lontaraq bilang* tradition. It may well have been written contemporaneously with the ancestor of VT 25. A good example of the differences in perspective that suggest this possibility are the entries for 9 December 1632. VT 25 stresses that an envoy from Banten arrived bearing the body of Tumatea ri Banten, while ANRI 16/6 notes that this envoy was from Mataram and brought a text written on slats of bamboo that had been woven together. Despite the discrepancy in understanding about where on Java the envoy arrived from, both may be correct and represent the different perceptions of two annalists about what most important to record (or simply what they individually witnessed) about the envoy's arrival. On other occasions, relatively long entries such as 29 February 1636 have the same wording, which may simply mean that the two annalists listened to the same report about what transpired. A good example of simple differences is the entry for 11 August 1663: VT 25 has 'namaqballaq taua ri Jongaya' (people built houses in Jongaya) and ANRI 16/6 has 'paqballaqballakangi ri Jongaya' (houses were built in Jongaya). Frequently too different titles are used to describe the same person in parallel entries.

One of the most striking differences between VT 25 and ANRI 16/6 is the latter's indifference to the noble births, deaths, marriages, and divorces that attracted the attention of VT 25's annalist. In this ANRI 16/6 resembles Or. 272Y and the c. 1795 translation in 'Makasaarsche Historiën'. Whether ANRI

16/6 underwent a culling process by which entries deemed no longer significant is not clear.

The same text contains (with no breaks or other visual clues after the last dated entry to mark a transition) a list of the names and ages of 8 of Gowa's and 4 of Talloq's rulers. The list does not contain Tunipasuluq (not surprising given his reputation) or Pattingalloang (which is surprising and may be a simple omission), but it is more noteworthy that the last rulers in mentions both died in 1709: Tumamenang ri Lakiung of Gowa and Tumamenang ri Passiringanna of Talloq. This helps us approximately date the text; either the original or a very early copy was probably written shortly after 1709.

2. MH – 'Makasaarsche Historiën'. *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 4 (1855):111-45. This article consists of an edited Dutch translation of a 1795 historical manuscript owned by an old man named Ince' Timor living in Maros. The Makassarrese text is not provided. Ince' Timor was presumably of mixed Malay-Makassarrese descent. We do not know if he was from Maros or if the text was authored there. He did have access to the royal court in order to copy extracts of existing Makassarrese texts and the education to author new sections. Part of the manuscript is a *lontaraq bilang* text containing 117 entries, the first dated 1602 and the last 2 April 1747. Virtually all entries from the seventeenth century are found in VT 25, though the number of entries is much smaller. Many of the eighteenth-century entries that also are found in VT 25 are consistently misdated: generally events took place three years earlier than this text states.

3. Or. 272Y of KITLV contains 16 pages of *lontaraq bilang* entries covering the years 1600 to 1689. It is written in the *lontaraq беру* script. It has 253 entries, about 25% as many as VT 25 during the same years. It has no unique entries and few noteworthy differences in the content of its individual entries. It is, in other words, highly derivative.

Examination of the similarities and differences between these and VT 25 can reveal much about the *lontaraq bilang* genre and more general changes taking place in South Sulawesi during this period. To begin, it is striking how the annalist-editors of both MH and Or. 272 judged the significance of the entries in the royal court annals tradition represented by VT 25. Both MH and Or. 272 are the textual results of an annalist with access to an earlier *lontaraq bilang* text who selected the entries he or she wished to include. The author of Or. 272Y (or subsequent owners of the manuscript) was apparently content simply with preserving his selection of entries from the seventeenth century. The author of MH (or, again, subsequent holders of the manuscript) went on from that foundation to continue adding entries to the annals. Both the selection of events concerning the seventeenth century and the nature of the new

entries in MH from the eighteenth century provide insight into Makassarese perceptions of their past and present.

Broadly speaking, MH and Or. 272 represent an eighteenth-century perspective on seventeenth-century Makassarese history. A social, political, and historical re-evaluation took place which derived from the central event in seventeenth-century Makassarese history: the Makassar Wars (1666-1669) and the accompanying fall of the rulers of Gowa and rise of Arung Palakka. The implications for eighteenth-century Makassarese is evident in their choices of initial entries.

The first seven entries in VT 25 cover the years 1545 to 1600. They record the birthdates of Tunijalloq (ruled Gowa 1565 to 1590), Karaeng ri Barombong (a prominent Gowa noble, father of Karaeng Sumannaq), Karaeng Matoaya (ruled Talloq 1593-1623), Tuammenang ri Gaukanna (Sultan Ala'uddin, ruled Gowa 1593 to 1639), Tumammaliang ri Timoroq (ruled Talloq 1623 to 1641), and Tuammenang ri Bontobiraeng (Karaeng Pattingalloang, ruled Talloq 1641 to 1654), calculated by backdating from their ages the year they died, and the death of Tunijalloq in 1590. These six births and one death register the lives and significance of some of the most prominent figures in Gowa and Talloq's history. The eighth entry, dated 2 March 1602 though obviously added much later, registers the creation of the VOC. It is telling that of these eight events, only the 2 March 1602 entry about the VOC is found in Or. 272Y and MH. In fact, it is the first entry in both of these texts. None of the births or deaths of six towering figures in Makassarese history were seen as worthy of inclusion. This is remarkable because the inaugural entries in an annals manuscript are paradigmatic signs of the themes and events deemed most historically significant.

VT 25's seventeenth-century entries are fundamentally concerned with the births, deaths, marriages, and divorces of Makassar's nobility, as Figures 2 and 3 indicate. Nearly two-thirds of VT 25's entries address these four kinds of events; they are the sinews of the text. But from the outset this was deliberately and drastically changed by the creators of MH and Or. 272Y. Indeed, not a single one of the 72 seventeenth-century entries in MH commemorates a marriage or divorce. Three births are mentioned, but one of these is of a non-Makassarese shaykh (12 March 1680), and the other two may only have been included because they are embedded in entries discussing the spread of Islam (23 November 1611; 19 April 1632). Or. 272Y has 253 seventeenth-century entries, and thus represents a less rigorous culling on the past of its analyst, but here too the same pattern is evident. The births of only seven Makassarese notables are included, along with three of their marriages and two divorces. Deaths are mentioned frequently in both texts largely because they recorded deaths in battles against the Dutch, but deaths of royal children commonly mentioned in VT 25 are omitted in both MH and Or. 272Y. In other words, Or. 272Y or MH considered genealogical informa-

	to 1629	1630s	1640s	1650s	1660s	1670s	1680s	1690s	1700s	1710s	1720s	1730s	1740s	1750s	total
# entries	44	122	132	126	174	290	163	109	232	299	332	208	103	26	2360
births ¹	18 (41%)	20 (16%)	26 (20%)	33 (26%)	15 (9%)	42 (14%)	35 (21%)	18 (17%)	24 (10%)	30 (10%)	46 (14%)	10 (5%)	11 (11%)	4 (15%)	342 (14%)
deaths ²	6 (14%)	32 (26%)	43 (33%)	27 (21%)	45 (26%)	84 (29%)	39 (24%)	43 (39%)	70 (30%)	92 (31%)	147 (44%)	98 (47%)	32 (31%)	10 (38%)	768 (33%)
marriages ³	2 (5%)	6 (5%)	14 (11%)	20 (10%)	17 (10%)	75 (26%)	37 (23%)	10 (9%)	44 (19%)	39 (13%)	35 (11%)	13 (13%)	13 (13%)	2 (8%)	327 (14%)
divorces ⁴	1 (2%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	12 (10%)	12 (7%)	38 (13%)	21 (13%)	3 (3%)	26 (11%)	19 (6%)	11 (3%)	6 (1%)	1 (1%)	3 (12%)	155 (7%)

1 Includes reports of births elsewhere.

2 Includes reports of deaths elsewhere and infants who died soon after birth.

3 'Marriages' refers here to all types of recognized relationships established between men and women, including 'married' (*sikalabini*, which is by far the most common), 'wed' (*bunting*), 'wed [in accordance with Islamic custom]' (*nikka*), 'returned to each other' (*sipolei*), 'engaged' (*parekang*), 'proposed to', (*nipassurai*), 'eloped' (*loriang*), 'pledged to each other' (*pasibayuang*), and 'slept with' (*lusereq*).

4 'Divorces' likewise refers to several ways of ending relationships, including 'divorced' (*sipelaq*, by far the most frequent), 'broke off' (*tuppuki*), 'forcibly separated' (*sisallaq*), and 'severed' (*katto*).

Figure 2. Number of births, deaths, marriages, and divorces per decade (absolute and as percentage of entries

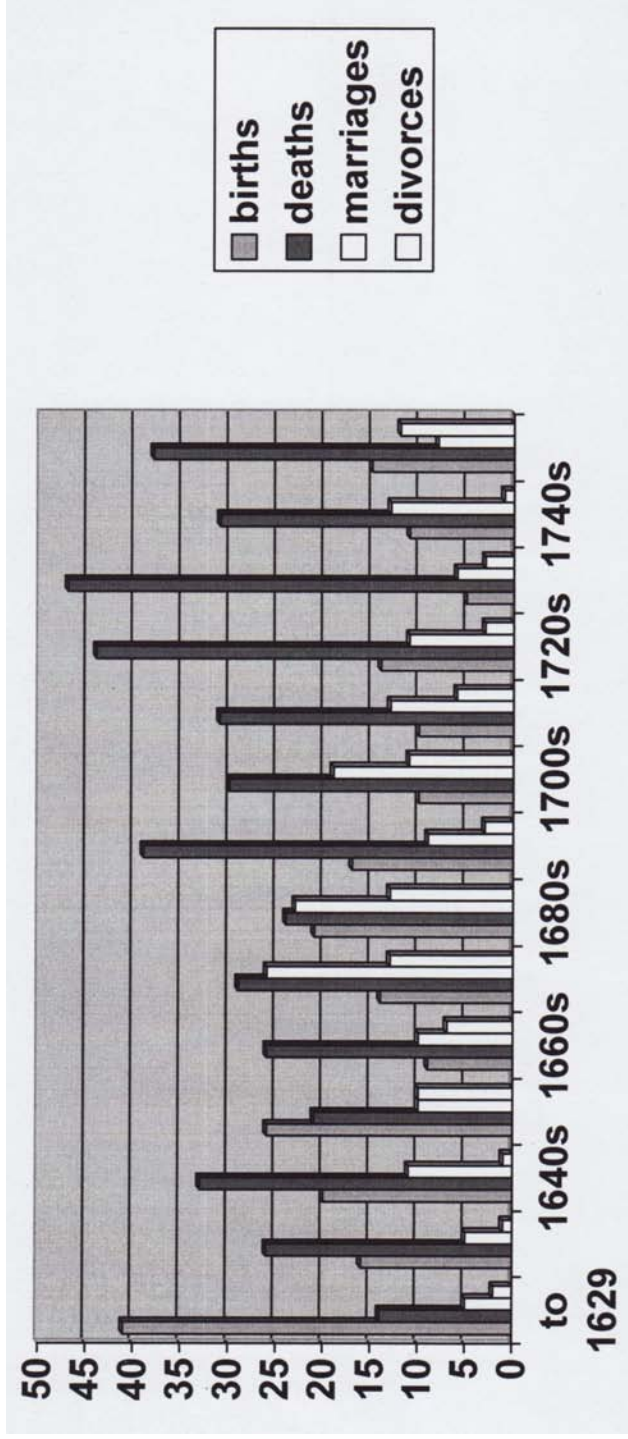


Figure 3. Percentage of entries per decade containing births, deaths, marriages, and divorces

tion about the rulers of Gowa no longer significant in an eighteenth-century Makassar these rulers no longer controlled.

What did concern the writers of MH and Or. 272Y was Islamic practices and innovations, the life and deeds of Arung Palakka, natural and supernatural portents, and war with the VOC. Following the first entry noting the establishment of the VOC, the next five entries in Or. 272Y (and the next four entries in MH) all concern Islam. Matoaya and Ala'uddin's conversion to Islam, the first Friday prayer service in Talloq (Or. 272Y only), and the wars of Islamization against Soppéng, Wajoq, and Boné are dutifully chronicled. That is to say, these were judged as being of the utmost historical importance. This attention to Islamic practices and foundational events in Islam's spread in South Sulawesi is evidence of the degree to which Makassarese conceptualized themselves as living in a Muslim society whose past needed to recount the story of how that happened. The writers of MH and Or. 272Y in essence Islamicized Makassar's past to a much greater degree than we see in either VT 25 or the royal chronicles of Gowa and Talloq.

MH and Or. 272Y were also much concerned with Arung Palakka and the war with the VOC that brought Arung Palakka to political power in South Sulawesi. In MH, 16 entries record his movements, actions, wounds, and finally his death on 6 April 1696. So too the turbulent decades of the 1660s (28 entries) and 1670s (18 entries) are well represented in this *lontaraq bilang*. The annalist of this text judged the events of the Makassar War and the tumultuous upheaval that followed the overthrow of the rulers of Gowa and Talloq by Arung Palakka and the VOC of enduring significance. Undoubtedly this is because these decades marked the fundamental watershed that led to the world that eighteenth-century Makassarese experienced. The tremendous uncertainty that this produced is recorded in another way as well.

Far more frequently than VT 25, MH and Or. 272Y record all manner of wondrous events and supernatural omens, from two suns appearing in the sky to comets eight consecutive nights to dead men coming back to life. In the years before 1667 only three such events are noted (an average of one every 22 years) in MH, while for the years after 1667 nineteen such events are registered (an average of one every four years). Or. 272Y shows the same pattern. These entries record a perception of a world that had changed fundamentally and that was filled with ambiguous happenings. These two annals are an acknowledgment of how much Makassar had been transformed by the events set in motion by the Makassar War. In this new presentation of the past, the lives of Makassarese rulers textually disappeared, while the presence of Arung Palakka, the momentous events he caused, and the uncertain world in which Makassarese now found themselves remained.

What Or. 272Y or MH represent is a shift from an annalist recording what was socially significant at the time to an annalist selecting entries for inclu-

sion based on what was judged historically significant. This is a considerable change. What separates the two writers is of course time's passing and, perhaps more importantly, colonialism. Once Gowa and Talloq had lost not simply their pre-eminence within South Sulawesi but their independence after the 1669 conquest by the VOC and their Bugis allies the social order built upon dense layers of kinship and status relationships that sustained and defined these two kingdoms crumbled. It no longer made a difference when the nobles of a bygone age had married, had children, and died. That world no longer existed, and its commemoration served no purpose. In contrast, entries related to Islam, conquests, wars with the Dutch, and unusual or supernatural events did still matter. The shift in mentality is revolutionary, and a comparison of annals like MH and Or. 272Y with the royal court *lontaraq bilang* tradition that VT 25 preserved allows us to bring it into sharp and dramatic focus.

We can also gain a useful perspective on this shift in mentality by collating the entries from the five manuscripts that cover the same period of the seventeenth century. In particular, we can better appreciate what might have been the 'core' themes of the annals tradition by examining the common entries found in all five manuscripts. The following are the dates of the entries from the seventeenth century found in VT 25, ANRI 16/6 (up to 1682), Or. 272Y (up to 1689), and 'Makasaarsche Historiën' (to 1700).

	22 September 1605
1600s	1609
	10 May 1610
1610s	23 November 1611
	14 January 1641
	16 May 1642
1640s	13 January 1649
	25 November 1651
	23 October 1655
1650s	13 December 1656
	12 June 1660
	21 September 1660
	11 October 1660
	24 November 1660
	2 December 1660
	20 August 1663
	16 August 1666
	19 December 1666
	18 December 1666

	23 December 1666
	25 December 1666
	13 July 1667
	1 August 1667
	19 August 1667
	4 September 1667
	18 November 1667
	21 November 1667
	29 December 1667
	6 March 1668
	14 April 1668
	8 November 1668
	13 November 1668
	16 June 1669
	24 June 1669
	28 July 1669
1660s	28 October 1669
	28 March 1670
	29 March 1670
	28 May 1670
	22 April 1674
	27 Sep 1675
	28 March 1676
	3 April 1676
	11 April 1676
	27 April 1676
	13 May 1676
	17 April 1677
	3 May 1677
	23 May 1677
	27 July 1677
	7 October 1678
1670s	21 October 1679
	12 March 1680
	15 June 1680
	24 July 1683
	3 February 1687
1680s	8 February 1689
	6 April 1696
	15 June 1699
1690s	25 July 1699

There are 60 common entries through 1700. The early common entries from the 1600s and 1610s are few in number, but all concern the adoption and spread of Islam in Gowa's wars of Islamization. They are thus crucial moments in the history of a Muslim society whose inclusion in all five of the texts is to be expected. The six entries from the 1640s and 1650s all deal with foreigners in one way or another, either as bringers of rare gifts such as an elephant or tiger, or as dangerous foes whose conquests and activities were important to mark.

The vast bulk of the common entries concern the 1660s and 1670s. It is not surprising that the 26 entries from the 1660s deal almost exclusively with Gowa's wars against the VOC and Arung Palakka. Similarly, the 16 entries from the 1670s deal almost exclusively with the actions of Arung Palakka, who from the perspective of these common entries is clearly the historical protagonist dominating this decade. Of the remaining eight entries, two again concern Arung Palakka, while the other six describe unusual portents from the natural world such as eclipses and sightings of multiple moons and suns.

Like the editorial judgments about past events made by the writers of MH and Or. 272Y as they selected what to copy, the nature of the common entries are a window onto the mentality of Makassarese living in an era in which old certainties had evaporated. The rulers of Gowa and Talloq before 1669 had anchored Makassarese society. They had provided the social and political center around which others moved in orbit and by which they judged themselves. Neither the Bugis after the death of Arung Palakka or the Dutch in their Makassar factory dominated Makassarese society to any significant degree. But as the events in the annals make clear, neither could the subsequent rulers of Gowa and Talloq recapture or recreate the glory of the past.

Karaeng Bontolangkasaq's rebellion and brief capture of Gowa came close, but his death was in many ways the end of dream that Makassar's golden age could be captured. As one elderly Makassarese warrior reportedly said when he surrendered his sword to the Dutch,

I have seen this city of Gowa in her greatest splendor, when it was master of the whole island of Celebes; also [I saw her] in her first debasement when we were defeated by the Company; however she remained habitable and respected, despite the loss of her greatest splendor; but now she appears brought to ruin. The first time I [surrendered] my dirk at Sombaopu, the second time at Surabaya, and now for the third time I surrender [it] to the victorious weapons of the Company. Nothing remains for me, except to gain forgiveness and to die in peace (Blok 1848:24).

Sporadic rebellions and millenarian movements flared frequently in the second half of the eighteenth century (and beyond), but Makassar was in grievous decline. That the post-conquest era would fixate the people of

Makassar's attention on portents and omens on the one hand, and on the origins and practices of Islam and on other is ultimately not surprisingly.

In many ways, then, the nearly 2400 entries translated here have much to tell us about Makassarese history. They can be used to learn about specific people and events, broader historical processes and developments, and even provide evidence of more subtle shifts in thinking and culture. Without further ado, let us turn to the annals themselves.

II

The annals Transliteration, translation, and notes

- 1545
955 this year Tunijalloq purportedly born; he reached age 45
 maka ia anne kutaeng kaanakkanna Tunijalloq 45 umuru-
 qna
- 1572
982 this year Karaeng ri Barombong¹ purportedly born; he
 reached age 70
 maka ia anne kutaeng kaanakkanna Karaengta ri
 Barombong umuruqna 70
- 1573
983 this year Karaeng Matoaya purportedly born; he reached
 age 63
 maka ia anne kutaeng kaanakkanna Karaeng Matoaya
 umuruqna 63
- 1586
996 this year Karaeng Tumamenang ri Gaukanna [Ala'uddin]
 purportedly born; he reached age 53
 maka ia anne kutaeng kaanakkanna Karaenga
 Tuammenang ri Gaukanna umuruqna 53

¹ A son of Tumenanga ri Makkoayang and half-brother of Karaeng Matoaya, he was a figure whose importance is in part concealed by the fact that he never became a ruler and thus does not feature prominently in the chronicles of Gowa and Talloq.

- 1590
- 3 Muh 1002² Karaeng Tunijalloq cut down; he reached age 45
nanijalloq Karaenga Tunijalloq umuruqna 45
- 1593
- 1008 this year Karaeng Tumammaliang ri Timoroq Mudhaffar
purportedly born; he reached age 43
maka ia anne kutaeng kaanakkanna Karaenga
Tumammaliang ri Timoroq Mudhaffar umuruqna 43
- 1600
- Aug 1009 this year Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng [Pattingalloang]
purportedly born; he reached age 54
maka anne kutaeng kaanakkanna Tuammenang ri
Bontobiraeng umuruqna 54
- 1602
- 2 Mar (W) the Dutch company [Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie]
established; 73 people amassed 2,640,000 reals³
namappareq kompania Balandaya 73 tau namappasseqre
realaq 2640000
- 1605
- 22 Sep (R eve) the two brother-karaengs [Matoaya and Ala'uddin]
embraced Islam
- 9 Jawl 1015⁴ namantama Islam karaeng rua sisariqbattang
- 1607
- 11 Dec (T) Karaeng Tumamenang ri Papambatuna Muhammad Said
[Malikussaid] born
- Raj 1016⁵ naanaq Karaenga Tuammenang ri Papangbatuna
Muhammad Said

² The Hijri date converts to 28 Sep 1593. Discrepancies will only be mentioned in the notes if the two dates differ by more than a week. In all other cases readers may assume a close correspondence between the two calendrical systems. If an entry contains only a Hijri date, the equivalent Gregorian date is found in the notes.

³ This entry is certainly a later interpolation into the text. A real was a Spanish silver coin widely used in Asia. Its value tended to vary, but normally was worth about 2,5 Dutch guilders (Andaya 1981:footnote 317).

⁴ The Hijri date converts to 12 Sep 1606. Though this entry gives a Gregorian date of 22 Sep 1603, this is incorrect and has been changed to 22 Sep 1605. Noorduynd (1956) concluded that this was the correct date, and in fact is the date given in ANRI 16/6.

⁵ The Hijri date is approximately one month earlier. ANRI 16/6 places this birth in 1606.

9 Nov (F)	Friday public prayers first established in Talloq; we were first Muslim; this year purportedly took place the war at Tamappalo ⁶
18 Raj 1017 ⁷	nauru mammenteng jumaka ri Talloq uru sallanta ia anne bedeng bunduka ri Tamappalo
	1609 ⁸ the people of Soppéng embrace Islam [after] battle at Pakenya namantama Islam tuSoppenga bunduka ri Pakenya
	1610 the people of Wajoq embrace Islam namantama Islam tuWajoka
	1611 Boné defeated in the war of Islamization; this year I Amboq purportedly born ⁹
23 Nov (T)	nabeta Bone ri bunduq kasallanganga ia anne bedeng nakaanakkang I Amboq
	1615 28 Apr <i>sabannaraq</i> Anciq Using taken by the Dutch ¹⁰ 28 Rawl 1024 nanielles Anciq Using sabannaraka ri Balandaya
12 Dec (S)	Karaeng ri Tangallaq Sitti Maradiah ¹¹ born
20 Zulk 1024	naanaq Karaengta ri Tangallaq Sitti Maradiah
	1616 Nov Karaeng ri Kassiqlala born Syaw 1025 naanaq Karaengta ri Kassiqlala

⁶ Presumably this refers to a major battle in Gowa's first war of Islamization (*bunduq kasallanganna*) against Boné, Soppéng, and Wajoq.

⁷ The Hijri date for this momentous event converts to 27 Oct 1608, nearly a year later than the Gregorian date.

⁸ No date is provided for this entry, but based on Bugis sources Ligtoet (1880:footnotes 86 and 87) concludes that this must have taken place in 1609. ANRI 16/6, however, records that it was in 1608.

⁹ I Amboq's purported birth is almost certainly a later interpolation.

¹⁰ The Dutch capture of two Makassarese notables in April 1615 is discussed in IJzerman 1922:344. ANRI 16/6 adds that the name of the second captive was Karaeng ri Kotengang.

¹¹ A daughter of Tumammaliang ri Timoroq. This name is spelled Sitti Maralia in the *Talloq Chronicle*.

1618

Apr¹² I Loqmoq ri Mandalleg went over to Bima and conquered Bima with only nine¹³ vessels; this purportedly was the year Karaeng Matea ri Bima born nantaqle ri Dima I Loqmoq ri Mandalleg nanabeta Dima salapangji batunna maka ia anne kutaeng taunga nakaanakkang Karaengta Matea ri Dima

1 Oct 1618 (M) ritual with the bamboo¹⁴ held; something was seen resembling a banner

16 Syaw 1027¹⁵ kaparekanga ri pattonga naniaq niciniq kuntu bate

1619

30 May (R) the Dutch first occupied Jakattaraq¹⁶
2 Zulk 1028¹⁷ nauru naempoi Jakattaraq Balandaya

June (F) Tumamenang ri Papambatuna [Malikussaid] circumcised¹⁸; Karaeng ri Maroanging went over to Bima and conquered Bima and Sumbawa¹⁹

¹² Unusually, no Hijri date is given for this entry. The text does not write the year, which gives the impression that this also took place in 1616, but the graphic arrangement of the text makes it likely that this was a simple omission. While at first glance one would assume the correct year is 1617 – and this is in fact the year given in ANRI 16/6. Based on other sources Noorduyt (1987) concluded that the more likely date is Apr 1618.

¹³ ANRI 16/6 records that only seven ships were involved.

¹⁴ The nature of the ritual described by the phrase '*kaparekang* ri pattonga' is unknown.

¹⁵ VT 25 has the Hijri year as 1028, but this is likely a copyist error. The same Hijri date for 1027 converts to 5 Oct 1618, which closely matches the Gregorian date and best follows the graphic patterns the writer of the text used to indicate separate years.

¹⁶ This is the Makassarese spelling of Jayakarta (Jakarta), which Jan Pieterszoon Coen conquered from the Bantenese and which came to be called Batavia after the VOC trading post there.

¹⁷ The writer of the text mistakenly wrote 1618 in place of 1619 for the Gregorian date. The Hijri date converts to 10 Oct 1619. The correct date is 30 May 1619. Makassarese would have learned of this date later and interpolated it into the text, apparently making the simple mistake of writing the wrong year. Less likely, but possibly, the discrepancy can be explained if the annalist learned of it by 10 Oct 1619, which indeed was a Thursday, and the date 2 Zulkaedah 1028 corresponds to its moment of inscription. In this case, the annalist was using the two calendrical systems to record two separate moments: the event itself and the date it was entered into the text.

¹⁸ ANRI 16/6 records that he was 'engaged' (*nanikaparekanga*) rather than circumcised. Given his age (12) this is entirely plausible.

¹⁹ ANRI 16/6 adds 'again' (*pole*), correctly clarifying that this was not the first conquest of Bima and Sumbawa.

- Zulk 1028²⁰ nanisunnaq Tuammenang ri Papanbatuna namantaqle ri Dima Karaenga ri Maroangin nanabeta Dima Sambawa
- 26 Zulk 1028²¹ Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng [Pattingalloang] and I Bissu Caqdi divorced; Karaeng ri Sumannaq²² then called her his wife; this the year Tamalate²³ was built nasipelaq Tuammenang ri Bontobiraeng I Bissu Caqdi Karaengta ri Sumannaq bainea nikana maka ia anne taunga nanibangung Tamalate
- 28 Zulk 1028²⁴ there was feasting at Tamaqrappo²⁵ napakkaqdokang Tamaqrappo
- 1620
- 1030²⁶ in the winds there were people who went amuk; this year I Daeng ri Kasammeng purportedly born²⁷ panirikang naniaq tumaqjalloq ia anne bedeng kaana-kkana I Daeng ri Kasammeng

²⁰ As in the previous entry, the copyist error of writing 1618 for 1619 has been corrected. The Hijri date converts to Oct 1619. No day was supplied either because the conquest did not take place on a single day or because the annalist's informant did not know the precise date when it was recorded later. This may be a case too where the Hijri date corresponds to the date the annalist recorded the news that arrived from Bima.

²¹ The Hijri date converts to 3 Nov 1619.

²² A son of Karaeng Barombong and grandson of Tumenanga ri Makkoayang, he later became *tumabicarabutta* of Gowa.

²³ A royal hall of Gowa.

²⁴ The Hijri date converts to 5 Nov 1619.

²⁵ A royal hall of Gowa.

²⁶ The Hijri date converts to late 1620 or 1621. No more precise date is given, possibly because people went amuk over the extended period of the monsoon season. This entry apparently was written at the end of 1620 and represents the annalist's summation of what took place rather than a contemporary observation.

²⁷ After this entry the copyist mistakenly wrote a portion of the 23 Mar 1623 entry regarding the Portuguese galley. It has been omitted here.

	1622	
8 May (S)	earthen works ²⁸	first established in Borongloe
16 Jakr 1031 ²⁹	uru panambungianga ri	Boronglowe
12 Aug 1622	I Daeng ri Takka	died
22 Ram 1031 ³⁰	namate I Daeng ri Takka	
	1623	
23 Mar (T)	the Portuguese ship known as a galley	raced
1 Jawl 1032 ³¹	nanilumba jalleaya biseang	Paranggi nikana
	1624	
17 Mar	Karaeng ri Maroanging ³²	died
14 Jawl 1033 ³³	namate Karaengta ri Maroanging	
18 Aug ³⁴	water first taken from irrigation canals in Pareq	
	nauru nialle jeqneq panaika ri Pareq	
28 Ram 1033 ³⁵	Samanggi opposed; those living there were unprepared	
	nabali Samanggi naempoi tumaqlaqbe-laqbe	

²⁸ The meaning of 'panambungiang' is unclear here. The most likely possibility is that it is a version of 'pattumbungang,' which means a place where something is piled up, typically earth. Borongloe was one of the communities that made up the original core of Gowa's federation. Located along the Jeqneqberang River some 10 km from the coast, this entry probably refers to building the first levees that made this a rich agricultural area, but also could mean rebuilding the community on higher ground or possibly even constructing earthen fortifications. The surrounding entries provide no contextual indications of its meaning, nor are there clues in the Gowa and *Talloq Chronicles* to assist interpretation.

²⁹ The Hijri date converts to 27 Apr 1622, a discrepancy of less than two weeks. ANRI 16/6 places this event in 1621.

³⁰ The Hijri date converts to 31 Jul 1622, a discrepancy of less than two weeks.

³¹ The copyist erroneously wrote 1622 in place of 1623. The corrected Hijri date converts to 3 Mar 1623. ANRI 16/6 places this event in 1621.

³² A son of Karaeng Patteqne and a *tumailalang* of Gowa, he had inherited this post from his father, who had been granted it by Tunipasuluq. Karaeng ri Maroanging was succeeded as *tumailalang* by his nephew Karaeng ri Suli.

³³ The copyist erroneously wrote 1623 in place of 1624. The Hijri date converts to 4 Mar 1624, a discrepancy of approximately two weeks.

³⁴ The copyist erroneously wrote 1623 in place of 1624. ANRI 16/6 places this event in 1623.

³⁵ The Hijri date converts to 14 Jul 1624, which is a month prior to the previous entry and may indicate that the news from Samanggi was received later and then added to the text. ANRI 16/6 places this event in 1623.

	1625	
12 Apr (F)	there was a council in Malang ³⁶	
22 Jawl 1034 ³⁷	paqruppa-ruppanga ri Malang	
13 Aug	Tumamenang ri Papambatuna [Malikussaid] first titled Karaeng ri Lakiung	
16 Muh 1035 ³⁸	nauru nikana Karae Lakiun Tuammenang ri Papanbatuna	
Aug	nine ships arrived	
Muh 1035 ³⁹	nabattu kappalaq salapanga	
	1626	
(M)	east to Buton went Karaeng Matoaya with the karaeng [Ala'uddin] for the conquest of Buton; this conquest was the first	
2 Jakr 1035 ⁴⁰	namanraiq ri Butun Karaenga Matoaya siagang karaenga lanabetana Butun beta riolona	
(W eve)	a grandparent of Karaeng ri Bontoa ⁴¹ born who was only four months older than the mother of Karaeng ri Balloq ⁴²	
18 Raj 1035 ⁴³	naanaq toana Karaengta ri Bontoa patambulanji katoanna ayana Karaengta ri Balloq anne	
3 Jul	the karaeng [Ala'uddin] returned from Buton, having stopped in Bima and conquered Bima, Dompu, Sumbawa, and Kengkulu [Tambora]; people wed [in accordance with Islamic custom]; this purportedly the year that Shaykh Yusuf was born	

³⁶ This is probably found in Tanete or Agangnionjoq.

³⁷ The copyist erroneously wrote 1624 in place of 1625, though ANRI 16/6 does place this event in 1624. The Hijri date converts to 2 Mar 1625.

³⁸ The copyist erroneously wrote 1624 in place of 1625, though ANRI 16/6 does place this event in 1624. The Hijri year in the text is 1034, but 1035 is presumably correct, for that date converts to 18 Oct 1625.

³⁹ The copyist erroneously wrote 1624 in place of 1625. The Hijri date converts to October 1625. ANRI 16/6 places this event in 1626.

⁴⁰ Ligtoet (1880:footnote 89) suggested and Noorduy (1987:327) confirmed that based on other evidence a copyist probably mistakenly wrote 1036 in place of 1035 for this and the next two entries. The corrected Hijri date converts to 1 Mar 1626.

⁴¹ Ligtoet (1880:footnote 89) correctly deduces that this grandparent was Ralle Daeng Paikaq, a daughter of Mallewai Daeng Maqnassa Karaeng Cenrana and full-sister of Karaeng Lengkeseq.

⁴² This was Daeng Talarra, who gained the title Karaeng Tabaringang after 1636. She had four husbands: Karaeng Kotengang, Karaeng Sanrabone (with whom she had four children), Karaeng Patteqne (with whom she had one child), and Karaeng Katinting, with whom she had Karaeng ri Balloq on 22 Jan 1646.

⁴³ The Hijri date converts to 15 Apr 1626.

8 Syaw 1035⁴⁴ nabattu ri Butun karaenga nasumengka ri Dima nanabeta
Dima Dompu Sambawa Kinkelu taua maqnikkah ia anne
bedeng taunga nakaanakkang I Tuang Syaikh Yusuf

1627

Oct
1 Syaw 1037⁴⁵ Karaeng ri Tabaringang died
namate Karaengta ri Tabaringan

4 Syaw 1037⁴⁶ Karaeng ri Ballaq Jawaya died; Karaeng Tamasongoq⁴⁷
born
namate Karaengta ri Ballaq Jawaya naanaq Karae
Tamasongoq

14 Oct (N)
5 Rawl 1037⁴⁹ Karaeng ri Lengkeseq⁴⁸ born
naanaq Karaengta ri Lengkeseq

7 Aug (W)
2 Saf 1037⁵¹ Karaeng ri Katinting⁵⁰ born
naanaq Karaengta ri Katinting

1628

7 Aug (M eve)
16 Zulh 1038⁵³ Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq⁵² born
naanaq Karaengta ri Bontojeqneq

⁴⁴ The Gregorian date matches Ligtvoet's corrected Hijri date.

⁴⁵ The Hijri date converts to 6 Apr 1628. Beginning with this entry and continuing through the next six (through the entry marking the introduction of lead coinage) the dates are uncertain. The Gregorian and Hijri dates cannot easily be reconciled, nor does either series proceed chronologically. Scribal errors may be involved, but they are not simple ones that we can deduce and correct. Beginning with the 13 Nov 1629 entry marking the death of Datoq Hafid the two calendrical systems come into close alignment.

⁴⁶ The Hijri date converts to 7 Jun 1628.

⁴⁷ I Manguqrangi, a daughter of Karaeng Sumannaq and granddaughter of Karaeng Barombong.

⁴⁸ Mammaliang Daeng Pole, a son of *tumailalang* Karaeng Cenrana.

⁴⁹ The Hijri date converts to 13 Nov 1627.

⁵⁰ A son of Ala'uddin from a lower-ranking wife and the father of Karaeng Balloq.

⁵¹ The Hijri date converts to 12 Oct 1627.

⁵² I Saniq Daeng Nisakking, a daughter of Malikussaid.

⁵³ The Hijri date converts to 6 Aug 1629.

1629	
4 Jun 6 Syaw 1039 ⁵⁴	marriage of Karaeng ri Lakiung [Malikussaid] pakkawinganna Karaenga ri Lakiung
Feb 6 Jakr 1039 ⁵⁵	lead coins [introduced] jugaraq tumberiia
13 Nov (T) 26 Rawl 1039	Datoq Hafid died namate Datoq Hafid
1630	
13 Aug (N) 6 Muh 1040	Matinroa ri Talloq ⁵⁶ died namate Matinroa ri Talloq
21 Aug (N)	Arung Matoa I Toali ⁵⁷ expelled [as ruler of Wajoq]; a decision was requested regarding their land by the people of Ponreq
15 Muh 1040	nanipasuluq Arung Matoa I Toali nanipalappalaq bicara ri buttana tuPonreka
1631	
12 Jan (N)	Karaeng Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana Hasanuddin born
7 Jakr 1040	naanaq Karaenga Tumenanga ri Ballaq Pangkana Hasanuddin
15 Jan (W) 10 Jakr 1040	birth of Karaeng ri Panaikang ⁵⁸ nanianakkang Karaengta ri Panaikang
30 Mar (N)	I Daeng Kalling ⁵⁹ died below in Segeri; she was known as the mother of Karaeng ri Tangallaq
26 Syab 1040	namate I Daeng Kalling irawa ri Segeri ayana Karaengta ri Tangallaq nikana

⁵⁴ The Hijri date converts to 19 May 1630.

⁵⁵ The Hijri date converts to 20 Jan 1630. ANRI 16/6 gives the Gregorian date as 4 Jun 1629.

⁵⁶ La Tenripale, he ruled Boné from 1608 to 1626.

⁵⁷ The father-in-law of La Maqdaremmeng, the ruler of Boné who succeeded Matinroa ri Talloq in 1626.

⁵⁸ Daeng Niaq, a daughter of Tumammaliang ri Timoroq by a slave wife.

⁵⁹ A daughter of Karaeng Barombong and wife of Tumammaliang ri Timoroq.

2 May (S)	there was rain like thread ⁶⁰
30 Ram 1040	nanaiq bosu kontu banning
14 May (R)	birth of I Tamammempo, a child of Tumatea ri Banten ⁶¹
12 Syaw 1040	nanianakkang I Tamammempo anaqna Tumatea ri Banten
24 May (S)	it was forbidden to pay interest on debts ⁶²
21 Syaw 1040	natanipaqbiannga maqjeqneq inranga
3 Jun (T)	a wife of Karaeng ri Popoq gave birth to his oldest son named I Liba who lived just twenty-nine days
2 Zulk 1040	namamanaq Karaengta ri Popoq bainea buraqnea nikana I Liba uluana ruampulo banngiji assalapang umuruqna
25 Jun (R)	a wife of I Daeng Kalula had a daughter named I Taniq
25 Zulk 1040	namamanaq bainenna I Daeng Kalula baine nikana I Taniq
22 Aug (F)	a wife of the ruling karaeng [Ala'uddin] died
2 Muh 1041 ⁶³	namate karaenga bainea sombaya
4 Sep (W eve)	Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana Abdul Hamid ⁶⁴ born
6 Saf 1041	naanaq Tuammenanga ri Juntana Abdul Hamid
15 Sep (M)	Macciniqdanggang built ⁶⁵ ; sixty-five nights after it was built the karaeng [Ala'uddin] went up into it
17 Saf 1041	nanibangun Macciniqdanggang annangpulo banngi alli- ma leqbaqna nibangun nanapanaiki karaenga
28 Oct (T)	word came of the death of Matinroa ri Bantaeng ⁶⁶
2 Rokr 1041	nabattu nipabiritta matenna Matinroa ri Bantaeng

⁶⁰ Or 272Y has that rain fell like stones (*batu*) not thread (*banning*).

⁶¹ Daeng Mangemba, a son of Karaeng Matoaya.

⁶² ANRI 16/6 adds 'to charge interest in rice or gold' (*ajeqneq aseya bulaenga*).

⁶³ The Hijri date converts to 31 Jul 1631.

⁶⁴ Karaeng Karunrung, a son of Karaeng Pattingalloang who would become *tumabicarabutta* of Gowa.

⁶⁵ Macciniqdanggang or 'Watching Trade' was a hall built for the ruler to stay in and reflects royal participation in and oversight of commerce.

⁶⁶ La Tenrirua, who ruled Boné from 1607 to 1608.

29 Oct (W) ⁶⁷	the 'Javanese' ⁶⁸ area burned to the ground; 556 houses were consumed
3 Rakr 1041	namaqkanre papparaq Jawaya 556 ballaq nakanre
13 Nov (R)	Anciq Sumaileq arrived from Mataram bringing I Maisanannga
18 Rakr 1041	nabattu ri Mataran Anciq Sumaileq angerangi I Maisanannga
17 Nov (N eve) 22 Rakr 1041	the karaeng [Ala'uddin] went up into Macciniq danggang namanaiq karaenga ri Macciniq danggang
3 Dec (W)	Karaeng ri Lakiung [Malikussaid] and Karaeng ri Tangallaq returned to each other [after having divorced]
8 Jawl 1041	nasipolei Karaenga ri Lakiun Karaengta ri Tangallaq
1632	
14 Jan (R) 20 Jakr 1041	I Tamammempo, a child of Tumatea ri Banten, died namate I Tamammenpo anaqna Tumatea ri Banten
19 Apr (M)	tobacco intoxicating; this the birth year of Daengta Daeng Tuna, a grandparent of the karaeng ⁶⁹
28 Rum 1041	namammengo tambakau taun kaanakkanna Daengta Daeng Tuna toana karaenga
20 May (R) 29 Syaw 1041	Tumatea ri Banten went overseas on the hajj ⁷⁰ namaqlampa kalauq haqji Tumatea ri Banten
14 Aug (S)	the karaeng [Ala'uddin] left after dwelling in Macciniq danggang so it could be bricked

⁶⁷ The annalist incorrectly wrote the 13th, but it is in fact the 29th. This corresponds to the Hijri dating and is also the date given in ANRI 16/6. Splitting the difference, the translated *lontaraq bilang* text in *Makasaarsche historiën* (1855:121) gives the date as 23 October.

⁶⁸ 'Javanese' is an umbrella term Makassarese used to refer to peoples from the western archipelago, and usually indicated Malays. This entry testifies to the size of the Malay community in Makassar.

⁶⁹ It is unclear which ruler of Gowa this refers to, but most likely Abdul Jalil (b. 1652). This entry is an example of how annalists added information to the entries at a later date. They seem to have done so without considering that future generations of readers would not know who was ruling when the entry was made.

⁷⁰ He died on the trip on 27 Sep 1632 in Banten, from which an envoy returned with his body on 9 Dec 1632.

22 Muh 1042	namassuluq karaenga maqballaq-ballaq Macciniqdanggang nipandeqdeqang bata
17 Aug (W)	Karaeng ri Lempangang ⁷¹ and Karaeng ri Garassiq ⁷² married
1 Saf 1042	nasikalabini Karaengta ri Lempangang Karaengta ri Garassiq
20 Aug (F) 3 Saf 1042	birth of I Pangalaq nanianakkang I Pangalaq
24 Aug (R) 7 Saf 1042	an envoy from Maluku named Uthman arrived nabattu surona Malukua nikanaya Uthman
16 Sep (R)	I Lasebauq [a royal banner] ritually blooded ⁷³ ; people mustered and called up for Friday public prayers ⁷⁴
29 Saf 1042	naniceraq I Lasebauq namarewangan taua nanipatambaq taua maqjumaq
17 Sep (F) 1 Rawl 1042	people mustered [for Friday public prayers] namarewangang taua
18 Sep (F) 2 Rawl 1042	the envoy from Maluku departed namaqlampa surona Malukua
27 Sep (M) 12 Rawl 1042	Karaeng ri Ujung Tana ⁷⁵ died; his subjects numbered 1584 namate Karaengta ri Juntana bilanna pangatainna 1584

⁷¹ A daughter of Ala'uddin, she was also known as I Saqbe and I Daeng Tamaga.

⁷² A son of Karaeng Buluq Sipong (who was a full brother of Ala'uddin) and grandson of Tunijalloq.

⁷³ As Ligtoet (1880:92) notes, royal banners were often smeared with blood as part of a ceremony in which Makassarese prepared for war. In this case, it presumably refers to rising tension with the VOC, which sought to blockade Makassar beginning in 1634. There were sporadic outbreaks of violence (and another banner smeared with blood at Ujung Pandang on 15 Nov 1634) followed by periods of inactivity until the conflict ended in 1637. An interesting question arising from this entry is whether this pre-Islamic tradition relying on existing cultural notions about the sacramental potency of blood was incorporated into or linked with the preparations for Islamic Friday public prayer services.

⁷⁴ This may be a reference to a deliberate effort to assemble the 40 *mokkeng* needed to make the Friday public prayer service valid according to Shafi'ite doctrine. See Noorduyn 1987:317-8.

⁷⁵ A son of Tunijalloq. The *Gowa Chronicle* records that 'his personal name, may I not be cursed, was I Kelo. His royal name was I Daeng Uruga. His *karaeng*-title was Karaeng Ujung Tana. He had no children, but Karaeng ri Patukangang was adopted. [I Kelo] died. Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng received all his possessions except those already given [to his adopted heir].'

28 Sep (T)	those from Ujung Tana went to Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng [Pattingalloang]
13 Rawl 1042	nanipamange tuJuntanaya ri Tuammenanga ri Bontobiraeng
22 Oct (F)	Antoni da Costa died
2 Rakr 1042	namate Antoni di Kosta
27 Sep (M)	Tumatea ri Banten died
11 Rawl 1042 ⁷⁶	namate Tumatea ri Banten
22 Oct (F)	the karaeng [Ala'uddin] sailed to go into Toraja
20 Rakr 1042 ⁷⁷	namamise karaenga mantama ri Toraja
13 Nov (M)	the karaeng [Ala'uddin] arrived from Toraja having conquered Bolong; it was reported that the Bimanese revolted
19 Jawl 1042 ⁷⁸	nabattu ri Toraja karaenga anbetai Bolong nanikana marotasaki Dimaya
25 Nov (R)	Karaeng ri Buraqne sailed over to Bima to put out the revolt ⁷⁹
11 Jawl 1042	namamise Karaenga ri Buraqne taqle ri Dima makkaruru
9 Dec (R)	an envoy from Banten arrived bearing Tumatea ri Banten; 45 nights after his death he was brought back ⁸⁰
25 Jawl 1042	nabattu surona Banteng angerangi Tumatea ri Banten 45 bannginna matena nabattu nierang
24 Dec (S)	people were called up to plant rice in Karebosi
10 Jakr 1042	nanipatambaq taua mannanang ri Karebosi
27 Dec (M)	it is said that a dead person came back to life
13 Jakr 1042	nanikana niaq tumate tallasaq pole

⁷⁶ Presumably this entry is out of chronological order because his death was recorded when word arrived from Banten.

⁷⁷ The Hijri date converts to 3 Nov 1632.

⁷⁸ The Hijri date converts to 2 Dec 1632. ANRI 16/6 has the Gregorian date as 22 Nov 1632.

⁷⁹ ANRI 16/6 adds that Karaeng ri Buraqne went 'with I Kare Laling' (*siagang* I Kare Laling).

⁸⁰ His body actually arrived some 73 days after his death. Possibly the annalist meant that his body departed Banten 45 days after his death, indicating that the journey to Gowa took another 28 days.

1633

- 27 Jan (M) an envoy from Mataram announced his desire to unite [Mataram and Gowa in an alliance]; Ki Ngabei Saradulla was his name
- 6 Raj 1042⁸¹ nanakana-kana surona Mataranga eroqna mattauseqre Ki Ngabei Saradula arena
- 2 Mar (W) at the stroke of 8 was the birth of I Maqmiq; her Arabic name was Syafiah; she was called Daengta Daeng Sannging⁸²
- 23 Syab 1042 8 garigantaya nanianakkang I Maqmiq arenga Araqna Shafia Daengta Daeng Sannging nikana
- 7 Apr (R) Karaeng ri Buraqne arrived from Bima⁸³
28 Rum 1042 nabattu ri Dima Karaenga ri Buraqne
- 5 Jun (N) Karaeng Galesong died
27 Zulk 1042 namate Karae Galesong
- 21 Jun (T) the Bimanese came in person; the karaeng [Ala'uddin] spoke and they agreed
14 Zulh 1042 nabattu kalenna Dimaya makkanami karaenga ammi-ommi
- 11 Sep (N) I Daeng Tasannging⁸⁴ and I Daeng Niaq married
2 Rawl 1043 nasikalabini I Daeng Tasannging I Daeng Niaq
- 16 Sep (F) Karaeng ri Pattunga died; he and I Tamaqlili, from the same family, killed each other⁸⁵
- 12 Rawl 1043 namate Karaenga ri Pattunga sibunoi sipamanakang I Tamaqlili

⁸¹ The Hijri date converts to 17 Jan 1633.

⁸² A daughter of Karaeng Pattingalloang and wife of Hasanuddin. Maqmiq is short for Maqminasa.

⁸³ ANRI 16/6 again adds that Karaeng ri Buraqne traveled 'with I Kare Laling' (*siagang* I Kare Laling).

⁸⁴ A son of Tumammaliang ri Timoroq named I Lita, he was also titled Karaeng Bontosunggu.

⁸⁵ According to the *Gowa Chronicle*, Karaeng ri Pattunga married a daughter of Tunijalloq named Karaeng Pacelleq. I Tamaqlili was their third child.

17 Oct (M)	I Daeng Mangamaraq departed and went over to Kabaena to make war along with I Daeng Mangalle
14 Rakr 1043	namaqlampa I Daeng Mangamaraq taqle ri Kabaena maqbunduq siagang I Daeng Mangalle
1634	
13 Feb (M)	Dutch ships arrived, twelve in number including the small ones ⁸⁶
13 Syab 1043	nabattu kappalaqna Balandaya sampulo anrua batunna siagang macaqdia
19 Feb (N)	the [Dutch] ships that neared Paqnakkukang were fired upon
19 Syab 1043	nanibaqdiliq kappalaq mannyeppeka ri Paqnakkukang
9 Mar (R)	a manuscript arrived from Buton commemorating their oath at Bau-Bau ⁸⁷
9 Ram 1043	nabattu lontaraqna Butunga anguqrangi talliqna ri Bau-Bau
4 [Apr] (R)	the mother of I Mamangkasi died
5 [Syaw] 1043 ⁸⁸	namate ayana I Mamangkasi
23 [May] (T)	Karaeng Matoaya was shaded with the royal umbrella again; people worked on an earthen wall from Ujung Tana to Somba Opu
24 [Zulk] 1043	nanilaqlangi pole Karaenga Matoaya namanjama taua bata butta sanggenna Juttana nasanggenna Somba Opu
28 [May] (N)	Lae-Lae destroyed
26 [Zulk] 1043	nanilala Lae-Lae

⁸⁶ This marks the beginning of the VOC effort to blockade Makassar and thereby deny it access to Maluku and the spice trade which the Dutch were seeking to control (Stapel 1922:26-34).

⁸⁷ This oath probably took place after Matoaya and Ala'uddin's 1626 conquest of Buton.

⁸⁸ The Gregorian and Hijri months for this and the next four entries are omitted in VT 25. However, the *lontaraq bilang* text in ANRI 16/6 gives May as the month for the second and third of these entries; assuming the entries are chronologically ordered, the preceding entry can be presumed to have been recorded in April and the subsequent entries in June. The Hijri dates are similarly reconstructed based on sequence and the Gregorian dates.

- 22 [Jun] (S eve) an Englishman sailed; he shot someone and was charged
4000 [reals] and a bloodprice
- 7 [Zulh] 1043⁸⁹ nasimonbalaq Anggarrisika namanaba baqdiliqna nani-
passala 4000 manyapuqtongi
- 22 [Jun] (N) *sabannaraq* I Daeng Pagang died
7 [Zulh] 1043 namate I Daeng Pagang sabannaraka
- 17 Jul (M) the karaeng [Ala'uddin] went up⁹⁰ to Popoq [in Takalar]
to take the burned galley
- 20 Muh 1044 namanaiq ri Popoq karaenga angallei galle nisussuluka
- 29 Jul (S) [Ala'uddin] went over to Paqnakkukang to dwell as its
stonework was rebuilt
- 3 Saf 1044 nataql ri Paqnakkukang maballaq-ballaq nibatana pole
- 9 Aug (W) Ujung Pandang first fortified with stone
14 Saf 1044 nauru nibata Ujung Pandang
- 23 Aug (T) Karaeng Balambaru arrived bringing declarations from
[the islands of] Sula and Banggae
- 27 Saf 1044 nabattu Karaeng Balambaru angerangi kananna Sulaya
Banggae
- 10 Sep (N) Karaeng ri Ballaq Jawaya had a child who was named I
Siqra
- 12 Rawl 1044 naanaq Karaengta ri Ballaq Jawaya iami nikana I Siqra
- 15 Sep (F) at midday Matinroa ri Bontoalaq Saqaduddin [La
Tentritatta Arung Palakka] born
- 22 Rawl 1044 tangalloi alloya naanaq Matinroa ri Bontoalaq Saaduddini
- 10 Nov (F) gunpowder exploded on the bastion⁹¹
18 Jawl 1044 namakkaqdoq ubaka ri salekoya

⁸⁹ The reconstructed Hijri date for this and the next entry converts to 3 Jun 1634.

⁹⁰ Makassarese adverbs indicating spatial orientation may puzzle readers familiar with the geography of South Sulawesi. In English, 'up' is associated with north and 'down' with south. These are arbitrary conventions. In Gowa, 'up' (*naiq*) generally corresponds to south and 'down' (*naung*) to north. Popoq, for example, is south of Gowa. See Liebner 2005 for a detailed discussion of these complex systems of spatial orientation.

⁹¹ ANRI 16/6 adds details about casualties from the explosion: 'Karaeng Layu was burned by the powder; eleven *anaq karaeng* from Turatea were burned by the powder' (*nanakaqdo ubaka Karaeng Layu sampulo asseqre anaq karaeng Turate nakaqdo ubaq*).

15 Nov (W) 23 Jawl 1044	banner ritually blooded at Ujung Pandang naniceraq batea ri Ujung Pandang
	1635
6 Jan (S)	Karaeng ri Suli ⁹² entered Darombo [because] it is said that Luwuq is hostile
6 Raj 1044 ⁹³	namantama ri Darombo Karaengta ri Suli nikananna bali Luwuka
19 Feb (M) 2 Ram 1044	Karaeng ri Buluq Sipong ⁹⁴ died namate Karaengta ri Buluq Sipong
30 Apr (M)	stonework at Barombong strengthened; the number of people [defending] Somba Opu total 855
12 Zulk 1044	nanipakajareq bataya ri Barombong bilana tuSombopuya 855
13 Jun (T eve)	the Dutch fired up at Galesong; the karaeng [Ala'uddin] overnighted at Bebaq [north of Galesong]
27 Zulh 1044	namamaqdiliq Balandaya manaiq ri Galesong ri Bebaki karaenga maqbanngi
23 Jun (S)	the people at Somba Opu laid stones [in a wall] at the gate
7 Muh 1045	namallonjoq bata tuSombopuya ri timunganga
25 Aug (S) 11 Rawl 1045	the people of Boné ask permission to strengthen Pallette namappalakkana tuBonea ampakajarreki Pallatte
17 Sep (M)	the karaeng [Ala'uddin] went down ⁹⁵ to fulfill a vow in Laqbakkang
3 Rakr 1045	namanaung karaenga amole tinjaq ri Laqbakkang
10 Nov (S) 1 Jawl 1045	a mosque constructed in Bontoalaq nanilonjoq masigika ri Bontoalaq

⁹² A *tumailalang* of Gowa from the family of Karaeng Patteqne, who was originally appointed to the post by Tunipasuluq.

⁹³ The Hijri date converts to 27 Dec 1634.

⁹⁴ A son of Tunijalloq and father of Karaeng ri Garassiq.

⁹⁵ Makassarese terms of spatial orientation are discussed in the note for entry 17 Jul 1634; Laqbakkang is north of Gowa.

24 Nov (S) 15 Jakr 1045	Karaeng Matoaya first stricken with illness nauru nabattui garring Karaenga Matoaya
3 Dec (T) 22 Jakr 1045	birth of I Mappaseppeq; known as Karaeng Beroanging, he was a child of Karaeng ri Kassiqjala nanianakkang I Mappaseppeq Karae Beroanging nikana anaqna Karaengta ri Kassiqjala
1636	
20 Jan (N) 13 Syab 1045	Karaeng ri Majannang and Daengta Daeng Marannu married nasikalabini Karaengta ri Majannang Daengta Daeng Marannu
29 Feb (F) 22 Ram 1045	the Dutch hoped to turn the people of Bulu-Bulu [against Gowa] and pledged that in 300 days and nights we would be attacked [by the VOC, but the Dutchmen] were killed by the people of Bulu-Bulu ⁹⁶ Balandaya eroq ampapalisiki tuBulu-Buloa namassare allo 300 banginna kinabunduuq nanibuno ri tuBulu-Buloa
2 May (F) 26 Zulk 1045	a Mandar envoy arrived reporting that their ruler was beheaded by the people of Sawitto nabattu surona Mandaraka angkana-kanai nijalloqna karaenna ri tuSawitto
1046	this year an epidemic struck many people ⁹⁷ anne taunga mapuai taua

⁹⁶ This is also described in Stapel 1922:30-1.

⁹⁷ Note that this entry is at the beginning of the year, which by the Gregorian calendar lasted from June 1636 to May 1637. It may have been interpolated here by a later annalist. *Makasaarsche historiën* (1855:121) has this entry for year 1637. The *Dagh-Register* (1637:290) mentions a pestilence that left much of the land uninhabited, and Karaeng Matoaya's 2 Jul 1636 pronouncement also indicates the virulence of the epidemic.

4 Jun (W)	the arumpone [La Maqdaremmeng] arrived and spoke with his mother ⁹⁸
1 Muh 1046	nabattu arungpone nasiagaang makkana anronna
2 Jul (W)	spoke Karaeng Matoaya, 'We must all protect ourselves from raging epidemics and starvation'
29 Muh 1046	nanakana Karaenga Matoaya massinga kiliongi kalenta mapuajaki mapaqrejaki
4 Aug (M)	the karaeng [Ala'uddin] went down to dwell at Bontoalag ⁹⁹
3 Rawl 1046	namanaung ri Bontoalag karaenga maqballaq-ballaq
1 Oct (W)	at midday we were left by Karaeng Matoaya at the age of 63
1 Jawl 1046	tangalloi alloa kinapilari Karaenga Matoaya umuruqna 63
29 Oct (W)	word came from Karaeng Galesong known as Maruttaki ¹⁰⁰
29 Jawl 1046	nabattu nipabiritta Karae Galesong nikana maruttaki
19 Nov (W)	I Daeng Taduq had a child, a girl named I Roking
20 Jakr 1046	namamanaq I Daeng Taduq baine nikana I Roking
21 Dec (N)	I Mallelei Jaqfar, known as Karaeng ri Babanga ¹⁰¹ , born

⁹⁸ La Maqdaremmeng's mother was Datu Pattiro We Tenrisoloreng, a sister of the ruler of Boné Matinroa ri Talloq who died in 1630. This discussion must have been important to merit note in the *lontaraq bilang*. It is likely that it concerned Islam. As Andaya (1981:39-41) notes, La Maqdaremmeng enforced a stricter version of Islamic practice in Boné after becoming ruler in 1630, but his mother strongly preferred a form of Islam tolerant of pre-Islamic practices and led opposition to her son's actions. Ultimately this conflict would lead to war between Gowa and Boné in 1643, Boné's defeat, and La Maqdaremmeng's expulsion from the kingdom.

⁹⁹ ANRI 16/6 adds 'reciprocating with Karaeng Matoaya' (*maqbalasaqna Karaeng Matoaya*).

¹⁰⁰ This is the most likely reading, though if Maruttaki is not a name the entry could read 'word came saying that Karaeng Galesong maruttaki'. However, the meaning of 'maruttaki' is uncertain. If it is a variant of '*rutu*' it may refer to Karaeng Galesong 'exploding' or 'erupting', which would indicate the outbreak of a quarrel or violence, or it could refer to the physical symptoms of disease contracted during this year of epidemics. If it is related to '*rottoq*' it may refer to Karaeng Galesong 'bending', perhaps meaning that he broke his word. Local traditions state that the reign of an unnamed ruler of Galesong ended in 1636, which if true would presumably be the result of this incident (Ibrahim et al. 1985:122, 164).

¹⁰¹ A son of Ala'uddin, the *Gowa Chronicle* records his *karaengship* of Bawangang (or in some texts Bambangang), not Babanga. This is a question of spelling and transcription rather than a mistake or a reference to different locations.

2 Raj 1046 ¹⁰²	naanaq I Mallelei Jaqfar Karaengta ri Babanga nikana
27 Dec (S)	the day of the ruler of Aceh named Mahkota Alam's death ¹⁰³
25 Raj 1046	allo nakamateanga karaenga ri Aceh nikanaya Makutta Alam
29 Dec (M)	Karaeng ri Tabaringang died
1 Syab 1046	namate Karaengta ri Tabaringan
1637	
10 Jan (S)	I Marajalang ¹⁰⁴ arrived from Ambon
18 Syab 1046	nabattu I Marajalaan ri Ambong
13 Feb (F)	the day of I Tuang ri Dima's ¹⁰⁵ birth
17 Ram 1046	allo kaanakkanna I Tuan ri Dima
1 Mar (N)	Karaeng ri Ballaq Jawaya died
7 Syaw 1046	namate Karaenga ri Ballaq Jawaya
22 Jun (M)	the Dutch anchored at Somba Opu; the Acehnese went to their ships; we raised a white banner; we both met and agreed to the decision of the karaeng [Ala'uddin] that they not place an official [in Makassar] ¹⁰⁶
27 Saf 1047 ¹⁰⁷	namalabu Balandaya ri Sombopu namange ri biseanna Acea kimappanaiq bate keboq kisitabamo naiomi kan-anna karaenga tamappaempoa petoroq
5 Jul (S eve)	Karaeng ri Kasuarrang died
11 Saf 1047	namate Karaengta ri Kasuarrang

¹⁰² The Hijri date converts to 30 Nov 1636.

¹⁰³ Mahkota Alam was the name of an Acehnese royal line and Iskandar Muda the name of the ruler who died in 1636.

¹⁰⁴ Kamaruddin and Ligetvoet describe I Marajalang as a merchant. ANRI 16/6 states that he was 'known as an *anaq karaeng* from Ambon' (*anaq karaeng ri Ambong nikana*).

¹⁰⁵ An Arab also known as Shaykh Umar Bamahsuna Rahmahtullah. He first arrived in Makassar on 21 Apr 1684 and was an important religious figure in Gowa until his death on 8 May 1694.

¹⁰⁶ The cease fire deliberations are described at length in the contemporaneous *Dagh-Register* (1937:280-92) and in Stapel (1922:32-4). ANRI 16/6 adds 'that they not place the Dutch official known as Anthonie [in Makassar]' (*tamappaempoai petoroq Balandaya nikanaya Ontoni*). This refers to Anthonie Caen, a Malay-speaker whom the Council of the Indies wished to place in Makassar.

¹⁰⁷ The Hijri date converts to 20 Jul 1637, but this is incorrect.

12 Jul (S) 18 Saf 1047	I Loqmoq ¹⁰⁸ , the mother of Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq, died namate I Loqmoq anronna Karaengta ri Bontojeqneq
20 Jul (N eve) 26 Saf 1047	I Kurru Karaeng Mangallekana, known as Zakaria, born naanaq I Kurru Karae Mangallekana nikana Zakaria
22 Aug (S eve) 1 Rakr 1047	Daengta Daeng Taqduq died namate Daengta Daeng Taqduq
13 Sep (T) 17 Rakr 1047	Datu ri Luwuq died, cut down by a slave; [he was named] Matinroa ri Somba Opu namate Datua ri Luwuq nijalloki ri atanna Matinroa ri Sombopu
2 Oct (F) 12 Jawl 1047	Datu ri Soppéng who was titled Beyoa died namate Datua ri Soppeng nigallaraka Beyoa
17 Oct (F eve) 27 Jawl 1047	Karaeng ri Paqbineang Maemuna ¹⁰⁹ born naanaq Karaengta ri Paqbineang Maemuna
26 Oct (N eve) 6 Jakr 1047	Karaeng Tumammaliang ri Timoroq slept with Karaeng ri Lempangang; I Daeng Maqbayaraq died [and after his death] I Daeng Lompo became <i>anrongguru</i> of the <i>tumakkajannang</i> ; he was succeeded by Daengta Daeng Ago [after 29 Feb 1643] and Daengta Daeng Ago was suc- ceeded by Karaeng ri Popoq ¹¹⁰ [on 25 May 1663] namaqlusereq Karaenga Tumammaliang ri Timoroq Karaengta ri Lempangang namate I Daeng Maqbayaraq I Daeng Lompo anronggurunna tumakkajananganga iaminne nisambeang ri Daengta Daeng Ago naDaengta Daeng Ago nisambeang ri Karaengta ri Popoq
1638	
12 Feb (F) 24 Ram 1047	Mandarese give Gorontalo to the karaeng [Ala'uddin] nanapassareang Mandaraka ri karaenga Bolongtaloa

¹⁰⁸ A wife of Malikussaid, she was also the mother of Hasanuddin. The title *loqmoq* was commonly held by non-noble wives of rulers.

¹⁰⁹ A daughter of Pattingalloang, wife of Hasanuddin, and mother of the future ruler of Gowa Amir Hamzah.

¹¹⁰ A son of Matoaya.

25 Apr (N) 10 Zulh 1047	Karaeng ri Garassiq went into Luwuq to marry ¹¹¹ namantama ri Luwuq Karaengta ri Garassiq maqbaine
30 May (N) 15 Muh 1048	Karaeng ri Paqbineang Maemuna put up in a sling [at about age 7 months] nanipanaiq ri toeng Karaengta ri Paqbineang
26 Aug (R) 18 Rawl 1048 ¹¹²	a rice barn built in front of Macciniqdanggang nanibangung ballaq asea ri dallekannaya Macciniqdanggang
18 Aug (F) 2 Rakr 1048	the karaeng [Ala'uddin] went up to Turatea, to Naung namanaiq ri Turatea karaengta ri Naun
20 Oct (W) 11 Jakr 1048	people mustered for the seating of the future Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq namarewangang taua lamamempona kaparekanna Karaengta ri Bontojeqneq
22 Oct (R eve) 13 Jakr 1048	the mother of I Kalula died namate ayana I Kalula
23 Oct (S) 14 Jakr 1048	ears pierced of Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq and Daengta Daeng Naratang; this was the birth of Daengta Daeng, the younger sibling of Aminah nanitinting Karaengta ri Bontojeqneq siagaang Daengta Daeng Naratang iaminne kaanakkanna Daengta Daeng anrinna Aminah
4 Nov (R) 26 Jakr 1048	Daeng I Taniciniq ¹¹³ and Karaeng Bulu-Bulu married nasikalabini Daengta I Taniciniq Karaeng Bulu-Bulu
24 Dec (F) 17 Syab 1048	I Daeng Mau died namate I Daeng Mau
25 Dec (S)	it is said that a boy, I Mattenai Karaeng ri Panjallingang, was born

¹¹¹ ANRI 16/6 adds '[and] married Opu Peso' (*ambaineangi* Opu Peso). This detail is also mentioned by Matthes 1883:footnote 54.

¹¹² The Hijri date converts to 30 Jul 1638.

¹¹³ A daughter of a ruler of Sanrabone by Karaeng Tabaringang.

18 Syab 1048	naanaq I Mattenai Karaengta ri Panjallingang buraqnea nikana
	1639
17 Feb (R)	there was word that Karaeng Laqbakkang was besieged by his subjects
12 Syaw 1048	nanipabiritta Karae Laqbakkang niliungang ri atanna
8 Mar (T)	I Topasonriq asked permission to strengthen Boné and it was allowed
2 Zulk 1048	namappalakkana I Topasonriq ampakajarreki Bone nani-paqbeang
3 Apr (S eve)	I Daeng ri Bulekang went over to Buton
29 Zulk 1048	nantaqle ri Butun I Daeng Bulekang
28 Apr (R)	I Daeng Massikkiq died
23 Zulh 1048	namate I Daeng Massikkiq
8 Jun (W)	I Manguqrangi Sitti Shapora Karaeng ri Panjallingang born, a girl
5 Saf 1049	naanaq I Manguqrangi Sitti Shapora Karaenta ri Panjallingang baine
15 Jun (T eve)	at the stroke of one we were left by Karaeng Tumamenang ri Gaukanna Sultan Ala'uddin ¹¹⁴
12 Saf 1049	tetteq seqrena garigantaya kinapilari Karaenga Tuammenanga ri Gaukanna Sultan Ala'uddin
24 Jun (F)	Gallarrang Cambaya died ¹¹⁵
21 Saf 1049	namate Gallarrang Cambaya
3 Jul (N)	the <i>patimatarang</i> [Malikussaid] shaded with the royal umbrella ¹¹⁶
1 Rawl 1049	nanilaqlangi patimataranga

¹¹⁴ ANRI 16/6 adds 'he reached age 53' (*umuruqna* 53).

¹¹⁵ This is a rare entry mentioning a *gallarrang*, a title borne by local lords ranked below *karaeng*. It is likely that Gallarrang Cambaya was well known to the annalist.

¹¹⁶ *Patimatarang* is a title signifying an heir designated as successor to the throne. Interestingly, the term is not found in the *Gowa* or *Talloq Chronicles*. This ritual recognition that Malikussaid would indeed succeed Ala'uddin culminated in his formal installation as Gowa's sultan on 19 Dec 1639.

26 Jul (T)	agreements were inscribed anew in front of Tamalate ¹¹⁷
24 Rawl 1049	naniukiriq ulukanaya niberuya ri dallekanna Tamalate
12 Aug	news arrived that the Bimanese intended to fight
11 Rakr 1049	nabattu kana-kanna Dimaya eroq bali
26 Sep (N eve)	I Manjagai died
26 Jawl 1049	namate I Manjagai
28 Sep (F)	Karaeng Bulo-Bulo and Daeng I Taniciniq divorced
29 Jawl 1049	nasipelaq Karaeng Bulo-Bulo Daengta I Taniciniq
20 Nov (N)	an envoy arrived from Datu [ri Luwuq] announcing that he wanted to be removed [as ruler]
23 Raj 1049	nabattu surona ratua ampabirittai eroqna nipasuluq
19 Dec (N eve)	the <i>patimatarang</i> [Malikussaid] installed [as ruler of Gowa]
23 Syab 1049	nanilantiq patimataranga
1640	
12 Jan (R)	the people of Luwuq agree to recognize the datu as their ruler ¹¹⁸
17 Ram 1049	namammio Luwuka angkaraengangi ratua
14 Mar (W)	the karaeng [Malikussaid] issued <i>bila-bila</i> ¹¹⁹ [summoning vassals for his entourage] for one month hence
20 Zulk 1049	namappalele bila-bila karaenga sibulan
13 Apr (F)	the karaeng [Malikussaid] sailed to go into Luwuq and straight east to Tiworo [islands near Buton]
20 Zulh 1049	namamise karaenga mantama ri Luwuq natulusuq man-raiq ri Tiworo

¹¹⁷ This entry describes the writing down of ritual oaths taken by vassals of Gowa before the royal hall of their new ruler Malikussaid. Like the ritual in which a royal umbrella was raised over his head, this action was another element in the months-long drama that collectively made Malikussaid Gowa's ruler.

¹¹⁸ With this act of recognition an apparent dispute between Sultan Ahmad Nazaruddin Matinroa ri Gowa and his nobles was resolved. He had wanted to step down, but continued to rule Luwuq until 1662.

¹¹⁹ *Bila-bila* refers to cords made from lontar palm leaves that rulers sent via messengers to their vassals summoning them for war, celebrations, or other formal occasions such as the procession to witness the formal installation of the ruler of Luwuq described here. The number of knots on the cord indicated the number days before those summoned should appear.

21 May (M)	the karaeng [Malikussaid] arrived from Luwuq
29 Muh 1050	nabattu ri Luwuq karaenga
18 Jun (T)	those of Dompū made personal slaves ¹²⁰ by Karaeng
28 Saf	Tumamenang ri Papambatuna [Malikussaid]
	nanipareq ata ri kale Dompua ri Karaenga Tuammenanga
	ri Papanbatuna
2 Jul (T)	teeth filed of Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq
13 Rawl 1050	naniariq Karaengta ri Bontojeqneq
13 Jul (F)	the mother ¹²¹ of Karaeng ri Garassiq died
23 Rawl 1050	namate ayana Karaengta ri Garassiq
23 Sep (N)	<i>bila-bila</i> issued [summoning vassals for war] for 33 nights
	hence ¹²²
6 Jakr 1050	nanipalele bila-bilaya 33 bannginna
27 Oct (S)	from Somba Opu the karaeng [Malikussaid] sailed to go
	into Walinrang [near Toraja] to make war
10 Raj 1050	namamise ri Sombopu karaenga mantama ri Walinrang
	maqbunduq
3 Nov (S)	Tumamenang ri Lampana Harrunarasyid ¹²³ born
17 Raj 1050	naanaq Tuammenang ri Lampana Harunarrasyid
24 Nov (S)	Walinrang conquered
Syab 1050	nabeta Walinrang
15 Dec (S)	the karaeng [Malikussaid] arrived from Walinrang and
	the conquest and mastering of Bolong [in Toraja]
1 Ram 1050	nabattu ri Walinrang karaenga nabetana napasombai
	Bolong

¹²⁰ The term '*ata ri kale*' is translated as 'personal slaves' but does not carry the same connotations of ownership and powerlessness that the English translation may imply. The people of Dompū could not easily escape their bonds of obligation to Tumamenang ri Papambatuna, but they were as much subjects as thralls.

¹²¹ I Tadumai, a daughter of Karaeng Barombong who married one of Tunijalloq's sons.

¹²² ANRI 16/6 adds 'to go into Balera' (*mantamaya ri Balera*). In this and subsequent entries about the expedition, ANRI 16/6 consistently has 'Balera' for 'Walinrang.'

¹²³ A son of Tumammaliang ri Timoroq, he would succeed as ruler of Talloq after his uncle Pattingalloang's death in 15 Sep 1654. The precise date of his accession to the throne is not recorded in the *lontaraq bilang*, which is perhaps evidence that the gaining of sovereignty was a process rather than a single moment.

22 Dec (S)	Karaeng ri Bungaya died; the father of I Ambela ¹²⁴ died also
8 Ram 1050	namate Karaenga ri Bungaya namate todong aenna I Ambela
25 Dec (M eve)	the <i>patimatarang</i> [Hasanuddin] went up to Kalakongkong [in Bulukumba] to call back Tumammaliang ri Timoroq, but he refused ¹²⁵
11 Ram 1050	namanaiq patimataranga ri Kalakongkong angkalliki Tuamalliana ri Timoroq natea
1641	
14 Jan (M)	Melaka conquered by the Dutch
1 Syaw 1050	nanibeta Malaka ri Balandaya
15 Jan (T)	Karaeng ri Talloq [Tumammaliang ri Timoroq] sailed from Kalakongkong east to Timor ¹²⁶
2 Syaw 1050	namamise ri Kalakongkong Karaenga ri Talloq manraiq ri Timoroq
20 Jan (N)	Karaeng Cenrana sailed from Somba Opu following Karaeng ri Talloq [Tumammaliang ri Timoroq]
7 Syaw 1050	namamise ri Sombopu Karaenga Cenrana ampinawangi Karaenga ri Talloq
23 Feb (N eve)	Karaeng ri Karuwisi died
13 Zulk 1050	namate Karaengta ri Kariwisi

¹²⁴ I Ambela's father was Abdul Kahir, the first sultan of Bima. I Ambela succeeded his father under the title Sultan Abil Khair. Often referred to as Sirajuddin, he ruled from 1640 to 1682 (Noorduyn 1987:323-5).

¹²⁵ This intriguing incident suggests that Tumammaliang ri Timoroq was acting independently of Sultan Malikussaid, who presumably sent his son and designated successor to summon Tumammaliang ri Timoroq back to Gowa (though in ANRI 16/6 it is Malikussaid himself who pursues Tumammaliang ri Timoroq). Shortly thereafter Tumammaliang ri Timoroq departed for Timor. He was followed by Karaeng Cenrana, a *tumailalang* of Gowa, again presumably on the command of Malikussaid, but this mission too is a matter of mystery. Karaeng Cenrana could have been sent either to aid or restrain Tumammaliang ri Timoroq. Tumammaliang ri Timoroq's voyage to Timor involved its conquest, for ANRI 16/6 adds in the entry for 15 Jan 1641 that he went to Timor to make war. This accomplishment is also referred to in the *Talloq Chronicle*. After a short stay on Timor, Tumammaliang ri Timoroq returned and died soon after on 18 May 1641. It is perhaps noteworthy that the writer of the *Talloq Chronicle* memorializes Tumammaliang ri Timoroq as brave rather than knowledgeable.

¹²⁶ ANRI 16/6 clarifies matters, adding that he went to Timor 'to make war' (*maqbunduq*).

28 Mar (R)	I Daeng Anne had a son named I Manuruki Muhammad; he was known as the younger brother of Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana [Karunrung]
15 Zulh 1050	namamanaq I Daeng Anne buraqne nikana I Manuruki Muhammad arinna Tuammenang ri Juntana nikana
21 Apr (N)	Karaeng ri Jarannika Abdul Gafar born ¹²⁷
9 Muh 1051	naanaq Karaengta ri Jaranika Abdul Gafar
7 May (T)	Karaeng Tumammaliang ri Timoroq arrived from Timor ¹²⁸
25 Muh 1051	nabattu ri Timoroq Karaenga Tumammalianga ri Timoroq
18 May (S)	we were left by Karaeng Tumammaliang ri Timoroq Sultan Mudhaffar; 11 nights after arriving he died
7 Saf 1051	kinapilari Karaenga Tumammalianga ri Timoroq Sultan Mudhaffar 11 bannginna battu namate
19 May (N)	I Biba, the mother of I Saqbi, died
8 Saf 1051	namate I Biba anronna I Saqbi
2 Oct (W)	Karaeng ri Lengkeseq and Daengta Daeng Naratang wed [in accordance with Islamic custom]
26 Jakr 1051	nanipaqnikkah Karaengta ri Lengkeseq Daengta Daeng Naratang
30 Oct (W)	I Daeng Sassang died
24 Raj 1051	namate I Daeng Sassang
11 Nov (M)	Tumamenang ri Lampana [Harrunarasyid] first went up to Somba Opu ¹²⁹
7 Syab 1051	nauru manaiq ri Sombopu Tuammenang ri Lampana

¹²⁷ A son of *tumailalang* Karaeng Cenrana and brother of Karaeng Lengkeseq, he also became a *tumailalang* and after his death in 1700 was known as Tumatea ri Salaparang.

¹²⁸ ANRI 16/6 adds 'and the conquest of Timor; eleven nights after arriving he died at age 43' (*nanabeta Timoroq sampulo assegre banngina battu namate umuruqna 43*).

¹²⁹ The significance of this act is uncertain. At the time Harrunarasyid was only a year old, but this may have been a ritual in which as the ruler of Talloq's son he took symbolic possession of this strategic location. ANRI 16/6 is more explicit but perhaps not more enlightening, as it reads 'at his age Tumamenang ri Lampana [Harrunarasyid] was gently brought [?] and laid down at Somba Opu' (*naumuruna nunyu [nunnuq?] menangi*).

1642

23 Jan (W)	the people mustered who will be going east to Ambon
21 Syaw 1051	namarewangang tulamanraika ri Ambong
3 Feb (M)	I Baliung and I Daeng Battu ¹³⁰ sailed from Somba Opu east to Ambon
2 Zulk 1051	namamise ri Sombopu I Baliung siagaang I Daeng Battu manrai ri Ambong
31 Mar (N eve)	Karaeng ri Sanrabone died
29 Zulh 1051	namate Karaenga ri Sanrabone
28 Apr (M)	I Daeng Maingaq died
27 Muh 1052	namate I Daeng Maingaq
16 May (F)	I Wiherah came bringing an elephant
15 Saf 1052	nanaiq I Wiherah mangerang gaja
16 Jun (M)	Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana [Hasanuddin] circumcised
16 Rawl 1052	nanisunnaq Tuammenang ri Ballaq Pangkana
22 Jun (N)	Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana [Karunrung] circumcised
22 Rawl 1052	nanisunnaq Tuammenang ri Juntana
13 Jul (S eve)	Karaeng ri Sanrabone Malolo ¹³¹ died
15 Rakr 1052	namate Karaenga ri Sanrabone Maloloa
14 Aug (W eve)	Karaeng ri Barombong died at the age of 70
16 Jawl 1052	namate Karaengta ri Barombong umuruqna 70
27 Sep (S)	the karaeng [Malikussaid] went out to dwell [elsewhere] so damaged wall(s) could be repaired [at his hall]
1 Raj 1052	nassuluq karaenga maqballaq-ballaq lanitampengina bata gesaraka

¹³⁰ Also known as Karaeng Butta Toa.

¹³¹ Known as Karaeng Malolo, according to the *Gowa Chronicle* he was the son of the ruler of Sanrabone I Pammusurang and Karaeng Tabaringang, a daughter of Tunijalloq. Alternatively, this is simply an awkward way of stating that Karaeng ri Sanrabone was young or new to the position at the time he died (see the similar entry on 3 Aug 1648). The wording led Ligtoet (1880:footnote 104) to speculate that this may have been a formal position.

31 Oct (F)	Tumamenang ri Papambatuna [Malikussaid] and Karaeng ri Tangallaq divorced ¹³²
8 Syab 1052	nasipelaq Tuammenang ri Papanbatuna Karaengta ri Lempangang
	1643
24 Jan (S)	I Daeng Marannu ¹³³ married by Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana [Hasanuddin]
3 Zulk 1052	nanibaineang I Daeng Marannu ri Tuammenang ri Ballaq Pangkana
30 Jan (F)	I Datoq ri Paqjeqnekang Gafarullah died
9 Zulk 1052	namate I Datoq ri Paqjeqnekang Gafarullah
29 Jan (W eve)	Tumamenang ri Papambatuna [Malikussaid] and a grandparent of Karaeng ri Bontoa ¹³⁴ married
8 Zulk 1052	nasikalabini Tuammenang ri Papanbatuna toana Karaengta ri Bontoa
29 Feb (S eve)	I Daeng Lompo died
10 Zulh 1052	namate I Daeng Lompo
2 May (S)	I Daeng Tuna ¹³⁵ had a child
12 Saf 1053	namamanaq I Daeng Tuna
3 May (S eve)	I Taniuqrangi had a son named Salahuddin Karaeng ri Bungaya
14 Saf 1053	namamanaq I Taniuqrangi buraqne nikana Shalahuddin Karaengta ri Bungaya
9 May (F eve)	<i>sabannaraq</i> I Daeng Maqlaqbaq died
21 Saf 1053	namate sabannaraka I Daeng Maqlaqbaq

¹³² VT 25 reads that Malikussaid divorced Karaeng ri Lempangang, but this is a scribal error (Karaeng ri Lempangang was a sister of Malikussaid). As Ligtvoet (1880:footnote 104) and Kamaruddin (1985:104) indicate, the woman he divorced must have been Karaeng Tangallaq.

¹³³ This was a common royal name, and we cannot be certain if this woman was the same as the Daeng Marannu who married Karaeng ri Majannang on 20 Jan 1636. No divorce is recorded of this latter couple in the *lontaraq bilang*, but very few divorces were entered until the 1650s.

¹³⁴ Also known as Ralle Daeng Paikaq and titled Karaeng Bontoa (see the note for entry 18 Raj 1035 [1626]).

¹³⁵ Almost certainly not the same person as the Daengta Daeng Tuna born on 19 Apr 1632.

12 May (T) 24 Saf 1053	I Daeng Riolo installed as <i>sabannaraq</i> nanitannang sabannaraq I Daeng Riolo
1 Jul (W) 15 Rakr 1053	Dutch ships arrive from Ambon and report that they killed the <i>kimalaha</i> ¹³⁶ with his siblings and his mother nabattu kappalaqna Balandaya ri Ambong nanakana nabunoi kimalaha sisariqbattang siparanrongang
31 Aug (N eve) 16 Jakr 1053	Karaeng ri Bontomajannang Syaifulmuluq ¹³⁷ born naanaq Karaengta ri Bontomajannang Saifulmuluq
23 Sep (T eve) 9 Raj 1053	Karaeng ri Bontolangkasaq died namate Karaengta ri Bontolangkasaq
8 Oct (W) 23 Raj 1053	the karaeng [Malikussaid] went down to Agangnionjoq [in Tanete] readying [for battle]; he came to Pancana at <i>asar</i> [about 4 PM]; the ships accompanying him num- bered 125 namanaung ri Agangnionjoq karaenga makkaruru asa- raki nari Pancana biseanga niaganga pada-pada 125
19 Nov (R) 6 Ram 1053	the karaeng [Malikussaid] arrived after conquering Boné in the Pare-Pare war; I Tobalaq installed as <i>kadi</i> ¹³⁸ [of Boné] ¹³⁹ nabattu karaenga nabetana Bone ri bunduq Pare-Parea I Tobelaq nitannang kadi
30 Nov (M) 17 Ram 1053	I Daeng ri Pacellekang died; the mother of I Mallalanngang died namate I Daeng ri Pacellekang namate ayana I Mallalanngang

¹³⁶ This title refers to a community leader in Luhu on Seram in Maluku. On 17 Jun 1643 VOC troops publicly beheaded Kaicili Luhu, his mother, sister, and stepbrother in a display of force intended to intimidate the local population and ensure their loyalty to the VOC's ally Sultan Hamzah of Ternate (Andaya 1993:161).

¹³⁷ A son of Malikussaid.

¹³⁸ *Kadi* (or *kali*) was the title given to the chief Islamic official and religious advisor to the ruler. This war against La Maqdaremmeng and I Tobalaq's position afterwards are discussed in Andaya (1981:40-3).

¹³⁹ ANRI 16/6 adds the following: 'the people returning with him were counted: thirty-one thousand, three hundred and sixty men and three hundred and sixteen ships' (pamoterana taua nanibilang taua tallu cokoang lompoi assicokkoang keke antallu bilanga angannang pulo bilanna biseanga tallu bilangangi assampulo angannang). If this is accurate, why Malikussaid returned with a much larger army than the one he left with is unclear.

24 Dec (R)	teeth filed of Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana [Hasaunddin]
12 Syaw 1053	naniariq Tuammenanga ri Ballaq Pangkana
26 Dec (F eve)	Karaeng Tumamenang ri Taenga Muhammad Syafie ¹⁴⁰ born
14 Syaw 1053	naanaq Karaengta Tuammenang ri Taenga Muhammad Syafie
1644	
24 Jan (N)	Tumamenang ri Taenga adopted by Karaeng ri Majannang
13 Zulk 1053	nanialle Tuammenang ri Taenga nikatuo ri Karaengta ri Majannang
28 Jan (R)	a grandparent of I Lumbaq died
16 Zulk 1053	namate toana I Lumbaq
18 Mar (F)	I Daeng Kapetta, a wife of Karaeng ri Katapang, died
8 Muh 1054	namate I Daeng Kapetta bainena Karaengta ri Katapang
8 May (N)	I Daeng Buraqne replaced I Daeng Riboko as <i>sabannaraq</i> ¹⁴¹
1 Rawl 1054	naI Daeng Buraqne assambeangi sabannaraka I Daeng Riboko
23 Jul (S)	Matinroa ri Bukaka [La Maqdaremmeng, the defeated ruler of Boné] brought out here to Makassar
18 Jawl 1054	naipantaraqmo mae ri Mangkasaraq Matinroa ri Bukaka
22 Sep (W)	I Tuang Shaykh Yusuf asked permission to go overseas on the haj
27 Raj 1054	namappalaq kana I Tuan Syaikhu Yusuf kalauq haqji
3 Oct (M)	word reached the karaeng [Malikussaid] of Karaeng Patteqne's departure; I Daeng Mabela replaced him ¹⁴²
1 Syab 1054	nanipabiritta ri karaenga paqlampana Karae Patteqne naI Daeng Mabela assambeangi

¹⁴⁰ A son of Pattingalloang, he was also known as Karaeng Bontosunggu and Daeng Tasannging, he must not be confused with the much older son of Pattingalloang's brother Tumammaliang ri Timoroq, who was also known as Daeng Tasannging and Karaeng Bontosunggu.

¹⁴¹ There were thus two *sabannaraq* in Gowa by this time, but whether they had different duties or were responsible for different communities of traders is uncertain.

¹⁴² Karaeng Patteqne died later on Buton, and Daeng Mabela replaced him as karaeng of Patteqne and as a *tumailalang* of Gowa.

20 Oct (W eve)	Karaeng Paranggi set sail from Galesong overseas to Banten carrying I Tuang [Shaykh Yusuf]
18 Syab 1054	namammeloq ri Galesong Karae Paranggi kalauq ri Bantan nadongkokia I Tuan
31 Oct (M eve)	I Cabaq died
30 Syab 1054	namate I Cabaq
7 Dec (T eve)	I Bayang married by Karaeng ri Popoq
6 Syaw 1054	nanibaineang I Bayang ri Karaengta ri Popoq
16 Dec (F)	I Nampa died
15 Syaw 1054	namate I Nampa
1645	
8 Jan (S eve)	I Bissu ¹⁴³ had a daughter named Daengta Daeng Naratang ¹⁴⁴ I Sungguminasa Rabiah, called Karaeng ri Sanggiringang
8 Zulk 1054	namamanaq I Bissu baine nikana Daengta Daeng Naratang I Sungguminasa Rabia Karaengta ri Sanggiringan nikana
10 Jan (T)	Karaeng ri Bontosunggu [Tumamenang ri Taenga] and Karaeng ri Sanggiringang were engaged to each other
11 Zulk 1054	nanipasiparekanngang Karaengta ri Bontosunggu Karaengta ri Sanggiringan
3 Feb (F)	I Tija had a daughter named I Nampa Syahribanung
5 Zulh 1054	namamanaq I Tiji baine nikana I Nampa Syahribanun
12 Feb (N)	Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana [Hasanuddin] and Daengta Daeng Sannging married
14 Zulh 1054	nasikalabini Tuammenang ri Ballaq Pangkana Daengta Daeng Sannging
25 Feb (S)	I Daeng Niaq died
27 Zulh 1054	namate I Daeng Niaq

¹⁴³ A wife of Malikussaid.

¹⁴⁴ The *Gowa Chronicle* gives Daeng Nisanga rather than Daeng Naratang as their daughter's royal name.

16 Mar (R)	Karaeng ri Majannang said ¹⁴⁵ , “We send the compassion of the faith to those of Bima and Selayar” ¹⁴⁶
20 Muh 1055	nanikana Karaengta ri Majannang kisuro kamaseang sadaq ri Dimaya ri Silayaraka
[21] Mar (S)	Karaeng ri Bone ¹⁴⁷ died
22 Muh 1055	namate Karaenga ri Bone
17 Mar (F)	Karaeng ri Katinting and Karaeng ri Tabaringang ¹⁴⁸ married
28 Muh 1055	nasikalabini Karaengta ri Katinting Karaengta ri Tabaringan
20 Jun (M eve)	at the stroke of 1 Karaeng ri Naung ¹⁴⁹ died
23 Rakr 1055	tetteq 1 garigantaya namate Karaengta ri Naun
15 Jul (S)	the father of the <i>kadi</i> I Karaeng ¹⁵⁰ Tappaq went overseas on the haj
19 Jawl 1055	nakalauq haqqi manggena kadia I Karae Tappaq
30 Oct (M)	Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana [Karunrung] had a daughter by Tanang named Nurulmahalli
9 Ram 1055	namamanaq Tuammenang ri Juntana baine ri Tanang nikana Nurulmahalli
10 Dec (N)	the ruler of Agangnionjoq ¹⁵¹ and I Tumbuq married
20 Syaw 1055	nasikalabini Karae Agangnionjoq I Tumbuq
1646	
22 Jan (M)	I Daeng Talarra had a son named I Mappatambaq Abdul Gaffur, known as Karaeng ri Ballaq

¹⁴⁵ ANRI 16/6 adds that he spoke ‘to the karaeng [Malikussaid]’ (*ri karaenga*).

¹⁴⁶ This declaration of solidarity refers to the *shahadah* or Islamic profession of faith (‘There is no god but Allah and Muhammad is the messenger of Allah’), but the historical context inspiring this statement is unclear.

¹⁴⁷ This refers to the title of a female Makassarese karaeng, not a ruler of the Bugis kingdom of Boné.

¹⁴⁸ Daeng Talarra.

¹⁴⁹ She was a daughter of Tunijalloq, widow of Karaeng Matoaya, and mother of Tumammaliang ri Timoroq.

¹⁵⁰ ANRI 16/6 gives his title as Kare, a lower-ranking title than Karaeng.

¹⁵¹ Ibrahim (or Borahima) Daeng Matiring Matinroe ri Buliana.

4 Zulh 1055	namamanaq I Daeng Talarra buraqne nikana I Mappatambaq Abdul Gaffur Karaengta ri Ballaq nikana
26 Feb (T)	a strong earthquake purportedly struck Manila and its many stone buildings
10 Muh 1056	nanataba bedeng ronrong sarro Manila puaraki ballaq batua
18 Apr (W)	the karaeng [Malikussaid] sailed to go into Boné for the Passempaka War ¹⁵²
1 Rawl 1056	namamise karaenga mantama ri Bone ri Bunduq Passempaka
25 May (F)	the karaeng [Malikussaid] arrived from Boné; he con- quered Boné
8 Rakr 1056	nabattu ri Bone karaenga ambetai Bone
15 Jun (R)	I Tija had a daughter named Ummu Kalsum
7 Jawl 1056	namamanaq I Tija baine nikana Ummu Kalsum
19 Jun (T)	Matinroa ri Bukaka [La Maqdaremmeng] went down to live in Siang
4 Jawl 1056	nanipanaung ri Siang mammempo Matinroa ri Bukaka
10 Aug (R)	Daengta Daeng Naratang I Laji ¹⁵³ died below in Maranaq
5 Jakr 1056	namate Daengta Daeng Naratang I Laji irawa ri Maranaq
31 Aug (F)	Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana [Karunrung] and Karaeng Tamasongoq married
19 Raj 1056	nasikalabini Tuammenang ri Juntana Karae Tamasongoq
3 Sep (M)	the ruler of Bima I Ambela [Sirajuddin] and Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq ¹⁵⁴ wed [in accordance with Islamic custom]
22 Raj 1056	namaqnikkah karae Dima I Ambela Karaengta ri Bontojeqneq

¹⁵² This was the third battle in a conflict that began in 1643 and ended with this defeat of La Maqdaremmeng's brother La Tenriaji Tosenrima.

¹⁵³ ANRI 16/6 omits 'Daengta Daeng Naratang', but does add that I Laji's 'posthumous name was Pawelayie ri Maranaq' (*areng matena nikana Pawelayie ri Maranaq*).

¹⁵⁴ A daughter of Malikussaid.

30 Sep (N)	I Tumbuq had a child by the ruler of Agangnionjoq, a son named Ibrahim
19 Syab 1056	namamanaq I Tumbuq ri Karae Agangnionjoq buraqne nikana Ibrahim
2 Nov (F)	I Tanriwela died
23 Ram 1056	namate I Tanriwela
15 Nov (R)	the karaeng [Malikussaid] sunk near Mangindara [in Takalar] while returning from Kalakongkong
6 Syaw 1056	natallang karaenga ri tujunna Mangindara battu ri Kalakongkong
23 Dec (F eve)	Karaeng ri Lempangang died
14 Zulk 1056	namate Karaengta ri Lempangang
27 Dec (W)	I Dodi and I Daeng Malluq married
18 Zulk 1056	nasikalabini I Dodi I Daeng Malluq
1647	
25 Jan (R eve)	Karaeng ri Jipang died
18 Zuh 1056	namate Karaengta ri Jipang
28 Feb (R)	Daengta Daeng Masiang born
22 Muh 1057	naanaq Daengta Daeng Masiang
31 Mar (S eve)	Karaeng ri Bontomanompoq Mahmud ¹⁵⁵ born
23 Saf 1057	naanaq Karaengta ri Bontomanompo Mahmud
30 Apr (T)	I Daeng ri Pannampuq died
23 Rawl 1057	namate I Daeng ri Pannampuq
6 May (M)	it is said that a great wind struck Selayar, blowing down houses and trees
5 Rakr 1057	nanikana natabai angin lombo Silayaraq punggangi bal-laka kayua
10 May (T eve)	Karaeng Masale died
3 Rakr 1057	namate Karae Masale

¹⁵⁵ A son of Karaeng Popoq who in 1663 succeeded his father as *anrongguru* of the *tumakkajannang*.

12 May (F) 5 Rokr 1057	Friday public prayers established this Friday in Garassiq namamenteng jumaka ri Garassiq jumaq
11 Jun (T) 7 Jawl 1057	Haji Neting installed as <i>kadi</i> , assisting Haji Kare ¹⁵⁶ Singaraq nanitannang kadi Haji Neting aqbali Haji Karae Singaraq
28 Jun (F) 24 Jawl 1057	Daengta Daeng Naratang ¹⁵⁷ had a son named I Tataraq, known as Karaeng ri Lekoqboqdong who died in Kelo [on Sumbawa] namamanaq Daengta Daeng Naratang buraqne nikana I Tataraq Karaengta ri Lekoqboqdong matea ri Kelo nikana
2 Jul (W) 29 Jawl 1057	I Kare Ampaq killed in the stone house in Ujung Pandang nanibuno I Kare Ampaq ri ballaq batua ri Jumpandang
13 Jul (S) 10 Jakr 1057	a stone meeting hall built nanibangun baruga batua
1 Aug (R) 28 Jakr 1057	I Kare Kanjaraq had a son named Ahmad namamanaq I Kare Kanjaraq buraqne nikana Ahmad
12 Aug (R) 10 Raj 1057	Untaya died namate Untaya
31 Aug (S) 19 Raj 1057 ¹⁵⁸	Tamalate [a royal hall] torn down nanigesaraq Tamalate
5 Oct (F eve) 6 Ram 1057	war leaders sailed over to Sumbawa: [the karaengs of] Layuq [in Binamuq] and Bangkalaq namamise dulun taqle ri Sambawa Layuq siagang Bangkalaq
12 Nov (T)	ears pierced of Karaeng ri Paqbineang

¹⁵⁶ Unlike VT 25, ANRI 16/6 gives his title as Kare, a lower-ranking title than Karaeng. I believe this is the correct reading, as this title appears again in an entry concerning him on 14 Oct 1655.

¹⁵⁷ A wife of Mammaliang Karaeng Lengkeseq. She must not be confused with the daughter of Malikussaid of nearly the same name who was born on 8 Jan 1645, nor with the woman of nearly the same name who died on 10 Aug 1646.

¹⁵⁸ The Hijri date converts to 20 Aug 1647. This small difference can easily be explained if a copyist wrote 31 August in place of 21 August.

14 Syaw 1057	nanitinting Karaengta ri Paqbineang
12 Nov (T eve)	Karaeng ri Sanrabone died
14 Syaw 1057	namate Karaenga ri Sanrabone
12 Dec (R)	[Karaeng] Ballaq Jawaya ¹⁵⁹ and [Karaeng] Bontomarannu ¹⁶⁰ married
14 Zulk 1057	nasikalabini Ballaq Jawaya Bontomarannu
25 Dec (W)	birth of I Daeng Marannu I Pandiq
27 Zulk 1057	nanianakkang I Daeng Marannu I Pandiq
1648	
2 Feb (N)	Karaeng Paqbundukang died
7 Muh 1058	namate Karae Paqbundukang
20 Mar (T eve)	a wife of Karaeng ri Popoq died ¹⁶¹
25 Saf 1058	namate Karaengta ri Popoq bainea
5 Apr (F eve)	Karaenta ri Tamasongoq had a son by Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana [Karunrung] named I Manginara Majduddin, known as Daengta Daeng Mattiro
10 Rawl 1058	namamanaq Karaengta ri Tamasongoq ri Tuammenang ri Juntana buraqne nikana I Manginara Majduddin Daengta Daeng Mattiro nikana
12 May (N eve)	Karaeng ri Bontoa, the mother of the karaeng [Hasanuddin], died
18 Rakr 1058	namate Karaengta ri Bontoa ayana karaenga
14 Jun (F eve)	at the stroke of [unknown] Daengta Daeng Naratang had a daughter named Habibah
20 Jawl 1058	tette garigantaya namamanaq Daengta Daeng Naratang baine nikana Habibah

¹⁵⁹ Speelman reported that she was a sister of Mammaliang Karaeng Lengkeseq (Ligtvoet 1880:95). The woman bearing this title must not be confused with two previous title-holders who died in 1627 and 1637 respectively.

¹⁶⁰ Speelman reported that he was a son of Karaeng Sumannaq (Ligtvoet 1880:108).

¹⁶¹ Presumably but not necessarily the unnamed wife who gave birth to a son on 3 Jun 1631.

3 Aug (N eve) 13 Raj 1058 ¹⁶³	the young Karaeng Jipang ¹⁶² died namate Karae Jipang maloloa
11 Oct (N) 24 Ram 1058 ¹⁶⁴	I Maqminasa, known as Daengta Daeng Sannging, died namate I Maqminasa Daengta Daeng Sannging nikana
30 Oct (F) 12 Syaw 1058 ¹⁶⁵	Friday public prayers first established this Friday in Bontoalaq nauru mammenteng jumaka ri Bontoalaq jumaq
30 Nov (M) 14 Zulk 1058	the child of the ruler of Silaparang [on Lombok] named Ammasa Pamayan became ruler of Sumbawa nakaraeng ri Sambawa anaqna Karae Silaparang nikana Ammasa Pamayan
8 Dec (W) 24 Zulk 1058	a building constructed for the great bell [for chiming the hour] nanibangun ballaqla gariganta lompoa
9 Dec (R) 25 Zulk 1058	I Assing ¹⁶⁶ died namate I Assing
1649	
13 Jan (W) 29 Zulh 1058	a tiger arrived, brought by an English ship nabattu macang kappalaq Anggarrisq mangerang
21 Feb (N)	I Tumbuq ¹⁶⁷ had a son named Kasim, the ruler of Agangnionjoq, known as Puanna I Tikkaq ¹⁶⁸

¹⁶² The other way to interpret this entry is to read Maloloa as Karaeng Jipang's name, which is quite possible. See the similar entry for 13 Jul 1642.

¹⁶³ A copyist incorrectly wrote Ramadan instead of Rajab for the Hijri month.

¹⁶⁴ There is considerable confusion in both the Hijri and Gregorian dating for this and the following entry. The most likely corrected sequence is given here, but it is not certain. VT 25 gives the dates as 11 Oct (W) and 12 Ram 1058.

¹⁶⁵ Like the previous entry, there is confusion in both the Gregorian and Hijri months here. In the corrected months given here October replaces VT 25's Sepember and Syawwal VT 25's Ramadan. ANRI 16/6 gives the Gregorian date as October 11th, which matches VT 25's Hijri date for the previous entry (and which converts to 29 Sep 1648).

¹⁶⁶ A child of Malikussaid.

¹⁶⁷ A wife of the ruler of Agangnionjoq Matinroe ri Buliana. According to Dutch sources from 1750, I Tumbuq was a daughter of a ruler of Gowa and *karaeng* of Panaikang-Ciniq, Laci, Kaci, and Rappociniq (Ligtvoet 1880:109).

¹⁶⁸ He was also known as Mappajanji Daeng Mattajang Matinroe ri Sumpampoba.

8 Saf 1059	namamanaq I Tumbuq buraqne nikana Kasim Karaengta ri Agangnionjoq nikana Puanna I Tikkaq
25 Feb (R)	I Daeng Pole, known as Karaeng ri Lengkeseq, slept with Karaeng ri Tangalloq
12 Saf 1059	namaqlusereq Karaengta ri Tangallaq I Daeng Pole Karaengta ri Lengkeseq nikana
13 Mar (F eve) 28 Saf 1059	Karaeng ri Lakiung Sitti Shafur ¹⁶⁹ born naanaq Karaengta ri Lakiun Sitti Shafur
17 Mar (T eve) 3 Rawl 1059	the mother of the ruler of Agangnionjoq died namate ayana Karae Agangnionjoq
9 Apr (R eve) 16 Rawl 1059 ¹⁷⁰	a grandparent of I Daeng died namate toana I Daeng
10 Jul (S)	the child of Karaeng ri Sumannaq named I Mappaonoq Daeng Mammaliang died
29 Jakr 1059	namate anaqna Karaengta ri Sumannaq nikana I Mappaonoq Daeng Mammaliang
10 Sep (R eve) 2 Ram 1059	Daengta Daeng Naratang had a son named Ali, known as Karaeng Lambengi namamanaq Daengta Daeng Naratang buraqne nikana Ali Karae Lambengi nikana
18 Oct (N eve) 10 Syaw 1059	I Daeng Leqleng died namate I Daeng Leqleng
21 Oct (R) 13 Syaw 1059	Karaeng ri Tamasongoq had a daughter named Sittu Anisuh namamanaq Karaengta ri Tamasongoq baine nikana Sittu Anisuh
19 Nov (T)	Karaeng ri Kassiqjala had a daughter named Aisyah, known as Karaeng Mawajang

¹⁶⁹ A daughter of Malikussaid and I Ralle Daeng Paikaq, she was also known as I Manneratu and I Daeng Niasseng.

¹⁷⁰ The Hijri date converts to 30 Mar 1649.

- 24 Zulk 1059¹⁷¹ namamanaq Karaengta ri Kassiqjala baine nikana Aisyah
Karae Mawajang nikana
- 19 Dec (N)
14 Zulh 1059 Karaeng ri Garassiq and I Daeng Singaraq married
nasikalabini Karaengta ri Garassiq I Daeng Singaraq
- 1650
- 6 Jan (R) Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana [Karunrung] and Karaeng ri
Tamasongoq divorced
- 3 Muh 1060 nasipelaq Tuammenang ri Juntana Karaengta ri
Tamasongoq
- 29 Jan (S) Karaeng ri Cenrana and Daeng ri Mangeppeq divorced¹⁷²
- 26 Muh 1060 nasipelaq Karaengta ri Cenrana Daengta ri Mangeppeq
- 3 Feb (W eve)
30 Muh 1060 Karaeng ri Katinting died at the age of 23
namate Karaengta ri Katinting umuruqna 23
- 11 Mar (F) I Bayang had a child by Karaeng ri Popoq, a son named
Ibrahim
- 7 Rawl 1060 namamanaq I Bayang ri Karaengta ri Popoq buraqne
nikana Ibrahim
- 4 Apr (Sun eve) the mother of the karaengs¹⁷³ was married by Karaeng
Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana [Hasanuddin]; before
becoming ruler he married
- 2 Rakr 1060 nanibaineang puanna karaenga ri Tuammenang ri Ballaq
Pangkana takaraengapi nanibaineang
- 17 Jun (W eve) the Datu [ri Luwuq] wed [in accordance with Islamic
custom] I Manguqrangi Karaeng ri Tamasongoq; Datu ri
Luwuq was known as Matinroa ri Gowa
- 16 Jakr 1060 namaqnikka ratua I Manguqrangi Karaengta ri
Tamasongoq nikana Datua ri Luwuq Matinroa ri Gowa

¹⁷¹ The Hijri date converts to 29 Nov 1649.

¹⁷² Karaeng ri Cenrana, or Mallewai Daeng Maqnassa, was a *tumailalang* of Gowa, Daeng ri Mangeppeq was a daughter of Karaeng Matoaya and sister of Karaeng ri Popoq.

¹⁷³ This refers to I Daeng Nisali, who was the mother of two sultans of Gowa, Muhammad Ali (r. 1674 to 1677) and Abdul Jalil (r. 1677 to 1709).

27 Jul (T)	gunpowder exploded, killing I Sinse
29 Raj 1060	nanakaqdoq ubaq I Sinse matei
10 Aug (T)	Macciniqdanggang torn down
11 Syab 1060	nanigesaraq Macciniqdanggang
26 Aug (R)	Macciniqsombalaq constructed; by midday it was all erected; 20 bore bosaraq armbands; 181 bore sipappaq armbands ¹⁷⁴ ; vassals arrived to see it
27 Syab 1060	nanibangun Macciniqsombalaq tangalloi alloa natapenteng ngaseng tumapponto bosaraq 20 tumapponto sipappaq 181 battui palilika macciniq-ciniq
2 Sep (R eve)	Karaeng ri Majannang died
4 Ram 1060	namate Karaengta ri Majannang
27 Sep (T)	a sister of Karaeng ri Lempangang's mother ¹⁷⁵ died who had married a Mandar man
30 Ram 1060	namate sariqbattanna ayana Karaengta ri Lempangan leqbaka maqburaqne Mandaraq
2 Nov (M eve)	I Sinukuq, the mother of <i>tumailalang</i> Karaeng ri Bontopanno, was wed [in accordance with Islamic custom] by Karaeng ri Popoq
7 Zulk 1060	naninikkai ri Karaengta ri Popoq I Sinukuq anronna <i>tumailalang</i> Karaengta ri Bontopanno
4 Nov (R eve)	the child of Karaeng ri Popoq named Ibrahim died
9 Zulk 1060	namate anaqna Karaengta ri Popoq nikanaya Ibrahim
13 Nov (N)	the karaeng [Malikussaid] went up into Macciniqsombalaq; eighty-six nights after it was built the karaeng went up into it
17 Zulk 1060	namanaqmo karaenga ri Macciniqsombalaq 80 pulo banngi angannang leqbaq nibangung nanapanaiki karaenga

¹⁷⁴ *Bosaraq* armbands were made of several gold rings and *sipappaq* armbands were single heavy armbands. This entry refers to the processions, feasting, and ritual acts that accompanied the construction of a royal hall for the ruler of Gowa.

¹⁷⁵ ANRI 16/6 omits 'mother' (*ayana*), making it a sister of Karaeng Lempangang who died.

28 Nov (T) 2 Zulh 1060	I Maqdaeng died namate I Maqdaeng
24 Dec (S) 29 Zulh 1060	the wedding of the ruler of Sumbawa [Ammas Pamayan] and Karaeng ri Panaikang nabunting karae Sambawa ri Karaengta ri Panaikang
1651	
6 Feb (M)	birth of I Manjawakkang, an older sibling of Karaeng Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil]; he lived only nine months ¹⁷⁶
14 Saf 1061	nanianakkang I Manjawakkang kakanna Karaenga Tuammenang ri Lakiun salapang bulanji tallasaqna
22 Feb (W) 1 Rawl 1061	the <i>anaq karaeng</i> and the <i>anaq gallarrang</i> went to Karaeng ri Bontomangape ¹⁷⁷ nanipamange ri Karae Bontomangape anaq karaenga sia- gang anaq gallarranga
20 Apr (W eve) ¹⁷⁸ 27 Rakr 1061	there were earthquakes three times in one night naronrong pintallung sipatang
15 May (M) 24 Jawl 1061	a judge for the Portuguese established nanipatanannngang tumaqbicara Paranggia
22 May (M) 1 Jakr 1061	birth of Karaeng ri Tomponga nanianakkang Karaengta ri Tomponga
29 Jun (R)	Daeng Tasannging, known as Karaeng ri Bontosunggu of Talloq, broke off his relationship with Daengta Daeng Naratang ¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ The *Gowa Chronicle* reports that this son of Sultan Hasanuddin died at age seven, but given the entry below for 19 Sep 1651 he died after seven months.

¹⁷⁷ This indicates that Karaeng Bontomangape (later Sultan Hasanuddin) was given authority over these two groups. *Anaq karaeng* refers to noble offspring and *anaq gallarrang* refers to children of local lords. Like the term *anaq buraqne*, it is not clear the degree to which these represented distinct groups with duties and privileges or was simply a term of reference to social strata.

¹⁷⁸ VT 25 and *Makasaarsche historiën* (1855:121) have 2 Apr for the Gregorian date, but this is incorrect. ANRI 16/6 has the 20th, which is close to the Hijri date (which converts to 18 Apr).

¹⁷⁹ This is a challenging entry to interpret because there are two sets of individuals with these names to whom it could refer. Most likely, it describes the end of an engagement between two children: Daengta Daeng Naratang [3] was six years old at the time (b. 8 Jan 1645), and Tumamenang ri Taenga, who was a son of Karaeng Pattingalloang, eight years old (b. 26 Dec

10 Raj 1061	nanitappuki Daengta Daeng Naratang ri Daeng Tasannging Karaengta ri Bontosunggu ri Talloq nikana
18 Aug (F)	the karaeng [Malikussaid] was furious at the servants who did not follow him to Agangnionjoq
1 Ram 1061	nanikalarroi ri karaenga bembeng kaqdoqka tamanaunna mamminawang ri Agangnionjoq
19 Sep (T) 3 Syaw 1061	I Manjawakkang died at the age of 9 months namate I Manjawakkang umuruqna 9 bulan
18 Oct (R) 4 Zulk 1061	I Daeng Tuna and Barombong Karaeng Alluq married nasikalabini I Daeng Tuna Barombong Karae Alluq
8 Nov (T)	I Daeng Patalo and I Kare Teqne, a child of I Daeng Kalula, married
23 Zulk 1061	nasikalabini I Daeng Patalo I Kare Teqne anaqna I Daeng Kalula
25 Nov (S)	the Dutch asked for Ambon from the karaeng [Malikussaid]
12 Zulh 1061	nanapalaq Balandaya Ambong ri karaenga
29 Nov (N)	a child of I Toalaq and the ruler of Binongko [an island southeast of Buton] married
14 Zulh 1061	nasikalabini anaqna I Toalaq karae Binongko
6 Dec (T eve) 22 Zulh 1061	Karaeng Batupute died namate Karae Batupute
13 Dec (S) 29 Zulh 1061	the ruler of Bima I Mapparabung Nuruddin born ¹⁸⁰ naanaq karaenga ri Dima I Mapparabung Nuruddini

1643). They were promised to each other on 10 Jan 1645. However, it is conceivable that it describes the end of a relationship between an older Karaeng Bontosunggu (also named Daeng Tasannging, a son of Tumammaliang ri Timoroq), and an older Daengta Daeng Naratang [2].

¹⁸⁰ Also known as Daeng Matalliq Karaeng Panaragang. He was a son of the ruler of Bima Sultan Abil Khair, also known as I Ambela and Sirajuddin, by Malikussaid's daughter Karaeng Bontojeqneq.

1652

- 4 Apr (W eve) Karaeng ri Suli died
23 Rkr 1062 namate Karaenga ri Suli
- 14 Apr (S eve) *tumailalang* Karaeng Bontopanno Abdul Gafur¹⁸¹ born
4 Jawl 1062 naanaq *tumailalang* Karae Bontopanno Abdul Gafur
- 31 May (F) Karaeng ri Bontokamase Abdurrahman born
21 Jakr 1062 naanaq Karaengta ri Bontokamase Abdurrahman
- 27 Jun (R) a carved house¹⁸² built in Bontoalaq
19 Raj 1062 nanibangun ballaq niukirika ri Bontoalaq
- 5 Jul (F) Karaeng ri Katapang¹⁸³ went down to Mandar to set up
fortifications
24 Raj 1062 namanaung ri Mandaraq Karaengta ri Katapang mattan-
nang benteng
- 18 Aug (N) Karaeng Tumamenang ri Lakiung Abdul Jalil¹⁸⁴ born
12 Ram 1062 naanaq karaenga Tuammenang ri Lakiun Abdul Jalil
- 2 Sep (N eve) Daengta Daeng Onjoq and Daengta Daeng Naratang¹⁸⁵
married
27 Ram 1062 nasikalabini Daengta Daeng Onjoq Daengta Daeng
Naratang

¹⁸¹ A son of Karaeng Popoq.

¹⁸² *Ballaq ukiriq* or 'carved house' refers to a building that is ornately decorated, but the purpose or meaning of this structure is uncertain. A 1739 entry in 'Makasaarsche historiën' (1855:130) states that this was the house of the ruler of Boné, but when this became so is unknown. ANRI 16/6 indicates its size, adding that it was built in six sections on pillars (*annang paqdaserang*) lengthwise.

¹⁸³ Speelman reported that he was a son of Karaeng ri Dataq, who was a son of Tunibatta (Ligtvoet 1880:111). The *Gowa Chronicle* too notes that this Karaeng ri Dataq had a son named Karaeng ri Katapang and also records that Karaeng ri Dataq was one who did not flee during Tunipasuluq's disastrous reign in the early 1590s. Karaeng ri Katapang must have been born late in Karaeng ri Dataq's life or have enjoyed exceptional health to lead this expedition 60 years later.

¹⁸⁴ A son of Hasanuddin by I Daeng Nisali, his personal name was I Mappadulung, his royal name I Daeng Mattimung, his *karaeng*-title before he became sultan was Karaeng ri Campagaya, and once the people of Sanrabone expelled their *karaeng* he became their lord and was thus also known as Karaeng ri Sanrabone.

¹⁸⁵ Presumably this refers to the girl of this name whose engagement to was ended on 29 Jun 1651.

13 Sep (F) 9 Syaw 1062	I Manna had a girl named Aisyah namammanaq I Manna baine nikana Aisyah
21 Nov (R) 19 Zulh 1062	people mustered around the manuscript from Ternate ¹⁸⁶ namarewangan taua niuluna lontaraqna Taranate
29 Nov (F) 27 Zulh 1062	I Daeng ri Bulekang went east to Ambon namanrai q ri Ambong I Daeng ri Bulekang
1653	
18 Jan (S) 17 Saf 1063	I Bunduq died namate I Bunduq
20 Jan (M) 19 Saf 1063	I Mappasepeq and the child of Karaeng ri Garassiq named I Sitti married nasikalabini I Mappasepeq anaqna Karaengta ri Garassiq nikanaya I Sitti
23 Jan (R) 22 Saf 1063	Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq ¹⁸⁷ had a daughter named Sitti Aminah namamanaq Karaengta ri Bontojeqneq baine nikana Sitti Aminah
9 Apr (T eve) 10 Jawl 1063	Anciq Majjah, <i>anrongguru</i> for Tumamenang ri Papambatuna [Malikussaid], died namate Anciq Majjah anronggurunna Tuammenang ri Papangbatuna
23 Apr (R) 24 Jawl 1063	I Kammissiq and I Radin married nasikalabini I Kammissiq I Radin
5 Jun (W eve) 8 Raj 1063	a grandparent of I Tija died namate toana I Tija

¹⁸⁶ This muster was in response to events in Maluku. In 1648 Mandar Syah became sultan of Ternate. He was an unpopular choice, but had the support of the VOC and shared their goal of reducing Makassarese influence in Maluku. On 2 Aug 1650 local Ternate notables revolted against Sultan Mandar, rallying behind his brother Kaicili Manilha. With the aid of a VOC fleet the following year, Mandar was returned to the throne, though resistance continued for several years (Andaya 1993:163-5). The next entry suggests that Malikussaid sent a fleet to Maluku under I Daeng ri Bulekang to aid those opposed to Mandar Syah.

¹⁸⁷ The wife of the ruler of Bima I Ambela Sirajuddin.

12 Jun (R) 15 Raj 1063	Karaeng ri Taipaya died namate Karaenga ri Taipaya
4 Jul (R eve) 9 Syab 1063	I Loqmoq Daeng died namate I Loqmoq Daeng
25 Aug (M) 1 Syaw 1063	<i>bila-bila</i> issued to go east to Ambon for 71 nights hence nanipalele bila-bila manraika ri Ambong 71 bannginna
1 Oct (W) 9 Zulk 1063	people mustered at Baroqbosoq; the total number of those who assembled was 9413 namarewangan taua ri Baroqbosoq bilang pampanna tumarewanganga 9413
8 Oct (W) 16 Zulk 1063	the ritual was held in Talloq in which the teeth filed of Tumamenang ri Lampana [Harrunarasyid] kaparekanga ri Talloq niariqna Tuammenang ri Lampanna
5 Nov (T eve) 13 Zulh 1063	we were left by Karaeng Tumamenang ri Papambatuna [Malikussaid] ¹⁸⁸ kinapilari Karaenga Tuammenanga ri Papanbatuna
16 Dec (T) 26 Muh 1064	Daengta I Daeng Kalau died namate Daengta I Daeng Kalau
27 Dec (S) 6 Saf 1064	Karaeng ri Mandalleq I Tulolo Tajuddin ¹⁸⁹ born naanaq Karaengta ri Mandalleq I Tulolo Tajuddini
1654	
7 Jan (T eve) 18 Saf 1064	Datu [ri Luwuq] and Karaeng ri Tamasongoq divorced nasipelaq ratua Karaengta ri Tamasongoq
4 Feb (T eve) 15 Rawl 1064	I Loqmoq, the mother of Karaeng Galesong, married by Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana [Hasanuddin] nanibaineang I Loqmoq anronna Karae Galesong ri Tuammenang ri Ballaq Pangkana

¹⁸⁸ ANRI 16/6 adds '[at the age of] 47' (47).

¹⁸⁹ Speelman reported that he was a son of Karaeng Karunrung. His mother was Loqmoq Galorang, a title which indicates non-noble status (Ligtvoet 1880:113).

16 Feb (N) 26 Rawl 1064	I Minaq had a daughter named Maryam namamanaq I Minaq baine nikana Maryam
25 Feb (W) 7 Rakr 1064	Karaeng ri Patukangang died namate Karaengta ri Patukangan
22 Apr (W) 3 Jakr 1064	Karaeng ri Bontopaqja Maemuna ¹⁹⁰ born naanaq Karaengta ri Bontopaqja Maemuna
27 Apr (M) 8 Jakr 1064	a wife of the ruler of Agangnionjoq had a son namamanaq bainenna karae Agangnionjoq buraqne
21 May (R) 3 Raj 1064	Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana [Hasanuddin] and Karaeng ri Paqbineang ¹⁹¹ married nasikalabini Tuammenang ri Ballaq Pangkana Karaengta ri Paqbineang
2 Jul (R) 17 Syab 1064	I Loqmoq Maroangi died namate I Loqmoq Maroangi
8 Jul (R eve) 23 Syab 1064	the mother of Karaeng ri Mangalliq ¹⁹² divorced by Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana [Hasanuddin] nanipelaq ri Tuammenang ri Ballaq Pangkana anronna Karaengta ri Mangalliq
15 Sep (R eve) 6 Zulk 1064	we were left by Karaeng Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng [Pattingalloang] kinapilari Karaengta Tuammenang ri Bontobiraeng
22 Oct (R) 10 Zulh 1064	it was announced to the vassals that the karaeng [Hasanuddin] would speak for the land ¹⁹³ nanikanakanaang palilika karaenga ampakkanangi but- tana

¹⁹⁰ Ligtoet (1880:113) noted and Kamaruddin (1985:116) concurred that she was probably a daughter of ruler of Bima I Ambela and Karaeng Bontojeqneq.

¹⁹¹ A daughter of Karaeng Pattingalloang.

¹⁹² Karaeng ri Mangalliq was also known as I Manrurungang and I Kare Gappa. His mother's name was I Loqmoq Dayang.

¹⁹³ In other words, following the death of Karaeng Pattingalloang, the new ruler of Gowa decided that he would not appoint a *tumabicarabutta*, the chief advisor and minister of Gowa known as 'The Speaker of the Land'. This was a major departure from the practices of his predecessors, who had appointed their counterparts ruling Talloq as *tumabicarabutta*.

- 12 Nov (R) Karaeng Tumamenang ri Taenga¹⁹⁴ circumcised
1 Muh 1065 nanisunnaq Karaengta Tuammenang ri Taenga
- 29 Nov (N) Tumatea ri Jakattaraq Muhammad Ali¹⁹⁵ born
18 Muh 1065 naanaq Tumatea ri Jakattaraq Muhammad Ali
- 16 Dec (W) the karaeng [Hasanuddin] declared, 'What do you think,
should we go out [to meet them in battle] or should we
stay and strengthen [our fortifications]? The Dutch will
come up here again.'
- 7 Saf 1065 nanakana karaenga antekamma keqnanq maqlampakiq
deq mamattangkiq mappakajarreq namanaiq mae pole
Balandaya
- 1655
- 13 Jan (F eve) Karaeng ri Mangalliq¹⁹⁶ born; Daeng Tommaq died
20 Rawl 1065¹⁹⁷ naanaq Karaengta ri Mangalliq namate Daeng Tommaq
- 2 Feb (T) Karaeng ri Tangallaq¹⁹⁸ and Karaeng ri Lengkeseq
divorced¹⁹⁹
- 26 Rawl 1065 nasipelaq Karaengta ri Tangallaq Karaengta ri Lengkeseq
- 15 Feb (N eve) I Manuruki, the younger sibling of Tumamenang ri Ujung
Tana [Karunrung], died at fifteen years of age
- 7 Rakr 1065 namate I Manuruki arinna Tuammenang ri Juntana umu-
ruqna sampulo taung allima
- 21 Mar (N) Karaeng Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana [Hasanuddin]
sailed east to Buton²⁰⁰
- 11 Jawl 1065 namamise Karaenga Tuammenang ri Ballaq Pangkana
manraiq ri Butun

¹⁹⁴ Also known as Karaeng Bontosunggu and Daeng Tasannging, he was a son of Karaeng Pattingalloang.

¹⁹⁵ Also known as Karaeng Bisei, he was a son of Hasanuddin and would become sultan of Gowa in 1674.

¹⁹⁶ A son of Hasanuddin.

¹⁹⁷ The Hijri date converts to 28 Jan 1655.

¹⁹⁸ A daughter of Tumammaliang ri Timoroq.

¹⁹⁹ Though they apparently reconciled, for they divorced again on 7 Sep 1655, after which he married on 14 Feb 1656.

²⁰⁰ ANRI 16/6 adds 'after eleven nights of travel he conquered Tobeá' (*nasampulo banngi asseqre lampana nanabeta Tobeá*).

29 Mar (M) 19 Jawl 1065	Karaeng Galesong I Maninrori ²⁰¹ born naanaq Karae Galesong I Maninrori
18 Apr (N) 12 Jakr 1065	Buton fined for their offense 888 kati naniloqrosoq salana Butunga 888 katina
14 May (F) 7 Raj 1065	the karaeng [Hasanuddin] arrived from Buton and the conquest of Tobeia [islands near Buton]; his journey lasted sixty-four nights nabattu karaenga ri Butun nabetana Tobeia 60 banngi angappaq lampana
13 Aug (F) 12 Syaw 1065	the corpse of I Daeng Battu ²⁰² was brought back nabattu nierang bakkena I Daeng Battu
21 Aug (S) 20 Syaw 1065	the ruler of Sumbawa [Ammasa Pamayan] and Karaeng ri Panaikang divorced nasipelaq karae Sambawa Karaengta ri Panaikang
27 Aug (R eve) 24 Syaw 1065	a grandparent of I Kacung [I Loqmoq] married by Tumamenang ri Lampana [Harrunarasyid] nanibaineang toana I Kacung ri Tuammenang ri Lampanna
7 Sep (M eve) 7 Zulk 1065	Karaeng ri Lengkeseq and Karaeng ri Tangallaq divorced nasipelaq Karaengta ri Lengkeseq Karaengta ri Tanngallaq
14 Oct (M) ²⁰³ 13 Zulh 1065	Gallarrang Mangasa I Kare Naba died; I Kare Singaraq replaced him [as lord of Mangasa] namate Galarrang Mangasa I Kare Naba naI Kare Singaraq assambeangi
23 Oct (S) 22 Zulh 1065	the Dutch were attacked in Bontocoiq by Karaeng ri Popoq and sunk ²⁰⁴ nanipirumpaki Balandaya ri Bontocoiq ri Karaengta ri Popoq na tallang

²⁰¹ A son of Hasanuddin.

²⁰² ANRI 16/6 adds that he was also known as Karaeng Butta Toa.

²⁰³ A copyist mistakenly wrote the 4th instead of the 14th for the Gregorian day.

²⁰⁴ ANRI 16/6 adds 'one sloop was overrun' (*sibatu soqlloq niluqluka*).

8 Dec (W)	Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq arrived from Bima
11 Saf 1066	nabattu ri Dima Karaengta ri Bontojeqneq
	1656
9 Jan (M eve)	I Daeng had a daughter named I Radiah
5 Rawl 1066	namamanaq I Daeng baine nikana I Radiah
14 Feb (N eve)	Karaeng ri Lengkeseq and Daengta Daeng Maingaq married
18 Rakr 1066	nasikalabini Karaengta ri Lengkeseq Daengta Daeng Maingaq
24 Feb (M)	ears pierced of Karaeng ri Sanggiringang ²⁰⁵
2 Jawl 1066	nanitinting Karaengta ri Sanggiringang
31 Mar (R eve)	Tumammaliang ri Alluq Amir Hamzah ²⁰⁶ born
4 Jakr 1066	naanaq Tumammalianga ri Alluq Amir Hamza
29 May (M)	Karaeng ri Langeloq Latifah ²⁰⁷ born
4 Syab 1066	naanaq Karaengta ri Langeloq Latifah
6 Aug (N)	Tumamenang ri Taenga [Karaeng ri Bontosunggu] and Karaeng ri Sanggiringang married
14 Syaw 1066	nasikalabini Tuammenang ri Taenga Karaengta ri Sanggiringan
8 Aug (T)	I Daeng Mattukung, mentor of the envoy Uthman, born ²⁰⁸
16 Syaw 1066	naanaq I Daeng Mattukung anronggurunna suroa Uthman

²⁰⁵ A daughter of Malikussaid.

²⁰⁶ A son of Hasanuddin and Karaeng Paqbineang. His personal name was I Mappasomba and his royal name was I Daeng Uruga, but he had not yet received a *karaeng*-title when he unexpectedly succeeded his father as ruler of Gowa in 1669

²⁰⁷ A daughter of Hasanuddin. According to the *Gowa Chronicle*, she was also known as I Sunggu and I Daeng Talebang.

²⁰⁸ This entry is more confounding than it appears. An envoy of the same name arrived from Maluku on 24 Aug 1632 and then departed on 18 Sep 1632. Either there coincidentally were two envoys of the same name, which seems unlikely, or this entry needs to be read in another way. The most likely reading may be 'I Daeng Mattukung was born to the mentor of the envoy Uthman' if we add the preposition *ri* to the entry.

5 Sep (T)	the karaeng [Hasanuddin] was in Kalakongkong when the ruler of Maluku Kaicili Kalamata arrived ²⁰⁹
15 Zulk 1066	ri Kalakongkongi karaenga nabattu karaeng Maluku Kacili Kalimata
29 Sep (F)	I Kare Pate, a wife of Karaeng ri Popoq, had a daughter
10 Zulh 1066	namamanaq I Kare Pate bainenna Karaengta ri Popoq baine
11 Nov (F eve)	Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq had a daughter named I Cinra
23 Muh 1067	namamanaq Karaengta ri Bontojeqneq baine nikana I Cinra
13 Dec (W)	Ceylon ²¹⁰ conquered by the Dutch; the Bantanese advanced on Jakattaraq
16 Saf 1067 ²¹¹	nanibeta Selon ri Balandaya nanipanaiki Jakattaraq ri Bantanga
1657	
10 Jan (W)	Karaeng ri Talloq [Harrunarasyid] arrived from Mandar
23 Rawl 1067	nabattu ri Mandaraq Karaengta ri Talloq
12 Feb (M)	Karaeng ri Lengkeseq and Karaeng ri Tangallaq returned to each other [after having divorced twice]
27 Rakr 1067	nasipolei Karaengta ri Lengkeseq Karaengta ri Tangallaq
24 Feb (N eve)	[future] <i>sabannaraq</i> Daeng Makkulle Abdul Wahid had a child ²¹²
11 Jawl 1067	naanaq sabannaraka Daeng Makkulle Abdulwahid
2 Mar (F)	Karaeng ri Lengkeseq and I Daeng Maingaq divorced
15 Jawl 1067	nasipelaq Karaengta ri Lengkeseq I Daeng Maingaq

²⁰⁹ Kaicili Kalamata was a brother of the VOC-supported ruler of Ternate, Sultan Mandar Syah, with a reputation as an able ruler knowledgeable about Islam. After first supporting, and then turning against Mandar, Kalamata ultimately was defeated by the Dutch and forced to flee several times before seeking refuge in Gowa (Andaya 1993:164-5). See entries on the events of Nov 1652 for further information. Kalamata would stay and marry Karaeng ri Panaikang.

²¹⁰ ANRI 16/6 has Sula (islands in Maluku) in place of Ceylon, but this is incorrect. The VOC began its conquest of Portuguese Ceylon in 1656 and completed in by 1658.

²¹¹ The Hijri date converts to 3 Dec 1656.

²¹² The Makassarese appears to read that Daeng Makkulle was born on this date, but that is incorrect. He became *sabannaraq* on 28 Apr 1661 and died on 7 Sep 1677 at the age of 62.

7 Apr (M)	Tumammaliang ri Alluq [Amir Hamzah] put up in a sling [at about age one year]
23 Jakr 1067	nanipanaq ri toeng Tumammaliang ri Alluq
19 Apr (R)	Karaeng ri Bontosunggu and Karaeng ri Sanggiringang divorced
5 Raj 1067	nasipelaq Karaengta ri Bontosunggu Karaengta ri Sanggiringan
29 May (T eve)	the younger sibling of Tumammaliang ri Alluq [Amir Hamzah] known as Ahmad born
15 Syab 1067	naanaq arinna Tumammaliang ri Alluq nikanaya Ahmad
17 Sep (N eve)	I Daeng Mangemba I Kasim, a child of Karaeng ri Lengkeseq, born
8 Zulh 1067	naanaq I Daeng Mangemba I Kasim anaqna Karaengta ri Lengkeseq
19 Oct (F)	the karaeng [Hasanuddin] went down to Maros to dig irrigation works in Dulang
11 Muh 1068	namanaung ri Marusuq karaenga makkekeseq jeqneq panaiq ri Dulan
8 Nov (R)	Karaeng ri Sanggiringang and Karaeng ri Bungaya married
2 Saf 1068	nasikalabini Karaengta ri Sanggiringan Karaengta ri Bungaya
1658	
5 Feb (T)	Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana [Karunrung] faced someone running amuk
1 Jawl 1068	namamuntuli tumaqjalloq Tuammenang ri Juntana
27 Mar (W)	Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq and the ruler of Bima [Sirajuddin] divorced
22 Jakr 1068	nasipelaq Karaengta ri Bontojeqneq karaenga ri Dima
5 May (N)	birth of the younger sibling of Karaeng ri Langelog named Ismail
1 Syab 1068	nanianakkang arinna Karaengta ri Langeoq nikanaya Ismail

20 Jun (W eve)	Karaeng ri Jarannika and Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq married
2 Ram 1068 ²¹³	nasikalabini Karaengta ri Jarannika Karaengta ri Bontojeqneq
5 Aug (M) 5 Zulk 1068	Daengta Daeng Mangaungi Hasan born naanaq Daengta Daeng Mangaungi Hasan
12 Aug (N eve) 12 Zulk 1068	Daengta Daeng Mangalle Abdul Hamid born naanaq Daengta Daeng Mangalle Abdul Hamid
30 Aug (R eve) 30 Zulk 1068	a grandparent of Karaeng ri Bontoa ²¹⁴ and the ruler of Bima married nasikalabini toana Karaengta ri Bontoa karaenga ri Dima
21 Sep (S) 22 Zuh 1068	the day of Shaykh Nuruddin's death in Aceh allo nakamateanga Syekhu Nuruddini ri Aceh
18 Oct (R eve) 21 Muh 1069	I Kammisiq had a daughter named Halimah namamanaq I Kammisiq baine nikana Halimah
19 Nov (T) 22 Saf 1069	the elephant died ²¹⁵ namate gajaya
23 Nov (S) 26 Saf 1069	the ruler of Sanrabone ²¹⁶ went down to Talloq as he was going to be expelled [as ruler] namanaung ri Talloq karaenga ri Sanrabone lanipasuluqna
28 Nov (W)	the ruler of Sanrabone was bound ²¹⁷

²¹³ The Hijri date converts to 4 Jun 1658; this discrepancy is most likely the result of a copyist error.

²¹⁴ Not to be confused with the Karaeng ri Bontoa who died a decade earlier on 12 May 1648.

²¹⁵ It was brought to Gowa on 16 May 1642.

²¹⁶ ANRI 16/6 also gives his name, Puanna I Jenalaq. A chronicle from Sanrabone has this to say about him: 'This ruler was deposed. He went over to Bali. Over there he died a death from disease. His personal name was I Kase. His royal name was I Daeng Talebang' (Cummings 2002:138). Speelman reported that he was named Abdul (Ligtvoet 1880:116).

²¹⁷ This gives the impression that he was deposed by being bound with ropes, but given the fact that he had already fled to Talloq the wording in ANRI 16/6 makes more sense. It adds the word 'kalena' to indicate that 'the ruler of Sanrabone bound himself.' Exactly what this means is not clear, but it does make more contextual sense as an action he undertook to remove himself from power.

2 Rawl 1069	nanisikkoq karaenga ri Sanrabone
4 Dec (W) 9 Rawl 1069	Karaeng ri Mandalleq I Daeng Sisila Ibrahim ²¹⁸ born naanaq Karaengta ri Mandalleq I Daeng Sisila Ibrahim
	1659
10 Jan (F)	I Cacong divorced by Karaeng Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana [Hasanuddin]
15 Rakr 1069	nanipelaq I Cacong ri Karaenga Tuammenang ri Ballaq Pangkana
26 Feb (W) 3 Jakr 1069 ²¹⁹	Karaeng Bintang, a child of Karaeng ri Garassiq, died namate Karae Bintang anaqna Karaengta ri Garassiq
21 Apr (M)	the karaeng [Hasanuddin] sailed from Somba Opu down to Mandar; his ships numbered 1183
27 Raj 1069	namamise ri Sombopu karaenga manaung ri Mandaraq bilanna biseanga 1183
29 May (R)	the karaeng [Hasanuddin] arrived from Mandar; this the year of Daengta Daeng Majannang's birth ²²⁰
7 Ram 1069	nabattu ri Mandaraq karaenga iaminne taunga kaana- kkanna Daengta Daeng Majannang
14 Jun (F eve) 23 Ram 1069	Karaeng ri Pattunga died namate Karaengta ri Pattunga
25 Aug (M) 6 Zulh 1069	Karaeng ri Lembaya ²²¹ died namate Karaengta ri Lembaya
1 Sep (N eve) 15 Zulh 1069	Karaeng Balambaru died below in Majeqneq namate Karaeng Balambaru irawa ri Majeqneq

²¹⁸ Dutch sources from 1681 and 1712 report that, like I Tulolo Tajuddin, who was also titled Karaeng Mandalleq and born 27 Dec 1653, he was a son of Karunrung (Ligtvoet 1880:117).

²¹⁹ A copyist mistakenly wrote Jumadilawal for Jumadilakhir, which converts correctly to the Gregorian date.

²²⁰ The lack of precision indicates that this birth was interpolated into the text at a later date. She only became important enough to mention in the annals after her marriage to Amir Hamzah on 13 Jul 1671. This conclusion is supported by the fact that Or 272Y contains only the first half of this entry.

²²¹ A son of Matoaya, he was also known as I Manibang (or Mannimang) and I Daeng Matutu.

10 Sep (W)	Daengta Daeng Takontu Fatimah ²²² born
22 Zulh 1069	naanaq Daengta Daeng Takontu Fatimah
29 Sep (N eve) ²²³	Karaeng ri Agangjeqneq ²²⁴ born
11 Muh 1070	naanaq Karaengta ri Agangjeqneq
20 Dec (F eve)	Karaeng Bulu-Bulo and Karaeng ri Tamasongoq married
6 Rakr 1070	nasikalabini Karaeng Bulu-Bulo Karaengta ri Tamasongoq
	1660
3 Jan (F eve)	Karaeng ri Jarannika and Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq divorced
21 Rakr 1070	nasipelaq Karaengta ri Jarannika Karaengta ri Bontojeqneq
15 Jan (R)	Karaeng ri Bontomajannang and I Daeng Marannu I Pandiq married
3 Jawl 1070	nasikalabini Karaengta ri Bontomajannang I Daeng Marannu I Pandiq
26 Jan (M)	I Loqmoq ri Mangeppeq died
14 Jawl 1070	namate I Loqmoq ri Mangeppeq
4 Feb (W)	the mother of I Mininrori had a daughter named Shafiatuddin, known as I Daeng Rikong ²²⁵
21 Jawl 1070	namamanaq anronna I Mininrori baine nikana Shafiatuddini I Daeng Rikong nikana
17 Feb (T)	I Datoq, <i>kadi</i> Abdul Maula, died
5 Jakr 1070	namate I Datoq kadi Abdulmaula
10 Mar (T eve)	Karaeng ri Bontomarannu and Karaeng ri Ballaq Jawaya divorced
28 Jakr 1070	nasipelaq Karaengta ri Bontomarannu Karaengta ri Ballaq Jawaya

²²² A daughter of Hasanuddin also known as Karaeng Campagaya.

²²³ This entry and the next are placed in correct chronological order here, but in VT 25 are reversed. Presumably a copyist accidentally skipped an entry while copying a source text and then corrected his error.

²²⁴ A son of Hasanuddin, also known as I Makkarurung and I Daeng Mattulu.

²²⁵ A daughter of Hasanuddin, in the *Gowa Chronicle* her personal name is rendered as I Sapia. A 9 Mar 1673 entry gives her personal name as simply Shafiah.

18 Mar (W eve) 5 Raj 1070	the interpreter I Dododi died namate I Dododi jurubasa
1 Apr (W eve) 19 Raj 1070	the people of Sanrabone were brought back down to Talloq ²²⁶ nanibaliangang tuSanrabonea manaung ri Talloq
5 Apr (M) 24 Raj 1070	Karaeng ri Pasiq ²²⁷ born naanaq Karaengta ri Pasiq
12 Jun (S) 2 Syaw 1070	Paqnakkukang advanced on by the Dutch; the karaengs of Batu-Batu, Tompoqbalang, and Bontomanompoq killed nanipanaiki Paqnakkukang ri Balandaya naniposo karae Batu-Batu Tompoqbalang Bontomanompoq
20 Jun (N) 10 Syaw 1070	teeth filed of Karaeng ri Lakiung naniariq Karaengta ri Lakiun
5 Jul (M) 26 Syaw 1070	Karaeng ri Popoq sailed overseas to Jakattaraq to ransom Paqnakkukang namamise Karaengta ri Popoq kalauq ri Jakattaraq amballi Paqnakkukang
7 Aug (F eve) 30 Zulk 1070	I Tobalaq fled ²²⁸ namalari I Tobalaq
10 Aug (T) 3 Zulh 1070	Karaeng ri Talloq [Harrunarasyid], Karaeng ri Sumannaq, Karaeng ri Cenrana, and Karaeng ri Karunrung went to go into Boné to put out the revolt of I Tobalaq; 37 servants traveled [with them] namaqlampa Karaenga ri Talloq Karaengta ri Sumannaq Karaengta ri Cenrana Karaengta ri Karunrung mantama ri Bone makkaruru balina I Tobalaq 37 bembeng kaqdoq maqlampa

²²⁶ This is presumably in connection with the abdication of their ruler eighteen months before.

²²⁷ A daughter of Harrunarasyid (Ligtvoet 1880:117).

²²⁸ I Tobalaq was the Gowa-appointed leader of Boné and was responsible for ensuring that thousands of Bugis would dig a canal separating Dutch-held Paqnakkukang from the mainland. This onerous task was greatly resented by the Bugis, and Tobalaq and Arung Palakka revolted and fled. This event and the subsequent defeat of Boné is discussed in Andaya (1981:51-6).

7 Sep (T) 1 Muh 1071	I Tuang Anciq Jenalaq, the <i>kadi</i> of Somba Opu, died namate I Tuan Anciq Jenalaq kadi ri Sombopu
2 Oct (S) 26 Muh 1071	installed as the <i>kadi</i> of Somba Opu was <i>pakki</i> ²²⁹ Dambo Abdurrahim, replacing I Tuang Anciq Jenalaq nanitannang kadi ri Sombopu pakkih Dambo Abdurrahim I Tuan Anciq Jenalaq nasambeang
21 Sep (T) 15 Muh 1071 ²³⁰	Boné conquered; Karaeng ri Sumannaq was commander; the number of people from Boné beheaded was 269; this was called the Defeat of Tobalaq nabeta Bone Karaengta ri Sumannaq punggawa bilanna tuBone nibattaya 269 iaminne nikana beta Tobalaq
11 Oct (M) 5 Saf 1071	the day of I Tobalaq's beheading allo nibattangai I Tobalaq
18 Oct (M) 12 Saf 1071	Karaeng ri Sumannaq arrived from conquering Boné nabattu Karaengta ri Sumannaq ambetai Bone
24 Nov (W) 20 Rawl 1071 ²³¹	Karaeng ri Popoq arrived from Jakattaraq nabattu ri Jakattaraq Karaengta ri Popoq
11 Nov (R) 7 Rawl 1071	spoke the 'Javanese', '[We] were given what is known as the treasury by Karaeng Tumamenang ri Gaukanna' ²³² nanakana Jawaya nisareangkang ri Karaenga Tuammenang ri Gaukanna nikanaya baitaalmal
2 Dec (R) 28 Rawl 1071	we went to speak with the Dutch and together we agreed nakiagaang makkana Balandaya kisitabamo

²²⁹ From the Arabic *fakih*, this term refers to someone knowledgeable about Islamic canon law.

²³⁰ Either this entry was accidentally put after the preceding entry by a copyist, or it was recorded later because word did not arrive of the conquest of Boné until between the 2nd and the 11th of October.

²³¹ Other than a copyist error, there is no clear reason why this and the following entry are not in chronological order.

²³² This entry serves as a reminder that the Malay community since it first settled in Gowa during the reign of Tunipalangga had carefully spelled out rights and obligations vis-à-vis their Makassarese hosts and that the Malay commercial expertise essential to the rulers of Gowa and Talloq extended to fiscal affairs. Possibly the arrangement made with Tumamenang ri Gaukanna was being affirmed at this time because of financial pressures associated with the war against the VOC.

11 Dec (S)	Karaeng Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana [Hasanuddin] sailed down to Malang to put out the revolt of Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] in Lisu [Tanete]
8 Rakr 1071	namamise Karaenga Tuammenang ri Ballaq Pangkana manaung ri Malan makkaruru balina Tunisombaya ri Lisu
25 Dec (S)	the day of Tunisombaya's [Arung Palakka's] journey from Campalagi [in Boné] east to Buton ²³³
22 Rakr 1071	allo napaqlampaga Tunisombaya ri Campalagi manraiq ri Butun
1661	
8 Jan (F eve)	now Karaeng ri Bontosunggu arrived from Jakattaraq and his overseas trip with Karaeng ri Popoq
7 Jawl 1071	nanampa battu ri Jakattaraq Karaengta ri Bontosunggu kalauqna siagaang Karaengta ri Popoq
11 Jan (T)	the karaeng [Hasanuddin] arrived from conquering Boné and his trip down to Malang
9 Jawl 1071	nabattu karaenga ambetai Bone manaunna ri Malan
18 Jan (M eve)	now Karaeng ri Jarannika arrived also from Jakattaraq
17 Jawl 1071	nanampa todong battu ri Jakattaraq Karaengta ri Jarannika
29 Jan (S)	teeth filed of Padukka Domp ²³⁴
27 Jawl 1071	naniariq Padukka Domp ²³⁴
18 Apr (M)	an earthen wall built high up [around] Paqnakkukang ²³⁵
18 Syab 1071	nanibata butta ri manaianna Paqnakkukang
19 Apr (T)	Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq and Karaeng ri Jarannika divorced
19 Syab 1071	nasipelaq Karaengta ri Bontojeqneq Karaengta ri Jarannika

²³³ Like several later entries about Arung Palakka, this entry must have been interpolated into the annals after he had conquered Makassar with the VOC in 1669 and subsequently become the pre-eminent figure in South Sulawesi for the remainder of the century.

²³⁴ A daughter of the ruler of Bima I Ambela and Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq.

²³⁵ This key fort had fallen to the Dutch and only recently been regained by Gowa, so this must have been an effort to improve its defenses against future Dutch attacks.

28 Apr (R) 28 Syab 1071	I Daeng Makkulle installed as <i>sabannaraq</i> nanitannang sabannaraq I Daeng Makkulle
28 May (S) 28 Ram 1071	Karaeng ri Tangallaq died at the age of 47 namate Karaengta ri Tangallaq umuruqna 47
2 Jun (R) 4 Syaw 1071	Karaeng ri Cenrana was ordered to live down in Mariso [north of Somba Opu] with his subjects ²³⁶ nanisuro manaung ri Mariso mamempo Karaengta ri Cenrana siagaang loliqna
25 Jun (S) 27 Syaw 1071	a wife of Karaeng ri Bontomajannang had a daughter namamanaq bainenna Karaengta ri Bontomajannang baine
6 Aug (S) 10 Zulh 1071	I Daeng Riboko installed as <i>sabannaraq</i> [alongside I Daeng Makkulle] ²³⁷ nanitannang sabannaraq I Daeng Riboko
17 Aug (W) 21 Zulh 1071	Karaeng ri Beroanging Muhiddin ²³⁸ born naanaq Karaengta ri Beroanging Muhiddini
19 Sep (M) 25 Muh 1072	<i>mincara</i> ²³⁹ I Kare Kanjaraq died namate Mincaraya I Kare Kanjaraq
1 Oct (F eve) 7 Saf 1072	Daengta Daeng Jipaliq Halimah born, the great grandpar- ent of I Nibbang naanaq Daengta Daeng Jipaliq Halimah boena I Nibbang
9 Oct (S eve)	a wife ²⁴⁰ of Karaeng ri Sumannaq died

²³⁶ The nature of his task is unclear from this entry, but as a *tumailalang* of Gowa it must have been of considerable importance. It may have had to do with organizing defenses in the region against expected Dutch attacks. Another possibility is that it involved religious matters, for six months later on 30 Dec we are told that Karaeng ri Cenrana established Friday public prayer services in nearby Baroqbosoq.

²³⁷ This was the second time he served as *sabannaraq*; he had been removed from this position on 8 May 1644.

²³⁸ Dutch sources from 1679 and 1681 report that he was a son of Karaeng ri Sanggiringang and Karaeng ri Bungaya (Ligtvoet 1880:120). But this appears to be incorrect. The annals note that his mother died on 23 Aug 1673 but do not give her name or title, while Karaeng Sanggiringang died on 17 Mar 1765.

²³⁹ A title used in Luwuq.

²⁴⁰ I Bissu Caqdi, who Karaeng ri Sumannaq married in 1619.

15 Saf 1072	namate Karaengta ri Sumannaq bainea
23 Nov (W)	Daengta Daeng Masiang married by the karaeng [Hasanuddin]
2 Rakr 1072	nanibaineang ri karaenga Daengta Daeng Masiang
30 Dec (F)	Friday public prayers established by Karaeng ri Cenrana this Friday in Baroqbosoq
7 Jawl 1072	namappapenteng jumaq Karaengta ri Cenrana ri Baroqbosoq jumaq
1662	
5 Apr (T eve)	Karaeng ri Balloq ²⁴¹ and Karaeng ri Lakiung married; she was 13 when she took a husband
15 Syab 1072	nasikalabini Karaengta ri Balloq Karaengta ri Lakiun umuruqna namaqburaqne 13
18 Apr (T)	the day of Karaeng ri Mamampang Bahauddin's ²⁴² birth
30 Syab 1072	allo kaanakkanna Karaengta ri Mamampang Bahauddini
6 May (S)	Karaeng ri Panjallingang swore an oath that he did not desire the wife of Karaeng ri Bontomajannang ²⁴³
17 Ram 1072	namassapatta Karaengta ri Panjallingang angkaeroki bainena Karaengta ri Bontomajannang
4 Jun (N)	Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq banished down to the kerasaq house ²⁴⁴
17 Syaw 1072	nanicinde Karaengta ri Bontojeqneq manaung ri ballaq kerasaq
15 Jul (S)	the people went out to dwell in Tamaqlekko to fire bricks
28 Zulk 1072	namassuluq taua maqballaq-ballaq ri Tamaqlekko mandeqdeq bata

²⁴¹ A son of Karaeng Katinting and Karaeng Tabaringang. He was 18 years old at the time.

²⁴² According to Ligtoet 1880:169, he was a son of the former Karaeng Garassiq.

²⁴³ This wife was probably I Daeng Marannu, whom Karaeng ri Bontomajannang divorced on 8 Mar 1663.

²⁴⁴ The meaning of *ballaq kerasaq* is not certain, but the name implies that Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq was detained there because of an unmet or unpaid demand. Equally possible is the spelling in ANRI 16/6 – *ballaq kirasaq* – which is simply a house made from the wood of the kirasaq tree (*garcinia celebica*) found in eastern Indonesia. The significance of using this wood is unknown.

9 Aug (W) 23 Zulh 1072	Datu ri Luwuq Matinroa ri Gowa died namate Datua ri Luwuq Matinroa ri Gowa
15 Aug (W) 1 Muh 1073	the people of Barombong first laid stones [in a defensive wall] nauru mallonjoq bata tuBarombonga
7 Sep (R) 23 Muh 1073	Karaeng ri Katapang had a son by a 'sunting' ²⁴⁵ namamanaq Karaengta ri Katapang ri sunting buraqne
18 Sep (M) 6 Saf 1073	the ruler of Sumbawa [Ammasa Pamayan] and Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq married nasikalabini karae Sambawa Karaengta ri Bontojeqneq
1 Nov (W) 19 Rawl 1073	the people returned from dwelling in Tamaqlekk namamonoq taua maqballaq-ballaq ri Tamalakko
29 Dec (F) 17 Jawl 1073	Karaenga Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana [Hasanuddin] went down to Maros for a conference; the number of ships that could be counted was 239 namanaung Karaenga Tuammenang ri Ballaq Pangkana ri Marusuq maqruppa-ruppa bilanna biseang nigappaya nibilang 239
1663	
3 Feb (S) 26 Jakr 1073	the ruler of Sumbawa [Ammasa Pamayan] and Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq divorced nasipelaq karae Sambawa Karaengta ri Bontojeqneq
10 Feb (S) 1 Raj 1073	Daengta Daeng Mattiro ²⁴⁶ wed Padukka Domp; at age 13 this was her first husband nabunting Daengta Daeng Mattiro ri Padukka Domp; uru buraqnenna umuruqna 13
8 Mar (R) 29 Raj 1073	Karaeng ri Bontomajannang and I Daeng Marannu I Pandi divorced nasipelaq Karaengta ri Bontomajannang I Daeng Marannu I Pandi

²⁴⁵ The term *sunting* means ornament or flower, and is usually applied to a young girl.

²⁴⁶ A son of Karaeng Karunrung and Karaenta ri Tamasongoq.

21 Mar (T eve) 10 Syab 1073	Karaeng ri Bontomajannang and I Caucung married nasikalabini Karaengta ri Bontomajannang I Caucung
13 Apr (R eve) 4 Ram 1073	<i>sabannaraq</i> Karaeng Baroqbosoq died namate Karae Baroqbosoq sabannaraka
2 May (T eve) 25 Ram 1073	Karaeng Patteqne I Daeng Mabela died namate Karae Patteqne I Daeng Mabela
25 May (R eve) 17 Syaw 1073	Daengta Daeng Ago died; Karaeng ri Popoq replaced him [as <i>anrongguru</i> of the <i>tumakkajannang</i>] namate Daengta Daeng Ago naKaraengta ri Popoq assa- mbeangi
26 Jun (T) 19 Zulk 1073	Karaeng ri Lakiung had a daughter named Sitti Hadijah; after forty-nine nights she died namamanaq Karaengta ri Lakiun baine nikana Sitti Hadijah patampulo banngi assalapang namate
1 Jul (S eve) 24 Zulk 1073	the mother of I Maninrori [Karaeng Galesong] had a son named Suleman namamanaq anronna I Maninrori buraqne nikana Sulemana
23 Jul (T) 17 Zulh 1073	Karaeng ri Balloq went into Bulu-Bulu to install I Daeng Tatea ²⁴⁷ as Karaeng ri Bulu-Bulu namantama ri Bulu-Bulu Karaengta ri Balloq antannangi Karaeng ri Bulu-Bulu I Daeng Tatea
11 Aug (S) 7 Muh 1074	people built houses in Jongaya namaqballaq taua ri Jongaya
20 Aug (M) 16 Muh 1074	Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] went overseas to Jakattaraq; from Buton in the east he went overseas nakalauq ri Jakattaraq Tunisombaya irayai ri Butun kalauq
7 Sep (F)	the back swelled of Karaeng Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana [Hasanuddin]; the palm wine maker died

²⁴⁷ Wennangpute, a daughter of Massiyajeng, the ruler of Bulu-Bulu, and I Taniciniq.

- 4 Saf 1074 namakkambang bokona Karaenga Tuammenang ri Ballaq Pangkana namate pangantin balloq
- 6 Dec (R) Karaeng ri Lekoqboqdong and Padukka Dompur married²⁴⁸
- 6 Jawl 1074 nasikalabini Karaengta ri Lekoqboqdong Padukka Dompur
- 1664
- 16 Jan (W) Karaeng ri Cenrana died and [his son] Karaeng ri Lengkeseq replaced him [as *tumailalang*]
- 17 Jakr 1074 namate Karaengta ri Cenrana naKaraengta ri Lengkeseq assambeangi
- 27 Jan (N) the karaeng [Hasanuddin] came down to the ground with his swelling healed
- 27 Jakr 1074 namanaungmo ri butta karaenga mapiana kambangna
- 6 Feb (W) Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] and Datu ri Luwuq quarreled and were found guilty; no fine was taken by the karaeng [Karunrung]; this year Gallarrang Mangasa I Kare Mangalle purportedly born
- 8 Raj 1074 namaqbesereq Tuammenang ri Lakiun Datua ri Luwuq nanipassala natanialealea salana ri karaengta iaminne bedeng taunga nakaanakkang Gallarrang Mangasa I Kare Mangalle
- 5 Mar (T eve) Karaeng ri Patteqne, who [later] died on Buton²⁴⁹, arrived from his journey
- 7 Syab 1074 nabattu ri lampanna Karaengta ri Patteqne matea ri Butun
- 17 Apr (R)
20 Ram 1074 Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] circumcised nanisunnaq Tuammenang ri Lakiun
- 26 May (M) Tumamenang ri Juntana [Karunrung] banished and his belongings seized; he went overseas to Banten; this was his early banishment
- 29 Syaw 1074 nanicine nanirappung Tuammenang ri Juntana nakalauq ri Bantang nicinde rioloanna

²⁴⁸ Her divorce from Daengta Daeng Mattiro was not recorded in the *lontaraq bilang*.

²⁴⁹ ANRI 16/6 has that he 'died in battle' instead of 'died on Buton' (*matea ri bunduqna*). Either reading may be correct.

- 5 Jun (R) teeth filed of Karaeng ri Bontomateqne²⁵⁰
10 Zulk 1074 naniariq Karaengta ri Bontomateqne
- 9 Jun (N eve) Kaicili Kalamata and Karaeng ri Panaikang divorced
14 Zulk 1074 nasipelaq Kacili Kalimata Karaengta ri Panaikang
- 25 Aug (M) seventy warriors went to Karaeng ri Talloq
[Harrunarasyid]
2 Saf 1075 nanipamange ri Karaenga ri Talloq joaq tujupuloa
- 13 Sep²⁵¹ (N eve) a great grandparent of Tumamenang ri Lakiung died
22 Saf 1075 namate boena Tuammenang ri Lakiun
- 8 Nov (S) Karaeng Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana [Hasanuddin]
 sailed down to Lanrisang [in Sawitto] for a conference
19 Rakr 1075 namamise Karaenga Tuammenang ri Ballaq Pangkana
 manaung ri Lanrisang maqruppa-ruppa
- 16 Nov (N eve) unusual stars seen by Karaeng ri Popoq; the comets last-
 ed 2 months and 8 nights then were no longer seen
27 Rakr 1075 namacciniq bintoeng maraqmaraeng-maraeng Karaengta
 ri Popoq bintoeng makkidong 2 bulangi 8 banngi nan-
 ampa tena niciniq
- 24 Nov (N eve) birth of I Daeng Mamangkasi I Mamminawang, a child of
 Karaeng ri Bontomajannang by Caucung
5 Jawl 1075 nanianakkang I Daeng Mamangkasi I Mamminawang
 anaqna Karaengta ri Bontomajannang ri Caucung
- 25 Nov (T) Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] and Karaeng ri
 Bontomateqne married
6 Jawl 1075 nasikalabini Tuammenang ri Lakiun Karaengta ri
 Bontomateqne
- 30 Nov (N) Tumatea ri Jakattaraq [Muhammad Ali] and Karaeng ri
 Mandalleg²⁵² circumcised

²⁵⁰ A daughter of the ruler of Bima Sirajuddin and Karaeng Bontojeqneq.

²⁵¹ A copyist mistakenly wrote August for September.

²⁵² Presumably Tulolo Tajuddin, the older of the two sons of Karaeng Karunrung who had this title and was born on 27 Dec 1653. He also had his teeth filed on the same day as Tumatea ri Jakattaraq on 24 Sep 1665. Such shared rituals were intended to forge a lifelong bond.

- 11 Jawl 1075 nanisunnaq Tumatea ri Jakattaraq siagaang Karaengta ri Mandalleq
- 2 Dec (M eve) the ruler of Dompu [on Sumbawa] and Karaeng ri Lekoqboqdong divorced
- 28 Jawl 1075²⁵³ nasipelaq karaengta ri Dompu Karaengta ri Lekoqboqdong
- 1665
- 15 Jan (R) I Dewa sold to Siamese²⁵⁴ for three kati [of gold]²⁵⁵; this year we were struck by an epidemic
- 28 Jakr 1075 nanibalukang I Dewa ri Sianga tallu kati niballiangi iaminne taunga kinataba pua
- 30 Jan (R eve) Karaeng ri Jarannika and Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq divorced
- 13 Raj 1075 nasipelaq Karaengta ri Jarannika Karaengta ri Bontojeqneq
- 2 Apr (W eve) people again saw a comet
- 15 Ram 1075 namacciniq pole taua bintoeng makkidong
- 4 Apr (F eve) Karaeng ri Bontoa Sitti Muthiatullah²⁵⁶ born
- 17 Ram 1075 naanaq Karaengta ri Bontoa Sitti Muthiatullah
- 7 Apr (T) Karaeng ri Ujung Pandang died
- 20 Ram 1075 namate Karae Jumpandang
- 26 Apr (N) the ruler of Majeqneq [in Mandar] was besieged and Karaeng ri Bungaya [thus] avenged
- 10 Syaw 1075 naniliungang Karae Majeqneq nanipuiang Karae Bungaya
- 3 Jul (F) *bila-bila* issued to go east to Sula [islands in Maluku]
- 10 Zulh 1075²⁵⁷ nanipalele bila-bila manraika ri Suli

²⁵³ The Hijri date converts to 16 Dec 1664.

²⁵⁴ Kamaruddin et al. (1985-86:129) believe this refers to Siang (north of Makassar) and not Siamese.

²⁵⁵ The Dutch translation of the *lontaraq bilang* in *Makasaarsche historiën* (1855:122-3) states that the ruler of Gowa sold his lucky horse to Siamese for 3,000,000 [reals?]. ANRI 16/6 gives no price for the transaction.

²⁵⁶ A daughter of Karaeng ri Balloq and Karaeng ri Lakiung.

²⁵⁷ The Hijri date converts to 24 Jun 1665.

18 Jul (F eve) 4 Muh 1076	Padukka Dompu had a son by Karaeng ri Lekoqboqdong named I Mappaqngara I Daeng Mallulungang namamanaq Padukka Dompu ri Karaengta ri Lekoqboqdong buraqne nikana I Mappaqngara I Daeng Mallulungang
30 Jul (W eve) 17 Muh 1076	Karaeng ri Bontomarannu slaughtered by his wife nanisamballe ri bainenna Karaengta ri Bontomarannu
13 Aug (R) 1 Saf 1076	an earthen wall was built by the people beneath [i.e. to the north of] Ujung Pandang namaqbata butta bilang taua irawanganna Jumpandang
24 Sep (R) 14 Rawl 1076	teeth filed of Tumatea ri Jakattaraq [Muhammad Ali] and Karaeng ri Mandalleq naniariq Tumatea ri Jakattaraq siagaang Karaengta ri Mandalleq
30 Sep (T eve) 20 Rawl 1076	<i>sabannaraq</i> Karaeng Bantaeng died namate Karaeng Bantaeng <i>sabannaraq</i>
7 Oct (W) 27 Rawl 1076	people mustered [for the attack on Sula]; the total number of those who assembled was 10662; this was called the Muster at Gowa namarewangan taua bilang pampanna tumarewanganga 10662 iaminne nikana parewangannang ri Gowa
12 Oct (M) 2 Rokr 1076	the war leaders sailed east to Sula namamise dulun manraika ri Suli
26 Nov (R) 18 Jawl 1076	Karaeng ri Balloq and I Amuq married nasikalabini Karaengta ri Balloq I Amuq
25 Dec (F) 17 Jakr 1076	Friday public prayers established again this Friday in Garassiq namamenteng pole jumaka ri Garassiq jumaq

1666

- 7 Jan (W eve) Tumamenang ri Passiringanna Abdul Kadir²⁵⁸ born
1 Raj 1076 naanaq Tuammenang ri Passiringanna Abdulqadir
- 17 Feb (W) Karaeng Tumamenang ri Taenga and Karaeng ri
Sanggiringang divorced; Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana
[Karunrung] arrived from his banishment
- 12 Syab 1076 nasipelaq Karaengta Tuammenang ri Taenga Karaengta ri
Sanggiringan nabattu Tuammenang ri Juntana nicindena
- 17 Mar (W) the war leaders arrived from going east to Sula and their
conquest of Sula
- 10 Ram 1076 nabattu dulun manraika ri Sula nabetana Sula
- 24 May (M) Karaeng ri Bontomajannang went into Soppéng to
marry a daughter of Datu ri Soppéng named Macallaka
Kanukunna²⁵⁹
- 19 Zulk 1076 namantama ri Soppeng Karaengta ri Bontomajannang
ambaineangi anaqna Datua ri Soppeng nikanaya
Macallaka Kanukunna
- 29 Jun (T) Karaeng ri Ballaq Jawaya and Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana
[Karunrung] divorced
- 26 Zulh 1076 nasipelaq Karaengta ri Ballaq Jawaya Tuammenang ri
Juntana
- 4 Jul (N) *bila-bila* issued to go east to Ambon in Maluku
1 Muh 1077 nanipalele bila-bila manraika ri Ambong ri Maluku
- 16 Aug (M) the day of Tunisombaya's [Arung Palakka's] overseas trip
to Pariaman [Sumatra]
- 15 Saf 1077 allo nanakalaukanga ri Pariaman Tunisombaya

²⁵⁸ A son of Sultan Harrunarasyid, he would succeed his father at a young age as Talloq's ruler in 1673. A Dutch source from 1709 reports that his personal name was Mappajanji (Ligtvoet 1880:124).

²⁵⁹ Her name refers to her painted fingernails. Speelman reported that she was named Dassou and had first married Karaeng ri Bontomarannu, but they divorced when her father (La Tenribali Matinroa ri Datunna) was defeated and exiled after allying himself with I Tobalaq against Gowa (Ligtvoet 1880:footnote 124-5). See also Andaya 1981:58-9.

23 Sep (W eve)	the male ²⁶⁰ Karaeng ri Sumannaq died; Daeng I Taniciniq died
23 Rawl 1077	namate Karaengta ri Sumannaq buraqnea namate Daengta I Taniciniq
23 Oct (S)	the war leaders sailed east to Buton; Karaeng ri Bontomarannu was commander
24 Rakr 1077	namamise dulun manraika ri Butun Karaengta ri Bontomarannu punggawa
5 Nov (R eve)	I Daeng Maingaq died
8 Jawl 1077	namate I Daeng Maingaq
23 Nov (N eve)	Karaeng ri Buluq-Buluq Fatimah born
15 Jawl 1077 ²⁶¹	naanaq Karaengta ri Buluq-Buluq Patimah
28 Nov (N)	Karaeng Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana [Karunrung] banished again and went over to Saburo; this was his later banishment
1 Jakr 1077	nanicinde pole Karaengta Tuammenang ri Juntana namantaqle ri Saburo nicinde ribokona
13 Dec (M)	the mother of I Tuang Shaykh Yusuf died
17 Jakr 1077	namate anronna I Tuan Syeku Yusupu
19 Dec (N)	Dutch ships were sighted, 21 in number
23 Jakr 1077	nakacinikang kappalaqna Balandaya 21 batunna
18 Dec (S)	Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] captured the Bajo in Tanakeke
22 Jakr 1077 ²⁶²	namanjakkalaq Bayo Tunisombaya ri Tanakeke
23 Dec (F)	Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] set fire to Kalumpang-keke
27 Jakr 1077	nanisussuluq Kalumpang-keke Tunisombaya

²⁶⁰ An annalist apparently was distinguishing him from a later, female holder of this title (for example, the woman mentioned in the 2 Aug 1731 entry).

²⁶¹ The Hijri date converts to 12 Nov 1666.

²⁶² Presumably word of this reached Gowa after December 19th, which explains why this entry is not in chronological order. Or 272Y and *Makasaarsche historiën* (1855:123) do not have this as a separate entry, instead incorporating this information into the previous entry.

25 Dec (S)	Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] set fire to Bantaeng and wounded by a spear
29 Jakr 1077	nanasussuluq Bantaeng Tunisombaya namalokoq poke
	1667
3 Jan (M)	the war leaders ²⁶³ taken on Buton
8 Raj 1077	nanialle dulunga ri Butun
25 Jan (T)	I Amaq, the younger sibling of Tumammaliang ri Alluq [Amir Hamzah], died
25 Raj 1077	namate I Amaq arinna Tumammaliang ri Alluq
7 Feb (M)	Karaeng ri Lengkeseq went into Boné bringing Matinroa ri Bukaka [La Maqdaremmeng] to install as the ruler of Boné ²⁶⁴
12 Syab 1077	namantama ri Bone Karaengta ri Lengkeseq angerangi Matinroa ri Bukaka antannangi karaeng ri Bone
12 Mar (S)	Aeng [north of Galesong] and Mandalleq given to Karaeng ri Mandalleq
15 Ram 1077	nanisareang Karaengta ri Mandaleq Aeng siagaang Mandaleq
13 Mar (N)	the treaty went to Tumatea ri Jakattaraq [Muhammad Ali] ²⁶⁵ ; the people of Tino [Binamuq] went to Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil]
16 Ram 1077	nanipamange cappaya ri Tumatea ri Jakattaraq tuTinoa nipamange ri Tuammenang ri Lakiun
22 Mar (M)	the people of Alluq were given to Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil]
25 Ram 1077	nanisareang tuAlluq Tuammenang ri Lakiun
23 Mar (W)	Tumatea ri Jakattaraq [Muhammad Ali] and Daengta

²⁶³ Karaeng Bontomarannu led the expedition and he, the ruler of Bima, and the ruler of Luwuq all surrendered to Admiral Speelman.

²⁶⁴ La Maqdaremmeng had ruled Boné previously, but was defeated by Gowa in 1643 and removed from power and taken to Makassar the following year. As Andaya (1981:80) notes, this was a failed effort to neutralize Boné in the war against the Dutch.

²⁶⁵ This is a common indication in the *lontaraq bilang* that someone formally was recognized as *tumabicarabutta* of Gowa. It suggests that the keeping and maintenance of relationships between Gowa, Talloq, and other polities was a task performed by the *tumabicarabutta*.

	Daeng Talarra I Makku wed [in accordance with Islamic custom]
26 Ram 1077	nanipaqnikkah Tumatea ri Jakattaraq Daengta Daeng Talarra I Makku
17 Apr (N) 23 Syaw 1077	Karaeng ri Bontomajannag went up to guard Bantaeng namanaiq Karaengta ri Bontomajannang angkammiki Bantaeng
30 May (M)	Tumamenang ri Lampana [Harrunarasyid] and Karaeng ri Lengkeseq went into Boné to quash Matinroa ri Bukaka [La Maqdaremmeng]
6 Zulh 1077	namantama ri Bone Tuammenang ri Lampanna Karaengta ri Lengkeseq angkarurui Matinroa ri Bukaka
6 Jun (N eve) 13 Zulh 1077	Daengta I Kare Maqnassa died namate Daengta I Kare Maqnassa
6 Jul (W)	all of the <i>anaq karaeng</i> of the people of Sanrabone and the gallarrang arrived before Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] bringing all the <i>gaukung</i> of Sanrabone ²⁶⁶
13 Muh 1078	nabattu ngaseng anaq karaeng tuSanrabonea siagaang gallaranna ri Tuammenang ri Lakiun angerangangi lol-long gaukung ri Sanrabone
8 Jul (F)	an envoy from Karaeng ri Bontomajannang arrived saying that he was advanced on by the Dutch and defeated in Bantaeng
15 Muh 1078	nabattu surona Karaengta ri Bontomajannang angkana nipanaiki ri Balandaya nanibeta ri Bantaeng
13 Jul (W)	the Dutch dropped anchor: 17 ships in number, 20 prauws in number, 10 sloops in number, and 41 small ships
20 Muh 1078	namaqlabu kappalaqna Balandaya 17 batunna juangan 20 batunna soqlloq 10 batunna biseang caqdi 41
20 Jul (W)	Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana [Karunrung] arrived from his later banishment

²⁶⁶ *Gaukung* usually refers to sacred stones that mark the heart of a community, but it is used here to describe the prized regalia of a community, typically called *kalompoang* (Cummings 2002:55-6). This ceremonial act meant that the people of Sanrabone recognized Abdul Jalil as their ruler.

29 Muh 1078	nabattumo Tuammenang ri Juntana nicide ribokona
1 Aug (M)	the Dutch went up to Manalo and in the fighting 34 Dutchmen were beheaded
12 Saf 1078	namanaq ri Manalo Balandaya namaqbunduqmo taua 34 Balanda nibatta
19 Aug (F)	Galesong conquered by the Dutch
28 Saf 1078	nanibeta Galesong ri Balandaya
4 Sep (N)	the Dutch went up to Batu-Batu and built fortifications in Aeng
14 Rawl 1078	namanaq ri Batu-Batu Balandaya namaqbenteng ri Aeng
18 Nov (F)	together we agreed at Bungaya ²⁶⁷
3 Jakr 1078	kisitabamo ri Bungaya
21 Nov (M)	Ujung Pandang occupied by the Dutch
6 Jakr 1078	nanaempoi Jumpandang Balandaya
29 Dec (R)	Karaeng ri Lengkeseq went over to the Dutch ²⁶⁸
14 Raj 1078	namantaqle ri Balandaya Karaengta ri Lengkeseq
1668	
12 Jan (R)	teeth filed and ears pierced of Karaeng ri Langelog
26 Raj 1078	naniariq nanitinting Karaengta ri Langelog
17 Feb (F)	Matinroa ri Bontoalaq [Arung Palakka] went to Karaeng Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana [Hasanuddin] to grasp hands
3 Ram 1078	namae ri Karaenga Tuammenang ri Ballaq Pangkana Matinroa ri Bontoalaq maqjabat tangan
29 Feb (T eve)	Haji Bulu-Bulu died and was buried in Bayaoa
15 Ram 1078	namate Haji Bulu-Bulu niawang ri Bayaoa

²⁶⁷ ANRI 16/6 incorporates the subsequent entry here, stating 'three nights after people met, the Dutch occupied Ujung Pandang' (*natalu banngi lebaq sitaba tauwa nanaempoi Jungpandang Balandaya*).

²⁶⁸ Speelman reported that in response to this betrayal Hasanuddin seized his lands of Cenrana and Siwa and Larompong on the Bay of Boné (Ligtvoet 1880:128). It is not surprising that the *Sj'air Perang Mengkasar* describes Karaeng ri Lengkeseq as 'a harsh *karaeng*, whose conduct was wicked and unbecoming a Muslim' (Skinner 1963:190).

6 Mar (T)	something white was seen toward the sea standing stiffly; on three occasions it was seen
21 Ram 1078	nanaiq anu makeboq niciniq ilauq tappenteng kontu bata tallung sawe niaki niciniq
13 Mar (M eve)	all the <i>anaq karaeng</i> and <i>tumakkajannang</i> swore oaths to the karaeng [Hasanuddin]
27 Ram 1078	nanitalliq ngaseng ri karaenga anaq karaenga siagaang tumakkajannannganga
16 Mar (R eve)	Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] and Karaeng ri Ballaq Jawaya married
3 Syaw 1078	nasikalabini Tunisombaya Karaengta ri Ballaq Jawaya
28 Mar (W)	Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] installed as Karaeng ri Sanrabone
15 Syaw 1078	nanitannang Karaeng ri Sanrabone Tuammenang ri Lakiun
14 Apr (F eve)	the Dutch fired as a result of a quarrel
2 Zulk 1078	namammaqdiliq Balandaya sisala ribokota
21 May (M)	Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] was brought east to Gowa and a sunshade raised over his head, an embossed sunshade ²⁶⁹
9 Zulh 1078	nanierang manrai q ri Gowa nipirangkaki laqlang Tuammenang ri Lakiun laqlang nicaka
9 Jun (S)	Karaeng ri Garassiq died
28 Zulh 1078	namate Karaengta ri Garassiq
20 Jun (T eve)	Karaeng ri Tamalaqba died
9 Muh 1079	namate Karaengta ri Tamalaqba
23 Jul (M)	Daeng ri Sampulungan died
13 Saf 1079	namate Daengta ri Sampulungan
31 Jul (M eve)	Karaeng ri Katapang died
21 Saf 1079	namate Karaengta ri Katapang

²⁶⁹ This ceremony recognized his new status as Karaeng ri Sanrabone.

13 Aug (M)	Karaeng ri Panjallingang beheaded below in Maros ²⁷⁰ at the age of 31
5 Rawl 1079	nanibatta Karaengta ri Panjallingang irawa ri Marusuq umuruqna 31
27 Aug (M)	Karaeng ri Bontomajannang struck
19 Rawl 1079	nanitaba Karaengta ri Bontomajannang
10 Sep (M)	Karaeng ri Bontomajannang died at the age of 26
3 Rakr 1079	namate Karaengta ri Bontomajannang umuruqna 26
27 Sep (R)	Daengta I Karaeng Sallang died
20 Rakr 1079	namate Daengta I Karae Sallang
12 Oct (F) ²⁷¹	I Tosaq dang killed ²⁷²
6 Jawl 1079	naniposo I Tosaq dang
14 Oct (N)	Karaeng ri Tomponga beheaded
8 Jawl 1079	nanibatta Karaengta ri Tomponga
27 Oct (S)	Paccocconga killed
19 Jawl 1079	naniposo Paccocconga
8 Nov (R)	there was fierce rain
3 Jakr 1079	naniaq bosi maqdonteng
13 Nov (T)	there was wood felled that raised itself again toward the uplands in Lataq ²⁷³
8 Jakr 1079	naniaq kayu nitaqbang mambangunna pole iraya ri Lataq
14 Nov (W)	<i>pakki</i> Dambo Abdurrahim died
9 Rakr 1079	namate paqqih Dambo Abdurrahim

²⁷⁰ According to ANRI 16/6 he was killed in Barasaq, not Maros.

²⁷¹ This and the following entry appear in reverse order in VT 25.

²⁷² Arung Belo, a son of the ruler of Soppéng La Tenribali Matinroa ri Datunna. ANRI 16/6 adds 'spaced two nights apart Karaeng ri Panjallingang was beheaded at the age of 18' (*ruwa banngi allaqna nanibatta Karaengta ri Panjallingang umuruqna 18*), but this in fact refers to Karaeng ri Tomponga.

²⁷³ Coupled with the mysterious white object that appeared toward the sea earlier in the year, this was certainly interpreted as heralding great change by Makassarese and is evidence of the uncertainty and trepidation that marked the war years.

1669

- 21 Jan (M) Tumammaliang ri Alluq [Amir Hamzah] circumcised
18 Syab 1079 nanisunnaq Tumammaliang ri Alluq
- 4 Feb (M) Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] and Karaeng ri
Bontomateqne divorced, then Tumamenang ri Lampana
[Harrunarasyid] divorced I Loqmoq, a grandparent of I
Kacung
- 2 Ram 1079 nasipelaq Tuammenang ri Lakiun Karaengta ri
Bontomateqne nanipelaq I Loqmoq toana I Kacung ri
Tuammenang ri Lampanna
- 8 Feb (F) Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq died at the age of 41
6 Ram 1079 namate Karaengta ri Bontojeqneq umuruqna 41
- 1 Mar (R eve) Karaeng ri Kabballokang²⁷⁴ and Karaeng ri Langeloq mar-
ried; I Loqmoq, the mother of Karaeng ri Patukangang,
proposed to by Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil]
- 26 Ram 1079 nasikalabini Karaengta ri Kabballokang Karaengta ri
Langeloq nanipassuroi I Loqmoq anronna Karaengta ri
Patukangang ri Tuammenang ri Lakiun
- 10 May (R eve) Tumamenang ri Lampana [Harrunarasyid] Karaeng ri
Bontomateqne wed [in accordance with Islamic custom]
and left immediately²⁷⁵
- 10 Zulh 1079 namaqnikkah Tuammenang ri Lampanna Karaengta ri
Bontomateqne mange memang tommi
- 1 Jun (S) Karaeng ri Lakiung died; she reached age 21
2 Muh 1080 namate Karaengta ri Lakiun umuruqna 21
- 3 Jun (N eve) Karaeng ri Tabaringang died
4 Muh 1080 namate Karaengta ri Tabaringan

²⁷⁴ He was a son of Karunrung also known as Mamminawang Daeng Mangalliki (Ligtvoet 1880:130). He must not be confused with either I Daeng Mamangkasi I Mamminawang, a child of Karaeng ri Bontomajannang by Caucung born on 24 Nov 1664, or Karaeng ri Mangalliq I Manrurungang I Kare Gappa, a son of Hasanuddin born on 13 Jan 1655.

²⁷⁵ They went to Bima. Karaeng ri Bontomateqne died there on 13 Mar 1671, and a few months later on 5 Aug 1671 Karaeng Galesong arrived there to invite Harrunarasyid to return to Makassar.

16 Jun (S eve)	the bastion of Somba Opu breached ²⁷⁶
17 Muh 1080	nanibangka salekoa ri Sombopu
24 Jun (M)	Somba Opu conquered
25 Muh 1080	nabeta Sombopu
29 Jun (S)	Tumammaliang ri Alluq [Amir Hamzah] had a sunshade raised over his head ²⁷⁷
30 Muh 1080	nanipirangkaki laqlang Tumammaliang ri Alluq
7 Jul (S eve)	Daengta Daeng Naratang died
8 Saf 1080	namate Daengta Daeng Naratang
28 Jul (N)	people agreed by the new river ²⁷⁸
29 Saf 1080	nasitaba taua ri binanga berua
16 Sep (M)	Karaeng ri Paqbineang and Addatuang Sidénréng ²⁷⁹ married
21 Rokr 1080	nasikalabini Karaengta ri Paqbineang Aqdatuanga
28 Oct (M)	Tumamenang ri Lampana [Harrunarasyid], [the karaengs of] Bisei, Mandalleq, Balloq, Palembang ²⁸⁰ , [and the gallarrang of] Mangasa and Tomboloq went overseas to Jakattaraq
4 Jakr 1080	nakalauq ri Jakattaraq Tuammenang ri Lampanna Bisei Mandalleq Balloq Palembang Mangasa Tomboloq
23 Nov (F eve)	Karaeng ri Pattunga died
23 Jakr 1080	namate Karaengta ri Pattunga

²⁷⁶ ANRI 16/6 adds more information, explaining how 'a hole was dug and as night fell the gunpowder was then lit' (*nikekkeseki nibanggiangi ubaq nanisussuluq*). Andaya (1981:130-1) describes in detail this explosive-filled tunnel and its crucial role in the fall of Somba Opu.

²⁷⁷ With this act, Hasanuddin stepped down and his son became Sultan Amir Hamzah, ruler of Gowa. ANRI 16/6 notes that his father Hasanuddin raised the sunshade over him.

²⁷⁸ Thus the Makassar War came to an end beside the canal that Bugis workers dug in 1660 to separate Paqnakkukang from the mainland.

²⁷⁹ Arung Ujumpuluq, known as La Tenritippaq ToWalenae, who later became ruler of Sidénréng.

²⁸⁰ In Dutch archival sources he is known as Karaeng Mamu or Mamut (Ligtvoet 1880:131).

26 Nov (M eve)	Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] and Daengta Daeng Talarra ²⁸¹ married
1 Raj 1080	nasikalabini Tuammenang ri Lakiun Daengta Daeng Talarra
	1670
10 Jan (R eve)	the ruler of Akkotengang died
17 Syab 1080	namate karaenga ri Akkotengang
27 Feb (W eve)	I Daeng Manyikkoq I Shadiq, a child of Karaeng ri Palembang, born
6 Syaw 1080	naanaq I Daeng Manyikkoq I Shadiq anaqna Karaengta ri Palembang
10 Mar (M)	Karaeng ri Pangkajeqneq Abdul Muqmin ²⁸² born
18 Syaw 1080	naanaq Karaengta ri Pangkajeqneq Abdulmuqmin
28 Mar (R eve)	Tumamenang ri Lampana [Harrunarasyid] arrived from Jakattaraq
3 Zulk 1080	nabattu ri Jakattaraq Tuammenang ri Lampanna
29 Mar (S)	Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] arrived from Jakattaraq bringing his wife [Daeng Talele]
8 Zulk 1080	nabattu ri Jakattaraq Tunisombaya angerangi bainenna
13 Apr (N)	Karaeng ri Mandalleq and I Daeng Maingaq, [later known as] Karaeng Balua ²⁸³ , married
21 Zulk 1080	nasikalabini Karaengta ri Mandalleq I Daeng Maingaq Karaengta Balua
16 Apr (W)	Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] and Daengta Daeng Talarra divorced
25 Zulk 1080	nasipelaq Tuammenang ri Lakiun Daengta Daeng Talarra
21 May (T eve)	the younger sibling of I Kaiq died

²⁸¹ She had married Abdul Jalil's older brother Muhammad Ali on 23 Mar 1667, but their divorce is not recorded in the annals. This marriage lasted less than four months, after which she would marry Sultan Harrunarasyid of Talloq on 3 Jul 1670.

²⁸² Dutch sources from 1709 reported that he was a son of Abdul Jalil's sister, thus probably a son of Karaeng Langeloq from her marriage to Karaeng Kaballokang (Ligtvoet 1880:132).

²⁸³ This *karaeng*-title does not reflect a toponym, but indicates that she was a widow (*balu*) of the ruler.

1 Muh 1081	namate arinna I Kaiq
28 May (M)	something was seen resembling a rainbow that spanned the earth
6 Muh 1081	naniaq niciniq kuntu tarahuwe taqbannyang ri buttaya
2 Jun (M)	the walls of Talloq torn down
13 Muh 1081	nanigesaraq bataya ri Talloq
3 Jun (T)	the walls of Gowa torn down
14 Muh 1081	nanigesaraq bataya ri Gowa
12 Jun (R)	we were left by Karaeng Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana [Hasanuddin] at the age of 41
23 Muh 1081	kinapilari Karaenga Tuammenang ri Ballaq Pangkana umuruqna 41
3 Jul (R eve)	Tumamenang ri Lampana [Harrunarasyid] and Daengta Daeng Talarra married
7 Rawl 1081 ²⁸⁴	nasikalabini Tuammenang ri Lampanna Daengta Daeng Talarra
1 Aug (R eve)	Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana [Karunrung] and I Taniq married
14 Rawl 1081	nasikalabini Tuammenang ri Juntana I Taniq
7 Aug (R)	Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] went into Wajoq to make war ²⁸⁵
20 Rawl 1081	namantama ri Wajoq Tunisombaya maqbunduq
28 Aug (T eve)	birth of Daengta Daeng Mami Ruqiah ²⁸⁶
11 Rakr 1081	nanianakkang Daengta Daeng Mami Ruqiah
29 Aug (R eve)	I Sunggu, a child of Karaeng ri Panjallingang, died, killed from a blow by a wife of the ruler of Talloq
22 Rakr 1081 ²⁸⁷	namate I Sunggu anaqna Karaengta ri Panjallingang nibu-no pattunrung ri karaenga bainea ri Talloq

²⁸⁴ The Hijri date converts to 24 Jul 1670.

²⁸⁵ The ruler of Wajoq's refusal to submit to Arung Palakka and his war against it and the similarly recalcitrant Lamuru is discussed in Andaya (1981:138-40).

²⁸⁶ A daughter of Hasanuddin by I Loqmoq Toboq.

²⁸⁷ The Hijri date converts to 7 Sep 1670.

- 12 Sep (R eve) Tumatea ri Jakattaraq [Muhammad Ali] and I Sitti Karaeng ri Kampong Beru²⁸⁸ married; Karaeng ri Mangalliq and I Tumbuq²⁸⁹ married
- 27 Rakr 1081 nasikalabini Tumatea ri Jakattaraq I Sitti Karaenga ri Kampongberu Karaengta ri Mangalliq sikalabini I Tumbuq
- 30 Oct (W eve) Karaeng Tumamenang ri Lampana [Harrunarasyid] went over to Bima
- 15 Jakr 1081 namaqlampa Karaenga Tuammenang ri Lampanna taqle ri Dima
- 19 Dec (F) Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] arrived from Wajoq and the conquest of Tosora
- 9 Syab 1081 nabattu ri Wajoq Tunisombaya nabetana Tosora
- 1671
- 10 Jan (S) there were those who saw two suns
- 27 Syab 1081²⁹⁰ naniaq anciniki rua matanna alloa
- 26 Jan (R) Karaeng ri Ballaq Jawaya divorced by Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka]
- 17 Syaw 1081²⁹¹ nasipelaq Karaengta ri Ballaq Jawaya ri Tunisombaya
- 9 Mar (N eve) I Daeng Maingaq²⁹² died
- 26 Syaw 1081 namate I Daeng Maingaq
- 13 Mar (F) the day of Karaeng ri Bontomateqne's death across in Bima at the age of 18
- 1 Zulk 1081 allo nakamateanga Karaengta ri Bontomateqne ibaqle ri Dima umuruqna 18

²⁸⁸ Also known as Daeng Talele, but she must not be confused with the Daeng Talele who was Arung Palakka's wife.

²⁸⁹ Presumably not the same I Tumbuq who married the ruler of Agangnionjoq on 10 Dec 1645.

²⁹⁰ These dates do not match as the result of a copyist error. It is most probable that a copyist mistakenly wrote Ramadan instead of Syaban for the Hijri month, and this correction is made here, but also possible that the Gregorian month should be February rather than January.

²⁹¹ These dates also do not match as the result of a copyist error. It is most probable that a copyist mistakenly wrote Syawwal instead of Ramadan for the Hijri month, and this correction is made here, but also possible that the Gregorian month should be February rather than January.

²⁹² Clearly this does not refer to Karaeng Balua, Karaeng ri Mandalleq's wife of the same name.

14 Mar (S) 2 Zulk 1081	I Shafiah and Karaeng Tumaqdanggang married nasikalabini I Shafiah Karae Tumaqdanggang
19 Mar (R) 6 Zulk 1081	the day of I Daeng Onjoq's death across in Bima allo kamateanga I Daeng Onjoq ibaqla ri Dima
17 Apr (R eve) 7 Zulh 1081	Karaeng ri Jarannika and the mother of Karaeng ri Pasiq married nasikalabini Karaengta ri Jarannika puanna Karaengta ri Pasiq
20 May (W) 11 Muh 1082	the father of Matinroa ri Nagaulang [La Patauq] and his mother married ²⁹³ nasikalabini aenna Matinroa ri Nagaulang ayana
14 Jun (M) 7 Saf 1082	Karaeng ri Agangjeqneq circumcised nanisunnaq Karaengta ri Agangjeqneq
21 Jun (N) 14 Saf 1082	Karaeng ri Jarannika and the mother of Karaeng ri Pasiq divorced nasipelaq Karaengta ri Jarannika puanna Karaengta ri Pasiq
23 Jun (M eve) 16 Saf 1082	Daengta Daeng Jipaling had a son namamanaq Daengta Daeng Jipaling buraqne
13 Jul (M) 6 Rawl 1082	Tumammaliang ri Alluq [Amir Hamzah] and Daengta Daeng Majannang married; Karaeng ri Bontomanompoq and Daengta Daeng Masiang married nasikalabini Tumammaliang ri Alluq Daengta Daeng Majannang nasikalabini Karaengta ri Bontomanompoq Daengta Daeng Masiang
5 Aug (T eve) 29 Rawl 1082	Karaeng Galesong ²⁹⁴ went over to Bima to request [the return of] Tumamenang ri Lampana [Harrunarasyid] namantaqla ri Dima Karaeng Galesong ambuntuli Tumammenang ri Lampanna

²⁹³ La Patau's father was Pakkokoe Arung Timurung Matinroe ri Timurung (a son of the ruler of Boné La Maqdaremmeng) and his mother was We Mappolobombang Da Upi (a full sister of Arung Palakka). La Patau would succeed his uncle Arung Palakka. The political context of this marriage is discussed in Andaya (1981:243-5).

²⁹⁴ A son of Hasanuddin also known as I Maninrori and I Kare Tojeng.

9 Aug (N) 4 Rakr 1082	Karaeng Bontokappong ²⁹⁵ died namate Karae Bontokappong
10 Aug (M) 5 Rakr 1082	Tumammaliang ri Alluq [Amir Hamzah] and Daengta Daeng Majannang divorced; they were married 27 nights nasipelaq Daengta Daeng Majannang Tumammaliang ri Alluq 27 bannginna sikalabini
11 Aug (T) 6 Rakr 1082	I Daeng Nisimba Rabiah born naanaq I Daeng Nisimba Rabiah
13 Aug (W eve) 7 Rakr 1082	I Daeng Talarra married by Tumammaliang ri Alluq [Amir Hamzah] nanibaineang I Daeng Talarra ri Tumammaliang ri Alluq
20 Aug (R) 14 Rakr 1082	Karaeng Balua [Daeng Maingaq] had a son by Karaeng ri Mandalleq: Muhammad Said namamanaq Karaengta Balua ri Karaengta ri Mandalleq buraqne Muhammad Said
21 Sep (M) 16 Jawl 1082	Karaeng ri Bontosunggu had a son by Karaeng ri Sanggiringang named I Manggaukang namamanaq Karaengta ri Bontosunggu ri Karaengta ri Sanggiringang buraqne nikana I Manggaukang
21 Sep (F) 21 Jawl 1082	Karaeng Bangkalaq died namate Karae Bangkalaq
6 Oct (T) 1 Jakr 1082	Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] went down to Mandar with Karaeng ri Bontosunggu [Tumamenang ri Taenga] namanaung ri Mandaraq Tunisombaya siagaang Karaengta ri Bontosunggu
19 Oct (M) 15 Jakr 1082	Karaeng Tumaqdanggang and I Shafiah divorced nasipelaq Karae Tumaqdanggang I Shafiah
21 Oct (T eve)	Karaeng ri Langelog had twins, two girls; the one born later died 2 [nights] after; the one born earlier died 3 nights after

²⁹⁵ The father of I Daeng Maingaq Karaeng Balua.

- 17 Jakr 1082 namamanaq Karaengta ri Langeloq kambaraq baine rua
ribokoanga lassuq 2 namate rioloanga lassuq 3 banngi
namate
- 13 Nov (F) Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana [Karunrung] changed the rul-
ing in which fathers have no share of their children²⁹⁶
- 10 Raj 1082 nanilesang ri Tuammenang ri Juntana bicara ilalanga
tamanabai anaq manggea
- 15 Nov (N)
12 Raj 1082 Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] arrived from Mandar
nabattu ri Mandaraq Tunisombaya
- 18 Nov (T eve)
15 Raj 1082 Karaeng ri Parang-Parang Khadijah²⁹⁷ born
naanaq Karaengta ri Parang-Parang Khadijah
- 7 Dec (M) the people of Cenrana swore oaths to Tunisombaya
[Arung Palakka]
- 5 Syab 1082 nanitalliq tuCenranaya ri Tunisombaya
- 1672
- 5 Jan (M eve)
4 Ram 1082 Haji I Daeng Tappaq and Karaeng Tamasongoq married
nasikalabini Haqjia I Daeng Tappaq Karae Tamasongoq
- 20 Jan (W) Daengta Daeng Tamemang²⁹⁸ born in the same house
with Karaeng Panaikang Khadijah
- 19 Ram 1082 naanaq Daengta Daeng Tamemang siballaqna Karae
Panaikang Khadijah
- 28 Jan (W eve) Karaeng ri Pangkajeqneq set foot on the ground²⁹⁹

²⁹⁶ This decision is likely the origin of several *rapang* (guidelines from renowned ancestors) that describe the rights of fathers and mothers to children. See Cummings 2002:176-7.

²⁹⁷ A daughter of Tumatea ri Jakattaraq (Muhammad Ali) and Karaeng ri Kampong Beru (Daeng Talele). See Ligtoet (1880:footnote 135) for a discussion of this identification.

²⁹⁸ Dutch sources from 1684 report that she was a sister of Karaeng Lengkeseq (Ligtoet 1880:154).

²⁹⁹ This ritual act was performed for children at a young age, before which they were carried for their protection. Gervaise (1701:134) referred to this practice in the context of an Islamic ceremony for boys in which their feet were placed on a scimitar to ensure their bravery as warriors and they received an Islamic name. He noted that Makassarese parents, 'would think themselves guilty of a very great crime, should they be so indulgent as to let him set his feet upon the ground, before they had been sanctify'd by touch of the saber'. Born 10 Mar 1670, at this time Karaeng ri Pangkajeqneq was less than two years old, and Gervaise is no doubt exaggerating or was misinformed when he goes on to say that, 'The same scruple of conscience also will not

27 Ram 1082	nanipaonjoq ri butta Karaengta ri Pangkajeqneq
19 Feb (R eve)	I Kare Tulolo and I Punngaq Karaeng Tamalingu divorced
19 Syaw 1082	nasipelaq I Kare Tulolo I Punngaq Karae Tamalingu
1 Mar (M eve)	a child of Karaeng Mandalleq died at the stroke of 3
30 Syaw 1082	namate anaqna Karaeng Mandalleq 3 garigantaya
23 Mar (W)	Karaeng ri Mangalliq and I Taniq, a child of the <i>tumailalang</i> ³⁰⁰ who died on Salaparang, married
22 Zulk 1082	nasikalabini Karaengta ri Mangalliq I Taniq anaqna <i>tumailalang</i> matea ri Salaparang
12 Apr (M eve)	I Daeng Makaqbang, the father of I Daeng Manyampaq Balambaru, died
13 Zulh 1082	namate I Daeng Makaqbang manggena I Daeng Manyamppaq Balambaru
18 Apr (M)	Tumammaliang ri Alluq [Amir Hamzah] first performed a Maluku war dance; after sunset it ended and people went out
19 Zulh 1082	nauru makkanjaraq Maluku Tumammaliang ri Alluq saqrappi alloa nalaqbusuq taua massuluq
1 May (S eve)	a child of Karaeng Mandalleq died at the stroke of 7
2 Muh 1083	namate anaqna Karae Mandalleq 7 garigantaya
30 Jun (W eve)	at the stroke of 1 I Uru had a son named Muhammad Shaleh
4 Rawl 1083	1 garigantaya namamanaq I Uru buraqne nikana Muhammad Shaleh
22 Jul (F)	Sitti Aminah born
26 Rawl 1083	naanaq Sitti Aminah
25 Jul (M)	I Daeng Maqgeaq died
29 Rawl 1083	namate I Daeng Maqgeaq

suffer them to let children of quality go, before they are eight or nine years of age; and therefore their nurses or their governors always carry them in their arms, or at their backs.'

³⁰⁰ This *tumailalang* was Karaeng Jarannika, who died on 14 May 1700.

- 14 Aug (S eve) I Asseng married by the ruler of Maluku [Ternate]
30 Rakr 1083³⁰¹ nanibaineang I Asseng ri Karae Maluku
- 5 Sep (M) a wife of Karaeng ri Bontomanompoq had a son purport-
edly named I Daeng Mamangung I Karisaq³⁰²
12 Jawl 1083 namamanaq bainenna Karaengta ri Bontomanompoq
buraqne I Daeng Mamangun I Karisaq kutaeng
- 12 Sep (N eve) I Timoroq and I Sitti married
19 Jawl 1083 nasikalabini I Timoroq I Sitti
- 16 Sep (S)³⁰³ I Taniq divorced by Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana
[Karunrung]
24 Jawl 1083 nanipelaq I Taniq ri Tuammenang ri Juntana
- 21 Sep (W eve) Daengta Daeng Majannang and Karaeng ri Mandalleq
married; the very same day I Sitti³⁰⁴ divorced by Aqduluq
28 Jawl 1083 nasikalabini Daengta Daeng Majannang Karaengta ri
Mandalleq julu alloji nipelaqna I Sitti ri Aqduluq
- 21 Oct (R eve) Sitti Lambengi married by Tumatea ri Jakattaraq
[Muhammad Ali]
29 Jakr 1083 nanibaineang Sitti Lambengi ri Tumatea ri Jakattaraq
- 22 Oct (S) I Daeng Nisimba married by Tumammaliang ri Alluq
[Amir Hamzah]
30 Jakr 1083 nanibaineang I Daeng Nisimba ri Tumammaliang ri Alluq
- 28 Oct (R eve) I Daeng Maingaq Karaeng Balua and Tumammaliang ri
Alluq [Amir Hamzah] married
6 Raj 1083 nasikalabini I Daeng Maingaq Karaengta Balua
Tumammaliang ri Alluq

³⁰¹ The Hijri date converts to 24 Aug 1672.

³⁰² Whether the annalist was uncertain of both of his names or just whether his personal name was I Karisaq is not clear.

³⁰³ A copyist wrote 12 Sep for the Gregorian date (probably looking at the previous entry as he began this one), but the correct date is 16 Sep.

³⁰⁴ Sitti is a common name, and given the pattern of brief marriages in the annals it is by no means certain that this is the same Sitti who married only nine days beforehand; if so Aqduluq and Timoroq are the same person.

3 Nov (F) ³⁰⁵ 12 Raj 1083	Matinroa ri Nagaulang Idris [La Patauq] born naanaq Matinroa ri Nagaulang Idris
17 Nov (W eve) 26 Raj 1083	Karaeng ri Langeloq had a son named Abdul Rasyid namamanaq Karaengta ri Langeloq buraqne nikana Abdulrrasyid
8 Dec (R) 17 Syab 1083	I Sitti, a wife of I Japaraq, had a son namamanaq I Sitti bainenna I Japaraq buraqne
11 Dec (N) 20 Syab 1083	I Daeng Nisimba divorced by Tumammaliang ri Alluq [Amir Hamzah]; they were married only 54 nights nanipelaq I Daeng Nisimba ri Tumammaliang ri Alluq 50 banngiji angappaq sikalabini
13 Dec (T) 22 Syab 1083	I Sitti Lambengi divorced by Tumatea ri Jakattaraq [Muhammad Ali]; they were married 54 nights nanipelaq I Siti Lambengi ri Tumatea ri Jakattaraq 50 angappaq sikalabini
17 Dec (S) 26 Syab 1083	Daengta Daeng Nisali Sitti Sarah, the widow of Karaeng ri Mandalleq ³⁰⁶ , born naanaq Daengta Daeng Nisali Sitti Sarah balunna Karaengta ri Mandalleq
26 Dec (M) 6 Ram 1083	I Daeng Manangaraq, a child of Karaeng Ujung Pandang, died namate I Daeng Manangaraq anaqna Karae Jumpandang
1673	
2 Jan (N eve) 3 Ram 1083 ³⁰⁷	I Daeng Manangaraq Assang died namate I Daeng Manangaraq Assang
7 Jan (F eve) 18 Ram 1083	the child of Karaeng ri Langeloq named Abdul Rasyid died namate anaqna Karaengta ri Langeloq nikanaya Abdulrrasyid

³⁰⁵ ANRI 16/6 has this date as 3 Jan 1672, but this does not match the Hijri date, which is likely correct.

³⁰⁶ Which Karaeng Mandalleq this refers to is uncertain.

³⁰⁷ The Hijri date converts to 23 Dec 1672.

17 Jan (M eve) 28 Ram 1083	Karaeng ri Mangalliq and I Mamo divorced nasipelaq Karaengta ri Mangalliq I Mamo
21 Jan (F eve) 2 Syaw 1083	the mother of the karaeng named Talebang died namate anronna karaenga nikanaya Talebang
9 Mar (R)	I Daeng Mangemba, the ruler of Siang ³⁰⁸ , and I Daeng Rikong I Shafiah ³⁰⁹ , the older sibling of Daengta Daeng Mami, married
16 Zulk 1083	nasikalabini I Daeng Mangemba Karae Siang I Daeng Rikong I Shafiah kakanna Daengta Daeng Mami
31 Mar (F) 11 Zulk 1083	a child of Karaeng ri Palembang died namate anaqna Karaengta ri Palembang
6 Apr (R)	Karaeng ri Mandalleq I Daeng Sisila and Daengta Daeng Takontu married; Karaeng ri Kaballokang and Karaeng ri Langeloq divorced
17 Zulk 1083	nasikalabini Karaengta ri Mandalleq I Daeng Sisila Daengta Daeng Takontu nasipelaq Karaengta ri Kaballokang Karaengta ri Langeloq
21 Apr (F) 3 Muh 1084	Karaeng ri Tana-Tana Fatimah ³¹⁰ born naanaq Karaengta ri Tana-Tana Fatimah
27 Apr (R)	Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] went down to Massepe to make war ³¹¹
9 Muh 1084	namanaung ri Massepe Tunisombaya maqbunduq
9 May (T) 21 Muh 1084	Sitti Lambengi married by Karaeng ri Kaballokang nanibaineang Siti Lambengi ri Karaengta ri Kaballokang
13 May (S) 26 Muh 1084	birth of I Daeng Tapallaq I Piqdaq nanianakkang I Daeng Tapallaq I Piqdaq

³⁰⁸ Dutch sources report that Daeng Mangemba was also named Pakampi and was a son of the Boné leader Arung Tanette Matowa. Speelman called Daeng Mangemba Gallarang Tosawa (Ligtvoet 1880:159).

³⁰⁹ A daughter of Hasanuddin. In the *Gowa Chronicle* her personal name is rendered as I Sapia.

³¹⁰ A daughter of Karaeng Bisei Tumatea ri Jakattaraq and Daeng Talele Karaeng Kampongberu. This identification is discussed in Ligtvoet (1880:footnote 136).

³¹¹ This war concluded Arung Palakka's efforts to establish himself as overlord of South Sulawesi in the wake of the 1669 conquest of Gowa and is discussed in Andaya (1981:148-51).

- 25 May (R eve) Karaeng ri Mangalliq and [I Taniq,] a child of Tumatea ri
Salaparang [Karaeng Jarannika] divorced
8 Saf 1084 nasipelaq Karaengta ri Mangalliq anaqna Tumatea ri
Salaparang
- 8 Jun (R) the head of Karaeng Massepe brought back
21 Saf 1084 nabattu nierang ulunna Karae Massepe
- 13 Jun (M eve) Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] arrived and with him
brought I Sarampa
28 Saf 1084 nabattumo Tunisombaya niaqmi I Sarampa naerang
- 16 Jun (R eve) we were left by Karaeng Tumamenang ri Lampana
[Harrunarasyid] across on Sumbawa at the age of 34
29 Saf 1084 kinapilari Karaenga Tuammenang ri Lampanna ibaqle ri
Sambawa umuruqna 34
- 19 Jun (M) Karaeng ri Lekoqboqdong and I Daeng Memang I Munaq
divorced
3 Rawl 1084 nasipelaq Karaengta ri Lekoqboqdong I Daeng Memang I
Munaq
- 20 Jun (M eve) Karaeng ri Mangalliq and I Sitti married
4 Rawl 1084 nasikalabini Karaengta ri Mangalliq I Sitti
- 2 Jul (S eve) Karaeng ri Lekoqboqdong and Karaeng ri Langeloq mar-
ried
6 Rawl 1084³¹² nasikalabini Karaengta ri Lekoqboqdong Karaengta ri
Langeloq
- 20 Jul (R) Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] went into marry Datu ri
Watu³¹³
5 Rakr 1084 namantama Tunisombaya ambaineangi Datua ri Watu
- 20 Jul (R) I Kare Loqmoq, I Sarampa, and I Minaq divorced by
Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka]

³¹² The Hijri date converts to 21 Jun 1673.

³¹³ We Adda Matinroe ri Madello, a daughter of Datu Soppéng La Tenribali. ANRI 16/6 adds 'in Soppéng' (ri Soppeng).

5 Rakr 1084	nanipelaq I Kare Loqmoq I Sarampa I Minaq ri Tunisombaya
17 Aug (R)	a child of the ruler of Laikang and a child of I Daeng Niaq married
4 Jawl 1084	nasikalabini anaqna Karae Laikang anaqna I Daeng Niaq
23 Aug (T eve) 10 Jawl 1084	the mother of Karaeng Beroanging died namate ayana Karae Beroangin
4 Sep (N eve) 22 Jawl 1084	Karaeng ri Kaballokang and Karaeng Mateqne married nasikalabini Karaengta ri Kaballokang Karae Mateqne
4 Sep (M) ³¹⁴ 22 Jawl 1084	after the clock struck Sitti Fatimah had a daughter named Zalikha leqbaki tetteq garigantaya namamanaq Sitti Fatimah baine nikana Zalikha
13 Sep (W) 1 Jakr 1084	I Malung, a wife of Karaeng ri Balloq, had a son named I Mangellai namamanaq I Malung bainenna Karaengta ri Balloq buraqne nikana I Mangellai
23 Sep (F eve) 11 Jakr 1084	I Daeng Manyampaq Alluq and I Kare Alle married nasikalabini I Daeng Manyampaq Alluq I Kare Alle
30 Sep (F eve) 18 Jakr 1084	a child of Daengta Daeng Majannang died namate anaqna Daengta Daeng Majannang
20 Oct (F) 8 Raj 1084	ears pierced of Karaeng ri Bontorambaq ³¹⁵ nanitinting Karaengta ri Bontorambaq
22 Oct (N) 10 Raj 1084	Karaeng Tamaqdanggang and I Daeng Talarra I Mene, a child of Karaeng Laikang, married nasikalabini Karae Tamaqdanggang I Daeng Talarra I Mene anaqna Karae Laikang
30 Oct (M)	I Daeng Singaraq, a child of the ruler of Sula, died

³¹⁴ The discrepancy is not large, but the Gregorian date for this and the previous entry has been corrected; a copyist mistakenly wrote the 9th.

³¹⁵ A daughter of Karunrung and Karaeng Ballaq Jawaya (Ligtvoet 1880:142).

18 Raj 1084	namate I Daeng Singaraq anaqna Karaengta ri Sula
31 Oct (T)	Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] sailed down to Mandar to make war ³¹⁶ ; Karaeng Tompoqbalang accompanied him
19 Raj 1084	namammise Tunisombaya manaung ri Mandaraq maqbunduq Karae Tompoqbalang naaganga
29 Nov (W)	Karaeng Tumammaliang ri Alluq [Amir Hamzah] ended performing of the Maluku war dance
19 Syab 1084	kaleqbakkang makkanjaraq Malukuna Karaenga Tumammaliang ri Alluq
4 Dec (M)	Karaeng ri Beroanging circumcised along with I Makkaraeng
24 Syab 1084	nanisunnaq Karaengta ri Beroangin siagaang I Makkaraeng
30 Dec (F eve)	Sitti Maradiah had a son at the stroke of 3
21 Ram 1084	namamanaq Sitti Maradiah buraqne 3 garigantaya
1674	
3 Jan (W)	Daengta Daeng Rikong I Shafiah, the older sibling of Daengta Mami, died giving birth
25 Ram 1084	namate Daengta Daeng Rikong I Shafiah kakanna Daengta Mami mate mamanaqi
31 Jan (T eve)	Karaeng ri Lekoqboqdong and Karaeng ri Langeloq divorced
23 Ram 1084	nasipelaq Karaengta ri Lekoqboqdong Karaengta ri Langeloq
4 Feb (N)	I Jaga advanced on by the karaeng [Amir Hamzah] and the people of Bone ³¹⁷ ; this was called the Tinangga Uproar ³¹⁸

³¹⁶ On this expedition see Andaya 1981:152-3.

³¹⁷ In place of 'the people of Bone' (rituBonea) ANRI 16/6 has 'Tunisombaya' (Arung Palakka), which makes rather more sense.

³¹⁸ In the wake of Arung Palakka's victory over Gowa, several Makassarese noblemen insulted and shamed Arung Palakka by kidnapping, molesting, or having illicit sexual relations with his wives and concubines. This was a particularly damaging insult because Arung Palakka was childless. Kare Jaga was one such offender. He kidnapped one of Arung Palakka's women and refused to surrender her. Under pressure to resolve the situation, Amir Hamzah was unable to

27 Syaw 1084	nanipanraiki I Jaga ri karaenga siagaang rituBonea iaminne nikana gegereq Tinanggaya
9 Feb (F) 1 Zulk 1084	Karaeng ri Patukangang Maryam ³¹⁹ born naanaq Karaengta ri Patukangan Maryam
13 Feb (T) 6 Zulk 1084	Tumammaliang ri Alluq [Amir Hamzah] arrived from [his attack] on Jaga ³²⁰ nabattu ri Jaga Tumammaliang ri Alluq
15 Feb (W eve) 8 Zulk 1084	I Tinangga killed nanibuno I Tinangga
21 Feb (W eve) 15 Zulk 1084	I Daeng Talebang and Karaeng ri Kaballokang married nasikalabini I Daeng Talebang Karaengta ri Kaballokang
27 Feb (T) 20 Zulk 1084	I Daeng Manyallang died namate I Daeng Manyallang
1 Mar (R) 22 Zulk 1084	Karaeng ri Agangjeqneq and I Daeng Taloqmoq mar- ried nasikalabini Karaengta ri Agangjeqneq I Daeng Taloqmoq
24 Mar (S) 15 Zulh 1084	Karaeng ri Patukangang put up in a sling [at about age 6 weeks] nanipanaiki ri toeng Karaengta ri Patukangan
25 Mar (N) 16 Zulh 1084	<i>tumailalang</i> Karaeng Lekoqboqdong ³²¹ born naanaq <i>tumailalang</i> Karae Lekoqboqdong
29 Mar (R) 20 Zulh 1084	Karaeng ri Mandalleq and I Daeng Nisayu I Dara married nasikalabini Karaengta ri Mandalleq I Daeng Nisayu I Dara

capture I Jaga, though he was able to capture and kill Tinangga, who may have been the woman stolen, on Feb 15th. The personal animosities during this tense period led to a brief war in 1677 between Arung Palakka and Gowa, Gowa's defeat, and the abdication of Muhammad Ali in favor of Abdul Jalil as Gowa's sultan (Andaya 1981:168-76, 180-6). See the note accompanying the entry for 28 Mar 1676.

³¹⁹ A daughter of Abdul Jalil.

³²⁰ ANRI 16/6 incorporates the subsequent entry, adding, 'two nights [after Amir Hamzah] returned I Tinangga was killed' (*rua banngi battu nanibuno I Tinangga*).

³²¹ Though he is consistently referred to as *tumailalang* in subsequent entries as well, he did not become *tumailalang* until 24 Jun 1717 at the age of 41.

4 Apr (T eve)	Karaeng ri Lekoqboqdong and I Daeng Singaraq, the older sibling of Karaeng ri Bontokamase, married
26 Zulh 1084	nasikalabini Karaengta ri Lekoqboqdong I Daeng Singaraq kakanna Karaengta ri Bontokamase
22 Apr (N)	the Dutch cloth warehouse consumed [by fire]
15 Muh 1085	namakkaqdoq gaqdong topena Balandaya
7 May (N eve)	at the stroke of 1 we were left by Karaeng Tumammaliang ri Alluq [Amir Hamzah] at the age of 19
30 Muh 1085	tetteq 1 garigantaya kinapilari Karaenga Tumammaliang ri Alluq umuruqna 19
14 May (N eve)	I Daeng Maqruppa and I Daeng Nisayu ³²² , the mother of <i>tumailalang</i> [Karaeng] Lekoqboqdong, divorced
7 Saf 1085	nasipelaq I Daeng Maqruppa I Daeng Nisayu ayana <i>tumailalang</i> Lekoqboqdong
21 May (N eve)	Karaeng Jipammana ³²³ and I Daeng Manyiwi married
14 Saf 1085	nasikalabini Karae Jipammana I Daeng Manyiwi
24 Jun (S eve)	Daengta Daeng Talebang and Karaeng ri Palembang divorced
19 Rawl 1085	nasipelaq Daengta Daeng Talebang Karaengta ri Palembang
17 Jul (T)	Karaeng Lambengi and Sitti Fatimah divorced
12 Rokr 1085	nasipelaq Karae Lambengi Sitti Fatimah
29 Jul (N)	I Daeng Niasseng had a daughter named Habibah
24 Rokr 1085	nammanaq I Daeng Niasseng baine nikana Habibah
3 Aug (R eve)	I Cocuq and <i>sabannaraq</i> Daeng Makkulle married
29 Rokr 1085	nasikalabini I Cocuq sabannaraka Daeng Makkulle
4 Aug (F eve)	Karaeng Lambengi and Daengta Daeng Takontu married
1 Jawl 1085	nasikalabini Karae Lambengi Daengta Daeng Takontu

³²² Dutch sources from 1678 recording Arung Teko and I Daeng Nisayu's remarriage (18 Apr 1678) allow us to conclude that this I Daeng Nisayu was a daughter of Karunrung (Ligtvoet 1880:139). She is not the I Dara who married on 29 Mar 1674.

³²³ He was the ruler or Datu of Pammana, south of Wajoq (Ligtvoet 1880:139).

- 28 Aug (M eve) I Taniq and Karaeng Bangkalaq married
25 Jawl 1085 nasikalabini I Taniq Karae Bangkalaq
- 5 Sep (T eve) the mother of Karaeng Lekoqboqdong [Daeng Nisayu]
and the ruler of Agangnionjoq³²⁴ married
4 Jakr 1085 nasikalabini ayana Karae Lekoqboqdong Karae
Agangnionjoq
- 11 Sep (T) Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] went down to Mandar
with the karaengs of Palembang, Manjalling, and
Bontopaqdinging
10 Jakr 1085 namanaung ri Mandaraq Tunisombaya siagaang Karae
Palemba Manjalling Bontopaqdinging
- 12 Sep (W) ears pierced of Sitti Sarah
11 Jakr 1085 nanitinting Sitti Sarah
- 3 Oct (W) Tumatea ri Jakattaraq [Muhammad Ali] had a sunshade
raised over his head, a golden sunshade³²⁵; Tunisombaya
[Arung Palakka] arrived from Mandar
2 Raj 1085 nanipirangkaki laqlang Tumatea ri Jakattaraq laqlang
bulaeng nabattu ri Mandaraq Tunisombaya
- 9 Oct (F eve) Daengta Takontu and Karaeng Lambengi divorced; [they
were married] only 2 months and sixteen nights then
divorced³²⁶; after twenty nights returned to each other
19 Raj 1085 nasipelaq Daengta Takontu Karae Lambengi 2 bulanji
assampulo banngi angannang nasipelaq naruampulo
banngi nasipolei
- 30 Oct (T) I Daeng Tapallaq, the mother of I Jaga Azizah, born³²⁷
24 Raj 1085 naanaq I Daeng Tapallaq anronna I Jaga Azizah
- 13 Nov (T) I Sitti and Karaeng ri Mangalli q divorced

³²⁴ Mappatuntu Daeng Mattulung Matinroe ri Segeri, a son and successor of Ibrahim Daeng Matiring Matinroe ri Buliana.

³²⁵ Thus replacing his brother Amir Hamzah as ruler of Gowa.

³²⁶ This entry is interesting because it suggests that the Hijri calendar was the preferred one used by annalists.

³²⁷ Not to be confused with the I Daeng Tapallaq I Piqdaq born on 13 May 1673. Kamaruddin et al. (1985:149) reads this entry as intending 'I Daeng Tapallaq born whose mother was I Jaga Azizah.' This is also possible, though I think it less likely.

14 Syab 1085	nasipelaq I Sitti Karaengta ri Mangalliq
3 Nov (F eve) 4 Syab 1085	I Opu and I Saidah married nasikalabini I Opu I Saidah
15 Nov (W eve) 16 Syab 1085	Daengta Daeng Talebang had a son named Abdul Karim namamanaq Daengta Daeng Talebang buraqne nikana Abdulkarim
22 Nov (W eve) 23 Syab 1085	Karaeng Baroqbosoq and I Daeng Tuna married nasikalabini Karae Baroqbosoq I Daeng Tuna
23 Nov (R eve) 24 Syab 1085	I Kare Loqmoq married by Karaeng ri Palembang nanibaineang I Kare Loqmoq ri Karaengta ri Palembang
26 Nov (M) 27 Syab 1085	Karaeng ri Beroanging and I Daeng Tamemang I Maqminasa married nasikalabini Karaengta ri Beroangin I Daeng Tamemang I Maqminasa
27 Nov (T) 28 Syab 1085	Karaeng ri Mangalliq and I Taniq returned to each other nasipolei Karaengta ri Mangalliq I Taniq
10 Dec (M) 12 Ram 1085	Haji I Kare Takko died namate Haqqi I Kare Takko
18 Dec (M eve) 20 Ram 1085	the child of Karaeng ri Balloq known as I Mangellai died namate anaqna Karaengta ri Balloq nikanaya I Mangellai
21 Dec (R eve) 23 Ram 1085	I Daeng Maqruppa and I Daeng Talele, a child of I Daeng ri Jonggoa, married nasikalabini I Daeng Maqruppa I Daeng Talele anaqna I Daeng ri Jonggoa
22 Dec (F eve) 24 Ram 1085	Karaeng ri Tana-Tana set foot on the ground ³²⁸ nanipaonjoq ri butta Karaengta ri Tana-Tana
26 Dec (T eve) 28 Ram 1085	I Daeng Majannang died namate I Daeng Majannang

³²⁸ See the explanatory note for 28 Jan 1672.

1675

- 15 Jan (T) Karaeng ri Kaballokang and I Daeng Talebang divorced
18 Syaw 1085 nasipelaq Karaengta ri Kaballokang I Daeng Talebang
- 16 Jan (W) I Tahiriq and I Daeng Talele divorced
19 Syaw 1085 nasipelaq I Tahiriq I Daeng Talele
- 17 Jan (R) I Daeng Maqruppa and I Daeng Talele divorced
20 Syaw 1085 nasipelaq I Daeng Maqruppa I Daeng Talele
- 21 Jan (M) Karaeng Baroqbosoq and I Mamo divorced
24 Syaw 1085 nasipelaq Karae Baroqbosoq I Mamo
- 13 Feb (T eve) Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] and Karaeng Balua
17 Zulk 1085 [Daeng Maingaq] married 282 nights after she widowed
nasikalabini Tuammenang ri Lakiun Karaengta Balua 282
bannginna leqbaq balu
- 3 Mar (N) Karaeng ri Kaballokang and Karaeng Suriwaq married
5 Zulk 1085 nasikalabini Karaengta ri Kaballokang Karae Suriwaq
- 17 Mar (S eve) Karaeng ri Sanggiringang died at the age of 30
19 Zulk 1085 namate Karaengta ri Sanggiringan umuruqna 30
- 23 Mar (F eve) the mother of I Daeng Tuna died
25 Zulk 1085 namate anronna I Daeng Tuna
- 26 Apr (F eve) Karaeng Barrung and Daengta Daeng Takontu wed [in
accordance with Islamic custom]
29 Muh 1086 nanikka Karae Barrung Daengta Daeng Takontu
- 1 May (W) Karaeng Barrung and Daengta Daeng Takontu married³²⁹
5 Saf 1086 nasikalabini Karae Barrung Daengta Daeng Takontu
- 3 May (F) Haji Kare Gappa died
7 Saf 1086 namate Haqqi Kare Gappa
- 7 May (M eve) I Manngallei died

³²⁹ This pair of entries makes it clear that Makassarese distinguished between what we might term customary and Islamic weddings. This is the only case in which two individuals are recorded as participating in both types of ceremonies.

11 Saf 1086	namate I Manngallei
11 May (S)	I Loqmoq, the mother of Karaeng ri Patukangang, had a son named Jaqfar Shadiq ³³⁰
15 Saf 1086	namamanaq I Loqmoq anronna Karaengta ri Patukangang buraqne nikana Jaqfar Shadiq
15 May (W)	I Daeng Mamaro and I Sarah divorced
19 Saf 1086	nasipelaq I Daeng Mamaro I Sarah
27 Jun (R)	Arung Teko ³³¹ and Karaeng ri Langeloq married
5 Rakr 1086	nasikalabini Aruq Teko Karaengta ri Langeloq
14 Jul (S eve)	I Cocuq had a child by <i>sabannaraq</i> Daeng Makkulle
20 Rakr 1086	namamanaq I Cocuq ri Daeng Makkulle sabannaraka
25 Jul (W eve)	I Minnah married by Karaeng Pamolikang; the brideprice was 40 [reals]
1 Jawl 1086	nanibaineang I Minnah ri Karae Pamolikang 40 sunranna
8 Aug (M eve)	I Tuang Anciq Baru died
13 Jawl 1086	namate I Tuan Anciq Baru
18 Aug (S eve)	the female Karaeng Lekoq Alaq died
25 Jawl 1086	namate Karae Lekoq Alaq bainea
22 Aug (W eve)	Sitti Fatimah had a son
29 Jawl 1086	namamanaq Sitti Fatimah buraqne
4 Sep (W)	Karaeng Tumatea ri Jakattaraq [Muhammad Ali] went into Boné, to Wawodataq to enclose a deer-hunting preserve
13 Jakr 1086	namantama ri Bone Karaenga Tumatea ri Jakattaraq nari Wawodataq maqbara jonga
12 Sep (W eve)	Sitti Hajar, a child of Toadaeng, died
21 Jakr 1086	namate Sitti Hajar anaqna Toadaeng
20 Sep (R eve)	I Salamah married by Karaeng Bontotannga

³³⁰ His father was Abdul Jalil.

³³¹ A Boné noble and one of Arung Palakka's lieutenants.

29 Jakr 1086	nanibaineang I Salamah ri Karae Bontotannga
25 Sep (W)	ears pierced of I Daeng Tonji I Saenaq, a child of Arung Kaju
5 Raj 1086	nanitinting I Daeng Tonji I Saenaq anaqna Aruq Kayu
27 Sep (R eve)	something shining was seen in the sky
7 Raj 1086	naniaq niciniq maqrinra ri langika
1 Oct (T)	a child of Karaeng Lambengi that had been adopted by Karaeng Buqdia died
11 Raj 1086	namate anaqna Karae Lambengi nikatuoa ri Karae Buqdia
11 Oct (F)	the karaeng [Muhammad Ali] arrived from Boné
21 Raj 1086	nabattu ri Bone karaenga
21 Oct (N eve)	Daengta Daeng Massuro and Daeng Jipaling married
1 Syab 1086	nasikalabini Daengta Daeng Massuro Daeng Jipaling
8 Nov (F)	I Mappakana, a child of the ruler of Agangnionjoq, circumcised
19 Syab 1086	nanisunnaq I Mappakana anaqna Karae Agangnionjoq
25 Nov (N eve)	I Daeng Ngaseng I Bataq and Karaeng ri Patukangang were engaged to each other [by their parents]
7 Ram 1086	nanipasisiparekanngang I Daeng Ngaseng I Bataq Karaengta ri Patukangang
2 Dec (N eve)	a wife of Karaeng ri Balloq had a son
14 Ram 1086	namamanaq bainenna Karaengta ri Balloq buraqne
6 Dec (R eve)	I Sarampa married by Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana [Karunrung]; I Daeng Anrenne and Karaeng ri Agangjeqneq married
18 Ram 1086	nanibaineang I Sarampa ri Tuammenang ri Juntana nasi-kalabini I Daeng Anrenne Karaengta ri Agangjeqneq
9 Dec (N eve)	I Bayang married by Karaeng Bontotannga
21 Ram 1086	nanibaineang I Bayang ri Karae Bontotannga
12 Dec (R)	Karaeng Tammattuq died
24 Ram 1086	namate Karaeng Tammattuq

16 Dec (N eve)	Karaeng ri Patukangang set foot on the ground ³³²
27 Ram 1086	nanipaonjoq ri butta Karaengta ri Patukangang
1676	
3 Jan (F)	a grandparent of Karaeng Tumamenang ri Passiringanna [Abdul Kadir] died
16 Syaw 1086	namate toana Karaenga Tuammenang ri Passiringanna
16 Jan (R)	Tumamenang ri Passiringanna [Abdul Kadir] circumcised
30 Syaw 1086	nanisunnaq Tuammenang ri Passiringanna
20 Jan (N eve)	Karaeng Pamolikang and I Munaq, a child of Karaeng Batu-Batu, married
4 Zulk 1086	nasikalabini Karae Pamolikang I Munaq anaqna Karae Batu-Batu
1 Feb (S)	Karaeng ri Jarannika and I Daeng Jinne, an older sibling of the widow [Daeng Maingaq], married
16 Zulk 1086	nasikalabini Karaengta ri Jarannika I Daeng Jinne kakan-na balua
23 Feb (N)	Kaicili Kalamata died
9 Zulh 1086	namate Kacili Kalimata
24 Feb (N eve)	a child of Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] named Jaqfar Shadiq died
10 Zulh 1086	namate anaqna Tuammenang ri Lakiun nikanaya Jaqfar Shadiq
12 Mar (R)	Karaeng Bontokeke ³³³ and I Daeng Singaraq ³³⁴ divorced
27 Zulh 1086	nasipelaq Karae Bontokeke I Daeng Singaraq
27 Mar (R eve)	Daeng ri Mangeppeq died
12 Muh 1087	namate Daengta ri Mangeppeq

³³² See the note for the 28 Jan 1672 entry.

³³³ A son of Karaeng Jarannika.

³³⁴ Presumably the same I Daeng Singaraq who had married Karaeng ri Lekoqboqdong on 4 Apr 1674.

28 Mar (S)	we were opposed by Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] after the first quarrel in Gowa ³³⁵
13 Muh 1087	kinasongkaang ri Tunisombaya sisala rioloanta ri Gowa
3 Apr (F)	people battled and Daengta Daeng Mamo was killed ³³⁶
19 Muh 1087	namaqbunduqmo taua naniposo Daengta Daeng Mamaro
11 Apr (S)	Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] went from Gowa and over to Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka]
27 Muh 1087	namaqlampa ri Gowa Tuammenang ri Lakiun taqle ri Tunisombaya
27 Apr (M)	Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] wounded in his left thigh
13 Saf 1087	namalokoq Tunisombaya bongga kairinna
30 Apr (R)	Karaeng Pamolikang and I Munaq divorced
26 Saf 1087 ³³⁷	nasipelaq Karae Pamolikang I Munaq
13 May (W)	the karaeng [Muhammad Ali] and Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] were brought to an agreement by the Dutch; 40 [nights] after quarreling they agreed and Karaeng Lambengi was brought seawards to Ujung Pandang
29 Saf 1087	nanipasitaba ri Balandaya karaenga Tunisombaya 40 sisala nanipasitaba nanierang kalauq ri Jumpandang Karae Lambengi
29 May (R eve)	the child of Karaeng ri Popoq that had been adopted by Karaeng Mandalleq died
15 Rawl 1087	namate anaqna Karaengta ri Popoq nikatuoa ri Karae Mandalleq
9 Jun (T)	the child of Karaeng ri Palembang that had been adopted by a wife of Karaeng Mandalleq died

³³⁵ This quarrel and the subsequent conflict stemmed from the illicit sexual relations that three Makassarese nobles (Karaeng Lambengi, Daeng Mamara, and Sultan Muhammad Ali) had with Arung Palakka's women during Muhammad Ali's trip to Boné to enclose a deer-hunting preserve the previous year. See the note to the 4 Feb 1674 entry and Andaya 1981:168-76.

³³⁶ The *lontaraq bilang* entry in *Makasaarsche historiën* 91855:125) states that this battle was between Arung Palakka and Gowa.

³³⁷ The Hijri date converts to 9 May 1676.

- 26 Rawl 1087³³⁸ namate anaqna Karaengta ri Palembang nakatuoa bainenna
Karae Mandalleq
- 16 Jun (T) Karaeng Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana [Karunrung] went
from Gowa down to Talloq
- 3 Rakr 1087 namaqlampa ri Gowa Karaengta Tuammenang ri Juntana
manaung ri Talloq
- 17 Jun (W) teeth filed of Tumamenang ri Passiringanna [Abdul Kadir]
5 Rakr 1087 naniariq Tuammenang ri Passiringanna
- 19 Aug (T eve) Datu ri Soppéng³³⁹ died
9 Jakr 1087 namate Datua ri Soppeng
- 20 Aug (W eve) Karaeng ri Bontosunggu and the mother of the kara-
engs³⁴⁰ married
- 10 Jakr 1087 nasikalabini Karaengta ri Bontosunggu puanna Karaenga
- 27 Aug (R) word arrived that Haji I Kare Lumu died across on
Sumbawa
- 17 Jakr 1087 nabattu erang kananna Haqjia I Kare Lumu matei baqle ri
Sambawa
- 2 Sep (W) Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] sailed to go into Luwuq to
make war³⁴¹
- 23 Jakr 1087 namammise Tunisombaya mantama ri Luwuq maqbun-
duq
- 5 Sep (S) teeth filed of Karaeng ri Bontorambaq
26 Jakr 1087 naniariq Karaengta ri Bontorambaq
- 19 Sep (F eve) I Makkaraeng and I Kare Sallang, the mother of I
Saqbaraq, married
- 10 Raj 1087³⁴² nasikalabini I Makkaraeng I Kare Sallang anronna I
Saqbaraq

³³⁸ A copyist mistakenly wrote Rabi'ul-akhir for the Hijri month.

³³⁹ La Tenribali Matinroe ri Datunna.

³⁴⁰ 'Puanna' can be a challenging term to interpret. It means royal mother or father (or an aunt or uncle of the same generation), as in this case, but was sometimes part of a name as well, as in Puanna I Mattaq (La Padangsajati).

³⁴¹ This expedition is discussed in Andaya 1981:177-9.

³⁴² A copyist mistakenly wrote Jumadilakhir for the Hijri month.

27 Sep (N) 18 Raj 1087	the mother of Karaeng Tamalingu died namate anronna Karae Tamalingu
29 Sep (M eve) 20 Raj 1087	I Kare Tonji I Maqmiq born naanaq I Kare Tonji I Maqmiq
3 Oct (S) 24 Raj 1087	Karaeng Bontolangkasaq, who died in Salaparang [Lomboq], born ³⁴³ naanaq Karae Bontolangkasaq matea ri Salaparang
13 Nov (R eve) 6 Ram 1087	I Daeng Rikong, a grandparent of I Mene, died namate I Daeng Rikong toana I Mene
16 Dec (R eve) 11 Syaw 1087	Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] arrived from Luwuq nabattu ri Luwuq Tunisombaya
27 Dec (N) 20 Syaw 1087	Daengta Daeng Jipaling and Daengta Daeng Massuro divorced nasipelaq Daengta Daeng Jipaling Daengta Daeng Massuro
1677	
27 Jan (T eve) 22 Zulk 1087	I Sitti, a wife of I Daeng Maqruppa, died namate I Sitti bainenna I Daeng Maqruppa
13 Feb (F eve) 10 Zulh 1087	Haji Bantaeng died namate Haqqi Bantaeng
11 Mar (R) 6 Muh 1088	Tumamenang ri Passiringanna [Abdul Kadir] and Karaeng ri Bontorambaq married nasikalabini Tuammenang ri Passiringanna Karaengta ri Bontorambaq
31 Mar (T eve) 26 Muh 1088	I Shaleh, a child of Karaeng Lambengi, died namate I Shaleh anaqna Karae Lambengi
3 Apr (S)	Tuammenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] went down to live in Talloq

³⁴³ Dutch sources from 1698 reported that he was a son of a sister of the sultans of Gowa Muhammad Ali and Abdul Jalil (Ligtvoet 1880:143).

29 Muh 1088	namanaung ri Talloq mammempo Tuammenang ri Lakiun
8 Apr (R) 5 Saf 1088	Karaeng ri Palembang killed in Bontoalag ³⁴⁴ nanibuno Karaengta ri Palembang ri Bontoalag
15 Apr (R) 11 Saf 1088	the people of Cenrana were made vassals by the karaeng [Muhammad Ali] nanipalilikang tuCenranaya ri karaenga
17 Apr (S) 14 Saf 1088	Gowa was attacked by Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] as a result of the quarrel nanaosongi Gowa Tunisombaya sisala ribokota
3 May (N eve) 30 Saf 1088	Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] wounded by a spear in the flesh of his buttock namalokoq poke Tunisombaya rappo pajama
22 May (S) 19 Rawl 1088	a child of Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] named Sitti Aminah died at 5 years of age namate anaqna Tuammenang ri Lakiun nikanaya Sitti Aminah umuruqna 5 taung
23 May (N) 20 Rawl 1088	Bisei overrun and Karaeng ri Agangjeqneq killed nanibangka Bisei naniposo Karaengta ri Agangjeqneq
2 Jun (W) ³⁴⁵ 1 Rakr 1088	I Daeng Maqruppa died namate I Daeng Maqruppa
12 Jun (F eve) 11 Rakr 1088	Karaeng Suriwaq died below in Agangnionjoq namate Karae Suriwaq irawa ri Agangnionjoq
25 Jul (N) 24 Jawl 1088	I Makkaraeng was struck and died after nightfall nanitaba I Makkaraeng nabanngipa namate
27 Jul (T)	Gowa conquered; Tumatea ri Jakattaraq [Muhammad

³⁴⁴ Also known as Karaeng Mamu, he was killed by Bugis. This was another episode in the growing conflict between Makassarese nobles and Arung Palakka in the wake of the interference with Arung Palakka's wives and concubines. See Andaya 1981:182-3.

³⁴⁵ A copyist mistakenly wrote Friday eve from the following entry in place of Wednesday, the correct day.

- 26 Jawl 1088 Ali] expelled by the Dutch and Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] put in as Karaeng ri Gowa³⁴⁶
nabeta Gowa nanipasuluq Tumatea ri Jakattaraq ri
Balandaya naTuammenang ri Lakiun nipantama Karaeng
ri Gowa
- 7 Aug (F eve) Karaeng Lambengi brought overseas to Jakattaraq with I
Daeng Mattuju and his sibling³⁴⁷
7 Jakr 1088 nanierang kalauq ri Jakattaraq Karae Lambengi siagaang I
Daeng Mattuju sisaqribatang
- 11 Aug (W) Arung Maroangi and I Daeng Nisayu, mother of *tumaila-*
lang Karaeng Lekoqboqdong, married
11 Jakr 1088 nasikalabini Aruq Maroangi I Daeng Nisayu ayana
tumailalang Karae Lekoqboqdong
- 16 Aug (M) I Daeng Mamo I Nampa, a younger sibling of Karaeng ri
Balloq, died
16 Jakr 1088 namate I Daeng Mamo I Nampa arinna Karaengta ri
Balloq
- 23 Aug (N eve) I Kare Ago I Timoroq and I Daeng Nisayu Andoqpoaq
married
23 Jakr 1088 nasikalabini I Kare Ago I Timoroq I Daeng Nisayu
Andoqpoaq
- 7 Sep (M eve) *sabannaraq* I Daeng Makkulle died at the age of 62
9 Raj 1088 namate sabannaraka I Daeng Makkulle umuruqna 62
- 22 Sep (T eve) I Ali died
23 Raj 1088 namate I Ali
- 24 Sep (R eve) I Sitti, a child of Faqqia, died
25 Raj 1088 namate I Sitti anaqna Faqqia

³⁴⁶ Thus a brief war ended with Abdul Jalil installed as sultan in place of his brother, with whom he had quarreled. Abdul Jalil had gone over to the side of Tunisombaya on 11 Apr 1676. The war is discussed in Andaya 1981:184-7.

³⁴⁷ Karaeng Lambengi was exiled for his role in the affair with Arung Palakka's women. Daeng Mattuju was the deposed ruler of Luwuq defeated by Arung Palakka the previous year and held prisoner in Fort Rotterdam by the Dutch. The sibling and fellow prisoner who accompanied Daeng Mattuju was Daeng Mattola.

25 Oct (M) 27 Syab 1088	Rabiah, a child of Karaeng ri Mangalliq, died namate Rabiah anaqna Karaengta ri Mangalliq
31 Oct (N) 4 Ram 1088	Daengta Daeng Nisayu, a grandparent of Karaeng Tanasanga, and Arung Teko married nasikalabini Daengta Daeng Nisayu toana Karae Tanasanga Aruq Teko
2 Nov (T) 6 Ram 1088	a child of Karaeng Junggo died namate anaqna Karaeng Junggo
16 Nov (M eve) 20 Ram 1088	Karaeng Baroqbosoq died namate Karae Baroqbosoq
19 Nov (R eve) 24 Ram 1088	Karaeng Tamaqdanggang and I Sitti Lambengi married nasikalabini Karae Tamaqdanggang I Siti Lambengi
26 Nov (F) 1 Syaw 1088	the name of Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] was praised in the sermon and he was named Saqaduddin ³⁴⁸ naarena Tunisombaya nipuji ri khutbaya nikana Saaduddini
4 Dec (S) 9 Syaw 1088	I Daeng Situju and Karaeng ri Lekoqboqdong divorced nasipelaq I Daeng Situju Karaengta ri Lekoqboqdong
22 Dec (W) 28 Syaw 1088	I Manggaukang, a child of Tumamenang ri Taenga, died at the age of 6 years, 5 months, and 8 nights ³⁴⁹ namate I Manggaukang anaqna Tuammenang ri Taenga umuruqna 6 taung 5 bulan 8 banngi
1678	
7 Jan (F) 14 Zulk 1088	I Raba, a child of Karaeng Bidara, died namate I Raba anaqna Karaeng Bidara
2 Feb (W) 9 Zulh 1088	I Daeng Talebang and I Daeng Manjarreki married nasikalabini I Daeng Talebang I Daeng Manjarreki

³⁴⁸ Thus Arung Palakka began to be honored instead of the ruler of Gowa, who traditionally had been praised in the Friday sermon.

³⁴⁹ This careful reckoning from I Manggaukang's birth on 21 Sep 1671 indicates that the annalist primarily used the Hijri calendar, for 28 Syaw 1088 is 6 years, 5 months, and 8 days from 21 Jawl 1082.

- 5 Feb (S) a child of Karaeng ri Mandalleq I Daeng Sisila died
12 Zulh 1088 namate anaqna Karaengta ri Mandalleq I Daeng Sisila
- 6 Feb (S eve) a child of Arung Teko named I Tanisunggu died
13 Zulh 1088 namate anaqna Aruq Teko nikanaya I Tanisunggu
- 8 Feb (T) Arung Teko and Karaeng ri Langeloq returned to each
other and [Arung Teko] divorced Daengta Daeng Nisayu
15 Zulh 1088 nasipolei Aruq Teko Karaengta ri Langeloq nanapelaq
Daengta Daeng Nisayu
- 10 Feb (R) I Makkaruru, a child of Arung Teko, died
17 Zulh 1088 namate I Makkaruru anaqna Aruq Teko
- 20 Feb (N) I Manappakki, a child of Karaeng Banyuanyaraq, died
27 Zulh 1088 namate I Manappakki anaqna Karae Banyuanyaraq
- 2 Mar (W) I Tuang Rappang arrived; Abdul Bashir [as he was also
known] first arrived from Banten
7 Muh 1089 nabattu I Tuan Rappan uru battuna ri Bantan Abdulbashir
- 20 Mar (N) Arung Teko and Karaeng ri Langeloq divorced
25 Muh 1089 nasipelaq Aruq Teko Karaengta ri Langeloq
- 25 Mar (F) I Toaq Daeng died
1 Saf 1089 namate I Toaq Daeng
- 4 Apr (M) Gallarrang Mangasa I Kare Ruppa died
11 Saf 1089 namate Gallarrang Mangasa I Kare Ruppa
- 4 Apr (M) I Daeng Maingaq, a grandparent of I Sarah, died in
Agangnionjoq
11 Saf 1089 namate I Daeng Maingaq toana I Sarah ri Agangnionjoq
- 8 Apr (R eve) I Sitti, a wife of I Daeng Manyampaq Sengoroq, died
15 Saf 1089 namate I Sitti bainenna I Daeng Manyampaq Sengoroq
- 18 Apr (M) the mother of *tumailalang* [Karaeng] Lekoqboqdong had a
son by Arung Maroangi; Arung Teko and I Daeng Nisayu
returned to each other
25 Saf 1089 namamanaq ayana *tumailalang* Lekoqboqdong ri Arung
Maroangi buraqne nasipolei Aruq Teko I Daeng Nisayu

- 22 Apr (R eve) Daengta Daeng Takontu had a daughter by Karaeng Barrung named Hadijah
 29 Saf 1089 namamanaq Daengta Daeng Takontu ri Karae Barrung baine nikana Hadijah
- 26 Apr (N) I Mamminawang circumcised by his grandparent
 2 Rawl 1089 nanisunnaq I Mamminawang ri toana
- 6 May (F) the mother of *tumailalang* Karaeng Lekoqboqdong died; she was buried in Talloq; 18 nights after giving birth she died
 13 Rawl 1089 namate ayana *tumailalang* Karae Lekoqboqdong ri Talloki niawang 18 bannginna leqbaq mamanaq namate
- 17 May (N eve) I Callaq, a child of Arung Maroangi, died and was buried in Talloq
 24 Rawl 1089 namate I Callaq anaqna Aruq Maroangi ri Talloki niawang
- 5 Aug (R eve) it is said that Matinroa ri Bukaka [La Maqdaremmeng] died
 16 Jakr 1089 nanikana matei Matinroa ri Bukaka
- 9 Aug (M eve) I Loqmoq, the mother of Karaeng ri Patukangang, and Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil], divorced
 29 Jakr 1089³⁵⁰ nasipelaq I Loqmoq anronna Karaengta ri Patukangan Tuammenang ri Lakiun
- 19 Aug (F) a child of Karaeng Pamolikang died
 30 Jakr 1089 namate anaqna Karae Pamolikang
- 8 Sep (R) Daengta Daeng Massuro and I Daeng Maingaq married
 20 Raj 1089 nasikalabini Daengta Daeng Massuro I Daeng Maingaq
- 16 Sep (F) Tumatea ri Jakattaraq [Muhammad Ali] was brought overseas to Jakattaraq; 411 Makassarese traveled with him
 28 Raj 1089 nanierang kalauq ri Jakattaraq Tumatea ri Jakattaraq Mankasaraq naagaang sidongkokang 411

³⁵⁰ The Hijri date converts to 17 Aug 1678.

7 Oct (R eve)	Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] sailed overseas to Jakattaraq
20 Syab 1089	nasimombalaq Tunisombaya kalauq ri Jakattaraq
28 Oct (F)	the people of Kampong Beru went up to Sanrabone requesting Sudanga from Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] ³⁵¹
12 Ram 1089	namanaq ri Sanrabone tuKampong Berua ampalaki Sudanga ri Tuammenang ri Lakiun
7 Nov (T)	the ship carrying Karaeng ri Popoq sailed over to Bima
22 Ram 1089	nasimombalaq kappalaq nadongkokia Karaengta ri Popoq taqle ri Dima
24 Dec (F eve)	I Daeng Masseqre I Jaga and I Daeng Tuna I Salamah married
10 Zulk 1089	nasikalabini I Daeng Masseqre I Jaga I Daeng Tuna I Salamah
1679	
29 Jan (S eve)	I Daeng Mamuntuli Arung Kaju Ahmad born ³⁵²
16 Zulh 1089	naanaq I Daeng Mammuntuli Aruq Kayu Ahmad
7 Feb (M eve)	I Daeng Sisala, a child of Karaeng ri Mandalleq, died in Malakaya ³⁵³
25 Zulh 1089	namate anaqna Karaengta ri Mandalleq I Daeng Sisala ri Malakaya
12 Feb (N)	Karaeng ri Beroanging and I Daeng Tamemang I Maqminasa divorced

³⁵¹ One of Gowa's most sacred *kalompoang* (regalia) was a sword named Sudanga. According to the *Gowa Chronicle* it was brought to Gowa by Lakipadada, brother of Karaeng Bayo who married the *tumanurung* ('the person who descended', this was a heavenly ancestor of pure white blood). Their offspring established the ruling line of Gowa, and Sudanga was kept in trust by Gowa's *karaeng*. During this period Abdul Jalil had little support among Makassarrese because of his alliance with Arung Palakka; many remained loyal to Abdul Jalil's deposed brother Muhammad Ali. The 'people of Kampong Beru' refers to Muhammad Ali and his allies living in exile in this new community next to Fort Rotterdam. They sent a letter to Abdul Jalil offering to let him live in peace if he would surrender Sudanga to them. This would have amounted to abdicating as ruler in the eyes of Makassarrese. ANRI 16/6 notes Abdul Jalil's refusal, adding that 'it was not given by the karaeng [Abdul Jalil]' (*natanisareanga ri karaenga*). See Andaya 1981:198-201.

³⁵² A son of Arung Teko and I Daeng Tonji I Saenaq, a daughter of Arung Kaju (Ligtvoet 1880:146).

³⁵³ Presumably this is a community in Makassar, but could conceivably refer to Malaka.

- 30 Zulh 1089 nasipelaq Karaengta ri Beroangi I Daeng Tamemang I Maqminasa
- 19 Feb (S eve) Daengta Daeng Mangemba and I Daeng Anrenne, a grandparent of Karaeng Bontolangkasaq, married
- 7 Muh 1090 nasikalabini Daengta Daeng Mangemba I Daeng Anrenne toana Kara Bontolangkasaq
- 18 May (R) Karaeng ri Bontomanompoq and Daengta Daeng Masiang divorced
- 7 Rakr 1090 nasipelaq Karaengta ri Bontomanompoq Daengta Daeng Masiang
- 24 May (S eve) a wife of Karaeng ri Balloq had a son [named] I Daeng Mabela I Mangassengi
- 17 Rakr 1090 namamanaq bainenna Karaengta ri Balloq buraqne I Daeng Mabela I Mangasengi
- 4 Jun (S eve) I Matti and I Daeng Maliq divorced
- 24 Rakr 1090 nasipelaq I Matti I Daeng Maliq
- 15 Jul (F eve) I Maqminasa died giving birth³⁵⁴
- 6 Jakr 1090 namate mamanaq I Maqminasa
- 16 Jul (N) Daengta Daeng Singaraq, an older sibling of Karaeng ri Bontokamase, had a child, a son
- 7 Jakr 1090 namamanaq Daengta Daeng Singaraq kakanna Karaengta ri Bontokamase buraqne anaqna
- 2 Aug (W) the day of Karaeng ri Ujung's death above in Kalakongkong
- 24 Jakr 1090 allo nakamateanga Karaengta ri Ujung irate ri Kalakongkong
- 26 Aug (F eve) I Daeng Tummamo Abdul Jalil born
- 18 Raj 1090 naanaq I Daeng Tummamo Abdul Jalili
- 5 Sep (M eve) Daengta Daeng Massuro had a daughter by Daeng Maingaq named Latifah

³⁵⁴ Presumably this is I Daeng Tamemang, who recently divorced Karaeng ri Beroanging.

28 Raj 1090	namamanaq Daengta Daeng Massuro ri Daeng Maingaq baine nikana Latifah
26 Sep (T) 20 Syab 1090	a grandparent of I Sallang named Pirannuang died namate toana I Sallang Pirannuang nikana
15 Oct (S eve) 9 Ram 1090	I Daeng Mabela I Gacung born; born overseas in Keper [East Java] naanaq I Daeng Mabela I Gacung ilauka ri Kapparaq anaq
21 Oct (S) 15 Ram 1090	Keper conquered by Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] ³⁵⁵ nanibeta Kapparaq ri Tunisombaya
14 Nov (T) 10 Syaw 1090	Daengta Daeng Singaraq and Karaeng Bontokeke married ³⁵⁶ nasikalabini Daengta Daeng Singaraq Karae Bontokeke
22 Nov (T eve) 18 Syaw 1090	Karaeng Galesong died overseas in Banten namate Karae Galesong ilauq ri Bantan
26 Nov (S eve) 22 Syaw 1090	Karaeng ri Mandalleq ³⁵⁷ and Daengta I Kare Pate married nasikalabini Karaengta ri Mandalleq Daengta I Kare Pate
24 Dec (S eve) 20 Zulk 1090	I Daeng Iji I Siqra and <i>sabannaraq</i> I Daeng Makkulle ³⁵⁸ married nasikalabini I Daeng Iji I Siqra I Daeng Makkulle sabannaraka
1680	
18 Feb (N)	a wife of Daengta Daeng Manina died

³⁵⁵ Keper was the site of a Makassarese stronghold in eastern Java and an important battleground in the VOC-Amangkurat II alliance against Trunajaya. Makassarese who fled Sulawesi after the Makassar War were an important part of Trunajaya's army. With the assistance of Arung Palakka the Makassarese were defeated at Keper. See Andaya (1981:213-23) and Ricklefs (2001:95-9) for discussions of this conflict. ANRI 16/6 adds 'opposing [them] all the way to Maros' (*mabali anggena ri Marusuq*), but this is most likely a mistake and probably refers to Madura rather than Maros, for Arung Palakka did continue to pursue the Makassarese and their Madurese allies after the fall of Keper.

³⁵⁶ They had married previously and then divorced on 12 Mar 1676.

³⁵⁷ We cannot be certain which Karaeng Mandalleq this refers to, most likely it is Tulolo Tajuddin.

³⁵⁸ Presumably the son and successor to the *sabannaraq* I Daeng Makkulle who died on 7 Sep 1677.

17 Muh 1091	namate bainenna Daengta Daeng Manina
27 Feb (M eve)	a child of Karaeng ri Bontomanompoq named I Okong died
26 Muh 1091	namate anaqna Karaengta ri Bontomanompoq nikanaya I Okong
4 Mar (N) 2 Saf 1091	I Mamo ³⁵⁹ divorced by Karaeng ri Jarannika nanipelaq I Mamo ri Karaengta ri Jarannika
7 Mar (W eve)	the night of Karaeng ri Popoq's death across in Bima at the age of 67 ³⁶⁰
5 Saf 1091	banngi nakamateanga Karaengta ri Popoq ibaqle ri Dima umuruqna 67
12 Mar (T)	Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] arrived from Keper and its conquest; this the day of I Shaykh's birth; 13 nights after [the conquest] he arrived
10 Saf 1091	nabattu ri Kapparaq Tunisombaya nabetana iaminne kaanakkanna I Syeh 13 bannginna battu
18 Mar (N eve)	Karaeng ri Balloq died in Kampong Beru but was buried in Gowa at the age of 36
16 Saf 1091	namate Karaengta ri Balloq ri Kampong Beru ri Gowaji niawang umuruqna 36
23 Apr (M eve)	Daengta Daeng Sangging I Sarah, a child of Tumamenang ri Taenga, died
23 Rawl 1091	namate Daengta Daeng Sangging I Sarah anaqna Tuammenang ri Taenga
23 May (W eve)	a wife of Karaeng ri Rappociniq had a son who was taken and adopted by Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil]
24 Rakr 1091	namamanaq bainenna Karaengta ri Rappociniq buraqne nianialle nikatuo ri Tuammenang ri Lakiun
15 Jun (F eve)	three were seen shining

³⁵⁹ Presumably the same woman who had previously divorced from both Karaeng ri Mangalliq (17 Jan 1673) and Karaeng Boroqbosoq (21 Jan 1675).

³⁶⁰ Ligtoet (1880:148) surmised that is probably he who Makassarrese called Karaeng Matea ri Bima.

- 18 Jawl 1091³⁶¹ naniciniq tallu baribaria
- 27 Jun (W eve) Karaeng ri Panaikangciniq³⁶² died across in Bima
30 Jawl 1091 namate Karaengta ri Panaikangciniq ibaqla ri Dima
- 13 Jul (W)³⁶³ in Ujung Tana a house was built for the karaeng [Abdul
Jalil] which he then occupied
- 16 Jakr 1091 nanibangun ri Ujungtana ballaqla karaenga lanaempoin-
na
- 23 Jul (M eve) Karaeng Bungaya I Daeng Mattalliq Jusuf born
26 Jakr 1091 naanaq Karae Bungaya I Daeng Mattalliq Jusupu
- 6 Aug (T) Sitti Maryam had a daughter
10 Raj 1091 namamanaq Sitti Maryam baine
- 8 Aug (R) I Kare Pate I Sarampa³⁶⁴ married by Karaeng ri
Rappociniq³⁶⁵
- 12 Raj 1091 nanibaineang I Kare Pate I Sarampa ri Karaengta ri
Rappociniq
- 13 Aug (T) Tumamenang ri Passiringanna [Abdul Kadir] and
Karaeng ri Bontorambaq divorced
- 17 Raj 1091 nasipelaq Tuammenang ri Passiringanna Karaengta ri
Bontorambaq
- 15 Aug (R) Karaeng ri Langeloq and the ruler of Agangnionjoq³⁶⁶
married

³⁶¹ *Bariq-bariq* refers to something stripped, spotted, or flaming. Kamaruddin et al. (1985:162) interpreted this as referring to objects twinkling in the sky, particularly Venus. More explicitly, the entry in *Makasaarsche historiën* (1855:126) describes how three morningstars were seen instead of the usual one (Venus).

³⁶² Speelman reported that she was a sister of the mother of the ruler of Bima I Ambela Sirajuddin and a great aunt of Hasanuddin (Ligtvoet 1880:footnote 148). She first married a noble from Luwuq, and then the ruler of Bulu-Bulu. Her daughter had a son named Ibrahim.

³⁶³ A copyist mistakenly wrote the 3rd instead of the 13th.

³⁶⁴ One of Arung Palakka's former wives.

³⁶⁵ Dutch sources report that he accompanied Karaeng Galesong to Java and fought with Trunajaya against Mataram and the VOC. But according to Speelman he was actually a Boné noble named Mappa Arung Tonra loyal to Gowa (Ligtvoet 1880:148-9).

³⁶⁶ Mappajanji Daeng Mattajang Matinroe ri Sumpampoba. He was also known as Kasim and Puanna I Tikkaq. Dutch sources report that he replaced his half-brother as regent of Segeri on the recommendation of Arung Palakka. He had previously been married to a sister of Arung Palakka, with whom he had a child named Arung Patiro before they divorced (Ligtvoet 1880:149, 210).

19 Raj 1091	nasikalabini Karaengta ri Langeloq Karae Agangnionjoq
26 Aug (T) 1 Syab 1091	Daengta Daeng Massuro and I Daeng Maingaq divorced nasipelaq Daengta Daeng Massuro I Daeng Maingaq
6 Sep (R eve) 12 Syab 1091	the child of Karaeng ri Rappociniq who was adopted by Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] died namate anaqna Karaengta ri Rappociniq nakatuoa Tuammenang ri Lakiun
19 Oct (F eve) 25 Ram 1091	I Daeng Buraqne I Siang ³⁶⁷ died namate I Daeng Buraqne I Siang
29 Oct (F eve) 3 Syaw 1091	I Daeng ri Samata died namate I Daeng ri Samata
31 Oct (W) 7 Syaw 1091	Arung Teko and Daengta Daeng Nisayu divorced nasipelaq Aruq Teko Daengta Daeng Nisayu
4 Nov (M) 12 Syaw 1091	Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] went down to Maros to dig irrigation works namanaung ri Marusuq Tunisombaya makkekkeseq jeqneq panaiq
3 Dec (T) 11 Zulk 1091	Karaeng Bidara died and was buried in Talloq namate Karaeng Bidara ri Talloki niawang
29 Dec (S eve) 8 Zulh 1091	Karaeng ri Bontomanompoq and I Daeng Marannu, a child of I Pakkemba, divorced nasipelaq Karaengta ri Bontomanompoq I Daeng Marannu anaqna I Pakkemba
1681	
1 Jan (W) 11 Zulh 1091	Daengta Daeng Singaraq and Karaeng Bontokeke divorced, but returned to each other later nasipelaq Daengta Daeng Singaraq Karae Bontokeke sip- oleiji sala

³⁶⁷ Possibly the same Daeng Buraqne who became *sabannaraq* on 8 May 1644.

9 Jan (R) ³⁶⁸	Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] sailed down to Galinggang [Sawitto] ³⁶⁹
19 Zulh 1091	namammise Tunisombaya manaung ri Galinggang
12 Jan (S eve)	a comet was seen
22 Zulh 1091	naniaq niciniq bintoeng makkidong
14 Jan (T)	Galinggang overrun
24 Zulh 1091	nanibangkamo Galinggang
10 Feb (N eve)	Arung Tanete Malolo and I Daeng Memang married
21 Muh 1092	nasikalabini Aruq Tanete Malolo I Daeng Memang
11 Feb (T)	the day Addatuang Matinroe ri Salemo ³⁷⁰ was killed
22 Muh 1092	allo nibunona Aqdatuan Matinroa ri Salemo
13 Feb (W eve)	Arung Teko and Karaeng ri Pasiq married
24 Muh 1092	nasikalabini Aruq Teko Karaengta ri Pasiq
9 Mar (S eve)	I Isa had a son at the stroke of 1
18 Saf 1092	namamanaq I Isa buraqne 1 garigantaya
11 Mar (T)	I Daeng Singaraq had a son named I Baraq Karaeng Bontopattongkoq ³⁷¹
25 Saf 1092	namamanaq I Daeng Singaraq buraqne nikana I Baraq Karae Bontopattongko
15 Mar (F eve)	the night of Tumatea ri Jakattaraq's [Muhammad Ali's] death ³⁷²
29 Saf 1092	banngi nakamateanga Tumatea ri Jakattaraq
24 Mar (M)	I Boe died and was buried in Karuwisi
3 Rawl 1092	namate I Boe ri Karuwisi niawang

³⁶⁸ A copyist mistakenly wrote the 19th instead of the 9th, though ANRI 16/6 gives the 7th.

³⁶⁹ This expedition was launched against Arung Bakke, a former close companion and ally of Arung Palakka who had now become a rival. Arung Bakke dominated the lands around Ajattappareng, but quickly was defeated and after a short flight to Mandar killed on February 11th and his head presented to Arung Palakka. This affair is discussed in Andaya 1981:228-42.

³⁷⁰ Arung Bakke. He was killed on Salemo, an island across from Segeri.

³⁷¹ His father was Karaeng Bontokeke.

³⁷² ANRI 16/6 adds 'at the age of 28' (*umuruqna* 28). Or 272Y first calls him by the title 'Tumamenanga ri Carabo.'

26 Mar (W)	I Kare Pate I Sarampa had a daughter by Karaeng ri Rappociniq named Hadijah
5 Rawl 1092	namamanaq I Kare Pate I Sarampa ri Karaengta ri Rappociniq baine nikana Hadijah
13 Apr (N)	I Kare Pate I Sarampa divorced by Karaeng ri Rappociniq
23 Rawl 1092	nanipelaq I Kare Pate I Sarampa ri Karaengta ri Rappociniq
27 Jun (R eve)	Karaeng ri Bontokamase and Daengta Daeng Jipaling married
10 Jakr 1092	nasikalabini Karaengta ri Bontokamase Daengta Daeng Jipaling
11 Jul (R eve)	Tanipaccoq died
24 Jakr 1092	namate Tanipaccoq
13 Jul (S eve)	Karaeng Tamalingu died and was buried in Talloq
26 Jakr 1092	namate Karaeng Tamalingu ri Talloki niawang
8 Aug (F)	Karaeng ri Mandalleq ³⁷³ departed from Makassar; no one knew of his journey
23 Raj 1092	namaqlampa ri Mankasaraq Karaengta ri Mandalleq tani-assengai lampana
22 Oct (M)	I Guru Kare Panaiq died
20 Syaw 1092 ³⁷⁴	namate I Guru Kare Panaiq
23 Nov (N)	Karaeng ri Pangkajeqneq circumcised
12 Zulk 1092	nanisunnaq Karaengta ri Pangkajeqneq
28 Nov (R eve) ³⁷⁵	Karaeng Bontotannga and I Daeng Rikong divorced
17 Zulk 1092	nasipelaq Karae Bontotannga I Daeng Rikong
5 Dec (R eve)	Karaeng Lauq ³⁷⁶ and Daengta Daeng Takontu married
24 Zulk 1092	nasikalabini Karae Lauq Daengta Daeng Takontu

³⁷³ Again, presumably this refers to Tulolo Tajuddin, and not his younger brother Daeng Sisila Ibrahim who later bore the same title.

³⁷⁴ The Hijri date converts to 1 Nov 1681.

³⁷⁵ A copyist mistakenly wrote December for November.

³⁷⁶ This was the title of an important Sanrabone noble (Ligtvoet 1880:151).

- 26 Dec (F) Karaeng Bontokeke and Daengta Daeng Singaraq divorced, but returned to each other later [for the second time]
- 15 Zulh 1092 nasipelaq Karae Bontokeke I Daeng Singaraq sipoleiji salla
- 27 Dec (F eve) the interpreter I Jan Jappon died³⁷⁷
- 16 Zulh 1092 namate jurubasaya I Yanjappong
- 1682
- 7 Jan (W) Karaeng ri Pasiq had a daughter by Arung Teko named Aminah
- 27 Zulh 1092 namamanaq Karaengta ri Pasiq ri Aruq Teko baine nikana Aminah
- 9 Jan (F) I Daeng Maingaq and I Mappabangka divorced
- 29 Zulh 1092 nasipelaq I Daeng Maingaq I Mappabangka
- 2 Feb (N eve) Daengta Daeng Singaraq and Karaeng Bontokeke returned to each other
- 23 Muh 1093 nasipolei Daengta Daeng Singaraq Karae Bontokeke
- 3 Feb (T) I Mappabangka and I Sitti divorced
- 24 Muh 1093 nasipelaq I Mappabangka I Sitti
- 19 Feb (W eve) I Daeng Manyampakki I Mamminawang I Pakki born
- 10 Saf 1093 naanaq I Daeng Manyampakki I Mamminawang I Pakki
- 21 Feb (F eve) Karaeng ri Langeloq and the ruler of Agangnionjoq divorced
- 12 Saf 1093 nasipelaq Karaengta ri Langeloq Karae Agangnionjoq
- 13 Mar (F) I Daeng Iji I Siqra, a wife of *sabannaraq* Daeng Makkulle, had a child; Daengta [?] proposed to by Daeng Mangitung
- 3 Rawl 1093 namamanaq I Daeng Iji I Siqra bainenna Daeng Makkulle sabannaraka nanipassuroi Daengta ri Daeng Mangitung
- 19 Mar (R) ears pierced of Daengta Daeng Mami
- 9 Rawl 1093 nanitinting Daengta Daeng Mami

³⁷⁷ He was an interpreter for the VOC. Speelman refers to him as Jan Jappon and notes that he spoke good Malay and the language of Ternate well, but not a word of the local languages of South Sulawesi.

- 20 Mar (R eve) Karaeng ri Mangalliq and Daengta Daeng Majannang married
10 Rawl 1093 nasikalabini Karaengta ri Mangalliq Daengta Daeng Majannang
- 24 Mar (M eve) Daengta Daeng Singaraq had a daughter named I Takkikikq
14 Rawl 1093 namamanaq Daengta Daeng Singaraq baine nikana I Takkikikq
- 29 Mar (N) the coffin of Tumatea ri Jakattaraq was brought back
19 Rawl 1093 nabattu nierang allunna Tumatea ri Jakattaraq
- 11 May (M) I Daeng Maliq and I Sitti divorced
3 Jawl 1093 nasipelaq I Daeng Maliq I Sitti
- 27 May (W) Karaeng ri Bontorambaq and Karaeng Barrung married
19 Jawl 1093 nasikalabini Karaengta ri Bontorambaq Karae Barrung
- 22 Jul (W) the day of the elder ruler of Bima's death³⁷⁸
17 Raj 1093 allo nakamateanga karaenga ri Dima matoaya
- 27 Jul (N eve) Daengta Daeng Jipaling had a daughter named Shafiah
22 Raj 1093 namamanaq Daengta Daeng Jipaling baine nikana Shafiah
- 6 Aug (R) the people going into Lettaq to make war departed; after
2 Syab 1093 36 nights journey they arrived³⁷⁹
namaqlampa tumantamaya ri Littaq maqbundug 30
banngi angannang lampana nabattu
- 28 Sep (N eve) I Ali and I Sitti married
25 Ram 1093 nasikalabini I Ali I Sitti
- 13 Dec (R) a child of the younger Arung Tanete and a niece [or nephew] of the elder Arung Tanete married
1 Muh 1094³⁸⁰ nasikalabini anaqna Aruq Tanete malolo kamanakanna

³⁷⁸ Sultan Abil Khair, also known as I Ambela and Sirajuddin.

³⁷⁹ This refers to an expedition sent to punish the ruler of Lettaq, who eighteen months beforehand aided Arung Bakke in his flight from Arung Palakka's men.

³⁸⁰ The Hijri date converts to 30 Dec 1682.

Aruq Tanete matoa

1683

- 6 Jan (W) Daengta Daeng Takontu had a daughter by Karaeng Lauq named Aisyah
- 7 Muh 1094 namamanaq Daengta Daeng Takontu ri Karae Lauq baine nikana Aisyah
- 10 Jan (N) I Daeng Manaqqalaq died
- 11 Muh 1094 namate I Daeng Manaqqalaq
- 11 Feb (R) Sayyid³⁸¹ Biringkassiq and Sayyid Husain arrive
- 14 Saf 1094 nabattu Sayyid Biringkassiq Sayyid Husain
- 14 Mar (N) teeth filed of Karaeng ri Parang-Parang; Karaeng ri Bontorambaq had a son named I Mattuppuang Abdul Wahab
- 15 Rawl 1094 naniariq Karaengta ri Parang-Parang namamanaq Karaengta ri Bontorambaq buraqne nikana I Mattuppuang Abdul Wahhab
- 20 Mar (S)³⁸² Karaeng [Bontokeke and Daengta] Daeng Singaraq had a son named Abdul Karim Karaeng Batupute
- 21 Rawl 1094 namamanaq Karaengta Daeng Singaraq buraqne nikana Abdul Karim Karae Batuputeh
- 31 Apr (T eve) Daengta Daeng Massuro and I Mami divorced
- 1 Rokr 1094³⁸³ nasipelaq Daengta Daeng Massuro I Mami
- 5 May (N eve) I Mamminawang and I Paleng married
- 7 Jawl 1094 nasikalabini I Mamminawang I Paleng
- 7 May (R eve) Anciq Ajang and Daengta Daeng Massuro married
- 9 Jawl 1094 nasikalabini Anciq Ajang Daengta Daeng Massuro
- 27 May (R) Karaeng ri Langeloq and Addatuang ri Sawitto Arung Kaballangang³⁸⁴ married

³⁸¹ Sayyid is an honorific borne by male descendants the Prophet Muhammad.

³⁸² A copyist mistakenly wrote the 2nd instead of the 20th.

³⁸³ The Hijri date converts to 30 Mar 1683.

³⁸⁴ Ligtoet (1880:153) believed this was the man referred to in Dutch sources from the period as Totanre.

- 30 Jawl 1094 nasikalabini Karaengta ri Langeloq Aqdatuanga ri
Sawitto Aruq Kaballangang
- 13 Jun (F eve) I Loqmoq, the mother of Karaeng Panaikang, died³⁸⁵
22 Jakr 1094 namate I Loqmoq anronna Karae Panaikang
- 27 Jun (N) Arung Balusu and I Mami married
2 Raj 1094 nasikalabini Aruq Bilusu I Mami
- 16 Jul (R eve) Karaeng ri Lekoqboqdong and I Mutti married
21 Raj 1094 nasikalabini Karaengta ri Lekoqboqdong I Mutti
- 24 Jul (S) darkness fell at the stroke of 8³⁸⁶
29 Raj 1094 napattang mattunruq ri 8 garigantaya
- 12 Aug (T eve) I Daeng Manaqqalaq I Jamali and I Daeng Maeja married
18 Syab 1094 nasikalabini I Daeng Manaqqalaq I Jamali I Daeng Maeja
- 21 Aug (R eve) Daengta Daeng Mami and Karaeng Bontomanaiq³⁸⁷ mar-
ried
26 Syab 1094 nasikalabini Daengta Daeng Mami Karae Bontomanaiq
- 28 Aug (S eve) Arung Teko and Karaeng ri Pasiq divorced
28 Syab 1094 nasipelaq Aruq Teko Karaengta ri Pasiq
- 4 Sep (S) the karaeng [Abdul Jalil] went to go into Sangallaq [in
Toraja] to make war; after 40 nights journey he arrived³⁸⁸
12 Ram 1094 namaqlampa karaenga mantama ri Sangallaq maqbun-
duq 40 banngi lampana nabattu
- 18 Nov (W eve) Daengta I Kare Pate had a daughter by *sabannaraq* Daeng
Makkulle
28 Zulk 1094 namamanaq Daengta I Kare Pate ri Daeng Makkulle
sabannaraka baine

³⁸⁵ I Loqmoq was also known as Daeng Niaq. Karaeng Panaikang's father was Tumammaliang ri Talloq. Speelman reported that she also married Arung Atakka La Tomparima, also known as Arung Pattojo (Ligtvoet 1880:153).

³⁸⁶ An eclipse.

³⁸⁷ Dutch sources report that he was a son of Karunrung (Ligtvoet 1880:153).

³⁸⁸ This refers to an expedition by Arung Palakka to extend his mastery over the only part of South Sulawesi that lay outside his influence. The ruler of Gowa and other nobles accompanied him on this campaign. See Andaya 1981:257-62.

26 Dec (S eve)	Daengta Daeng Takontu had a child named I Makkaraeng Karaeng Manjalling
7 Muh 1095	namamanaq Daengta Daeng Takontu nikana I Makkaraeng Karae Manjalling
1684	
11 Jan (M eve)	General Speelman who conquered Somba Opu died
23 Muh 1095	namate Jinrala Ispilman ambetayai Sombopu
21 Jan (R eve)	Karaeng Jonggoa died
3 Saf 1095	namate Karae Jonggoa
5 Feb (F eve)	I Syoga had a son
18 Saf 1095	namamanaq I Syoga buraqne
9 Mar (R)	I Mappajanji, a child of Karaeng Mawajang, circumcised
22 Rawl 1095	nanisunnaq I Mappajanji anaqna Karae Mawajang
15 Mar (W)	I Daeng Mamangung I Karisaq circumcised
28 Rawl 1095	nanisunnaq I Daeng Mamangung I Karisaq
22 Mar (W)	a ship arrived bringing a companion of I Tuang [Shaykh Yusuf] overseas from Cirebon ³⁸⁹
5 Rkr 1095	nabattu kappalaq angerangi aganna I Tuang ilauq ri Carabong
5 Apr (W)	I Sitti, a wife of I Mangambari, had a daughter
19 Rkr 1095	namamanaq I Siti bainenna I Mangambari baine
10 Apr (N eve)	Daengta Daeng Mami and Karaeng Bontomanaiq divorced first and then Karaeng ri Langeloq and Addatuanga ri Sawitto [Arung Kaballangang] divorced
24 Rkr 1095	nasipelaq Daengta Daeng Mami Karae Bontomanaiq rioloa nasipelaq Karaengta ri Langeloq Aqdatuanga ri Sawitto
21 Apr (F)	I Tuang ri Dima Shaykh Umar Bamahsuna Rahmatullah first set foot in Makassar
6 Jawl 1095	nauru naonjoq Mankasaraq I Tuan ri Dima Syeku Umar Bamahsuna Rahmatullah

³⁸⁹ He was known as Tuang ri Dima.

1 May (T)	Karaeng Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] and Karaeng Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana [Karunrung] quarreled
16 Jawl 1095	nasisala-sala Karaenga Tuammenang ri Lakiun Karaengta Tuammenang ri Juntana
7 May (N)	Daengta Daeng Tamemang and the ruler of Bima I Alasaq [Karaeng] Panaragang ³⁹⁰ married
22 Jawl 1095	nasikalabini Daengta Daeng Tamemang karaenga ri Dima I Alasaq Panaragang
23 May (T)	Tumamenang ri Passiringanna [Abdul Kadir] and Karaeng ri Buluq-Buluq married
8 Jawl 1095	nasikalabini Tuammenang ri Passiringanna Karaengta ri Bulu-Bulu
22 Jun (R)	I Daeng ri Karuwisi died
9 Raj 1095	namate I Daeng ri Kariwisi
29 Jun (R)	Karaeng ri Tanisanga ³⁹¹ and the ruler of Sumbawa Datu Lokaq ³⁹² married
16 Raj 1095	nasikalabini Karaengta ri Tanisanga karae Sambawa Datu Lokaq
15 Jul (F eve)	Daengta Daeng Mami and Karaeng Bontomanaïq divorced
2 Syab 1095 ³⁹³	nasipelaq Daengta Daeng Mami Karae Bontomanaïq
10 Jul (M)	Heer Kopas took his post
27 Raj 1095	namammempo jagana Her Kopas
9 Aug (T eve)	I Mangalle, a child of Karaeng ri Rappociniq by Kare Sali, born
27 Syab 1095	naanaq I Mangalle anaqna Karaengta ri Rappociniq ri Kare Sali

³⁹⁰ He was also known as Mapparabung Nuruddin Abu Bakar Ali Syah Daeng Mattalliq.

³⁹¹ Dutch sources report that she was a daughter of Harrunarasyid by Karaeng Bontomateqne, a daughter of the ruler of Bima I Ambela, and was also known as Halimah (Ligtvoet 1880:154-5).

³⁹² Also known as Mas Banten, he ruled Sumbawa from 1676 to 1701.

³⁹³ This and the following entry are in reverse chronological order, presumably because of a copyist error.

9 Aug (T eve) 27 Syab 1095	Karaeng Balaqsari Zainab ³⁹⁴ born naanaq Karae Balaqsari Zainab
7 Sep (F) 27 Ram 1095	Karaeng Mateqne died namate Karae Mateqne
14 Sep (W eve) 4 Syaw 1095	I Daeng Marannu ³⁹⁵ , a child of I Pakkemba, married by Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] nanibaineang I Daeng Marannu anaqna I Pakkemba ri Tunisombaya
27 Sep (W) 17 Syaw 1095	a house for Karaeng Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] was built in Mangallekana and then occupied by him ³⁹⁶ nanibangun ballaqa Karaenga Tuammenang ri Lakiun ri Mangallekana lanaempoinna
21 Oct (F eve) 16 Zulk 1095	Arung Belo ³⁹⁷ and Daengta Daeng Mami married nasikalabini Aruq Belo Daengta Daeng Mami
17 Nov (F) 9 Zulh 1095	Friday public prayers first established in Mangallekana as it is first occupied [by Abdul Jalil] nauru mammenteng jumaka ri Mangallekana uru niem- poinna
18 Nov (S) 10 Zulh 1095	Karaeng ri Buluq-Buluq and Karaeng Tumamenang ri Passiringanna [Abdul Kadir] divorced; [they were mar- ried] only 7 months then divorced nasipelaq Karaengta ri Buluq-Buluq Karaenga Tuammenang ri Passiringanna 7 bulanji nasipelaq

³⁹⁴ A daughter of Arung Teko by Daeng Nisayu, sister of Arung Kaju, and future wife of Sirajuddin.

³⁹⁵ Dutch sources report that by 1692 she had become ruler of Laikang (Ligtvoet 1880:155).

³⁹⁶ Mangallekana is located south of Fort Rotterdam. Dutch sources report that he desired this new residence because too many Bugis were living close to Fort Rotterdam and Abdul Jalil's residence, with the result that there were too many fires in this densely populated area as well as too many quarrels between Bugis and Makassarrese (Ligtvoet 1880:155). A mosque was built in Mangallekana in 1691.

³⁹⁷ Arung Belo, also known as Towappaq, was a son of the former ruler of Soppéng La Tenribali by a lesser wife. A brother of the ruler of Soppéng Toesang Matinroe ri Salassana (Ligtvoet 1880:156).

- 27 Nov (M eve) Karaeng ri Parang-Parang proposed to by Tumamenang ri Passiringanna [Abdul Kadir]; the brideprice was 88 [reals]
- 21 Zulh 1095 nanipassuroi Karaengta ri Parang-Parang ri Tuammenang ri Passiringanna sunranna 88
- 1685
- 7 Jan (M) I Daeng Rapanna I Manuruki, a child of Karaeng ri Mangalliq by Daengta Daeng Majannang, born
- 1 Saf 1096 naanaq I Daeng Rapanna I Manuruki anaqna Karaengta ri Mangalliq ri Daengta Daeng Majannang
- 27 Jan (S) we were left by Karaeng Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana [Karunrung] at the age of 55
- 21 Saf 1096 kinapilari Karaengta Tuammenang ri Juntana umuruqna 55
- 22 Jun (F) a ship arrived bringing I Daeng Buraqne
- 19 Raj 1096 nabattu kappalaq angerangi I Daeng Buraqne
- 13 Aug (M) the ruler of Terasaq³⁹⁸ killed by one of his slaves
- 12 Ram 1096 nanibuno karaeng Terasaq ri atanna
- 3 Sep (W eve) President Willem Hartsink took his post [in Fort Rotterdam]
- 6 Syaw 1096 namammempo jagaya ri Parsidenti Welom Harsin
- 1686
- 13 Jan (N) the people going into Baroko [in Toraja] to make war departed
- 17 Saf 1097 namaqlampa tumantamaya ri Baroko maqbundug
- 18 Mar (N eve) Karaeng ri Panaikang died at the age of 105³⁹⁹
- 22 Rakr 1097 namate Karaengta ri Panaikang umuruqna 105
- 19 Mar (T) Karaeng ri Rappociniq⁴⁰⁰ died

³⁹⁸ Terasaq is located in Boné.

³⁹⁹ This refers to Daeng Niaq, the widow of Kaicili Kalamata, but her age is incorrect. She was born 15 Jan 1631 and thus had reached the age of 55 (or 57 according to the Hijri calendar), not 105.

⁴⁰⁰ Possibly a Bugis named Mappa Arung Tonra. See the note for the 8 Aug 1680 entry.

23 Rahr 1097	namate Karaengta ri Rappociniq
25 Apr (W eve)	Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] arrived from Cenrana [in Boné] and went straight down to Luwuq
1 Jakr 1097	nabattu ri Cenrana Tuammenang ri Lakiun natulusuki manaung ri Luwuq
11 May (F eve)	I Daeng Talarra and a child of the ruler of Dompur married
17 Jakr 1097	nasikalabini I Daeng Talarra anaqna karae Dompur
23 May (R)	Karaeng ri Jipang died
30 Jakr 1097	namate Karaengta ri Jipang
18 Jul (R)	Tumamenang ri Passiringanna [Abdul Kadir] and Karaeng ri Parang-Parang married
26 Syab 1097	nasikalabini Tuammenang ri Passiringanna Karaengta ri Parang-Parang
7 Aug (R) ⁴⁰¹	a younger aunt of Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] died and was buried in Talloq
17 Ram 1097	namate ayana Tunisombaya ri Talloki niawang
26 Nov (T)	Daengta I Daeng Massuro beheaded to the east in Borongloe
10 Muh 1098	nanijalloq Daengta I Daeng Massuro iraya ri Bontoloe
17 Dec (T)	Haji Barania died
2 Saf 1098	namate Haqqi Barania
1687	
26 Jan (N)	Haji Abdullah Zamzami died
11 Rawl 1098	namate Haqqi Abdullah Zamzami
3 Feb (M)	two suns were seen by Karaeng ri Bontosunggu
19 Rawl 1098	naniciniq rua matanna alloa ri Karaengta ri Bontosunggu
7 Mar (F)	I Daeng Majannang had a son
8 Rahr 1098 ⁴⁰²	namamanaq I Daeng Majannang buraqne

⁴⁰¹ A copyist mistakenly wrote August 17th instead of August 7th.

⁴⁰² The Hijri date converts to 21 Feb 1687.

16 Mar (N) 24 Rakr 1098	I Daeng Mallulungang installed as <i>sabannaraq</i> nanitannang sabannaraq I Daeng Mallulungang
4 Apr (F) 20 Jawl 1098	Matinroa ri Nagaulang [La Patauq] and Karaeng ri Patukangang wed nabunting Matinroa ri Nagaulang ri Karaengta ri Patukangan
17 Jun (T) 2 Syab 1098	it is said that the people of Duri embraced Islam ⁴⁰³ nanikana mantamami Islam tuDuria
3 Jul (R) 22 Syab 1098	Arung Teko and I Daeng Nisayu divorced ⁴⁰⁴ nasipelaq Aruq Teko I Daeng Nisayu
23 Jul (T eve) 13 Ram 1098	the ruler of Bima Karaeng Panaragang died namate karaenga ri Dima Karae Panaragang
25 Jul (F) 14 Ram 1098	Daengta I Kare Pate had a son by Karaeng ri Mandalleq namamanaq Daengta I Kare Pate ri Karaengta ri Mandalleq buraqne
17 Sep (W) 9 Zulk 1098 ⁴⁰⁵	I Daeng Manangaraq Ahmad, a younger sibling of Karaeng Garassiq, born naanaq I Daeng Manangaraq Ahmad arinna Karae Garassiq
10 Sep (W) 2 Zulk 1098	Karaeng ri Bontorambaq had a daughter ⁴⁰⁶ namamanaq Karaengta ri Bontorambaq baine
20 Oct (M) 13 Zulh 1098	Karaeng ri Langeloq and Datu ri Soppéng ⁴⁰⁷ married nasikalabini Karaengta ri Langeloq Datua ri Soppeng
24 Oct (R eve)	Karaeng ri Ballaq Kiria and Tumamenang ri Taenga married

⁴⁰³ Duri was a Torajan group whose conversion to Islam followed their submission to an army sent by Arung Palakka (Andaya 1981:262).

⁴⁰⁴ For the second time; they divorced on 31 Oct 1680 as well. The date of their second marriage is not listed.

⁴⁰⁵ This and the following entry are in reverse chronological order, presumably because of a copyist error.

⁴⁰⁶ Almost certainly Karaeng Agangjeqneq. See the note to the entry for 29 Nov 1702.

⁴⁰⁷ Towesa Matinroe ri Salassana.

17 Zulh 1098	nasikalabini Karaengta ri Ballaq Kiria Tuammenang ri Taenga
11 Nov (N eve) 5 Muh 1099	Karaeng ri Bontoa ⁴⁰⁸ and Karaeng ri Mandalleq married nasikalabini Karaengta ri Bontoa Karaengta ri Mandalleq
17 Nov (N eve) 11 Muh 1099	birth of the ruler Sultan Sirajuddin ⁴⁰⁹ nanianakkang karaenga Sultan Sirajuddin
7 Dec (N) ⁴¹⁰ 2 Saf 1099	it is said that the young ruler of Banten ⁴¹¹ died nanikana matei karaenga ri Bantan maloloa
1688	
7 Jan (T eve) 3 Rawl 1099	Arung Maroangi died namate Arung Maroangi
20 Mar (S) 17 Jawl 1099	the ruler of Sumbawa I Ammasaq ⁴¹² born naanaq karae Sambawa I Ammasaq
2 Apr (F) 1 Jakr 1099	Friday public prayers first established in Bantaeng; I Tuang ri Dima initiated them nauru mammenteng jumaka ri Bantaeng I Tuan ri Dima ampapentengi
12 Apr (T eve) 20 Jakr 1099 ⁴¹³	Daengta I Kare Pate and I Daeng Makkulle married nasikalabini Daengta I Kare Pate I Daeng Makkulle

⁴⁰⁸ She was a daughter of Karaeng Balloq (Ligtvoet 1880:174).

⁴⁰⁹ A son of Abdul Kadir and Karaeng Parang-Parang, he was also known as Mappauqrangi, Tumamenang ri Pasiq, Karaeng Kanjilo, and Tumammaliang ri Talloq. He became ruler of both Gowa and Talloq in 1712 but had a turbulent career as sultan before his death in 1739.

⁴¹⁰ A copyist mistakenly wrote November instead of December.

⁴¹¹ This refers to Sultan Haji, who the VOC called the 'young sultan' when he was crown prince of Banten. He wielded considerable power during the reign of his father, Sultan Ageng, and the Bantenese court split into two factions. Sultan Haji turned to the VOC for support against his father, who was supported by more strident Muslims. Sultan Ageng initially had the support of many Makassarese who had fled South Sulawesi after 1669, but disagreements over women and their unruly behavior led them to flee. Sultan Ageng did have the vocal support of Shaykh Yusuf, however. Yusuf was a famed Makassarese teacher who settled in Banten in 1672 and became an active leader in fighting against the VOC. Sultan Haji deposed his father in 1680, but having alienated so many Bantenese nobles depended on the support of the VOC until his 1687 death (Ricklefs 2001:102-4).

⁴¹² Mas Madina, a son of the ruler of Sumbawa Mas Banten and Karaeng Tanisanga.

⁴¹³ The Hijri date converts to 21 Apr 1688. A copyist may simply have transposed two numbers in the Gregorian date.

- 17 May (M) Karaeng Campagaya Sitti Hibatullah⁴¹⁴ born
16 Raj 1099 naanaq Karae Campagaya Sitti Hibatullah
- 6 Jun (N) *tumailalang* Karaeng Jarannika went to go into Toraja to
make war
7 Syab 1099 namaqlampa *tumailalang* Karae Jarannika mantama ri
Toraja maqbunduq
- 4 Jul (S eve) Tumamenang ri Passiringanna [Abdul Kadir] and
Karaeng ri Parang-Parang divorced
5 Ram 1099 nasipelaq Tuammenang ri Passiringanna Karaengta ri
Parang-Parang
- 5 Aug (R) the ruler of Bima⁴¹⁵ and Karaeng ri Tana-Tana wed
8 Syaw 1099 nabunting karaenga ri Dima Karaengta ri Tana-Tana
- 6 Aug (F) I Daeng Manggappa I Mommiq born
9 Syaw 1099 naanaq I Daeng Manggappa I Mommiq
- 16 Sep (R) Tumamenang ri Passiringanna [Abdul Kadir] and
Daengta Daeng Tamemang married
20 Zulk 1099 nasikalabini Tuammenang ri Passiringanna Daengta
Daeng Tamemang
- 19 Sep (N) Karaeng Bontorambaq and I Daeng Mangemba married
23 Zulk 1099 nasikalabini Karae Bontorambaq I Daeng Mangemba
- 8 Oct (R eve) I Daeng Mamangkasi Mamminawang, a child of Karaeng
ri Bontomajannang, stabbed; Daeng Mamangkasi molest-
ed⁴¹⁶ a child of Karaeng ri Balloq
12 Zulh 1099 nanitoboq I Daeng Mamangkasi Mamminawang anaqna
Karaengta ri Bontomajannang Daeng Mamangkasi nonoq
anaqna Karaengta ri Balloq
- 1689
- 2 Jan (N) Karaeng Paqbineang Sitti Rahimah⁴¹⁷ born
9 Rawl 1100 naanaq Karae Paqbineang Sitti Rahimah

⁴¹⁴ A daughter of La Patauq and Karaeng Patukangang.

⁴¹⁵ Jamaluddin, son and successor to Mapparabung Karaeng Panaragang.

⁴¹⁶ Nonoq means 'to shake', but here it refers to masturbating or otherwise sexually molesting one of Karaeng ri Balloq's young sons.

⁴¹⁷ A daughter of Abdul Kadir and Karaeng Parang-Parang.

1 Feb (M eve) 10 Rakr 1100	birth of I Daeng Mangago Karaeng Paranggi nanianakkang I Daeng Mangago Karae Paranggi
8 Feb (M eve) 17 Rakr 1100 ⁴¹⁸	a strong earthquake rocked houses naronrong sarro taqlewaki ballaka
5 Jun (N) 17 Syab 1100	Daengta I Kare Pate had a daughter by <i>sabannaraq</i> [Daeng Makkulle] namamanaq Daengta I Kare Pate ri sabannaraka baine
9 Jun (W eve) 21 Syab 1100	Karaeng ri Bontopanno sailed overseas to Jakattaraq to request I Tuang Shaykh Yusuf [be returned to Makassar] nasimombalaq Karaengta ri Bontopanno kalauq ri Jakattaraq ampalaq-palaki I Tuan Syekhu Yusupu
13 Jun (M) 25 Syab 1100	Karaeng ri Parang-Parang died at the age of 18 namate Karaengta ri Parang-Parang umuruqna 18
14 Jun (T) 26 Syab 1100	I Daeng Majannang had a son who after just 7 nights died namamanaq I Daeng Majannang buraqne 7 banngiji namate
9 Jul (S eve) 22 Ram 1100	a wife of the Karaeng ri Talloq [Abdul Kadir] had a son who after just 5 nights died namamanaq bainenna Karaenga ri Talloq buraqne 5 banngiji namate
7 Sep (T eve) 22 Zulk 1100	the ruler of Bima I Mappatalliqa Syaad Syah ⁴¹⁹ born naanaq karaenga ri Dima I Mappatalliqa Syaad Syah
21 Sep (W) 6 Zulh 1100	Karaeng ri Mangalliqa went to go into Toraja to make war namaqlampa Karaengta ri Mangalliqa mantama ri Toraja maqbundug
15 Oct (S)	Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] went east to Pariq [location unknown] with Karaeng Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil]

⁴¹⁸ A copyist mistakenly wrote Rabi'ul-awal instead of Rabi'ul-akhir. The text in *Makasaarsche historiën* (1855:126) gives the date for this as 1 Dec 1690.

⁴¹⁹ A son of the ruler of Bima Jamaluddin and Karaeng Tana-Tana, he was later known as Hasanuddin Muhammad Syah.

1 Muh 1101 namanrai q ri Pariq Tunisombaya siagaang Karaenga
Tuammenang ri Lakiun

1690

18 Jan (W) Karaeng Anaq Moncong Ismail⁴²⁰ born; just after he
arrived it was announced

5 Rakr 1101 naanaq Karae Anaq Moncong Ismail battunaji nipabiritta

8 Mar (W) I Daeng Rikasammeng arrived
27 Jawl 1101 nabattu I Daeng Rikasammeng

9 Apr (N) Karaeng ri Mandalleq died at the age of 37
29 Jakr 1101 namate Karaengta ri Mandalleq umuruqna 37

4 Oct (W) angrily going [to help], Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka]
went down to Lamboko [in Soppéng] bearing arms⁴²¹
30 Zulh 1101 naturung rakka-rakka Tunisombaya manaung ri
Lamboko angerangi ewanganna

17 Nov (F) birth of I Daeng Tapallaq I Diqdaq
15 Muh 1102⁴²² nanianakkang I Daeng Tapallaq I Diqdaq

1691

6 Jan (S) Daengta I Kare Pate had a son
6 Rakr 1102 namamanaq Daengta I Kare Pate buraqne

23 Feb (R eve) Karaeng ri Lekoq Alaq died
24 Jawl 1102 namate Karaengta ri Lekoq Alaq

15 Mar (R) an Arab from Madina named Shaykh Abdullah Qussyasyi
arrived
15 Jakr 1102 nabattu Arab tuMadinaya nikanaya Syekhu Abdullah
Qussyasyi

⁴²⁰ A son of La Patauq and Karaeng Patukangang and also named Tosappewali, he would later be known as Matinroe ri Somba Opu or Tumamenang ri Somba Opu. He ruled Gowa after his grandfather Abdul Jalil died in 1709, but was deposed in 1712. He then ruled in both Boné and Soppéng.

⁴²¹ This refers to an incident in which an irate Arung Palakka felt that his authority was being challenged by Arung Lampoko ('Lamboko' to Makassarrese). In response to this defiance Arung Palakka had 'Arung Lampoko's lips sliced off for having uttered offensive words against Arung Palakka and then had him chased into the forest like a wild animal' (Andaya 1981:272).

⁴²² The Hijri date converts to 18 Oct 1690.

19 Jun (M eve)	Karaeng ri Bontokeke and Karaeng ri Bontoa wed [in accordance with Islamic custom]
21 Ram 1102	nanipaqnikkah Karaengta ri Bontokeke Karaengta ri Bontoa
6 Jul (F) 9 Syaw 1102	Karaeng ri Pangkajeqneq and I Daeng Singaraq divorced nasipelaq Karaengta ri Pangkajeqneq I Daeng Singaraq
29 Jul (N) 3 Zulk 1102	I Loqmoq, the mother of I Sandiq, died ⁴²³ namate I Loqmoq anronna I Sandiq
3 Sep (N eve) ⁴²⁴ 9 Zulh 1102	the people of Garassiq went to Daeng Manarai, known as Karaeng Mamampang nanipamange tuGarassika ri Daeng Manarai nikana Karae Mamampang
23 Sep (N) 29 Zulh 1102	Puanna I Mattaq Suleman [La Padangsajati] ⁴²⁵ born naanaq Puanna I Mattaq Sulemana
15 Oct (N eve) 22 Muh 1103	a celebration took place for Karaeng Balua [Daeng Maingaq] ⁴²⁶ in Paggentungang namammempo jagana Karaengta Balua ri Paggentungan
31 Oct (W) 9 Saf 1103	a mosque built in Mangallekana nanibangun masigika ri Mangallekana
1692	
15 Feb (F) 27 Jawl 1103	I Daeng Mangemba ⁴²⁷ , the ruler of Siang, died overseas in Jakattaraq namate I Daeng Mangemba Karae Siang ilauq ri Jakattaraq

⁴²³ Given that Loqmoq was such a common title, it is impossible to know if this refers to a woman already mentioned in the annals or if she is only mentioned this one time.

⁴²⁴ A copyist mistakenly wrote November instead of Sepember.

⁴²⁵ A son of La Patauq and Karaeng Patukangang, he was also known as La Padangsajati and bore the titles Arung Palakka and Karaeng Katangka. He ruled Boné from 1715 to 1720.

⁴²⁶ A wife of Abdul Jalil, 'Karaeng Balua' refers to her status as a widow of Amir Hamzah. The nature of this celebration is unknown.

⁴²⁷ This name is probably either incorrect or refers to a different Daeng Mangemba than the one also known as Arung Tanete who married Karaeng Bontorambaq. The latter pair had a daughter named Zainab on 2 Aug 1693, but obviously the Daeng Mangemba mentioned here could not be her father.

- 12 Mar (M eve) the mother of Matinroa ri Nagaulang [La Patauq] died
23 Jakr 1103 namate ayana Matinroa ri Nagaulang
- 16 May (R eve) Karaeng Panaikang I Mappasaqbi Muhammad Said born
29 Syab 1103 naanaq Karae Panaikang I Mappasaqbi Muhammad Said
- 8 Jun (S eve) Karaeng Mamampang I Daeng Manarai died and was
buried in Somba Opu
22 Ram 1103 namate Karae Mamampang I Daeng Manarai ri
Sombopui niawang
- 11 Jul (R eve) a grandparent of Karaeng ri Bontoa⁴²⁸ died and was bur-
ied in Somba Opu at the age of 67
25 Syaw 1103 namate toana Karaengta ri Bontoa ri Sombopui niawang
umurukna 67
- 22 Aug (R eve) after living together Karaeng Alluq and Karaeng ri
Pangkajeneq married
9 Zulh 1103 nanibaineang siballaqna Karae Alluq ri Karaengta ri
Pangkajeneq
- 28 Aug (F) the elder Karaeng Bontolangkasaq and the mother of
Karaeng Bontolangkasaq I Mappaseppeq married⁴²⁹
16 Zulh 1103 nasikalabini Karae Bontolangkasaq matoaya anronna
Karae Bontolangkasaq I Mappaseppeq
- 29 Sep (W eve) birth of I Daeng Mangalliq I Dondiq
7 Muh 1104⁴³⁰ nanianakkang I Daeng Mangalliq I Dondiq
- 23 Sep (M) it is said that the elder ruler of Banten⁴³¹ died
11 Muh 1104 nanikana matei Karae Bantan matoaya
- 21 Oct (T) Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] went down to Mandar
with Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] to celebrate

⁴²⁸ Ralle Daeng Paikaq.

⁴²⁹ I Mappaseppeq's unnamed mother was a daughter of Daeng Anrenne and either Karaeng ri Agangjeqneq or Daeng Mangemba. Dutch sources report that the elder Karaeng Bontolangkasaq, who was killed on Lombok in 1700, was a nephew of Abdul Jalil, though Ligtoet notes that because of conflicting sources it is difficult to determine the precise genealogical connection between them (Ligtoet 1880:162).

⁴³⁰ The Hijri date converts to 18 Sep 1692. A copyist probably wrote the 29th instead of the 19th for the Gregorian date.

⁴³¹ Sultan Ageng. See the note accompanying the entry for 7 Dec 1687.

10 Saf 1104	namanaung ri Mandaraq Tunisombaya siagaang Tuammenang ri Lakiun maqjaga
	1693
5 Jan (N eve)	Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] had very strong stomach pains
27 Rakr 1104	nanabattui paqrisiq battang sarro dudu Tunisombaya
14 Mar (S) 6 Raj 1104	I Daeng Manaqqalaq and I Daeng Maingaq married nasikalabini I Daeng Manaqqalaq I Daeng Maingaq
25 Apr (S) 18 Syab 1104	I Papoq I Daeng Mamaro died namate I Papoq I Daeng Mamaro
29 Apr (T eve) 22 Syab 1104 ⁴³³	Padukka Dompū died at the age of 62 ⁴³² namate Padukka Dompū umurūqna 62
5 May (M eve) 28 Syab 1104	<i>canning</i> killed by Datu ri Luwuq ⁴³⁴ nanibuno canninga ri Datua ri Luwuq
22 May (R eve) 15 Ram 1104	Gallarrang I Kare Tulusuq died namate Gallarrang I Kare Tulusuq
5 Jul (N) 2 Zulk 1104	I Daeng Nisimba and Daengta I Daeng Mallulungang divorced nasipelaq I Daeng Nisimba Daengta I Daeng Mallulungang
14 Jul (M eve) 11 Zulk 1104	Karaeng Taliwang ⁴³⁵ cut down by Raden Sanggalea, who escaped nanijalloq Karae Taliwan ri Raden Sanggalea lappasaki

⁴³² She was killed at Kambu on the north coast of Dompū. While the rulers of Bima and Dompū each claimed the other was responsible, the nobles of South Sulawesi felt that the ruler of Bima was to blame (Ligtvoet 1880:162-3).

⁴³³ The Hijri day is missing but must be the 22nd.

⁴³⁴ *Canning* (the Bugis spelling) was a title born by the crown prince of Luwuq. In this case it refers to Umar Tomallinrunge, a son of the exiled ruler of Luwuq Daeng Mattuju and nephew of his successor Daeng Massuro, also known as Sultan Muhammad Muhidin and Matinroe ri Tompotikkaq. According to Ligtvoet (1880:163), Dutch sources report that Umar Tomallinrunge also married a daughter of Daeng Massuro, but was killed by his uncle for having sexual relations with one of Arung Palakka's concubines (who was also killed for this offence).

⁴³⁵ He was a brother of the ruler of Sumbawa Mas Banten and killed with the assistance of an unnamed Sumbawa noble (Ligtvoet 1880:163).

21 Jul (T) 18 Zulk 1104	Karaeng ri Tanasanga Halimah died namate Karaengta ri Tanasanga Halimah
22 Jul (W) 19 Zulk 1104	Karaeng Bisei Abdullah Manshur ⁴³⁶ born; Raden Sanggalea arrived to surrender himself naanaq Karae Bisei Abdullah Manshur nabattu Raden Sanggalea angerang kalenna
23 Jul (R) 20 Zulk 1104	Karaeng Alluq Shalahuddin born naanaq Karae Alluq Shalahuddin
24 Jul (F) 21 Zulk 1104	Raden Sanggalea died now; the ruler of Sumbawa [Datu Lokaq] ordered him strangled namatetommo Raden Sanggalea nisuro jarroki ri Karae Sambawa
26 Jul (S eve) 23 Zulk 1104	Karaeng ri Patukangang died at the age of 21 ⁴³⁷ namate Karaengta ri Patukangan umurugna 21
2 Aug (N) 29 Zulk 1104	I Sammaraq died; Puanna I Mattaq's [La Padangsajati] wife Zainab born ⁴³⁸ namate I Sammaraq naanaq Puanna I Mattaq bainea Zainab
21 Aug (W) 17 Zulh 1104	the ruler of Bima [Karaeng Panaragang] was sentenced by the Dutch, who said he killed Padukka Domp ⁴³⁹ nanabicara Karaenga ri Dima ri Balandaya nikana ia anbunoi Padukka Domp
23 Aug (S eve) 21 Zulh 1104	Gallarrang Mangasa I Kare Mangalle installed as speaker [of the land, or <i>tumabicarabutta</i>]; I Kare Tulusuq was replaced nanitannang maqbicara Gallarrang Mangasa I Kare Mangalle I Kare Tulusuq nasambeang

⁴³⁶ A son of La Patauq and Karaeng Patukangang, he was also known as Arung Mampu and La Panaungi Topawawoi.

⁴³⁷ In fact, she was 19 years old at the time of her death.

⁴³⁸ She was a daughter of Daeng Mangemba and Karaeng Bontorambaq and later married La Padangsajati (Puanna I Mattaq).

⁴³⁹ This episode involving Padukka Domp's murder and the subsequent investigation is discussed in Andaya (1981:281-9).

27 Aug (R) ⁴⁴⁰	the ruler of Bima taken into the fort
25 Zulh 1104	nanipantamamo ri kotaya Karaenga ri Dima
27 Sep (N)	Puanna I Mattaq [La Padangsajati] first set foot in Mangallekana [at about age 2]
26 Muh 1105	nauru naonjoq Mangallekana Puanna I Mattaq
25 Sep (R eve)	Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] went into Soppéng to celebrate
24 Muh 1105 ⁴⁴¹	namantama Tunisombaya ri Soppeng jaga
10 Oct (S)	Abdul Mukmin, <i>pakki</i> ⁴⁴² of Bontoalaq, died
10 Saf 1105	namate paqgia ri Bontoalaq Abdul Mukmin
16 Nov (M)	war leaders I Daeng Buraqne and I Kare Bangung sailed east to Sandao
17 Rawl 1105	namammise dulun manraika ri Sandawo I Daeng Buraqne siagaang I Kare Bangun
19 Dec (F eve)	a wife of Tumamenang ri Passiringanna [Abdul Kadir] had a daughter named Sitti Aisyah Karaeng Pasiq
21 Rakr 1105	namamanaq bainenna Tuammenang ri Passiringanna baine nikana Sitti Aisyah Karae Pasiq
25 Dec (F)	I Boe Jawa died
27 Jakr 1105	namate I Boe Jawa
1694	
7 Jan (W eve)	a grandparent of I Jabbing died
10 Jawl 1105	namate toana I Jabbing
17 Jan (S eve)	I Kare Leoq died
20 Jawl 1105	namate I Kare Leoq
24 Feb (W)	Karaeng Bontotannga died at the age of 63
29 Jakr 1105	namate Karae Bontotannga umuruqna 63

⁴⁴⁰ The Gregorian day is missing but must be the 27th.

⁴⁴¹ This entry presumably was recorded after the previous entry because it took time for word of Arung Palakka's movements to reach Makassar.

⁴⁴² A position occupied by one knowledgeable about Islamic canon law.

5 Mar (W eve) 7 Raj 1105	Karaeng Binamuq died namate Karae Binamuq
5 Mar (R eve) 8 Raj 1105	President Prins ⁴⁴³ died namate Parsidinta Parinsi laqnatullah
10 Mar (M eve) 12 Raj 1105	I Sutting wed [in accordance with Islamic custom] by Karaeng ri Jarannika; the brideprice was 80 [reals] naninikkahi I Sutting ri Karaengta ri Jarannika sunranna 80
14 Mar (S) 16 Raj 1105	Karaeng Bontolangkasaq I Mappaseppeq ⁴⁴⁴ born naanaq Karae Bontolangkasaq I Mappaseppeq
8 May (S) 12 Ram 1105	I Tuang ri Dima Shaykh Umar died at the age of 60 namate I Tuan ri Dima Syekhu Umara umuruqna 60
14 May (F) 18 Ram 1105	it is said that [I] Loqmoq divorced by [Karaeng] Jarannika nanikana nipelaqmi Loqmoq Jarannika
1 Jun (T) 6 Syaw 1105	I Daeng Buraqne banished east to Parigi; I Kare Bangung expelled from his position ⁴⁴⁵ nanicinde I Daeng Buraqne manrai q ri Parigi I Kare Bangun nipasuluki ri empona
25 Aug (W) 3 Muh 1106	Karaeng ri Kassiqjala died at the age of 81 namate Karaengta ri Kassiqjala umuruqna 81
7 Sep (M eve) 16 Muh 1106	Shaykh Yusuf Ipandi ⁴⁴⁶ went to Karaeng Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] upon his first arrival namae ri Karaenga Tuammenang ri Lakiun Syekhu Yusup Ipani uru battuna
2 Nov (T)	Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] went east to Gowa to mark out the space for a house that he could then occupy in Gowa

⁴⁴³ A former chief merchant of the VOC, François Prins had succeeded Willem Hartsink as President in Makassar.

⁴⁴⁴ Daeng Mamaro, son of the Karaeng Bontolangkasaq killed on Lombok in 1700.

⁴⁴⁵ As the war leaders assigned to the expedition against Sandao the previous year, this must have been punishment for their failure there.

⁴⁴⁶ This is not Muhammad Yusuf al-Maqassari, known as Tuanta ri Salamaka, who was exiled by the VOC and arrived in the Cape of Good Hope on 2 Apr 1694.

14 Rawl 1106	namanraiq mae ri Gowa Tuammenang ri Lakiun mamate passiringanna lanaempoinna Gowa
17 Dec (R eve)	the karaeng [Abdul Jalil] went east to Gowa to live; 10 years, six months, and seven nights he had lived in Mangallekana
29 Rakr 1106	namanraiq mae ri Gowa karaenga mammempo 10 taungi angannang bulan antuju banngi niempoi Mangallekana
19 Dec (N) 2 Jawl 1106	house(s) built in Dataq nanibangun ballaka ri Dataq
22 Dec (T eve)	it is said that I Tuang [Shaykh Yusuf] was banished overseas to the Cape ⁴⁴⁷
5 Jawl 1106	nanikana nipelaki I Tuan kalauq ri Kaq
24 Dec (F)	Friday public prayers established in Gowa were first attended
7 Jawl 1106	namammenteng jumaka ri Gowa uru niempoinna
1695	
12 Mar (S)	Karaeng ri Beroanging died at the age of 35
26 Raj 1106	namate Karaengta ri Beroangi umuruqna 35
10 Apr (N eve)	Karaeng ri Lengkeseq died and was buried in Talloq at the age of 69
25 Syab 1106	namate Karaengta ri Lengkeseq ri Talloki niawang umuruqna 69
13 May (R eve) 27 Ram 1106	I Raluq born naanaq I Raluq
16 Jun (T) 3 Zulk 1106	thin coins replaced by stamped coins ⁴⁴⁸ nanisambei pitisiq bayanga pitisiq nipanralaq

⁴⁴⁷ It must be on this date that news of Shaykh Yusuf's arrival in the Cape of Good Hope reached Makassar.

⁴⁴⁸ Until the VOC conquest of Gowa Makassar's rulers minted lead coins. Speelman described that after the conquest the VOC issued similar coins, 80 of which had the value of a double *stuiver*, while a Makassarese *kupang* was valued at three double *stuivers*. The VOC coins became thinner and by 1692 a single double *stuiver* was worth 300 or 400 of these coins that now lacked a stamped face. The new coins referred to in this entry were stamped with the VOC's mark and were valued at 48 to a double *stuiver* (Ligtvoet 1880:footnote 165-6).

- 27 Aug (S) a great meeting hall built in Gowa
16 Muh 1107 nanibangun baruga loea ri Gowa
- 30 Aug (T) the ship bearing the ruler of Bima sailed overseas to
 Jakattaraq
19 Muh 1107 nasimombalaq kappalaq angerangi Karaengta ri Dima
 kalauq ri Jakattaraq
- 17 Sep (S) war leaders sailed over to Kengkulu [Tambora]: Arung
 Tosiada, the commander [of Boné's troops] I Tojumaat,
 and [Karaeng] Jarannika⁴⁴⁹
8 Saf 1107 namamise dulun taqlea ri Kinkelu Aruq Tassiada pung-
 gawa I Tojumaq Jarannika
- 26 Oct (W) a mosque built in Gowa⁴⁵⁰
17 Rawl 1107 nanibangun masigika ri Gowa
- 15 Dec (R) Karaeng Bontopattongkoq and I Daeng Nisakking
 Shafiah married
8 Jawl 1107 nasikalabini Karae Bontopattongkoq I Daeng Nisakking
 Shafiah
- 20 Dec (M eve) Karaeng Patteqne Fathuddin born
13 Jawl 1107 naanaq Karae Patteqne Fathuddini
- 1696
- 21 Jan (F) it is said that Shaykh Abd al-Ra'uf died in Aceh⁴⁵¹
16 Jakr 1107 nanikana matei Syekhu Abdurrauf ri Aceh
- 22 Mar (R) word arrived that Karaeng ri Lekoqboqdong died across
 on Bima⁴⁵² at 50 years of age
17 Syab 1107 nabattu erang kanana Karaengta ri Lekoqboqdong mate
 ibaqla ri Dima umuruqna 50 taun

⁴⁴⁹ Arung Palakka sent this expedition to assist the Dutch in its conflict with the ruler of Kengkulu (Tambora) on Sumbawa, who was trying to master the whole island and in the process both wreaked havoc in Bima, Dompur, and Pekat and attacked the Dutch fort in Bima (Andaya 1981:289-91).

⁴⁵⁰ The building of this mosque and the great meeting hall two months before followed in the wake of Abdul Jalil's move from Mangallekana back to Gowa the previous year.

⁴⁵¹ The exact date of his death is unknown, but the last evidence that he was alive dates from 1693. See Riddell 2001:125-8.

⁴⁵² According to the entry for 28 Jun 1647, he died in Kelo on Sumbawa.

6 Apr (F) 3 Ram 1107	Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] died at the age of 73 namate Tunisombaya umuruqna 73
13 Apr (F) 10 Ram 1107	the name of the karaeng of Gowa [Abdul Jalil] praised in the sermon ⁴⁵³ naarennamo karaenga ri Gowa nipuji ri kuqbaya
29 Apr (N) 26 Ram 1107	Arung Tosiada and I Tojumaat arrived from Kengkelu without gaining [victory over Tambora] nabattumo Aruq Tassiada siagaang I Tojumaq ri Kinkelu tanakullei
6 Jul (R eve) 5 Zulh 1107	the ruler of Bima I Alasaq died overseas in Jakattaraq at the age of 23 namate karaenga ri Dima I Alasaq ilauk ri Jakattaraq umuruqna 23
27 Aug (N eve) 28 Muh 1108	Karaeng ri Bontomanompoq and a great grandparent of I Makkaraeng married nasikalabini Karaengta ri Bontomanompoq boena I Makkaraeng
28 Aug (T) 29 Muh 1108	people built houses in Tete in order to dredge a river there namaqballaq-ballaq taua ri Tete lanikkekkeseqna binangaya
15 Oct (M) 18 Rawl 1108	Soppéng attacked by Matinroa ri Nagaulang [La Patauq] ⁴⁵⁴ nanibunduuq Soppeng ri Matinroa ri Nagaulan
1697	
19 Mar (T) 29 Syab 1108	Arung Timurung, the father of Matinroa ri Nagaulang [La Patauq], died namate Aruq Timurung aenna Matinroa ri Nagaulan

⁴⁵³ Beginning 26 Nov 1677 Arung Palakka's name had been ritually praised in the Friday sermon, but with his death that honor returned to the ruler of Gowa.

⁴⁵⁴ This war was to uphold Arung Palakka's policies regarding Soppéng, a Bugis kingdom with which Arung Palakka had numerous difficulties. He had made his former wife and sister of Datu ri Soppéng, We Adda Datu ri Watu, the effective ruler of Soppéng (Andaya 1981: 272, 278). But following Arung Palakka's death the people of Soppéng installed We Adda's brother Toesang as their ruler, so La Patauq launched a war to restore We Adda – and his own authority – over Soppéng (Ligtvoet 1880:167).

26 Oct (S)	teeth filed of Karaeng Bontomateqne
10 Rkr 1109	naniariq Karae Bontomateqne
13 Dec (R eve)	Karaeng ri Paqbineang died inside Massepe at the age of 36 ⁴⁵⁵
29 Jawl 1109	namate Karaengta ri Paqbineang ilalang ri Massepe umuruqna 36
1698	
6 Feb (R)	Arung Pattiro ⁴⁵⁶ and Datu ri Luwuq Matinroa ri Langkanana ⁴⁵⁷ married
24 Raj 1109	nasikalabini Aruq Pattiro Datua ri Luwuq Matinroa ri Langkanana
11 Mar (T)	I Rakhiah born
28 Syab 1109	naanaq I Rakhiah
30 Apr (T eve)	I Paciq born
18 Syaw 1109	naanaq I Paciq
21 May (T)	Karaeng Bontotannga I Bebuq born
29 Syaw 1109 ⁴⁵⁸	naanaq Karae Bontotannga I Bebuq
16 Aug (F eve)	Taqbiq Jawa died
9 Saf 1110	namate Taqbiq Jawa
20 Oct (M)	teeth filed of Karaeng Campagaya
15 Rkr 1110	naniariq Karae Campagaya
3 Nov (N)	I Kare Passeqre I Jaga advanced on in Bantaeng by the people of Boné ⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁵ This was the widow of Hasanuddin and Arung Ujumpuluq, a ruler of Sidénréng. But she died at age 62 according to the Hijri calendar, having been born on 27 Jawl 1047 (or 17 Oct 1637).

⁴⁵⁶ Also named Patekkaqtana, she was a daughter of the ruler of Tanete Mappajanci Daeng Matajang Matinroe ri Sumpangpoba and We Tenrilekke Da Emba, a sister of Arung Palakka (Ligtvoet 1880:168).

⁴⁵⁷ A son of Daeng Massuro Matinroe ri Tompotikkaq, he was also named Topalaguna and succeeded his father as Sultan Muhammad.

⁴⁵⁸ The Hijri date converts to 10 May 1698.

⁴⁵⁹ Dutch sources report that this killing followed several years of poor relations between the rulers of Gowa and Boné. The VOC had given authority over Bantaeng to Arung Palakka's widow Daeng Talele, but I Kare Passeqre I Jaga and Daeng Mangalliki (brother of the regent of Bantaeng) took control of Bantaeng with the tacit approval of Abdul Jalil. Learning of this,

29 Rakr 1110	nanipanaiki I Kare Passeqre I Jaga ri Bantaeng ri tuBonea
29 Nov (S)	we erupted at the killing of Sanro Paqlangisang; we faced each other but we did not let loose our weapons ⁴⁶⁰
25 Jawl 1110	kigegereq nibunona Sanro Paqlangisan sidallekangjaki tasibuangiaki ewangan
4 Dec (R)	Karaeng Boqdia circumcised
1 Jakr 1110	nanisunnaq Karae Boqdia
13 Dec (S)	it is said that Daengta Daeng Mangalle died
10 Jakr 1110	nanikana matei Daengta Daeng Mangalle
1699	
5 Jan (N eve)	a strong earthquake purportedly struck Jakattaraq; many stone buildings fell; many people died; a great flood [tidalwave] struck also
3 Raj 1110	nanataba bedeng ronrong sarro Jakattaraq majai ballaq batu runtung majai tau mate nataba tongi aqba lomp
18 Apr (F eve)	I Daeng Mabela I Gacung died at the age of 20
17 Syaw 1110	namate I Daeng Mabela I Kacung umuruqna 20
1 May (F)	a wife of Karaeng ri Bontomanompoq had a daughter
1 Zulk 1110	namamanaq bainenna Karaengta ri Bontomanompoq baine
11 May (M)	Karaeng ri Bontomanompoq sailed over to Sandao to make war
11 Zulk 1110	namamise Karaengta ri Bontomanompoq taqle ri Sandao maqbundug
22 May (R eve)	the night of I Tuang Shaykh Yusuf's death overseas at the Cape at the age of 74

the VOC Governor in consultation with the ruler of Boné sent a military expedition to drive the Makassarese usurpers from Bantaeng. Before they arrived, however, Bugis under Arung Cello attacked I Kare Passeqre I Jaga, and it is this event to which this entry refers (Ligtvoet 1880:168-9).

⁴⁶⁰ Sanro Paqlangisang was killed in Mangallekana by Boné Bugis in retaliation for Makassarese raids against them. More violence between the two sides was avoided when the Governor ordered the Bugis to retreat (Ligtvoet 1880:169).

- 22 Zulk 1110 banngi nakamateanga I Tuan Syekhu Yusup ilauq ri Kaq umuruqna 74
- 28 May (W eve)⁴⁶¹ Karaeng ri Bontolangkasaq fled⁴⁶²
28 Zulk 1110 namalari Karaengta ri Bontolangkasaq
- 15 Jun (N eve) three moons were seen by Daengta Daeng Tauq
17 Zulh 1110 naniciniq tallu matanna bulanga ri Daengta Daeng Tauq
- 22 Jun (T eve)⁴⁶³ I Raluq died at the age of 5
24 Zulh 1110 namate I Raluq umuruqna 5
- 25 Jul (S) two suns were seen
27 Muh 1111 naniciniq rua matanna alloa
- 28 Jul (M eve) Pangerang Aria⁴⁶⁴ and I Daeng Nisayu⁴⁶⁵, a child of Karaeng ri Mandalleq, married
1 Saf 1111 nasikalabini Pangeran Aria I Daeng Nisayu anaqna Karaengta ri Mandalleq
- 12 Aug (N)⁴⁶⁶ Karaeng ri Manyioi died in Talloq at the age of 56
16 Saf 1111 namate Karaengta ri Manyioi ri Talloq umuruqna 56
- 28 Aug (R eve) Karaeng ri Tana-Tana and Karaeng ri Mamampang married
2 Rawl 1111 nasikalabini Karaengta ri Tana-Tana Karaengta ri Mamampang
- 13 Sep (S eve) Karaeng Campagaya died at the age of 12
18 Rawl 1111 namate Karae Campagaya umuruqna 12
- 30 Sep (W) I Cacoq Paqrappoang went amuk inside the fort⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶¹ A copyist omitted the day of the week, but given that it was an evening it must be Wednesday.

⁴⁶² He went to Sumbawa where he joined Karaeng Pamolikang who 'plundered friend and foe' (Ligtvoet 1880:169).

⁴⁶³ A copyist mistakenly wrote July instead of June.

⁴⁶⁴ The ruler of Pamukang on the eastcoast of Borneo.

⁴⁶⁵ This seems to be a different Daeng Nisayu from those already mentioned in the annals.

⁴⁶⁶ A copyist mistakenly wrote the 2nd instead of the 12th.

⁴⁶⁷ Dutch sources report that at Gowa's instigation Daeng Tulolo, a former ruler of the Mandar community of Paqrappoang (Pamboang), found the opportunity to make himself ruler

6 Rokr 1111	namaqjalloq I Cacoq Paqrappoang ilalang ri kotaya
2 Oct (F)	I Bewi died
8 Rokr 1111	namate I Bewi
29 Oct (R)	Karaeng ri Bontomanompoq arrived from Sandao
5 Jawl 1111	nabattu Karaengta ri Bontomanompoq ri Sandao
31 Oct (S)	I Baku Sitti Abidah born
7 Jawl 1111	naanaq I Baku Sitti Abidah
1700	
18 Mar (R eve)	Karaeng Bontotannga and Karaeng ri Buluq-Buluq married
27 Ram 1111	nasikalabini Karae Bontotannga Karaengta ri Buluq-Buluq
30 Apr (F eve)	Sayyid Zain wed [in accordance with Islamic custom] I Daeng Tapallaq
11 Zulk 1111	naninikkah Sayyid Zainu I Daeng Tapallaq
1 May (N)	Arung Balusu ⁴⁶⁸ ordered killed by Arung Teko
12 Zulk 1111	nanisurobuno Aruq Balusu ri Aruq Teko
7 May (F eve)	I Kare Passeqre I Jaga arrived to surrender himself to the arumpone [La Patauq]
18 Zulk 1111	nabattu angerangi kalenna I Kare Passeqre I Jaga ri arumpone
14 May (S)	the day of Karaeng ri Jarannika's killing by 'Javanese' ⁴⁶⁹ from Bali along with his relative [his son, Karaeng

of Balanipa when its lawful ruler Daeng Buraqne was visiting the ruler of Boné in Bontoalag. In response, after the expedition against I Kare Passeqre I Jaga was complete in Bantaeng, another expedition of Bugis troops led by Daeng Situju and Arung Mampu went to restore Daeng Buraqne to his throne. Daeng Tulolo fled into the mountains, but his son I Cacoq remained to defend Paqrappoang and was captured. Taken to Makassar, on 30 Sep 1699 he was sentenced to be exiled to the Cape. But as he was about to be put in chains he went amuk and killed a Dutch corporal. For this he was sentenced to have his right hand cut off, after which he would be bound to a pole and krissed, a verdict carried out on 10 Oct 1699 (Ligtvoet 1880:170).

⁴⁶⁸ Though the spelling of his name is inconsistent in Ligtvoet, this was apparently Toesang, also known as Daeng Mambani, and a half brother of the ruler of Soppéng We Adda Datu ri Watu, Matinroe ri Madello. See the note accompanying the entry for 15 Oct 1696.

⁴⁶⁹ This term does not refer to Javanese but to inhabitants of the archipelago to the west of Makassar. The annalist explains here that he specifically means Balinese.

	Bontokeke] and Karaeng Bontolangkasaq across on Salaparang [Lombok] ⁴⁷⁰
25 Zulk 1111	allo nibunoangai ri Jawa Balia Karaengta ri Jarannika sipamanakang siagaang Karae Bontolangkasaq ibaqla ri Salaparang
25 May (W) 7 Zulh 1111	Karaeng Mangallekana died at the age of 65 namate Karae Mangallekana umuruqna 65
2 Jun (R)	Karaeng Bontopattongkoq I Baraq installed at <i>tumailalang</i> , replacing his grandparent ⁴⁷¹
15 Zulh 1111	nanitannang <i>tumailalang</i> Karae Bontopattongkoq I Baraq toana nasambeang
18 Jun (S) 2 Muh 1112	I Jaga killed by the Dutch; he was hung nanibunomo I Jaga ri Balandaya nigentungi
18 Aug (R) 4 Rawl 1112	Karaeng Anaq Moncong circumcised nanisunnaq Karae Anaq Moncong
3 Nov (R) 22 Jawl 1112	the karaeng Sultan Sirajuddin circumcised nanisunnaq karaenga Sultan Sirajuddin
15 Dec (R) 5 Raj 1112	I Daeng Mallimpo and I Daeng Nisannging ⁴⁷² I Shafiah married nasikalabini I Daeng Mallimpo I Daeng Nisannging I Shafiah
1701	
21 Jan (S) 12 Syab 1112	Karaeng Lambengi and I Daeng Marannu I Biba married nisikalabini Karae Lambengi I Daeng Marannu I Beba
6 Feb (N eve) 27 Syab 1112	Daengta Daeng Manena died in Talloq at the age of 87 namate Daengta Daeng Manena ri Talloq umuruqna 87
22 May (N eve)	I Daeng Manyampakki and I Daeng Tasami I Takkiq married

⁴⁷⁰ The 3 Mar 1707 entry suggests that after this expedition Karaeng Jarannika intended to continue on the haj to Mekka.

⁴⁷¹ The grandparent he replaced as *tumailalang* was Karaeng Jarannika, who was killed on Lombok a few weeks before along with Karaeng Bontopattongkoq's father Karaeng Bontokeke.

⁴⁷² Presumably this is the same woman referred to as Daeng Nisakking on 15 Dec 1695.

14 Zulh 1112	nasikalabini I Daeng Manyampaki I Daeng Tasami I Takkiq
7 Jul (F) 2 Saf 1113	I Baronang born naanaq I Baronang
13 Jul (R)	Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] and Matinroa ri Nagaulang [La Patauq] were brought to see each other by the Dutch inside the fort
8 Saf 1113	nanipasiciniqmo ri Balandaya Karaenga Tuammenang ri Lakiun Matinroa ri Nagaulan ilalang ri kotaya
28 Sep (R)	we first went down from all over Gowa to visit [the grave of] Datoq ri Bandang
26 Saf 1113 ⁴⁷³	kiuru manaung siGowa anggunjungi ri Datoq ri Bandan
14 Oct (S) 13 Jawl 1113	Arung Teko went into the fort namantamamo ri kotaya Aruq Teko
18 Dec (M) 19 Raj 1113	Karaeng Panaikang circumcised nanisunnaq Karae Panaikang
21 Dec (R) 22 Raj 1113	I Daeng Tulolo I Mangiq born naanaq I Daeng Tulolo I Mangiq
1702	
18 Jan (W eve) 20 Syab 1113	Datu ri Mari-Mari ⁴⁷⁴ died namate Datua ri Mari-Mari
21 Jan (N)	Karaeng Bontomateqne and the karaeng [Sirajuddin] married
23 Syab 1113	nasikalabini Karae Bontomateqne karaeng
12 Feb (N eve) 15 Ram 1113	Ballaq Kiria built ⁴⁷⁵ nanibangun Ballaq Kiria

⁴⁷³ The Hijri date converts to 1 Aug 1701.

⁴⁷⁴ Dutch sources report that she was a sister of Arung Palakka (Ligtvoet 1880:172).

⁴⁷⁵ 'Ballaq Kiria' literally means 'left house' and was a royal hall used by the *karaeng* of Gowa. 'Kiri' is a Malay and not a Makassarese term meaning 'left'. This is a good example of the increasing use of Malay words in the *lontaraq bilang*, and the scope and nature of this linguistic evolution merit further analysis.

6 Apr (F) 9 Zulk 1113	Daengta Daeng Mayiro died namate Daengta Daeng Mayiro
7 Apr (F eve) 10 Zulk 1113	Tumamenang ri Passiringanna [Abdul Kadir] and Daengta Daeng Tamemang divorced nasipelaq Tuammenang ri Passiringanna Daengta Daeng Tamemang
8 Apr (S eve) 11 Zulk 1113	Karaeng ri Mamampang and Karaeng ri Tana-Tana divorced for the second time nasipelaq Karaengta ri Mamampang Karaengta ri Tana- Tana makapinruanna
16 May (T eve) 19 Zulh 1113	Karaeng Anaq Moncong and Karaeng Paqbineang wed nabunting Karae Anaq Moncong Karae Paqbineang
4 Jun (N) 9 Muh 1114	Karaeng Boqdia and Karaeng Buluq-Buluq I Rusiah mar- ried nasikalabini Karae Boqdia Karae Buluq-Buluq I Rusiah
4 Jul (W) 9 Saf 1114	Arung Teko brought overseas to Jakattaraq nanierangmo kalauq ri Jakattaraq Aruq Teko
12 Jul (W eve) 17 Saf 1114	Karaeng Boqdia and Karaeng Buluq-Buluq divorced nasipelaq Kare Boqdia Karaeng Buluq-Buluq
9 Aug (R) 19 Rawl 1114	I Daeng Manaqqalaq was cut down by Kare Manjakkalaq I Uqdung but did not die nanijalloq I Daeng Manaqqgalaq ri Kare Manjakkalaq I Uqdung tamate
10 Sep (M) 8 Rokr 1114 ⁴⁷⁷	<i>orang kaya</i> ⁴⁷⁶ Kare Gappa died namate orangkaya Kare Gappa
19 Sep (W) 27 Rokr 1114	I Daeng ri Bulekang died namate I Daeng ri Bulekang
1 Oct (N eve)	I Daeng Massese and Daengta Daeng Tamemang married

⁴⁷⁶ *Orang kaya* is a Malay term that literally means 'rich person' but generally refers to nobles who achieved their wealth through trade.

⁴⁷⁷ The Hijri date converts to 1 Sep 1702.

10 Jawl 1114	nasikalabini I Daeng Massese Daengta Daeng Tamemang
6 Oct (S)	those who were ordered to accompany Matinroa ri Nagaulang [La Patauq] into Makele to make war sailed: [Karaeng] Pangkajeqneq, [Karaeng] Lekoqboqdong; [Karaeng] Bidara
15 Jawl 1114	namammise tunisuroa ampinawangi Matinroa ri Nagaulan mantama ri Makale maqbundug Pangkajeqneq Lekoqboqdong Bidaraiya
10 Oct (W)	Daengta Daeng Tumammo died
19 Jawl 1114	namate Daengta Daeng Tumammo
1 Nov (R)	walls torn down that were constructed during our struggle ⁴⁷⁸
12 Jakr 1114	nanigesaraq bata nilonjoka ri gegereqta
29 Nov (R)	the ruler of Sumbawa [Ammasaq] ⁴⁷⁹ and Karaeng Agangjeqneq ⁴⁸⁰ married
10 Raj 1114	nasikalabini Karae Sambawa Karae Agangjeqneq
3 Dec (M)	those who went into Toraja arrived; 173 people from Toraja was the portion of the karaeng [Abdul Jalil]
14 Raj 1114	nabattumo tumantamaya ri Toraja 173 tau Toraja tawana karaenga
5 Dec (W)	<i>nayaka</i> ⁴⁸¹ I Punbindug died and I Loqmoq Rannu replaced him
16 Raj 1114	namate nayakayya I Punbindug naLoqmoq Rannu assa-mbeangi

⁴⁷⁸ This refers to walls that were constructed in violation of the terms of the Bungaya Treaty.

⁴⁷⁹ Mas Madina, who succeeded his father Mas Banten after the latter's abdication in 1701.

⁴⁸⁰ Dutch sources report that she was a daughter of Karaeng Bontorambaq and Karaeng Barrong (Ligtvoet 1880:173). It is probably Karaeng Agangjeqneq's birth that is referred to in the entry for 10 Sep 1687.

⁴⁸¹ *Nayaka* was the title of the head of the *bissu*, the transvestite ritual specialists who officiated at a number of royal ceremonies even after conversion to Islam. To this point in the *lontaraq bilang* there has been no mention of *bissu*, possibly because of the Islamic context in which the genre developed (Cummings 2007b).

19 Dec (T eve)	Datu ri Citta ⁴⁸² died
1 Syab 1114	namate Datua ri Citta
1703	
20 Feb (T eve)	I Bauwaq born
5 Syaw 1114	naanaq I Bauwaq
12 Mar (M eve)	<i>papuq</i> ⁴⁸³ Daeng Numalo died
25 Syaw 1114	namate I Papuq Daeng Numalo
19 Mar (T)	it is said that Arung Kaju ⁴⁸⁴ died
2 Zulk 1114	nanikana matei Aruq Kaju
3 Apr (W)	Karaeng Garassiq and I Daeng Rikong I Jaga married
16 Zulk 1114	nasikalabini Karae Garassiq I Daeng Rikong I Jaga
12 Apr (R eve)	I Daeng Maqleaq I Sumang and I Daeng Takenna I Jaing married
26 Zulk 1114	nasikalabini I Daeng Maqleaq I Suman I Daeng Takenna I Jaing
16 Apr (T)	I Mangeranngi I Daeng Mattalliq [Karaeng Bungaya] born
1 Zulh 1114	naanq I Mangeranngi I Daeng Mattalliq
24 May (F)	Sayyid Muhammad came east here to Gowa to live
9 Muh 1115	namanrai q mae ri Gowa mammempo Sayyid Muhammad
15 Jun (S)	Karaeng Barong Patola Mutipatullah born
1 Saf 1115	naanaq Karae Barong Patola Mutipatullah
17 Jun (M)	I Daeng Makkulle Ahmad installed as <i>papuq</i> by his family
3 Saf 1115	nanitannang Papuq ri pamanakanna I Daeng Makkulle Ahmad

⁴⁸² Dutch sources report that she was a sister of Arung Palakka and widow of the ruler of Sidénréng Matinroe ri Salemo (Ligtvoet 1880:173).

⁴⁸³ *Papuq* was a title of the head of the Bajo community that traditionally had been loyal to the rulers of Gowa.

⁴⁸⁴ An important Bugis noble who was one of Arung Palakka's lieutenants during and after the Makassar War.

25 Jul (R) 11 Rawl 1115	I Loqmoq Saja died namate I Loqmoq Saja
21 Aug (T eve) 9 Rakr 1115	Karaeng Bontopattongkoq expelled as <i>tumailalang</i> nanipasuluq <i>tumailalang</i> Karaeng Bontopattongkoq
2 Sep (M) 21 Rakr 1115	Karaeng Garassiq and I Daeng Rikong divorced nasipelaq Karae Garassiq I Daeng Rikong
8 Sep (S eve) 27 Rakr 1115	I Daeng Massese and Daengta Daeng Tamemang divorced nasipelaq I Daeng Massese Daengta Daeng Tamemang
8 Sep (N) 27 Rakr 1115	it is said that Arung Meru ⁴⁸⁵ died nanikana matei Arung Meru
3 Oct (R) 22 Jawl 1115	Karaeng Bontopattongkoq and Karaeng Manjalling were reconciled nanipaqbajikang Karae Bontopattongkoq Karae Manjalling
4 Oct (F) 23 Jawl 1115	Karaeng Anaq Moncong went into Cenrana [in Boné] with his wife [Karaeng Paqbineang] mantama Karae Anaq Moncong ri Cenrana sikalabini
7 Oct (M) 26 Jawl 1115	house(s) built in Sero nanibangun ballaka ri Seroq
24 Oct (R) 14 Jakr 1115	Karaeng ri Bontoa and Karaeng ri Mamampang married nasikalabini Karaengta ri Bontoa Karaengta ri Mamampang
3 Nov (S eve) 24 Jakr 1115	Daengta I Puwaq's belongings seized [by] Karaeng Tumamenang ri Passiringanna [Abdul Kadir]; it is said he was shamed nanirapping Daengta I Puwaq Karaenga Tuammenang ri Passiringanna nikana nabiqnnyaraq
10 Nov (N)	Karaeng Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] sailed to go into Cenrana for the circumcison of Karaeng Bisei

⁴⁸⁵ A sister of Arung Palakka.

1 Raj 1115	namamise Karaeng Tuammenang ri Lakiun mantama ri Cenrana lanisunnaqna Karae Bisei
14 Dec (S)	Sudanga and Latea ri Duni ⁴⁸⁶ placed side by side in Latimojong [a royal hall]; many people swore oaths to each other; for the first time they were placed side by side ⁴⁸⁷
2 Syab 1115	nanipasiempoang Sudanga Latea ri Duni ri Latimojong nasitalliq lombo taua uru nipasiempoanna
20 Dec (F)	Karaeng Bisei circumcised; many people were at the ritual
12 Syab 1115	nanisunnaq Karaeng Bisei kaparekang lompoi taua
1704	
8 Jan (W)	the karaeng [Abdul Jalil] arrived from Cenrana
1 Ram 1115	nabattumo ri Cenrana karaenga
10 Feb (N eve)	Gallarrang I Kare Mangalliq died
5 Syaw 1115	namate Gallarang I Kare Mangalliq
10 Feb (M)	I Daeng Takenna died giving birth
5 Syaw 1115	namate mammanaq I Daeng Takenna
8 Mar (S eve)	Daengta Daeng Tuna, a grandparent of the karaeng [Abdul Jalil], died at the age of 74
2 Zulk 1115	namate Daengta Daeng Tuna toana karaenga umuruqna 74
18 Mar (W)	Daengta I Kare Pate died at the age of 41
12 Zulk 1115	namate Daengta I Kare Pate umuruqna 41

⁴⁸⁶ Sudanga, a sword, was a *kalompoang* or piece of sacred regalia from Gowa and Latea ri Duni was a sword from the regalia of Boné. More than simple accoutrements or objects, these swords were believed to embody the sovereignty of their respective communities and provided tangible links to the *tumanurung* who founded Gowa and Boné. This ritual was a potent demonstration of the equal importance of the two kingdoms and an effort to assert that they were now closely bound together as allies. The oaths that the nobles of Gowa and Boné swore were witness to this potent piece of political dramaturgy.

⁴⁸⁷ Ligtvoet (1880:174) notes that the swords actually first were placed side by side during the reign of Tumpaqrisiq Kallonna when he made a treaty with the ruler of Boné. This ritual is not mentioned in the *Gowa Chronicle*.

16 Apr (R)	Karaeng ri Bontomanompoq sailed east with the people of Boné to Sandao to make war
12 Zulh 1115	namamise Karaengta ri Bontomanompoq manraiq ri Sandawo maqbunduq siagang tuBonea
11 May (M)	it is said that Datu ri Luwuq Matinroa ri Tompotikkaq died
8 Muh 1116	nanikana matei Ratua ri Luwuq Matinroa ri Tompotikkaq
3 Jun (W)	it is said that Arung Amali ⁴⁸⁸ died 13 nights [ago]
1 Saf 1116	nanikana matei Arung Amali 10 banngimi antallu
17 Jun (W)	the shipment to the karaeng [Abdul Jalil] from the ruler of [the islands of] Sulu ⁴⁸⁹ arrived: a clock
13 Saf 1116	nabattu pikatunna karaenga ri karaenga ri Suluq goyang sibatu
25 Jun (R)	Karaeng Taruq, a child of Karaeng ri Pasiq, died
23 Saf 1116	namate Karae Taruq anaqna Karaengta ri Pasiq
29 Jun (N eve)	Karaeng Agangjeqneq and the ruler of Sumbawa [Ammasaq] divorced
27 Saf 1116	nasipelaq Karae Agangjeqneq karae Sambawa
14 Jul (T)	Karaeng ri Bontomanompoq arrived from Sandao
12 Rawl 1116	nabattumo ri Sandawo Karaengta ri Bontomanompoq
19 Jul (N)	Karaeng Agangjeqneq had a child I Sugi ⁴⁹⁰ by the ruler of Sumbawa [Ammasaq]
17 Rawl 1116	namammanaq Karae Agangjeqneq ri karae Sumbawa I Sugi
29 Jul (W)	I Dasunting, a wife of I Tuang [Rappang], died giving birth
27 Rawl 1116	namate mammanaq I Dasunting bainenna I Tuan

⁴⁸⁸ As (Ligtvoet 1880:175) notes, this Arung Amali must not be confused with the confidant of Arung Palakka by the same name, for he became known as ‘the elder Arung Tanete’ (Arung Tanete Matoa) and died in 1707.

⁴⁸⁹ The Sulu islands link Borneo and Mindanao. The annalist may have meant the Sula islands in Maluku, an area that long had connections to Makassar.

⁴⁹⁰ Probably Karaeng Bontoa (Ligtvoet 1880:203).

6 Aug (R) 12 Rakr 1116 ⁴⁹²	I Markus died; he was hung ⁴⁹¹ nanibuno I Markus nigentungi
31 Aug (M) 1 Jawl 1116	Karaeng Garassiq and I Limaraq married nasikalabini Karae Garassiq I Limaraq
10 Sep (R) 11 Jawl 1116	people begin to clear the land in Buluq-Buluq namappakaramula tauaya maqbelaq ri Buluqburuq
23 Sep (W) 24 Jawl 1116	Daenga Daeng Niaq died in Sanrabone namate Daenga Daeng Niaq ri Sanrabone
10 Oct (S) 12 Jakr 1116	people withdraw from clearing land [in Buluq-Buluq] namammonoqmo tauaya ri belaka
1 Nov (S eve) 4 Raj 1116	Arung Belo and Daengta Daeng Mami returned to each other nasipolei Aruq Belo Daengta Daeng Mami
9 Nov (N eve) 12 Raj 1116	I Tuang [Rappang] and I Daeng Nisayu ⁴⁹³ married nasikalabini I Tuan I Daeng Nisayu
10 Nov (T) 13 Raj 1116	Daeng Mamuntuli and his wife ⁴⁹⁴ arrived nabattu Daeng Mammuntuli sikalabini
16 Nov (M) 19 Raj 1116	Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] sailed to go into Centana for the wedding of the ruler of Sumbawa [Ammasaq] namamise Tuammenang ri Lakiun mantama ri Cenrana ri paqbuntinganna karae Sambawa
21 Nov (S) 24 Raj 1116	it is said that Karaeng Pamolikang died, killed by the Kengkelu [Tambora on Sumbawa] nanikana matei Karae Pammolikang nibunoi ri Kenkelua

⁴⁹¹ A former VOC council secretary in Makassar, Markus Santbeek was accused of a variety of illegal practices by local nobles (Ligtvoet 1880:175).

⁴⁹² The Hijri date converts to 13 Aug 1704.

⁴⁹³ This is not the same I Daeng Nisayu as the wife of Pangerang Aria, who left for Borneo with him on 17 Jul 1707.

⁴⁹⁴ Karaeng Barong Patola, a daughter of the former ruler of Sumbawa Mas Banten.

5 Dec (F eve)	Karaeng Bontomateqne had a daughter
8 Syab 1116	namammanaq Karae Bontomateqne baine
11 Dec (R eve)	I Jamuq died
14 Syab 1116	namate I Jamuq
16 Dec (W)	wedding of the ruler of Sumbawa [Ammasaq] to Arung
	Timurung [Datu ri Citta] ⁴⁹⁵
19 Syab 1116	nabunting karae Sambawa ri Aruq Timurun
1705	
1 Jan (F)	Karaeng Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] arrived
	from Cenrana
5 Ram 1116	nabattu ri Cenrana Karaeng Tuammenang ri Lakiun
13 Jan (W)	Sayyid Zain and I Daeng Tapallaq divorced
17 Ram 1116	nasipelaq Sayyid Zainu I Daeng Tapallaq
24 Jan (N)	it is said that I Daeng Mamuntuli and Karaeng Barong
	Patola divorced
28 Ram 1116	nanikana sipelaki I Daeng Mamuntuli Karae Borong
	Patola
24 Feb (W)	Taqbi Sattu died
1 Zulk 1116	namate Taqbi Sattu
31 Mar (W)	Karaeng ri Taruq's arrival from Jakattaraq took place
2 Zulh 1116	naniaqmo Karaengta ri Taruq battu ri Jakattaraq
1 Apr (R)	I Daeng Manyampakki and I Daeng Tasami divorced
7 Zulh 1116	nasipelaq I Daeng Manyampaki I Daeng Tasami
5 Apr (N eve)	the remains of I Tuang Shaykh Yusuf (may Allah bless
	him) arrived and was buried in Lakiung the next day
11 Zulh 1116	nabattu mayaqna I Tuan Syekhu Yusupu Radiallahuanhu
	naniawang ri Lakiun ammuko
15 Apr (R)	Karaeng Bontopattongkoq I Baraq died
21 Zulh 1116	namate Karae Bontopattongkoq I Baraq

⁴⁹⁵ Also known as Bataritoja, she was a daughter of La Patauq and Opu Larompong, a sister of Matinroe ri Langkanana (Ligtvoet 1880:176, 196).

22 Apr (W eve)	I Daeng Manyampakki and I Daeng Tasami returned to each other
22 Zulh 1116 ⁴⁹⁶	nasipolei I Daeng Manyampaki I Daeng Tasami
1 May (S)	Karaeng Kanjilo's belongings seized by Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil]
8 Muh 1117	nanirappung Karae Kanjilo ri Tuammenang ri Lakiun
5 May (S)	Sayyid Zain and I Daeng Tapallaq returned to each other
15 Muh 1117	nasipolei Sayyid Zain I Daeng Tapallaq
17 May (M)	the female ruler Datu ri Soppéng ⁴⁹⁷ died
24 Muh 1117	namate Datua ri Soppeng datu bainea
4 Jun (F)	Karaeng ri Buluq-Buluq died at 40 years of age
13 Saf 1117	namate Karaengta ri Buluq-Buluq umuruqna 40 taun
12 Jun (S)	I Daeng ri Kasammeng died at the age of 87 on just the same day as the birth of Muhammad Ali
21 Saf 1117	namate I Daeng ri Kasammeng umuruqna 87 julu alloji kaanakkanna Muhammad Ali
18 Jun (S)	Karaeng Boqdia and I Daeng Tongi Sapiah divorced
28 Saf 1117	nasipelaq Karae Boddia I Daeng Tongi Sapiah
21 Jun (N eve)	Ratu Agung died
30 Saf 1117	namate Ratu Agung
2 Jul (R eve)	Anciq Daeng and I Jamilah married
11 Rawl 1117	nasikalabini Anciq Daeng I Jamilah
22 Aug (N)	Karaeng Lambengi and I Daeng Marannu I Biba divorced
3 Jawl 1117	nasipelaq Karae Lambengi I Daeng Marannu I Biba
1 Sep (W)	Matinroa ri Nagaulang [La Patauq] came east to Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] bringing Karaeng Kanjilo to ask forgiveness
13 Jawl 1117	namanraiq mae Matinroa ri Nagaulan ri Tuammenang ri Lakiun angerangi Karae Kanjilo ampappalaq popporangi

⁴⁹⁶ The Hijri date converts to 16 Apr 1705.

⁴⁹⁷ We Adda Datu ri Watu, Matinroe ri Madello.

- 5 Sep (S eve) I Daeng Tasami had a daughter
17 Jawl 1117 namammanaq I Daeng Tasami baine
- 23 Sep (R) Daengta I Puaq died
5 Jakr 1117 namate Daengta I Puaq
- 25 Sep (S) I Daeng Mamuntuli eloped with Karaeng Barong Patola
from the house of [her father] Datu Lokaq [Mas Banten]
and was fined 888 reals and her brideprice of 88 [reals]
7 Jakr 1117 nanilariang ri Daeng Mamuntuli Karae Barong Patola ri
ballaqla Datu Lokaq nanipassala 880 realaq passunranna
88
- 30 Sep (R) people mustered for the installation of [VOC governor]
Erbervelt
12 Jakr 1117 namarewangan taua nilantiqla Erbelpel
- 2 Oct (F eve) the [body of the] wife of [I Tuang Shaykh Yusuf] was
dug up above in Bontobiraeng and brought down here to
Lakiung and buried
14 Jakr 1117 nanikekkeseq bainenna irate ri Bontobiraeng nierang
manaung mae ri Lakiun niawang
- 8 Oct (R eve) I Kamboja and a step child of I Daeng Manyampaq Alluq
married
20 Jakr 1117 nasikalabini I Kamboja anaq aona I Daeng Manyampaq
Alluq
- 9 Oct (S) the merchant I Kare Uppa died
21 Jakr 1117 namate pabandangang I Kare Ruppaa
- 11 Oct (N eve) I Daeng Manruppai and I Yakung I Daeng Tommi mar-
ried
23 Jakr 1117 nasikalabini I Daeng Manruppai I Yakung I Daeng Tommi
- 13 Oct (W) the ruler of Sumbawa [Ammasaq] and Arung Timurung
[Datu ri Citta] divorced
25 Jakr 1117 nasipelaq karae Sambawa Aruq Timurun
- 15 Oct (R eve) Karaeng Lambengi and I Daeng Marannu I Bokuq mar-
ried
27 Jakr 1117 nasikalabini Karae Lambengi I Daeng Marannu I Bokuq

18 Oct (N eve) 1 Raj 1117	I Daeng Baine died namate I Daeng Baine
22 Oct (F) 5 Raj 1117	Matinroa ri Nagaulang [La Patauq] sailed to go into Toraja with Karaeng Anaq Moncong namamise Matinroa ri Nagaulan mantama ri Toraja sia- gaang Karae Anaq Moncong
28 Oct (R) 11 Raj 1117	it is said that Kartasura, the seat of the ruler of Mataram, was conquered by the Dutch ⁴⁹⁸ nanikana nibetami Kartasura naempoia Karae Mataran ri Balandaya
31 Oct (S eve) 14 Raj 1117	Datu Lokaq [Mas Banten] ⁴⁹⁹ and the ruler of Sumbawa [Ammasaq] sailed over to their homeland [on Sumbawa] namamise Datu Lokaq siagaang karae Sambawa taqle ri paqrasanganna
1 Nov (T) 15 Raj 1117	I Jamilah and Anciq Daeng divorced nasipelaq I Jamilah Anciq Daeng
21 Nov (N) 5 Syab 1117	Ratu Hayati died namate Ratu Hayati
4 Dec (F eve) 18 Syab 1117	the night of I Kare Taqgalaq the brave warrior's death inside Toraja banngi nakamateang I Kare Taqgalaq tubarani ilalang ri Toraja
5 Dec (N) 19 Syab 1117	Karaeng Bontolangkasaq circumcised nanisunnaq Karae Bontolangkasaq

⁴⁹⁸ This was a key moment in the First Javanese War of Succession (1704-1708). With VOC support and an army that included Bugis and Makassarese Pakubuwana I occupied Kartasura in September 1705 with little resistance from his nephew Amangkurat III, the new ruler of Mataram (Ricklefs 2001:110). It is quite possible that word of this event reached Makassar a month later via the Bugis or Makassarese warriors participating in the campaign. Word reached Makassar about a month after the September occupation of Kartasura.

⁴⁹⁹ Datu Lokaq was the title of the former ruler of Sumbawa Mas Banten. He abdicated in 1701 and was succeeded by his son, Mas Madina.

- 13 Dec (M) I Kamariah⁵⁰⁰, a wife of the elder Ratu Bagus⁵⁰¹, had a daughter
- 27 Syab 1117 namammanaq I Kamariah bainenna Ratu Bagusu matoa baine
- 20 Dec (M) Matinroa ri Nagaulang [La Patauq] arrived from Toraja without gaining [victory]
- 4 Ram 1117 nabattu ri Toraja Matinroa ri Nagaulan tanakulleai
- 22 Dec (W) Karaeng Anaq Moncong arrived also
- 6 Ram 1117⁵⁰² nabattutommo Karae Anaq Moncong
- 1706
- 13 Jan (W eve) I Daeng Tapallaq had a son, Sayyid Husain
- 28 Ram 1117 namammanaq I Daeng Tapallaq buraqne Sayyid Husin
- 28 Jan (F) I Kare Battu expelled from his supervisory position for freeing people who were imprisoned; I Daeng Talesang replaced him⁵⁰³
- 13 Syaw 1117 nanipasuluq I Kare Battu ri panjannanginna napalari tau nirante naI Daeng Talesang assambeangi
- 8 Feb (M eve) Karaeng Tabaringang Nafisah⁵⁰⁴ had a child on just the same day as the death of I Kare Sitaba, an expert builder
- 24 Syaw 1117 naanaq Karae Tabaringan Nafisah julu alloji matena I Kare Sitaba panrita ballaq
- 13 Feb (N) I Kare Basse died and I Kare Taqqalaq I Parampang replaced him
- 1 Zulk 1117 namate I Kare Basse naI Kare Taqqalaq I Parampang assa-mbeangi
- 3 Mar (R) I Manguluang circumcised
- 19 Zulk 1117 nanisunnaq I Manguluang

⁵⁰⁰ She was also called Daeng Nisanga.

⁵⁰¹ Ratu Bagus was a title borne by children of lower-ranking wives or concubines of the sultans of Banten.

⁵⁰² A copyist mistakenly wrote the 2nd instead of the 6th.

⁵⁰³ *Tumakkajannang*, the supervisory position referred to here, was the title of those charged with overseeing groups of people who performed specific tasks.

⁵⁰⁴ She was a daughter of Sirajuddin (Ligtvoet 1880:178).

21 Mar (M) 7 Zulh 1117	I Totammaq died namate I Totammaq
10 Apr (S eve) 27 Zulh 1117	Daengta Daeng Tuna Bulukumba died namate Daengta Daeng Tuna Buluq Kumba
28 Apr (R) 16 Muh 1118	Arung Belo and Daengta Daeng Mami divorced nasipelaq Aruq Belo Daengta Daeng Mami
8 May (S) 26 Muh 1118	I Daeng Mambani Dulang and I Sayedah married nasikalabini I Daeng Mambani Dulan I Sayedah
16 Jun (R) 6 Rawl 1118	I Cammaq and I Daeng Rikong I Jaga divorced nasikalabini I Cammaq I Daeng Rikong I Jaka
18 Jun (S) 8 Rawl 1118	Karaeng Manjalling and I Nanuq Daeng Nisanga divorced nasipelaq Karae Manjalling I Nanuq Daeng Nisanga
28 Jul (R) ⁵⁰⁵ 18 Rakr 1118	the younger Ratu Bagus and I Kare Teqne I Jambang married nasikalabini Ratu Bagus Malolo I Kare Teqne I Jambang
6 Aug (F eve) 27 Rakr 1118	Karaeng Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] had great sores in his thigh nanabattui sakkaq lombo bongganna Karaenga Tuammenang ri Lakiun
11 Sep (S eve) 4 Jakr 1118	Karaeng Bontomateqne and the karaeng [Sirajuddin] divorced nasipelaq Karae Bontomateqne karaenga
29 Oct (S) 22 Raj 1118	Tuammenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] went down to the ground after [healing from] the swelling [in his thigh] and was lavished with offerings namanaungmo ri butta Tuammenang ri Lakiun leqbaq-na makambang nanikiori
12 Nov (F eve)	there were thieves went up into [a house or royal hall] and stabbed each other in Ujung

⁵⁰⁵ A copyist mistakenly wrote August instead of July.

7 Syab 1118	naniaq palukkaq appanaiki sitoboki para palukkaq ri Ujung
14 Nov (N eve) 9 Syab 1118	Ratu Bagus and I Kare Teqne divorced nasipelaq Ratu Bagus I Kare Teqne
2 Dec (R eve) 27 Syab 1118	Karaeng Anaq Moncong and Sitti Labibah ⁵⁰⁶ married nasikalabini Karae Anaq Moncong Sitti Labibah
2 Dec (F) 27 Syab 1118	Friday public prayers first established this Friday in Taenga nauru mamenteng jumaka ri Taenga jumaq
12 Dec (N eve) 7 Ram 1118	I Mammaq and I Daeng Nisimba married nasikalabini I Mammaq I Daeng Nisimba
16 Dec (R eve) 11 Ram 1118	I Daeng Nisoqna had a son namammanaq I Daeng Nisoqna buraqne
1707	
1 Jan (S eve) 27 Ram 1118	Karaeng Balaqsari and the karaeng [Sirajuddin] married nasikalabini Karae Balassari karaenga
2 Jan (M) 28 Ram 1118	I Cammaq and I Daeng Rikong divorced [again] nasipelaq I Cammaq I Daeng Rikong
4 Jan (W) 30 Ram 1118	Sayyid Muhammad was stabbed beneath the glands in his neck but did not die nanitoboq Sayyid Muhammad irawanganna kulanrereqna tamateai
6 Jan (R eve) 2 Syaw 1118	I Kare Onoq Gallarrang Aeng died namate I Kare Onoq Gallarang Aeng
16 Feb (R)	Karaeng Majannang Abdul Kadir I La Sanresang ⁵⁰⁷ born

⁵⁰⁶ Dutch sources report that she was a daughter of Shaykh Yusuf and a woman known as Kare Kontu (Ligtvoet 1880:178). As a daughter of Shaykh Yusuf, her marriage into the Gowa ruling family represents a significant moment in the carefully cultivated association between the rulers of Gowa and the Sufi movement that spread in eighteenth-century Sulawesi following the repatriation of Shaykh Yusuf's remains.

⁵⁰⁷ A son of Karaeng Bontosunggu and future sultan of Talloq also known as Tumamenang ri Buttana.

14 Zulk 1118	naanaq Karae Majannang Abdul Kadir I La Sanresang
3 Mar (F)	Haji Abdurrahman arrived bringing the haj payment of Tumatea ri Salaparang [Karaeng Jarannika]
29 Zulk 1118	nabattumo Hajji Abdurrahman angerangi pamalli hajjina Tumatea ri Salaparang
26 Mar (N)	Daengta Daeng Tuang died at the age of 82
22 Zulh 1118	namate Daengta Daeng Tuang umuruqna 82
24 Apr (M)	Karaeng Anaq Moncong went into Cenrana bringing [his wife] Sitti Labibah
22 Muh 1119	namantama ri Cenrana Karae Anaq Moncong angerangi Sitti Labibah
23 May (T)	Datu ri Soppéng [Matinroe ri Salassana], former spouse of Karaeng ri Langeloq, died at the age of 53
22 Saf 1119	namate Datua ri Soppeng pallaloanna Karaengta ri Langeloq umuruqna 53
20 Jun (M eve)	I Daeng Tapallaq had a daughter by Sayyid [Zain]
20 Rawl 1119	namammanaq I Daeng Tanpallaq ri Sayyidka baine
24 Jun (S)	I Kamariah had a daughter
24 Rawl 1119	namammanaq I Kamariah baine
26 Jun (M)	Karaeng ri Mangaraqbombang died in Talloq
26 Rawl 1119	namate Karaengta ri Mangaraqbombang ri Talloq
3 Jul (M)	Haji Jaqfar died
4 Rokr 1119	namate Hajji Jaqpar
5 Jul (W)	I Daeng Talesang I Coce died in Talloq ⁵⁰⁸
6 Rokr 1119	namate I Daeng Talesang I Coce ri Talloq
13 Jul (W eve)	Anciq Terengganu and I Sayedah Sanrabone married
14 Rokr 1119	nasikalabini Ancet Tarangganu I Sayedah Sanrabone
14 Jul (F)	Gallarrang Mangasa went with the ruler of Agangnionjoq to go into Toraja to summon Pati Manjawari

⁵⁰⁸ Presumably the same Daeng Talesang who became *tumakkajannang* on 28 Jan 1706.

- 15 Rakr 1119 namaqlampa Gallarang Mangasa siagaang karaengta ri Agangnionjoq mantama ri Toraja angkioki Pati Manjawari
- 17 Jul (M) Pangerang Aria went over to his homeland [Pamukang on Borneo] bringing his wife [I Daeng Nisayu]
- 18 Rakr 1119 namaqlampa Pangerang Aria taqle ri paqrasanganna angerangi bainenna
- 21 Jul (F) Daengta Daeng Singaraq and *sabannaraq* I Daeng Makkulle divorced but returned to each other later
- 22 Rakr 1119 nasipelaq Daengta Daeng Singaraq I Daeng Makulle sabannaraq sipoleiji salla
- 25 Jul (M eve) Karaeng Balua, a great grandparent of I Padang, died
- 26 Rakr 1119 namate Karaengta Balua boena I Padang
- 8 Aug (W) Karaeng Boqdia and I Daeng Tongi returned to each other
- 10 Jawl 1119 nasipolei Karae Boqdia I Daeng Tongi
- 23 Aug (W) the ruler of Agangnionjoq and Gallarrang Mangasa arrived from Toraja
- 25 Jawl 1119 nabattumo ri Toraja Karaengta ri Agangnionjoq Gallarang Mangasa
- 3 Sep (N) Gallarrang Mangasa again went with the ruler of Agangnionjoq to go into Toraja
- 7 Jakr 1119 namaqlampa pole Gallarang Mangasa siagaang Karaengta ri Agangnionjoq mantama ri Toraja
- 4 Sep (M) work done to repair the mosque in Talloq
- 8 Jakr 1119 nanijama nipakabajiki masigika ri Talloq
- 15 Sep (R eve) the younger Ratu Bagus and I Kare Tonji I Maqmiq married
- 19 Jakr 1119 nasikalabini Ratu Bagus malolo I Kare Tonji I Maqmiq
- 1 Oct (N) the day of Sayyid Muhammad's death across on Bima
- 5 Raj 1119 allo nakamateanga Sayyid Muhammad ibaqle ri Dima
- 4 Oct (W) I Daeng Nisayu, [a wife of] I Tuang [Rappang], had a daughter named Sitti Malikah
- 8 Raj 1119 namammanaq I Daeng Nisayu I Tuan baine nikana Sitti Malikah

14 Oct (S) 18 Raj 1119	teeth filed of Karaeng Bontojeqneq naniariq Karae Bontojeqneq
15 Oct (N) 19 Raj 1119	I Baronang died at six years and six months of age namate I Baronang umuruqna 6 taun 6 bulan
3 Nov (R eve) 9 Syab 1119	I Daeng Tongi had a son namammanaq I Daeng Tongi buraqne
13 Nov (M) 19 Syab 1119	the day of the elder Arung Tanete's death inside Cenrana allo nakamateanga Aruq Tanete matoa ilalang ri Cenrana
4 Dec (M) 10 Ram 1119	the ruler of Agangnionjoq with Gallarrang Mangasa arrived from Toraja; with them too was Pati Manjawari nabattu ri Toraja Karaengta ri Agangnionjoq siagaang Gallarang Mangasa niaqtommi Pati Manjawari
22 Dec (F) 28 Ram 1119	I Loqmoq, a grandparent of <i>tumailalang</i> Karaeng ri Lekoqboqdong, died namate I Loqmoq toana <i>tumailalang</i> Karaengta ri Lekoqboqdong
30 Dec (S) 6 Syaw 1119	Karaeng Balaqsari had a daughter, Karaeng Tanasanga Mahbubah Mamuncaragi namammanaq Karae Balassari baine Karae Tanasanga Mahbubah Mamuncaragi
1708	
24 Jan (W) 2 Zulk 1119	word arrived of the death of Dala Lemo Apa ⁵⁰⁹ nabattu nipabiritta matena Dala Lemo Apaq
14 Feb (T eve) 23 Zulk 1119	Karaeng Anaq Moncong and Karaeng Paqbineang divorced nasipelaq Karae Anaq Moncong Karae Paqbineang
24 Mar (N) 2 Muh 1120	Karaeng Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] sailed to go into Cenrana bringing Pati Manjawari namamise Karaenga Tuammenang ri Lakiun mantama ri Cenrana anggerangi Pati Manjawari

⁵⁰⁹ A wife of La Patauq whose low rank is indicated by the title Dala, similar to the Makassarese title Loqmoq.

11 Apr (R) 20 Muh 1120	the karaeng [Abdul Jalil] arrived from Cenrana nabattu ri Cenrana karaenga
29 Apr (N eve) 9 Saf 1120	Karaeng Bontomateqne and Arung Lalolang ⁵¹⁰ married nasikalabini Karae Bontomateqne Arung Lalolang
13 May (M) 23 Saf 1120	I Daeng Manruppai and I Yakung I Daeng Tommi divorced nasipelaq I Daeng Manruppai I Yokung I Daeng Tommi
22 May (W) 2 Rawl 1120	the ruler of Sumbawa [Ammasaq] and Karaeng Pasiq married nasikalabini karae Sambawa Karae Pasiq
6 Jun (W eve) 17 Rawl 1120	Pati Manjawari went to go into Toraja to his wife nampaqlampa Pati Manjawari mantama ri Toraja ri bainenna
17 Jun (N eve) 28 Rawl 1120	I Daeng Majannang I Daenne died namate I Daeng Majannang I Daenne
24 Jun (M) 6 Rakr 1120	I Mappaq, a child of Daengta Daeng Ngaseng, and I Singayah married nasikalabini I Mappaq anaqna Daengta Daeng Ngaseng I Singayah
2 Jul (T) 14 Rakr 1120	I Daeng Marannu I Mamo died at the age of 61 namate I Daeng Marannu I Mamo umuruna 61
7 Jul (S eve) 19 Rakr 1120	I Durra and a child of Karaeng ri Bontokamase died, hav- ing stabbed each other namate I Durra anaqna Karaengta ri Bontokamase sito- boki
16 Jul (T) 28 Rakr 1120	Daengta Daeng Singaraq and <i>sabannaraq</i> I Daeng Makkulle divorced [again] nasipelaq Daengta I Daeng Singaraq I Daeng Makkulle sabannaraq

⁵¹⁰ He was a Tanete noble (Ligtvoet 1880:180).

5 Aug (M) 19 Jawl 1120	Karaeng Jawere ⁵¹¹ and Karaeng Bontojeqneq wed nabunting Karae Jawere Karae Bontojeqneq
1 Sep (N) 17 Jakr 1120	I Sandewi killed from a blow by the arumpone [La Patauq] inside Cenrana nanibuno patunrung I Sandewi ri arungpone ilalang ri Cenrana
20 Oct (N) 6 Syab 1120	it is said that the Susuhunan of Mataram [Amangkurat III] was brought to Jakattaraq overseas ⁵¹² nanikana nierangmi kalau ri Jakattaraq Susununga ri Matarang
4 Nov (N eve) 21 Syab 1120	the remains of Haji Barahing Abdulgaffar were brought back nabattu nierang mayaqna Hajji Barahin Abdulgappar
4 Dec (W) 21 Ram 1120	it is said that the Susuhunan of Mataram [Amangkurat III] was brought overseas to Ceylon with Daeng Masepe nanikana nierang kalau ri Selang Susunanga ri Mataran siagaang Daeng Masepe
23 Dec (M) 21 Syaw 1120 ⁵¹⁴	Tumamenang ri Jawaya Najamuddin I Manrabia ⁵¹³ born naanaq Tuammenanga ri Jawiya Najmuddin I Manrabia
1709	
3 Jan (F) 22 Syaw 1120	Karaeng Patukangang Zainab ⁵¹⁵ born naanaq Karae Patukangan Zainab
8 Jan (W) 27 Syaw 1120	we were left by Karaeng Tumamenang ri Passiringanna [Abdul Kadir] at the age of 44 kinapilari Karaenga Tuammenanga ri Passiringanna umu-ruqna 44

⁵¹¹ Dutch sources report that this brother of the ruler of Sumbawa Mas Madina was also known as Palembang (Ligtvoet 1880:180).

⁵¹² The First Javanese War of Succession ended with the VOC breaking its assurances to Amangkurat III that he would be allowed to govern part of Java if he negotiated. He was instead arrested and exiled to Ceylon (Ricklefs 2001:110), an event recorded on 4 Dec 1708.

⁵¹³ A son of Sirajuddin and Karaeng Balaqsari.

⁵¹⁴ The Hijri date converts to 3 Jan 1709.

⁵¹⁵ She was a daughter of Karaeng Anaq Moncong and Sitti Labibah (Ligtvoet 1880:181).

23 Jan (R)	Karaeng Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] first stricken with illness; he was unable to move himself
12 Zulk 1120	nauru nabattui garrinna Karaenga Tuammenanga ri Lakiun tanakulleai nagioq kalenna
25 Feb (T)	I Daeng Nisanga I Kamariah had a daughter
15 Zulk 1120	namammanaq I Daeng Nisanga I Kamariah baine
26 Mar (M)	Karaeng Panaikang and I Daeng Rikong I Jaga married
28 Zulh 1120 ⁵¹⁶	nasikalabini Karae Panaikang I Daeng Rikong I Jaga
26 Mar (W)	Karaeng Lambengi and I Daeng Marannu I Bokuq divorced
15 Muh 1121	nasipelaq Karae Lambengi I Daeng Marannu I Bokuq
22 Jun (F)	Arung Palakka Puanna I Mattaq [La Padangsajati] arrived here in Gowa after fleeing from Cenrana ⁵¹⁷
20 Rakr 1121	nabattu mae ri Gowa Aruq Palakka Puanna I Mattaq malarina ri Cenrana
14 Jul (N eve)	Karaeng Bontorambaq ⁵¹⁸ eloped with her husband ⁵¹⁹ who brought her into Toraja
8 Jawl 1121	nanilariang Karae Bontoramba ri buraqnenna nierang mantama ri Toraja
22 Jul (N eve)	Karaeng Tompoqbalang died
16 Jawl 1121	namate Karae Tompoqbalang
2 Aug (S)	I Mattaq Abdurrahman I Mappatawang ⁵²⁰ born
26 Jawl 1121	nanaq I Mattaq Abdurrahman I Mappatawan

⁵¹⁶ The Hijri date converts to 10 Mar 1709.

⁵¹⁷ Dutch sources report that he fled Boné because he would not divorce his (pregnant) wife, a daughter of Daeng Mangemba, as his father La Patauq wished (Ligtvoet 1880:181).

⁵¹⁸ It is unlikely that the Karaeng Bontorambaq who eloped here was the daughter of the Karaeng Karunrung who had previously married Daeng Mangemba. Dutch sources make it clear that the Karaeng Bontorambaq who had married Daeng Mangemba at this time was in Kutai, where she was married to the ruler (Ligtvoet 1880:159). Her *karaeng*-ship passed to another young woman, most likely a close relative, in her absence. The couple who eloped would not return to Makassar until 1715.

⁵¹⁹ Daeng Mangemba, also known as Arung Tanete.

⁵²⁰ He was a son of La Padangsajati (Puanna I Mattaq) and a daughter of Daeng Mangemba (Ligtvoet 1880:181).

- 4 Aug (N eve) Karaeng ri Mamampang and Karaeng ri Tana-Tana returned to each other
29 Jawl 1121 nasipolei Karaengta ri Mamampang Karaengta ri Tana-Tana
- 8 Aug (F) I Daeng Ngilauq Bantang died
3 Jakr 1121 namate I Daeng Ngilauq Bantan
- 12 Aug (T) Karaeng ri Talloq Sultan Sirajuddin had a sunshade raised over his head⁵²¹
7 Jakr 1121 nanipirangkakki laqlang Karaenga ri Talloq Sultan Sirajuddin
- 1 Sep (N eve) Karaeng Lambengi and I Kare Teqne I Jambang married
27 Jakr 1121 nasikalabini Karae Lambengi I Kare Teqne I Jambang
- 17 Sep (W) we were left by Karaeng Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] at the age of 59
14 Raj 1121 kinapilari Karaenga Tuammenang ri Lakiun umuruqna 59
- 21 Sep (N) Sudanga and Baraya⁵²² were ordered brought to Sultan Ismail⁵²³ by our karaeng [*tumabicarabutta* Karaeng Bontosunggu]
18 Raj 1121 nanisuro erang Sudanga siagaang baraya ri karaengta mange ri Sultan Ismail
- 30 Sep (T) Matinroa ri Nagaulang [La Patauq] went down to Mandar to make war
27 Raj 1121 namanaung ri Mandaraq Matinroa ri Nagaulan maqbunduq
- 4 Oct (S) Karaeng ri Pangkajeqneq ordered overseas to Jakattaraq
1 Syab 1121 nakalauq ri Jakattaraq Karaengta ri Pangkajeqneq nisuro

⁵²¹ Succeeding his father Sultan Abdul Kadir who died on 8 Jan 1709, he thus formally became the ruler of Talloq.

⁵²² Like Sudanga, Baraya was one of Gowa's chief *kalompoang* or sacred regalia. It was a waist-band worn by the ruler of Gowa on ritual occasions.

⁵²³ Karaeng Anaq Moncong, a son of La Patauq and Karaeng Patukangang, a daughter of Abdul Jalil. He thus succeeded his grandfather on his mother's side as ruler of Gowa.

7 Oct (M eve)	Daengta Daeng Nisayu, a younger sibling of Karaeng ri Balloq, died
4 Syab 1121	namate Daengta Daeng Nisayu arinna Karaengta ri Balloq
8 Oct (W)	Sayyid Zain and I Daeng Tapallaq divorced
5 Syab 1121	nasipelaq Sayyid Zain I Daeng Tapallaq
20 Oct (N eve)	the karaeng [Ismail] and Karaeng Paqbineang returned to each other
17 Syab 1121	nasipolei karaenga Karae Paqbineang
16 Nov (N)	Sulengkaya's covering replaced; people mustered to perform aru ⁵²⁴
14 Ram 1121	nanisambei lekoqna Sulengkaya marewangangi taua man-garui
20 Nov (W eve)	Datu Lokaq [Mas Banten] and Karaeng ri Bontoa wed [in accordance with Islamic custom]
18 Ram 1121	naninikkah Datu Lokaq Karaengta ri Bontoa
26 Nov (T eve)	I Daeng ri Jonggoa died
24 Ram 1121	namate I Daeng ri Jonggoa
27 Nov (R)	I Daeng Majannang Manrepe died
25 Ram 1121	namate I Daeng Majannang Manrepe
7 Dec (M)	birth of Syafiuddin I Mappaingaq ⁵²⁵
5 Syaw 1121	nanianakkang Syafiuddin I Mappaingaq
21 Dec (S eve)	<i>sabannaraq</i> I Daeng Buraqne died
19 Syaw 1121	namate sabannaraka I Daeng Buraqne
25 Dec (R)	I Daeng Manyampakki and I Daeng Tasami divorced
23 Syaw 1121	nasipelaq I Daeng Manyampakki I Daeng Tasami

⁵²⁴ *Aru* were oaths of loyalty chanted while performing an aggressive, martial dance. Here this indicated their obedience and service to Sultan Ismail, Gowa's new ruler. The ceremonial act of replacing the cloth covering Sulengkaya, a banner that troops followed in war and another of Gowa's foremost *kalompoang*, was here connected to the elevation of a new *karaeng*. Sulengkaya was one of what the *Gowa Chronicle* called the 'Three Gaukang' first mentioned during Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna's c. 1530s pivotal war against Talloq, Maros, and Polombangkeng.

⁵²⁵ A son of Sirajuddin and Karaeng Balaqsari, he later became titled Karaeng Lempangang and succeeded his brother as ruler of Talloq in 1739. He also became one of the annalists of the *lontaraq bilang*, and first identifies himself as such on 8 Feb 1713.

29 Dec (M)	Karaeng ri Mangalliq died at the age of 56
27 Syaw 1121	namate Karaengta ri Mangalliq umuruqna 56
1710	
11 Jan (N)	I Callaq Belo was forcibly expelled and departed from Gowa; two of his companions were killed
11 Zulk 1121	nanicindei ewangan I Callaq Belo maqlampa ri Gowa rua aganna nibuno
27 Jan (T)	I Daeng Makkulle installed as <i>sabannaraq</i> , replacing I Daeng Buraqne
27 Zulk 1121	nanitannang sabannaraq I Daeng Makkullu assambeangi I Daeng Buraqne
9 Feb (M)	I Daeng Rapanna installed to oversee the lesser <i>anaq karaeng</i> ⁵²⁶
10 Zulh 1121	naIDaeng Rapanna nitannang anjannanngi anaq karaeng salaya
16 Feb (M)	the karaeng [Ismail] inaugurated on the installation stone ⁵²⁷
17 Zulh 1121	nanitogasaq karaenga ri batu palantikanga

⁵²⁶ This refers to a lower rank of nobles who were children of nobles (thought not though of the highest rank) and a slave or free (but non-noble) parent (Friedericy 1933:9, 14-5)

⁵²⁷ The nature of the ritual described in this entry is uncertain. Ligtoet 1880:183 explained this ceremony as an event in which the new ruler was freed from the influence of evil spirits. Cense and Abdurrahim (1979:857) remarked that the next to last ruler of Gowa reported that this term (*nitogasaq*) described a simpler ceremony than the formal installation rite (*nilantiq*), while noting that the verb *annogasaq* described an inauguration in which the ruler stood under the staircase leading into a royal hall specially constructed for the occasion. The installation stone was a sacred spot marking where the *tumanurung* first descended in Tamalate and one of several ritually important locations in the center of Gowa (Van Eerde 1930). By taking part in this ceremony Sultan Ismail affirmed his direct descent from the *tumanurung* and thus took his place in the chain of *karaeng* who ruled Gowa. Like the moment on 21 Sep 1709 when the regalia were brought to him, this occasion was one of several that a new ruler of Gowa underwent as part of the process of becoming *karaeng*. Indeed, the *lontaraq bilang* entries suggest there was no single transformative moment in which someone became Gowa's ruler. No consistent ceremonial pattern emerges at each succession, and in general there seems to have been several sets of ritual proceedings that collectively and publicly affirmed the new ruler's status. This inauguration rite may have been of special importance because Ismail's father was the ruler of Boné La Patauk and he may have felt there was political value in emphasizing his right to the position through his maternal grandfather Abdul Jalil.

7 Mar (S) ⁵²⁸ 6 Muh 1122	I Daeng Manaqqalaq Caqdi died in Talloq namate I Daeng Manangalaq Caqdi ri Talloq
19 Mar (R) 18 Muh 1122	I Daeng Manassaq Muhammad circumcised nanisunnaq I Daeng Manassaq Muhammad
24 Mar (T) 23 Muh 1122	Karaeng ri Pangkajeqneq dropped anchor at Ujung Pandang, arriving from Jakattaraq namaqlabu ri Jumpandang Karaengta ri Pangkajeqneq battu ri Jakattaraq
12 Apr (N) 13 Saf 1122	Karaeng ri Pangkajeqneq installed as <i>tumailalang</i> nanitannang <i>tumailalang</i> Karaengta ri Pangkajeqneq
13 Apr (M) 14 Saf 1122	Datu Lokaq [Mas Banten] sailed from Mangasa over to his homeland [on Sumbawa] bringing Karaeng ri Bontoa namamise ri Mangasa Datu Lokaq taqle ri paqrasanganna anngerangi Karaengta ri Bontoa
4 May (M) 6 Rawl 1122	Governor Heer van Toll arrived nabattu Guranadur Heer Pantul
16 May (S) 18 Rawl 1122	Daengta Daeng Masiang died at the age of 65 namate Daengta Daeng Masiang umuruqna 65
21 May (R) 23 Rawl 1122	I Loqmoq, a wife of our karaeng [<i>tumabicarabutta</i> Karaeng Bontosunggu] had a daughter Sitti Hawa, a younger sib- ling of Karaeng Majannang namammanaq I Loqmoq bainenna karaengta baine Sitti Hawa arinna Karae Majannang
4 Jul (S) 8 Jawl 1122	Sulengkaya smeared with blood ⁵²⁹ as we opposed the people of Boné naniceraq Sulengkaya kinasongkaang tuBoneya
13 Jul (T)	the arumpone [La Patauq] advanced from Bontoalaaq; we faced each other but did not fight

⁵²⁸ A copyist mistakenly wrote February instead of March.

⁵²⁹ The banner was strengthened before battle by being consecrated with sacrificial blood, strength that would flow to the warriors who fought beneath Sulengkaya.

- 17 Jawl 1122 naosong arungpone ri Bontoalag sidallekanngiaki
tamaqbundukapaki
- 17 Jul (W) we fought at Pangkajeneq
18 Jawl 1122 kimaqbunduqmo ri Pangkajeneq
- 20 Jul (N) a blowdart wounded the karaeng [Ismail] by his nipple
24 Jawl 1122 namalokoq sappuq batoran susunna karaenga
- 25 Jul (S) Dutch fired heavily from their fortifications in
Bontomanaiq
29 Jawl 1122 namamaqdiliq lombo Balandaya ri bentenna ri
Bontomanaiq
- 8 Aug (S) Karaeng Katangka [La Padangsajati] brought seawards to
the fort with his wife
13 Jakr 1122 nanierang kalauq ri kotaya Karae Katangka sikalabini
- 14 Aug (F) the arumpone [La Patauq] retreated from Jonggaya
19 Jakr 1122 namamonoqmo ri Jonggaya arungpone
- 19 Aug (W) the Dutch and the Tallu Boccoa [Boné, Wajoq, and
Soppéng] retreated from their fortifications
24 Jakr 1122 namamonoqmo Balandaya Tallung Boccoa ri bentenna
- 20 Aug (R) Karaeng ri Tana-Tana had a daughter Zainab⁵³⁰
25 Jakr 1122 namammanaq Karaengta ri Tana-Tana baine Zainab
- 22 Aug (S) I Daeng Talele⁵³¹ and Puanna I Daeng Mallimpo died
27 Jakr 1122 namate I Daeng Talele Puanna I Daeng Mallimpo
- 24 Aug (M) I Jamboq, a grandparent of I Papuq, died at 102 years of
age
29 Jakr 1122 namate I Jamboq toana I Papuq umuruqna 102 taung
- 8 Oct (R) Karaeng ri Bontopanno sailed overseas to Jakattaraq to
ask forgiveness from the [governor] general⁵³²

⁵³⁰ Ligtoet (1880:184) notes that it is probably this Zainab who was later titled Karaeng Sumannaq.

⁵³¹ Probably but not necessarily the Daeng Talele who was Arung Palakka's wife.

⁵³² For fighting against the Bugis and the VOC.

- 16 Syab 1122 nasimombbalaq Karaengta ri Bontopanno kalauq ri
Jakattaraq mapalaq popporoq ri jinarala
- 1711
- 16 Jan (S) a wife of Karaeng Katangka [La Padangsjati] had a
daughter Sitti Rahmah Malimbassanna
- 27 Zulk 1122 namammanaq bainenna Karae Katangka baine Sitti
Rahmah Malimbassanna
- 28 Feb (N) 37 from Selayar, including women, went amuk inside the
fort; three escaped
- 11 Muh 1123 Silayaraq 37 nasiagang baine maqjalloq ilalang ri kotaya
tallu lappasaq
- 9 Apr (F) Karaeng ri Bontopanno arrived from Jakattaraq
21 Saf 1123 nabattu ri Jakattaraq Karaengta ri Bontopanno
- 23 Apr (F) Daengta Daeng Tonji died in Lengkeseq
7 Rawl 1123 namate Daengta Daeng Tonji ri Lengkeseq
- 9 May (N) Amirah I Tanitaja, also named I Manengratu⁵³³, born
21 Rawl 1123 naanaq Amirah I Tanitaja nikanatodong I Manengratu
- 29 Jun (T) I Massallomo Muhammad Syadik Manriogauq⁵³⁴ born
13 Jawl 1123 naanaq I Massallomo Muhammad Syadik Manriogauq
- 19 Jul (M) Gallarrang Talloka I Kare Tulusuq died
4 Jakr 1123 namate Gallarrang Talloka I Kare Tulusuq
- 17 Aug (T)⁵³⁵ Gallarrang Saumata died
3 Raj 1123 namate Gallarrang Saumata
- 2 Sep (R) the karaeng [Ismail] and the arumpone [La Patauq] were
brought to an agreement by the Dutch
- 19 Raj 1123 nanipasitabamo ri Balandaya karaenga arumpone

⁵³³ She was a daughter of Ismail and Karaeng Paqbineang and would later be titled Arung Palakka.

⁵³⁴ A son of Ismail and Sitti Labibah, he was known as Arung Sumaling Matinroe ri Luwuq and was a commander (*punggawa*) of Boné's troops.

⁵³⁵ A copyist mistakenly wrote July instead of August.

24 Sep (F) 12 Syab 1123	birth of Karaeng Tangallaq Sitti Arifah I Tanripadaq ⁵³⁶ nanianakkang Karae Tangallaq Sitti Arifah I Tanripadaq
27 Sep (M) 15 Syab 1123	people mustered for the installation of [VOC governor] Heer van Toll namarewangan taua nilantiqna Heer Pantul
19 Oct (T) 7 Ram 1123	the manuscript that would be brought by Karaeng Garassiq overseas to Jakattaraq was taken down to the ship nanipanaung ri biseang lontaraq naeranga Karae Garassiq kalauq ri Jakattaraq
10 Dec (F) ⁵³⁷ 30 Syaw 1123	Gallarrang Paceqnongang died namate Gallarrang Paceqnongan
1712	
20 Jan (W eve) 12 Zulh 1123	the karaeng [Ismail] seized Karaeng ri Bontoa's belong- ings nanirappun ri karaenga Karaengta ri Bontoa
23 Jan (N) 15 Zulh 1123	the people of Boriqsallo, the people of Manuju, the people of Sudiang were given the right to make decisions in their lands nanisareang tuBoriqsalloa tuManujua tuSudiang bicara ri buttana
1 Mar (T eve) 23 Muh 1124	I Yabu went amuk in front of a house in Dataq namaqjalloq I Yabu ri dallekanna ballaka ri Dataq
26 Mar (N) 19 Saf 1124	the people were asked by the karaeng [Ismail] for one real per house nanipappalakki taua ri karaenga sirealaq sibatu ballaq
13 Apr (W eve)	Tumamenang ri Taenga sailed from Taenga up to Bantaeng, letting go of what he had [brought there] ⁵³⁸

⁵³⁶ A daughter of Sirajuddin and Karaeng Balaqsari.

⁵³⁷ A copyist mistakenly wrote October instead of December.

⁵³⁸ This apparently refers to some of Gowa's *kalompoang* and is a clear indication that Tumamenang ri Taenga (*tumabicarabutta* Karaeng Bontosunggu) sought Sultan Ismail's removal as ruler of Gowa and believed that the influence of La Patauq (to whom he brought the regalia in

7 Rawl 1124	namamise ri Taenga Tuammenanga ri Taenga manaiq ri Bantaeng tittiq laling-lalingi
14 Apr (R eve)	I Daeng Pabila and a child of Gallarrang Mangasa married
8 Rawl 1124	nasikalabini I Daeng Pabila anaqna Gallarrang Mangasa
22 May (R eve)	Karaeng Garassiq dropped anchor at Ujung Pandang, arriving from Jakattaraq
6 Rakr 1124 ⁵³⁹	namaqlabu ri Jumpandang Karae Garassiq battu ri Jakattaraq
25 May (R)	Karaeng Bidara expelled ⁵⁴⁰ and I Daeng Talarra replaced him
19 Rakr 1124	nanipasuluq Karaeng Bidara naIDaeng Talarra assambeangi
6 Jun (T)	Governor Heer van Toll died
2 Jawl 1124	namate Gurnadura Heer Pantul
29 Jun (R)	Karaeng ri Sanrabone Tumamenang ri Rateqna ⁵⁴¹ died; no one replaced him [as ruler of Sanrabone until December]
25 Jawl 1124	namate Karaenga ri Sanrabone Tuammenang ri Rateqna tenapa assambeangi
7 Aug (M)	Sayyid Zain died and was buried in Barrang
5 Raj 1124	namate Sayyid Zain niawang ri Barrang
20 Aug (N)	Tumamenang ri Taenga arrived from Bantaeng with the arumpone [La Patauq]
18 Raj 1124	nabattumo ri Bantaeng Tuammenanga ri Taenga siagaang arungpone

Bantaeng) would allow him to succeed. Nor was he incorrect, for a few days after they returned to Gowa in August Ismail was deposed. Tumamenang ri Taenga had been instrumental in overseeing Ismail's installation in 1709, and the cause of their fallout is not evident from the *lontaraq bilang* alone.

⁵³⁹ The Hijri date converts to 12 May 1712.

⁵⁴⁰ In what capacity is not certain, though probably not as one of the two *tumailalang*.

⁵⁴¹ This individual is not mentioned elsewhere in the *lontaraq bilang*, but presumably replaced Abdul Jalil as Sanrabone's ruler when the former died in 1709. His posthumous name refers to his Islamic devotion, for *rateq* is the Makassarese pronunciation of the Arabic *ratib*, the collective recitation of Islamic prayers such as *zikir*.

24 Aug (R) 23 Raj 1124	Karaeng Anaq Moncong expelled [as ruler of Gowa] nanipasuluq Karae Anaq Moncong
29 Aug (T)	the people of Boné, the people of Soppeng, the people of Wajoq arrived and took Karaeng Anaq Moncong and also brought Sudanga and the sunshade over [the river to Taenga] to our karaeng [<i>tumabicarabutta</i> Karaeng Bontosunggu]
27 Raj 1124	nabattu tuBoneya tuSoppenga tuWajoka angallei Karae Anaq Moncong nanierangtommo Sudanga laqlang taqla ri karaengta
31 Aug (R) 29 Raj 1124 ⁵⁴²	the Karaeng ri Talloq [Sirajuddin] installed as Karaeng ri Gowa, replacing Karaeng Anaq Moncong naKaraenga ri Talloq nitannang Karaeng ri Gowa assam-beangi Karaeng Anaq Moncong
4 Sep (T) 4 Syab 1124	Gallarrang Cambaya I Kare Kanjaraq died namate Gallarrang Cambaya I Kare Kanjaraq
10 Sep (N) 10 Syab 1124	the karaeng [Sirajuddin] first shaded with the sunshade of Gowa nauru nilaqlangi karaenga laqlang ri Gowa
14 Sep (W eve) 14 Syab 1124	I Daeng Manangaraq Layuq died namate I Daeng Manangaraq Layuq
15 Sep (R eve) 15 Syab 1124	Karaeng Bontolangkasaq and I Eja married nasikalabini Karae Bontolangkasaq I Eja
16 Sep (F eve) 16 Syab 1124	Karaeng Anaq Moncong was brought into Cenrana [in Boné] nanierang mantama ri Cenrana Karae Anaq Moncong
21 Sep (R)	Sudanga and Latea ri Duni renewed [our relationship] by being placed side by side in Ballaq Kiria ⁵⁴³ for the second time

⁵⁴² A copyist mistakenly wrote the 21st instead of the 29th.

⁵⁴³ This royal hall was first built on 12 Feb 1702 and must be connected to *tumabicarabutta* Tumamenang ri Taenga, who married a Karaeng ri Ballaq Kiria on 24 Oct 1687 and recently played the key role in expelling Sultan Ismail by forging a closer relationship with the ruler of Boné La Patau.

- 21 Syab 1124 naniberui nipasiempoang pole Sudanga Lateariduni ri Ballaq Kiria pinruangmi
- 8 Oct (S) the manuscript that would be brought by Karaeng ri Bontpanno overseas to Jakattaraq was taken down to the ship; it said they had taken the karaeng [of Talloq, Sirajuddin] as Karaeng ri Gowa
- 7 Ram 1124 nanipanaung ri biseang lontaraq naeranga Karaengta ri Bontopanno kalauqna ri Jakattaraq angkana-kanai nial-lena karaeng ri Gowa karaenga
- 2 Nov (W)⁵⁴⁴ the karaeng [Sirajuddin] sailed with his wife [Karaeng Balaqsari] up to Bantaeng for the circumcision of I La Useq⁵⁴⁵
- 2 Syaw 1124 namamise karaenga sikalabini manaiq ri Bantaeng ala nis-unnaqna I La Useq
- 12 Nov (F eve) a celebration of the arumpone [La Patauq] first took place in Bantaeng
- 12 Syaw 1124 nauru mammempo jagana arungpone ri Bantaeng
- 14 Nov (M) I La Useq circumcised
- 14 Syaw 1124 nanisunnaq I La Useq
- 28 Nov (M) the karaeng [Sirajuddin] landed, arriving from Bantaeng
- 28 Syaw 1124 nasore karaenga battu ri Bantaeng
- 11 Dec (N) Datu ri Pammana [in Wajoq] taken as karaeng by the people of Sanrabone⁵⁴⁶
- 12 Zulk 1124 naDatua ri Pammana naalle karaeng tuSanrabonea
- 15 Dec (R) I Tarawe ordered killed by the karaeng [Sirajuddin]; I Daeng Talarra's belongings seized and he was ordered confined to his house by the *sabannaraq* [Daeng Makkulle]
- 16 Zulk 1124 nanisuro buno ri karaenga I Tarawe nanirapping I Daeng Talarra nisuro ballaki ri sabannaraq

⁵⁴⁴ A copyist mistakenly wrote the 7th instead of the 2nd.

⁵⁴⁵ A son of La Patau.

⁵⁴⁶ This is testament to the growing importance of the Wajorese community during the period that Amanna Gappa was their *matoa* or leader in Makassar (see Noorduyn 2000). Wajorese were a Bugis immigrant merchant community living in an autonomous settlement in Makassar, and the selection of one of their members as Sanrabone's ruler must have solidified Sanrabone's maritime trading connections.

22 Dec (R)	I Daeng Talarra ordered brought east to Sandao
23 Zulk 1124	nanisuro erang manraiq ri Sandawo I Daeng Talarra
1713	
12 Jan (W eve)	Daengta Daeng Nganrenne Datu Doka died
14 Zulk 1124	namate Daengta Daeng Nganrenne Datu Doka
12 Jan (W)	teeth filed of I Sugi, a child of Karaeng ri Mandalleq, with those of I Nannuq, a child of I Daeng Mangalliq
14 Zulk 1124	naniariq I Sugi anaqna Karaengta ri Mandalleq siagaang I Nannuq anaqna I Daeng Mangalliq
21 Jan (S)	there was unusual thunder once and just after it boomed like a cannon; at night it happened again
23 Zulk 1124	naniaq gunturuq maraqmaraeng sikali leqbaqji mangu-lappaq kamma mariang banngi niaq pole
24 Jan (W)	a wife of Karaeng Katangka [La Padangsjati] had a son named I Andi Andi Muhammad Yusuf
27 Zulk 1124	namammanaq bainenna Karae Katangka buraqne nikana I Andi Andi Muhammad Yusupu
8 Feb (T eve)	my ⁵⁴⁷ younger uncle Karaeng Patteqne and I Mindaq married
12 Muh 1125	nasikalabini putoku Karae Patteqne I Mindaq
10 Feb (F)	my younger uncle Karaeng Alluq and I Patimaq married
14 Muh 1125	nasikalabini putoku Karae Alluq I Patimaq
17 Feb (R eve)	my younger uncle I Mappatangaraq died and was buried in Tamalate
21 Muh 1125	namate potoku I Mappatangaraq ri Tamalatei niawang
1 Mar (T eve)	Dala Bantaeng ⁵⁴⁸ died inside Cenrana
3 Saf 1125	namate Dala Bantaeng ilalang ri Cenrana

⁵⁴⁷ Here a *lontaraq bilang* annalist identifies himself for the first time. The writer is Syafiuddin, a son of Sirajuddin and Karaeng Balaqsari who later became titled Karaeng Lempangang and in 1739 became ruler of Talloq.

⁵⁴⁸ Dutch sources report that she was a concubine of La Patauq named Rugiah and known as Dala Bantaeng because that was where she was from (Ligtvoet 1880:187-8).

3 Mar (F) 5 Saf 1125	Sitti Labibah died inside Cenrana namate Sitti Labibah ilalang ri Cenrana
31 Mar (F) 3 Rawl 1125	Karaeng ri Bontopanno dropped anchor at Ujung Pandang, arriving from Jakattaraq namaqlabu ri Jumpandang Karaengta ri Bontopanno battu ri Jakattaraq
7 Apr (R eve) 10 Rawl 1125	the mother of a great grandparent of I Nimbang died namate anronna boena I Nimbang
25 Apr (T) 28 Rawl 1125	the karaeng [Sirajuddin] and his wife [Karaeng Balaqsari] sailed to go into Cenrana namamise karaenga sikalabini mantama ri Cenrana
31 May (W) 5 Jawl 1125	it is said that Datu Lokaq [Mas Banten] died nanikana matei Datu Lokaq
10 Jun (S) 15 Jawl 1125	Sudanga and Latea ri Duni again placed side by side in Latimojong [a royal hall]; people performed aru for the third time nanipasiempoang pole Sudanga Latea ri Duni ri Latimojong mangarui taua pintallungmi
21 Jun (W) 26 Jawl 1125	the karaeng [Sirajuddin] landed, arriving from Cenrana nasore karaenga battu ri Cenrana
15 Jul (S) 21 Jakr 1125	<i>nayaka</i> I Loqmoq Rannu died namate nayakaya I Loqmoq Rannu
21 Aug (M) ⁵⁴⁹ 28 Raj 1125	teeth filed of my younger aunt Karaeng Barong Patola naniariq ayaku Karae Barong Patola
22 Aug (T) ⁵⁵⁰ 29 Raj 1125	my younger uncle I Pallaq circumcised nanisunnaq putoku I Pallaq
1 Sep (F) 10 Syab 1125	I Daeng Nganrenne, the mother of I Daeng Masseqre I Papippiq, died namate I Daeng Nganrenne anronna I Daeng Masseqre I Papippiq

⁵⁴⁹ A copyist mistakenly wrote October instead of August.

⁵⁵⁰ A copyist mistakenly wrote October instead of August.

10 Sep (N) 19 Syab 1125	I Daeng Maqleog I Dulla and Sitti Lele married nasikalabini I Daeng Maqleog I Dulla Sitti Lele
10 Oct (T) 19 Ram 1125	I Daeng Tonji died namate I Daeng Tonji
17 Oct (T) 26 Ram 1125	I Nenuq and I Manyanreri married nasikalabini I Nenuq I Manyanreri
7 Nov (T) 17 Syaw 1125	I Manyaq, a child of Karaeng Bontosiamaq ⁵⁵¹ , circum- cised nanisunnaq I Manyaq anaqna Karae Bontosiamaq
18 Nov (S) 28 Syaw 1125	the karaeng [Sirajuddin] revealed to our karaeng [Tumamenang ri Taenga] that Tumanenang ri Jawaya [Najamuddin] would be Karaeng ri Talloq ⁵⁵² nanapappasaqbiang karaenga ri karaengta Tuammenang ri Jawaya napataja Karaeng ri Talloq
8 Dec (F) 19 Zulk 1125	I Daeng Manyipi I Uang died namate I Daeng Manyipi I Uan
9 Dec (S) 20 Zulk 1125	a wife of Karaeng ri Lekoqboqdong died namate bainenna Karaengta ri Lekoqboqdong
22 Dec (F) 4 Zulh 1125	I Mandaq ⁵⁵³ , a wife of my younger uncle Karaeng Patteqne, had a daughter I Bunga Suttaraq namammanaq I Mandaq bainenna putoku Karae Patteqne baine I Bunga Suttaraq
31 Dec (N) 13 Zulh 1125	I Saidi, a child of I Daeng Tapallaq by Sayyid [Zain], cir- cumcised nanisunnaq I Saidi anaqna I Daeng Tapallaq ri Sayyidka
1714	
5 Jan (R eve)	I Kare Mami, a child of our great lord [Shaykh Yusuf], died

⁵⁵¹ Karaeng Bontosiamaq, also known as Mappakana Daeng Majanji, was a daughter of Karaeng Beroanging and one of his wives, a daughter of Karaeng ri Bulu-Bulo I Daeng Tatea (Ligtvoet 1880:footnote 188, 200).

⁵⁵² Tumanenang ri Jawaya was only about five years old at the time.

⁵⁵³ This name was previously spelled Mindaq.

- 18 Zulh 1125 namate I Kare Mami anaqna tuan loeta
- 8 Jan (W) I Daeng Makkappa and my grandparent I Daeng Nisali I
Thaibah married
- 23 Zulh 1125 nasikalabini I Daeng Makkappa toaku I Daeng Nisali I
Thaibah
- 15 Jan (M)
28 Zulh 1125 Karaeng Balambaru I Daeng Riboko died
namate Karae Balambaru I Daeng Riboko
- 18 Jan (W eve) the night of Karaeng ri Bontoa's death across on Reok [on
Flores] at the age of 51
- 1 Muh 1126 banngi nakamateanga Karaengta ri Bontoa ibaqla ri Rouq
umuruqna 51
- 1 Mar (R) a child of I Todattia by Kare Tonji I Maqmiq was cut
down by a slave of his
- 13 Saf 1126 nanijalloq ri atanna anaqna I Todattia ri Kare Tonji I
Maqmiq
- 2 Mar (F)
14 Saf 1126 a child of I Todattia cut down yesterday died
namatemo anaqna I Todattia nijalloki sabanngi
- 9 Mar (F)
21 Saf 1126 Daengta Daeng Marannu I Pandiq died
namate Daengta Daeng Marannu I Pandiq
- 11 Mar (S eve)
23 Saf 1126 I Daeng Manyampaq Balambaru died
namate I Daeng Manyampaq Balambaru
- 20 Mar (T) a karaengship given to I Sugi, now called Karaeng
Bisangpole
- 3 Rawl 1126 nanisare pak karaengang I Sugi nikana Karae Bisangpole
- 12 Apr (R) the people of Alluq went to my younger uncle Karaeng
Alluq
- 26 Rawl 1126 nanipamange tuAlluka ri putoku Karae Alluq
- 3 May (R)
18 Rakr 1126 the coffin of Karaeng ri Bontoa was brought back
nabattu nierang allunna Karaengta ri Bontoa
- 19 May (S) the people of Talloq revealed to the Dutch Tumamenang
ri Jawaya [Najamuddin] as Karaeng ri Talloq

- 4 Jawl 1126 nanapappasaqbiang tuTalloka ri Balandaya Tuammenang
ri Jawaya Karaeng ri Talloq
- 29 May (T) I Daeng Mabela I Mangassengi died; the ruler of Bima
[Mappatalliq] arrived to marry [Karaeng Bisangpole]
- 14 Jawl 1126 namate I Daeng Mabela I Mangasengi nabattu karaenga
ri Dima ala maqbaine
- 21 Jun (W eve)
8 Jakr 1126 Karaeng ri Tana-Tana had a son named Muhammad Baki
namammanaq Karaengta ri Tana-Tana buraqne nikana
Muhammad Baki
- 15 Aug (W eve)
4 Syab 1126 a child of my younger uncle Karaeng Alluq named
Ummu Kalsyum died
namate anaqna putoku Karae Alluq nikanaya Ummu
Kalsyum
- 1 Sep (F eve)
21 Syab 1126 Karaeng ri Pasiq died at the age of 56
namate Karaengta ri Pasiq umuruqna 56
- 13 Sep (W eve)
3 Ram 1126 the ruler of Bima [Mappatalliq] slept with Karaeng
Bisangpole
namaqlusereq karaenga ri Dima Karae Bisangpole
- 16 Sep (N eve)
7 Ram 1126 Matinroa ri Nagaulang [La Patauq] died at the age of 43;
he was placed in a coffin and buried in Bontoalaq
namate Matinroa ri Nagaulan umuruqna 43 nibenei ri
allung naniawang ri Bontoalaq
- 19 Sep (R)
10 Ram 1126 Karaeng ri Mamampang taken as karaeng by the people
of Sanrabone
naKaraengta ri Mamampang naalle karaeng tuSanrabo-
nea
- 15 Oct (M)
5 Syaw 1126 a karaengship given to Tumamenang ri Jawaya
[Najamuddin], now called Karaeng Kanjilo
nanisare pakkaraengang Tuammenanga ri Jawaya nikana
Karae Kanjilo
- 6 Nov (T)
27 Syaw 1126 my grandparent I Daeng Nisali I Thaibah had a son
namammanaq toaku I Daeng Nisali I Thaibah buraqne

- 8 Nov (R) the coffin of Matinroa ri Nagaulang [La Patauq] was dug up and brought into Cenrana
- 29 Syaw 1126 nanikekesseq allunna Matinroa ri Nagaulan nierang man-tama ri Cenrana
- 18 Dec (T) the people of Lempangang went to myself [Syafiuddin]
10 Zulh 1126 nanipamae ri nakke tuLempanganga
- 19 Dec (W) Daengta Daeng Majarreq Camme died
11 Zulh 1126 namate Daengta Daeng Majarreq Camme
- 20 Dec (R) it is said that the arumpone⁵⁵⁴ and Datu ri Ulawang⁵⁵⁵
divorced
12 Zulh 1126 nanikana sipelaki arungpone Datua ri Ulawang
- 21 Dec (R eve) I Kare Rannu, a widow of Puanna I Daeng, died
13 Zulh 1126 namate I Kare Rannu balunna Puanna I Daeng
- 31 Dec (M) a karaengship given to my mother, now called Karaeng
Balaqsari
23 Zulh 1126 nanisare pakkaraengang ayaku nikana Karae Balassari
- 1715
- 8 Mar (F) a wife of Karaeng Katangka [La Padangsajati] had a son
named Madyan I Mappasonriq
2 Rawl 1127 namamanaq bainenna Karae Katangka buraqne nikana
Madyan I Mappasonriq
- 15 Mar (F) the people of Soppéng arrived to take Karaeng Katangka
[La Padangsajati] as ruler
9 Rawl 1127 nabattu tuSoppenga angallei karaeng Karae Katangka
- 17 Mar (N) two suns were seen
11 Rawl 1127 naniciniq rua matanna alloa
- 19 Mar (F eve) I Daeng Maqleoq I Dulla and Sitti Lele divorced
13 Rawl 1127 nasipelaq I Daeng Maqleoq I Dulla Sitti Lele

⁵⁵⁴ Batari Toja Matinroe ri Tippulunna, La Patau's daughter who briefly succeeded him as ruler of Boné.

⁵⁵⁵ He was a Boné noble named Pabukajuwe (Ligtvoet 1880:190).

- 23 Mar (S) I Judda, a child of Karaeng ri Mandalleq, died
17 Rawl 1127 namate I Judda anaqna Karaengta ri Mandalleq
- 2 Apr (T) Arung Tanete⁵⁵⁶ and his wife⁵⁵⁷ arrived from Toraja
27 Rawl 1127 nabattu ri Toraja Aruq Tanete sikalabini
- 7 Apr (S eve) I Sitti and Karaeng Tallampuang married
3 Rokr 1127 nasikalabini I Sitti Karae Tallampuang
- 10 Apr (T eve) Gallarrang Talloka I Biqduq died; the following day
Karaeng Lambengi died
6 Rokr 1127 namate Gallarang Talloka I Biqduq ammuko ri alloya
namate Karae Lambengi
- 13 Apr (S) I Kare Tonji I Maqmiq died
9 Rokr 1127 namate I Kare Tonji I Maqmiq
- 19 Apr (R eve) I Salamah died
15 Rokr 1127 namate I Salamah
- 4 May (F eve) Karaeng Bulukumba and I Daeng Nisoqna married
30 Rokr 1127 nasikalabini Karaeng Bulukumba I Daeng Nisoqna
- 6 May (M) I Ninuq and Watanglipua married
3 Jawl 1127 nasikalabini I Ninuq Watanglipua
- 15 May (W) Datu ri Soppéng [La Padangsajati] sailed from Ujung
Pandang to go into Soppéng
12 Jawl 1127 namamise ri Jumpandang Datua ri Soppeng mantama ri
Soppeng
- 20 May (M) I Daeng Nisayu, a wife of I Tuang Rappang, died
17 Jawl 1127 namate I Daeng Nisayu bainenna I Tuan Rappan
- 23 May (W eve) I Daeng Maqleoq and Sitti Lele returned to each other
20 Jawl 1127 nasipolei I Daeng Maqleoq Sitti Lele
- 27 May (N eve) a wife of I Daeng Tulolo I Mangiq had a daughter
24 Jawl 1127 namamanaq bainenna I Daeng Tulolo I Mangiq baine

⁵⁵⁶ Daeng Mangemba, grandfather of La Padangsajati.

⁵⁵⁷ Karaeng Bontorambaq.

- 1 Jun (S) my grandparent⁵⁵⁸ I Daeng Maqleoq I Sumang [begins to] oversee the lesser *anaq karaeng*
- 29 Jawl 1127 natoaku I Daeng Maqleoq I Suman anjannanngi anaq karaeng salaya
- 3 Jun (M) a wife of my younger uncle Karaeng Bontolangkasaq had a son
- 1 Jakr 1127 namamanaq bainenna putoku Karae Bontolangkasaq buraqne
- 18 Jun (T) I Sumailiq, a grandchild of Karaeng ri Taruq, circumcised
- 16 Jakr 1127 nanisunnaq I Sumailiq cucunna Karaengta ri Taruq
- 9 Jul (T) my older uncle⁵⁵⁹ arrived from Pulo Laut [an island off the southeast coast of Borneo]
- 7 Raj 1127 nabattu puangku ri Lauq-pulo
- 18 Jul (R) my older uncle Karaeng Boqdia installed as lord in Talloq⁵⁶⁰
- 16 Raj 1127 nanitannang malompo ri Talloq puangku Karae Boqdia
- 5 Aug (M) Datu ri Soppéng [La Padangsajati] made ruler of Boné by [his half-sister] Datu ri Citta, taking back the rulerships of Citta along with Timurung
- 4 Syab 1127 naDatua ri Soppeng nipakakaraeng ri Bone ri Datua ri Citta mamotereqmia mange ri kakaraenganna ri Citta sia-gaang ri Timurung
- 8 Aug (W) I Daeng Tamami died
- 7 Syab 1127 namate I Daeng Tamami
- 10 Aug (S) I Paciq⁵⁶¹ and I Sugi married
- 10 Syab 1127 nasikalabini I Paciq I Sugi

⁵⁵⁸ Makassarese frequently use kinship terms as honorifics. In the *lontaraq bilang* entries written by Karaeng Lempangang this is often the case with 'my grandparent' (*toaku*). His grandparents were Sultan Abdul Kadir and Karaeng ri Parang-Parang on one side, and Arung Teko and Daeng Nisayu I Thaibah on the other. Yet a wide variety of elders, beginning with I Daeng Maqleoq in this entry, are called 'grandparent' as a sign of respect and kinship. In general Karaeng Lempangang uses the kinship terms for uncles, aunts, and siblings with more precision.

⁵⁵⁹ This was Daeng Mammuntuli Arung Kaju (Ligtvoet 1880:190).

⁵⁶⁰ Dutch sources report that he became the formal guardian of the young ruler of Talloq Tumamenang ri Jawaya, and it is apparently this to which this entry refers (Ligtvoet 1880:190).

⁵⁶¹ Also or later known as Daeng Manassaq.

- 15 Aug (R) Karaeng Majannang circumcised; this the day that the arumpone [La Padangsajati] had a sunshade raised over his head
- 15 Syab 1127 nanisunnaq Karae Majannang iaminne alloya nanipirang-kaki payung arungpone
- 2 Sep (N eve) I Patimaq had a son by my younger uncle Karaeng Alluq
3 Ram 1127 namamanaq I Patimaq ri putoku Karae Alluq buraqne
- 6 Sep (F) a karaengship name given to my younger⁵⁶² uncle [Fathuddin], now called Karaeng Patteqne
7 Ram 1127 nanisare areng pakkaraengang puangku nikana Karae Patteqne
- 10 Oct (W eve) I Saidi, a child of I Daeng Tapallaq by Sayyid [Zain], died
11 Syaw 1127 namate I Saidi anaqna I Daeng Tapallaq ri Sayyidka
- 29 Oct (T) a wife of my younger uncle Karaeng Patteqne had a son
1 Zulk 1127 namamanaq bainenna putoku Karae Patteqne buraqne
- 10 Nov (N) I Kare Mamo, a child of our great lord I Daengta [Shaykh Yusuf] died
13 Zulk 1127 namate I Kare Mamo anaqna Tuang Loeang I Daengta
- 16 Dec (M) I Manrewakki, a child of I Pappi, and a child of I Daeng Mattulung married
19 Zulh 1127 nasikalabini I Manrewakki anaqna I Pappi naanaq I Daeng Mattulung
- 19 Dec (W eve) Karaeng ri Manuruki died
22 Zulh 1127 namate Karaengta ri Manuruki
- 1716
- 15 Jan (M eve) Karaeng Ujung I Daeng Nisanga and I Poqdo married
19 Muh 1128 nasikalabini Karae Ujung I Daeng Nisanga I Poqdo
- 17 Jan (R eve) Karaeng Bontotannga and I Ranti married; after only twenty-five nights they divorced
22 Muh 1128 nasikalabini Karae Bontotannga I Ranti ruampulo banngi-ji allima nasipelaq

⁵⁶² A writer mistakenly wrote 'older uncle' (*puang*) for 'younger uncle' (*puto*).

- 11 Feb (T) I Daeng Manyampaq Sengoroq died
17 Saf 1128 namate I Daeng Manyampaq Sengoro
- 18 Feb (T) the arumpone [La Padangsjati] went down to and
24 Saf 1128 attacked Peneki [in Wajoq]
nanipanaungi Peneki nibundug ri arumpone
- 20 Feb (R) people warred briefly and Peneki was burned
26 Saf 1128 namaqbundug taua sinampereq nanisussuluqmo Peneki
- 21 Feb (F) I Daeng Manaiq killed by the arumpone [La Padangsjati]
27 Saf 1128 nanibuno I Daeng Manaiq ri arumpone
- 19 Mar (R) the day a great grandparent of the karaeng [Sirajuddin]
24 Rawl 1128 died across on Bima
allo nakamateanga boena karaenga ibaqla ri Dima
- 5 Apr (S eve) my grandparent I Daeng Nisali had a son
12 Rakr 1128 namamanaq toaku I Daeng Nisali buraqne
- 14 Apr (T) the arumpone [La Padangsjati] landed, arriving from
21 Rakr 1128 Cenrana for the first time as ruler of Boné
nasore arumpone battu ri Cenrana uru karaenna ri Bone
- 20 Apr (M) my younger uncle Karaeng Bontolangkasaq and I Eja
27 Rakr 1128 divorced
nasipelaq putoku Karae Bontolangkasaq I Eja
- 22 Apr (W) the suns rays were shaded as if one wanted to [with ones
29 Rakr 1128 hand]; darkness fell at the stroke of 5 and lasted one hour;
Karaeng Alluq and I Patimaq divorced
nakasapukang singaraqna matanna alloya kammai tueroq
pattang mattunruq ri 5 garigantaya makaraqgai sijaang
nasipelaq Karae Alluq I Patimaq
- 8 May (F) Karaeng ri Tuang Pandiq died
16 Jawl 1128 namate Karaengta ri Tuan Pandiq
- 9 May (S) Karaeng ri Batangnionjoq [in Tanete] Matinroa ri
Sumpangpoba⁵⁶³ died

⁵⁶³ Mappajanci Daeng Matajang.

- 17 Jawl 1128 namate Karaengta ri Batangnionjoq Matinroa ri Sumpangpoba
- 15 May (R eve) I Pande and I Ranti married
22 Jawl 1128 nasikalabini I Pande I Ranti
- 23 May (F eve) my mother [Karaeng Balaqsari] divorced by the karaeng [Sirajuddin]
1 Jakr 1128 nanipelaq ayaku ri karaenga
- 28 May (R) my younger uncle Karaeng Patteqne and I Mindaq divorced
6 Jakr 1128 nasipelaq putoku Karae Patteqne I Mindaq
- 18 Jun (R) my older uncle Karaeng Boqdia and I Maimunah married
27 Jakr 1128 nasikalabini puangku Karae Boqdia I Maimunah
- 18 Jun (R) the karaeng [Sirajuddin] and Sitti Abidah Daeng Mateqne,⁵⁶⁴ the mother of I Manimbang, married
27 Jakr 1128 nasikalabini karaenga ayana I Manimbang Sitti Abidah Daeng Mateqne
- 16 Jul (R) the coffin of a great grandparent of the karaeng [Sirajuddin] was brought back
26 Raj 1128 nabattu nierang alunna boena karaenga
- 20 Jul (M) Sudanga and Latea ri Duni again placed side by side in Ballaq Kiria for the fourth time
30 Raj 1128 nanipasiempoang pole Sudanga Latea ri Duni ri Ballaq Kiria makapingappaqna
- 21 Jul (T) work begun on the walls of a mosque
1 Syab 1128 nanipakaramula nijama batana masigika
- 24 Aug (M) Karaeng Binoang was cut down by a slave of his sea-wards in Ujung Pandang; after the next day he died
6 Ram 1128 nanijalloq Karae Binoang ri atanna ilauq ri Jumpandang ammukopa namate

⁵⁶⁴ Dutch sources report that Sirajuddin's wife was a daughter of Karaeng Bontomanompo (Ligtvoet 1880:192).

- 1 Sep (T) I Sitti, a wife of Karaeng Tallampuang, had a child
14 Ram 1128 namamanaq I Sitti bainenna Karae Tallampuang
- 8 Sep (T) my mother Karaeng Balaqsari and Arung Ujung married
21 Ram 1128 nasikalabini ayaku Karae Balassari Arung Ujung
- 11 Sep (F) I Loqmoq [Dayang], the mother of Karaeng ri Mangalli, died
24 Ram 1128 namate I Loqmoq anronna Karaengta ri Mangalli
- 12 Sep (S) *tumailalang* Karaeng ri Lekoqboqdong and I Daeng Tasami divorced
25 Ram 1128 nasipelaq *tumailalang* Karaengta ri Lekoqboqdong I Daeng Tasami
- 17 Sep (R) a wife of Karaeng Batupute had a son
30 Ram 1128 namamanaq bainenna Karae Batuputeh buraqne
- 28 Sep (N eve) Karaeng Bontomateqne taken as Karaeng ri Jipang
11 Syaw 1128 naKarae Bontomateqne niallei karaeng ri Jupang
- 1 Oct (R) it is said that I Daeng Manruppai I Okang killed across on Bima
14 Syaw 1128 nanikana nibunoi I Daeng Manruppai I Okang ibaqla ri Dima
- 8 Oct (R) people mustered for the installation of [VOC] Governor Sipman
21 Syaw 1128 namarewangan taua nilantiaqna Gurnadur Sipman
- 23 Oct (F) it is said that my younger uncle Karaeng Panaikang and I Daeng ri Ekong divorced
7 Zulk 1128 nanikana sipelaki putoku Karae Panaikang I Daeng ri Ekong
- 17 Nov (T) I Maimunah, a wife of my older uncle Karaeng Boqdia, died
2 Zulh 1128 namate I Maimunah bainenna puangku Karae Boqdia
- 28 Nov (S) I Pande and I Ranti divorced
14 Zulh 1128 nasipelaq I Pande I Ranti

1717

- 11 Jan (M) my younger uncle Karaeng Patteqne married my younger aunt I Patimaq; Karaeng ri Kabbalokang died
- 28 Muh 1129 nasikalabini putoku Karae Patteqne ayaku I Patimah namate Karaeng ri Kabbalokang
- 20 Jan (W) *tumailalang* Karaeng ri Lekoqdoqdong and I Daeng Tasami divorced⁵⁶⁵
- 7 Saf 1129 nasipelaq *tumailalang* Karaengta ri Lekoqdoqdong I Daeng Tasami
- 24 Jan (S eve) Sitti Lele died
- 11 Saf 1129 namate Sitti Lele
- 25 Jan (M)⁵⁶⁶ a replacement 'carved house' built in Bontoalaq⁵⁶⁷
- 12 Saf 1129 nanibangun sambenna ballaq niukirika ri Bontoalaq
- 28 Jan (R) Arung Mampu and I Tuguq married
- 15 Saf 1129 nasikalabini Arung Mampu I Tuguq
- 30 Jan (F eve) a child of a slave of Karaeng Garassiq named Abdul Muqmin died⁵⁶⁸
- 17 Saf 1129 namate anaq ri atanna Karae Garassiq nikanaya Abdul Muqmin
- 18 Feb (R) I Mattayang and my grandparent I Daeng Mateqne I Sitti⁵⁶⁹ married
- 6 Rawl 1129 nasikalabini I Mattayang toaku I Daeng Mateqne I Sitti
- 23 Feb (T) I Mappapoke, a child of Karaeng Alluq, died
- 11 Rawl 1129 namate I Mappapoke anaqna Karae Alluq
- 26 Apr (M) I Kare Parampang I Caccaq and I Saidah married
- 14 Jawl 1129 nasikalabini I Kare Parampang I Caccaq I Saidah

⁵⁶⁵ They previously divorced on 12 Sep 1716 and must have returned briefly to each other.

⁵⁶⁶ A copyist mistakenly wrote the 15th instead of the 25th.

⁵⁶⁷ The original structure was built on 27 Jun 1652.

⁵⁶⁸ Karaeng Garassiq was presumably the father.

⁵⁶⁹ This is apparently not the Daeng Mateqne named Sitti Abidah who married Sirajuddin on 18 Jun 1716.

3 May (M)	teeth filed of I Aciq
21 Jawl 1129	naniariq I Aciq
5 May (W)	my great grandparent I Daeng Nisimba I Rabiah died
23 Jawl 1129	namate boeku I Daeng Nisimba I Rabbiah
13 May (R)	I Maqdaung and my younger aunt Karaeng Barong Patola married
2 Jakr 1129	nasikalabini I Maqdaun ayaku Karae Barong Patola
31 May (N eve)	Karaeng Alluq and I Daeng Tongi married
20 Jakr 1129	nasikalabini Karae Alluq I Daeng Tongi
11 Jun (F)	<i>tumailalang</i> Karaeng ri Mandalleq died
2 Raj 1129	namate <i>tumailalang</i> Karaengta ri Mandalleq
14 Jun (M)	coverings of the banners replaced ⁵⁷⁰
5 Raj 1129	nanisambei lekoqna cindea
21 Jun (M)	the people of Mandalleq went to Kapparaq ⁵⁷¹ , now called Karaeng Tumaqlalang
12 Raj 1129	nanipamange tuMandalleka ri Kapparaq nanikana Karae tumaqlalang
24 Jun (R)	Karaeng Lekoqboqdong installed as <i>tumailalang</i>
15 Raj 1129	nanitannang <i>tumailalang</i> Karae Lekoqboqdong
25 Jun (F)	Karaeng Sanrabone [Karaeng Mamampang] and Karaeng ri Tana-Tana divorced
16 Raj 1129	nasipelaq Karae Sanrabone Karaengta ri Tana-Tana
26 Jun (S)	Gurudaya ⁵⁷² smeared with blood and the people of Gowa mustered for the karaeng's [Sirajuddin's] journey into Baroko [in Toraja]
17 Raj 1129	naniceraq Gurudaya namarewangan tuGowaya lamanta-mana karaenga ri Baroko

⁵⁷⁰ On 16 Nov 1709 this ceremonial practice was tied to the installation of a new ruler of Gowa, and here it may be connected to the death of *tumailalang* Karaeng ri Mandalleq.

⁵⁷¹ A son of Karaeng Mandalleq.

⁵⁷² Like Sulengkaya, this was a banner mentioned first mentioned in the *Gowa Chronicle* during the reign of Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna as one of Gowa's 'Three Gaukang'.

29 Jun (T)	the karaeng [Sirajuddin] sailed to go into Toraja with the arumpone [La Padangsajati]
20 Raj 1129	namamise karaenga mantama ri Toraja siagaang arumpone
16 Jul (N)	in Panaikang people mustered in great numbers again
1 Syab 1129	nari Panaikang taua marewangan lombo pole
7 Aug (S)	a cave in Tungko collapsed
29 Syab 1129	nanabangka leanga ri Tungko
10 Aug (T)	I Parukka, <i>maqdika</i> ⁵⁷³ of Baroko, submitted
2 Ram 1129	namanyomba I Parukka Maqdikaya ri Baroko
3 Sep (F)	the karaeng [Sirajuddin] landed, arriving from Baroko
26 Ram 1129	nasore karaenga battu ri Baroko
13 Sep (M)	Karaeng ri Kampong Beru died
7 Syaw 1129	namate Karaengta ri Kampong Beru
17 Sep (F)	word arrived of the death of Daengta Daeng Talebang below in Binoang
11 Syaw 1129	nabattu nipabiritta matena Daengta Daeng Talebang irawa ri Binoang
20 Sep (M)	Karaeng Parangbone went over to Bima; Karaeng Bontomateqne too
14 Syaw 1129	namaqlampa Karae Parangbone taqle ri Dima Karae Bontomateqne tong
28 Sep (T)	I Daeng Tasannging I Taloq died
22 Syaw 1129	namate I Daeng Tasannging I Taloq
27 Oct (W)	I Mattaq ⁵⁷⁴ and my elder sibling Karaeng Tanasanga ⁵⁷⁵ were pledged to each other

⁵⁷³ This chiefly title was used by some Central Sulawesi and Maluku groups, those that Ligtvoet (1880:193) termed 'Alfur'.

⁵⁷⁴ A son of La Padangsajati also known as Abdurrahman I Mappatawang. I Mattaq's mother may have been Zainab, a daughter of Karaeng Bontorambaq and Daeng Mangemba born on 2 Aug 1693. Four children of La Padangsajati are mentioned in the *lontaraq bilang*, but their mother (or mothers) are not named.

⁵⁷⁵ A daughter of Sirajuddin and Karaeng Balaqsari also known as Mahbubah Mamuncaragi.

- 22 Zulk 1129 nanipasibayuanngan I Mattaq daengku Karae Tanasanga
- 31 Oct (S eve) my mother [Karaeng Balaqsari] died at the age of 34
26 Zulk 1129 namate ayaku umuruqna 34
- 3 Nov (T eve) I Kare Mangalle, *anrongguru* of the *anaq buraqne*⁵⁷⁶, died
29 Zulk 1129 namate I Kare Mangalle anrongguru anaq buraqne
- 8 Nov (M) I Daeng Manassaq Paciq and I Sugi divorced
4 Zulh 1129 nasipelaq I Daeng Manassaq Paciq I Sugi
- 23 Nov (M eve) the karaeng [Sirajuddin] celebrated [fulfilling] his vow on
his arrival from Toraja
20 Zulh 1129 najaga karaenga tinjaqna battuna ri Toraja
- 2 Dec (R) my grandparent I Daeng Maingaq and my grandparent I
Daeng Mangagaang divorced
29 Zulh 1129 nasipelaq toaku I Daeng Maingaq toaku I Daeng
Mangagaang
- 7 Dec (T) a house was built for the karaeng [Sirajuddin] down here
in Katangka so Ballaq Kiria could be torn down
4 Muh 1130 nanibangun ballaqna karaenga irawa mae ri Katangka
lanigesaraqna Ballaq Kiria
- 11 Dec (S) I Patimaq, a wife of my younger uncle Karaeng Patteqne,
had a son named I Mappabangung Abdul Aziz
8 Muh 1130 namamanaq I Patima bainenna putoku Karae Patteqne
buraqne nikana I Mappabangung Abdul Aziz
- 1718
- 11 Jan (T) Muhammad Saleh, a child of the elder Ratu Bagus, cir-
cumcised
9 Saf 1130 nanisunnaq Muhammad Saleh anaqna Ratu Bagusq
matoa
- 27 Jan (W eve) I Daeng Manyampaq Alluq died
25 Saf 1130 namate I Daeng Manyampaq Alluq
- 4 Feb (F) the arumpone [La Padangsajati] went up into his new
house

⁵⁷⁶ See the note accompanying the 22 Feb 1651.

- 3 Rawl 1130 namanaiqmo ri ballaq beruna arungpone
- 14 Feb (N eve) I Loqmoq Galorang, the mother of the elder Karaeng ri Mandalleq, died
- 12 Rawl 1130 namate I Loqmoq Galorang anronna Karaengta ri Mandalleq motoaya
- 15 Feb (W)
14 Rawl 1130 I Daeng Manassaq I Muhammad and I Sugi married nasikalabini I Daeng Manassaq I Muhammad I Sugi
- 2 Mar (W)
29 Rawl 1130 a ship landed bringing my grandparent Arung Teko, arriving after being exiled from Ceylon
nasore kappalaq angerangai toaku Aruq Teko battuna nipelaq ri Selang
- 4 Mar (R eve) I Daeng Maingaq, an older sibling of the *sabannaraq* [Daeng Makkulle], died; I Daeng Nisanga I Puqdo⁵⁷⁷ had a son
- 2 Rakr 1130 namate I Daeng Maingaq kakanna sabannaraka namamanaq I Daeng Nisanga I Puqdo buraqne
- 5 Mar (F)
3 Rakr 1130 my younger uncle I Kalingkeriq circumcised by Karaeng ri Taruq
nanisunnaq putoku I Kalingkeriq ri Karaengta ri Taruq
- 6 Mar (F eve)
3 Rakr 1130 Karaeng Bontolangkasaq and his wife fled seawards to Kampong Beru
namalari Karae Bontolangkasaq sikalabini kalauq ri Kampong Beru
- 14 Apr (R)
14 Jawl 1130 I Maimunah, a child of Daengta Daeng Mangaungi by a child of an *orang kaya*, died
namate I Maimunah anaqna Daengta Daeng Mangaungi ri anaqna orangkaya
- 4 May (W)
4 Jakr 1130 Anciq Jenalaq died in Talloq
namate Anciq Jenalaq ri Talloq
- 18 May (W) Sayyid Husain, a child of I Daeng Tapallaq, circumcised

⁵⁷⁷ Possible but not necessarily the Daeng Nisanga mentioned on 18 Jun 1706.

18 Jakr 1130	nanisunnaq Sayyid Husin anaqna I Daeng Tapallaq
24 May (T)	teeth filed of my elder sibling Karaeng Tabaringang by the arumpone [La Padangsjati] ⁵⁷⁸
24 Jakr 1130	naniariq daengku Karae Tabaringan ri arungpone
25 May (T eve)	a wife of the arumpone [La Padangsjati] had a son who after just one night died
25 Jakr 1130	namamanaq bainenna arungpone buraqne sipattangji namate
28 May (S)	it is said that a great wind struck Selayar
28 Jakr 1130	nanikana natabai angin lombo Silayaraq
3 Jun (R eve)	a karaengship given to my elder sibling, now called Karaeng Tabaringang
5 Raj 1130	nanisare pakkaraengang daengku nikana Karae Tabaringan
8 Jun (W)	it is said that Karaeng Barong Patola ⁵⁷⁹ died across on Sumbawa
10 Raj 1130	nanikana matei Karae Barongpatola ibaqle ri Sambawah
24 Jun (R eve)	my grandparent Arung Teko died
26 Raj 1130	namate toaku Aruq Teko
24 Jun (F)	I Shaykh installed as <i>kadi</i>
26 Raj 1130	nanitannang kadhi I Syeikh
18 Jul (N eve)	I Daeng Mangewai I Wasing and I Kare Tonji I Baedah married
19 Syab 1130	nasikalabini I Daeng Mangewai I Wasing I Kare Tonji I Baedah

⁵⁷⁸ Karaeng Tabaringang was a daughter of Sirajuddin and his wife Karaeng Majannang, and thus this ceremony was one of several during these years intended to strengthen the political relationship between the rulers of Gowa and Boné. The engagement of La Padangsjati's son I Mattaq and Sirajuddin's daughter Karaeng Tanasanga on 27 Oct 1717 should be viewed in the same light, as should Sirajuddin's participation in La Padangsjati's expedition to Toraja the same year and the periodic rituals in which the regalia swords Sudanga and Latea ri Duni were placed side by side in testament to the two kingdom's unity.

⁵⁷⁹ This is not Karaeng Lempangang's younger aunt, but the previous holder of this *karaengship*.

- 18 Jul (M) it is said that I Mangiq, a child of I Daeng Mabela I Mangassengi, died across on Sandao
- 19 Syab 1130 nanikana matei I Mangiq anaqna I Daeng Mabela I Mangassengi ibaqla ri Sandao
- 24 Jul (N) Daengta Daeng Talele, a child of Karaeng ri Taruq, died
- 25 Syab 1130 namate Daengta Daeng Talele anaqna Karaengta ri Taruq
- 31 Jul (S eve) I Daeng Kenna, a younger sibling of Karaeng ri Laikang, died
- 3 Ram 1130 namate I Daeng Kenna arinna Karaengta ri Laikang
- 5 Aug (F) birth of I Mappatimung Wajihuddin
- 8 Ram 1130 nanianakkang I Mappatimung Wajihuddin
- 22 Aug (M) it is said that I Opu, widow of Datu ri Luwuq Matinroa ri Tompotikkaq, died
- 25 Ram 1130 nanikana matei I Opu balunna Datuya ri Luwuq Matinroya ri Tompoqtikkaq
- 25 Aug (W eve) my grandparent I Daeng Nisali I Thaibah had a son who reached just 12 nights of age
- 28 Ram 1130 namamanaq toaku I Daeng Nisali I Thaibah buraqne 10 banngiji anrua umuruqna
- 31 Aug (W) Karaeng Sanrabone [Karaeng Mamampang] was brought by the arumpone [La Padangsajati] here to the karaeng [Sirajuddin] as he went to the Dutch⁵⁸⁰
- 4 Syaw 1130 nanierang ri arungpone mae ri karaenga Karae Sanrabone mangena ri Balandaya
- 4 Sep (N) teeth filed of I Mangeranngi, a child of I Daeng Mallimpo, who was then celebrated
- 8 Syaw 1130 naniariq I Mangeranngi anaqna I Daeng Mallimpo nipaqqagangi
- 9 Sep (R eve) I Daeng Tommi and Karaeng Batupute divorced but returned to each other later

⁵⁸⁰ La Padangsajati brought Karaeng Mamampang, the ruler of Sanrabone, to Sirajuddin to ask forgiveness because Karaeng Mamampang earlier had sought Dutch intervention against Sirajuddin in a political struggle involving Sirajuddin and the Sanrabone noble Karaeng Lauq and his son Karaeng Manjalling (Ligtvoet 1880:194-5).

13 Syaw 1130	nasipelaq I Daeng Tommi Karae Batuputeh sipoleiji sala
17 Sep (F eve)	my grandparent I Daeng Mateqne I Sitti had a son
21 Syaw 1130	namamanaq toaku I Daeng Mateqne I Sitti buraqne
26 Sep (N eve)	the karaeng [Sirajuddin] gave a celebration after I Mappatimung was fed ⁵⁸¹
2 Zulk 1130	namamempo jagana karaenga leqbaqna nipaemuq I Mappatimung
28 Sep (T eve)	I Simba, a chambermaid, stabbed outside the grounds of Ballaq Kiria
3 Zulk 1130	nanitoboq I Simba turibiliq ipantaranna embana Ballaq Kiria
2 Oct (N)	a manuscript arrived from my younger uncle Karaeng Panaikang on Sumbawa saying that my younger aunt Karaeng Pasiq had been divorced [by the ruler of Sumbawa, Ammasaq]
7 Zulk 1130	nabattu lontaraqna putoku Karae Panaikang ri Sambawah angkana nipelaqmi ayaku Karae Pasiq
7 Oct (F)	I Mattaq and my elder sibling Karaeng Tanasanga separated [after having been pledged to each other]
12 Zulk 1130	nanipasisala I Mattaq daengku Karae Tanasanga
20 Oct (W eve)	my younger uncle Karaeng Patteqne sailed over to Sumbawa to fetch my younger aunt Karaeng Pasiq
25 Zulk 1130	namamise putoku Karae Patteqne taqle ri Sambawa angallei ayaku Karae Pasiq
23 Oct (S eve)	the arumpone [La Padangsajati] sailed down to Mandar
28 Zulk 1130	namamise arumpone manaung ri Mandaraq
4 Nov (R eve)	my younger uncle [Karaeng Panaikang] arrived from Sumbawa and fetching my younger aunt
11 Zulh 1130	nabattu ri Sambawa putoku angallei ayaku
13 Nov (N)	I Daeng Makkulle I Mappaq and I Nannuq married

⁵⁸¹ This ritual (*paemuq*) marked took place some weeks (in this case a little under two months) after the child's birth. The child first tasted a small amount of mashed food placed in its mouth.

20 Zulh 1130	nasikalabini I Daeng Makkulle I Mappaq I Nannuq
16 Nov (W)	the arumpone [La Padangsajati] arrived from Mandar with pustules ⁵⁸²
22 Zulh 1130	nabattu ri Mandaraq arungpone apurui
25 Nov (M)	I Daeng Mamo, formerly Karaeng ri Katapang, died
4 Muh 1131	namate I Daeng Mamo leqbaka Karaeng ri Katapang
8 Dec (N eve)	I Daeng Masseqre I Papippiq and I Boaqq married
14 Muh 1131	nasikalabini I Daeng Masseqre I Papippiq I Boaqq
20 Dec (T)	the karaeng [Sirajuddin] occupied his house
26 Muh 1131	naniempoimo ballaqqna karaengna
22 Dec (R)	I Daeng Nisabeng and I Habibah married
28 Muh 1131	nasikalabini I Daeng Nisabeng I Habibah
1719	
2 Jan (M)	my aunt I Daeng Tacuah I Patimaqq, a wife of my younger uncle [Karaeng Patteqqne], had a son
10 Saf 1131	namamanaqq ayaku I Daeng Tacuah I Patimaqq bainenna putoku buraaqqne
26 Jan (R)	I Sumailiq and I Banri married
4 Rawl 1131	nasikalabini I Sumailiq I Banri
14 Feb (T)	Karaeng Bontolangkasaqq ordered expelled overseas
23 Rawl 1131	nanikalauqq nisuro pasuluqq Karae Bontolangkasaqq
19 Feb (N)	I Daeng Tulolo and I Aciiqq married
28 Rawl 1131	nasikalabini I Daeng Tulolo I Aciiqq
20 Feb (M)	I Dorra and I Mida Bungko married
29 Rawl 1131	nasikalabini I Dorra I Mida Bungko
1 May (N eve)	I Daeng Manassaqq I Paciiqq and I Salira married
11 Jakr 1131	nasikalabini I Daeng Manassaqq I Paciiqq I Salira

⁵⁸² Probably smallpox.

- 13 May (F eve) I Alija, a sibling of I Daeng Majannang, died
23 Jakr 1131 namate I Alija saqribattanna I Daeng Majannang
- 14 May (S eve) I Arapa, a child of I Daeng Mami, died
24 Jakr 1131 namate I Arapa anaqna I Daeng Mami
- 19 May (R eve) a wife of *tumailalang* Karaeng ri Lekoqboqdong had a son
29 Jakr 1131 namamanaq bainenna *tumailalang* Karaengta ri Lekoqboqdong buraqne
- 25 May (W eve) a wife of the arumpone [La Padangsajati] had a son I
5 Raj 1131 Mappasussung who reached just 6 months of age
namamanaq bainenna arumpone buraqne I Mappasussung umuruqna 6 bulanji
- 4 Jun (N) teeth filed of my elder sibling Karaeng Tanasanga
15 Raj 1131 naniariq daengku Karae Tanasanga
- 19 Jun (N eve) I Daeng Nganne I Manguq died
1 Syab 1131 namate I Daeng Nganne I Manguq
- 21 Jun (W) it is said that Batara Tungkaq⁵⁸³ was expelled as Datu ri
Luwuq
3 Syab 1131 nanikana nipasuluki Datu ri Luwuq Bataratungkaq
- 26 Jun (M) I Mappatimung died at 11 months of age
8 Syab 1131 namate I Mappatimung umuruqna 11 bulanna
- 28 Jun (W) [the people of] Luwuq arrived to take as ruler Datu ri
Citta
10 Syab 1131 nabattu Luwuka angallei karaeng Datuya ri Citta
- 1 Aug (T) I Cucung died above in Sanrabone
14 Ram 1131 namate I Cucung irate ri Sanrabone
- 7 Aug (M) the karaeng [Sirajuddin] moved east to the house of
Karaeng ri Bontomanompoq to live
20 Ram 1131 namaqletteq karaenga manraiq ri ballaqa Karaengta ri Bontomanompoq mamempo

⁵⁸³ A daughter of the ruler of Luwuq Topalaguna Matinroe ri Langkanana and Pateekketana Arung Pattiro of Tanete (Ligtvoet 1880:196).

- 10 Aug (W eve) Arung Tanete I Maninrori died below in Bontoalag and was buried in Tamalate
- 23 Ram 1131 namate Aruq Tanete I Maninrori irawa ri Bontoalag ri Tamalatei niawang
- 22 Aug (T)
6 Syaw 1131 I Mattayang and I Daeng Mateqne I Sitti divorced nasipelaq I Mattayang I Daeng Mateqne I Sitti
- 27 Aug (N)
11 Syaw 1131 I Mida, a wife of I Dorra, died namate I Mida bainenna I Dorra
- 1 Oct (S eve)
17 Zulk 1131 Karaeng ri Bontopanno went down to Lempangang to marry Karaeng Bontomasugi namanaung ri Lempangang Karaengta ri Bontopanno ambaineang Karae Bontomasugi
- 9 Oct (M)
25 Zulk 1131 I Buaq had a daughter namamanaq I Buaq baine
- 16 Oct (M)
3 Zulh 1131 birth of Sitti Halimah nanianakkang Sitti Halimah
- 30 Oct (M)
17 Zulh 1131 teeth filed and ears pierced of I Sitti, a younger sibling of my elder brother Karaeng Majannang nanikesoq nanitinting I Sitti arinna daengku Karae Majannang
- 5 Nov (N)
23 Zulh 1131 a karaengship given to Daengta Daeng Takontu⁵⁸⁴, now called Karaeng Campagaya nanisare pakkaraengang Daengta Daeng Takontu nikana Karae Campagaya
- 6 Nov (N eve)
24 Zulh 1131 Gallarrang Rappokalling died namate Gallarang Rappokalling
- 10 Nov (F)
28 Zulh 1131 I Alija and I Mappasanrang married nasikalabini I Alija I Mappasanrang
- 13 Nov (M) I Daeng Nisoqna, a child of *sabannaraq* I Daeng Makkulle, died

⁵⁸⁴ A wife of Karaeng Lauq of Sanrabone, daughter of Hasanuddin, and mother of Karaeng Manjalling (Ligtvoet 1880:196).

- 1 Muh 1132 namate I Daeng Nisoqna anaqna sabannaraka I Daeng Makkulle
- 14 Nov (T) my grandparent I Daeng Nisoqna and Karaeng Bulukumba divorced
- 2 Muh 1132 nasipelaq toaku I Daeng Nisoqna Karaeng Buluqkumba
- 22 Nov (W) the arumpone [La Padangsajati] sailed from the pier [at Makassar] to go into Cenrana and stopped in Gowa [on the way]
- 10 Muh 1132 namamise arumpone ri jambatanga mantama ri Cenrana nasumengka ri Gowa
- 11 Dec (N eve) my grandparent I Kare Tonji I Baedah died; she died giving birth
- 29 Muh 1132 namate toaku I Kare Tonji I Baedah mate mamana
- 13 Dec (T eve) I Daeng Nisomba I Okung and I Daeng Mangewai I Dandeq married
- 1 Saf 1132 nasikalabini I Daeng Nisomba I Okung I Daeng Mangewai I Dandeq
- 26 Dec (T) Muhammad Ali circumcised
- 14 Saf 1132 nanisunnaq Muhammad Ali
- 27 Dec (W) I Guru Kasing, *anrongguru* of the *mokkeng*⁵⁸⁵, died in Talloq
- 15 Saf 1132 namate I Guru Kasing anrongguru mukkinga ri Talloq
- 1720
- 15 Jan (M) I Daeng Memang died in Jonggoa
- 4 Rawl 1132 namate I Daeng Memang ri Jonggoa
- 16 Jan (T) I Sitti, a younger sibling of my elder sibling Karaeng Majannang, died at 10 years of age
- 5 Rawl 1132 namate I Sitti arinna daengku Karae Majannang umuruna 10 taungi

⁵⁸⁵ This Islamic official was charged with assembling the 40 *mokkeng* – from the Arabic word *muqim*, meaning ‘inhabitant’ – needed to make the Friday public prayer service valid according to Shafi’ite doctrine.

- 21 Jan (S eve) an envoy of the karaeng [Sirajuddin] arrived from Luwuq saying that I To Sappaileq⁵⁸⁶ had been taken as Datu ri Luwuq
- 10 Rawl 1132 surona karaenga battu ri Luwuq angknana I To Sappaileq nialle Datu ri Luwuq
- 22 Jan (M) the arumpone Puanna I Mattaq [La Padangsajati] expelled by the people of Boné; Karaeng Anaq Moncong replaced him
- 11 Rawl 1132 nanipasuluq arungpone Puanna I Mattaq ri tuBonea naKarae Anaq Moncong assambeangi
- 7 Feb (T eve) Daengta Daeng Makkalle Cilallang died
- 27 Rawl 1132 namate Daengta Daeng Makkalle Cilallang
- 11 Feb (N) Ballaq Kiria torn down
- 2 Rakr 1132 nanigesaraq Ballaq Kiria
- 19 Feb (M) my younger aunt Mutiatullah with her parent-in-law arrived, brought by the people of Boné who were ordered to do so
- 9 Rakr 1132 nabattu nisuro erang rituBonea ayaku Matiatullahi sia-gaang matoanna
- 20 Feb (W) the elder *tumailalang* [Karaeng Bontopanno] and Karaeng Bontomasugi divorced
- 12 Rakr 1132 nasipelaq *tumailalang* matoaya Karae Bontomasugi
- 1 Mar (F eve) my younger aunt I Daeng Tacuah⁵⁸⁷ I Patimaq, a wife of my younger uncle [Karaeng Patteqne], had a daughter
- 22 Rakr 1132 namamanaq ayaku I Daeng Tacuaq I Patimaq bainenna putoku baine
- 10 Mar (N) a child of Karaeng Batupute died
- 30 Rakr 1132 namate anaqna Karae Batuputeh

⁵⁸⁶ A son of the *cenning* of Luwuq, killed 5 May 1693, and husband of Batara Tungkaq (Ligtvoet 1880:196-7).

⁵⁸⁷ This name was first spelled with a final 'h' rather than a glottal stop 'q' but they are essentially interchangeable. Similarly, a final 'h' is often simply dropped. These and other minor differences in spelling are the inevitable result of different writers employing the *serang* script to transcribe Makassarese.

- 13 Mar (W) I Mutaq, a younger sibling of my younger uncle Karaeng Alluq, died
3 Jawl 1132 namate I Mutaq arinna putoku Karae Alluq
- 28 Mar (R)⁵⁸⁸ I Kare Pole, *anrongguru* of the *anaq buraqne*, died
18 Jawl 1132 namate I Kare Pole anrongguru anaq buraqne
- 11 Apr (R) a Wajorese was driven amuk in front of the karaeng [Sirajuddin] below in the market⁵⁸⁹ and I Kare Lewa clashed with and killed him; I Kare Lewa was wounded
2 Jakr 1132 nanipajalloki dallekanna karaenga irawa ri pasaraq tuWajoka naI Kare Lewa anruppai ambunoi namalokoq I Kare Lewa
- 22 Apr (W) a karaengship given to my younger uncle Karaeng Patteqne
13 Jakr 1132 nanisare pakkaraengang putoku Karae Patteqne
- 26 Apr (R eve) I Pandi, a child of Daengta I Daeng Manjijiliq, died
17 Jakr 1132 namate I Pandi anaqna Daengta I Daeng Manjijiliq
- 3 May (R eve)⁵⁹⁰ I Kare Lewa I Sule died; his wound brought him to this
24 Jakr 1132 namate I Kare Lewa I Sule lokoqnaji angerangi
- 4 May (S) I Kare Mangalle I Maliq installed as *anrongguru* of the *anaq buraqne*, replacing I Kare Pole
25 Jakr 1132 nanitannang anrongguru anaq buraqne I Kare Mangalle I Maliq I Kare Pole nasambeang
- 6 May (M) Karaeng ri Laikang [Daeng Marannu], a widow of Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka], died above in Laikang
27 Jakr 1132 namate Karaengta ri Laikang balunna Tunisombaya irate ri Laikang
- 11 May (S) I Kare Mambani I Jamila installed as *anrongguru* in Kamanakang [in Gowa], replacing his father
3 Raj 1132 nanitannang anrongguru Kamanakang I Kare Mambani I Jamila manggenna nasambeang

⁵⁸⁸ The Hijri day is missing but must be the 28th.

⁵⁸⁹ This is the first mention in the *lontaraq bilang* of a market (*pasaraq*, from Malay).

⁵⁹⁰ A copyist mistakenly wrote the 8th instead of the 3rd.

18 May (S)	Karaeng Balua [Daeng Maingaq] ⁵⁹¹ went to go into Cenrana
10 Raj 1132	namaqlampa Karaengta Balua mantama ri Cenrana
23 May (R)	teeth filed of I Kundaq
15 Raj 1132	naniariq I Kundaq
8 Jun (S)	my grandparent I Daeng Tongi had a daughter Latifah
2 Syab 1132	by my younger uncle Karaeng Alluq namamanaq toaku I Daeng Tongi ri putoku Karae Alluq baine Latifah
17 Jun (N eve)	I Daeng Manangaraq and my grandparent I Daeng Tamami married
11 Syab 1132	nasikalabini I Daeng Manangaraq toaku I Daeng Tamami
29 Jun (S)	Tumamenang ri Jawaya [Najamuiddin] circumcised
23 Syab 1132	nanisunnaq Tuammenang ri Jawaya
16 Jul (T)	Karaeng Balua [Daeng Maingaq] arrived from Cenrana
10 Ram 1132	nabattu ri Cenrana Karaengta Balua
9 Aug (R eve)	I Daeng Nisayu Junggo died
4 Syaw 1132	namate I Daeng Nisayu Junggo
15 Aug (R)	a child of Sayyid Bukhari named Kiamuddin circumcised
10 Syaw 1132	nanisunnaq anaqna Sayyid Bukhari nikanaya Kiamuddini
1 Sep (S eve)	I Daeng Marannu I Sugi had a child by Daeng Manassaq I Muhammad, a boy Jamaluddin
27 Syaw 1132	namamanaq I Daeng Marannu I Sugi ri Daeng Manassaq I Muhammad buraqne anaqna Jamaluddin
27 Sep (R eve)	birth of I Manimbang-gauq Muhiiddin ⁵⁹²
24 Zulk 1132	nanianakkang I Manimbanggauq Muhiiddini

⁵⁹¹ 'Karaeng Balua' refers to her status as a widow of both Amir Hamzah and Abdul Jalil.

⁵⁹² A son of Sirajuddin and Sitti Abidah Daeng Mateqne. His personal name is spelled Manimbang in the 18 Jun 1716, 20 Sep 1722, and 7 Dec 1731 entries and Nimbang in the 5 Mar 1724 entry.

6 Oct (N)	part of Boriqsallo made a vassal ⁵⁹³
4 Zulh 1132	nanipareq paliliq Boriqsallo sipue
10 Oct (R)	the manuscript that would be brought by Karaeng ri Bontopanno overseas to Jakattaraq was taken down to the ship; it offered thanks for giving us Topejawa ⁵⁹⁴
8 Zulh 1132	nanipanaung ri biseang lontaraq naeranga Karaengta ri Bontopannoh kalauq ri Jakattaraq antarimakasihi nasar-eanta Topejawa
11 Oct (F)	I Daeng Tatonji I Talluq died
9 Zulh 1132	namate I Daeng Tatonji I Talluq
16 Oct (W)	my grandparent I Thaibah [Daeng Nisali] had a son
14 Zulh 1132	namamanaq toaku I Thaibah buraqne
24 Oct (R)	I Saenaq, former spouse of Karaeng Tamaqlaqlang I Kapparaq, had a daughter
22 Zulh 1132	namamanaq I Saenaq pallaloanna Karae Tamaqlaqlang I Kapparaq baine anaqna
15 Nov (F)	Puanna I Mattaq [La Padangsajati] came seawards to Kampong Beru, arriving after he fled out of there [Boné] to the Dutch after being expelled [as arumpone]
14 Muh 1133	naniaq ilauq ri Kampong Beru Puanna I Mattaq battu malaria suluq mae ri Balandaya leqbaqna nipasuluq
18 Nov (M)	the arumpone [Karaeng Anaq Moncong] landed, arriving from Cenrana with his wife
17 Muh 1133	nasore arumpone battu ri Cenrana sikalabini
10 Dec (T)	I Daeng Nisanga I Kamariah, a wife of the elder Ratu Bagus, died
9 Saf 1133	namate I Daeng Nisanga I Kamariah bainenna Ratu Bagusuk matoa

⁵⁹³ As Ligtoet (1880:197-8) notes, this probably was a punishment of some sort. Boriqsallo was one of the original communities that came together to form Gowa and there is no other reason why it should be demoted to the status of vassal (*paliliq*).

⁵⁹⁴ The VOC had given Topejawa to Karaeng Laikang, a widow of Arung Palakka, but after her death on 6 May 1720 gave it back to Sirajuddin as a token of friendship (Ligtoet 1880:198).

- 11 Dec (W) I Daeng Manassaq I Muhammad and I Daeng Marannu I Sugi divorced
 10 Saf 1133 nasipelaq I Daeng Manassaq I Muhammad I Daeng Marannu I Sugi
- 15 Dec (N) my grandparent I Daeng Maqleoq's belongings were seized and he was expelled
 14 Saf 1133 nanirappingung nanipasuluq toaku I Daeng Maqleoq
- 17 Dec (T) I Aciq, a wife of I Daeng Tulolo, had a son
 16 Saf 1133 namamanaq I Aciq bainenna I Daeng Tulolo buraqne
- 18 Dec (W) I Daeng Masseqre I Papippiq installed to supervise the lesser *anaq karaeng*
 17 Saf 1133 naI Daeng Masseqre I Papippiq nipantama anjannangi anaq karaeng salaya
- 22 Dec (N) there arrived from Sandao my grandparent I Daeng Talarra, arriving from exile
 21 Saf 1133 naniaqmo battu ri Sandao toaku I Daeng Talarra battu nicinde
- 1721
- 9 Jan (R) I Manrewakki, a child of I Pappi, died
 10 Rawl 1133 namate I Manrewakki anaqna I Pappi
- 13 Jan (M) Puanna I Mattaq [La Padangsajati] and the arumpone [Karaeng Anaq Moncong] were reconciled by the Dutch
 14 Rawl 1133 nanipaqbajikang Puanna I Mattaq arumpone ri Balandaya
- 18 Jan (S) my elder sibling Karaeng Majannang and my elder sibling Karaeng Tabaringang wed
 19 Rawl 1133 nabunting daengku Karae Majannang daengku Karae Tabaringan
- 11 Feb (M eve) Karaeng ri Ballaq Jawaya died at the age of 89
 13 Rakr 1133 namate Karaengta ri Ballaq Jawaya umuruqna 89
- 19 Feb (T eve) I Daeng Rikong I Jaga had a son
 21 Rakr 1133 namamanaq I Daeng Rikong I Jaga buraqne

- 21 Feb (R eve) Karaeng Bontotannga and I Salira married
23 Rakr 1133 nasikalabini Karae Bontotannga I Salira
- 5 Mar (T eve) the ship carrying Karaeng ri Bontopanno dropped anchor,
arriving from Jakattaraq
5 Jawl 1133 namaqlabu kappalaq nadongkokia Karaengta ri
Bontopannoh battu ri Jakattaraq
- 14 Mar (R eve) I Daeng Manassaq Muhammad and I Saenaq, a child of I
Papuq, married
14 Jawl 1133 nasikalabini I Daeng Manassaq Muhammad I Saenaq
anaqna I Papuq
- 17 Mar (M) a child of I Daeng Manassaq I Paciq by [his former wife]
Salira died
17 Jawl 1133 namate anaqna I Daeng Manassaq I Paciq ri Salira
- 26 Mar (W) the day of the elder Addatuanga ri Massepe's [Arung
Ujumpuluq]⁵⁹⁵ death
26 Jawl 1133 allo nakamateanga Aqdatuang ri Massepe matoaya
- 4 Apr (F) I Maqrumai, a wife of Karaeng Mangesuq, died
6 Jakr 1133 namate I Maqrumai bainenna Karae Mangesuq
- 19 May (M) I Daeng Manassaq and I Papuq went over to Sandao, sent
to advance against Toring [on Flores]
22 Raj 1133 namantaqle ri Sandao I Daeng Manassaq I Papuq nisuro
ampanaiki Tarin
- 20 May (W) I Daeng Tamami, a wife of I Daeng Manangaraq, had a
son
23 Raj 1133 namamanaq I Daeng Tamami bainenna I Daeng
Manangaraq buraqne
- 7 Jun (T) ears pierced and teeth filed of Karaeng Patukangang;
then she and Tumamenang ri Jawaya [Najamuddin] were
engaged to each other

⁵⁹⁵ La Tenritippaq ToWalenae, the ruler of Sidénréng whom Speelman called Arung Ujumpuluq and who posthumously was known as Matinroe ri Pamantingang (Ligtvoet 1880:199).

- 11 Syab 1133 nanitinting nanikesoq Karae Patukangang nanipasipare-
kanngang Tuammenang ri Jawaya
- 22 Jun (N) my younger uncle Karaeng Panaikang and my younger
aunt I Daeng Ningai married
- 26 Syab 1133 nasikalabini putoku Karae Panaikang ayaku I Daeng
Ningai
- 25 Jun (W)
29 Syab 1133 the envoy I Kare Takko died
namate suroa I Kare Takko
- 3 Jul (R) my great grandparent I Kare Loqmoq, the mother of
Daengta Daeng Singaraq, died
- 7 Ram 1133 namate boeku I Kare Loqmoq anronna Daengta Daeng
Singaraq
- 29 Aug (F) it is said that a horse gave birth to a water buffalo above
in Sengka; the day of the mother of Datu ri Citta's⁵⁹⁶
death
- 6 Ram 1133⁵⁹⁷ nanikana niaq jarang amanaq tedong irate ri Sengka allo
nakamateanga ayana Datua ri Citta
- 11 Jul (W eve)
19 Ram 1133 I Daeng Manassaq arrived from Sandao
nabattu ri Sandao I Daeng Manassaq
- 9 Oct (W eve)
17 Zulh 1133 I Nannuq, a wife of I Daeng Makkulle I Mappaq, had a
daughter
namamanaq I Nannuq bainenna I Daeng Makkulle I
Mappaq baine
- 9 Oct (R)
17 Zulh 1133 my younger uncle Karaeng Bontolangkasaq ordered
brought to our karaeng [Bontosunggu] to ask the
karaeng's [Sirajuddin's] forgiveness
nanisuro erang ri karaengta putoku Karae
Bontolangkasaq nipappalaq popporang ri karaenga
- 24 Oct (F)
3 Muh 1134 Karaeng Bontomateqne arrived from Sumbawa
nabattu ri Sambawa Karae Bontomateqne

⁵⁹⁶ Known as Opu Larompong, Datu ri Citta was her daughter by La Patau.

⁵⁹⁷ This entry is chronologically out of order, possibly because news of the unusual event in Sengka arrived later.

- 28 Oct (T) I Halimah died at the age of 2 years, one month, and five nights
 7 Muh 1134 namate I Halimah umuruqna 2 taun assibulan allimang banngi
- 1 Nov (S) I Bangung, a child of my younger uncle Karaeng Patteqne, died
 11 Muh 1134 namate I Bangun anaqna putoku Karae Patteqne
- 27 Nov (R) a child of Karaeng Bontomateqne died
 7 Saf 1134 namate anaqna Karae Bontomateqne
- 28 Nov (F) there arrived from Bima Karaeng ri Bontopaqja
 8 Saf 1134 naniaqmo Karaengta ri Bontopaqja battu ri Dima
- 12 Dec (R eve) birth of I Punca Patula Sitti Hawa
 22 Saf 1134 nanianakkang I Punca Patula Sitti Hawa
- 12 Dec (F) I Salira, a wife of Karaeng Bontotannga, had a son
 22 Saf 1134 namamanaq I Salira bainenna Karae Bontotannga buraqne
- 16 Dec (T) the Malay Captain Anciq Cukka⁵⁹⁸ died
 26 Saf 1134 namate Kapitan Malayu Anciq Cukka
- 23 Dec (T) I Daeng Tonji I Ummi died
 3 Rawl 1134 namate I Daeng Tonji I Ummi
- 1722
- 19 Jan (M) the people of Mandalleq went to Karaeng
 Bontomajannang
 1 Rakr 1134 nanipamange tuMandalleka ri Karae Bontomajannang
- 4 Feb (T eve) *makkedangetana*⁵⁹⁹ Arung Ujung died
 17 Rakr 1134 namate makkadangatana Arung Ujung
- 13 Feb (F) the people of Tallumpuang went to Bebuq, now called
 Karaeng Bontotannga

⁵⁹⁸ He was the first Malay Captain in Makassar (Ligtvoet 1880:199).

⁵⁹⁹ Arung Palakka created this position in Boné. *Makkedangetana* was a translation of the Makassarese title *tumabicarabutta* or 'speaker of the land' and as in Gowa was occupied by a person second only in power to the ruler (Andaya 1981:footnote 322).

- 26 Rakr 1134 nanipamange tuTallumpuwanga ri Bebuq nikana Karae Bontotannga
- 22 Feb (N eve) Karaeng Bontosiamaq and her husband came here to entrust themselves to her Makassarese [relatives]
- 7 Jawl 1134 namae ri kamangkasaranna Karae Bontosiamaq sikalabini antambung kalenna
- 4 Mar (W)
16 Jawl 1134 the mother of Karaeng Bidara died
namate anronna Karaeng Bidara
- 17 Mar (T)
29 Jawl 1134 a wife of I Daeng Mangago died
namate bainenna I Daeng Mangago
- 24 Mar (T) I Massanira⁶⁰⁰ and I Anisah, a child of [Karaeng] Bontosiamaq, married
- 6 Jakr 1134 nasikalabini I Massanira I Anisah anaqna Bontosiamaq
- 25 Mar (W)
7 Jakr 1134 I Daeng Nisali I Thaibah had a son
namamanaq I Daeng Nisali I Thaibah buraqne
- 7 Apr (T) my younger uncle Karaeng Alluq and my younger aunt Karaeng Pasiq married
- 20 Jakr 1134 nasikalabini putoku Karae Alluq ayaku Karae Pasiq
- 13 Apr (N eve)
26 Jakr 1134 I Saenaq, a wife of I Daeng Manassaq, had a daughter
namamanaq I Saenaq bainenna I Daeng Manassaq baine
- 25 Apr (S)
9 Raj 1134 I Punca taken and adopted by Karaeng Balua [Daeng Maingaq]
nanialle I Punca nikatuoa ri Karaengta Balua
- 28 May (W eve)
12 Syab 1134 I Daeng Mateqne I Sitti had a daughter
namamanaq I Daeng Mateqne I Sitti bainea
- 30 May (S)
14 Syab 1134 I Maqjuq, a child of I Daeng Memang, died
namate I Maqjuq anaqna I Daeng Memang
- 31 May (N) I Daeng Tamami had a daughter

⁶⁰⁰ A son of Pabukajuwe Datu Ulaweng of Bulu-Bulu, he was known as ToWappamole Datu Ulaweng (Ligtvoet 1880:200).

- 15 Syab 1134 namamanaq I Daeng Tamami baine
- 19 Jun (F) my grandparent I Daeng Nisanga I Nanuq died
5 Ram 1134 namate toaku I Daeng Nisanga I Nanuq
- 3 Jul (F) Friday public prayers first established in Takalar this
Friday
19 Ram 1134 nauru mammenteng jumaq ri Takalaraq jumaq
- 30 Jul (W eve) Karaeng ri Taruq died at the age of 95
16 Syaw 1134 namate Karaengta ri Taruq umuruna 95
- 31 Aug (M)⁶⁰¹ my younger aunt Karaeng Barong Patola and I Daeng
Maqrappo divorced
18 Zulk 1134 nasipelaq ayaku Karae Baron Patola I Daeng Maqrappo
- 10 Sep (R) I Daeng Masseqre I Papippiq and I Unnaq married
28 Zulk 1134 nasikalabini I Daeng Masseqre I Papippiq I Unnaq
- 15 Sep (T) I Manrannuang killed a grinder in the market
4 Zulh 1134 namamuno pakantisiq I Manranuang ri pasaraka
- 20 Sep (S eve) I Manimbang set foot on the ground
9 Zulh 1134 nanipaonjoq ri butta I Manimbang
- 26 Sep (S) I Nannuq, a child of Karaeng Bontorambaq, died
15 Zulh 1134 namate I Nannuq anaqna Karae Bontorambaq
- 17 Oct (S) war leaders sailed eastward to Sandao to make war;
Karaeng Batupute was commander with I Daeng
Manassaq
7 Muh 1135 namamise dulun manraika ri Sandao maqbunduq Karae
Batuputeh punggawa siagaang I Daeng Manassaq
- 21 Oct (T eve) I Bidoq, a younger sibling of I Paceq, stabbed himself and
died the next morning
11 Muh 1135 nanatoboq kalenna I Bidoq arinna I Paceq nabariqbasaqpa
namate

⁶⁰¹ A copyist mistakenly wrote September instead of August.

- 9 Nov (M) Tumamenang ri Jawaya [Najamuddin] and Karaeng Patukangang separated [after having been pledged to each other]
- 30 Muh 1135 nanipasisala Tuammenang ri Jawaya Karae Patukangan
- 16 Nov (M) the karaeng [Sirajuddin] occupied his house; the house was seawards of the mosque in Paqbineang
- 7 Saf 1135 naniempoimo ballaqa karaenga ballaq ilaukannaya masigika ri Paqbineang
- 1 Dec (T) I Mappaingaq Syafiuddin circumcised⁶⁰²
- 22 Saf 1135 nanisunnaq I Mappaingaq Syafiuddini
- 14 Dec (N eve) I Daeng Pabila, a child of I Tuang Rappang, died
- 5 Rawl 1135 namate I Daeng Pabila anaqna I Tuan Rappan
- 26 Dec (F eve) birth of myself, I Makkaraeng Zainuddin [Karaeng Tamasongoq]⁶⁰³
- 17 Rawl 1135 kunianakkang I Makkaraeng Zainuddini
- 30 Dec (T eve) I Maidah Arung Tanete and I Callaq married
- 21 Rawl 1135 nasikalabini I Maidah Aruq Tanete I Callaq
- 1723
- 21 Jan (R) Karaeng Batupute landed, arriving from Sandao; he warred and conquered Toring and Wangka [on Flores]
- 14 Rakr 1135 nasore Karae Batu Puteh battu ri Sandao maqbunduq ambetai Toring siagaang Wangka
- 22 Jan (F) a karaengship given to I Daeng Mattalliq, now called Karaeng Bungaya
- 15 Rakr 1135 nanisare pakkaraengang I Daeng Mattalliq nikana Karae Bungaya
- 25 Jan (N eve) my younger aunt Karaeng Pasiq had a son who reached just 9 nights of age

⁶⁰² Ligtvoet (1880:200) notes that in the manuscript he used the writer – Karaeng Lempangang – referred to himself as 'I' in this entry. This is not found in VT 25. See note for 7 Dec 1709.

⁶⁰³ Also known as I Temasongeng, Karaeng Katangka, and Tumamenang ri Matoanging, he was later *tumabicarabutta* and then ruler of Gowa from 1770-1778 (Patunru 1993:78-9). This makes him the second *lontaraq bilang* annalist who identifies himself by name.

- 18 Rakr 1135 namamanaq ayaku Karae Pasiq buraqne 9 banngiji umu-
ruqna
- 8 Mar (M) Taluqmuq, a child of Karaeng ri Patteqne, died, killed on
Buton
- 1 Jakr 1135 namate Taluqmuq anaqna Karaengta ri Patteqne niposoa
ri Butun
- 5 May (T eve) death of I Tuang [Rappang] inside Rappang [in
Sidénréng]
- 29 Raj 1135 nakamateang I Tuan ilalang ri Rappan
- 21 May (S) teeth filed of I Mattaq by the arumpone [Karaeng Anaq
Moncong]
- 17 Syab 1135 nanibariq I Mattaq ri arungpone
- 25 May (M) I Mangeranngi and I Caciq married
20 Syab 1135 nasikalabini I Mangeranngi I Caciq
- 9 Jun (T eve) I Daeng Mami, a younger sibling of Daengta I Daeng
Marimang, died
- 5 Ram 1135 namate I Daeng Mami arinna Daengta I Daeng Marimang
- 23 Jun (W) I Yunnaq had a daughter
19 Ram 1135 namamanaq I Yunnaq baine
- 27 Jun (S) it is said that Datu ri Ulawang died inside his homeland
22 Ram 1135 nanikana matei Ratua ri Ulawang ilalang ri paqrasangan-
na
- 25 Jul (N) the coffin of I Tuang [Rappang Abdul Bashir] brought
back
- 21 Syaw 1135 nabattu nierang alunna I Tuan
- 28 Jul (W) I Kare Manaqqalaq replaced I Shaykh as *kadi*
24 Syaw 1135 naI Kare Manaqqalaq assambeangi kadi I Syeh
- 31 Jul (F eve) a younger sibling of Karaeng Garassiq named I
Muhammad died
- 27 Syaw 1135 namate arinna Karae Garassiq nikanaya I Muhammad

- 7 Sep (T) I Saqdaq, a child of my grandparent Karaeng Manjalling, circumcised
7 Zulh 1135 nanisunnaq I Saqdaq anaqna toaku Karae Manjalling
- 14 Oct (R) I Biqbuq, a child of Karaeng Manjalling, and I Saodah, a child of Karaeng Bontomajannang, married
14 Muh 1136 nasikalabini I Biqbuq anaqna Karae Manjalling I Saodah anaqna Karae Bontomajannang
- 18 Oct (M) Tumamenang ri Jawaya [Najamuddin] had a sunshade raised over his head
18 Muh 1136 nanipirangkakki laqlang Tuammenang ri Jawaya
- 10 Nov (T eve) I Daeng Tasami, former spouse of Karaeng ri Lekoqboqdong, had a daughter
12 Saf 1136 namamanaq I Daeng Tasami baine pallaloanna Karaengta ri Lekoqboqdong
- 18 Nov (R) Karaeng Laikang proposed to by Karaeng ri Talloq [Najamuddin]; 88 [reals was the brideprice]
20 Saf 1136 nanipassuroi Karae Laikang ri Karaenga ri Talloq 88
- 24 Nov (W) the people of Bontolangkasaq again went to Daeng Mamaro
26 Saf 1136 nanipamange pole ri Daeng Mamaro tuBontolangkasaka
- 29 Nov (M) teeth filed of Karaeng Tangallaq
1 Rawl 1136 naniariq Karae Tangallaq
- 20 Dec (M) Jineli Safi⁶⁰⁴ died seawards in Kampong Beru
22 Rawl 1136 namate Jineli Safi ilauq ri Kampong Beru
- 1724
- 8 Jan (F eve) Karaeng Anaq Moncong expelled by the people of Boné and Arung Mampu taken by the people of Boné [as arumpone]; Puanna I Mattaq [La Padangsajati] taken by the people of Soppéng [as ruler]; the karaeng [Sirajuddin] went seawards to get [La Padangsajati]

⁶⁰⁴ A Bima noble.

- 11 Rakr 1136 nanipasuluq ri tuBonea Karae Anaq Moncong naArung
Mampu nialle rituBonea Puanna I Mattaq naalle tuSop-
penga nakalauq karaenga angallei
- 11 Jan (M eve) I Cinrana, a child of I Tuang ri Dima, died
14 Rakr 1136 namate I Cinrana anaqna I Tuan ri Dima
- 28 Jan (R eve) I Bunga Suttaraq, a child of my younger uncle Karaeng
Patteqne, died
2 Jawl 1136 namate I Bunga Suttaraq anaqna putoku Karae Patteqne
- 1 Feb (M eve) Karaeng Pattallasang died
6 Jawl 1136 namate Karaeng Pattallasang
- 22 Feb (T) the arumpone [Arung Mampu] sailed to go into Cenrana
27 Jawl 1136 namamise arumpone mantama ri Cenrana
- 5 Mar (S eve) Karaeng Bainea [Daeng Mateqne], the mother of I
Manimbang, died at the age of 25
9 Jakr 1136 namate Karaeng Bainea ayana I Nimbang umuruqna 25
- 16 Mar (R) Karaeng Anaq Moncong had sore(s) on his right cheek
2 Jakr 1136⁶⁰⁵ nanabattui sakkaq pilisiq kananna Karae Anaq Moncong
- 1 Apr (F eve) Karaeng Anaq Moncong died; he lived to 35
7 Raj 1136 namate Karae Anaq Moncong 35 tallasaqna
- 3 Apr (N eve) Anciq Sammaq died
9 Raj 1136 namate Anciq Sammaq
- 27 Apr (R) my younger aunt I Daeng Tacoa, a wife of my younger
uncle Karaeng Patteqne, had a child, a daughter
3 Syab 1136 namamanaq ayaku I Daeng Tacoa bainenna putoku Karae
Patteqne baine anaqna
- 3 May (T eve) I Daeng Mangalle died while asleep
9 Syab 1136 namate I Daeng Mangalle tinro-tinro

⁶⁰⁵ This date is incorrect. 2 Jakr 1136 converts to 27 Feb 1724. A copyist may have mistakenly written the 2nd instead of the 22nd, which converts to 18 Mar 1724; the 2nd in place of the 12th, which converts to 8 Mar 1724; or 2 Raj 1136, which converts to 27 Mar 1724.

12 May (R eve) 18 Syab 1136	Daengta Daeng Mami died namate Daengta Daeng Mami
16 May (T) 22 Syab 1136	I Massallomo circumcised; teeth filed of Amirah nanisunnaq I Massanglomo naniariq Amirah
26 May (F) 2 Ram 1136	Karaeng ri Bontokamase died at the age of 74 namate Karaengta ri Bontokamase umuruqna 74
6 Jun (T) 13 Ram 1136	the people of Somba Opu went to Daeng Makkulle I Kare, now called Kare Palembang nanipamange tuSombopua ri Daeng Makkulle I Kare nikana Kare Palembang
11 Jun (S eve) 18 Ram 1136	I Daeng Maqleq ⁶⁰⁶ and I Saidah married nasikalabini I Daeng Maqleq I Saedah
16 Jun (R eve) 23 Ram 1136	I Daeng Mannyikkoq ri Kassiq died; during the day this Friday I Buang Nanang died namate I Daeng Mannyikkoq ri Kassiq ri allonna anne jumaka namate I Buang Nanang
22 Jun (R) 29 Ram 1136	Daeng Sitaba received I Kare Battu's supervisory position because he was infirm nanipamange ri Daeng Sitaba jannanganna I Kare Battu kamadodongmi
28 Jun (W) 6 Syaw 1136	an envoy arrived from the people of Boné stating that they had expelled their ruler Arung Mampu and again taken Datu ri Citta [as arumpone] nabattu surona tuBonea angkana-kanai napasuluqna karaenna Arung Mampu naDatua ri Cittasang naalle
4 Jul (T) 12 Syaw 1136	I Sumailiq, a child of Daeng Malliongang, went amuk and was killed by the Dutch; he was hung namaqjalloq I Sumailaq anaqna I Daeng Malliongang nanibuno ri Balandaya nigentung

⁶⁰⁶ I believe this and subsequent references to this Daeng Maqleq refer to I Sumang, but this is not certain.

- 17 Jul (N eve) my grandparent I Kare Kontu stabbed in the calf from beneath the floor; Daengta Daeng Tapallaq died below in Talloq⁶⁰⁷
- 25 Syaw 1136 nanisoqlloroq toaku I Kare Kontu bitisiqna namate Daengta Daeng Tapallaq rawa ri Talloq
- 10 Aug (W eve) I Daeng Manassaq and a child of Gallarrang Mangasa⁶⁰⁸ who was a widow of I Daeng Pabila married
- 20 Zulk 1136 nasikalabini I Daeng Manassaq anaqna Gallaran Mangasa balunnaya I Daeng Pabila
- 14 Aug (M) Karaeng Bontomateqne had a daughter
- 24 Zulk 1136 namamanaq Karae Bontomateqne baine
- 24 Aug (R) I Aciq, a wife of I Daeng Tulolo, had a son; the Chinese Captain died
- 5 Zulh 1136 namamanaq I Aciq bainenna I Daeng Tulolo buraqne namate Kapitan Sanggalea
- 2 Oct (M) ears pierced of I Jaenaq
- 14 Muh 1137 nanitinting I Jaenaq
- 3 Oct (T) I Muhammad [Baki], just the second of Karaeng ri Tana-Tana's children, circumcised
- 15 Muh 1137 nanisunnaq I Muhammad anaqna ruaji Karaengta ri Tana-Tana
- 14 Oct (S) I Kondaq died above in Lengkeseq and was brought down here
- 26 Muh 1137 namate I Kondaq irate ri Lengkeseq nanierang manaun-mae
- 16 Oct (M) Karaeng ri Talloq [Najamuddin] and Karaeng Patukangang married
- 28 Muh 1137 nasikalabini Karaenga ri Talloq Karae Patukangang
- 19 Oct (R) *sabannaraq* I Daeng Makkulle died

⁶⁰⁷ Possibly this entry is intended to be read as meaning that I Kare Kontu died, but then what happened involving Daengta Daeng Tapallaq in Talloq is unclear. Kamaruddin (1986:176) attempts to resolve this by stating that I Kare Kontu Daengta Daeng Tapallaq was one person, but this interpretation is not likely.

⁶⁰⁸ This individual is twice mentioned but never named in the annals (see 14 Apr 1712).

1 Saf 1137	namate sabannaraka I Daeng Makkulle
29 Oct (S eve) 11 Saf 1137	I Umaraq, a child of Gallarrang Mangasa, died namate I Umaraq anaqna Gallarang Mangasa
1 Nov (W) 14 Saf 1137	Daengta Daeng Maingaq died in Talloq namate Daengta Daeng Maingaq ri Talloq
16 Nov (R) 29 Saf 1137	now the Chinese Captain was buried nanampa nitarawang Kapitan Sanggalea
27 Nov (M) 10 Rawl 1137	I Daeng Mangewai ⁶⁰⁹ installed as <i>sabannaraq</i> ; he replaced his older uncle ⁶¹⁰ [I Daeng Makkulle] nanitannang sabannaraq I Daeng Manngewai puanna nasambeang
3 Dec (N) 16 Rawl 1137	I Sumailiq circumcised by Karaeng Majannang nanisunnaq I Sumailiq ri Karae Majannang
7 Dec (R) 20 Rawl 1137	I Kare Bangung I Biding died namate I Kare Bangun I Biding
27 Dec (T eve) 11 Rakr 1137	I Daeng ri Nakke died namate I Daeng ri Nakke
1725	
19 Jan (F) 4 Jawl 1137	I Salira had a son namamanaq I Salira buraqne
23 Jan (T) 8 Jawl 1137	my grandparent Karaeng Lauq died namate toaku Karae Lauq
28 Jan (F) 11 Jawl 1137	I Daeng Taiji, a child of Daengta Daeng Talele, died namate I Daeng Taiji anaqna Daengta Daeng Talele
11 Feb (N) 27 Jawl 1137	I Molla [Kare Manginruru] and I Maemunah, a grand- child of Anduq Puaq, married nasikalabini I Molla I Maemunah cucunna Anduq Puaq

⁶⁰⁹ This was a different Daeng Mangewai than either I Wasing (18 Jul 1718) or I Dandeq (13 Dec 1719).

⁶¹⁰ It is unlikely but possible that Daeng Makkulle was his father.

- 12 Feb (M) there came a manuscript from Sumbawa reporting to the
karaeng [Sirajuddin] the death of the ruler of Sumbawa
[Ammasaq] and his sibling, slain by 'Javanese'⁶¹¹ from Bali
- 28 Jawl 1137 niaq lontaraq battu ri Sambawa angkana-kanai ri karaen-
ga matena Karae Sambawa sisaqribattang niputtai ri Jawa
Balía
- 13 Feb (M eve) it is said that Datu ri Lamuru⁶¹² and Arung Gowa-Gowa
were killed by Datu ri Soppéng [La Padangsjati]; they
were strangled⁶¹³
- 29 Jawl 1137 nanikana nibunoi ri Datua ri Soppeng Datua ri Lamuru
siagaang Aruq Gowa Gowa nijarroki
- 17 Feb (F eve)
4 Jakr 1137 the elder *kadi* I Kare Tappaq died
namate qadia matoaya I Kare Tappaq
- 18 Feb (N)
5 Jakr 1137 I Saidah, a wife of I Daeng Maqleq, had a daughter; I
Manrewakki, a child of I Pappi, died⁶¹⁴
namamanaq I Saidah bainenna I Daeng Maqleq baine
namate I Manrewakki anaqna I Pappi
- 25 Feb (N)
12 Jakr 1137 I Daeng Majannang I Salamah died
namate I Daeng Majannang I Salamah
- 2 Mar (F)
17 Jakr 1137 I [Syafiuddin] went up to recite the sermon in the mosque
kumanaq mamaca khutbah ri masigika
- 22 Mar (R)
7 Raj 1137 my younger uncle Karaeng Panaikang sent over to
Sumbawa to fetch Datu Tannga, Karaeng Bontoa⁶¹⁵, and
Karaeng Buluq-Buluq
nanisuro taqle ri Sambawa putoku Karae Panaikang
angallei Datu Tannga Karae Bontoa Karae Buluq-Buluq

⁶¹¹ That is, inhabitants of the archipelago to the west of Makassar, in this case Balinese. Ligtvoet (1880:203) reports that the ruler of Sumbawa Mas Madina and his brother were killed trying to recapture Salaparang, which since 1693 had been under the control of the Balinese.

⁶¹² La Cella Matinroe ri Tengana Soppéng (Ligtvoet 1880:203).

⁶¹³ Ligtvoet (1880:203) reports they were killed because they were accused of slandering La Padangsjati.

⁶¹⁴ This was the second young child of I Pappi named Manrewakki to die young; see the entry for 9 Jan 1721.

⁶¹⁵ Probably I Sugi who was born on 19 Jul 1704. All three were summoned back to Makassar in the wake of the death of the ruler of Sumbawa Mas Madina the previous month (Ligtvoet 1880:203).

27 Mar (T)	I Kare Jarreq I Yokong installed as <i>anrongguru</i> of the <i>anaq buraqne</i> , replacing I Kare Mangalliki I Jalaq
12 Raj 1137	nanipantama anrongguru anaq buraqne I Kare Jarreq I Yokong asambeangi I Kare Mangalliki I Jalaq
9 Apr (N eve)	I Salahu, a nephew ⁶¹⁶ of Karaeng Mangesuq, died
25 Raj 1137	namate I Salahu kamanakanna Karae Mangesuq
14 Apr (F eve)	Daengta Daeng Marimang died
1 Syab 1137	namate Daengta Daeng Marimang
15 May (T)	I Sadiq, a child of a Tamboran [on Sumbawa] and Tumatea ri Salaparang [Karaeng Jarannika], died
2 Ram 1137	namate I Sadiq anaq Tamboran Tumatea ri Salaparan
24 May (R)	a child of I Yunnaq died
11 Ram 1137	namate anaqna I Yunnaq
7 Jun (R)	Muhammad Ali, a grandchild of I Tuang ⁶¹⁷ , and I Bole ⁶¹⁸ stabbed each other above in Galesong after arriving together from Sumbawa with Karaeng Bontomajannang
25 Ram 1137	nasitoboq Muhammad Ali cucunna I Tuan I Bole sipoleangi irate ri Galesong battui ri Sambawa siagaang Karae Bontomajannang
8 Jun (F)	my younger uncle Karaeng Panaikang arrived from fetching Karaeng Buluq-Buluq and Karaeng Bontoa but not Datu Tannga
26 Ram 1137	nabattu putoku Karae Panaikang angallei Karae Buluq-Buluq Karaeng Bontoa tenai Datu Tang
17 Jun (N)	Daengta Daeng Manaqqalaq, a younger sibling of the widow ⁶¹⁹ , died
5 Syaw 1137	namate Daengta Daeng Manaqqalaq arinna balua
22 Jun (R eve)	Daengta Daeng Talele, a younger sibling of Karaeng ri Ballaq Jawaya, died

⁶¹⁶ Or niece, as no gender is indicated.

⁶¹⁷ This probably refers to Tuang Rappang.

⁶¹⁸ Alternately, these names could be read as Muhammad Ali and a grandchild of I Tuang I Bole.

⁶¹⁹ Presumably Daeng Maingaq, also known in the *lontaraq bilang* as Karaeng Balua.

- 10 Syaw 1137 namate Daengta Daeng Talele arinna Karaengta ri Ballaq Jawaya
- 6 Jul (F) my [step]mother I Sapiah, a wife of the karaeng [Sirajuddin] had a son Syarfuddin Manngambu Jawa
- 24 Syaw 1137 namamanaq anrongku I Sapiah bainenna Karaenga buraqne Syarfuddin Manngambu Jawa
- 9 Aug (W eve) Daenga Daeng Tamemang, who lived with my younger uncle⁶²⁰, died
- 29 Zulk 1137 namate Daenga Daeng Tamemang siballaqna putoku
- 13 Aug (N eve) Karaeng Boriqsallo died
- 4 Zulh 1137 namate Karaeng Boriqsallo
- 23 Aug (R) I Mattaenai and I Sabirah, a child of Karaeng Batupute by Minaq, married
- 14 Zulh 1137 nasikalabini I Mattaenai I Sabirah anaqna Karae Batuputeh ri Minaq
- 16 Sep (N) it is said that the new ruler of Sumbawa died on the 15th of Zulhijah⁶²¹
- 8 Muh 1138 nanikana matei Karae Sambawa berua ri 15 Zulhijah
- 1 Oct (M) an envoy from the arumpone [Datu ri Citta] arrived bringing news of the death of Arung Jalieng⁶²² below in Luwuq; I Mappaq, a child of Karaeng Mangesuq, circumcised
- 23 Muh 1138 nabattu surona arungpone ampabirittai matena Aruq Jalieng irawa ri Luwuq nanisunnaq I Mappaq anaqna Karae Mangesuq
- 6 Oct (S) I Tipa had a daughter by the karaeng [Sirajuddin] named Hasanah
- 28 Muh 1138 namamanaq I Tipa baine ri karaenga nikana Hasanah
- 7 Oct (N) Arung Tanete I Callaq arrived here in Gowa
- 29 Muh 1138 nabattu Aruq Tanete I Callaq maei ri Gowa

⁶²⁰ Either Karaeng Panai kang, Alluq, or Patteqne.

⁶²¹ Quite possibly he too died fighting the Balinese in Salaparang like his predecessor.

⁶²² Ruler of Sidénréng and Datu ri Citta's third husband (Ligtvoet 1880:204).

12 Oct (R eve) 5 Saf 1138	I Saodah, a wife of I Biqbuq, had a daughter Latifah namamanaq I Saodah bainenna I Biqbuq baine Latifah
30 Oct (T) 24 Saf 1138	Karaeng Patukangang had a son Muhammad Jamala; I Mappatollaq was his Makassarese name ⁶²³ namamanaq Karae Patukangan buraqne Muhammad Jamala I Mappatollaq aren Mankasaraqna
3 Nov (S) 27 Saf 1138	Amirah and I [Syafiuddin] married kusikalabini Amirah
12 Nov (M) 6 Rawl 1138	a child of Karaeng Bontomateqne died namate anaqna Karae Bontomateqne
21 Nov (W) 15 Rawl 1138	a child of Karaeng Bontotannga died namate anaqna Karae Bontotannga
1 Dec (S) 25 Rawl 1138	I Maemunah, a wife of I Kare Manginruru I Molla, died namate I Maemunah bainenna I Kare Manginruru I Molla
9 Dec (S eve) 3 Rakr 1138	<i>nayaka</i> I Yasing died namate nayakaya I Yasing
29 Dec (S) 24 Rakr 1138	Karaeng Bontoa had a son Abdul Gafur; he lived just 9 months namamanaq Karae Bontoa buraqne Abdul Gafur 9 bulanji tallasaqna
1726	
13 Jan (N) 9 Jawl 1138	I Daeng Memang, a grandparent of I Daeng Rikong I Jaga, died namate I Daeng Memang toana I Daeng Rikong I Jaga
16 Jan (W) 12 Jawl 1138	a child of I Daeng Masseqre I Papippiq died in Buaq namate anaqna I Daeng Masseqre I Papippiq ri Buaq

⁶²³ He was later titled Karaeng Kanjilo (Ligtvoet 1880:204).

- 19 Jan (M eve)⁶²⁴ my [step]mother I Saidah, a wife of the karaeng
[Sirajuddin] had a daughter Aminah Sarimba Raja
- 15 Jawl 1138 namamanaq anrongku I Saidah bainenna karaenga baine
Aminah Sarimba Raja
- 31 Jan (W eve) Daengta Daeng Mangaungi died at 70 years of age
27 Jawl 1138 namate Daengta Daeng Mangaungi umuruqna 70 taun
- 8 Feb (R eve) I Daeng Tonji Balambaru died
5 Jakr 1138 namate I Daeng Tonji Balambaru
- 11 Feb (M) I Mangeranngi and I Malikah married
8 Jakr 1138 nasikalabini I Mangerang I Malikah
- 15 Feb (S) a child of I Papuq who was a wife of I Dadi died
13 Jakr 1138 namate anaqna I Papuq nabaneanga I Dadi
- 25 Feb (M) I Salama, a child of I Daeng Bonang, divorced by the kara-
eng [Sirajuddin], repudiated three times [in accordance
with Islamic custom]
22 Jakr 1138 nanipelaq I Salama anaqna I Daeng Bonang ri karaenga
nitallaq tallui
- 16 Mar (S) I Kare Sallo, a child of Tumatea ri Salaparang [Karaeng
Jarannika], died
12 Raj 1138 namate I Kare Sallo anaqna Tumatea ri Salaparang
- 19 Mar (T)⁶²⁵ the karaeng [Sirajuddin] and Karaeng Agangjeqneq⁶²⁶
married
15 Raj 1138 nasikalabini karaenga Karae Agangjeqneq
- 22 Mar (R eve) it is said that my older uncle Arung Kaju and the
arumpone [Datu ri Citta] married
18 Raj 1138 nanikana sikalabinimi puangku Aruq Kayu arungpone
- 30 Mar (S) my younger aunt Karaeng Bontojeqneq arrived from Kaju;
she said she had been divorced by my older uncle [Arung
Kaju]

⁶²⁴ A copyist mistakenly wrote the 29th instead of the 19th.

⁶²⁵ A copyist mistakenly wrote the 16th instead of the 19th.

⁶²⁶ A former wife of the ruler of Sumbawa Mas Madina and, according to Dutch sources, of Arung Jalieng as well (Ligtvoet 1880:204).

- 26 Raj 1138 nabattu ayaku Karae Bontojeqneq ri Kayu nikana nipelaq-mi ripuangku
- 29 Apr (T) Karaeng Bisei⁶²⁷, ordered brought by the arumpone [Datu ri Citta], arrived
- 26 Syab 1138 nabattu Karae Bisei nisuro eran ri arungpone
- 2 May (R) a child of a slave of Karaeng Bisei died⁶²⁸
- 29 Syab 1138 namate anaq ri atanna Karae Bisei
- 8 May (W) my grandparent I Daeng Nganrenne, a grandparent of Karaeng Bontolangkasaq, died
- 5 Ram 1138 namate toaku I Daeng Nganrenne toana Karae Bontolangkasaq
- 19 May (N) I Daeng Masseqre I Papippiq expelled from supervising the lesser *anaq karaeng*
- 16 Ram 1138 nanipasuluq I Daeng Masseqre I Papippiq anjannangi anaq karaeng salaya
- 10 Jun (N eve) I Capoaq, a widow of Tumamenang ri Rateqna, died
- 9 Syaw 1138 namate I Capoaq balunna Tuammenang ri Rateqna
- 3 Jul (T eve) we were left by [*tumabicarabutta*] Karaeng Tumamenang ri Taenga at the age of 85
- 3 Zulk 1138 kinapilari Karaengta Tuammenang ri Taenga umuruqna 85
- 6 Jul (S) my younger uncle Karaeng Panaikang installed to supervise the lesser *anaq karaeng*
- 6 Zulk 1138 naputoku Karae Panaikang nipantama anjannangi anaq karaeng salaya
- 9 Jul (T) I Dorra and a grandchild of I Daeng Masseqre stabbed each other above in Maradekaya and after one night died⁶²⁹

⁶²⁷ A former ruler of Boné for a brief time in 1724. He was also known as Arung Mampu and La Panaungi Topawawoi.

⁶²⁸ Karaeng Bisei was presumably the father.

⁶²⁹ I believe the intent of this is that I Dorra died, but it could mean that they both died from their wounds.

- 9 Zulk 1138 nasitoboki I Dorra cucunna I Daeng Masseqre irate ri
Maradekaya sipatangpi namate
- 17 Jul (W) Karaeng Balambaru died below in Baru-Baru
17 Zulk 1138 namate Karae Balambaru irawa ri Baru-Baru
- 2 Aug (F) the karaeng [Sirajuddin] would speak for the land⁶³⁰
4 Zuh 1138 nakaraenga ampakkanangi buttana
- 10 Sep (T) the karaeng [Sirajuddin] given the 3 communities of
Gantaq, Kassiq, and Sangkalaq⁶³¹
13 Muh 1139 nanisareang karaenga Gantaq Kassiq Sangkala 3 paqras-
angan
- 9 Sep (M) Gallarrang Camba I Kare Parampang installed as speak-
er⁶³²
12 Muh 1139⁶³³ nanitannang maqbicara Gallarrang Camba I Kare
Parampang
- 7 Oct (M) my grandparent I Daeng Mangewai I Waseq⁶³⁴, a younger
sibling of Karaeng Manjalling, died
11 Saf 1139 namate toaku I Daeng Mangewai I Waseq arinna Karae
Manjalling
- 17 Oct (R) the manuscript that would be brought by my younger
uncle Karaeng Alluq overseas to Jakattaraq was taken
down to the ship; it said we had been left by our karaeng
[Tumamenang ri Taenga]
21 Saf 1139 nanipanaung ri biseang lontaraq naeranga putoku Karae
Alluq kalauq ri Jakattaraq angkana-kanai napilarinta
Karaengta
- 23 Oct (W) I Daeng Taiji, a wife of Karaeng Garassiq, died
27 Saf 1139 namate I Daeng Taiji bainenna Karae Garassiq

⁶³⁰ In other words, following the death of Karaeng Bontosunggu Tumamenang ri Taenga, Sirajuddin decided that he would not appoint a new *tumabicarabutta*, the chief advisor and minister of Gowa known as 'The Speaker of the Land'. Sultan Hasanuddin had done this once before in 1654.

⁶³¹ By the arumpone Datu ri Citta and her husband Arung Kaju (Ligtvoet 1880:205).

⁶³² This either means that he became *tumabicarabutta* or that he was given some of those duties performed by the *tumabicarabutta* before Sirajuddin decided he would do this himself.

⁶³³ It is not clear why this and the preceding entry are in reverse chronological order.

⁶³⁴ Elsewhere spelled I Wasing.

- 30 Oct (T eve) my older uncle Karaeng Boqdia and Karaeng Barrung married
4 Rawl 1139 nasikalabini puangku Karae Boqdia Karae Barrung
- 6 Nov (W) the ruler of Bima [Mappatalli] and his wife [Karaeng Bisangpole] arrived
11 Rawl 1139 nabattu Karae Dima sikalabini
- 26 Nov (T) a Selayarese named I Pundamaq installed as *nayaka* of the bissu
1 Rokr 1139 nanipantama nayaka bissu Silayaraka nikanaya I Pundamaq
- 10 Dec (T) the *nayaka* [Pundamaq] conducted a great exorcism ritual
15 Rokr 1139 namakkawaru lombo nayakaya
- 14 Dec (S) birth of I Cumaq Sitti Salehah Rimba Bulaeng⁶³⁵
19 Rokr 1139 nanianakkang I Cumaq Sitti Salehah Rimba Bulaeng
- 15 Dec (N) my grandparent I Daeng Maqleoq killed to the east in Pareq by his companion he had gone to find
20 Rokr 1139 nanibuno toaku I Daeng Maqleoq iraya ri Pareq ri aganna manglea naboya
- 16 Dec (M) [I Daeng Maqleoq] was brought seawards here, then across to Taenga and buried
21 Rokr 1139 nanierang kalauq mae naibaqla ri Taenga niawan
- 1727
- 7 Jan (T) it is said that I Daeng Mattara died in Jakattaraq
13 Jawl 1139 nanikana matei I Daeng Mattara ri Jakattaraq
- 13 Jan (N eve) all the people of Dompua fled overseas from Kampong Beru as they were about to be given to their ruler
19 Jawl 1139 namalaringaseng Dompua ilauka ri Kampong Beru lani-pamangen ri karaengna
- 17 Jan (F) there was a very great flood [tidalwave] in the river like never before

⁶³⁵ Ligtoet (1880:205) speculated that this might be the later ruler of Talloq Karaeng Karuwisi.

- 23 Jawl 1139 namalompo dudu aqbaya ri binangaya tinang kammai
- 19 Jan (S eve)
25 Jawl 1139 the ruler of Dompu I Daeng Manombong died
namate Karae Dompu I Daeng Manombong
- 31 Jan (F)
8 Jakr 1139 Anduq Puaq died
namate Anduq Puaq
- 8 Feb (S) Sudanga and Latea ri Duni were placed side by side in
the house in Paqbineang [Sirajuddin's new royal hall] for
the 5th time; the people of Takalar, whose overseer was I
Bagusuq, were given to the karaeng [Sirajuddin] with all
that belonged to their community⁶³⁶
- 16 Jakr 1139 nanipasiempoang Sudanga Latea ri Duni ri ballaka ri
Paqbineang maka 5 nanisareang karaenga tuTakalaraka
jannangannaya I Bagusuq lolong paqrasanganna
- 16 Feb (N) the arumpone [Datu ri Citta] and her husband [Arung
Kaju] sailed from Ujung Tana down to Padang-Padang
[Pare-Pare] to suppress what was said to be Datu ri
Soppéng [La Padangsajati] inside Boné inciting the people
of Boné [to revolt]
- 24 Jakr 1139 namamise arumpone sikalabini ri Juntana manaung ri
Padang-Padang makkaruru nikananna niaki Datua ri
Soppeng ilalang ri Bone ampakewai tuBonea
- 20 Feb (R) I [Syafiuddin] went also with my friend Karaeng Garassiq
I Daeng Mattulung to follow the arumpone [Datu ri
Citta]; the Patambirang⁶³⁷ were ordered to accompany
[us]
- 28 Jakr 1139 kumaqlampa todong siagaang belaku Karae Garassiq I
Daeng Mattulung ampinawang arumpone Patamberanga
nisoro ampinawangaq
- 24 Feb (M) my older uncle Karaeng Boqdia and Karaeng Barrung
divorced

⁶³⁶ Like Gantaq, Kassiq, and Sangkalaq the previous year, the arumpone and Arung Kaju gave Takalar to Sirajuddin (Ligtvoet 1880:206).

⁶³⁷ Patambirang refers to a collection of communities north of Gowa established by Bugis nobles who, according to oral tradition, settled there with the ruler of Talloq's permission after they returned from Boné bearing the body of Gowa's ruler Tunibatta in 1565. These lords were given special honors and (at least originally) freed from paying tribute to Gowa (Friedericy 1929:425-7; Ligtvoet 1880:footnote 206).

- 2 Raj 1139 nasipelaq puangku Karae Boqdia Karae Barrun
- 4 Mar (T) it is said that Datu ri Soppéng [La Padangsajati] was in Batangnionjoq [Agangnionjoq] and was ordered guarded because it was said he was going to the Dutch
- 10 Raj 1139 nanikana niaki Datua ri Soppeng ri Batangnionjoq nan-isuro kammiq kanikana alamaei ri Balandaya
- 10 Mar (M) I Laiqjiq arrived here with his blood relatives⁶³⁸, saying that all the people went from the Datu [ri Soppéng], who also was brought down to the arumpone [Datu ri Citta]
- 16 Raj 1139 nabattu I Laiqjiq mae ri katuguana nakana maqlampa ngasengmi taua ri Datua nieran tommy manaung ri arungpone
- 13 Mar (R) it is said that Datu ri Soppéng [La Padangsajati] was there beside the arumpone [Datu ri Citta]
- 19 Raj 1139 nanikana niaqmi Datua ri Soppeng irawa ri arumpone
- 20 Mar (W eve) I Cocoq, a wife of I Kare Mangalle, died
- 26 Raj 1139 namate I Cocoq bainenna I Kare Mangalle
- 22 Mar (S) I arrived from following the arumpone [Datu ri Citta]; it is said that my older uncle I Mattaq [La Padangsajati] and his wife and family were exiled down beneath [i.e. to the north side of] Luwuq⁶³⁹
- 28 Raj 1139 kubattumo ampinawangi arungpone nanikana nicindei puanna I Mattaq sikalabini sipamanakang manaung irawanganna Luq
- 5 Apr (S) my elder sibling Karaeng Tanasanga and Bumi Partiga⁶⁴⁰ married
- 17 Syab 1139 nasikalabini daengku Karae Tanasanga Bumi Partiga
- 9 Apr (T eve) my older uncle Karaeng Boqdia and Karaeng Barrung returned to each other
- 21 Syab 1139 nasipolei puangku Karae Boqdia Karae Barrung

⁶³⁸ 'Blood relatives' is Ligtoet's (1880:207) translation of 'katuguana'.

⁶³⁹ This was his punishment for attempting to foment revolt in Boné.

⁶⁴⁰ The appointed successor or crown prince of Bima bore this title, which here referred to Ala'uddin Muhammad Syah, a son of Mappatalliq Hasanuddin.

26 Apr (F)	my younger uncle Karaeng Alluq landed at Ujung Pandang, arriving from Jakattaraq
3 Ram 1139	nasore ri Jumpandang putoku Karae Alluq battu ri Jakattaraq
3 May (F eve)	the ruler of Bima [Mappatalliq] went with his wife [Karaeng Bisangpole] over to his homeland [on Sumbawa]
10 Ram 1139	namaqlampamo Karae Dima sikalabini taqle ri paqrasangana
7 May (W)	Karaeng ri Talloq [Najamuddin] asked that I Kare Lesang be installed as gallarrang [of Talloq]
14 Ram 1139	nanapalaq Karaenga ri Talloq I Kare Lesang natannang gallarrang
13 Jul (S eve)	I Saidah, a wife of I Daeng Maqleoq, had a daughter
23 Zulk 1139	namamanaq I Saidah bainenna I Daeng Maqleoq baine
31 Jul (W eve)	I Daeng Nisimba, former spouse of Karaeng ri Bontopanno, died
12 Zulh 1139	namate I Daeng Nisimba pallaloanna Karaengta ri Bontopannoh
13 Aug (W)	an envoy from the arumpone [Datu ri Citta] arrived bringing news of the death of my older uncle I Mattaq and his wife and family; they were cut down
25 Zulh 1139	nabattu surona arungpone ampabirittai matena puanna I Mattaq sikalabini sipamanakang nijalloki
25 Aug (M)	Amirah had a son Manshur I Mallawang Gauq ⁶⁴¹
8 Muh 1140	namamanaq Amirah buraqne Manshur I Mallawang Gauq
2 Sep (T)	my younger aunt Karaeng Barong Patola and I Daeng Makkulle I Tipu married
16 Muh 1140	nasikalabini ayaku Karae Barong Patola I Daeng Makkulle I Tipu
14 Oct (T)	a house for the karaeng [Sirajuddin] built outside of Mallengkeri
28 Saf 1140	nanibangun ballaqla karaenga ipantaraq ri Mallengkeri

⁶⁴¹ A son of Karaeng Lempangang also known as Tumamenang ri Gowa (Ligtvoet 1880:207).

24 Oct (R) 30 Saf 1140 ⁶⁴²	I Mattenai and a child of I Daeng Ngago [Isa] married nasikalabini I Mattenai anaqna I Daeng Ngago
2 Nov (N) 17 Rawl 1140	I Mattayang and I Daeng Mateqne I Sitti divorced nasipelaq I Mattayang I Daeng Mateqne I Sitti
10 Nov (M) 25 Rawl 1140	I Mandi, a grandchild of Daengta I Daeng Talarra, cir- cumcised nanisunnaq I Mandi cucunna Daengta I Daeng Talarra
23 Nov (N) 9 Rakr 1140	I Sitti, former spouse of I Mattayang, had a daughter namamanaq I Sitti palloloanna I Mattayang baine
26 Nov (W) 12 Rakr 1140	my older uncle Karaeng Boqdia and Karaeng Barrung divorced again nasipelaq pole puangku Karae Boqdia Karae Barrung
15 Dec (M) 1 Jawl 1140	I Maliq, a child of Puaq Ikkuq, died namate I Maliq anaqna Puaq Ikkuq
17 Dec (W) 3 Jawl 1140	there arrived an Arab from Bait al Faqih [in Yemen] named Abu Bakar Ibnu Muhammad Syaibi niaq Arab Baitalfaqih battu nikana Abu Bakar Ibnu Muhammad Syaibi
21 Dec (N) 5 Jawl 1140	teeth filed of I Didaq, a child of Karaeng Bontomateqne naniariq I Didaq anaqna Karae Bontomateqne
27 Dec (S) 13 Jawl 1140	Daengta I Daeng Ngampa, a child of Karaeng Rappociniq, died namate Daengta I Daeng Ngampa anaqna Karaengta Rappociniq
1728	
29 Jan (W eve) 17 Jakr 1140	Karaeng ri Bontopaqja ⁶⁴³ died at the age of 76 namate Karaengta ri Bontopaqja umuruqna 76

⁶⁴² The Hijri date converts to 16 Oct 1727.

⁶⁴³ Probably a daughter of the ruler of Bima Ambela Sirajuddin and Karaeng Bontojeqneq (Ligtvoet 1880:207-8).

- 7 Feb (S) there were 13 Torajans, people from Tallung Lipu, brought into Islam by Shaykh
26 Jakr 1140 niaq Toraja tuTallung Lipu 13 nipantama Islam ri Syekh
- 9 Feb (N eve) I Daeng Manassaq I Muhammad died at 30 years of age
28 Jakr 1140 namate I Daeng Manassaq I Muhammad talassaqna 30 taun
- 15 Feb (N) the day I Ninuq⁶⁴⁴, a child of Karaeng Bontorambaq, died below in Batangnionjoq
4 Raj 1140 allo nakamateanga I Ninuq anaqna Karae Bontorambaq irawa ri Batangnionjoq
- 21 Feb (F eve) I Daeng Marewa and I Karimah married
10 Raj 1140 nasikalabini I Daeng Marewa I Karimah
- 22 Feb (N) I Daeng Mateqne, a child of Daengta Daeng Marimang, died
11 Raj 1140 namate I Daeng Mateqne anaqna Daengta Daeng Marimang
- 26 Feb (W eve) I Saqdaq and I Mindaq married
15 Raj 1140 nasikalabini I Saqdaq I Mindaq
- 26 Feb (R) Karaeng Bulu-Bulu I Rimba died, having lived to be 19
15 Raj 1140 namate Karae Bulu-Bulu I Rimba tallasaqna 19
- 21 Mar (F eve) I Dadiq killed, recognized as having a kris hilt [that belonged to another]
8 Syab 1140 nanibuno I Dadiq nipanrupai pangulu
- 21 Mar (S) I Abu, a grandchild of Anro Malole, killed by the Dutch along with the child of I Jakuq
8 Syab 1140 nanibuno I Abu cucunna Anro Malole ri Balandaya sia-gaang anaqna I Jakuq
- 31 Mar (T eve) Karaeng Patukangang had a son Abdul Gafur who lived 3 nights
19 Syab 1140 namamanaq Karae Patukangang buraqne Abdul Gafur 3 banngi tallasaqna

⁶⁴⁴ Not the I Ninuq who married on 6 May 1715.

21 Apr (W) 10 Ram 1140	Sayyid Alwi died namate Sayyid Alwi
26 Apr (M) 15 Ram 1140	I Malikah and I Mangeranngi divorced nasipelaq I Malikah I Mangeranngi
27 Apr (M eve) 16 Ram 1140	my elder sibling Karaeng Tanasanga had a daughter named Rante Patola Sitti Rabiah namamanaq daengku Karae Tanasanga baine nikana Rante Patola Sitti Rabiah
1 May (S) 20 Ram 1140	I Daeng Ngaseng I Saqbaraq died namate I Daeng Ngaseng I Saqbaraq
7 May (F) 26 Ram 1140	the day of Arung Pattojo's death allo nakamateanga Aruq Pattojo
8 May (F eve) 27 Ram 1140	the karaeng [Sirajuddin] grew a beard ⁶⁴⁵ namaqjanggoq karaenga
10 May (N eve) 29 Ram 1140	birth of Ratu Bulaeng Sitti Radiah nanianakkang Ratu Bulaeng Sitti Radiah
25 May (M) 15 Syaw 1140	I Manrewakki, a child of Karaeng Batupute, circumcised and then adopted by Karaeng Manjalling nanisunnaq I Manrewakki anaqna Karae Batu Puteh nakatuoa Karae Manjalling
31 May (N eve) 21 Syaw 1140	my great grandparent I Daeng Ngantu I Yociq died namate boeku I Daeng Ngantu I Yociq
6 Jun (N) 27 Syaw 1140	Karaeng Barrung had a son named I Callaq namanaq Karae Barrung buraqne nikana I Callaq
18 Jun (R eve) 10 Zulk 1140	Gallarrang Parangloe I Laddin died namate Gallarang Parangloe I Laddin
10 Jul (S)	my grandparent I Daeng Masseqre I Jaga died and I Daeng Manjakkalaq I Luddin replaced him ⁶⁴⁶

⁶⁴⁵ A sign of Islamic devotion.

⁶⁴⁶ In what capacity is not clear. It is not likely that this entry refers to the I Daeng Masseqre I Papippiq who was expelled from supervising the lesser *anaq karaeng* on 19 May 1726.

- 3 Zulh 1140 namate toaku I Daeng Masseqre I Jaga naIDaeng
Manjakkalaq I Luddin assambeangi
- 28 Aug (S) I Manrannuang and I Buba married
22 Muh 1141 nasikalabini I Manrannuang I Buba
- 29 Aug (N) Karaeng Balambaru and I Danruq married
23 Muh 1141 nasikalabini Karaeng Balambaru I Danruq
- 11 Sep (S) Karaeng ri Talloq [Najamuddin] came himself on account
of what Monnoq did
7 Saf 1141 nanaerang kalenna Karaenga ri Talloq lanri gauka ri
Monnoq
- 17 Sep (F) Addatuanga ri Massepe⁶⁴⁷ and Karaeng Tangallaq mar-
ried
13 Saf 1141 nasikalabini Aqdatuan ri Massepe Karae Tangallaq
- 8 Oct (F) the ship carrying Bumi Partiga, who was bringing his wife
[Karaeng Tanasanga] over to Bima, briefly went down to
Kampong Beru
4 Rawl 1141 namaqdongkoq ri biseang Bumi Partiga angerangi bainen-
na taqle ri Dima manaungiji ri Kampong Beru
- 9 Oct (S) my younger aunt Karaeng Bontojeqneq was seawards
in Kampong Beru; my older uncle [Arung Kaju] went
to bring her [his former wife] up to Talloq; he and the
arumpone [Datu ri Citta] also divorced
5 Rawl 1141 ilauki ri Kampong Beru ayaku Karae Bontojeqneq
namange puangku angallei manraiq ri Talloq nasipelaq
tommo arumpone
- 18 Oct (N eve) I Kare Nassa, a child of I Tuang⁶⁴⁸, died
14 Rawl 1141 namate I Kare Nassa anaqna I Tuan
- 22 Oct (R eve) I Daeng Tacoa I Alimah died
18 Rawl 1141 namate I Daeng Tacoa I Alimah
- 4 Nov (R) I Bimbang installed as *nayaka*, replacing the Selayarese
nayaka [I Pundamaq]

⁶⁴⁷ Towapo Matinroe ri Sumpangminangaé (Ligtvoet 1880:208).

⁶⁴⁸ This probably refers to Tuang Rappang.

- 2 Rakr 1141 nanitannang nayaka I Bimbaga assambeangi nayaka Silayaraka
- 5 Nov (F) Isa, a child of I Daeng Ngago, had a son
3 Rakr 1141 namamanaq Isa anaqna I Daeng Ngago buraqne
- 13 Nov (S) people mustered for the installation of Governor Josua van Arrewijne
11 Rakr 1141 namarewangan taua nilantiqna Gurnadur Josawapan Arwin
- 6 Dec (M) belongings seized of Karaeng Bontojeqneq by the karaeng [Sirajuddin]; his Makassarese possessions [were taken]
4 Jawl 1141 nanirapping Karae Bontojeqneq ri karaenga panguang Mankasaraqna
- 9 Dec (R) I Mappaq and I Yakiah married
7 Jawl 1141 nasikalabini I Mappaq I Yakiah
- 21 Dec (S) I Mammaq, a child of the younger Ratu Bagus, circumcised
19 Jawl 1141 nanisunnaq I Mammaq anaqna Ratu Bagusq malolo
- 1729
- 10 Jan (M) I Tappaq, a child of Karaeng Palembang, circumcised
10 Jakr 1141 nanisunnaq I Tappaq anaqna Karae Palembang
- 28 Jan (R eve) Karaeng ri Campagaya died at the age of 73
28 Jakr 1141 namate Karaengta ri Campagaya umuruqna 73
- 29 Jan (F eve) I Kare Jannang, a widow of the *kadi*, died
29 Jakr 1141 namate I Kare Jannang balunna qadia
- 5 Feb (S) I Karimah, a wife of I Daeng Marewa, had a son
6 Raj 1141 namamanaq I Karimah bainenna I Daeng Marewa buraqne Muhammad Rajab
- 12 Feb (S) I Nuh circumcised; Karaeng ri Mangaraqbombang died
13 Raj 1141 nanisunnaq I Nuh namate Karaengta ri Mangaraqbombang

25 Feb (F)	I Kare Sitaba I Jalani, a child of I Tuang ⁶⁴⁹ , died
26 Raj 1141	namate I Kare Sitaba I Jalani anaqna I Tuan
14 Mar (M)	Gallarrang Mangasa I Kare Mangalle died but his child named I Kasing replaced him
13 Syab 1141	namate Gallarrang Mangasa I Kare Mangalle anaqnaji nikanaya I Kasing assambeangi
15 Mar (T)	Gallarrang Bontoalaq, <i>zakat</i> ⁶⁵⁰ official, died
14 Syab 1141	namate Gallarrang Bontoalaq suro pajakkoq
20 Mar (N)	I Buba and Muhammad Ali married
19 Syab 1141	nasikalabini I Buba Muhammad Ali
29 Mar (T)	I Liasaq, a child of I Daeng Mami Dalang, died
28 Syab 1141	namate I Liasaq anaqna I Daeng Mami Dalang
5 Apr (M eve)	Gallarrang Tomboloq I Mangemba died
5 Ram 1141	namate Gallarrang Tomboloq I Mangemba
24 Apr (N)	we were left by Karaeng ri Talloq Tumamenang ri Jawaya ⁶⁵¹ [Najamuddin]
24 Ram 1141	kinapilari Karaenga ri Talloq Tuammenanga ri Jawaya
25 Apr (M)	Karaeng ri Gowa [Sirajuddin] again took hold of the land of Talloq ⁶⁵²
25 Ram 1141	naKaraenga ri Gowa pole antaqgalaki buttana ri Talloq
5 May (W eve)	I Daeng Maniqgalli, a younger sibling of Karaeng Bidara, died
6 Syaw 1141	namate I Daeng Maniqgalli arinna Karaenga Bidara

⁶⁴⁹ This probably refers to Tuang Rappang.

⁶⁵⁰ *Zakat* refers to the tithing required of observant Muslims. Since a mosque was first constructed in Bontoalaq (completed on 10 Nov 1635) and Friday prayers established (30 Oct 1648), it had been the center of Islam in Makassar, and the comparatively few references to Islamic officials (such as the *pakki* mentioned on 10 Oct 1693) in the annals are generally tied to this location.

⁶⁵¹ His posthumous name indicates that he died in Jawaya, a settlement just south of the Talloq river.

⁶⁵² Following the death of his son Najamuddin Tumamenang ri Jawaya.

- 15 May (N) I Daeng Maingaq's belongings seized and she was banished east to Moncongang; I Daeng Manyampakki banished; I Daeng Sangging left to go east to Sandao
- 16 Syaw 1141 nanirappung nanicindei I Daeng Maingaq manraiq ri Moncongan I Daeng Manyampakki nicindei maqlampa I Daeng Sangging lanipanraiq ri Sandao
- 16 May (M) I Kapparaq, a child of Karaeng ri Mandalleq, killed by La Maqdiq⁶⁵³ seawards in Ujung Pandang
- 17 Syaw 1141 nanibuno I Kapparaq anaqna Karaengta ri Mandalleq ri Lamaqdiq ilauq ri Jumpandang
- 18 May (W) Karaeng Bontolangkasaq arrived, followed, and killed I La Maqdiq
- 19 Syaw 1141 nabattu Karae Bontolangkasaq ampinawangi ambunoi I Lamaqdiq
- 10 Jun (R eve) I Maqmiq, a child of I Daeng Mattulung, died
- 12 Zulk 1141 namate I Maqmiq anaqna I Daeng Mattulung
- 9 Jul (S) I Mappaq, a grandchild of I Daeng Talarra, and a niece of Karaeng Bidara married
- 12 Zulh 1141 nasikalabini I Mappaq cucunna I Daeng Talarra kamana-kanna Karaeng Bidara
- 16 Jul (S) the Dutch rice storehouse inside the fort burned
- 19 Zulh 1141 namakanre gaqdon berasaqna Balandaya ilalang kota
- 29 Jul (R eve) I Maidah had a daughter
- 2 Muh 1142 namamanaq I Maidah baine
- 19 Aug (F) it is said that [Governor] General Mattheus de Haan died in Jakattaraq
- 23 Muh 1142 nanikana matei Jenrala Matihus Dihana ri Jakattaraq
- 20 Aug (S) Amirah had a daughter named I Danradatu Sitti Napisah⁶⁵⁴
- 24 Muh 1142 namamanaq Amirah baine nikana I Danradatu Sitti Napisah

⁶⁵³ A son of La Patauq (Ligtvoet 1880:209).

⁶⁵⁴ Karaeng Langeloq.

12 Sep (M) 18 Saf 1142	teeth filed of a child of I Daeng Maqruppa I Tinting naniariq anaqna I Daeng Maqruppa I Tinting
5 Oct (W) 12 Rawl 1142	Abdussalam, a child of Karaeng Tallampuang Suluka, circumcised nanisunnaq Abdussalam anaqna Karae Tallampuang Suluka
10 Oct (M) 17 Rawl 1142	I Nunniq, a wife of I Daeng Ngago, died namate I Nunniq bainenna I Daeng Ngago
14 Oct (R eve) 21 Rawl 1142	Karaeng Patukangang had a daughter named I Sugiratu Sitti Aminah ⁶⁵⁵ namamanaq Karae Patukangan baine nikana I Sugiratu Sitti Aminah
15 Oct (S) 22 Rawl 1142	the karaeng [Sirajuddin] goes to live in his house outside Mallengkeri; 2 years and two months [after being built] he will live in it nanaempoimo ballaqa karaenga ipantaraka ri Mallengkeri 2 taun anruambulan nanaempo
13 Nov (N) 21 Rakr 1142	I Daeng Marannu I Sugi had a daughter by Dadiq namamanaq I Daeng Marannu I Sugi ri Dadiq baine
27 Nov (S eve) ⁶⁵⁶ 6 Jawl 1142	the interpreter I Jakuq died namate juru basaya I Jakuq
28 Nov (M) ⁶⁵⁷ 7 Jawl 1142	the day of Datu ri Mario's ⁶⁵⁸ death below in Batangnionjoq allo nakamatenga Datua ri Mario irawa ri Batangnionjoq
29 Dec (R) 8 Jakr 1142	at the sun's setting Karaeng Tangallaq had a daughter who was already dead when she came out ambanimi saqraq alloa namamanaq Karae Tangallaq baine mate memange battu suluq

⁶⁵⁵ Later known as Arung Teko and Arung Kaju.

⁶⁵⁶ A copyist mistakenly wrote the 17th instead of the 27th.

⁶⁵⁷ A copyist mistakenly wrote the 18th instead of the 28th.

⁶⁵⁸ Arung Papiro, a daughter of the ruler of Tanete Daeng Mattajang Matinroe ri Sumpampoba (Ligtvoet 1880:210).

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- 5 Feb (N) I Sumang, a child of I Tuang Abu Bakar, and I Sarimba married
- 17 Raj 1142 nasikalabini I Suman anaqna I Tuan Abu Bakar I Sarimba
- 26 Feb (F eve) I Daeng Sitaba and I Cinra married
- 8 Syab 1142 nasikalabini I Daeng Sitaba I Cinra
- 10 Mar (F) I Sabirah, a child of Karaeng Batupute, died
- 25 Syab 1142⁶⁵⁹ namate I Sabirah anaqna Karae Batuputeh
- 11 Mar (N) I Thahirah and I Mangiq, a child of Abu Bakar, married⁶⁶⁰; yesterday during the night I Buba had a daughter
- 22 Syab 1142 nasikalabini I Thahirah I Mangiq anaqna Abu Bakar sibanngi ri banngia namamanaq I Buba baine
- 12 Apr (W) the envoy I Daeng Maqruppa arrived bringing news of the death of his wife across in Bontotalo 4 months [ago]
- 23 Ram 1142 nabattu surona I Daeng Maqruppa ampabirittai matena bainenna ibaqle ri Bontotalo 4 bulanmi
- 14 Apr (F) I Congaq arrived from Buton, ordered brought by the ruler of Buton here to the Dutch⁶⁶¹
- 25 Ram 1142 nabattu ri Butong I Congaq nisuro erang ri karae Buton mae ri Balandaya
- 23 Apr (S eve) Karaeng ri Langeloq died at the age of 70 and four months⁶⁶²
- 4 Syaw 1142 namate Karaengta ri Langeloq umuruqna 70 ampatambulan

⁶⁵⁹ The date appears to be out of chronological order, but the correct Hijri date is probably the 21st.

⁶⁶⁰ Abu Bakar was an Arab who arrived in Makassar on 17 Dec 1727, and the marriages of two of his children in rapid succession and their commemoration in the annals evidence his incorporation into the lower ranks of elite Makassarese society.

⁶⁶¹ I Congaq is a short version of I Tamasongaq, La Temasonge in Bugis. This was Datu Baringang Matinroe ri Malimongeng, later ruler of Boné. In 1727 he and two brothers had fled to Buton to escape their half-sister Datu ri Citta, the arumpone of Boné and her husband Arung Kaju (Ligtvoet 1880:210).

⁶⁶² Though precise, this reckoning is incorrect; she was born 29 May 1656, which means she died at almost age 74 according to the Gregorian solar calendar and 76 according to the Hijri lunar calendar. Annalists typically used the Hijri calendar to calculate ages.

- 9 May (T) I Doqdiq, a younger sibling of I Daeng Ningai, died
20 Syaw 1142 namate I Doqdiq arinna I Daeng Ningai
- 20 May (S) the day of my grandparent's⁶⁶³ death across on Bima; my
younger uncle Karaeng Panaikang sailed [over to Bima] to
fetch my elder sibling Karaeng Tanasanga
2 Zulk 1142 allo nakamateanga toaku ibaqla ri Dima namamise
putoku Karae Panaikang ambuntuli daengku Karae
Tanasanga
- 18 Jun (S) a child of a slave of Karaeng Bisei died from smallpox⁶⁶⁴
2 Zulh 1142 namate mapuru anaq ri atanna Karae Bisei
- 26 Jun (T) I Karimah had a daughter Shafiah
10 Zulh 1142 namamanaq I Karimah baine Shafiah
- 12 Jul (W) my younger uncle Karaeng Panaikang arrived from Bima
bringing my elder sibling [Karaeng Tanasanga]
26 Zulh 1142 nabattumo ri Dima putoku Karae Panaikang angerangi
daengku
- 5 Aug (S) Karaeng Bontoa had a son named I Lotteng Salahuddin
20 Muh 1143 namamanaq Karae Bontoa buraqne nikana I Lotteng
Salahuddin
- 20 Aug (N) a child of Karaeng Bulukumba named I Nojeng died, just
suddenly dying outside Bontomanaiq
6 Saf 1143 namate anaqna Karaeng Bulukumbba nikanaya I Nojeng
ipantaraq ri Bontomanaiq tiqring mateji
- 6 Sep (W) I Daeng Mangasa Jipang died
23 Saf 1143 namate I Daeng Mangasa Jipang
- 14 Sep (W eve) I Mattenai and a child of I Daeng Ngago married
1 Rawl 1143 nasikalabini I Mattenai anaqna I Daeng Ngago
- 2 Oct (M) the [royal] banners were smeared with blood as people
[warriors] went over to Sandao
19 Rawl 1143 naniceraq batena tumantallea ri Sandao

⁶⁶³ Ligtoet (1880:210) believed this grandmother was Daengta Daeng Nisayu, widow of Arung Teko and grandmother of Karaeng Tanasanga; however, Daengta Daeng Nisayu is recorded as having died on 7 Oct 1709.

⁶⁶⁴ 'Mapuru' means to have sores or pustules, but probably indicates smallpox.

- 5 Oct (R) Karaeng Bontomajannang sailed with Karaeng
22 Rawl 1143 Bontotannga over to Sandao to make war
namamise Karae Bontomajannang taqle ri Sandao
maqbanduq siagaang Karae Bontotannga
- 9 Oct (M) the coffins of I Daeng Mateqne I Sipaya with his child
26 Rawl 1143 were brought back
nabattu nierang allunna I Daeng Mateqne I Sipaya sia-
gaang anaqna
- 13 Oct (F) Amirah had a daughter named I Rida Sitti Rahmah
1 Rakr 1143 namamanaq Amirah baine nikana I Rida Sitti Rahmah
- 16 Oct (N eve) I Yakiah, a child of Karaeng Lembang, died at the age of
4 Rakr 1143 18 and seven months
namate I Yakiah anaqna Karae Lembang umuruqna 18
antuju bulan
- 3 Nov (F) I Daeng Manangaraq arrived from Massepe [in
22 Rakr 1143 Sidénréng], sent to request the consent of I Tanri⁶⁶⁵ for the
Addatuanga [ri Massepe] to sever [his marriage to her]
nabattu I Daeng Manangaraq ri Massepe nisuro ampap-
palaq katuang I Tanrri ri Aqdatuangi kattomi
- 12 Nov (N) my younger uncle I Daeng Maqruppa I Sajaq died
1 Jawl 1143 namate putoku I Daeng Maqruppa I Sajaq
- 17 Nov (F) I Daeng Mattulung, *anrongguru* of the envoys, died
6 Jawl 1143 namate I Daeng Mattulung anronggurunna suroa
- 18 Nov (S) I Mappaq, a child of I Daeng Tapallaq, circumcised by
7 Jawl 1143 Arung Panaikang⁶⁶⁶
nanisunnaq I Mappaq anaqna I Daeng Tapallaq ri Aruq
Panaikang
- 28 Nov (M eve) a wife of I Kare Jarreq, *anrongguru* of the *anaq buraqne*,
17 Jawl 1143 died
namate bainenna I Kare Jarreq anrongguru anaq buraqne

⁶⁶⁵ Karaeng Tangallaq, whose personal name was Tanripadaq.

⁶⁶⁶ Presumably this refers to Karaeng Panaikang, a prominent figure in Makassar at the time who was supervisor of the lesser *anaq karaeng* and an envoy of the ruler Sirajuddin.

- 30 Nov (R) ears pierced of a child of I Monnoq in Bantaeng
19 Jawl 1143 nanitinting anaqna I Monno ri Bantaeng
- 3 Dec (N) a karaengship given to I Daeng Ngago, now called
Karaeng Paranggi
22 Jawl 1143 nanisare pakkaraengang I Daeng Ngago nikana Karae Paranggi
- 7 Dec (R) my younger uncle Karaeng Bontolangkasaq and Karaeng Bontoa divorced
27 Jawl 1143 nasipelaq putoku Karae Bontolangkasaq Karae Bontoa
- 1731
- 5 Jan (F) I Mappaq, a child of Karaeng Mangisuq, and I Patimaq, a child of Karaeng Paranggi, married
26 Jakr 1143 nasikalabini I Mappaq anaqna Karae Mangisuq I Patimaq anaqna Karae Paranggi
- 6 Jan (F eve) this was purportedly when a royal hall⁶⁶⁷ in Massepe and 3 houses burned
27 Jakr 1143 ia anne bedeng namakkanre salassaka ri Massepe 3 batu ballaq
- 23 Jan (T) this was purportedly the day the ruler of Bima [Mappataliq] died across in Bima
14 Raj 1143 ia anne bedeng alloa nakamateang Karaenga ri Dima ibaqle ri Dima
- 24 Jan (W) I Mattayang cut down I Mammaq, a child of I Daeng Mipati; one of his slaves went amuk⁶⁶⁸; I Mattayang died
15 Raj 1143 namaqjalloq I Mattayang I Mammaq anaqna I Daeng Mipati najalloq sitaumi atanna namate I Mattayang
- 25 Jan (R) I Mammaq died too
16 Raj 1143 namatetommo I Mammaq
- 26 Jan (R eve) I Sarimba, a wife of I Sumang, had a daughter
17 Raj 1143 namamanaq I Sarimba bainenna I Suman baine

⁶⁶⁷ The term *salassaq* can also refer to a palisade.

⁶⁶⁸ This could also be read as meaning that Mattayang then cut down one of I Mammaq's slaves.

- 6 Feb (M eve) *tumailalang* Karaeng ri Bontopanno died at the age of 81
 28 Raj 1143 namate *tumailalang* Karaengta ri Bontopannoh umuruqna 81
- 10 Feb (F eve) Karaeng Bontomajannang arrived from Sandao and conquering Poma [on Flores]
 3 Syab 1143 nabattumo ri Sandao Karae Bontomajannang ambetai Poma
- 18 Feb (S eve) I Saodah, a child of Karaeng Bontomajannang, died
 11 Syab 1143 namate I Saodah anaqna Karae Bontomajannang
- 1 Mar (W eve) I Dandung, a wife of my grandparent I Daeng Manggappa⁶⁶⁹, died
 22 Syab 1143 namate I Dandung bainenna toaku I Daeng Manggappa
- 3 Mar (S) a Bimanese envoy arrived bringing news of the death of the ruler of Bima [Mappatalliq] 1 month and 8 nights [ago]
 24 Syab 1143 nabattu surona Dimaya ampabirittai matena Karae Dima1 bulanmi 8 banngi
- 5 Mar (M eve) my younger uncle Karaeng Panaikang broke off his relationship with [his wife] I Daeng Ningai
 26 Syab 1143 nanitappuki I Daeng Ningai ri putoku Karae Panaikang
- 14 Mar (T eve) I Asiah, a child of Daengta Daeng Ngaseng by Maradiah, died
 5 Ram 1143 namate I Asiah anaqna Daengta Daeng Ngaseng ri Maradiah
- 30 Mar (F) Tuang Abu Bakar broke off his relationship with I Daeng Tamemang
 21 Ram 1143 nanitappuki I Daeng Tamemang ri Tuan Abu Bakkar
- 12 Apr (W eve) I Gacong, *anrongguru*⁶⁷⁰ of the people of Takalar, was killed; it is not known who killed him
 4 Syaw 1143 nanibuno I Gacong anronggurunna tuTakalaraka tanias-sengai tuambunoai

⁶⁶⁹ Probably but not necessarily the Daeng Manggappa was born on 6 Aug 1688.

⁶⁷⁰ Here the term *anrongguru* simply means a chief or leader.

- 18 Apr (T eve) I Sitti, a child of the elder Ratu Bagus, died
10 Syaw 1143 namate I Sitti anaqna Ratu Bagusq matoa
- 21 Apr (S) word arrived from Sumbawa reporting that the ruler
of Sumbawa⁶⁷¹ died; gunpowder exploded and he was
blown into the air with his house
13 Syaw 1143 niaq kana battu ri Sambawa nikana matei Karae Sambawa
nakanrei ubaq nipasiriqbakangi ballaqla
- 30 Apr (N eve) I Daeng Mambani I Bambiql and I Sapinah married
22 Syaw 1143 nasikalabini I Daeng Mambani I Bambiql I Sapinah
- 30 Apr (M) the people of Kadatong went to Mappatanre, now called
Karaeng Masale
22 Syaw 1143 nanipamange tuKadatonga ri Mappatanre nikana Karae
Masaleh
- 1 May (T) my grandparent I Daeng Talarra I Jaleka died
23 Syaw 1143 namate toaku I Daeng Talarra I Jaleka
- 9 May (W) the Bimanese arrived to take as ruler Bumi Partiga
2 Zulk 1143 nabattu Dimaya angallei karaeng Bumi Partiga
- 7 Jun (R) the people of Katapang went to Daeng Talarra because it
was he they wanted, not Karaeng Bidara
1 Zulh 1143 nanipamange tuKatapanga ri Daeng Talarra kaia nakaero-
ki teami ri Karaeng Bidara
- 28 Jul (F eve) Karaeng Majannang brought to the karaeng [Sirajuddin];
his kris was taken away
22 Muh 1144 nanierang ri karaenga Karae Majannang nipalelei toboqla
- 2 Aug (R) my younger uncle Karaeng Bontolangkasaq and Karaeng
Sumannaq⁶⁷² married
27 Muh 1144 nasikalabini putoku Karae Bontolangkasaq Karae
Sumannaq
- 16 Aug (R) I Karimah, a wife of Daeng Marewa, had a son
Abdurrasyid

⁶⁷¹ Jalaluddin.

⁶⁷² Probably Zainab, a daughter of Karaeng ri Tana-Tana and the ruler of Sanrabone Karaeng Mamampang (Ligtvoet 1880:213).

- 12 Saf 1144 namamanaq I Karimah bainenna I Daeng Marewa
buraqne Abdurrasyid
- 23 Aug (R)
19 Saf 1144 my younger uncle I Kalingkeriq died below in Talloq
namate putoku I Kalingkeriq irawa ri Talloq
- 2 Sep (N)
29 Saf 1144 I Karimah and Daeng Marewa divorced
nasipelaq I Daeng Marewa I Karimah
- 10 Sep (N eve)
8 Rawl 1144 I Niba, a child of *tumailalang* Karaeng ri Lekoqboqdong,
died
namate I Niba anaqna *tumailalang* Karaengta ri
Lekoqboqdong
- 26 Sep (W)
24 Rawl 1144 I Manyanreri, a child of *tumailalang* Karaeng ri
Lekoqboqdong, died
namate I Manyanreri anaqna *tumailalang* Karaengta ri
Lekoqboqdong
- 3 Oct (T eve)
1 Rakr 1144 I Taba acted as a thief above in the karaeng's
[Sirajuddin's] house here inside Gowa, stabbing the ban-
ner bearer guarding the house; he was swarmed and
brought down; only once it was morning did they knew
it was I Taba; the thief was summoned, ordered bound,
and made to speak; he confessed and also identified the
one who was with him, saying I Kauji, a child of I Kare
Mambani, was guilty; then he was ordered surrounded
and searched by I Taba for weapons
namaqgauq palukkaq I Taba irate ri ballaqna karaenga
ilalang mae ri Gowa anoboki paerang bate angkammikai
ballaq nanipangerrukang naniturungi bariqbasaqpa nani-
asseng I Tabaji makkioq palukkaq nanisuro sikkoq nipa-
kana-kana nanaanimu mangerang tomme tau naagaanga
nakana I Kauji anaqna I Kare Mambani naani nanisuroli-
ungangmo naia I Taba nipappaboya-boyangi toboq
- 5 Oct (F)
3 Rakr 1144 Karaeng Garassiq installed as *tumailalang*, replacing
Karaeng ri Bontopanno
nanitannang *tumailalang* Karae Garassiq assambeangi
Karaengta ri Bontopannoh

- 27 Oct (F eve) a house was built for Karaeng Paqbineang
25 Rokr 1144 nanibangun ballaqa Karae Paqbineang
- 28 Oct (N) I Muhammad⁶⁷³ taken as karaeng by the people of
Sanrabone
26 Rokr 1144 naI Muhammad naalle karaeng tuSanrabonea
- 7 Dec (F) I Manimbang circumcised
7 Jakr 1144 nanisunnaq I Manimbang
- 14 Dec (R eve) I Kare Mambani, *anrongguru* of the *dammaq*⁶⁷⁴, died
14 Jakr 1144 namate I Kare Mambani anronggurunna Dammaka
- 22 Dec (S) I Patimaq, a wife of I Mappaq, had a son
22 Jakr 1144 namamanaq I Patimaq bainenna I Mappaq buraqne
- 31 Dec (N eve) I Syehu slept with I Saja
2 Raj 1144 namaqlusereq I Sehu I Saja
- 1732
- 20 Jan (S eve) a great flood [tidalwave] in the river reached Mallengkeri
22 Raj 1144 namalompo aqbaya ri binangaya naalle Mallengkeri
- 22 Jan (T) Gallarrang Rappo-Rappo Jawa I Kare Malliongi died
23 Raj 1144 namate Gallarang Rappo-Rappo Jawa I Kare Malliongi
- 30 Jan (W) I Daeng Manassaq fined one kati and one tai for opposing
a decision⁶⁷⁵
2 Syab 1144 nanipassala I Daeng Manassaq sikati assitaiq annumpaki
bicara
- 31 Jan (R) I Balingkasaq fed⁶⁷⁶ and shorn; Karaeng ri Paqbineang
gathered her family for her vow after her skin sores⁶⁷⁷
were gone and ordered a recitation [from the Qur'an]; I

⁶⁷³ Also known as Muhammad Baki and Karaeng Barombong, he was a son of the former ruler of Sanrabone Karaeng Mamampang and Karaeng ri Tana-Tana.

⁶⁷⁴ They were black-clad guards who protected the ruler of Gowa.

⁶⁷⁵ The penalty is fairly mild, but the nature of the decision (*bicara*) is uncertain. The decision in question could have been made by Sirajuddin himself, but more likely was made by the *tumabicarabutta* or Gallarang Camba (if in fact he was not *tumabicarabutta* – see the 9 Sep 1726 entry).

⁶⁷⁶ See the note for the 26 Sep 1718 entry.

⁶⁷⁷ Probably smallpox.

3 Syab 1144	Kare Mangewai was surrounded seawards in Jawaya; he and two of his children died nanipaemuq I Balingkasaq nikattereq nanapasseqre pamanakanna Karaengta ri Paqbineang tinjaqna leqbaqna puru assuro maca naniliungang I Kare Mangewai ilauq ri Jawaya tallui sipa[a]nakang mate
Mar (M) ⁶⁷⁸ Ram 1144	the ruler of Bima [Ala'uddin] and his wife [Karaeng Tanasanga] went over to their homeland nataqle ri paqrasanganna karae Dima sikalabini
18 Mar (T) 21 Ram 1144	I Saidah Kare Rimang died; I Sumang and I Sarimba divorced namate I Saida Kare Rimang nasipelaq I Suman I Sarimba
2 Apr (W) 6 Syaw 1144	I Rukiah, a child of I Daeng Mangitung, stabbed herself and died nanatoboq kalenna I Rukiah anaqna I Daeng Mangitung matei
17 Apr (R) 21 Syaw 1144	I Kare Mangalle ordered to go to Mangaseng, bringing the people of Mangasa nanisuro I Kare Mangalle mange ri Mangasengi anger-anngangi tuMangasaya
19 Apr (S) 23 Syaw 1144	Karaeng Paranggi sent over to Sandao with Karaeng Bontotannga by the karaeng [Sirajuddin] nataqle ri Sandao Karae Paranggi siagaang Karae Bontotannga nisuro karaenga
9 Jun (N eve) ⁶⁷⁹ 15 Zulh 1144	birth of I Sinddoq nanianakkang I Sinddoq
18 Jun (W) 24 Zulh 1144	I Daeng Marannu and I Dadiq divorced but returned to each other later nasipelaq I Daeng Marannu I Dadiq sipoleanji salla
19 Jun (R)	I Syehu arrived from Selayar

⁶⁷⁸ The dates are incomplete in VT 25, but based on the next entry can be identified as the 20th, 13th, or 6th of Ramadan and the 17th, 10th, or 3rd of March.

⁶⁷⁹ The date is omitted but based on the next entry must be the 9th.

25 Zulh 1144	nabattu ri Silayaraq I Syehu
27 Jun (F)	I Sumang, Gallarrang Bontomanaiq, and I Dadiq stabbed each other; the three died together
4 Muh 1145	nasitoboq I Suman Gallarrang Bontomanaiq I Dadiq tallu sikamateang
11 Sep (R)	I Mappatimung killed by the ruler of Agangnionjoq ⁶⁸⁰
21 Rawl 1145	nanibuno I Mappatimung ri karae Agangnionjoq
14 Sep (N)	I Malikah proposed to by Tappaq
24 Rawl 1145	nanipassuroi I Malikah ri Tappaq
10 Oct (F)	Karaeng Tabaringang died
20 Rokr 1145	namate Karae Tabaringang
17 Oct (M) ⁶⁸¹	a house was built for the karaeng [Sirajuddin] outside Mallengkeri in 6 sections on pillars
29 Rokr 1145	nanibangun ballaqa karaenga ipantaraq ri Mallengkeri 6 paqdaserang
27 Nov (R)	Karaeng Sanrabone [Muhammad Baki] had a sunshade raised over his head
9 Jakr 1145	nanipirangkaki laqlang Karae Sanrabone
30 Nov (N)	this was when I Borahima died across on Bima; he was a child of the ruler of Bima
12 Jakr 1145	ia anne nakamateang I Borahima ibaqla ri Dima anaqna karae Dima
11 Dec (R)	Karaeng Tamasongoq circumcised with I Mammiq and a child of Karaeng Bontotannga; I Pattah died
23 Jakr 1145	nanisunnaq Karae Tamasongoq siagaang I Mammiq siagaang anaqna Karae Bontotannga namate I Pattah
19 Dec (F)	Karaeng Manilingi died

⁶⁸⁰ I Mappatimung was probably the Bugis name of Arung Pattojo, known after his death as Matinroe ri Dunina. Ligtoet (1880:213) explains the background to this killing. Tenrilele, the ruler of Luwuq, was raised and then married off by the ruler of Boné Batari Toja to the Soppéng noble Muhammad Arung Pattojo (who was also Arung of Lalolang, in Tanete). Because Arung Pattojo was of lesser birth rank than Tenrilele, her brother the ruler of Agangnionjoq (La Tenriodang Matinroe ri Musuna) shot and killed him and then married his sister to the Datu of Mario ri Awa La Samanglangiq, known as Tolaoé Sapirie.

⁶⁸¹ A copyist mistakenly wrote November instead of October.

2 Raj 1145	namate Karae Manilingi
31 Dec (W)	Karaeng Taipa died
14 Raj 1145	namate Karaeng Taipa
	1733
22 Jan (W eve)	we were left by Karaengta ri Bontomanompoq at the age of 88, five months, and 13 nights
6 Syab 1145	kinapilari Karaengta ri Bontomanompoq umuruqna 88 alima bulan 13 banngina
1 Jun (M)	Karaeng Laikang died and was buried in Bontotannga
18 Zulh 1145	namate Karae Laikang ri Bontotanngai niawan
10 Jun (W)	Karaeng Tanasanga arrived from Bima bringing one of her children
27 Zulh 1145	nabattu ri Dima Karae Tanasanga sitau anaqna naerang
15 Jun (N eve)	Karaeng Barombong [Muhammad Baki] went up to Sanrabone with Karaeng Lempangang [Syafiuddin]
3 Muh 1146	namanaiq ri Sanrabone Karae Barombong siagaang Karae Lempangang
15 Jun (M)	the karaeng [Sirajuddin] went up to Sanrabone, angrily going [to help] the people of Gowa ⁶⁸²
3 Muh 1146	namanaiq ri Sanrabone karaenga turung rakka-rakkai tuGowaya
23 Jun (T)	the ruler of Sumbawa died
11 Muh 1146	nabattu karae Sambawa
15 Aug (N eve)	Sayyid Bukhari died
5 Rawl 1146	namate Sayyid Bukhari
29 Aug (S)	Gallarrang Tomboloq removed himself; I Sammiq replaced him
19 Rawl 1146	nanapasuluq kalenna Gallarang Tomboloq I Sammiq assambeangi
1 Nov (S eve)	Daeng Mangalle I Laijiq died

⁶⁸² What was happening in Sanrabone is unclear, but it was in the wake of the installation of Muhammad Baki as their new *karaeng*.

- 23 Jawl 1146 namate Daeng Mangalle I Laijiq
- 7 Nov (S) the ruler of Sumbawa and Karaeng Bontoa married; a
child of I Bebboq died
- 29 Jawl 1146 nasikalabini karae Sambawa Karae Bontoa namate anaqna
I Bebboq
- 17 Nov (M eve) *sabannaraq* I Daeng Mangewai Jannatulfirdaus died
10 Jakr 1146 namate sabannaraka I Daeng Mangewai Jannatulfirdaus
- 26 Dec (F eve) Daengta Daeng Ngantu, the older uncle of *tumailalang*
Karaeng Garassiq, died
- 19 Raj 1146 namate Daengta Daeng Ngantu puanna *tumailalang* Karae
Garassiq
- 27 Dec (S eve)⁶⁸³ birth of I Mappabaqbasaq⁶⁸⁴
20 Raj 1146 nanianakkang I Mappabaqbasaq
- 1734
- 3 Jan (N) Karaeng Alluq fined himself five tai for nearly killing his
sibling in Arung Kaju's house
- 27 Raj 1146 nanapassala lima taiq kalenna Karae Alluq natarawanna
saqribattangna ri ballaqa Aruq Kayu
- 17 Jan (N) Karaeng Bontolangkasaq brought by the two *tumailalang*
[Karaeng Garassiq and Karaeng Lekoqboqdong] up to the
karaeng [Sirajuddin] to ask forgiveness
- 11 Syab 1146 nanierang ri *tumailalang* ia rua Karae Bontolangkasaq
manaiq ri karaeng nipappalaq popporang
- 26 Jan (T) an envoy from the arumpone [Datu ri Citta] arrived
bringing news of the presence of Karaeng Barombong
[Muhammad Baki] inside Cenrana
- 20 Syab 1146 nabattu surona arungpone ampabirittai niaqna Karae
Barombong ilalang ri Cenrana
- 1 Mar (M) Karaeng Parang-Parang went into Cenrana
24 Ram 1146 namantama ri Cenrana Karae Parang-Parang
- 2 Mar (M eve) I Muhammad Saleh died and was buried in Talloq

⁶⁸³ The Gregorian date is incomplete but based on the Hijri date must be the 27th.

⁶⁸⁴ Sultan Abdul Kudus, ruler of Gowa from 1742-1753.

24 Ram 1146	namate I Muhammad Saleh ri Talloki niawang
29 Mar (N eve)	Karaeng Bisei died at the age of 42
23 Syaw 1146	namate Karae Bisei umuruqna 42
11 Apr (S eve)	we were left by [Karaeng] Balua [Daeng Maingaq], the widow of Karaeng Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil], at the age of 81
6 Zulk 1146	kinapilari Balua balunna Karaenga Tuammenang ri Lakiun umuruqna 81
23 May (S eve)	there was a house burned in Katangka; the clock broke ⁶⁸⁵
19 Zulh 1146	nanaiq ballaq makkaqdo ri Katangka nareppeq goyanga
13 Jul (T)	the karaeng [Sirajuddin] went up to Pareq
12 Saf 1147	namanrai ri Pareq karaenga
16 Jul (F)	commissioner ⁶⁸⁶ Laqnatullah died
15 Saf 1147	namate gumisarisiq Laqnatullahi
27 Aug (F)	the people of Sanrabone arrived to inform the karaeng [Sirajuddin] that they had taken Karaeng Alluq as Karaeng ri Sanrabone
27 Rawl 1147	nabattu tuSanrabonea angkana-kanai ri karaenga naal-lena Karaeng ri Sanrabone Karae Alluq
6 Sep (M)	the karaeng [Sirajuddin] and his wife [Karaeng Agangjeqneq] went up to Lekokang to dwell and erect irrigation works
8 Rakr 1147	namanrai ri Lekokang karaenga ia kalabini aqballaq-ballaq appanai jeneq-jeneq panai
18 Sep (S)	I Tahira, a child of I Syehu, died
20 Rakr 1147	namate I Tahira anaqna I Syehu
25 Oct (M)	work was completed in Lekokang
27 Jawl 1147	naleqbbaq jamanga ri Lekokang

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⁶⁸⁵ This clock was a gift to Abdul Jalil on 17 Jun 1704.

⁶⁸⁶ The nature of this position is unclear.

- 2 Mar (W) Sulengkaya was brought out to Mallengkeri; people performed aru
6 Syaw 1147 nanierang massuluq ri Mallengkeri Sulengkaya mangarui taua
- 12 Apr (M eve) I Papoq Daeng Mamangung died
18 Zulk 1147 namate I Papoq Daeng Mamangun
- 16 Apr (S) the karaeng [Sirajuddin] went down to Datoq ri Paccelekang to fulfill a vow
22 Zulk 1147 namanaung ri Datoq ri Paccelekang karaenga amole tinjaq
- 15 Jun (W) I Daeng Muntuq died
23 Muh 1148 namate I Daeng Muntuq
- 7 Sep (T eve) the mother of I Syehu died
19 Rakr 1148 namate anronna I Syehu
- 26 Sep (M) we advanced on I Daeng Mamaro [Karaeng Bontolangkasaq]; we were in Pattallassang and we watched, waiting
8 Jawl 1148 nakipanraiki I Daeng Mamaro kiri Pattallassang nakitin-gara taroan
- 13 Oct (R) the karaeng [Sirajuddin] retreated seawards here to Mallengkeri and in Pakkato settled
25 Jawl 1148 namamonoqmo karaenga kalau mae ri Mallengkeri nari Pakkato mattaroang
- 23 Oct (N) Karaeng ri Mamampang arrived from Bantaeng
6 Jakr 1148 nabattu ri Bantaeng Karaengta ri Mamampang
- 24 Oct (N eve) I Guru Daeng Manaqqalaq died
7 Jakr 1148 namate I Guru Daeng Manaqqalaq
- 5 Nov (F eve) the karaeng [Sirajuddin] went down to Talloq, removing himself [from power as ruler of Gowa]
19 Jakr 1148 namanaungmo ri Talloq karaenga napasuluq kalenna

- 5 Nov (S) the people of Gowa all went to Mallawanggauq⁶⁸⁷, bringing him the collection of royal regalia and taking him as karaeng [Abdul Khair of Gowa]
- 19 Jakr 1148 namange ngaseng tuGowaya ri Mallawanggauq anger-anngangi lullung gaukanga naiamo assambeangi karaenga
- 6 Nov (N) the treaties went to Karaeng Majannang⁶⁸⁸; [Karaeng] Bontotannga was *anrongguru* of the *tumakkajannang*; I Daeng Manangaraq and I Daeng Manggappa were the two *sabannaraq*
- 20 Jakr 1148 nanipamange ri Karae Majannang ulukanaya Bontotannga anrongguru tumakkajanannanga I Daeng Manangaraq I Daeng Manggappa sabannaraq ruai
- 7 Nov (M) Sulengkaya was brought in here to the house of the karaeng [Abdul Khair]
- 21 Jakr 1148 nanipaletteqmo Sulengkaya mantama mae ri ballaqla karaenga
- 9 Nov (W) I Mallawanggauq titled *patimatarang*⁶⁸⁹
- 23 Jakr 1148 naniareng patimatarang I Mallawanggauq
- 10 Dec (F eve) Karaeng Masale died
- 24 Raj 1148 namate Karae Masale
- 15 Dec (R) the child of I Syehu named I Dorra died
- 29 Raj 1148 namate anaqla I Syehu nikanaya I Dorra
- 28 Dec (W) Karaeng Baine⁶⁹⁰ died in Talloq at the age of 48
- 13 Syab 1148 namate Karaeng Bainea ri Talloq umuruqla 48
- 1736
- 12 Feb (N) I Daeng Ningai died and was buried in Bontobiraeng

⁶⁸⁷ Sultan Abdul Khair Almansur Tumamenang ri Gowa, a son of Karaeng Lempangang and grandson of the recently abdicated Sirajuddin. He ruled Gowa from 1735 until his death in 1742, though he was briefly deposed by Karaeng Bontolangkasq in 1739.

⁶⁸⁸ Signifying that he was *tumabicarabutta* for the new ruler.

⁶⁸⁹ *Patimatarang* was a title used by an heir designated as successor to the throne. Here it was briefly used to mark that even though he had already been chosen as Gowa's ruler, I Mallawanggauq had not yet been formally installed as Sultan Abdul Khair.

⁶⁹⁰ Sirajuddin's wife Karaeng Agangieqneq.

- 29 Ram 1148 namate I Daeng Ningai ri Bontobiraeng niawang
- 14 Feb (M eve) I Pappi died and was buried in Bontobiraeng
1 Syaw 1148 namate I Pappi ri Bontobiraeng niawang
- 25 Feb (S) *patimatarang* [I Mallawanggauq, Abdul Khair] had a
sunshade of gold raised over his head⁶⁹¹; I Tanisamaang
weighed; it measured two kati and several tahils that
measured 8 [to one real]⁶⁹²
- 12 Syaw 1148 nanipirangkaki laqlang nibulaengi patimataranga nani-
taiq I Tanisamaan battalaqna rua kati assiapa taiqna 8 bat-
talaqna
- 16 Mar (F) it was ordered by the karaeng [Abdul Kahir] that Karaeng
Majannang be brought a sunshade; he also wished [that
Karaeng Majannang] be paid homage, but he would not
be paid homage⁶⁹³
- 3 Zulk 1148 nanisuro pangeranngang laqlang ri karaenga Karae
Majannang nikellai tongi nisomba natea ia nisomba
- 18 Mar (S eve) the Dutch ordered I Tuassah⁶⁹⁴ advanced on⁶⁹⁵ with 6
ships: 1 cutter and 5 sloops
- 5 Zulk 1148 nanisuropanaiki ri Balandaya I Tuassah 6 batu 1 kotaq 5
solloq
- 23 Mar (F) the karaeng [Abdul Khair] went out to Tuang with the
speaker of the land⁶⁹⁶ [Karaeng Majannang] to order the
supporting of Gallarrang Mangasa

⁶⁹¹ This was the final ceremony in which I Mallawanggauq became fully invested with the sovereignty due to the ruler of Gowa, but the process began months before when the nobles of Gowa approached and took him as *karaeng*, brought him the royal regalia, and recognized him with the title *patimatarang*.

⁶⁹² This is the first recorded instance of the golden chain Tanisamaang, bequeathed to Gowa's rulers by the *tumanurung* as recorded in the *Gowa Chronicle*, being weighed. This became a common practice later. Records were kept of the annual weighings, and it was believed that if Tanisamaang was heavier than the previous year that augured well, whereas if it weighed less that was a bad omen (Eerdmans 1897; Friedericy 1929).

⁶⁹³ These acts are perhaps indications of Abdul Khair's uncertainty and need for Karaeng Majannang's support. Royal sunshades (*laqlang*) were indications of sovereignty, and to be ceremonially paid homage (*nisomba*) a mark of exalted status hitherto reserved for the ruler of Gowa.

⁶⁹⁴ An ally of La Maddukelleng Arung Singkang, who in 1737 seized power in Wajoq and attempted but ultimately failed to expel the Dutch from South Sulawesi.

⁶⁹⁵ *Makasaarsche historiën* (1855:128) adds in this entry that I Tuassah was at Batu-Batu.

⁶⁹⁶ That is *tumabicarabutta*.

10 Zulk 1148	namassuluq ri Tuang karaenga siagaang tuampak- kanangai buttaya assuro binting ri Gallarang Mangasa
31 Mar (S) 18 Zulk 1148	the [royal] banners were smeared with blood naniceraq batea
1 Apr (N eve) 19 Zulk 1148	Arung Singkang went to Batu namaqlampa ri Batu Aruq Singkaang
1 Apr (M) 19 Zulk 1148	I Daeng Mamaro [Karaeng Bontolangkasaq] went to Panakkukang namaqlampa ri Pannakukang I Daeng Mamaro
12 Apr (R) 1 Zulh 1148	the [royal] banners were raised nanipanaq batea
26 Apr (R) 15 Zulh 1148	the speaker of the land [Karaeng Majannang] went down to Datoq to visit [the grave of] Datoq ri Bandang namanaung ri Datoq mangunjungi tuampakkanangai buttaya ri Datoq ri Bandang
5 May (F eve) 24 Zulh 1148	the mother of I Sarimba died namate anrongnna I Sarimba
12 May (S) 1 Muh 1149	the karaeng [Abdul Khair] went out to Tinggimae with Karaeng Majannang to plead for rain namassuluq ri Tinggimae karaenga siagaang Karae Majannang appalaq-palaq bosì
31 May (W eve) 20 Muh 1149	Matoanging burned namakaqdo Mattoangin
17 Jun (S eve) 8 Saf 1149	Daengta Daeng Ngaseng died namate Daengta Daeng Ngaseng
5 Jul (R)	an envoy from the <i>makkedangetana</i> [Arung Barrang] arrived, saying that the people of Boné were fighting Arung Singkang in Paniki [in Wajoq] ⁶⁹⁷

⁶⁹⁷ Arung Singkang was a Bugis noble who returned from the east coast of Borneo to Sulawesi and quickly seized power in Wajoq. Even before his arrival the stage was set for confrontation with the pre-eminent Bugis power, Boné, and by August 1737 he successfully defeated Boné, as the *lontaraq bilang* notes (see Noorduyt 1953).

- 26 Saf 1149 nabattu surona makkadangatana nikana maqbunduqmi
tuBonea Aruq Singkaang ri Paniki
- 26 Jul (R) I Daeng Mamaro [Karaeng Bontolangkasaq] went down
to Maros with Arung Kaju
- 17 Rawl 1149 nanamanaung ri Marusuq I Daeng Mamaro siagaang
Aruq Kayu
- 30 Aug (R) Karaeng Barombong [Muhammad Baki] and Karaeng
Bontoparang married
- 23 Rakr 1149 nasikalabini Karae Barombong Karae Bontoparang
- 6 Sep (R) I Didi had a son
- 30 Rakr 1149 namamanaq I Didi buraqne
- 13 Sep (W eve) Karaeng Mangisuq died
- 7 Jawl 1149 namate Karae Mangisuq
- 10 Oct (W) Karaeng Katinting died⁶⁹⁸
- 5 Jakr 1149 namate Karae Katingting
- 25 Oct (R) Karaeng Lempangang [Syafiuddin] arrived from Cenrana
- 20 Jakr 1149 nabattu ri Cenrana Karae Lempangang
- 7 Dec (R eve) Arung Kaju died below in Maros
- 4 Syab 1149 namate Aruq Kayu irawa ri Marusuq
- 11 Dec (W) the *makkedangetana* [Arung Barrang] arrived from Segeri
saying that I Daeng Mamaro [Karaeng Bontolangkasaq]
had fled Segeri
- 8 Syab 1149 nabattu ri Segeri makkadangatana nikana nipilarimi
Segeri I Daeng Mamaro
- 1737
- 2 Jan (W) Sayyid Umar and a child of I Daeng Masseqre⁶⁹⁹ married
- 30 Syab 1149 nasikalabini Sayyid Umara anaqna I Daeng Maseqre
- 24 Jan (W eve) Karaeng Bungaya died
- 22 Ram 1149 namate Karae Bungaya

⁶⁹⁸ Karaeng Mangisuq and Karaeng Katinting in all likelihood died in battle.

⁶⁹⁹ This could refer to Jaga, Papippiq, or another Daeng Masseqre.

5 Feb (M eve) 4 Syaw 1149	a wife of I Syehu died namate bainenna Syekhhu
27 Jul (F eve)	a <i>sabannaraq</i> , ⁷⁰⁰ envoy ⁷⁰¹ , and I Daeng Mangalle I Mammaq went into Cenrana to fetch Arung Palakka [Amirah]
28 Rawl 1150	namantama ri Cenrana sabannaraka suroa I Daeng Manngalle I Mammaq anbungtuli Aruq Palakkah
30 Jul (T) 2 Rakr 1150	I Galesong circumcised nanisunnaq I Galesong
14 Aug (W)	an envoy from the arumpone [Datu ri Citta] arrived, informing the governor ⁷⁰² that war between Wajoq and Boné had ended; the people of Boné had surrendered valuables [to the victorious Wajorese]
17 Rakr 1150	nabattu surona arungpone angkana-kanangi tumalom-poa leqbaqnamo bunduqna Wajoq naBone leqbaqmi annyorong barang-barang tuBonea
20 Aug (T)	I Daeng Mamaro [Karaeng Bontolangkasaq] advanced on by the governor with Datu ri Baringang ⁷⁰³
23 Rakr 1150	nanipanaungi I Daeng Mamaro ri tumalompoa siagaang Datua ri Baringang
Dec (F eve) ⁷⁰⁴	I Tuang Dima died above in Sanrabone and was buried in Dengkang ⁷⁰⁵
Syab 1150	namate I Tuan Dima irate ri Sanrabone ri Dengkang niawang

⁷⁰⁰ Either (or both) I Daeng Manangaraq and I Daeng Manggappa.

⁷⁰¹ Probably Kare Gappa.

⁷⁰² Previous annalists used a Makassarese transcription of the word 'governor' but he was now referred to as tumalompo, literally 'big man'. This refers to either Johan Sautijn, the outgoing governor for much of 1737, or Adriaan Hendrik Smout, the incoming governor.

⁷⁰³ *Makasaarsche historiën* (1855:129) adds that the governor's goal was to recapture Maros, which he did, and that Karaeng Bontolangkasaq fled when he heard of their approach.

⁷⁰⁴ The dates are incomplete in VT 25, but can be identified as the 7th, 14th, or 21st of December and, correspondingly, the 14th, 21st, or 28th of Syaban.

⁷⁰⁵ Kamaruddin et al. (1985-86:206) believe this should be 'Sengkang'.

1738

- 7 Jan (T) I Jijaq and I Dadaq had lesbian relations and were
drown⁷⁰⁶
- 15 Ram 1150⁷⁰⁷ I Jijaq I Dadaq attampaki nanilabu
- 4 Mar (T) a wife of Karaeng Batupute died to the east in Bontokeke
12 Zulk 1150 namate bainenna Karae Batupute iraya ri Bontokeke
- 10 May (S) it is said that Danradatu⁷⁰⁸ became ruler of Boné
20 Muh 1151 nikana Danraya karaeng ri Bone
- 16 Jun (M) the karaeng's [Abdul Khair's] sword fell; two of his
wounded fingers were sprinkled [with medicinal powder]
27 Saf 1151 nanabubusi paqdang karaenga ruampappaq karemenna
malokoq nikiori
- 19 Jun (W eve) Daengta Daeng Masingaraq died
1 Rawl 1151 namate Daengta Daeng Masingaraq
- 24 Jun (T) I Sendoq fell from a house and was treated [with medi-
cinal powder]
6 Rawl 1151 natuqguruq ri ballaq I Sendoq nikiori
- 25 Aug (M) the karaeng [Abdul Khair] and Karaeng Majannang went
seawards to the fort; the Malay imam recited Yasin, then
Karaeng Majannang swore an oath, as the karaeng [Abdul

⁷⁰⁶ This is an extraordinary entry which may reflect the increasing presence of orthodox Islamic norms regarding sexual morality. The term translated as 'drown' (*nilabu*) literally means 'sunk' and usually refers to ships. It may be that they were simply drown, or it may mean that they were punished by having their limbs bound and being thrown overboard (*nisikkoq bangkeng*). This royal punishment is mentioned in the *Gowa Chronicle* when a young Tunijalloq committed some kind of sexual impropriety with a daughter of Gallarrang from Polombangkeng. 'Discovered by Karaeng Tunipalangga, who was angered' the chronicler reports, 'the woman was bound and thrown into the sea', after which Tunijalloq fled to Boné. Neither I Jijaq nor I Dadaq are mentioned elsewhere in the *lontaraq bilang*.

⁷⁰⁷ A copyist mistakenly wrote Syaban instead of Ramadan.

⁷⁰⁸ A daughter of Amirah Arung Palakka and Karaeng Lempangang. She was not yet nine years old. In September 1737 La Tenrioddang (the ruler of Agangnionjoq posthumously known as Matinroe ri Musuna) drove Batari Toja from the throne of Boné, after which she came to live in Bontoalaq under the protection of the VOC. La Tenrioddang acted as arumpone until La Maddukelleng Arung Singkang objected and managed to have Boné's nobles put the young Danradatu on the throne. Yet she had limited support and lived in Wajoq. La Tenrioddang returned the following January to Boné to install himself as *arumpone*, but was expelled by La Maddukelleng's troops. With the aid of the VOC Batari Toja again became ruler of Boné and Soppéng (Patunru 1989:212-3).

- Khair] was said to be too small; his hand was covered with a handkerchief then placed on the Qur'an and thrice raised to his head; he then drew out his kris and submerged it in water, which he drank; to all the banners was given a handful of rosewater each
- 9 Jawl 1151 nakalauq ri kotaya karaenga Karae Majannang nanabaca Yasi imanna Malayua nanampa nitalliq Karae Majannang karaeng nakana macaqdiiji nalampakki limanna pas-sapu nanampa najama kurannga nanapanaiq ri tulunna 3 nanampa nabuqbuq toboqna nanapanaung ri jeqneq nanainung nisarengasengi bate-batea jeqneq mawaraq tassipontona
- 27 Aug (W) word was sent to the arumpone [Danradatu] that a child of the *maqdanrang*⁷⁰⁹ was there in Gowa
- 11 Jawl 1151 nanisuro kana-kanaang arungpone niaqna ri Gowa anaq-na maqdanrranga
- 13 Oct (N eve) I Daeng Jannang died
29 Jakr 1151 namate I Daeng Jannang
- 2 Nov (N) the *sabannaraq*,⁷¹⁰ gallarrangs Mangasa and Bontomanaiq, envoy Kare Gappa, and interpreter Kare Mangewai went overseas to Jakattaraq
- 20 Raj 1151 nakalauq ri Jakattaraq sabannaraka Gallarang Mangasa Bontomanaiq suro Kare Gappa jurubasa Kare Mangewai
- 30 Nov (N) the karaeng [Abdul Khair] and Karaeng Majannang went up to Takalar
- 18 Syab 1151 namanaiq ri Takalaraq karaenga Karae Majannang
- 1739
- 11 Jan (N) it is said that the ruler of Agangnionjoq [La Tenrioddang] took the royal sunshade [of Boné] and Samparajaya⁷¹¹; it is also said that Arung Kaju died⁷¹²

⁷⁰⁹ An official – in this case it was Arung Kajuwara – who ranked lower than the *makkedang-etana* but higher than the *tumarilalengs* of Boné (Ligtvoet 1880:219).

⁷¹⁰ Again, either (or both) I Daeng Manangaraq and I Daeng Manggappa.

⁷¹¹ Samparajaya was a banner that was the foremost regalia of Boné. By this act La Tenrioddang proclaimed himself *arumpone*.

⁷¹² Dutch sources report that the well-known Arung Kaju (Daeng Mamuntuli) had already died and the Arung Kaju mentioned here was probably his nephew and successor Daeng Mangeppe Arung Jokko (Ligtvoet 1880:220).

- 30 Ram 1151 nanikana naallei payunga Samparajaya karae
Agangnionjoq nikana tong matei Aruq Kayu
- 22 Jan (R) we were left by Karaeng Tumamenang ri Pasiq at the age
of 52 years, 10 months; he was Sultan Sirajuddin⁷¹³
- 11 Syaw 1151 kinapilari Karaenga Tuammenang ri Pasiq umuruqna
taun 52 10 bulan Sultan Sirajuddin
- 19 Feb (R) an envoy from Wajoq arrived saying that there our sibling
Arung Matoaya [Arung Singkang] with the arumpone
Datu ri Soppéng [Danradatu] twice recited together the
Qur'an⁷¹⁴
- 10 Zulk 1151 nabattu surona Wajoq nakana niaqminjo mae saqribat-
tangta Arung Matoaya siagaang arungpone Datua ri
Soppeng passiajinga 2
- 2 Mar (T) we heard of the death of I Bunda⁷¹⁵, cut down by a person
from Camba; Karaeng Balambaru⁷¹⁶ wounded
- 21 Zulk 1151 nakilanngereq mate I Bunda nijalloki ri tuCambaya
Karaeng Balambaru malokoq
- 24 Mar (T) we heard of the conquest of Macconggi by the people of
Wajoq
- 13 Zulh 1151 nakilanngereq beta Macconggi ri tuWajoka
- 6 Apr (N eve) the speaker of the land [Karaeng Majannang] went down
to Kampong Beru; he brought his wife; he brought
Sudanga; Baraya, the two Panyangga Loe, I Buqle, Kulau
Nagaya, Pamongko Kalapa, Kallang Bodo, and Butoa fol-
lowed⁷¹⁷

⁷¹³ He was succeeded by Syafiuddin (Karaeng Lempangang), former annalist and a son of Tumamenang ri Pasiq, but the date of his succession is not noted in the annals. However, it most likely took place in connection with the journeys of Makassar notables to Talloq in April or June.

⁷¹⁴ Thus forming an alliance against La Tenrioddang.

⁷¹⁵ A son of Karaeng Bontolangkasaq (Ligtvoet 1880:220).

⁷¹⁶ According to Dutch sources he was a European soldier who joined Karaeng Bontolangkasaq (Ligtvoet 1880:220).

⁷¹⁷ These items were all among the foremost regalia of Gowa. Sudanga was a sword, Baraya a waistband, the two Panyangga Loe a spear and a kris, I Buqle a blowpipe, Kulau Nagaya a stone, Pamongko Kalapa a gold ring, Kallang Bodo a kris, and Butoa a testicle of a water buffalo named Tamalaulung ('Makasaarsche historiën' 1855:135-6).

- 26 Zulh 1151 namanaung ri Kampong Beru tuampakkanangai buttaya
naerang bainenna naerang Sudanga Baraya Panyangga
Loweya iaruppa I Buqle Kulau Nagaya Pamongko
Kalapaya Kallang Bodoi Butoya ribokopi
- 9 Apr (R) the karaeng [Abdul Khair], Karaeng ri Paqbineang, the
younger *tumailalang* [Karaeng Garassiq], and Karaeng
Sanrabone [Karaeng Alluq] went down to Talloq; they
continued down to Kampong Beru; Karaeng Sanrabone
did not go
- 29 Zulh 1151 namanaung ri Talloq karaenga Karaengta ri Paqbineang
tumailalang maloloya Karae Sanrabone natulusuq man-
aung ri Kampong Beru tamangeami Karae Sanrabone
- 10 Apr (F)
1 Muh 1152 Karaeng Bontolangkasaq taken as Karaeng ri Gowa⁷¹⁸
nanialle Karaeng ri Gowa Karae Bontolangkasaq
- 16 May (S) the people of Wajoq pushed down to Baraya, Karaeng
ri Bontolangkasaq seawards to Jongaya; they clashed
[with the Dutch] at Maricaya [northeast of the VOC fort];
[Karaeng] Bontotannga wounded
- 8 Saf 1152 nasossong tuWajoka manaung ri Baraya Karaenga
ri Bontolangkasaq kalauq ri Jongaya namaqruppa ri
Maricaya Bontotannga malokoq
- 15 Jun (M) the *tumailalang*⁷¹⁹ and karaengs of Batupute,
Bontomajannang, Palembang, Tompobalang, Balambaru⁷²⁰,
and Katangka went down to Talloq
- 8 Rawl 1152 namanaung ri Talloq *tumailalang* Batuputeh
Bontomajannang Palembang Tompobalang Balambaru
Katangka
- 20 Jun (S)
13 Rawl 1152 *anrongguru* I Kare Jarreq died
namate I Kare Jarreq anrongguru

⁷¹⁸ This investiture took place with the royal regalia, which days before had been taken by the fleeing nobles of Gowa to Talloq and then to Kampong Beru where they sought the protection of the Dutch.

⁷¹⁹ More likely Karaeng Garassiq, but possibly the elder *tumailalang* Karaeng Lekoqboqdong.

⁷²⁰ Ligtoet (1880:221) believed this to be a different Karaeng Balambaru than the European soldier of the same title wounded on March 2nd, possibly because that individual sided with Karaeng Bontolangkasaq, but he may simply changed loyalties again.

- 21 Jun (S eve) Daengta Daeng Iji, a child of Karaeng ri Mangallekana, died
 14 Rawl 1152 namate Daengta Daeng Iji anaqna Karaengta ri Mangallekana
- 8 Jul (T eve) the carved house⁷²¹ in Bontoalaq was burned
 6 Rakr 1152 nanisussuluq ballaq niukirika ri Bontoalaq
- 20 Jul (T) Arung Matoaya [Arung Singkang] went with Daeng Mamaro [Karaeng Bontolangkasaq], fleeing Gowa
 14 Rakr 1152 namaqlampa Arung Matoaya siagaang Daeng Mamaro napilarimi Gowa
- 21 Jul (T) Gowa overrun, burned and plundered by the Dutch; Daeng Maqleaq I Dulla was beheaded; there was a lunar eclipse Monday evening⁷²²
 15 Rakr 1152 nanibangkah Gowa nisussuluki namaqrappa Balandaya nanibatta Daeng Malleoq I Dulla namaqkaqdoq lekoka ri banngi Salasaya
- 28 Jul (T) the karaeng [Abdul Khair] went east here to Taenga
 22 Rakr 1152 namanraiq mae ri Taenga karaenga
- 3 Aug (M) one living with Karaeng Sanrabone [Muhammad Baki] died
 28 Rakr 1152 namate siballaqna Karae Sanrabone
- 20 Aug (W eve) Karaeng ri Tana-Tana died at the age of 68 and four months
 15 Jawl 1152 namate Karaengta ri Tana-Tana umuruqna 68 ampatang-bulan
- 22 Aug (S) I Daeng Ngiji I Sitti died
 17 Jawl 1152 namate I Daeng Ngiji I Sitti
- 22 Aug (S) I Sugi, the mother of I Nona, died; a child of Daeng Maqleaq died

⁷²¹ Built on 27 Jun 1652. See the note accompanying that entry for more information.

⁷²² This heavenly portent was certainly interpreted as recognition of the tumultuous events taking place in the wake of Karaeng Bontolangkasaq's defeat and Abdul Khair's pending restoration to power in Gowa.

- 17 Jawl 1152 namate I Sugi anrongnna I Nona namate anaqna Daeng Maqleoq
- 27 Aug (R)
22 Jawl 1152 I Jitaq, a child of Daeng Maqleoq, died
namate I Jitaq anaqna Daeng Maqleoq
- 28 Aug (F)
23 Jawl 1152 I Loqmoq ri Taenga died
namate I Loqmoq ri Taenga
- 3 Sep (R)
29 Jawl 1152 the governor [Smout] and the people of Boné withdrew
seawards to Ujung Pandang, then the Dutch and Arung
Sumaling went into Gowa to guard Gowa
namamonoqmo kalauq ri Jumpandang tumalompoa
tuBonea namantamamo ri Gowa Balandaya Aruq
Sumaling angkammiki Gowa
- 4 Sep (F eve)
1 Jakr 1152 *tumailalang* Karaeng Garassiq died
namate *tumailalang* Karae Garassiq
- 27 Sep (S eve)
23 Jakr 1152 a great grandparent of Karaeng Beroanging and Kare
Singaraq died
namate boena Karae Beroangin Kare Singaraq
- 4 Oct (S eve)
1 Raj 1152 I Muhammad died
namate I Muhammad
- 8 Oct (R)
5 Raj 1152 a child of I Tuang Abu Bakar named Rahimah died
namate anaqna I Tuan Abu Bakar nikanaya Rahimah
- 22 Oct (R)
19 Raj 1152 I Saleh, a grandchild of I Daeng Rikasammeng, died
namate I Saleh cucunna I Daeng Rikasammen
- 26 Oct (N eve)
23 Raj 1152 I Sitti, a child of I Daeng Marannu Karaeng Bontoa, died
namate I Sitti anaqna I Daeng Marannu Karae Bontoa
- 28 Nov (S)
26 Syab 1152 I Mappatolla circumcised
nanisunnaq I Mappatolla
- 29 Nov (N)
27 Syab 1152 Gallarrang Talloq Kare Lesang died
namate Gallarang Talloq Kare Lesang

- 4 Dec (R eve) the speaker of the land [Karaeng Majannang] arrived from
Kampong Beru bringing the collection of royal regalia
[back to Gowa]
- 3 Ram 1152 nabattu ri Kampong Beru tuampakkanangai buttaya naer-
angmi lullung gaukanga
- 21 Dec (M) the people of Boné caught people in Allaq Tappampang;
they were brought down and all their weapons taken
- 20 Ram 1152 tuBonea anjakkalaq tau ri Allaq tappamppang niturungi
niallengaseng ewangannda
- 1740
- 19 Jan (T) Karaeng Patukangang died and was buried in a kampong
in Lakiung at the age of 32
- 19 Syaw 1152 namate Karae Patukangang ri kampong ri Lakiung
niawang 32 umuruqna
- 26 Jan (M eve) Karaeng Taruq died at the age of 18
- 26 Syaw 1152 namate Karae Taruq umuruqna 18
- 29 Jan (F) Gallarrang Camba died
- 29 Syaw 1152 namate Gallarrang Cambah
- 13 Feb (S) Karaeng Tumamenang ri Gowa [Abdul Khair] circum-
cised
- 15 Zulk 1152 nanisunnaq Karaenga Tuammenang ri Gowa
- 8 Mar (T) this [day Karaeng] Bontomasugi died
- 10 Zulk 1152 ianne nakamateang Bontomasugi
- 19 Mar (S) the ruler of Agangnionjoq [La Tenrioddang] married
Karaeng Tanasanga
- 21 Zulk 1152 namakkalabini karae Agangnionjoq Karae Tanasanga
- 28 Mar (M) I Patimah, a child of [Karaeng] Bontomajannang, died
- 30 Zulk 1152 namate I Patimah anaqna Bontomajannang
- 30 Mar (W) Sayyid Husain died and was buried in Tinggimae
- 6 Muh 1153 namate Sayyid Husaini niawan ri Tinggimaeng
- 28 May (F eve) a widow of Karaeng ri Bontomanompoq died below in
Tambasaq

6 Rawl 1153	namate balunna Karaengta ri Bontomanompoq irawa ri Tambasaq
17 Jun (R eve) 22 Rawl 1153	Karaeng Beroanging died namate Karae Beroangin
19 Jun (N) 24 Rawl 1153	Haji Bainea died namate Haqji Bainea
12 Jul (T) 18 Rakr 1153	I Puaq died above in Sanrabone namate I Puaq irate ri Sanrabone
29 Jul (F) 5 Jawl 1153	the <i>nayaka</i> [Bimbang] conducted an exorcism ritual ⁷²³ namakkawaru nayakkaya
25 Aug (R) 2 Jakr 1153	Karaeng Sanrabone [Muhammad Baki] and Karaeng Sumannaq married nasikalabini Karae Sanrabone Karae Sumannaq
8 Oct (S)	the karaeng [Abdul Khair] and the speaker of the land [Karaeng Majannang] went seawards to the fort and swore oaths again ⁷²⁴
16 Raj 1153	nakalauq ri kotaya karaenga tuampakkanangai buttaya nanitalliq pole
11 Oct (T)	the karaeng [Abdul Khair] and the speaker of the land [Karaeng Majannang] went into Gowa; a representative [from the VOC], the <i>maqdanrang</i> [Arung Kajuwara], Arung Sumaling, and Gallarang Bontoalaq confer on the karaeng [Abdul Khair] the land of Gowa; all the Dutch and people of Boné go seawards to Ujung Pandang
19 Raj 1153	namantama ri Gowa karaenga tuampakkanangai buttaya gumitir Maqdanranga Aruq Sumaling Gallarang Bontoalaq ampitaqgalliangi karaenga buttaya ri Gowa nakalauq ngasengmo Balandaya tuBonea ri Jumpandang
1 Nov (T)	Karaeng Majannang with Karaeng ri Talloq [Syafiuddin]

⁷²³ Presumably this was to purify the land after the chaos and destruction of the war with Karaeng Bontolangkasaq and to prepare for the formal re-installation of Abdul Khair as Gowa's ruler.

⁷²⁴ See the description of this ceremony in the 25 Aug 1738 entry.

- 11 Syab 1153 followed the way to Balang Puqrung; the ruler of Agangnionjoq [La Tenrioddang] arrived
namange mangaga-agaan Karae Majannang siagaang Karaenga ri Talloq ri Balang Puqrrung nabattu karae Agangnionjoq
- 18 Nov (F) I Aluq and Karaeng Tamasongoq married
28 Syab 1153 nasikalabini I Aluq Karae Tamasongoq
- 5 Dec (N eve) Karaeng Palembang died
15 Ram 1153 namate Karae Palembah
- 1741
- 14 Jan (S) *kadi* Kare Manaqqalaq died
25 Syaw 1153 namate kadia Kare Manaqqalaq
- 9 Feb (W eve) I Syehu and I Daeng Marannu married
22 Zulk 1153⁷²⁵ nasikalabini I Syehe I Daeng Marannu
- 17 Mar (F) Karaeng Majannang went seawards to Rappoalaka to build a house
28 Zulh 1153⁷²⁶ nakalauq ri Rappoalaka Karae Majannang mamangung ballaq
- 23 Mar (R) the envoy I Daeng Manjarreki I Mammaq arrived from Tosora [in Wajoq] to see the governor [Smout]
5 Muh 1154 nabattu suroa I Daeng Manjarreki I Mammaq ri Tosora anciniki tumalompoa
- 20 Apr (R) the admiral⁷²⁷ arrived from making war in Tosora
4 Saf 1154 nabattu ri Tosora aqbundug Amarala
- 17 Jun (S) Karaeng Sumannaq had a son
3 Rakr 1154 namamanaq Karae Sumannaq buraqne
- 10 Aug (R) I Daeng Talele I Masiq died; Daeng Nisayu I Alima born
28 Jawl 1154 namate I Daeng Talele I Masiq naanaq Daeng Nisayu I Alima

⁷²⁵ A copyist mistakenly wrote Syawwal instead of Zulkaedah.

⁷²⁶ A copyist mistakenly wrote Zulkaedah instead of Zulhijah.

⁷²⁷ Ligtoet (1880:223) believed this referred to Governor Smout, though in other entries he is referred to simply as 'governor' (*tumalompo*).

25 Oct (W)	the manuscript that would be brought by [Karaeng] Garassiq, [Karaeng] Mangisui, and <i>sabannaraq</i> Daeng Manggappa was taken down to the ship
15 Syab 1154	nanipanaung ri biseang lontaraq naeranga Garassiq Mangisui sabannaraq Daeng Manggappa
31 Oct (T)	I Syehu and I Daeng Marannu divorced
21 Syab 1154	nasipelaq I Syehu I Daeng Marannu
2 Nov (R)	the speaker of the land [Karaeng Majannang] went seawards to Rappoalaka
23 Syab 1154	nakalauq ri Rappoalaka tuampakkanangai buttaya
18 Dec (M)	Karaeng ri Katapang died at the age of 84
9 Syaw 1154	namate Karaengta ri Katapang umuruqna 84
30 Dec (F eve)	Karaeng Langeloq I Danradatu died
21 Syaw 1154	namate Karae Langeloq I Danrra
1742	
2 Jan (T)	I Daeng Jinne, a wife of I Syehu, died
24 Syaw 1154	namate I Daeng Jinne bainenna I Syehu
26 Feb (M)	seawards in Rappoalaka the speaker of the land [Karaeng Majannang] ascended into his house
20 Zulh 1154	nakalauq ri Rappoalaka tuampakkanangai buttaya manaiqna ri ballaqna
20 Mar (T)	the remains of Karaeng Garassiq arrived from overseas in Jakattaraq ⁷²⁸
12 Muh 1155	nabattu mayaqna Karae Garassiq ilauq ri Jakattaraq
10 May (R)	the karaeng [Abdul Khair] landed, arriving from Bima bringing his wife with I Rante Patola ⁷²⁹
5 Rawl 1155	nasoremo karaenga battuna ri Dima angerangi bainenna siagaang I Rante Patola

⁷²⁸ Obviously he died on his journey to Batavia as one of three representatives sent to the Dutch bearing the important manuscript mentioned in the 25 Oct 1741 entry.

⁷²⁹ His wife was a daughter of the ruler of Bima Alauddin Muhammad Syah and Karaeng Tanasanga; I Rante Patola was her sister (Ligtvoet 1880:223).

- 28 May (N eve) Karaeng Majannang slept with Karaeng Bonto-Bonto
 23 Rawl 1155 namaqlusereq Karae Majannang naKarae Bonto-Bonto
- 29 Jun (T) the ruler of Agangnionjoq [La Tenrioddang] went over-
 seas to Jakattaraq
 26 Rakr 1155 nakalauq ri Jakattaraq karae Agangnionjoq
- 28 Jul (F eve) we were left by Karaeng Tumamenang ri Gowa [Abdul
 Khair] at the age of 15, five months, and 16 nights; his
 own younger sibling⁷³⁰ replaced him as ruler
 26 Jawl 1155 kinapilari Karaenga Tuammenang ri Gowa umuruqna 15
 allimang bulan 10 angannang banginna aringnaji assam-
 beangi maqgauq
- 28 Jul (S) Karaeng ri Mamampang died at the age of 82, 9 months,
 and 4 nights
 26 Jawl 1155 namate Karaengta ri Mamampang umuruqna 82 9 bulan 4
 banngi
- 19 Sep (W) the karaeng [the late Abdul Khair] had a daughter who
 just died as a baby
 19 Raj 1155 namamanaq karaenga baine mate memangi anaqna
- 3 Oct (W) Karaeng ri Talloq [Syafiuddin] arrived with Karaeng
 Bontotannga; a ruling had been made during the reigns
 of Karaeng Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil],
 Tumamenang ri Passiringanna [Abdul Kadir], and
 Tumamenang ri Taenga [Karaeng Bontosunggu] that if
 there was one who came between [Gowa and Talloq], we
 concur and we declare them wrongdoers⁷³¹
 3 Syab 1155 nabattu Karaenga ri Talloq siagaang Karae
 Bontotannga nanipareq pangempang ri rewasanna
 Karaenga Tumammenang ri Lakiun Tumammenang ri

⁷³⁰ Mappababasaq Abdul Kudus Tumamenang ri Kalaqbiranna.

⁷³¹ This pronouncement of the relationship between Gowa and Talloq recalls Karaeng Matoaya's famous declaration in the *Talloq Chronicle* that they were 'Only one people, but two *karaeng*. Death to those who dream or speak of making Gowa and Talloq quarrel' (*segreji ata narua karaeng nibunoi tumassoqnaya angkanaya sisalai Gowa Talloq*). More precisely, it appears that this was a reference to the practice during that golden age whereby the ruler of Talloq served as *tumabicarabutta* for the ruler of Gowa. Its intentional memorializing now was a prelude to the appointment of Talloq's ruler Karaeng Lempangang – the father of Gowa's young new ruler Abdul Kudus – as *tumabicarabutta* in May the following year.

	Passiringanna Tumammenang ri Taenga punna niaq angangani allaqna kiparipaqmaiki kikana tumannyala
4 Oct (R)	the karaeng [Abdul Kudus] went into Gowa with the collection of royal regalia to live
4 Syab 1155	namantamamo ri Gowa karaenga mammempo siagaang lullung gaukanga
27 Oct (F eve)	Karaeng ri Paqbineang died at the age of 55
27 Syab 1155	namate Karaengta ri Paqbineang umuruqna 55
	1743
24 Mar (N)	I Syehu arrived; Karaeng Tanasanga arrived with I Rante Patola
27 Muh 1156	nabattu I Syehu nabattu Karae Tanasanga siagaang I Rante Patola
16 Apr (T)	I Baciq, former spouse of Karaeng Paqgannakkang, died
21 Saf 1156 ⁷³²	namate I Baciq pallaloanna Karae Paqgannakkang
5 May (N)	the karaeng [Abdul Kudus] went over to Taenga; the governor [Smout] came up here to Taenga; he stopped in Gowa and was given people [slaves], one by Karaeng Majannang and one by the karaeng [Abdul Kudus] too
10 Rawl 1156	nataql ri Taenga karaenga namanaiq mae tumalompoa ri Taenga nasumengka ri Gowa nisarei tau sitau ri Karae Majannang karaeng sitau todong
18 May (S)	Karaeng Majannang expelled as speaker of the land
24 Rawl 1156	nanipasuluq Karae Majannang ampakkanangai buttana
28 May (T)	Karaeng ri Talloq [Syafiuddin] brought the treaties ⁷³³
4 Rakr 1156	nanieranngang Karaenga ri Talloq ulukanaya
4 Jun (T)	Karaeng Batupute ⁷³⁴ installed as <i>tumailalang</i> , given the position of the karaengs of Patteqne ⁷³⁵

⁷³² A copyist mistakenly wrote Ramadan instead of Safar.

⁷³³ Signaling his replacement of Karaeng Majannang as *tumabicarabutta* or 'speaker of the land'.

⁷³⁴ An annalist mistakenly wrote Karaeng Bontopute, but this is incorrect.

⁷³⁵ This does not mean that he succeeded Karaeng Patteqne (a *tumailalang* who was given the post by Tunipasuluq in the 1590s) but rather that he occupied one of the two *tumailalang* posts that traditionally was held by a descendant of Karaeng Patteqne.

- 11 Rakr 1156 nanitannang *tumailalang* Karae Bontopute empoana
Karaengta ri Patenne nisareangi
- 15 Oct (T) I Sugiratu slept with Arung Ujumpuluq⁷³⁶; the *maqdanrang*
[Arung Kajuwara] expelled⁷³⁷
- 26 Syab 1156 namaqlusereq I Sugiratu Arung Ujungpuluq nanipasuluq
Maqdanranga
- 21 Nov (R)
3 Syaw 1156 Karaeng Bonto-Bonto died
namate Karae Bonto-Bonto
- 1744
- 29 Jan (W)
13 Zulh 1156 Karaeng ri Bontomateqne died
namate Karaengta ri Bontomateqnne
- 15 Apr (W) the ruler of Agangnionjoq [La Tenrioddang] arrived from
Java⁷³⁸
- 2 Rawl 1157 nabattu ri Jawa karae Agangnionjoq
- 27 Apr (M)
14 Rawl 1157 I Ninruq, a child of Karaeng Paqgannakkang, died
namate I Ninruq anaqna Karae Paqgannakkang
- 1 May (F)
18 Rawl 1157 Karaeng Lembaya died
namate Karae Lembaya
- 31 Jul (F)
21 Jakr 1157 an Arab died
namate Araka
- 29 Aug (S)
21 Raj 1157 I Sugiratu had a male child
namamanaq I Sugiratu buraqne anaqna
- 8 Oct (R) the manuscript that would go overseas to Jakattaraq,
brought by the karaengs of Paranggi and Paqbundukang,
taken down to the ship

⁷³⁶ According to Bugis informants he was a brother of the ruler of Sidénréng Toampo Matinroe ri Sumpangminangaé and was known posthumously as Matinroe ri Tanamanridié (Ligtvoet 1880:225).

⁷³⁷ According to Dutch sources Datu Baringeng La Temmassongeq Matinroe ri Mallimongeng and later ruler of Boné, was behind his expulsion (Ligtvoet 1880:225).

⁷³⁸ There he had been aiding the VOC in war against Javanese rebels (Ligtvoet 1880:225).

- 1 Ram 1157 nanipanaung ri biseang lontaraq kalauqna ri Jakattaraq
naerang Karaengta ri Paranggi Paqbundukang
- 1745
- 28 Mar (N) there overseas in Jakattaraq people saw a star as asar⁷³⁹; it
sank and a white cloud took its place
- 25 Saf 1158 niaq ilauq ri Jakattaraq tumacciniq bintoeng ri asaraka
tallangi rammang keboq seng assambeangi
- 2 Apr (F) a half-blackened sun was seen⁷⁴⁰
30 Saf 1158 naniciniq aleqlheng sipue matanna alloa
- 9 Nov (T) Karaeng Tumamenang ri Kalaqbiranna [Abdul Kudus]
circumcised
- 14 Syaw 1158 nanisunnaq Karaenga Tuammenang ri Kalaqbirangna
- 18 Nov (R) a child of I Daeng Macoa was shorn and a water buffalo
with gilded horns butchered
- 23 Syaw 1158 nanikattereq anaqna I Daeng Macoa nipattunuangi
tedong attanruq bulaeng
- 1746
- 21 Feb (M) I Daeng Mangalliq⁷⁴¹ was caught, trusted by the Dutch
30 Muh 1159 nanijakkalaq I Daeng Mangalliki tappaq ri Balandaya
- 14 Mar (N eve) Karaeng ri Talloq [Syafiuddin] and Karaeng
Mangaraqbombang married
- 21 Saf 1159 nasikalabini Karaenga ri Talloq Karae Mangaraqbombang
- 19 Mar (S) Daeng Mamuntuli brought by the younger arung⁷⁴² to
proceed to the elder karaeng [Syafiuddin] to ask forgive-
ness⁷⁴³
- 26 Saf 1159 nanierang I Daeng Mamuntuli ri Arung Maloloa mange ri
karaenga matoaya nipappalaq popporang

⁷³⁹ The late afternoon prayer at about 4 PM.

⁷⁴⁰ A partial solar eclipse.

⁷⁴¹ Probably the Daeng Mangalliq named Dondiq born 29 Sep 1692.

⁷⁴² That is, the designated heir of the arumpone of Boné; here it refers to Datu ri Baringang (Ligtvoet 1880:226).

⁷⁴³ Daeng Mamuntuli had eloped with Karaeng Barong Patola over four decades before 25 Sep 1705, and it may be this to which the entry refers.

- 22 Mar (W eve) Karaeng Lembaya and Karaeng Tanasanga married
30 Saf 1159 nasikalabini Karae Lembaya Karae Tanasanga
- 21 May (S) Karaeng Tangallaq died at the age of 35
30 Rakr 1159 namate Karae Tangallaq umuruqna 35
- 17 Jun (R eve) Karaeng Bontoparang and Karaeng Jarannika married
27 Jawl 1159 nasikalabini Karae Bontoparang Karae Jarannika
- 3 Sep (S) the elder karaeng [Syafiuddin] went east to Pakkatto
17 Syab 1159 namanrai ri Pakkatto karaenga matoaya
- 10 Sep (S) Dutch begin stonework
24 Syab 1159 nanajamamo batua Balandaya
- 15 Oct (F eve) a royal hall was built in Talloq
29 Ram 1159 nanibangung ballaq lompoe ri Talloq
- 8 Dec (R) birth of I Mannawarri Abdulhadi⁷⁴⁴
24 Zulk 1159 nanianakkang I Manawarri Abdulhadi
- 14 Dec (W) the karaeng [Abdul Kudus] returned from the work
30 Zulk 1159 namamonoq ri jamanga karaenga
- 1747
- 8 Jan (N) a house was built for I Syehu; the elder karaeng
[Syafiuddin] came up here
25 Zulh 1159 nanibangung ballaqna I Syehu manaiki mae karaenga
matoaya
- 16 Jan (M) the people of Kadundungang went to Manyanreri⁷⁴⁵, now
called Kare Bontopanno
4 Muh 1160 nanipamange tuKadundunganga ri Manyanreri nikana
Kare Bontopanno
- 16 Feb (R) it was ordered by the elder karaeng [Syafiuddin] that a
karaengship be brought to I Daeng Manassaq, now called
Karaeng Maroanging

⁷⁴⁴ Tumamenang ri Lambusuqna, he was a son of Karaeng Tamasongoq and ruled Gowa from 1781 to 1810.

⁷⁴⁵ Possibly the same Manyanreri who married on 17 Oct 1713.

- 4 Saf 1160 nanisuro pangeranngang pakkaraengang I Daeng Manassaq ri karaeng matoaya nikana Karae Maroanging
- 28 Mar (M eve) Karaeng Karuwisi⁷⁴⁶ had a child, a daughter
15 Rawl 1160 namamanaq Karae Karuisi baine anaqna
- 11 May (R) it was ordered by the karaeng [Abdul Kudus] that a karaengship be brought to Daeng Marannu, now called Karaeng Bontoa
- 1 Jawl 1160 nanisuro pangeranngang pakkaraengang Daeng Marannu nikana Karae Bontoa ri karaenga
- 14 May (N) it was ordered by the karaeng [Abdul Kudus] that a karaengship be brought to Daeng Ningai, now called Karaeng Somba Opu
- 4 Jawl 1160 nanisuro pangeranngang pakkaraengang Daeng Ningai ri karaenga nikana Karae Sambopu
- 27 Jun (T) we hear that the ruler of Agangnionjoq [La Tenrioddang] was killed as he advanced on Nepo; Karaeng Loqmoq I Baeda died
- 18 Jakr 1160 nakilanngereq niposo karae Agangnionjoq napanai kin Nepo namate Karae Loqmoq I Baeda
- 3 Jul (M) I Syehu fulfilled a vow with the completion of a dome for [the grave of] I Tuang [Shaykh Yusuf]
- 24 Jakr 1160 nanapole tinjaqna I Syehu leqbaqna kobbangnna I Tuan
- 16 Oct (M) [Karaeng] Bontomajannang, [Karaeng] Paqbundukang, *anaq karaeng*, and envoy(s) went over to Bima to fetch I Tajuq⁷⁴⁷; the karaeng [Abdul Kudus] went over here to Taenga; the elder karaeng [Syafiuddin] went east to Bianreng to work on a ferry raft
- 11 Syaw 1160 nataqle ri Dima Bontomajannang Paqbundukang anaq karaeng suro antaqle ambuntuli I Tajuq nataqle mae ri Taenga karaenga namanrai q ri Bianreng karaenga matoaya anjamai pappalimbangang rakika

⁷⁴⁶ A future ruler of Talloq and Taenga (Ligtvoet 1880:226).

⁷⁴⁷ Karaeng Balaqsari, a daughter of the ruler of Bima Ala'uddin and Karaeng Tanasanga (Ligtvoet 1880:226). They failed to return with her, or possibly had to return early, for others departed again on 16 May 1748 to make the same voyage.

31 Dec (N)	Sayyid Syarifah proposed to by Sayyid Husain; the bride-price was 5 taiq; the sayyid slept with her
28 Zulh 1160	nanipassuroi Syayyid Syarifa ri Sayyid Husain sunrangn-na 5 lima taiq namaqlusereq sayyidka
1748	
27 Jan (S)	I ⁷⁴⁸ went for the naming of the house of I Syehu with the karaeng [Abdul Kudus]
26 Muh 1161	kutaqle aqrenngeq ri ballaqna I Syehu siagaang karaenga
11 Apr (R)	Arung Sumaling and Karaeng Lempangang ⁷⁴⁹ married
12 Rakr 1161	nasikalabini Aruq Sumaling Karae Lempangang
16 May (R)	Karaeng Barombong [Muhammad Baki] sailed with Karaeng Paqbundukang over to fetch I Tajuq; <i>anaq karaeng</i> and envoy(s) went over with them
18 Jawl 1161	namamise Karae Barombong siagaang Karae Paqbundukang taqle ambuntuli I Taju anaq karaeng suro naagaang taqle
20 Jul (S)	a clock was given by the karaeng [Abdul Kudus] to Karaeng Majannang
24 Raj 1161	nanisareang karaenga goyangnna Karae Majannang
15 Aug (R)	I Buqle ⁷⁵⁰ was brought over here by the karaeng [Abdul Kudus]; the elder karaeng [Syafiuddin] went up from here to Mangasa fully armed
20 Syab 1161	nanierang taqle mae ri karaenga I Buqle namanaiq mae karaeng matoaya ri Mangasa sangkaq ewangang
26 Aug (M)	I Buqle was ordered brought by the karaeng [Abdul Kudus] to Karaeng Majannang
1 Ram 1161	nanisuro eranngang ri karaenga I Buqle Karae Majannang

⁷⁴⁸ Probably Karaeng Tamasongoq, the second annalist mentioned by name in the *lontaraq bilang*.

⁷⁴⁹ Not the ruler of Talloq Syafiuddin, but his daughter by Amirah. Her name before receiving this title was probably I Rida Sitti Rahmah, whose birth is recorded in the *lontaraq bilang* on 13 Oct 1730.

⁷⁵⁰ This blowpipe was part of Gowa's regalia and believed to make its bearer capable of defeating any enemy (Cummings 2002:131-3).

- 7 Sep (F eve) Karaeng Kalukuang I Tola died
13 Ram 1161 namate Karae Kalukuang I Tola
- 16 Sep (M) Karaeng Barombong [Muhammad Baki] arrived from
Bima bringing I Tajuq
22 Ram 1161 nabattu Karae Barombong ri Dima angerangi I Tajuq
- 13 Dec (F) the karaeng [Abdul Kudus] slept with Karaeng Balaqsari
[Tajuq]; the elder karaeng [Syafiuddin] fell from a horse
while escorting the karaeng [to meet his bride]
22 Zulh 1161 namaqlusereq karaenga Karae Balassari natuqguruq ri
jarang karaenga matoaya nilekkaqna karaenga
- 24 Dec (R eve) birth of I Manappuki Ahaq
3 Muh 1162 nanianakkang I Manappuki Ahaq
- 1749
- 12 Jan (S eve) Daeng Takontu and Karaeng Paqgannakkang married
22 Muh 1162 nasikalabini Daeng Takongtu Karae Paqgannakkang
- 3 Apr (R) it was ordered by the karaeng [Abdul Kudus] that a
karaengship be brought to Daeng Manginruru, now
called Karaeng Baroqbosoq
14 Rakr 1162⁷⁵¹ nanisuro pangeranngang pakkaraengang ri karaenga
Daeng Manginruru nikana Karae Baroqbosoq
- 21 Apr (M) carried by ship, the arumpone [Datu ri Citta] went to go
into Boné
3 Jawl 1162 namaqdongkoq ri biseang arungpone lamantama ri Bone
- 27 May (T)⁷⁵² birth of I Mannapoi Mansur⁷⁵³
10 Jakr 1162 nanianakkang I Mannapoi Mansur
- 10 Jun (M eve)⁷⁵⁴ Karaeng Lempangang had a male child Abdurrahman⁷⁵⁵;
anrongguru of the *anaq buraqne* I Kare Mambani I Umaraq
died

⁷⁵¹ The Hijri month is omitted but must be Rabi'ul-akhir.

⁷⁵² The day is missing but is probably the 27th.

⁷⁵³ Karaeng Data, a son of Karaeng Tamasongoq (Ligtvoet 1880:227).

⁷⁵⁴ The Gregorian month is omitted but must be June.

⁷⁵⁵ Probably the son who was later known as Karaeng Bisei and was insane (Ligtvoet 1880:228).

- 24 Jakr 1162 namamanaq Karae Lempangang buraqne anaqna
Abdurrahman namate anrongguru anaq buraqnea I Kare
Mambani I Umaraq
- 25 Aug (M) Karaeng Mannyiori, [Karaeng] Balloq, *papuq*⁷⁵⁶ Daeng
Manggappa, Daeng Maqruppa, and a wife of Daeng
Malliongang arrived from Sandao
- 11 Ram 1162 nabattu ri Sandao Karae Mannyiori Balloq papuq
Daeng Manggappa Daeng Maqruppa bainenna Daeng
Malliongang
- 15 Oct (W)
3 Zulk 1162 Karaeng Jarannika arrived from Boné
nabattu ri Bone Karae Jarannika
- 8 Nov (S) we hear of the death of the arumpone [Datu ri Citta];
the younger arung [Datu Baringeng] replaced her; this
Saturday night was the arumpone's death
- 27 Zulk 1162 nakilanngereq matena arungpone arung maloloa assam-
beangi banngi Ahaq anne nakamateang arungpone
- 9 Nov (N)⁷⁵⁷ birth of Batara Gowa⁷⁵⁸
28 Zulk 1162 nanianakkang Batara Gowa
- 9 Dec (N) Karaeng Baine [the ruler of Talloq's wife Karaeng
Mangaraqbombang] had a male child I Mappatunruq
Abdurrauf⁷⁵⁹
- 28 Zulh 1162⁷⁶⁰ namamanaq Karaenga Bainea buraqne anaqna I
Mappatungruq Abdurrauf
- 1750
- 14 Feb (F eve) Karaeng Panaikang died at the age of 59, 6 months, 7
nights
- 7 Rawl 1163 namate Karae Panaikang umuruqna 59 6 bulan 7 banngi

⁷⁵⁶ *Papuq* was a title of the head of the Bajo community traditionally loyal to the rulers of Gowa. This is apparently the same Daeng Manggappa who was *sabannaraq*.

⁷⁵⁷ The date is omitted but must be the 9th.

⁷⁵⁸ A son of Abdul Kudus and Karaeng Balaqsari.

⁷⁵⁹ A son of Karaeng Lempangang, he was known as Karaeng Lembangparang Tumamenang ri Katangka and ruled Gowa from 1816 to 1825.

⁷⁶⁰ There are two possibilities for the date of this entry. I believe that the omitted Hijri month is most likely Zulhijah, in which case the day of the week should read Tuesday instead of Sunday. Ligtoet (1880:footnote 228) prefers to read this as having the same date as the previous entry, which would mean that a copyist mistakenly wrote December instead of November.

- 12 Jun (F eve) birth of I Gundah Bulaeq Dzuhariah
7 Raj 1163⁷⁶¹ nanianakkang I Gungdah Bulaeq Dzuhariah
- 16 Jul (R) Datu ri Ulawang⁷⁶² died, was placed in a coffin, and brought into his homeland; I Daeng Tasannging expelled as Karaeng ri Bontomanaiq
- 11 Syab 1163 namate Datua ri Ulawang nibonei ri allung nani-erang antama ri paqrasanganna nanipasuluq I Daeng Tasannging Karaeng ri Bontomanaiq
- 22 Jul (W) I Mannyaurang arrived, sent by the elder karaeng [Syafiuddin] to formally bring a sunshade to Karaeng Majannang and shelter him with it; he was then given Tangke Jangang [in Talloq] with all its high ground and low ground
- 17 Syab 1163 nabattu I Mannyaurang nisuro ri karaenga matoaya ampangeranngangi laqlang Karae Majannang siagaang pallaqlanngi nanisareang Tangke Jangang lollong bon-tona kappoqna
- 30 Jul (R) I Daeng Manangaraq expelled as *sabannaraq*; the ruler of Agangnionjoq⁷⁶³ was brought east to the arumpone [Datu Baringeng]; the chief interpreter brought her⁷⁶⁴
- 25 Syab 1163 nanipasuluq sabannaraq I Daeng Manangaraq nanierang karae Agangnionjoq anraiq ri arungpone jurubasa lom-poa angerangi
- 20 Aug (R) a child of I Syehu adopted by Arung Palakka [Amirah] died
- 17 Ram 1163 namate anaqna I Syehu nakatuoa Aruq Palakka
- 29 Sep (M eve) the arumpone [Datu Baringeng] came east here to Syehu
27 Syaw 1163 namanraiq mae arungpone ri Syehu

⁷⁶¹ A copyist mistakenly wrote the 17th instead of the 7th.

⁷⁶² Dutch sources indicate that this must be Mappasawe, son of Towappamole who died in 1736 (Ligtvoet 1880:229).

⁷⁶³ Tenrilele Matinroe ri Soreyang (Ligtvoet 1880:229).

⁷⁶⁴ The two rulers met to reconcile, for Boné and Agangnionjoq had had poor relations since La Tenrioddang, brother of the ruler of Agangnionjoq Tenrilele Matinroe ri Soreyang, had seized the banner Samparajaya and forcibly taken control of Boné in 1739.

7 Oct (W)	a karaengship given by the karaeng [Abdul Kudus] to I Muqmin ⁷⁶⁵ , now called Karareng Bontomateqne
6 Zulk 1163	nanisare pakkaraengang I Muqmin ri karaenga nikana Karae Bontomateqne
22 Nov (N)	Datu ri Soppéng ⁷⁶⁶ and Karaeng Bontomateqne married
22 Zulh 1163	nasikalabini Datua ri Soppeng Karae Bontomateqne
29 Nov (N)	a nephew ⁷⁶⁷ of Gallarrang Tamamangung was shot seawards of Masale; the karaeng [Abdul Kudus] angrily went [to Masale]; the wife of Datu ri Soppéng [Karaeng Bontomateqne] was escorted [to her marriage house]
29 Zulh 1163	nanibaqdiliq kamanakanna Gallarang Tamamangung ilaukanna Masale naturung rakka-rakka karaenga nanilekkaq bainenna Datua ri Soppeng
1751	
13 Feb (F eve)	Arung Sumaling and Karaeng Lempangang divorced
16 Rawl 1164	nasipelaq Aruq Sumaling Karae Lempangang
14 Mar (N)	a wife of Karaeng Mangalli q died
15 Rakr 1164	namate bainenna Karae Mangalli q
25 Mar (R eve) ⁷⁶⁸	birth of Putiri Raannakumala ⁷⁶⁹
28 Rakr 1164	nanianakkang Putiri Raannakumala
23 Apr (R eve)	Inciq Daeng died
26 Jawl 1164	namate Icciq Daeng
26 Apr (N eve)	the elder karaeng [Syafiuddin] and Karaeng Mangaraqbombang divorced
29 Jawl 1164	nasipelaq karaeng matoaya Karae Mangaraqbombang
16 Jun (F)	I hear of the death of I Puaq Ninaq across on Sumbawa
22 Raj 1164	nakulanngereq matena I Puaq Ninaq ibaqlé ri Sambawa

⁷⁶⁵ Ligtoet (1880:229) believed I Muqmin was probably a daughter of Karaeng Barombong.

⁷⁶⁶ La Tongeng Arung Panyili, brother of the ruler of Boné (Ligtoet 1880:229).

⁷⁶⁷ Or niece, as no gender is indicated.

⁷⁶⁸ The day is missing but must be the 25th.

⁷⁶⁹ Karaeng Tabaringang, a daughter of Abdul Kudus and Karaeng Balaqsari (Ligtoet 1880:229-30).

- 1 Aug (T eve) Karaeng ri Bontomanaiq, older uncle⁷⁷⁰ of Karaeng Mangaraqbombang, died
- 9 Ram 1164 namate Karaengta ri Bontomanaiq puanna Karae Mangaraqbombang
- 25 Aug (T) Karaeng Lembaya died; the elder karaeng [Syafiuddin] went down to Talloq
- 2 Syaw 1164⁷⁷¹ namate Karae Lembaya namanaung ri Talloq karaeng matoaya
- 26 Aug (W) the karaeng [Abdul Kudus] went down to Talloq; someone went amuk on the grounds beneath [i.e. to the north side of] the karaeng's meeting hall
- 3 Syaw 1164 namanaung ri Talloq karaenga niaq tumaqjalloq ri embaya nairawa ri baru gaya karaenga
- 3 Sep (F) Kare Ruppā, a child of I Tuang Rappang, died
- 12 Syaw 1164 namate Kare Ruppā anaqna I Tuan Rappang
- 10 Sep (R eve) Karaeng Bontomateqne had a child and died; only the child, a son, lived⁷⁷²; Allah grant him long life
- 19 Syaw 1164 namananaq Karae Bontomateqne matei anaqna ia tallasajji buraqne tulla Allahu umur
- 3 Oct (W) a house was built for Arung Palakka [Amirah]
- 14 Zulk 1164 nanibangun balla qna Aruq Palakkah
- 4 Oct (R) news arrived of the death of Arung Guna⁷⁷³; it is said he died three nights [ago]
- 15 Zulk 1164 nabattu nipabiritta matenna Aruq Guna nikana tallung banngimi matena
- 1 Nov (T) Arung Taq⁷⁷⁴ and his sibling who were together incestu-

⁷⁷⁰ Possibly father.

⁷⁷¹ The month is missing but must be Syawwal.

⁷⁷² Ligtoet (1880:230) notes that if Karaeng Bontomateqne was indeed a daughter of Karaeng Barombong, because she only had this one child from her marriage to the ruler of Soppéng La Tongeng Arung Panyili, this son can be none other than Karaeng Beroanging, who according to Dutch sources participated in the revolt of Sangkilang.

⁷⁷³ A Boné noble and close relative of the rulers of Ulawang (Ligtoet 1880:230).

⁷⁷⁴ La Rukka, a son of the ruler of Boné Datu Baringeng later known as Arung Lakasi. According to Dutch sources, his sister was named Sidajang or I Dajang in Buginese. She died in

13 Zulh 1164	ously were separated by the people of Boné and the people of Soppéng⁷⁷⁵ nanipasissaqllaq rituBonea tuSoppenga Aruq Taq saqrib-attangna nagaang sioppoki
20 Nov (N) 2 Muh 1165	I Leppang and I Tipah married nasikalabini I Leppang I Tipah
25 Dec (S)	Sayyid Hamid circumcised Friday night; birth of Indundaq
5 Saf 1165	nanisunnaq Sayyid Hamid banngi Sattu nanianakkang Indundaq

Batavia under the protection of the VOC (Ligtvoet 1880:230).

⁷⁷⁵ This is the second reference late in the annals to what Makassarese considered deviant sexual behavior; see also the 7 Jan 1738 entry.

III

A further annals

ANRI 16/6

As noted in the Introduction, ANRI 16/6 is a manuscript owned by the former karaeng of Gowa Andi Ijo. This text is unique and especially valuable because unlike the other manuscripts with entries from the seventeenth century, this text contains unique entries that provide valuable information beyond that contained in VT 25. This chapter transcribes and translates the thirty-two unique entries or substantially different entries found in ANRI 16/6. The text as a whole has 290 entries dating from 1605 to 1682; the thirty-two entries below span the years from 1632 to 1679.

1632

- 9 Dec (R) an envoy from Mataram, Ki Bangei, arrived bearing a manuscript, a manuscript with writing on long slats of bamboo woven together¹
- 25 Jawl 1042 nabattu surona Mataranga Ki Bangei mangerang lontaraq sasaq loba kaqdoq lontaraq

1633

- 7 Nov (M) Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng [Pattingalloang] went into Pakenya [in Soppéng] to fulfill a vow
- 4 Jawl 1043 namantama ri Bakenya Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng mamole tinjaq

1634

- 19 Mar (F) the Dutch left
- 19 Ram 1043 namaqlampao Balandaya

¹ VT 25 contains this entry, but it states that the envoy was from Banten and brought the body of Tumatea ri Banten, not a manuscript.

- 28 Mar (T) the people of Boné arrived
27 Ram 1043 nabattu tuBoneya
- 10 Nov (F) gunpowder exploded on the bastion; Karaeng Layu was
burned by the powder; eleven anaq karaeng from Turatea
were burned by the powder²
- 18 Jawl 1044 namakkaqdoq ubaka ri salekoa nanakaqdo ubaka Karaeng
Layu sampulo assegre anaq karaeng Turate nakaqdo ubaq
- 1637
- 30 Aug (N) a gleaming house built in Somba Opu on five rows of pil-
lars
- [10] Rakr 1047 nanibangung ballaka caya ri Sombopu 4 paqdaserang
- 1639
- 18 Jun (S) Karaeng Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng [Pattingalloang]
spoke for the land
- 18 Saf 1049 naKaraengta Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng ampakkanangi
buttaya
- 1640
- 4 Apr (W) Gallarrang Saumata fled into Boné
11 Zulh 1049 namalari Gallarrang Samata mantama ri Bone
- 1644
- 2 Jan (S) Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana [Karunrung] and Karaeng ri
Panaikang divorced
- 21 Syaw 1053 nasipelaq Tumamenang ri Jungtana Karaengta ri Panaikang
- 1655
- 14 Apr (W) when we were at Buton we fired at the Dutch in their cutter
[7] Jakr 1065 kiriButung kinabadiliq Balandaya ri kotaqna
- 16 Apr (F) the Dutch cutter's hull was ruptured; thirty three Dutchmen
were beheaded; forty-one Butonese men were killed and
seventy-two wounded
- [9] Jakr 1065 nanibangka kotaqna Balandaya tallumpulo antallu Balanda
nibatta Butung patampulo assegre tumatena tujupulo
anruwa tumalokoq

² VT 25 contains an abbreviated version of this entry, stating only that 'gunpowder exploded on the bastion'.

- 14 May (F) the karaeng [Hasanuddin] arrived from Buton; at this time [tribute? religious?] requirements were renewed; all were taken ashore; some were not held if their [obligation] was just about fulfilled; those who did not repay were held for payment and their possessions taken; the karaeng [Hasanuddin] returned after his trip of 64 [nights]³
- 7 Raj 1065 nabattu ri Butung karaeng iaminne rewasaya nanipole saraya nisore allengasemmi tananitaqgalaka punna kira-kira lappasaqmo taqgalaqna ri simana tanipapoleammi nanaalle patanna 64 lampana karaeng battu
- 24 Dec (F) a Dutch ship arrived bringing Karaeng Bijai
25 Saf 1066 nabattu kappalaqna Balandaya angerangi Karaengta Bijai
- 27 Dec (M) we met with the Dutchman named Willem van der Beeck
[?]⁴
- 28 Saf 1066 kisitaba Balandaya nikanaya aala panadaribele
- 1658
- 10 Jul (R) I Daengta Leqleng I Coco was married by Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana [Hasanuddin]
[9] Syaw 1068 nanibaineang I Daengta Leqleng I Coco ri Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana
- 1659
- [4 May] (M) the Karaeng of Talloq [Harrunarasid] was attacked when entering Abopada [in Mandar]; eighty-three men [were killed] and he set fire to Abopada
- 12 Syab 1069⁵ rinaKaraenga ri Talloq naosong taua mantama ri Abopada sagantuju antallu nanisusuluq Abopada

³ This entry is difficult to interpret and translate. The sense of it seems to be that Hasanuddin held a reckoning, presumably on Buton, but this is not certain. Payment or tribute, possibly phrased as a religious duty owed the sultan, was assessed and those freed who had met the bulk of their obligations. Those who had not had what they owned confiscated. VT 25 contains an entry for his journey on this date as well, but it is brief.

⁴ This identification is not certain. ANRI 16/6 p. 54 has this name in *serang* script that is not easily deciphered, then provides the awkward *lontaraq беру* script transliteration *aala padarabele*. Stapel (1922:53) mentions that Willem van der Beeck along with an Armenian named Chodja Soliman had peace talks in Makassar on 28 Dec 1655.

⁵ Where the Gregorian month is written this entry has *nanayebaso*, the meaning of which is unclear.

- 23rd (F)⁶ Gallarrang Mangasa⁷ was ordered to enter Langi⁸ and uproot it
nanisuro Gallarrang Mangasa antama ri Langi manyokkaq
- 1 Jun (N) the Portuguese burned Baroqbosoq; 13 houses were consumed by flames
- 10 Ram 1069 namakanre Boroqbosoq ri Paranggia 13 ballaq nakaqdo pepeq
- 1660
- 1660 I Wera's ships, two in number, were set fire to by someone rash; his ships were both slashed, one was taken⁹
- 1070 kappalaqna I Wera ruwa batuna sussuluq sitatujong-jonga kappalaqna padereka sibatu nialle
- 13 Jun (F) the interpreter went down to the ship bringing the blood-price for the Dutchman killed at Sape [Bima]; it was eleven kati [of gold]¹⁰
- [5] Syaw 1070 namanaung ri kappalaka jurubasaya angerangi sapuqna Balanda nibunoa ri Sape sampulo asseqre katina
- 17 Jun (S) the interpreter arrived saying that in Mangindara [in Takalar] there were 32 ships; many ships were seen that went up to Patukangang and then conquered Panakukkang; we asked calmly to seek our deaths
- [9] Syaw 1070 nabattu jurubasaya akkana ri Mangindarami kappalaqna 32 batuna nakacinika kappalaq jaiya nanapanaiiki Patukangang nanabeta Panakukkang kimappalaq panaqnaki allena mate-na

⁶ A copyist did not record the date, noting of the source text that he 'could not get it' (*tani-kullei*). He was only able to record that it was the 23rd of the Hijri month and a Friday. This is either incorrect, or the entry is out of chronological order and the two most likely dates are 23 Muh 1070 (which converts to 10 Oct 1659) or 23 Jakr 1070 (which converts to 5 Mar 1660).

⁷ Probably Kare Singaraq, who became the ruler of Mangasa on 14 Oct 1655.

⁸ This location is uncertain, but may be Lange-Lange in Bulukumba, or possibly Langga in Sawitto.

⁹ The meaning of this entry is vague and the identity of I Wera unknown, but must refer to a fierce fight off Tanakeke between Portuguese and Dutch ships described in Stapel (1922: 64). Two of the Portuguese vessels were driven aground. One was captured and added to the Dutch fleet and its Portuguese crew sent ashore. The Makassarese watched this transpire from the shore with dismay and began to fire on the Dutch ships, though without effect.

¹⁰ Stapel (1922:65) notes that Makassarese made payment in gold and cloth for Dutchmen who were robbed on Bima.

14 Jun [M] a wife of the ruler went up to the mountains
[6] Syaw 1070 namanraiq ri monconga karaeng bainea

1667

8 Jul (F) Karaengta ri Bontomajannang's fort in Bantaeng was
breached¹¹

15 Muh 1078 nanibanka bentenna Karaengta ri Bontomajannang ri
Bantaeng

26 Jul (T) Daengta Daeng Manyeppeq was beheaded above in
Pongoro

4 Saf 1078 nanibatta Daengta Daeng Manyeppeq irate ri Pongoro

7 Nov (M) the karaeng [Hasanuddin] ordered 4000 reals sent over to
the Dutch¹²

21 Jawl 1078 namasuro karaeng taqle ri Balandaya mange releala patam-
cikkoanga bilanga

1668

29 May (W) the people of Talloq came here to us [in Gowa]

[18] Zulh 1078 namae tuTalloka ri katte

1669

7 Oct (N) Admiral Speelman and Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] went
overseas to Jakattaraq

[11] Jawl¹³ 1080 nakalauqmo ri Jakattaraq Amaralae Sepelemang siangang
Tunisombaya

1678

3 Sep (F) Friday public prayers begin in Kampong Beru; living in
Kampong Beru are the people of Gowa who serve Karaeng
Assuluka [Muhammad Ali]

Raj 1089 namamenteng jumaka ri Kampong Beru mamemponamo ri
Kampong Beru tuGowaya angatalai Karaeng Assuluka

4 Oct (T) Karaeng Assuluka [Muhammad Ali] went up from Gowa
to Jakattaraq; eight nights [later] he was summoned by the

¹¹ VT 25's version of this event is slightly more detailed.

¹² Andaya (1981:97) notes that on this day envoys from Gowa brought 3394 reals and a letter requesting a three-day ceasefire.

¹³ A copyist mistakenly wrote Jumadeleq-aheraq instead of Jumadeleq-awalaq.

- Governor-General [?] and asked forgiveness; he was forgiven and then lived in Jakattaraq¹⁴
- 17 Saf 1089¹⁵ nanipanaq ri Gowa ri Jakattaraq Karaeng Assuluka sagan-tuju banngi nanikioq ri janolaka (?) namappalaq popporo-qna nipammopporaq namamempomo ri Jakattaraq
- 1679
- 22 Feb (W) a great fish was found in Tamalaba; it was five arm-spans in length and one arm-span and four fingers wide in its body
- Muh 1090 naniaq jukuq lombo rampe ri Tamalaba lima rappa laqbuna sirappa apatambatang karemeng batana
- 11 Mar (S) payment was taken from (?) the notables and the little people in Gowa; 230 large and small
- Muh 1090 nanisorong alle ri tumalompoa tucaqdiawanganga ri Gowa malompoa macaqdia 230
- 1 Jul (S eve) Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] sailed from Jakattaraq east to Keper
- Jakr 1090 nasimombalaq Tunisombaya ri Jakattaraq manrai ri Kapparaq

¹⁴ Apparently this entry records Muhammad Ali's arrival in Jakattaraq and his formal audience before who must be Governor-General Rijkloff van Goens (though difficult paleography coupled with Makassarese transliteration of Dutch makes this uncertain).

¹⁵ The Hijri date converts to 9 Apr 1678.

IV

Index of personal names

An index of names is an important tool in using the annals. However, numerous obstacles have had to be overcome in the preparation of this index. Writers of the annals could refer to individual noble Makassarese by more than one name, and were not always consistent. Moreover, later copyists might replace a name with a later title, meaning that one individual could in different entries be referred to by the personal name they were given at birth, the *karaeng*-title they achieved as adults, or the posthumous title granted them upon their death. A further problem is the fact that over the course of the period covered by this text more than one person held major titles, meaning that it can be difficult to determine if a given annal entry refers to an earlier or later title-holder. In addition, some noble names were fairly common, such as 'Daing Maingaq', while other personal names such as 'Sitti' were born by several dozen Makassarese women. On occasion Makassarese annalists were themselves aware of the confusion that could result and made a point of distinguishing between two title-holders by including their personal name. Unfortunately, there is simply not enough consistency on the part of annalists for us to always be certain who is being discussed in a given entry. A certain amount of guess-work and inference is inevitable. Cross-checking entries can resolve some uncertainties, and at other times age, gender, positions, and kinship relations provide clues to distinguish between possible individuals. Dates marked with an asterisk are from entries found only in ANRI 16/6 (chapter III).

Abdul Gafur [1] 29 Dec 1725

Abdul Gafur [2] 31 Mar 1728

Abdul Jalil (Tumamenang ri Lakiung) 6 Feb 1651; 18 Aug 1652; 6 Feb 1664; 17 Apr 1664; 25 Nov 1664; 13 Mar 1667; 22 Mar 1667; 6 Jul 1667; 28 Mar 1668; 21 May 1668; 4 Feb 1669; 1 Mar 1669; 26 Nov 1669; 16 Apr 1670; 13 Feb 1675; 24 Feb 1676; 11 Apr 1676; 3 Apr 1677; 22 May 1677; 27 Jul 1677; 9 Aug 1678; 28 Oct 1678; 23 May 1680; 13 Jul 1680; 6 Sep 1680; 4 Sep 1683; 1 May 1684; 27 Sep 1684; 25 Apr 1686; 15 Oct 1689; 21 Oct 1692; 7 Sep 1694; 2 Nov 1694; 17 Dec 1694; 13 Apr 1696; 13 Jul 1701; 3 Dec 1702; 10 Nov 1703; 8 Jan 1704; 8 Mar 1704; 17 Jun 1704; 16 Nov 1704; 1 Jan 1705; 1 May 1705; 1 Sep 1705; 6 Aug 1706; 29 Oct 1706; 24 Mar 1708; 11 Apr 1708; 23 Jan 1709; 17 Sep 1709; 11 Apr 1734; 3 Oct 1742

Abdul Kadir (Tumamenang ri Passiringanna) 7 Jan 1666; 3 Jan 1676; 16 Jan 1676; 17 Jun 1676; 11 Mar 1677; 13 Aug 1680; 23 May 1684; 27 Nov 1684; 18 Jul 1686; 4 Jul 1688; 16 Sep 1688; 9 Jul 1689; 19 Dec 1693; 7 Apr 1702; 3 Nov 1703; 8 Jan 1709; 3 Oct 1742

Abdul Karim 15 Nov 1674

Abdul Khair (Mallawanggauq, Tumamenang ri Gowa) 5 Nov 1735; 7 Nov 1735;
9 Nov 1735; 25 Feb 1736; 16 Mar 1736; 23 Mar 1736; 12 May 1736; 16 Jun
1738; 25 Aug 1738; 30 Nov 1738; 9 Apr 1739; 28 Jul 1739; 13 Feb 1740; 8
Oct 1740; 11 Oct 1740; 10 May 1742; 28 Jul 1742; 19 Sep 1742

Abdul Kudus, Sultan (Mappabaqbasaq) 27 Dec 1733; 28 Jul 1742; 4 Oct 1742; 5 May
1743; 9 Nov 1745; 14 Dec 1746; 11 May 1747; 14 May 1747; 16 Oct 1747; 27
Jan 1748; 20 Jul 1748; 15 Aug 1748; 26 Aug 1748; 13 Dec 1748; 3 Apr 1749;
7 Oct 1750; 29 Nov 1750; 26 Aug 1751

Abdul Mukmin 10 Oct 1693

Abdul Muqmin 30 Jan 1717

Abdul Rasyid 17 Nov 1672; 7 Jan 1673

Abdullah, Haji (Zamzami) 26 Jan 1687

Abdurrahman 10 Jun 1749

Abdurrahman, Haji 3 Mar 1707

Abdurrasyid 16 Aug 1731

Abil Kahir, Sultan (Ambela, Sirajuddin) 22 Jul 1682

Abu Bakar Ibnu Muhammad Syaibi 17 Dec 1727; 5 Feb 1730; 11 Mar 1730; 30 Mar
1731; 8 Oct 1739

Abu 21 Mar 1728

Aciq 3 May 1717; 19 Feb 1719; 17 Dec 1720; 24 Aug 1724

Addatuang ri Massepe 17 Sep 1728

Aeng, Gallarrang (Kare Onoq) 6 Jan 1707

Agangjeqneq, Karaeng [1] 29 Sep 1659; 14 Jun 1671; 1 Mar 1674; 6 Dec 1675; 23
May 1677

Agangjeqneq, Karaeng [2] 10 Sep 1687; 29 Nov 1702; 29 Jun 1704; 19 Jul 1704; 19
Mar 1726; 6 Sep 1734; 28 Dec 1735

Agangnionjoq, Karaeng (Kasim, Puanna I Tikkaq) 21 Feb 1649

Ageng, Sultan (ruler of Banten) 23 Sep 1692

Ago, Daenta Daeng 26 Oct 1637; 25 May 1663

Ago, Kare (Timoroq) 23 Aug 1677

Ahmad [1] 1 Aug 1647

Ahmad [2] 29 May 1657

Aisyah [1] 13 Sep 1652

Aisyah [2] 6 Jan 1683

Ala'uddin (ruler of Bima) Mar 1732

Ala'uddin, Sultan (Tumamenang ri Gaukanna) 1586, 22 Sep 1605; 1626; 3 Jul 1626;
22 Aug 1631; 15 Sep 1631; 17 Nov 1631; 14 Aug 1632; 22 Oct 1632; 13 Nov
1632; 21 Jun 1633; 17 Jul 1634; 29 Jul 1634; 13 Jun 1635; 17 Sept 1635; 4
Aug 1636; 22 Jun 1637; 12 Feb 1638; 18 Aug 1638; 15 Jun 1639; 11 Nov
1660

Ali [1] 22 Sep 1677

Ali [2] 28 Sep 1682

Alija 13 May 1719; 10 Nov 1719

Alle, Kare 23 Sep 1673

Alluq, Daeng (Manyampaq) 27 Jan 1718

Alluq, Karaeng [1] (Barombong) 18 Oct 1651

Alluq, Karaeng [2] 22 Aug 1692

- Alluq, Karaeng [3] (Shalahuddin) 23 Jul 1693; 10 Feb 1713; 12 Apr 1714; 15 Aug 1714; 2 Sep 1715; 22 Apr 1716; 23 Feb 1717; 31 May 1717; 13 Mar 1720; 8 Jun 1720; 7 Apr 1722; 17 Oct 1726; 26 Apr 1727; 3 Jan 1734; 27 Aug 1734; 9 Apr 1739
- Aluq 18 Nov 1740
- Amangkurat III (ruler of Mataram) 20 Oct 1708; 4 Dec 1708
- Amaq 25 Jan 1667
- Amboq 1611
- Aminah [1] 7 Jan 1682
- Aminah [2] (Sarimba Raja) 19 Jan 1726
- Amir Hamzah, Sultan (Tumammaliang ri Alluq) 31 Mar 1656; 7 Apr 1657; 29 May 1657; 25 Jan 1667; 21 Jan 1669; 29 Jun 1669; 13 Jul 1671; 10 Aug 1671; 13 Aug 1671; 18 Apr 1672; 22 Oct 1672; 28 Oct 1672; 11 Dec 1672; 29 Nov 1673; 4 Feb 1674; 13 Feb 1674; 7 May 1674
- Amirah (Tanitaja, Manengratu) 9 May 1711; 16 May 1724; 3 Nov 1725; 25 Aug 1727; 20 Aug 1729; 13 Oct 1730; 27 Jul 1738; 20 Aug 1750; 3 Oct 1751
- Ammasa Pamayan (ruler of Sumbawa) 30 Nov 1648; 24 Dec 1650; 21 Aug 1655; 18 Sep 1662; 3 Feb 1663
- Ammasaq (Mas Madina, ruler of Sumbawa) 20 Mar 1688; 29 Nov 1702; 29 Jun 1704; 19 Jul 1704; 16 Dec 1704; 13 Oct 1705; 31 Oct 1705; 22 May 1708; 12 Feb 1725
- Ampaq, Kare 2 Jul 1647
- Amuq 26 Nov 1665
- Anaq Moncong, Karaeng (Ismail, Tumamenang ri Somba Opu) 18 Jan 1690; 18 Aug 1700; 16 May 1702; 4 Oct 1703; 22 Oct 1705; 22 Dec 1705; 2 Dec 1706; 24 Apr 1707; 14 Feb 1708; 21 Sep 1709; 20 Oct 1709; 16 Feb 1710; 20 Jul 1710; 2 Sep 1711; 20 Jan 1712; 26 Mar 1712; 24 Aug 1712; 29 Aug 1712; 31 Aug 1712; 16 Sep 1712; 22 Jan 1720; 18 Nov 1720; 13 Jan 1721; 21 May 1723; 8 Jan 1724; 16 Mar 1724; 1 Apr 1724
- Anciq Ajang 7 May 1683
- Anciq Baru (Tuang) 8 Aug 1675
- Anciq Cukka 16 Dec 1721
- Anciq Daeng 2 Jul 1705; 1 Nov 1705
- Anciq Jenalaq 4 May 1718
- Anciq Majjah 9 Apr 1653
- Anciq Sammaq 3 Apr 1724
- Anciq Sumaileq 13 Nov 1631
- Anciq Terengganu 13 Jul 1707
- Anciq Using 28 Apr 1615
- Andi (Andi Muhammad Yusuf) 24 Jan 1713
- Anduq Puaq 11 Feb 1725; 31 Jan 1727
- Anisah 24 Mar 1722
- Anne, Daeng 28 Mar 1641
- Anrenne, Daeng 6 Dec 1675; 19 Feb 1679
- Anro Malole 21 Mar 1728
- Arapa 14 May 1719
- Arrewijne, Governor Josua van 13 Nov 1728
- Arung Amali 3 Jun 1704

- Arung Balusu 27 Jun 1683; 1 May 1700
 Arung Barrang 5 Jul 1736; 11 Dec 1736
 Arung Belo 21 Oct 1684; 1 Nov 1704; 28 Apr 1706
 Arung Gowa-Gowa 13 Feb 1725
 Arung Guna 4 Oct 1751
 Arung Jalieng 1 Oct 1725
 Arung Kaballangang (ruler of Sawitto) 27 May 1683; 10 Apr 1684
 Arung Kaju [1] 25 Sep 1675; 19 Mar 1703
 Arung Kaju [2] (Daeng Mammuntuli, Ahmad) 29 Jan 1679; 9 Jul 1715; 22 Mar 1726;
 30 Mar 1726; 16 Feb 1727; 9 Oct 1728; 3 Jan 1734; 26 Jul 1736; 7 Dec 1736
 Arung Kaju [3] 11 Jan 1739
 Arung Kajuwara 27 Aug 1738; 11 Oct 1740; 15 Oct 1743
 Arung Lalolang 29 Apr 1708
 Arung Mampu 28 Jan 1717; 8 Jan 1724; 22 Feb 1724; 28 Jun 1724;
 Arung Maroangi 11 Aug 1677; 18 Apr 1678; 17 May 1678; 7 Jan 1688
 Arung Matoa (Toali) 21 Aug 1630
 Arung Meru 8 Sep 1703
 Arung Palakka (Tunisombaya, Matinroa ri Bontoalag) 15 Sept 1634; 11 Dec 1660;
 25 Dec 1660; 20 Aug 1663; 16 Aug 1666; 18 Dec 1666; 23 Dec 1666; 25 Dec
 1666; 17 Feb 1668; 16 Mar 1668; 7 Oct 1669*; 29 Mar 1670; 7 Aug 1670; 19
 Dec 1670; 26 Jan 1671; 6 Oct 1671; 15 Nov 1671; 7 Dec 1671; 27 Apr 1673;
 13 Jun 1673; 20 Jul 1673; 31 Oct 1673; 11 Sep 1674; 3 Oct 1674; 28 Mar
 1676; 11 Apr 1676; 27 Apr 1676; 13 May 1676; 2 Sep 1676; 16 Dec 1676; 17
 Apr 1677; 3 May 1677; 26 Nov 1677; 7 Oct 1678; 1 Jul 1679*; 14 Nov 1679;
 12 Mar 1680; 4 Nov 1680; 9 Jan 1681; 14 Sep 1684; 7 Aug 1686; 15 Oct 1689;
 4 Oct 1690; 21 Oct 1692; 5 Jan 1693; 25 Sep 1693; 6 Apr 1696; 6 May 1720
 Arung Pattiro 6 Feb 1698
 Arung Pattojo 7 May 1728
 Arung Singkang 1 Apr 1736; 5 Jul 1736; 19 Feb 1739; 20 Jul 1739
 Arung Sumaling 3 Sep 1739; 11 Oct 1740; 11 Apr 1748; 13 Feb 1751
 Arung Tanete [1] 13 Dec 1682; 13 Nov 1707
 Arung Tanete [2] (Daeng Mangemba, Maninrori) 14 Jul 1709; 2 Apr 1715; 10 Aug
 1719
 Arung Tanete [3] (Maidah) 30 Dec 1722
 Arung Tanete [4] (Callaq) 7 Oct 1725
 Arung Tanete Malolo 10 Feb 1681
 Arung Taq 1 Nov 1751
 Arung Teko 27 Jun 1675; 31 Oct 1677; 6 Feb 1678; 8 Feb 1678; 10 Feb 1678; 20 Mar
 1678; 18 Apr 1678; 31 Oct 1680; 13 Feb 1681; 7 Jan 1682; 28 Aug 1683; 3 Jul
 1687; 1 May 1700; 14 Oct 1701; 4 Jul 1702; 2 Mar 1718; 24 Jun 1718
 Arung Timurung 19 Mar 1697
 Arung Tosiada 17 Sep 1695; 29 Apr 1696
 Arung Ujumpuluq (La Tenritippaq, ruler of Sidénréng) 16 Sep 1669; 26 Mar 1721;
 15 Oct 1743
 Arung Ujung 8 Sep 1716; 4 Feb 1722
 Asiah 14 Mar 1731
 Asseng 14 Aug 1672
 Assing 9 Dec 1648

- Babanga, Karaeng (Mallelei Jafar) 21 Dec 1636
 Baciq 16 Apr 1743
 Bagusuoq 8 Feb 1727
 Baine, Daeng 18 Oct 1705
 Baine, Karaeng 9 Dec 1749
 Bainea, Haji 19 Jun 1740
 Baku Sitti Abidah 31 Oct 1699
 Balambaru, Daeng (Manyampaq) 12 Apr 1672
 Balambaru, Karaeng [1] 23 Aug 1634; 1 Sep 1659
 Balambaru, Karaeng [2] (Daeng Riboko) 15 Jan 1714
 Balambaru, Karaeng [3] 17 Jul 1726
 Balambaru, Karaeng [4] 29 Aug 1728; 2 Mar 1739; 15 Jun 1739
 Balaqsari, Karaeng (Zainab) 9 Aug 1684; 1 Jan 1707; 30 Dec 1707; 31 Dec 1714; 2 Nov 1712; 25 Apr 1713; 31 Dec 1714; 23 May 1716; 8 Sep 1716; 31 Oct 1717
 Balingkasaq 31 Jan 1732
 Baliung 3 Feb 1642
 Ballaq Jawaya, Karaeng [1] 1627
 Ballaq Jawaya, Karaeng [2] 10 Sep 1634; 1 Mar 1637
 Ballaq Jawaya, Karaeng [3] 12 Dec 1647; 10 Mar 1660; 29 Jun 1666; 16 Mar 1668; 26 Jan 1671; 11 Feb 1721; 22 Jun 1725
 Ballaq Kiria, Karaeng 24 Oct 1687
 Ballaq, Karaeng (Mappatambaq, Abdul Gaffur) 22 Jan 1646
 Balloq, Karaeng [1] (Daeng Talarra, Karaeng Tabaringang) 1626; 5 Apr 1662; 23 Jul 1663; 26 Nov 1665; 13 Sep 1673; 18 Dec 1674; 2 Dec 1675; 16 Aug 1677; 24 May 1679; 18 Mar 1680; 8 Oct 1688; 7 Oct 1709
 Balloq, Karaeng [2] 25 Aug 1749
 Balua, Karaeng 25 Jul 1707
 Banging 1 Nov 1721
 Bangkalaq, Karaeng [1] 21 Sep 1671
 Bangkalaq, Karaeng [2] 28 Aug 1674
 Bangung, Kare 16 Nov 1693; 1 Jun 1694; 7 Dec 1724
 Banri 26 Jan 1719
 Bantaeng 13 Feb 1677
 Bantaeng, Karaeng 30 Sep 1665
 Banyuanyaraq, Karaeng 20 Feb 1678
 Barahing, Haji Abdulgaffar 4 Nov 1708
 Barania, Haji 17 Dec 1686
 Barombong, Karaeng [1] 1572; 14 Aug 1642
 Barombong, Karaeng [2] *see* Muhammad Baki
 Baronang 7 Jul 1701; 15 Oct 1707
 Barong Patola, Karaeng [1] [Mutipattulah] 15 Jun 1703
 Barong Patola, Karaeng [2] 10 Nov 1704; 24 Jan 1705; 25 Sep 1705; 8 Jun 1718
 Barong Patola, Karaeng [3] 21 Aug 1713; 13 May 1717; 31 Aug 1722; 2 Sep 1727
 Baroqbosoq, Karaeng [1] 13 Apr 1663
 Baroqbosoq, Karaeng [2] 22 Nov 1674; 21 Jan 1675; 16 Nov 1677
 Baroqbosoq, Karaeng [3] (Daeng Manginruru) 3 Apr 1749
 Barrung, Karaeng [1] 26 Apr 1675; 1 May 1675; 22 Apr 1678; 27 May 1682

- Barrung, Karaeng [2] 30 Oct 1726; 24 Feb 1727; 9 Apr 1727; 26 Nov 1727; 6 Jun 1728
 Basse, Kare 13 Feb 1706
 Batangnionjoq, Karaeng (Matinroa ri Sumpangpoba) 9 May 1716
 Batara Gowa 9 Nov 1749
 Battu, Daeng 13 Aug 1655
 Battu, Kare 28 Jan 1706; 22 Jun 1724
 Batu-Batu, Karaeng 12 Jun 1660; 20 Jan 1676
 Batupute, Karaeng [1] 6 Dec 1651
 Batupute, Karaeng [2] (Abdul Karim) 20 Mar 1683; 17 Sep 1716; 9 Sep 1718; 10 Mar 1720; 17 Oct 1722; 21 Jan 1723; 23 Aug 1725; 25 May 1728; 10 Mar 1730; 4 Mar 1738; 15 Jun 1739; 4 Jun 1743
 Bauwaq 20 Feb 1703
 Bayang [1] 7 Dec 1644; 11 Mar 1650
 Bayang [2] 9 Dec 1675
 Bebbog 7 Nov 1733
 Beeck, Willem van der 27 Dec 1655*
 Beroanging, Karaeng [1] (Mappaseppeq) 3 Dec 1635
 Beroanging, Karaeng [2] (Muhiddin) 17 Aug 1661; 23 Aug 1673; 4 Dec 1673; 26 Nov 1674; 12 Feb 1679; 12 Mar 1695
 Beroanging, Karaeng [3] 17 Jun 1740
 Beroanging, Karaeng [3] 27 Sep 1739
 Bewi 2 Oct 1699
 Biba 19 May 1641
 Bidara, Karaeng [1] 7 Jan 1678; 3 Dec 1680
 Bidara, Karaeng [2] 6 Oct 1702; 25 May 1712; 4 Mar 1722; 5 May 1729; 9 Jul 1729
 Bidoq 21 Oct 1722
 Bijai, Karaeng 24 Dec 1655*
 Bimbang 4 Nov 1728; 29 Jul 1740
 Binamuq, Karaeng 5 Mar 1694
 Binoang, Karaeng 24 Aug 1716
 Bintang, Karaeng 26 Feb 1659
 Biqbuq 14 Oct 1723; 12 Oct 1725
 Bisangpole, Karaeng (Sugi) 12 Jan 1713; 20 Mar 1714; 13 Sep 1714; 6 Nov 1726; 3 May 1727
 Bisei, Karaeng (Abdullah Manshur, Arung Mampu) 22 Jul 1693; 10 Nov 1703; 20 Dec 1703; 29 Apr 1726; 2 May 1726; 18 Jun 1730; 29 Mar 1734
 Bissu Caqdi 1619
 Bissu 8 Jan 1645
 Boaq 8 Dec 1718
 Boe Jawa 25 Dec 1693
 Boe 24 Mar 1681
 Bole 7 Jun 1725
 Bonang, Daeng 25 Feb 1726
 Bone, Karaeng 21 Mar 1645
 Bontoa, Karaeng [1] (Sitti Muthiatullah, Ralle, Daeng Paikaq) 1626; 29 Jan 1643; 30 Aug 1658; 4 Apr 1665; 11 Nov 1687; 19 Jun 1691; 24 Oct 1703; 20 Nov 1709; 13 Apr 1710; 20 Jan 1712; 18 Jan 1714; 3 May 1714
 Bontoa, Karaeng [2] 12 May 1648

- Bontoa, Karaeng [3] (Daeng Marannu, Sugi) 11 Jul 1692; 19 Jul 1704; 10 Aug 1715; 8 Nov 1717; 15 Feb 1718; 22 Mar 1725; 8 Jun 1725; 29 Dec 1725; 5 Aug 1730; 7 Dec 1730; 7 Nov 1733; 26 Oct 1739
- Bontoa, Karaeng [4] (Daeng Marannu) 11 May 1747
- Bontoalag, Gallarrang [1] 15 Mar 1729
- Bontoalag, Gallarrang [2] 11 Oct 1740
- Bonto-Bonto, Karaeng 28 May 1742; 21 Nov 1743
- Bontojeqneq, Karaeng [1] (Saniq, Daeng Nisakking) 7 Aug 1628; 12 Jul 1637; 20 Oct 1638; 23 Oct 1638; 2 Jul 1640; 3 Sep 1646; 23 Jan 1653; 8 Dec 1655; 11 Nov 1656; 27 Mar 1658; 20 Jun 1658; 3 Jan 1660; 19 Apr 1661; 4 Jun 1662; 18 Sep 1662; 3 Feb 1663; 30 Jan 1665; 8 Feb 1669
- Bontojeqneq, Karaeng [2] 14 Oct 1707; 5 Aug 1708; 30 Mar 1726; 9 Oct 1728; 6 Dec 1728
- Bontokamase, Karaeng (Abdurrahman) 31 May 1652; 4 Apr 1674; 16 Jul 1679; 27 Jun 1681; 7 Jul 1708; 26 May 1724
- Bontokappong, Karaeng 9 Aug 1671
- Bontokeke, Karaeng 12 Mar 1676; 14 Nov 1679; 1 Jan 1681; 26 Dec 1681; 2 Feb 1682; 20 Mar 1683; 19 Jun 1691; 14 May 1700
- Bontolangkasaq, Karaeng [1] 23 Sep 1643
- Bontolangkasaq, Karaeng [2] 3 Oct 1676; 19 Feb 1679; 28 Aug 1692; 28 May 1699; 14 May 1700
- Bontolangkasaq, Karaeng [3] 28 Aug 1692; 14 Mar 1694; 5 Dec 1705; 15 Sep 1712; (Mappaseppeq, Daeng Mamaro) 3 Jun 1715; 20 Apr 1716; 6 Mar 1718; 14 Feb 1719; 9 Oct 1721; 8 May 1726; 18 May 1729; 7 Dec 1730; 2 Aug 1731; 17 Jan 1734; 26 Sep 1735; 1 Apr 1736; 26 Jul 1736; 11 Dec 1736; 20 Aug 1737; 10 Apr 1739; 16 May 1739; 20 Jul 1739
- Bontomajannang, Karaeng [1] (Syaifulmuluq) 31 Aug 1643; 15 Jan 1660; 25 Jun 1661; 6 May 1662; 8 Mar 1663; 21 Mar 1663; 24 Nov 1664; 24 May 1666; 17 Apr 1667; 8 Jul 1667; 8 Jul 1667*; 27 Aug 1668; 10 Sep 1668; 8 Oct 1688
- Bontomajannang, Karaeng [2] 19 Jan 1722; 14 Oct 1723; 7 Jun 1725; 5 Oct 1730; 10 Feb 1731; 18 Feb 1731; 15 Jun 1739; 19 Mar 1740; 16 Oct 1747
- Bontomanaiq, Gallarrang 27 Jun 1732; 2 Nov 1738
- Bontomanaiq, Karaeng [1] 21 Aug 1683; 10 Apr 1684; 15 Jul 1684
- Bontomanaiq, Karaeng [2] see Tasannging, Daeng [2]
- Bontomanaiq, Karaeng [3] 1 Aug 1751
- Bontomangape, Karaeng 22 Feb 1651
- Bontomanompoq, Karaeng [1] (Mahumd) 31 Mar 1647; 12 Jun 1660
- Bontomanompoq, Karaeng [2] 13 Jul 1671; 5 Sep 1672; 18 May 1679; 27 Feb 1680; 29 Dec 1680; 27 Aug 1696; 1 May 1699; 11 May 1699; 29 Oct 1699; 16 Apr 1704; 14 Jul 1704; 7 Aug 1719; 22 Jan 1733; 28 May 1740
- Bontomarannu, Karaeng 12 Dec 1647; 10 Mar 1660; 30 Jul 1665; 23 Oct 1666
- Bontomasugi, Karaeng 1 Oct 1719; 20 Feb 1720; 8 Mar 1740
- Bontomateqne, Karaeng [1] 5 Jun 1664; 25 Nov 1664; 4 Feb 1669; 10 May 1669; 13 Mar 1671
- Bontomateqne, Karaeng [2] (Karaeng Jipang) 26 Oct 1697; 21 Jan 1702; 5 Dec 1704; 11 Sep 1706; 29 Apr 1708; 28 Sep 1716; 20 Sep 1717; 24 Oct 1721; 27 Nov 1721; 14 Aug 1724; 12 Nov 1725; 21 Dec 1727; 29 Jan 1744

- Bontomateqne, Karaeng [3] (Muqmin) 7 Oct 1750; 22 Nov 1750; 29 Nov 1750; 10 Sep 1751
- Bontopanno, Karaeng (Abdul Gafar) 2 Nov 1650; 14 Apr 1652; 9 Jun 1689; 8 Oct 1710; 9 Apr 1711; 8 Oct 1712; 31 Mar 1713; 1 Oct 1719; 20 Feb 1720; 10 Oct 1720; 5 Mar 1721; 31 Jul 1727; 6 Feb 1731; 5 Oct 1731
- Bontopaqdinging, Karaeng 11 Sep 1674
- Bontopaqja, Karaeng 22 Apr 1654; 28 Nov 1721; 29 Jan 1728
- Bontoparang, Karaeng 30 Aug 1736; 17 Jun 1746
- Bontopattongkong, Karaeng (Baraq) 11 Mar 1681; 15 Dec 1695; 2 Jun 1700; 21 Aug 1703; 3 Oct 1703; 15 Apr 1705
- Bontorambaq, Karaeng [1] 20 Oct 1673; 5 Sep 1676; 11 Mar 1677; 13 Aug 1680; 27 May 1682; 14 Mar 1683; 10 Sep 1687; 19 Sep 1688
- Bontorambaq, Karaeng [2] 14 Jul 1709; 2 Apr 1715; 26 Sep 1722; 15 Feb 1728
- Bontosiamaq, Karaeng 7 Nov 1713; 22 Feb 1722; 24 Mar 1722
- Bontosunggu, Karaeng (Daeng Tasannging, Tumamenang ri Taenga) 11 Sep 1633; 26 Dec 1643; 24 Jan 1644; 10 Jan 1645; 29 Jun 1651; 12 Nov 1654; 6 Aug 1656; 19 Apr 1657; 8 Jan 1661; 17 Feb 1666; 21 Sep 1671; 6 Oct 1671; 20 Aug 1676; 22 Dec 1677; 23 Apr 1680; 3 Feb 1687; 24 Oct 1687; 21 Sep 1709; 21 May 1710; 13 Apr 1712; 20 Aug 1712; 29 Aug 1712; 18 Nov 1713; 9 Oct 1721; 3 Jul 1726; 17 Oct 1726; 3 Oct 1742
- Bontotannga, Karaeng [1] 20 Sep 1675; 9 Dec 1675; 28 Nov 1681; 24 Feb 1694
- Bontotannga, Karaeng [2] (Bebuq) 21 May 1698; 13 Feb 1722; 21 Nov 1725; 5 Oct 1730; 19 Apr 1732; 6 Nov 1735; 16 May 1739; 3 Oct 1742
- Bontotannga, Karaeng [3] 18 Mar 1700; 17 Jan 1716; 21 Feb 1721; 12 Dec 1721; 11 Dec 1732
- Boqdia, Karaeng 4 Dec 1698; 4 Jun 1702; 12 Jul 1702; 18 Jun 1705; 8 Aug 1707; 18 Jul 1715; 18 Jun 1716; 17 Nov 1716; 30 Oct 1726; 24 Feb 1727; 9 Apr 1727; 26 Nov 1727
- Borahima 30 Nov 1732
- Boriqsallo, Karaeng 9 Aug 1725
- Buang Nanang 16 Jun 1724
- Buaq 9 Oct 1719
- Buba 28 Aug 1728; 20 Mar 1729; 11 Mar 1730
- Bulekang, Daeng 3 Apr 1639; 29 Nov 1652; 19 Sep 1702
- Bulo-Bulo, Haji 29 Feb 1668
- Bulo-Bulo, Karaeng [1] 4 Nov 1638; 28 Sep 1639; 20 Dec 1659
- Bulo-Bulo, Karaeng [2] (Daeng Tatea) 23 Jul 1663
- Bulo-Bulo, Karaeng [3] (Rimba) 26 Feb 1728
- Bulukumba, Karaeng 4 May 1715; 14 Nov 1719; 20 Aug 1730
- Buluq Sipong, Karaeng 19 Feb 1635
- Buluq-Buluq, Karaeng [1] (Fatimah) 23 Nov 1666; 23 May 1684; 18 Nov 1684; 18 Mar 1700; 4 Jun 1705
- Buluq-Buluq, Karaeng [2] (Rusiah) 4 Jun 1702; 12 Jul 1702; 22 Mar 1725; 8 Jun 1725
- Bumi Partiga 5 Apr 1727; 8 Oct 1728; 9 May 1731
- Bunda 2 Mar 1739
- Bunduq 18 Jan 1653
- Bunga Suttaraq 22 Dec 1713

- Bunga Suttaraq 28 Jan 1724
 Bungaya, Karaeng [1] 22 Dec 1640; 26 Apr 1665
 Bungaya, Karaeng [2] (Salahuddin) 3 May 1643; 8 Nov 1657
 Bungaya, Karaeng [3] (Daeng Mattalliq, Jusuf) 23 Jul 1680
 Bungaya, Karaeng [4] (Daeng Mattalliq, Mangeranngi) 16 Apr 1703; 22 Jan 1723; 24 Jan 1737
 Buqdia, Karaeng 1 Oct 1675
 Buraqne, Daeng [1] (Siang) 8 May 1644; 19 Oct 1680
 Buraqne, Daeng [2] 22 Jun 1685; 16 Nov 1693; 1 Jun 1694; 21 Dec 1709; 27 Jan 1710
 Buraqne, Karaeng 25 Nov 1632; 7 Apr 1633
- Cabaq 31 Oct 1644
 Caciq 25 May 1723
 Cacong 10 Jan 1659
 Cacoq Paqrappoang 30 Sep 1699
 Callaq [1] 17 May 1678
 Callaq [2] 30 Dec 1722
 Callaq [3] 6 Jun 1728
 Callaq Belo 11 Jan 1710
 Camba, Gallarrang 29 Jan 1740
 Cambaya, Gallarrang [1] 24 Jun 1639
 Cambaya, Gallarrang [2] (Kare Kanjaraq) 4 Sep 1712
 Cammaq 16 Jun 1706; 2 Jan 1707
 Campagaya, Karaeng [1] (Sitti Hibatullah) 17 May 1688; 20 Oct 1698; 13 Sep 1699
 Campagaya, Karaeng [2] 28 Jan 1729
 Capoaq 10 Jun 1726
 Caucung 21 Mar 1663; 24 Nov 1664
 Cenrana, Karaeng 20 Jan 1641; 29 Jan 1650; 10 Aug 1660; 2 Jun 1661; 30 Dec 1661; 16 Jan 1664
 Cinra [1] 11 Nov 1656
 Cinra [2] 26 Feb 1730
 Cinrana 11 Jan 1724
 Cocoq 20 Mar 1727
 Cocuq 3 Aug 1674; 14 Jul 1675
 Congaq 14 Apr 1730
 Costa, Antoni da 22 Oct 1632
 Cucung 1 Aug 1719
 Cumaq (Sitti Salehah, Rimba Bulaeng) 14 Dec 1726
- Dadaq 7 Jan 1738
 Dadi 15 Feb 1726
 Dadiq [1] 21 Mar 1728
 Dadiq [2] 13 Nov 1729; 18 Jun 1732; 27 Jun 1732
 Daeng Battu (Karaeng Butta Toa) 3 Feb 1642
 Daeng 9 Apr 1649; 9 Jan 1656
 Daenta Daeng 23 Oct 1638
 Dala Bantaeng 1 Mar 1713
 Dala Lemo Apa 24 Jan 1708

- Dambo Abdurrahim 2 Oct 1660; 14 Nov 1668
 Dandung 1 Mar 1731
 Danradatu (Sitti Napisah) 20 Aug 1729; 10 May 1738; 27 Aug 1738; 19 Feb 1739
 Danruq 29 Aug 1728
 Daru ri Baringang 20 Aug 1737; 19 Mar 1746; 8 Nov 1749; 30 Jul 1750; 29 Sep 1750
 Dasunting 29 Jul 1704
 Datoq (Abdul Maula) 17 Feb 1660
 Datoq Hafid 13 Nov 1629
 Datoq ri Bandang 28 Sep 1701; 26 Apr 1736
 Datoq ri Paccele kang 16 Apr 1735
 Datoq ri Paqjeqnekang (Gafarullah) 30 Jan 1643
 Datu Lokaq (Mas Banten, ruler of Sumbawa) 29 Jun 1684; 24 Jul 1693; 25 Sep 1705;
 31 Oct 1705; 20 Nov 1709; 13 Apr 1710; 31 May 1713
 Datu Pattiro (We Tenrisoloreng) 4 Jun 1636
 Datu ri Citta [1] 19 Dec 1702
 Datu ri Citta [2] (Batari Toja, Datu ri Luwuq) 16 Dec 1704; 13 Oct 1705; 5 Aug 1715;
 28 Jun 1719; 29 Aug 1721; 28 Jun 1724; 1 Oct 1725; 22 Mar 1726; 29 Apr
 1726; 16 Feb 1727; 20 Feb 1727; 10 Mar 1727; 13 Mar 1727; 22 Mar 1727; 13
 Aug 1727; 9 Oct 1728; 26 Jan 1734; 14 Aug 1737; 21 Apr 1749; 8 Nov 1749
 Datu ri Lamuru 13 Feb 1725
 Datu ri Luwuq [1] (Matinroa ri Somba Opu) 13 Sep 1637
 Datu ri Luwuq [2] (Sultan Ahmad Nazaruddin, Matinroa ri Gowa) 20 Nov 1639; 12
 Jan 1640; 7 Jan 1654; 6 Feb 1664
 Datu ri Luwuq [3] (Matinroa ri Langkanana) 6 Feb 1698
 Datu ri Luwuq [4] (Matinroa ri Tompotikkaq) 11 May 1704; 22 Aug 1718
 Datu ri Luwuq [5] (Batara Tungkaq) 21 Jun 1719
 Datu ri Mari-Mari 18 Jan 1702
 Datu ri Mario (Arung Patiro) 28 Nov 1729
 Datu ri Pammana 11 Dec 1712
 Datu ri Soppéng [1] (Beyoa) 2 Oct 1637
 Datu ri Soppéng [2] (We Adda Datu ri Watu) 17 May 1705
 Datu ri Soppéng [3] (Towesa, Matinroa ri Salassana) 23 May 1707
 Datu ri Soppéng [4] (La Tongeng, Arung Panyili) 22 Nov 1750; 29 Nov 1750
 Datu ri Ulawang [1] 20 Dec 1714; 27 Jun 1723
 Datu ri Ulawang [2] 16 Jul 1750
 Datu Tannga 22 Mar 1725; 8 Jun 1725
 de Haan, Governor General Mattheus 19 Aug 1729
 Didaq 21 Dec 1727
 Didi 6 Sep 1736
 Dodi 15 Nov 1646
 Dododi 18 Mar 1660
 Doqdiq 9 May 1730
 Dorra [1] 20 Feb 1719; 27 Aug 1719; 9 Jul 1726
 Dorra [2] 15 Dec 1735
 Durra 7 Jul 1708

 Eja 15 Sep 1712; 20 Apr 1716
 Ekong, Daeng 23 Oct 1716
 Erbervelt, Governor 30 Sep 1705

Faqqia 24 Sep 1677

Gacong 12 Apr 1731

Galesong 30 Jul 1737

Galesong, Karaeng [1] 5 Jun 1633

Galesong, Karaeng [2] 29 Oct 1636

Galesong, Karaeng [3] (Maninrori) 4 Feb 1654; 29 Mar 1655; 1 Jul 1663; 5 Aug 1671;
22 Nov 1679

Gappa, Kare 3 May 1675; 10 Sep 1702

Gappe, Kare [2] 27 Jul 1737; 2 Nov 1738

Garassiq, Karaeng [1] 17 Aug 1632; 25 Apr 1638; 13 Jul 1640; 19 Dec 1649; 20 Jan
1653; 26 Feb 1659; 9 Jun 1668; 17 Sep 1687

Garassiq, Karaeng [2] (Daeng Mattulung) 3 Apr 1703; 2 Sep 1703; 31 Aug 1704; 19
Oct 1711; 22 May 1712; 30 Jan 1717; 31 Jul 1723; 23 Oct 1726; 20 Feb 1727; 5
Oct 1731; 26 Dec 1733; 17 Jan 1734; 9 Apr 1739; 15 Jun 1739; 4 Sep 1739; 20
Mar 1742

Garassiq, Karaeng [3] 25 Oct 1741

Gundah Bulaeq (Dzuhariah) 12 Jun 1750

Guru Kasing 27 Dec 1719

Habibah [1] 14 Jun 1648

Habibah [2] 29 Jul 1674

Habibah [3] 22 Dec 1718

Hadijah 22 Apr 1678

Halimah [1] 18 Oct 1658

Halimah [2] 28 Oct 1721

Harrunarasyid (Tumamenang ri Lampana) 3 Nov 1640; 11 Nov 1641; 8 Oct 1653;
27 Aug 1655; 10 Jan 1657; 4 May 1659*; 10 Aug 1660; 25 Aug 1664; 30 May
1667; 4 Feb 1669; 10 May 1669; 28 Mar 1670; 3 Jul 1670; 30 Oct 1670; 5 Aug
1671; 16 Jun 1673

Hartsink, Willem 3 Sep 1685

Hasanah 6 Oct 1725

Hasanuddin, Sultan (Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana) 12 Jan 1631; 25 Dec 1640; 16
Jun 1642; 24 Jan 1643; 24 Dec 1643; 12 Feb 1645; 4 Apr 1650; 4 Feb 1654; 21
May 1654; 8 Jul 1654; 22 Oct 1654; 16 Dec 1654; 21 Mar 1655; 14 May 1655;
14 May 1655*; 5 Sep 1656; 19 Oct 1657; 10 Jul 1658*; 10 Jan 1659; 21 Apr
1659; 29 May 1659; 11 Dec 1660; 11 Jan 1661; 23 Nov 1661; 29 Dec 1662; 7
Sep 1663; 27 Jan 1664; 8 Nov 1664; 7 Nov 1667*; 17 Feb 1668; 13 Mar 1668;
12 Jun 1670

Ibrahim [1] 30 Sep 1646

Ibrahim [2] 11 Mar 1650; 4 Nov 1650

Iji, Daeng (Siqra) 24 Dec 1679; 13 Mar 1682

Iji, Daengta Daeng 21 Jun 1739

Inciq Daeng 23 Apr 1751

Indunaq 25 Dec 1751

Isa [1] 9 Mar 1681

Isa [2] 24 Oct 1727; 5 Nov 1728

Ismail 5 May 1658

Ismail, Sultan see Anaq Moncong, Karaeng

Jabbing 7 Jan 1694

Jaenaq 2 Oct 1724

Jaga Azizah 30 Oct 1674

Jaga 18 Jun 1700

Jakuq 21 Mar 1728; 27 Nov 1729

Jamaluddin 1 Sep 1720

Jamboq 24 Aug 1710

Jamilah 2 Jul 1705; 1 Nov 1705

Jamuq 11 Dec 1704

Jannang, Daeng 13 Oct 1738

Jannang, Kare 29 Jan 1729

Japaraq 8 Dec 1672

Jappon, Jan 27 Dec 1681

Jaqfar Shadiq 11 May 1675; 24 Feb 1676

Jaqfar, Haji 3 Jul 1707

Jarannika, Karaeng [1] (Abdul Gafar, Tumatea ri Salaparang) 21 Apr 1641; 20 Jun 1658; 3 Jan 1660; 18 Jan 1661; 19 Apr 1661; 30 Jan 1665; 17 Apr 1671; 21 Jun 1671; 25 May 1673; 1 Feb 1676; 6 Jun 1688; 10 Mar 1694; 14 May 1694; 17 Sep 1695; 14 May 1700; 3 Mar 1707; 15 May 1725; 16 Mar 1726

Jarannika, Karaeng [2] 17 Jun 1746; 15 Oct 1749

Jarreq, Kare (Yokong) 27 Mar 1725; 28 Nov 1730; 20 Jun 1739

Jawere, Karaeng 5 Aug 1708

Jijaq 7 Jan 1738

Jineli Safi 20 Dec 1723

Jinne 1 Feb 1676

Jinne, Daeng 2 Jan 1742

Jipaling, Daeng 21 Oct 1675; 27 Dec 1676

Jipaling, Daengta Daeng 23 Jun 1671; 27 Jun 1681; 27 Jul 1682

Jipaliq, Daengta Daeng (Halimah) 1 Oct 1661

Jipamma, Karaeng 21 May 1674

Jipang, Karaeng [1] 25 Jan 1647

Jipang, Karaeng [2] 3 Aug 1648

Jipang, Karaeng [3] 23 May 1686

Jitaq 27 Aug 1739

Jonggoa, Daeng 21 Dec 1674; 26 Nov 1709

Jonggoa, Karaeng 21 Jan 1684

Judda 23 Mar 1715

Junggo, Karaeng 2 Nov 1677

Kaballokang, Karaeng 1 Mar 1669; 6 Apr 1673; 9 May 1673; 4 Sep 1673; 21 Feb 1674; 15 Jan 1675; 3 Mar 1675; 11 Jan 1717

Kacung 27 Aug 1655; 4 Feb 1669

Kaicili Kalamata 5 Sep 1656; 9 Jun 1664; 23 Feb 1676

Kaiq 21 May 1670

- Kalau, Daengta Daeng 16 Dec 1653
 Kalingkeriq 5 Mar 1718; 23 Aug 1731
 Kalling, Daeng 30 Mar 1631
 Kalukuang, Karaeng (Tola) 7 Sep 1748
 Kalula 22 Oct 1638
 Kalula, Daeng 25 Jun 1631; 8 Nov 1651
 Kamariah (Daeng Nisanga) 13 Dec 1705; 24 Jun 1707; 25 Feb 1709
 Kamboja 8 Oct 1705
 Kammisiq 23 Apr 1653; 18 Oct 1658
 Kampong Beru, Karaeng (Sitti) 12 Sep 1670; 13 Sep 1717
 Kanjaraq, Kare 1 Aug 1647; 19 Sep 1661
 Kanjilo, Karaeng 1 Sep 1705
 Kapetta, Daeng 18 Mar 1644
 Kapparaq 16 May 1729
 Kare Kontu 17 Jul 1724
 Karimah 21 Feb 1728; 5 Feb 1729; 26 Jun 1730; 16 Aug 1731; 2 Sep 1731
 Kariwisi, Karaeng 23 Feb 1641
 Karunrung, Karaeng (Abdul Hamid, Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana) 4 Sep 1631; 28 Mar 1641; 22 Jun 1642; 2 Jan 1644*; 30 Oct 1645; 31 Aug 1646; 5 Apr 1648; 6 Jan 1650; 15 Feb 1655; 5 Feb 1658; 10 Aug 1660; 6 Feb 1664; 26 May 1664; 17 Feb 1666; 29 Jun 1666; 28 Nov 1666; 20 Jul 1667; 1 Aug 1670; 13 Nov 1671; 16 Sep 1672; 6 Dec 1675; 16 Jun 1676; 1 May 1684; 27 Jan 1685
 Karuwisi, Daeng 22 Jun 1684
 Karuwisi, Karaeng (Tumamenang ri Lambusuqna) 28 Mar 1747
 Kasammeng, Daeng 1620; 12 Jun 1705
 Kasing 14 Mar 1729
 Kassiqjala, Karaeng Nov 1616; 19 Nov 1649; 25 Aug 1694
 Kasuarrang, Karaeng 5 Jul 1637
 Katangka, Karaeng 15 Jun 1739
 Katapang, Karaeng [1] 18 Mar 1644; 5 Jul 1652; 7 Sep 1662; 31 Jul 1668
 Katapang, Karaeng [2] (Daeng Mamo) 25 Nov 1718
 Katapang, Karaeng [3] 18 Dec 1741
 Katinting, Karaeng [1] 7 Aug 1627; 17 Mar 1645; 3 Feb 1650
 Katinting, Karaeng [2] 10 Oct 1736
 Kauji 3 Oct 1731
 Kenna, Daeng 31 Jul 1718
 Ki Ngabei Saradulla 9 Dec 1632*; 27 Jan 1633
 Kiamuddin 15 Aug 1720
 Kondaq 14 Oct 1724
 Kopas, Heer 10 Jul 1684
 Kundaq 23 May 1720

 La Maqdaremmeng (Matinroa ri Bukaka) 4 Jun 1636; 23 Jul 1644; 19 Jun 1646
 La Maqdiq 16 May 1729; 18 May 1729
 La Padangsajati (Arung Palakka Puanna I Mattaq, Karaeng Katangka, Datu ri Soppéng) 23 Sep 1691; 2 Aug 1693; 27 Sep 1693; 22 Jun 1709; 8 Aug 1710; 16 Jan 1711; 24 Jan 1713; 8 Mar 1715; 15 Mar 1715; 15 May 1715; 5 Aug

- 1715; 15 Aug 1715; 18 Feb 1716; 21 Feb 1716; 14 Apr 1716; 29 Jun 1717; 4 Feb 1718; 24 May 1718; 25 May 1718; 31 Aug 1718; 23 Oct 1718; 16 Nov 1718; 25 May 1719; 22 Nov 1719; 22 Jan 1720; 15 Nov 1720; 13 Jan 1721; 8 Jan 1724; 13 Feb 1725; 16 Feb 1727; 4 Mar 1727; 10 Mar 1727; 13 Mar 1727; 22 Mar 1727
- La Patauq (Matinroa ri Nagaulang) 20 May 1671; 3 Nov 1672; 4 Apr 1687; 12 Mar 1692; 15 Oct 1696; 19 Mar 1697; 7 May 1700; 13 Jul 1701; 6 Oct 1702; 1 Sep 1705; 22 Oct 1705; 20 Dec 1705; 1 Sep 1708; 30 Sep 1709; 13 Jul 1710; 14 Aug 1710; 2 Sep 1711; 20 Aug 1712; 12 Nov 1712; 16 Sep 1714; 8 Nov 1714
- La Tenrioddang 11 Jan 1739; 19 Mar 1740; 1 Nov 1740; 29 Jun 1742; 15 Apr 1744; 27 Jun 1747
- La Useq 2 Nov 1712; 14 Nov 1712
- Laikang, Karaeng [1] 22 Oct 1673
- Laikang, Karaeng [2] (Daeng Marannu) 31 Jul 1718; 6 May 1720
- Laikang, Karaeng [3] 18 Nov 1723; 1 Jun 1733
- Laiqjiq 10 Mar 1727
- Lakiung, Karaeng (Sitti Shafur, Daeng Niasseng, Manneratu) 13 Mar 1649; 20 Jun 1660; 5 Apr 1662; 26 Jun 1663; 13 Sep 1664; 1 Jun 1669
- Lambengi, Karaeng (Ali) 10 Sep 1649; 17 Jul 1674; 4 Aug 1674; 9 Oct 1674; 1 Oct 1675; 13 May 1676; 31 Mar 1677; 7 Aug 1677; 21 Jan 1701; 22 Aug 1705; 15 Oct 1705; 26 Mar 1709; 1 Sep 1709; 10 Apr 1715
- Langeloq, Karaeng (Danradatu) 30 Dec 1741
- Langeloq, Karaeng (Latifah) 29 May 1656; 5 May 1658; 12 Jan 1668; 1 Mar 1669; 21 Oct 1671; 17 Nov 1672; 7 Jan 1673; 6 Apr 1673; 2 Jul 1673; 31 Jan 1674; 27 Jun 1675; 8 Feb 1678; 20 Mar 1678; 15 Aug 1680; 21 Feb 1682; 27 May 1683; 10 Apr 1684; 20 Oct 1687; 23 May 1707; 23 Apr 1730
- Laqbakkang, Karaeng 17 Feb 1639
- Laqnatullah 16 Jul 1734
- Latifah [1] 5 Sep 1679
- Latifah [2] 8 Jun 1720
- Latifah [3] 12 Oct 1725
- Lauq, Karaeng 5 Dec 1681; 6 Jan 1683; 23 Jan 1725
- Layu, Karaeng 10 Nov 1634*
- Lekoq Alaq, Karaeng 18 Aug 1675; 23 Feb 1691
- Lekoqboqdong, Karaeng [1] (Tataraq) 28 Jun 1647; 6 Dec 1663; 2 Dec 1664; 18 Jul 1665; 19 Jun 1673; 2 Jul 1673; 31 Jan 1674; 4 Apr 1674; 4 Dec 1677; 16 Jul 1683; 22 Mar 1696
- Lekoqboqdong, Karaeng [2] (tumailalang) 25 Mar 1674; 14 May 1674; 5 Sep 1674; 11 Aug 1677; 18 Apr 1678; 6 May 1678; 6 Oct 1702; 22 Dec 1707; 9 Dec 1713; 12 Sep 1716; 20 Jan 1717; 24 Jun 1717; 19 May 1719; 10 Nov 1723; 10 Sep 1731; 26 Sep 1731; 17 Jan 1734;
- Lembang, Karaeng 16 Oct 1730
- Lembaya, Karaeng [1] 25 Aug 1659
- Lembaya, Karaeng [2] 1 May 1744
- Lembaya, Karaeng [3] 22 Mar 1746; 25 Aug 1751
- Lempangang, Karaeng [1] (Saqbe, Daeng Tamaga) 17 Aug 1632; 26 Oct 1637; 23 Dec 1646; 27 Sep 1650
- Lempangang, Karaeng [2] see Syafiuddin

- Lempangang, Karaeng [3] 11 Apr 1748; 10 Jun 1749; 13 Feb 1751
 Lengkeseq, Karaeng (Mammaliang Daeng Pole) 14 Oct 1627; 2 Oct 1641; 25 Feb 1649; 2 Feb 1655; 7 Sep 1655; 14 Feb 1656; 12 Feb 1657; 2 Mar 1657; 17 Sep 1657; 16 Jan 1664; 7 Feb 1667; 30 May 1667; 29 Dec 1667; 10 Apr 1695
 Leoq, Kare 17 Jan 1694
 Leppang, 20 Nov 1751
 Leqleng, Daeng [1] 18 Oct 1649
 Leqleng, Daeng [2] (Coco) 10 Jul 1658*
 Lesang, Kare 7 May 1727; 29 Nov 1739
 Lewa, Kare (Sule) 11 Apr 1720; 3 May 1720
 Liasaq 29 Mar 1729
 Liba 3 Jun 1631
 Limaraq 31 Aug 1704
 Lompo, Daeng 26 Oct 1637; 29 Feb 1643
 Loqmoq [1] 12 Jul 1637
 Loqmoq [2] 4 Feb 1654
 Loqmoq [3] 27 Aug 1655; 4 Feb 1669
 Loqmoq [4] 1 Mar 1669; 11 May 1675; 9 Aug 1678
 Loqmoq [5] 13 Jun 1683
 Loqmoq [6] 29 Jul 1691
 Loqmoq [7] 14 May 1694
 Loqmoq [8] 22 Dec 1707
 Loqmoq Daeng 4 Jul 1653
 Loqmoq Dayang 8 Jul 1654; 11 Sep 1716
 Loqmoq Galorang 14 Feb 1718
 Loqmoq Maroangi 2 Jul 1654
 Loqmoq Saja 25 Jul 1703
 Loqmoq Taenga 28 Aug 1739
 Loqmoq, Karaeng (Baeda) 27 Jun 1757
 Loqmoq, Kare 20 Jul 1673; 23 Nov 1674; 3 Jul 1721
 Lotteng Salahuddin 5 Aug 1730
 Lumbaq 28 Jan 1644
 Lumu, Kare 27 Aug 1676
- Mabela, Daeng [1] (Mangassengi) 24 May 1679; 29 May 1714; 18 Jul 1718
 Mabela, Daeng [2] (Gacung) 15 Oct 1679; 18 Apr 1699
 Macallaka Kanukunna 24 May 1666
 Macoa, Daeng 18 Nov 1745
 Madyan Mappasonriq 8 Mar 1715
 Maeja, Daeng 12 Aug 1683
 Maemunah 11 Feb 1725; 1 Dec 1725
 Mahkota Alam 27 Dec 1636
 Maidah 29 Jul 1729
 Maimunah [1] 18 Jun 1716; 17 Nov 1716
 Maimunah [2] 14 Apr 1718
 Maingaq, Daeng [1] 28 Apr 1642
 Maingaq, Daeng [2] 2 Mar 1657; 5 Nov 1666

- Maingaq, Daeng [3] (Karaeng Balua) 13 Apr 1670; 20 Aug 1671; 28 Oct 1672; 13 Feb 1675; 1 Feb 1676; 15 Oct 1691; 18 May 1720; 16 Jul 1720; 25 Apr 1722; 17 Jun 1725; 15 May 1729; 11 Apr 1734
- Maingaq, Daeng [4] 9 Mar 1671
- Maingaq, Daeng [5] 4 Apr 1678
- Maingaq, Daeng [6] 8 Sep 1678; 5 Sep 1679; 26 Aug 1680; 9 Jan 1682; 14 Mar 1693; 2 Dec 1717; 4 Mar 1718
- Maingaq, Daengta Daeng 14 Feb 1656; 1 Nov 1724
- Maisanannga 13 Nov 1631
- Majannang, Daeng [1] (Daenne) 17 Jun 1708
- Majannang, Daeng [2] (Manrepe) 27 Nov 1709
- Majannang, Daeng [3] (Salamah) 25 Feb 1725
- Majannang, Daengta Daeng 29 May 1659; 13 Jul 1671; 10 Aug 1671; 21 Sep 1672; 30 Sep 1673; 26 Dec 1674; 20 Mar 1682; 7 Jan 1685; 7 Mar 1687; 14 Jun 1689
- Majannang, Karaeng [1] 20 Jan 1636; 24 Jan 1644; 16 Mar 1645; 2 Sep 1650
- Majannang, Karaeng [2] (Abdul Kadir La Sanresang) 16 Feb 1707; 21 May 1710; 15 Aug 1715; 13 May 1719; 30 Oct 1719; 16 Jan 1720; 18 Jan 1721; 3 Dec 1724; 28 Jul 1731; 6 Nov 1735; 16 Mar 1736; 23 Mar 1736; 26 Apr 1736; 12 May 1736; 25 Aug 1738; 30 Nov 1738; 6 Apr 1739; 4 Dec 1739; 8 Oct 1740; 11 Oct 1740; 1 Nov 1740; 17 Mar 1741; 2 Nov 1741; 26 Feb 1742; 28 May 1742; 5 May 1743; 18 May 1743; 20 Jul 1748; 26 Aug 1748; 22 Jul 1750;
- Majarreq, Daengta Daeng (Camme) 19 Dec 1714
- Majawang, Karaeng (Aisyah) 19 Nov 1649
- Makaqbang, Daeng 12 Apr 1672
- Makkalle, Daengta Daeng (Cilillang) 7 Feb 1720
- Makkappa, Daeng 8 Jan 1714
- Makkaraeng [1] 4 Dec 1673; 19 Sep 1676; 25 Jul 1677
- Makkaraeng [2] 27 Aug 1696
- Makkaruru 10 Feb 1678
- Makkulle, Daeng [1] (Abdul Wahid) 24 Feb 1657; 28 Apr 1661; 3 Aug 1674; 14 Jul 1675; 7 Sep 1677
- Makkulle, Daeng [2] (Ahmad) 24 Dec 1679; 13 Mar 1682; 18 Nov 1683; 12 Apr 1688; 5 Jun 1689; 17 Jun 1703; 21 Jul 1707; 16 Jul 1708; 27 Jan 1710; 15 Dec 1712; 4 Mar 1718; 13 Nov 1719; 19 Oct 1725; 27 Nov 1725
- Makkulle, Daeng [3] (Mappaq) 13 Nov 1719; 9 Oct 1721
- Makkulle, Daeng [4] (Kare, Kare Palembang) 6 Jun 1724
- Makkulle, Daeng [5] (Tipu) 2 Sep 1727
- Malikah 11 Feb 1726; 26 Apr 1728; 14 Sep 1732
- Malikussaid, Sultan (Tumamenang ri Papambatuna, Karaeng ri Lakiung) 11 Dec 1607; Jun 1619; 13 Aug 1625; 4 Jun 1629; 3 Dec 1631; 3 Jul 1639; 19 Dec 1639; 14 Mar 1640; 13 Apr 1640; 21 May 1640; 18 Jun 1640; 27 Oct 1640; 15 Dec 1640; 27 Sep 1642; 31 Oct 1642; 29 Jan 1643; 8 Oct 1643; 19 Nov 1643; 3 Oct 1644; 18 Apr 1646; 25 May 1646; 15 Nov 1646; 12 May 1648; 13 Nov 1650; 18 Aug 1651; 9 Apr 1653; 5 Nov 1653
- Maliq 15 Dec 1727
- Maliq, Daeng 4 Jun 1679; 11 May 1682
- Mallalanngang 30 Nov 1643
- Mallimpo, Daeng 15 Dec 1700; 4 Sep 1718

- Malliongang, Daeng 4 Jul 1724; 25 Aug 1749
 Malliongi, Kare (Gallarrang Rappo-Rappo Jawa) 22 Jan 1732
 Mallulungang, Daeng (Mappaqngara) 18 Jul 1665; 16 Mar 1687; 5 Jul 1693
 Malluq, Daeng 15 Nov 1646
 Malung 13 Sep 1673
 Mamampang, Karaeng [1] (Bahauddin) 18 Apr 1662; 3 Sep 1691; 28 Aug 1699; 8 Apr 1702; 24 Oct 1703; 4 Aug 1709; 19 Sep 1714; 25 Jun 1717; 31 Aug 1718; 23 Oct 1735; 28 Jul 1742
 Mamampang, Karaeng [2] (Daeng Manarai) 8 Jun 1692
 Mamangkasi 4 Apr 1634
 Mamangkasi, Daeng (Mamminawang) 24 Nov 1664; 8 Oct 1688
 Mamangung, Daeng [1] (Karisag) 5 Sep 1672; 15 Mar 1684
 Mamangung, Daeng [2] (Papog) 12 Apr 1735
 Mamaro, Daeng [1] (Papog) 15 May 1675; 25 Apr 1693
 Mamaro, Daeng [2] 24 Nov 1723
 Mambani, Daeng [1] (Dulang) 8 May 1706
 Mambani, Daeng [2] (Bambiq) 30 Apr 1731
 Mambani, Kare [1] (Jamila) 11 May 1720; 3 Oct 1731; 14 Dec 1731
 Mambani, Kare [2] (Umarag) 10 Jun 1749
 Mami 27 Jun 1683
 Mami 31 Apr 1683
 Mami, Daeng [1] 14 May 1719
 Mami, Daeng [2] 9 Jun 1723
 Mami, Daeng [3] (Dalang) 29 Mar 1729
 Mami, Daengta Daeng [1] (Rukiah) 28 Aug 1670; 19 Mar 1682; 21 Oct 1684; 1 Nov 1704; 28 Apr 1706; 12 May 1724
 Mami, Daengta Daeng [2] 9 Mar 1673; 3 Jan 1674; 21 Aug 1683; 10 Apr 1684; 15 Jul 1684
 Mami, Kare 5 Jan 1714
 Mammaliang, Daeng (Mappaonoq) 10 Jul 1649
 Mammaq [1] 12 Dec 1706
 Mammaq [2] 21 Dec 1728
 Mammaq [3] 24 Jan 1731; 25 Jan 1731
 Mamminawang 26 Apr 1678
 Mamminawang 5 May 1683
 Mammiq 11 Dec 1732
 Mamo 17 Jan 1673; 21 Jan 1675; 4 Mar 1680
 Mamo, Daeng (Nampa) 16 Aug 1677
 Mamo, Daengta Daeng 3 Apr 1676
 Mamo, Kare 10 Nov 1715
 Mamuntuli, Daeng 10 Nov 1704; 24 Jan 1705; 25 Sep 1705; 19 Mar 1746
 Managgalaq, Daeng [2] (Jamali) 12 Aug 1683
 Manaiq, Daeng 21 Feb 1716
 Manangaraq, Daeng [1] 26 Dec 1672
 Manangaraq, Daeng [2] (Assang) 2 Jan 1673
 Manangaraq, Daeng [3] (Ahmad) 17 Sep 1687; 17 Jun 1720; 20 May 1721; 3 Nov 1730; 6 Nov 1735; 27 Jul 1737; 30 Jul 1750

- Manangaraq, Daeng [4] (Layuq) 14 Sep 1712
 Manappakki 20 Feb 1678
 Manappuki Ahaq 24 Dec 1748
 Manaqgalaq, Daeng [1] 10 Jan 1683
 Manaqgalaq, Daeng [2] (Caqdi) 14 Mar 1693; 9 Aug 1702; 7 Mar 1710
 Manaqgalaq, Daeng [3] (Guru) 24 Oct 1735
 Manaqgalaq, Daengta Daeng 17 Jun 1725
 Manaqgalaq, Kare 28 Jul 1723; 14 Jan 1741
 Manassaq, Daeng [1] (Muhammad) 19 Mar 1710; 15 Feb 1718; 1 Sep 1720; 11 Dec 1720; 14 Mar 1721; 19 May 1721; 11 Jul 1721; 13 Apr 1722; 17 Oct 1722; 10 Aug 1724; 9 Feb 1728
 Manassaq, Daeng [2] (Paciq) 10 Aug 1715; 8 Nov 1717; 1 May 1719; 17 Mar 1721; 30 Kan 1732; 16 Feb 1747
 Mandalleq, Karaeng [1] (Tulolo Tajuddin) 27 Dec 1653; 30 Nov 1664; 24 Sep 1665; 7 Feb 1667; 13 Apr 1670; 20 Aug 1671; 1 Mar 1672; 1 May 1672; 21 Sep 1672; 29 Mar 1674; 29 May 1676; 9 Jun 1676; 5 Feb 1678; 7 Feb 1679; 26 Nov 1679; 8 Aug 1681; 25 Jul 1687; 11 Nov 1687; 9 Apr 1690; 14 Feb 1718
 Mandalleq, Karaeng [2] (tumailalang, Daeng Sisila Ibrahim) 4 Dec 1658; 6 Apr 1673; 12 Jan 1713; 23 Mar 1715; 11 Jun 1717; 16 May 1729
 Mandalleq, Luqmuq Apr 1618
 Mandi 10 Nov 1727
 Manena, Daengta Daeng 6 Feb 1701
 Mangagaang, Daeng 2 Dec 1717
 Mangago, Daeng 17 Mar 1722
 Mangalle 9 Aug 1684
 Mangalle, Daeng [1] 17 Oct 1633
 Mangalle, Daeng [2] 3 May 1724
 Mangalle, Daeng [3] (Laijiq) 1 Nov 1733
 Mangalle, Daeng [4] (Mammaq) 27 Jul 1737
 Mangalle, Daengta Daeng (Abdul Hamid) 12 Aug 1658; 13 Dec 1698
 Mangalle, Kare [1] 3 Nov 1717
 Mangalle, Kare [2] (Maliq) 4 May 1720; 20 Mar 1727; 17 Apr 1732
 Mangallekana, Karaeng (Kurru, Zakaria) 20 Jul 1637; 25 May 1700; 21 Jun 1739
 Mangalliki, Kare (Jalaq) 27 Mar 1725
 Mangalliq, Daeng (Dondiq) 29 Sep 1692; 21 Feb 1746
 Mangalliq, Gallarrang 10 Feb 1704
 Mangalliq, Karaeng 8 Jul 1654; 13 Jan 1655; 12 Sep 1670; 23 Mar 1672; 17 Jan 1673; 25 May 1673; 20 Jun 1673; 13 Nov 1674; 27 Nov 1674; 25 Oct 1677; 20 Mar 1682; 7 Jan 1685; 21 Sep 1689; 29 Dec 1709; 12 Jan 1713; 11 Sep 1716; 14 Mar 1751
 Mangamaraq, Daeng 17 Oct 1633
 Mangambari 5 Apr 1684
 Mangaraqbombang, Karaeng [1] 26 Jun 1707; 12 Feb 1729
 Mangaraqbombang, Karaeng [2] 14 Mar 1746; 9 Dec 1749; 26 Apr 1751; 1 Aug 1751
 Mangasa, Daeng (Jipang) 6 Sep 1730
 Mangasa, Gallarrang [1] (Kare Naba) 14 Oct 1655
 Mangasa, Gallarrang [2] (Kare Mangalle) 6 Feb 1664; 23 Aug 1693; 14 Jul 1707; 23 Aug 1707; 3 Sep 1707; 4 Dec 1707; 14 Apr 1712; 29 Oct 1724; 14 Mar 1729; 23 Mar 1736; 2 Nov 1738

- Mangasa, Gallarrang [3] (Kare Ruppā) 4 Apr 1678
 Mangaungi, Daengta Daeng (Hasan) 5 Aug 1658; 31 Jan 1726
 Mangaungi, Daengta Daeng 14 Apr 1718
 Mangellai 13 Sep 1673; 18 Dec 1674
 Mangemba, Daeng [1] (Kasim) 17 Sep 1657
 Mangemba, Daeng [2] 9 Mar 1673
 Mangemba, Daeng [3] 19 Feb 1679
 Mangemba, Daeng 19 Sep 1688; 15 Feb 1692
 Mangeppeq, Daeng 29 Jan 1650; 27 Mar 1676
 Mangeppeq, Loqmoq 26 Jan 1660
 Mangeranngi 4 Sep 1718; 25 May 1723; 11 Feb 1726; 6 Apr 1728
 Mangesuq, Karaeng 4 Apr 1721; 9 Apr 1725; 1 Oct 1725
 Mangewai, Daeng [1] (Wasing) 18 Jul 1718; 7 Oct 1726
 Mangewai, Daeng [2] (Dandeq) 13 Dec 1719
 Mangewai, Daeng [3] (Jannatulfirdaus) 27 Nov 1724; 17 Nov 1733
 Mangewai, Kare 31 Jan 1732; 2 Nov 1738
 Manggappa, Daeng (Mommīq) 6 Aug 1688; 1 Mar 1731; 6 Nov 1735; 27 Jul 1737; 25 Oct 1741; 25 Aug 1749
 Manggaukang 21 Sep 1671; 22 Dec 1677
 Manginruru, Kare (Molla) 11 Feb 1725; 1 Dec 1725
 Mangiq [1] 18 Jul 1718
 Mangiq [2] 11 Mar 1730
 Mangisuq, Karaeng [1] 5 Jan 1731; 13 Sep 1736
 Mangisuq, Karaeng [2] 25 Oct 1741
 Mangitung, Daeng 13 Mar 1682; 2 Apr 1732
 Manguluang 3 Mar 1706
 Manilingi, Karaeng 19 Dec 1732
 Manimbang 18 Jun 1716; 20 Sep 1722; 5 Mar 1724; 7 Dec 1731
 Manimbang-gauq (Muhiiddin) 27 Sep 1720
 Manina, Daengta Daeng 18 Feb 1680
 Maniqgalli, Daeng 5 May 1729
 Manjagai 26 Sep 1639
 Manjakkalaq, Daeng (Luddin) 10 Jul 1728
 Manjakkalaq, Kare (Uqdung) 9 Aug 1702
 Manjalling, Karaeng [1] (Makkaraeng) 26 Dec 1683
 Manjalling, Karaeng [2] 11 Sep 1674
 Manjalling, Karaeng [3] 3 Oct 1703; 18 Jun 1706; 7 Sep 1723; 14 Oct 1723; 7 Oct 1726; 25 May 1728
 Manjarreki, Daeng (Mammaq) 23 Mar 1741
 Manjarreki, Daeng 2 Feb 1678
 Manjawakkang 6 Feb 1651; 19 Sep 1651
 Manjijjiliq, Daengta Daeng 26 Apr 1720
 Manna 13 Sep 1652
 Mannapoi Mansur 27 May 1749
 Mannawarri (Abdulhadi) 8 Dec 1746
 Mannallei 7 May 1675
 Mannayaurang 22 Jul 1750
 Mannyikkoq ri Kassiq, Daeng 16 Jun 1724
 Mannyiori, Karaeng 25 Aug 1749

Manombong, Daeng 19 Jan 1727
 Manrannuang 15 Sep 1722; 28 Aug 1728
 Manrewakki [1] 16 Dec 1715; 9 Jan 1721
 Manrewakki [2] 18 Feb 1725
 Manrewakki [3] 25 May 1728
 Manruppai, Daeng (Okang) 11 Oct 1705; 13 May 1708; 1 Oct 1716
 Manshur (Mallawang Gauq) 25 Aug 1727
 Manuruki (Muhammad) 28 Mar 1641; 15 Feb 1655
 Manuruki, Karaeng 19 Dec 1715
 Manyallang, Daeng 27 Feb 1674
 Manyampakki, Daeng (Mamminawang Pakki) 19 Feb 1682; 22 May 1701; 1 Apr 1705; 22 Apr 1705; 25 Dec 1709; 15 May 1729
 Manyampaq, Daeng [1] (Alluq) 23 Sep 1673; 8 Oct 1705
 Manyampaq, Daeng [2] (Sengoroq) 8 Apr 1678; 11 Feb 1716
 Manyampaq, Daeng [3] (Balambaru) 11 Mar 1714
 Manyanreri [1] 17 Oct 1713; 16 Jan 1747
 Manyanreri [2] 26 Sep 1731
 Manyaq 7 Nov 1713
 Manyeppeq, Daengta Daeng 26 Jul 1667*
 Manyikkoq, Daeng (Shadiq) 27 Feb 1670
 Manyioi, Karaeng 12 Aug 1699
 Manyipi, Daeng (Uang) 8 Dec 1713
 Manyiwi, Daeng 21 May 1674
 Mappabangka 9 Jan 1682; 3 Feb 1682
 Mappabangung (Abdul Aziz) 11 Dec 1717
 Mappajanji 9 Mar 1684
 Mappakana 8 Nov 1675
 Mappapoke 23 Feb 1717
 Mappaq [1] 24 Jun 1708
 Mappaq [2] 1 Oct 1725
 Mappaq [3] 9 Dec 1728
 Mappaq [4] 9 Jul 1729
 Mappaq [5] 18 Nov 1730
 Mappaq [6] 5 Jan 1731; 22 Dec 1731
 Mappasanrang 10 Nov 1719
 Mappasepeq 20 Jan 1653
 Mappasussung 25 May 1719
 Mappatalliq (Hasanuddin Syaah Syah, ruler of Bima) 7 Sep 1689; 29 May 1714; 13 Sep 1714; 6 Nov 1726; 3 May 1727; 23 Jan 1731; 3 Mar 1731
 Mappatangaraq 17 Feb 1714
 Mappatimung [1] (Wajihuddin) 5 Aug 1718; 26 Sep 1718; 26 Jun 1719
 Mappatimung [2] (Arung Pattojo) 11 Sep 1732
 Mappatolla 28 Nov 1739
 Mappatunruq (Abdurrauf) 9 Dec 1749
 Maqbayaraq, Daeng 26 Oct 1637
 Maqdaeng 28 Nov 1650
 Maqdaung 13 May 1717
 Maqgeaq, Daeng 25 Jul 1672

- Maquq 30 May 1722
 Maqlaqbaq, Daeng 9 May 1643
 Maqleoq, Daeng [1] (Sumang) 12 Apr 1703; 1 Jun 1715; 15 Dec 1720; 11 Jun 1724; 18 Feb 1725; 15 Dec 1726; 16 Dec 1726; 13 Jul 1727; 22 Aug 1739; 27 Aug 1739
 Maqleoq, Daeng [2] (Dulla) 10 Sep 1713; 19 Mar 1715; 23 May 1715; 21 Jul 1739
 Maqminasa 15 Jul 1679
 Maqmiq [1] (Syafiah, Daeng Sannging) 2 Mar 1633
 Maqmiq [2] 10 Jun 1729
 Maqnassa, Daengta Kare 6 Jun 1667
 Maqrappo, Daeng 31 Aug 1722
 Maqrumai 4 Apr 1721
 Maqruppa, Daeng [1] 14 May 1674; 21 Dec 1674; 17 Jan 1675; 27 Jan 1677; 2 Jun 1677
 Maqruppa, Daeng [2] (Tinting) 12 Sep 1729; 12 Apr 1730; 25 Aug 1749
 Maqruppa, Daeng [3] (Sajaq) 12 Nov 1730
 Maradiah 14 Mar 1731
 Marajalang 10 Jan 1637
 Marannu, Daeng [1] (Pandi) 25 Dec 1647; 15 Jan 1660; 8 Mar 1663; 9 Mar 1714
 Marannu, Daeng [2] 29 Dec 1680; 14 Sep 1684
 Marannu, Daeng [3] (Biba) 21 Jan 1701; 22 Aug 1705
 Marannu, Daeng [4] (Bokuq) 15 Oct 1705; 26 Mar 1709
 Marannu, Daeng [5] (Mamo) 2 Jul 1708
 Marannu, Daeng [6] (Sugi) 1 Sep 1720; 11 Dec 1720; 13 Nov 1729; 18 Jun 1732; 9 Feb 1741; 31 Oct 1741
 Marannu, Daenta Daeng 20 Jan 1636; 24 Jan 1643
 Marewa, Daeng 21 Feb 1728; 5 Feb 1729; 16 Aug 1731; 2 Sep 1731
 Marimang, Daengta Daeng 9 Jun 1723; 14 Apr 1725; 22 Feb 1728
 Maroanging, Karaeng Jun 1619; 17 Mar 1624
 Maryam 16 Feb 1654
 Masale, Karaeng [1] 10 May 1647
 Masale, Karaeng [2] (Mappatanre) 30 Apr 1731; 10 Dec 1735
 Masiang, Daengta Daeng 28 Feb 1647; 23 Nov 1661; 13 Jul 1671; 18 May 1671; 16 May 1710
 Masingaraq, Daengta Daeng 19 Jun 1738
 Massallomo Muhammad Syadik Manriogauq 29 Jun 1711
 Massallomo 16 May 1724
 Massanira (Datu Ulaweng) 24 Mar 1722
 Massepe, Daeng 4 Dec 1708
 Massepe, Karaeng 8 Jun 1673
 Masseqre, Daeng (Jaga) 24 Dec 1678; 9 Jul 1726; 10 Jul 1728
 Masseqre, Daeng (Papippiq) 1 Sep 1713; 8 Dec 1718; 18 Dec 1720; 10 Sep 1722; 16 Jan 1726; 19 May 1726
 Massese, Daeng 1 Oct 1702; 8 Sep 1703
 Massikkiq, Daeng 28 Apr 1639
 Massuro, Daengta Daeng 21 Oct 1675; 27 Dec 1676; 8 Sep 1678; 5 Sep 1679; 26 Aug 1680; 31 Apr 1683; 7 May 1683; 26 Nov 1686
 Matea ri Bima, Karaeng 1618
 Mateqne, Daeng [1] (Sitti Abidah) 18 Jun 1716; 5 Mar 1724

- Mateqne, Daeng [2] (Sitti) 18 Feb 1717; 17 Sep 1718; 22 Aug 1719; 28 May 1722; 2 Nov 1727; 23 Nov 1727
- Mateqne, Daeng [3] 22 Feb 1728
- Mateqne, Daeng [4] (Sipaya) 9 Oct 1730
- Mateqne, Karaeng 4 Sep 1673; 7 Sep 1684
- Matinroa ri Bantaeng 28 Oct 1631
- Matinroa ri Bukaka (La Maqdaremmeng) 7 Feb 1667; 30 May 1667; 5 Aug 1678
- Matinroa ri Buliana (Ibrahim Daeng Matiring, ruler of Agangnionjoq) 10 Dec 1645; 30 Sep 1646
- Matinroa ri Datunna (La Tenribali, ruler of Soppéng) 24 May 1666; 19 Aug 1676
- Matinroa ri Gowa (Datu ri Luwuq) 17 Jun 1650; 9 Aug 1662
- Matinroa ri Salemo (Addatuang) 11 Feb 1681
- Matinroa ri Talloq 13 Aug 1630
- Matinroa ri Tippulunna (Batari Toja) 20 Dec 1714
- Matoaya, Karaeng (Sultan Abdullah, Karaeng Kanjilo, Karaeng Segeri, Tumamenang ri Agamana) 1573, 22 Sep 1605; 1626; 23 May 1634; 24 Nov 1635; 2 Jul 1636; 1 Oct 1636
- Mattaq (Abdurrahman, Mappatawang) 2 Aug 1709; 27 Oct 1717; 7 Oct 1718; 21 May 1723; 13 Aug 1727
- Mattara, Daeng 7 Jan 1727
- Mattayang 18 Feb 1717; 22 Aug 1719; 2 Nov 1727; 23 Nov 1727; 24 Jan 1731
- Mattenai 23 Aug 1725; 24 Oct 1727; 14 Sep 1730
- Matti 4 Jun 1679
- Mattiro, Daengta Daeng (Manginara Majduddin) 5 Apr 1648; 10 Feb 1663
- Mattuju, Daeng 7 Aug 1677
- Mattukung, Daeng 8 Aug 1656
- Mattulung, Daeng 16 Dec 1715; 10 Jun 1729; 17 Nov 1730
- Mattupuang (Abdul Wahid) 14 Mar 1683
- Mau, Daeng 24 Dec 1638
- Mawajang, Karaeng 9 Mar 1684
- Mayiro, Daengta Daeng 6 Apr 1702
- Memang, Daeng [1] (Munaq) 19 Jun 1673; 10 Feb 1681; 15 Jan 1720; 30 May 1722
- Memang, Daeng [2] 13 Jan 1726
- Mene 13 Nov 1676
- Mida (Bungko) 20 Feb 1719; 27 Aug 1719
- Minaq 16 Feb 1654; 20 Jul 1673; 23 Aug 1725
- Mindaq 8 Feb 1713; 22 Dec 1713; 28 May 1716; 26 Feb 1728
- Mininrori 4 Feb 1660
- Minnah 25 Jul 1675
- Mipati, Daeng 24 Jan 1731
- Monnoq 11 Sep 1728; 30 Nov 1730
- Muhammad [1] 31 Jul 1723
- Muhammad [2] 4 Oct 1739
- Muhammad Ali [1] (Tumatea ri Jakattaraq, Karaeng Bisei) 29 Nov 1654; 30 Nov 1664; 24 Sep 1665; 13 Mar 1667; 23 Mar 1667; 12 Sep 1670; 21 Oct 1672; 13 Dec 1672; 3 Oct 1674; 4 Sep 1675; 11 Oct 1675; 13 May 1676; 15 Apr 1677; 27 Jul 1677; 3 Sep 1678*; 16 Sep 1678; 4 Oct 1678*; 15 Mar 1681; 29 Mar 1682

- Muhammad Ali [2] 12 Jun 1705; 26 Dec 1719; 7 Jun 1725; 20 Mar 1729
 Muhammad Baki (Karaeng Barombong, Karaeng Sanrabone) 21 Jun 1714; 3 Oct 1724; 28 Oct 1731; 27 Nov 1732; 15 Jun 1733; 26 Jan 1734; 30 Aug 1736; 3 Aug 1739; 25 Aug 1740; 16 May 1748; 16 Sep 1748
 Muhammad Jamala (Mappatollaq) 30 Oct 1725
 Muhammad Rajab 5 Feb 1729
 Muhammad Said 20 Aug 1671
 Muhammad Saleh 11 Jan 1718; 2 Mar 1734
 Muhammad Shaleh 30 Jun 1672
 Munaq 20 Jan 1676; 30 Apr 1676
 Muntuq, Daeng 15 Jun 1735
 Mutaq 13 Mar 1720
 Mutiatullah 19 Feb 1720
 Mutti 16 Jul 1683
- Najamuddin, Sultan (Manrabia, Karaeng Kanjilo, Tumamenang ri Jawaya) 23 Dec 1708; 18 Nov 1713; 19 May 1714; 15 Oct 1714; 29 Jun 1720; 7 Jun 1721; 9 Nov 1722; 18 Oct 1723; 18 Nov 1723; 16 Oct 1724; 7 May 1727; 11 Sep 1728; 24 Apr 1729
 Nakke, Daeng 27 Dec 1724
 Nampa [1] 16 Dec 1644
 Nampa [2] (Syahribanung) 3 Feb 1645
 Nannuq [1] 12 Jan 1713; 13 Nov 1718; 9 Oct 1721
 Nannuq [2] 26 Sep 1722
 Naratang, Daengta Daeng [1] (Laji) 10 Aug 1646
 Naratang, Daengta Daeng [2] 23 Oct 1638; 2 Oct 1641; 28 Jun 1647; 14 Jun 1648; 10 Sep 1649
 Naratang, Daengta Daeng [3] (Sungguminassa Rabiah, Karaeng ri Sanggiringang) 8 Jan 1645; 29 Jun 1651; 2 Sep 1652; 7 Jul 1669
 Nassa, Kare 18 Oct 1728
 Naung, Karaeng 20 Jun 1645
 Nenuq 17 Oct 1713
 Neting, Haji 11 Jun 1647
 Ngago, Daeng (Karaeng Paranggi) 24 Oct 1727; 5 Nov 1728; 10 Oct 1729; 14 Sep 1730; 3 Dec 1731; 19 Apr 1732; 5 Jan 1731; 8 Oct 1744
 Ngampa, Daengta Daeng 27 Dec 1727
 Nganne, Daeng (Manguq) 19 Jun 1719
 Nganrenne, Daeng [1] 1 Sep 1713
 Nganrenne, Daeng [2] 8 May 1726
 Nganrenne, Daengta Daeng (Datu Doka) 12 Jan 1713
 Ngantu, Daeng (Yociq) 31 May 1728
 Ngantu, Daengta Daeng 26 Dec 1733
 Ngaseng, Daeng [1] (Bataq) 25 Nov 1675
 Ngaseng, Daeng [2] (Saqbaraq) 1 May 1728
 Ngaseng, Daengta Daeng 24 Jun 1708; 14 Mar 1731; 17 Jun 1736
 Ngiji, Daeng (Sitti) 22 Aug 1739
 Ngilauq, Daeng (Bantang) 8 Aug 1709

- Niaq, Daeng 11 Sep 1633; 25 Feb 1645; 17 Aug 1673
 Niaq, Daengta Daeng 23 Sep 1704
 Niasseng, Daeng 29 Jul 1674
 Niba 10 Sep 1731
 Nibbang 1 Oct 1661
 Nimbang 7 Apr 1713
 Ningai, Daeng [1] 22 Jun 1721; 9 May 1730; 5 Mar 1731; 12 Feb 1736
 Ningai, Daeng [2] 14 May 1747
 Ninruq 27 Apr 1744
 Ninuq [1] 6 May 1715
 Ninuq [2] 15 Feb 1728
 Nisabeng, Daeng 22 Dec 1718
 Nisakking, Daeng (Shafiah) 15 Dec 1695; 15 Dec 1700
 Nisali, Daeng [1] 4 Apr 1650
 Nisali, Daeng [2] (Thaibah) 8 Jan 1714; 6 Nov 1714; 5 Apr 1716; 25 Aug 1718; 16 Oct 1720; 25 Mar 1722
 Nisali, Daengta Daeng (Sitti Sarah) 17 Dec 1672
 Nisanga, Daeng [1] (Nanuq) 18 Jun 1706; 19 Jun 1722
 Nisanga, Daeng [2] (Puqdo) 4 Mar 1718
 Nisanga, Daeng [3] (Kamariah) 10 Dec 1720
 Nisayu, Daeng [1] (Dara) 29 Mar 1674
 Nisayu, Daeng [2] 14 May 1674; 5 Sep 1674; 11 Aug 1677
 Nisayu, Daeng [3] (Andoqpoaq) 23 Aug 1677
 Nisayu, Daeng [4] 28 Jul 1699; 17 Jul 1707
 Nisayu, Daeng [5] 9 Nov 1704; 4 Oct 1707; 20 May 1715
 Nisayu, Daeng [6] (Junggo) 9 Aug 1720
 Nisayu, Daeng [7] (Alima) 10 Aug 1741
 Nisayu, Daengta Daeng 31 Oct 1677; 8 Feb 1678; 18 Apr 1678; 31 Oct 1680; 3 Jul 1687; 7 Oct 1709
 Nisimba, Daeng [1] (Rabiah) 11 Aug 1671; 5 May 1717
 Nisimba, Daeng [2] 22 Oct 1672; 11 Dec 1672; 5 Jul 1693; 12 Dec 1706
 Nisimba, Daeng [3] 31 Jul 1727
 Nisomba, Daeng (Okung) 13 Dec 1719
 Nisoqna, Daeng [1] 16 Dec 1706; 4 May 1715; 14 Nov 1719
 Nisoqna, Daeng [2] 13 Nov 1719
 Nojeng 20 Aug 1730
 Nona 22 Aug 1739
 Nuh 12 Feb 1729
 Numalo, Daeng 12 Mar 1703
 Nunniq 10 Oct 1729
 Nuruddin, Shaykh 21 Sep 1658
 Nuruddin (Mapparabung, Karaeng Panaragang) 13 Dec 1651
 Nurulmahalli 30 Oct 1645
- Okong 27 Feb 1680
 Onjoq, Daengta Daeng 2 Sep 1652; 19 Mar 1671
 Opu [1] 3 Nov 1674
 Opu [2] 22 Aug 1718

- Pabila, Daeng 14 Apr 1712; 14 Dec 1722; 10 Aug 1724
 Paccocconga 27 Oct 1668
 Pacellekang, Daeng 30 Nov 1643
 Paceq 21 Oct 1722
 Paceqnongang, Gallarrang 10 Dec 1711
 Paciq 30 Apr 1698
 Padang 25 Jul 1707
 Padukka Dompu 29 Jan 1661; 10 Feb 1663; 6 Dec 1663; 18 Jul 1665; 29 Apr 1693; 21 Aug 1693
 Pagang, Daeng 22 Jun 1634
 Pakkempa 29 Dec 1680; 14 Sep 1684
 Palembang, Karaeng [1] 27 Feb 1670; 31 Mar 1673; 24 Jun 1674; 11 Sep 1674; 23 Nov 1674; 9 Jun 1676; 9 Jun 1677
 Palembang, Karaeng [2] 10 Jan 1729; 15 Jun 1739; 5 Dec 1740
 Paleng 5 May 1683
 Pallaq 22 Aug 1713
 Pamolikang, Karaeng 25 Jul 1675; 20 Jan 1676; 30 Apr 1676; 19 Aug 1678; 21 Nov 1704
 Panaikang, Karaeng [1] (Daeng Niaq) 15 Jan 1631; 2 Jan 1644*; 24 Dec 1650; 21 Aug 1655; 9 Jun 1664; 18 Mar 1686
 Panaikang, Karaeng [2] (Khadijah) 20 Jan 1672; 13 Jun 1683
 Panaikang, Karaeng [3] (Mappasaqbi, Muhammad Said) 16 May 1692; 18 Dec 1701; 26 Mar 1709; 23 Oct 1716; 4 Nov 1718; 22 Jun 1721; 22 Mar 1725; 8 Jun 1725; 6 Jul 1726; 20 May 1730; 12 Jul 1730; 18 Nov 1730; 5 Mar 1731; 14 Feb 1750
 Panaikangciniq, Karaeng 27 Jun 1680
 Panaiq, Kare (Guru) 22 Oct 1681
 Panaragang, Karaeng (Alasaq, ruler of Bima) 7 May 1684; 23 Jul 1687; 21 Aug 1693; 27 Aug 1693; 30 Aug 1695; 6 Jul 1696
 Pande 15 May 1716; 28 Nov 1716
 Pandi 26 Apr 1720
 Pangalaq 20 Aug 1632
 Pangerang Aria 28 Jul 1699; 17 Jul 1707
 Pangkajeqneq, Karaeng (Abdul Muqmin) 10 Mar 1670; 28 Jan 1672; 23 Nov 1681; 6 Jul 1691; 22 Aug 1692; 6 Oct 1702; 4 Oct 1709; 24 Mar 1710; 12 Apr 1710
 Panjallingang, Karaeng [1] (Mattenai) 25 Dec 1638; 6 May 1662; 13 Aug 1668; 29 Aug 1670
 Panjallingang, Karaeng [2] (Manguqrangi Sitti Shapora) 8 Jun 1639
 Pannampuq, Daeng 30 Apr 1647
 Pappi 16 Dec 1715; 9 Jan 1721; 18 Feb 1725; 14 Feb 1736
 Papuq [1] 24 Aug 1710; 14 Mar 1721; 19 May 1721
 Papuq [2] 15 Feb 1726
 Paqbineang, Karaeng [1] (Maemuna) 17 Oct 1637; 30 May 1638; 12 Nov 1647; 21 May 1654; 16 Sep 1669; 13 Dec 1697
 Paqbineang, Karaeng [2] (Sitti Rahimah) 2 Jan 1689; 16 May 1702; 4 Oct 1703; 20 Oct 1709; 27 Oct 1731; 31 Jan 1732; 9 Apr 1739; 27 Oct 1742
 Paqbundukang, Karaeng [1] 2 Feb 1648

- Paqbundukang, Karaeng [2] 27 Apr 1744; 16 Oct 1747; 16 May 1748
 Paqgannakkang, Karaeng 16 Apr 1743; 27 Apr 1744; 12 Jan 1749
 Parampang, Kare (Caccaq) 26 Apr 1717; 9 Sep 1726
 Parangbone, Karaeng 20 Sep 1717
 Paranggi, Karaeng [1] 20 Oct 1644
 Paranggi, Karaeng [2] (Daeng Mangago) 1 Feb 1689
 Paranggi, Karaeng [3] see Ngago, Daeng
 Parangloe, Gallarrang (Laddin) 18 Jun 1728
 Parang-Parang, Karaeng [1] (Khadjah) 18 Nov 1671; 14 Mar 1683; 27 Nov 1684; 18 Jul 1686; 4 Jul 1688; 13 Jun 1689
 Parang-Parang, Karaeng [2] 1 Mar 1734
 Parukka 10 Aug 1717
 Pasiq, Karaeng [1] 5 Apr 1660; 17 Apr 1671; 21 Jun 1671; 13 Feb 1681; 7 Jan 1682; 28 Aug 1683; 25 Jun 1704; 1 Sep 1714
 Pasiq, Karaeng [2] (Sitti Aisyah) 19 Dec 1693; 22 May 1708; 2 Oct 1718; 20 Oct 1718; 4 Nov 1718; 7 Apr 1722; 25 Jan 1723;
 Passeqre, Kare (Jaga) 3 Nov 1698; 7 May 1700
 Pate, Daengta Kare 26 Nov 1679; 18 Nov 1683; 25 Jul 1687; 12 Apr 1688; 5 Jun 1689; 6 Jan 1691; 18 Mar 1704
 Pate, Kare [1] 29 Sep 1656
 Pate, Kare [2] (Sarampa) 8 Aug 1680; 26 Mar 1681; 13 Apr 1681
 Pati Manjawari 14 Jul 1707; 4 Dec 1707; 24 Mar 1708; 6 Jun 1708
 Patimah 28 Mar 1740
 Patimaq [1] (Daeng Tacuah) 10 Feb 1713; 2 Sep 1715; 22 Apr 1716; 11 Jan 1716; 11 Dec 1717; 2 Jan 1719; 1 Mar 1720
 Patimaq [2] 5 Jan 1731; 22 Dec 1731
 Patolo, Daeng 8 Nov 1651
 Pattah 11 Dec 1732
 Pattallassang, Karaeng 1 Feb 1724
 Patteqne, Karaeng [1] 3 Oct 1644; 5 Mar 1664
 Patteqne, Karaeng [2] (Daeng Mabela) 3 Oct 1664; 2 May 1663
 Patteqne, Karaeng [3] (Fathuddin) 20 Dec 1695; 8 Feb 1713; 22 Dec 1713; 6 Sep 1715; 29 Oct 1715; 28 May 1716; 11 Jan 1717; 11 Dec 1717; 20 Oct 1718; 4 Nov 1718; 2 Jan 1719; 1 Mar 1720; 22 Apr 1720; 1 Nov 1721; 8 Mar 1723; 28 Jan 1724; 27 Apr 1724;
 Pattingalloang, Karaeng (Sultan Mahmud, Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng) 1600; 1619; 28 Sep 1632; 7 Nov 1633*; 18 Jun 1639*; 15 Sep 1654
 Pattunga, Karaeng [1] 16 Sep 1633
 Pattunga, Karaeng [2] 14 Jun 1659
 Pattunga, Karaeng [3] 23 Nov 1669
 Patukangang, Karaeng [1] 25 Feb 1654
 Patukangang, Karaeng [2] (Maryam) 1 Mar 1669; 9 Feb 1674; 24 Mar 1674; 11 May 1675; 25 Nov 1675; 16 Dec 1675; 9 Aug 1678; 4 Apr 1687; 26 Jul 1693
 Patukangang, Karaeng [3] (Zainab) 3 Jan 1709; 7 Jun 1721; 9 Nov 1722; 16 Oct 1724; 30 Oct 1725; 31 Mar 1728; 14 Oct 1729; 19 Jan 1740
 Pirannuang 26 Sep 1679
 Pole, Kare 28 Mar 1720; 4 May 1720

- Popoq, Karaeng 3 Jun 1631; 26 Oct 1637; 7 Dec 1644; 20 Mar 1648; 11 Mar 1650; 2
 Nov 1650; 4 Nov 1650; 23 Oct 1655; 29 Sep 1656; 5 Jul 1660; 24 Nov 1660; 8
 Jan 1661; 25 May 1663; 16 Nov 1664; 29 May 1676; 7 Nov 1678; 7 Mar 1680
- Poqdo 15 Jan 1716
- Prins, François 5 Mar 1694
- Puanna I Daeng (Mallimpo) 21 Dec 1714; 22 Aug 1710
- Puanna I Jenalaq 23 Nov 1658; 28 Nov 1658
- Puanna I Mattaq see La Padangsajati
- Puaq Ikkuq 15 Dec 1727
- Puaq Ninaq 16 Jun 1751
- Puaq 12 Jul 1740
- Puaq, Daengta 23 Sep 1705
- Punbinduq 5 Dec 1702
- Punca Patula (Sitti Hawa) 12 Dec 1721
- Punca 25 Apr 1722
- Pundamaq 26 Nov 1726; 10 Dec 1726; 4 Nov 1728
- Putiri Raannakumala (Karaeng Tabaringang) 25 Mar 1751
- Raba 7 Jan 1678
- Rabiah 25 Oct 1677
- Raden Sanggalea 14 Jul 1693; 22 Jul 1693; 24 Jul 1693
- Radiah 9 Jan 1656
- Radin 23 Apr 1653
- Rahimah 8 Oct 1739
- Rakhiah 11 Mar 1698
- Raluq 13 May 1695; 22 Jun 1699
- Rannu, Kare 21 Dec 1714
- Rannu, Loqmoq 5 Dec 1702; 15 Jul 1713
- Rante Patola (Sitti Rabiah) 27 Apr 1728; 10 May 1742; 24 Mar 1743
- Ranti 17 Jan 1716; 15 May 1716; 28 Nov 1716
- Rapanna, Daeng (Manuruki) 7 Jan 1685; 9 Feb 1710
- Rappociniq, Karaeng [2] 27 Dec 1727
- Rappociniq, Karaeng[1] 23 May 1680; 8 Aug 1680; 6 Sep 1680; 26 Mar 1681; 13 Apr
 1681; 9 Aug 1684; 19 Mar 1686
- Rappokalling, Gallarrang 6 Nov 1719
- Ratu Agung 21 Jun 1705
- Ratu Bagus (elder) 13 Dec 1705; 11 Jan 1718; 10 Dec 1720; 18 Apr 1731
- Ratu Bagus (younger) 28 Jul 1706; 14 Nov 1706; 15 Sep 1707; 21 Dec 1728
- Ratu Bulaeng (Sitti Radiah) 10 May 1728
- Ratu Hiyati 21 Nov 1705
- Riboko, Daeng 8 May 1644; 6 Aug 1661
- Rida (Sitti Rahmah) 13 Oct 1730
- Rikasammeng, Daeng 8 Mar 1690; 22 Oct 1739
- Rikong, Daeng [1] (Shafiatuddin or Shafiah) 4 Feb 1660; 9 Mar 1673; 3 Jan 1674; 28
 Nov 1681
- Rikong, Daeng [2] 13 Nov 1676
- Rikong, Daeng [3] (Jaga) 3 Apr 1703; 2 Sep 1703; 16 Jun 1706; 2 Jan 1707; 26 Mar
 1709; 19 Feb 1721; 13 Jan 1726

- Rimang, Kare (Saidah) 18 Mar 1732
 Riolo, Daeng 12 May 1643
 Roking 19 Nov 1636
 Rukiah 2 Apr 1732
 Ruppa, Kare 3 Sep 1751

 Sabirah 23 Aug 1725; 10 Mar 1730
 Sadiq 15 May 1725
 Saenaq 24 Oct 1720; 14 Mar 1721; 13 Apr 1722
 Saidah [1] 3 Nov 1674
 Saidah [2] 26 Apr 1717
 Saidah [3] 11 Jun 1724; 18 Feb 1725; 13 Jul 1727
 Saidah [4] 19 Jan 1726
 Saidi 31 Dec 1713; 10 Oct 1715
 Saja 31 Dec 1731
 Salahu 9 Apr 1725
 Salama 25 Feb 1726
 Salamah 20 Sep 1675; 19 Apr 1715
 Saleh 22 Oct 1739
 Sali, Kare 9 Aug 1684
 Salira 1 May 1719; 21 Feb 1721; 17 Mar 1721; 12 Dec 1721; 19 Jan 1725
 Sallang 26 Sep 1679
 Sallang, Daengta Karaeng 27 Sep 1668
 Sallang, Kare 19 Sep 1676
 Sallo, Kare 16 Mar 1726
 Samata, Daeng 29 Oct 1680
 Sammaraq 2 Aug 1693
 Sammiq 29 Aug 1733
 Sampulungan, Daeng 23 Jul 1668
 Sandewi 1 Sep 1708
 Sandiq 29 Jul 1691
 Sangging, Daeng 15 May 1729
 Sangging, Daengta Daeng [1] (Maqminasa) 12 Feb 1645; 11 Oct 1648
 Sangging, Daengta Daeng [1] (Sarah) 23 Apr 1680
 Sanggiringang, Karaeng 10 Jan 1645; 24 Feb 1656; 6 Aug 1656; 19 Apr 1657; 8 Nov 1657; 17 Feb 1666; 21 Sep 1671; 17 Mar 1675
 Sanrabone Malolo, Karaeng 13 Jul 1642
 Sanrabone, Karaeng [1] 31 Mar 1642
 Sanrabone, Karaeng [2] 12 Nov 1647
 Santbeek, Markus 6 Aug 1704
 Saodah 14 Oct 1723; 12 Oct 1725; 18 Feb 1731
 Saumata, Gallarrang [1] 17 Aug 1711
 Saumata, Gallarrang [2] 4 Apr 1640*
 Sapiah 6 Jul 1725
 Sapinah 30 Apr 1731
 Saqbaraq 19 Sep 1676
 Saqbi 19 May 1641
 Saqdaq 7 Sep 1723; 26 Feb 1728

- Sarah 15 May 1675; 4 Apr 1678
 Sarampa 13 Jun 1673; 20 Jul 1673; 6 Dec 1675
 Sarimba 5 Feb 1730; 26 Jan 1731; 18 Mar 1732; 5 May 1736
 Sassang, Daeng 30 Oct 1641
 Sayedah [1] 8 May 1706
 Sayedah [2] (Sanrabone) 13 Jul 1707
 Sayyid Alwi 21 Apr 1728
 Sayyid Biringkassiq 11 Feb 1683
 Sayyid Bukhari 15 Aug 1720; 15 Aug 1733
 Sayyid Hamid 25 Dec 1751
 Sayyid Husain [1] 11 Feb 1683
 Sayyid Husain [2] 13 Jan 1706; 18 May 1718; 30 Mar 1740; 31 Dec 1747
 Sayyid Muhammad 24 May 1703; 4 Jan 1707; 1 Oct 1707
 Sayyid Syarifah 31 Dec 1747
 Sayyid Umar 2 Jan 1737
 Sayyid Zain 30 Apr 1700; 13 Jan 1705; 5 May 1705; 20 Jun 1707; 8 Oct 1709; 7 Aug 1712; 31 Dec 1713; 10 Oct 1715
 Sendoq 24 Jun 1738
 Shafiah [1] 14 Mar 1671; 19 Oct 1671
 Shafiah [2] 27 Jul 1682
 Shafiah [3] 26 Jun 1730
 Shaleh 31 Mar 1677
 Shaykh Abd al-Ra'uf 21 Jan 1696
 Shaykh Abdullah Qussyasyi 15 Mar 1691
 Shaykh Yusuf [1] 22 Mar 1684; 9 Jun 1689; 22 Dec 1694; 22 May 1699; 5 Apr 1705; 2 Oct 1705; 5 Jan 1714; 10 Nov 1715; 3 Jul 1747
 Shaykh Yusuf [2] (Ipandi) 7 Sep 1694
 Shaykh 12 Mar 1680; 24 Jun 1718; 28 Jul 1723; 7 Feb 1728
 Simba 28 Sep 1718
 Sinddoq 9 Jun 1732
 Singaraq, Daeng [1] 19 Dec 1649
 Singaraq, Daeng [2] 30 Oct 1673
 Singaraq, Daeng [3] 6 Jul 1691
 Singaraq, Daengta Daeng 4 Apr 1674; 12 Mar 1676; 16 Jul 1679; 14 Nov 1679; 1 Jan 1681; 11 Mar 1681; 26 Dec 1681; 2 Feb 1682; 24 Mar 1682; 20 Mar 1683; 21 Jul 1707; 16 Jul 1708; 3 Jul 1721
 Singaraq, Kare Haji 11 Jun 1647; 14 Oct 1655; 1659*
 Singaraq, Kare 27 Sep 1739
 Singayah 24 Jun 1708
 Sinukuq 2 Nov 1650
 Sipman, Johannes 8 Oct 1716
 Siqra 10 Sep 1634
 Sirajuddin (Sultan Abil Khair, Ambela) 22 Dec 1640; 3 Sep 1646; 27 Mar 1658; 30 Aug 1658; 22 Jul 1682
 Sirajuddin, Sultan (Tumamenang ri Pasiq, Tumammaliang ri Talloq) 17 Nov 1687; 3 Nov 1700; 21 Jan 1702; 11 Sep 1706; 1 Jan 1707; 12 Aug 1709; 31 Aug 1712; 10 Sep 1712; 8 Oct 1712; 2 Nov 1712; 28 Nov 1712; 15 Dec 1712; 25 Apr

1713; 21 Jun 1713; 18 Nov 1713; 19 Mar 1716; 23 May 1716; 18 Jun 1716; 16 Jul 1716; 26 Jun 1717; 29 Jun 1717; 3 Sep 1717; 23 Nov 1717; 7 Dec 1717; 31 Aug 1718; 26 Sep 1718; 20 Dec 1718; 7 Aug 1719; 21 Jan 1720; 11 Apr 1720; 9 Oct 1721; 16 Nov 1722; 8 Jan 1724; 12 Feb 1725; 6 Jul 1725; 6 Oct 1725; 19 Jan 1726; 25 Feb 1726; 19 Mar 1726; 2 Aug 1726; 10 Sep 1726; 8 Feb 1727; 14 Oct 1727; 8 May 1728; 6 Dec 1728; 25 Apr 1729; 15 Oct 1729; 28 Jul 1731; 3 Oct 1731; 19 Apr 1732; 17 Oct 1732; 15 Jun 1733; 17 Jan 1734; 13 Jul 1734; 27 Aug 1734; 6 Sep 1734; 16 Apr 1735; 13 Oct 1735; 5 Nov 1735; 22 Jan 1739

Sisila, Daeng 7 Feb 1679

Sitaba, Daeng [1] 22 Jun 1724; 26 Feb 1730

Sitaba, Daeng [2] (Jalani) 25 Feb 1729

Sitaba, Karaeng 8 Feb 1706

Sitti [1] 20 Jan 1653

Sitti [10] 5 Apr 1684

Sitti [11] 7 Apr 1715; 1 Sep 1716

Sitti [12] 30 Oct 1719; 16 Jan 1720

Sitti [13] 18 Apr 1731

Sitti [14] 26 Oct 1739

Sitti [2] 12 Sep 1672; 21 Sep 1672; 20 Jun 1673; 13 Nov 1674

Sitti [3] 8 Dec 1672

Sitti [4] 27 Jan 1677

Sitti [5] 24 Sep 1677

Sitti [6] 8 Apr 1678

Sitti [7] 3 Feb 1682

Sitti [8] 11 May 1682

Sitti [9] 28 Sep 1682

Sitti Aminah [1] 23 Jan 1653

Sitti Aminah [2] 22 Jul 1672; 22 May 1677

Sitti Anisuh 21 Oct 1649

Sitti Fatimah 4 Sep 1673; 17 Jul 1674; 22 Aug 1675

Sitti Hadijah 26 Jun 1663

Sitti Hajar 12 Sep 1675

Sitti Halimah 16 Oct 1719

Sitti Hawa 21 May 1710

Sitti Labibah 2 Dec 1706; 24 Apr 1707; 3 Mar 1713

Sitti Lambengi 21 Oct 1672; 13 Dec 1672; 9 May 1673; 19 Nov 1677

Sitti Lele 10 Sep 1713; 19 Mar 1715; 23 May 1715; 24 Jan 1717

Sitti Maradiah 30 Dec 1673

Sitti Maryam 6 Aug 1680

Sitti Rahmah Malimbassanna 16 Jan 1711

Sitti Sarah 12 Sep 1674

Situju, Daeng 4 Dec 1677

Smout, Adriaan Hendrik 14 Aug 1737; 3 Sep 1739; 23 Mar 1741; 20 Apr 1741; 5 May 1743

Speelman, Cornelis 7 Oct 1669*; 11 Jan 1684

Sugi [1] (Karaeng Bontoa) see Bontoa, Karaeng [3]

Sugi [2] 22 Aug 1739

- Sugiratu (Sitti Aminah) 14 Oct 1729; 15 Oct 1743; 29 Aug 1744
 Suleman 1 Jul 1663
 Suli, Karaeng 6 Jan 1635; 4 Apr 1652
 Sumailiq [1] 18 Jun 1715; 26 Jan 1719; 4 Jul 1724
 Sumailiq [2] 3 Dec 1724
 Sumang 5 Feb 1730; 26 Jan 1731; 18 Mar 1732; 27 Jun 1732
 Sumannaq, Karaeng [1] 1619; 10 Jul 1649; 10 Aug 1660; 21 Sep 1660; 18 Oct 1660; 9 Oct 1661; 23 Sep 1666
 Sumannaq, Karaeng [2] 2 Aug 1731; 25 Aug 1740; 17 Jun 1741
 Sunggu 29 Aug 1670
 Suriwaq, Karaeng 3 Mar 1675; 12 Jun 1677
 Sutting 10 Mar 1694
 Syafiuddin (Mappaingaq, Karaeng Lempangang) 7 Dec 1709; 18 Dec 1714; 1 Dec 1722; 2 Mar 1725; 6 Jul 1725; 3 Nov 1725; 20 Feb 1727; 15 Jun 1733; 25 Oct 1736; 1 Nov 1740; 3 Oct 1742; 28 May 1742; 14 Mar 1746; 19 Mar 1746; 3 Sep 1746; 8 Jan 1747; 16 Feb 1747; 16 Oct 1747; 15 Aug 1748; 13 Dec 1748; 3 Apr 1749; 22 Jul 1750; 26 Apr 1751; 25 Aug 1751
 Syarfuddin (Manngambu Jawa) 6 Jul 1725
 Syehu 31 Dec 1731; 19 Jun 1732; 18 Sep 1734; 7 Sep 1735; 15 Dec 1735; 5 Feb 1737; 9 Feb 1741; 31 Oct 1741; 2 Jan 1742; 24 Mar 1743; 8 Jan 1747; 3 Jul 1747; 27 Jan 1748; 20 Aug 1750; 29 Sep 1750
 Syoga 5 Feb 1684

 Taba 3 Oct 1731
 Tabaringang, Karaeng [1] Oct 1627
 Tabaringang, Karaeng [2] 29 Dec 1636
 Tabaringang, Karaeng [3] (Daeng Talarra) 17 Mar 1645; 22 Jan 1646; 3 Jun 1669
 Tabaringang, Karaeng [4] (Nafisah) 8 Feb 1706; 24 May 1718; 3 Jun 1718; 18 Jan 1721; 10 Oct 1732
 Tocoa, Daeng (Alimah) 27 Apr 1724; 22 Oct 1728
 Tadumai 13 Jul 1640
 Taduq, Daeng 19 Nov 1636
 Taenga, Tumamenang ri see Bontosunggu, Karaeng
 Tahira 18 Sep 1734
 Tahiriq 16 Jan 1675
 Taiji, Daeng [1] 28 Jan 1725
 Taiji, Daeng [2] 23 Oct 1726
 Taipa, Karaeng 31 Dec 1732
 Taipaya, Karaeng 12 Jun 1653
 Tajuuq (Karaeng Balaqsari) 16 Oct 1747; 16 May 1748; 16 Sep 1748; 13 Dec 1748
 Takenna, Daeng (Jaing) 12 Apr 1703; 10 Feb 1704
 Takka, Daeng 12 Aug 1622
 Takkikikiq 24 Mar 1682
 Takko, Kare 10 Dec 1674; 25 Jun 1721
 Takontu, Daeng 12 Jan 1749
 Takontu, Daengta Daeng (Fatimah, Karaeng Campagaya) 10 Sep 1659; 6 Apr 1673; 4 Aug 1674; 9 Oct 1674; 26 Apr 1675; 1 May 1675; 22 Apr 1678; 5 Dec 1681; 6 Jan 1683; 26 Dec 1683; 5 Nov 1719

- Talarra, Daeng [1] (Mene) 22 Oct 1673
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 Talarra, Daeng [3] (Jaleka) 22 Dec 1720; 1 May 1731
 Talarra, Daengta Daeng (Makku) 23 Mar 1667; 26 Nov 1669; 16 Apr 1670; 3 Jul 1670; 13 Aug 1671
 Talarra, Daengta Daeng 10 Nov 1727
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 Talebang, Daeng 21 Feb 1674; 15 Jan 1675; 2 Feb 1678
 Talebang, Daengta Daeng 24 Jun 1674; 15 Nov 1674; 17 Sep 1717
 Talele, Daeng [1] 29 Mar 1670; 22 Aug 1710
 Talele, Daeng [2] 21 Dec 1674; 16 Jan 1675; 17 Jan 1675
 Talele, Daeng [3] (Masiq) 10 Aug 1741
 Talele, Daengta Daeng [1] 24 Jul 1718; 28 Jan 1725
 Talele, Daengta Daeng [2] 22 Jun 1725
 Talesang, Daeng (Coce) 28 Jan 1706; 5 Jul 1707
 Taliwang, Karaeng 14 Jul 1693
 Tallampuang Suluka, Karaeng 5 Oct 1729
 Tallampuang, Karaeng 7 Apr 1715; 1 Sep 1716
 Talloka, Gallarrang [1] (Kare Tulusuq) 19 Jul 1711
 Talloka, Gallarrang [2] (Biqduq) 10 Apr 1715
 Taloqmoq, Daeng 1 Mar 1674
 Taluqmuq 8 Mar 1723
 Tamalaqba, Karaeng 20 Jun 1668
 Tamalingu, Karaeng (Punngaq) 19 Feb 1672; 27 Sep 1676; 13 Jul 1681
 Tamamangung, Gallarrang 29 Nov 1750
 Tamami, Daeng [1] 8 Aug 1715
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 Tamammempo 14 May 1631; 14 Jan 1632
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 Tamasongoq, Karaeng [1] (Manguqrangi) 1627; 31 Aug 1646; 5 Apr 1648; 21 Oct 1649; 6 Jan 1649; 17 Jun 1650; 7 Jan 1654; 20 Dec 1659; 5 Jan 1672
 Tamasongoq, Karaeng [2] (Sultan Zainuddin, Tumamenang ri Matoanging, Makkaraeng) 26 Dec 1722; 11 Dec 1732; 18 Nov 1740; 27 Jan 1748
 Tamemang, Daeng (Maqminasa) 26 Nov 1674; 12 Feb 1679
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 Tamemang, Daengta Daeng 7 Apr 1702; 1 Oct 1702; 8 Sep 1703
 Tammattuq, Karaeng 12 Dec 1675
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- Tana-Tana, Karaeng (Fatimah) 21 Apr 1673; 22 Dec 1674; 5 Aug 1688; 28 Aug 1699;
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- Tangallaq, Karaeng [1] (Sitti Maradiah) 12 Dec 1615; 30 Mar 1631; 3 Nov 1631; 31
Oct 1642; 25 Feb 1649; 2 Feb 1655; 7 Sep 1655; 12 Feb 1657; 28 May 1661
- Tangallaq, Karaeng [2] (Sitti Arifah Tanripadaq) 24 Sep 1711; 29 Nov 1723; 17 Sep
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- Taniciniq, Daeng 4 Nov 1638; 28 Sep 1639; 23 Sep 1666
- Tanipaccoq 11 Jul 1681
- Taniq 25 Jun 1631; 1 Aug 1670; 23 Mar 1672; 16 Sep 1672; 25 May 1673; 28 Aug
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- Tanisanga, Karaeng 29 Jun 1684
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18 Nov 1730
- Tapallaq, Daengta Daeng 17 Jul 1724
- Tappaq 10 Jan 1729; 14 Sep 1732
- Tappaq, Daeng 5 Jan 1672
- Tappaq, Karaeng 15 Jul 1645
- Tappaq, Kare 17 Feb 1725
- Taqbi Sattu 24 Feb 1705
- Taqbiq Jawa 16 Aug 1698
- Taqduq, Daengta Daeng 22 Aug 1637
- Taqgalaq, Kare [1] 4 Dec 1705
- Taqgalaq, Kare [2] (Parambang) 13 Feb 1706
- Tarawe 15 Dec 1712
- Taruq, Karaeng [1] 25 Jun 1704
- Taruq, Karaeng [2] 31 Mar 1705; 18 Jun 1715; 5 Mar 1718; 24 Jul 1718; 30 Jul 1722
- Taruq, Karaeng [3] 26 Jan 1740
- Tasami, Daeng (Takkiq) 22 May 1701; 1 Apr 1705; 22 Apr 1705; 5 Sep 1705; 25 Dec
1709; 12 Sep 1716; 20 Jan 1717; 10 Nov 1723
- Tasanning, Daeng [1] (Taloq) 28 Sep 1717
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- Thahirah 11 Mar 1730
- Tija 3 Feb 1645; 15 Jun 1646; 5 Jun 1653
- Tinangga 15 Feb 1674
- Tipa 6 Oct 1725

- Tippa 20 Nov 1751
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 Tuang ri Dima (Shaykh Umar Bamahsuna Rahmahtullah) 13 Feb 1637; 22 Mar 1684; 21 Apr 1684; 2 Apr 1688; 8 May 1694; 11 Jan 1724
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- Tumammo, Daengta Daeng 10 Oct 1702
- Tumaqdanggang, Karaeng 14 Mar 1671; 19 Oct 1671
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- Tunijalloq 1545, 1590
- Ujung Pandang, Karaeng 7 Apr 1665; 26 Dec 1672
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Glossary

anaq buraqne	a term applied to sons of nobles, it may have referred to a distinct group of young warriors
anaq karaeng	a term applied to refer to noble offspring
anrong guru	leader/teacher; a common term for a chief of a community or religious authority, it was also the title given to the one in charge of the <i>tumakkajannang</i>
ata mateqne	a group or class of people translated as ‘favored servants,’ they were often entrusted with important tasks
ata ri kale	this term is translated as ‘bound followers’ and describes a group or class of people. It literally means ‘personal slaves’ but does not carry the same connotations of ownership and powerlessness that this translation implies
ata	a group or class of people translated as ‘slave’
ballaq lompoa	meaning ‘great house,’ this refers to a ruler’s home and is used as a proper name for the Gowa royal palace
bembeng kaqdoq	a group or class of people translated as ‘servants’
bilang tau	a general term describing commoners translated as ‘people’
dacing	a kind of portable scale with two arms of unequal length separating fixed and moveable weights
daeng	a title distinguishing nobles from commoners, usually chosen to reflect a physical or mental characteristic of the person named
gallarrang	a title of local rulers beneath the level of karaeng
gantang	a unit of measurement equal to 20 katti, or 1/20th of a pikul
jangang-jangang	the oldest Makassarese script
kali	the chief Islamic official in the land and religious advisor to the ruler
kalompoang	meaning ‘greatness,’ it denotes sacred objects or regalia possessed by many Makassarese <i>paqrasangang</i>
karaeng	a title granted to high-ranking nobles, usually but not always based on the toponym of a <i>paqrasangang</i> which became the appanage of the title-holder
koyang	a unit of measurement. Cense notes (1979: 338) that in Makassar a ‘small koyang’ (<i>koyang caqdi</i>) was equal to thirty pikul (1 pikul equaled approximately 60 kg), and a ‘large koyang’ (<i>koyang lompo</i>) was equal to one hundred pikul, implying that a ‘regular’ koyang would be equal to sixty-five or so pikul

laqlang sipue	literally meaning 'half-umbrellas,' this refers to a sunshade made from lontar palm leaves that was held above the heads of rulers as a mark of their loftiness
lontaraq	this term is used in several different senses, but in this work usually refers to a physical manuscript (as they were originally written on lontar palm leaves)
lontaraq beru	meaning 'new lontar', it refers to the most common Makassarese script
lontaraq bilang	meaning 'counting manuscript', a genre of Makassarese writing. A court record of important events, dated and in chronological order
pajama	a group or class of people translated as 'laborers'
pakaiq	this term refers to a slave of the lowest rank, translated as 'thrall' to distinguish it from the more common word for 'slave' (<i>ata</i>)
paqrasangang	settlement, village, community, polity, kampung
patturioloang	a genre of Makassarese writing. Literally 'that which is about the ancestors', it is usually translated as 'chronicle'
patung	a unit of measurement equal to a <i>gantang</i> or 20 katti
rapang	a genre of Makassarese writing containing advice, guidelines, and declarations from renown ancestors
raqba bate	like <i>saqbu kati</i> , a fine imposed by the victor on the vanquished
sabannaraq	a title meaning 'harbourmaster'
saqbu katti	a substantial fine imposed by the victor on the vanquished, usually paid in gold
serang	Makassarese written in Arabic script
Sudanga	the sacred regalia-sword of Lakipadada given to the rulers of Gowa
taikang	a balance with two equal scales
Tallumbocco	an alliance formed by Boné, Wajoq, and Soppéng in an effort to withstand Gowa's rising power in the sixteenth century
Tanisamaang	the sacred golden chain the <i>tumanurung</i> gave to her son and later rulers of Gowa
tau taballaq	a group or class of people translated as 'household followers'
timbaq sareong	a war indemnity or payment, but comprised of various valuables instead of gold
tumabicarabutta	chief advisor and minister of Gowa known as 'The Speaker of the Land'
tumailalang	title of ministers that acted as intermediaries within Gowa
tumakkajannang	a term or title describing those charged with supervising others who had specific tasks
tumalompo	a term used to refer to important persons
tumanurung	literally 'the person who descended', it refers to a heavenly ancestor of pure white blood who was recognized and installed as the first ruler of a new kingdom by the people of the land

Reign lists for the rulers of Gowa and Talloq

Rulers of Gowa to 1753

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1 | Tumanurung | early 14th century |
| 2 | Tumassalangga Baraya (son) | |
| 3 | I Puang Lowe Lembang (son) | |
| 4 | Tuniatabanri (son) | |
| 5 | Karampang ri Gowa (son) | |
| 6 | Tunatangkalopi (son) | |
| 7 | Batara Gowa (son) | |
| | Tumamenang ri Paralakenna | |
| 8 | Tunijalloq ri Passukkiq (son) | late 15th century to late 1510 or early 1511 |
| 9 | Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna (son) | ruled late 1510 or early 1511 to late 1546 |
| | Karaeng Manngutungi, Gallarrang Loaya | |
| 10 | Tunipalangga (son) | ruled late 1546 to early 1565 |
| | Karaeng Lakiung | lived 1511 to 1565 |
| 11 | Tunibatta (brother) | ruled 40 days in 1565 |
| | Karaeng Dataq | lived 1517 to 1565 |
| 12 | Tunijalloq (son) | ruled 1565 to 1590 |
| | Karaeng Bontolangkasaq | lived 1545 to late 1590 |
| 13 | Tunipasuluq (son) | ruled late 1590 to early 1593 (deposed) |
| | Karaeng Bontolangkasaq | lived 1575 to 5 July 1617 |
| 14 | Tumamenang ri Gaukanna (brother) | ruled 1593 to 15 June 1639 |
| | Sultan Alau'ddin | lived 1586 to 15 June 1639 |
| 15 | Tumamenang ri Papambatuna (son) | ruled 1639 to 5 Nov 1653 |
| | Sultan Malikussaid (Muhammad Said) | lived 11 Dec 1607 to 5 Nov 1653 |
| | Karaeng Ujung, Karaeng Lakiung | |
| 16 | Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana (son) | ruled 1653 to 17 June 1669 (abdicated) |
| | Sultan Hasanuddin | lived 12 Jan 1631 to 12 June 1670 |
| | Karaeng Bontomangape | |
| 17 | Tumammaliang ri Alluq (son) | ruled 29 June 1669 to 7 May 1674 |
| | Sultan Amir Hamzah | lived 31 Mar 1656 to 7 May 1674 |
| 18 | Tumatea ri Jakattaraq (brother) | ruled 3 Oct 1674 to 27 July 1677 |
| | Sultan Muhammad Ali, Karaeng Bisei | (deposed) |
| | | lived 29 Nov 1654 to 15 Mar 1681 |

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|----|--|--|
| 19 | Tumamenang ri Lakiung (brother)
Sultan Abdul Jalil, Karaeng Sanrabone | ruled 27 July 1677 to 17 Sept 1709
lived 18 Aug 1652 to 17 Sept 1709 |
| 20 | Tumamenang ri Sombaopu (grandson)
Sultan Ismail, Karaeng Anaq Moncong | ruled 21 Sept 1709 to 24 Aug 1712
(deposed)
lived 18 Jan 1690 to 1 Apr 1724 |
| 21 | Tumamenang ri Pasiq (son of T11)
Karaeng Kanjilo
Sultan Sirajuddin, Tumamaliang
ri Talloq | ruled 31 Aug 1712 to 5 Nov 1735
(abdicated)
lived 17 Nov 1687 to 22 Jan 1739 |
| 22 | Tumamenang ri Gowa
(grandson of G21, son of T14)
Sultan Abdul Khair Almansyur
I Mallawanggauq | ruled 5 Nov 1735 to 28 July 1742

lived 12 Feb 1727 to 28 July 1742 |
| 23 | Karaeng Bontolangkasaq
lived 14 Mar 1694 to 8 Sept 1739 | ruled 10 April 1739 to 8 Sept 1739 |
| 24 | Tumamenang ri Kalabiranna
(brother of G22)
Sultan Abdul Kudus | ruled 28 July 1742 to 1753

lived Dec 1733 to 1753 |

Rulers of Talloq to 1760

- | | | |
|----|---|--|
| 1 | Karaeng Lowe ri Sero (son of G6) | mid to late 15th century |
| 2 | Tunilabu ri Suriwa (son) | late 15th century to 1500s |
| 3 | Tunipasuruq, Karaeng ri Passiq (son) | 1500s to 1540 or 1543 |
| 4 | Tumenanga ri Makkoayang (son)
Karaeng Pattingalloang | ruled 1540 or 1543 to 1576
lived 1520 to 1576 |
| 5 | Karaeng Bainea (daughter)
Karaeng Pattingalloang | late 1576 to 1590 |
| 6 | Tunipasuluq (son) | late 1590 to early 1593 |
| 7 | Karaeng Matoaya (son of T4)
Sultan Abdullah, Tumamenang
ri Agamana
Karaeng Kanjilo, Karaeng Segeri | ruled 1593 to 1623 (advised son to 1636)
lived 1573 to 1636 |
| 8 | Karaeng Kanjilo (son)
Sultan Mudhaffar
Tumammaliang ri Timoroq | ruled 1623 to 18 May 1641
lived 1598 to 18 May 1641 |
| 9 | Karaeng Pattingalloang (brother)
Sultan Mahmud
Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng | ruled 1641 to 15 Sept 1654
lived Aug 1600 to 15 Sept 1654 |
| 10 | Tumamenang ri Lampana (son of T8)
Sultan Harrunarysid | ruled 1654 to 16 June 1673
lived 3 Nov 1640 to 16 June 1673 |
| 11 | Tumamenang ri Passiringanna (son)
Sultan Abdul Kadir | ruled 1673 to 8 Jan 1709
lived 7 Jan 1666 to 8 Jan 1709 |
| 12 | Tumamenang ri Pasiq, Karaeng
Kanjilo (son)
Sultan Sirajuddin, Tumamaliang | ruled 12 Aug 1709 to 1714

ruled 25 Apr 1729 to 1739 |

- | | | |
|----|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| | ri Talloq | lived 17 Nov 1687 to 22 Jan 1739 |
| 13 | Tumamenang ri Jawaya (son) | ruled 1714 to 24 Apr 1729 |
| | Sultan Najamuddin | lived 23 Dec 1708 to 24 Apr 1729 |
| 14 | Karaeng Lempangang (brother) | ruled 1739 to 1760 |
| | Syafiuddin | lived 7 Dec 1709 to 1760 |

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