Chapter One

1. Philological Introduction

In Chapter One some words used in a restricted sense are defined and the problem of identifying a 'work' in the Bugis manuscript tradition is noted. Bugis and Makasar manuscript sources for the study of pre-Islamic South Sulawesi are described and sources on the Bugis language are discussed. The Bugis-Makasar script is introduced and questions as to its origin and development are briefly examined: the semantic choice offered by the script and problems of orthography are then discussed. The choice of a diplomatic edition is defended and the systems of transcription into Roman script are described and demonstrated

1.1 Terminology

A number of words used in a restricted sense are defined in this section. The use of these words is consistent throughout the book. The first of these words, and the most difficult to define, is 'work'. As Macknight has observed, one of the fundamental problems faced by a prospective editor working in a manuscript rather than a printed tradition is that of defining the appropriate unit on which to concentrate his efforts. According to Macknight, this difficulty arises in particular with the Bugis manuscript tradition, because our concern for the 'work' as the basic conceptual unit of transmission does not seem to have been shared to the same degree by the Bugis scribes, whose unit of reference was rather the codex (see page 5) into which they copied what interested them (Macknight 1984:103,111).

In his discussion of the Balinese Kidung Panji Malat Rasmi, Vickers draws for his definition of 'text' and 'work' on the ideas of the French structuralist Roland Barthes:

> In Barthes' terms, any manuscript of the <u>Malat</u> would correspond to a 'work', the <u>Malat</u> in all its possible forms to the 'Text' (Vickers 1984:75).

Observing that the Balinese notion of the Malat goes beyond that of the written form, Vickers includes within his notion of 'text' a number of non-written forms of representation in which the themes of the written Malat may be found: dance-drama performances, known as *gambuh*, the shadow-puppet-theatre equivalents called *wayang gambuh*, and painted works. According to Vickers, individual expressions of a Malat theme in any of these artistic categories should be regarded as 'works' which are part of 'the Textual process' (ibid., p. 75). In Barthes' words:

> it is the work which is the imaginary tail of the Text; or again, the Text is experienced only in an activity of production (Barthes 1977:157).

Vickers' definition seems to fit the evidence of the Malat; and, through the questions that arise from it (such as those of the relationships between the written and the dramatic or painted forms and how an 'author' working in one form draws upon others), opens the way for new enquiries. Could such a definition be applied also to the sources examined in this book? While these exist only in the form of written documents, there is indeed evidence that in a number of cases they derive in part from oral traditions. In general, though, I do not think Vicker's definition of 'work' and 'text' is a useful one for Bugis historical sources.

The reason for this lies in the fundamental difference between the nature of the romance, such as the Malat, or epic, such as the Bugis I La Galigo, and that of the genealogies and chronicles. The Malat and the I La Galigo belong to literary categories in which there was an evident degree of creativity in the 'copying' of an episode, the episode being the basic unit of both traditions. This creative freedom makes it difficult, if not impossible, to determine the relationships between various versions of the same episodes. Each version of an episode of the Malat or I La Galigo is best regarded as a new work, albeit one which draws heavily on an established tradition (in Vickers' terminology, the 'text'). It is difficult, if not impossible, to speak of one Malat as being more 'authentic' than any other, in that all are equally part of the Malat tradition, there being no 'original' Malat to which all later Malats aspired.[1] For such a genre, the central

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[1] Failure on the part of earlier generations of scholars to grasp the nature of similar literary works in several parts of the archipelago led to the application of unsound philological procedures: see section 1.4.

object of study should be the tradition itself, rather than the recovery of an imaginary original.[2]

However, in the case of each of the Bugis works examined in this book, their manuscript versions can be shown, by virtue of their close structural and linguistic similarity, to have descended from a single ancestor.(This is a slight simplification, but the exceptions do not seriously challenge this conclusion.) Each version of a work can be shown to be more or less faithful than other versions to the ancestor from which it is descended (in philological terminology, the *archetype*). There is no evidence of creativity involved in the copying of such works; copyists aimed simply at reproducing those parts of an exemplar that interested them.[3] This is not to say that an experienced Bugis scribe did not recognize some 'units' among the material he copied, nor that he would not have recognized (for example) different versions of the Chronicle of Boné as having a great deal in common (cf. Macknight 1984:108).

We are now able to re-introduce the idea of authenticity, in the form of authorial creativity. Despite drawing on earlier sources, each of the works presented in Chapter Two is clearly the product of one individual, who arranged the material in its present form. In doing so, the author (compiler or redactor is in many ways a better term) produced a work with a specific social function, a function that was in many cases unconnected with the sources used. For instance, the author of the Royal Genealogy of Cina (section 2.4) used a legend from Luwuq and a genealogy from the western Cénrana region to provide evidence of the ascriptive status of a seventeenth-century ruler of Boné, while the author of the eighteenth-century Attoriolonna Soppéng (section 2.5) used a number of earlier oral traditions to produce a work supporting the authority of the ruler of Soppéng over that of his chiefs.

Work is therefore defined here as 'an original composition', a new and unique 'act of putting together' which has come down to us in one or more manuscripts. None of these fully represents the work that it contains, though in most cases it is possible to learn more about the work by a careful comparison of its manuscripts.[4] It must be frankly admitted that our recognition of an 'act of putting together' is, in the end, arbitrary. In theory, too, a problem remains as to

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[2] This conclusion is reached independently by Behrend (1987) in his study of the Javanese poem Jatiswara.

[3] Selective copying seems to have applied not just at the level of the codex, but also to the unit copied, particularly in the case of longer works, such as the Chronicle of Boné. Evidence for selective copying at both levels is presented in Chapter Two.

[4] This definition partly encompasses Vickers' use of the word, in that each version of the Malat (or La Galigo) is in a sense a new and original composition. For Vickers' 'text' I use the word 'tradition', a word that I feel better describes the mental universe within which such works are created.

just how much difference or creativity is required to constitute a new act of putting together. (In the terminology defined below, as to how much substantial variation is required for a new work.) There is no completely satisfactory answer to this question and the decision in the end is one for the editor's judgment. In practice there is usually little difficulty, and in those few cases where there is, there is no alternative to spelling out what is involved in the particular case.

The rest of the terms are easier to define. *Text* is used in its general sense to refer to a body of writing.[5] *Version* is an abbreviation for manuscript version. Versions may differ in their degree of variation, ranging from minor stylistic variation (see below) to major redaction (i.e. recasting, reformulation), but always retain the theme, structure and generally much of the language of the work as found in other versions. *Manuscript* (or MS.) refers simply to the paper on which a version of a work is written and is used mainly to indicate that the pages of a codex are being referred to, as in 'MS. page 11'. *Variation* is the difference between two or more versions of a work. It is defined as occurring in two forms. The first of these is *stylistic variation*; that is, variation in style produced by the re-arrangement, omission or substitution of elements, generally at the level of the complex or word (cf. Sirk 1983:75-78), in such a way as not to change the informational content. (For example, both **naianapa** and **ianaé** can be translated: 'Here is / This concerns'.) *Substantial variation* is variation that adds to or alters the information conveyed by a particular version. It is the more important of the two forms, in that a substantial variant can in most cases be used to establish the relationships between a set of related manuscripts.[6]

1.2 Resources for the Study of Early South Sulawesi

1.2.1 Bugis Sources

The Bugis works referred to in this thesis are from published and unpublished sources. All but one of the published sources consists of a transcription in Latin script of a Bugis or Makasar historical work accompanied by a translation into Indonesian, Dutch or English, and (in most cases) an introduction.[7]

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[5] Observant readers will have noticed that the subtitle of this thesis should read 'Ten Bugis Works', (or 'Thirteen Bugis Texts'). In the title and the preface, 'text' is used in its fashionably ambiguous sense to cover (in my terms) work and text.

[6] Variation in Bugis manuscripts was later examined by Macknight and Caldwell (2001). The division into stylistic and substantial variation is their own: indicative errors (*leitfehler*), which enable the construction of a stemma (Maas 1958:42), are almost always substantial in Bugis manuscripts.

[7] The Chronicle of Tanété (Niemann 1883) uses the Bugis-Makasar script and is without translation. Some other works were published in Bugis-Makasar script by Matthes in the

Unpublished sources are for the most part found in codices (singular codex), bound folios of imported European paper in the form of a book. Each contains a single work or a number of works. Codices held in the major European and Indonesian collections are for the most part copies made under the instigation and direction of Europeans of other codices borrowed for the purpose. Although no systematic check has been made, there seems no reason to suspect these to be anything other than reasonably faithful copies of the originals, most of which are probably now lost (Macknight 1984:105).

A typical codex contains a disparate miscellany of items. Macknight cites a codex of two hundred and fifty-four pages that contains one hundred and eighty-three items, although the number is usually much less. While some degree of commonality can be detected among the contents of many codices, any title attached to a codex is likely to be misleadingly incomplete or uselessly general. The exception is the case of a codex that contains a single item, but there is nothing to suggest that this represents anything more significant than a lack of space, the length of the item, or failure to complete the codex (Macknight 1984:105-106).

Bugis scholars divide codices into two types. Those called sureq,[8] which contain episodes from the La Galigo,[9] are sharply divided off from codices called lontaraq, which contain items such as calendars, diaries, genealogies, and religious and historical works.[10] Abidin states that the earliest Bugis writing (in the Bugis-Makasar script?) was called **sureq** (writing) but offers no evidence (Abidin 1971:162). **Sureq** is an Arabic-Malay loan word (Wilkinson 1901-1902:418), while **lontaraq** is evidently derived from Javanese lontar (writing, document), being a transposition of *rontal* (leaf of the Tal tree). It therefore seems unlikely that this important division dates back earlier than the sixteenth century.

Makasar and Bugis Chrestomathies; it is more convenient here to refer to them in their manuscript versions or published romanized transcriptions.

[8] The word sureq may, however, be used within a non-**sureq** works to introduce its subject, for example in the words **iana sureq poadaadaéngngi**. 'This is the writing that tells of (such and such a thing)'.

[9] The position of other forms of poetry is uncertain, but they should probably be included in the **sureq** category.

[10] A concise introduction to Bugis historical literature is found in Cense 1951 and Pelras (1985). Tol (2000) observes that the **sureq / lontaraq** division corresponds closely to the 'soothing' / 'useful' categories proposed as the two dominant functions operating in Malay texts by Koster and Maier (1985). Thus sureq may be described as texts which 'were primarily enjoyed for their playful rhetorics; for their play on sounds, rhythm and rhyme, for the elegance of their comparisons, and for their amplifications and elaborations', while **lontaraq** correspond to 'those texts which served directly to uphold the legal and political order [... and] provide standards of conduct and function as sources of relevant knowledge' (ibid., p. 445).

All the works set out in Chapter Two are found in **lontaraq** codices. Items within codices are generally distinguished by a number of devices listed by Macknight (1984:106-7). Despite these devices, the end of one work and the beginning of another is not always clear, particularly in the case of genealogies, which may be divided in a number of places by the Arabic loan-word *tammat* (end), written in the Arabic script.

Unpublished sources are referred to by a combination of letters and numbers denoting the collection or library in which they are held. These are, by and large, the designations by which the manuscripts are known in the libraries to which they belong. For example:

CCM 16

refers to reel 16 of the 24 microfilm reels of the manuscripts of the Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara (South and Southeast Sulawesi Cultural Institute) and other material photographed by Dr. C. C. Macknight in Ujung Pandang between 1972 and 1978. I have consulted the microfilms in the library of the Australian National University.

KITLV Or. 272

refers to manuscript 272 in the Oriental collection of the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology), Leiden.

Leid Or. 6163

refers to manuscript 6163 in the Eastern Manuscript Collection of the library of the University of Leiden.

MAK 188

refers to manuscript 188 (according to the old catalogue) in the Bugis and Makasar manuscript collection of the Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara, Ujung Pandang.[11]

LAL 1985

refers to the 'Lontarak Akkarungeng Luwuk 1985', a manuscript of that name held in the Bidang Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Kompleks Benteng, Ujung Pandang.

NBG 99

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[11] These have since been re-catalogued twice. As far as I am aware, no record was kept of the previous catalogue numbers during the most recent re-cataloguing, making it difficult to identify the manuscripts from the numbers given here. The MAK numbers are used by Noorduyn (1955) and in the microfilm copies of these manuscripts in the library of the Australian National University and the library of the State University of Leiden.

refers to manuscript 99 in the Bugis and Makasar manuscript collection of the Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap (Dutch Bible Society) (Matthes 1875, 1881), currently held in the library of the University of Leiden.

Salim 1
refers to a manuscript owned by Drs. Muhammad Salim in Ujung Pandang. A copy of this manuscript is held in the library of the Australian National University.

Salim 2
refers to a manuscript owned by Drs. Salim containing a number of South Sulawesi genealogies drawn up in the form of trees. A copy of this manuscript is held in the library of the Australian National University.

VT 136
refers to manuscript 136 in the *Verschillende talen* (Miscellaneous Languages) collection of the Museum Nasional (National Museum), Jakarta.

YKSST 3058
refers to manuscript 3058 (according to the present catalogue) of the Bugis and Makasar manuscripts in the Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara, Ujung Pandang.

The page and line numbers of a manuscript may also be given. For example:

MAK 188:5.10
refers to page 5, line 10 of manuscript MAK 188.

In the case of the material photographed by Macknight, most microfilm reels contain several items. The number of the item referred to is given following the reel number. For example:

CCM 16/4
refers to item 4 in reel 16.

1.2.2 European and Other Indonesian Languages

Sources written in European and Indonesian languages (other than Bugis and Makasar) are mostly in published form and are referred to in the conventional way.

1.2.3 Dictionaries

There are to date just two published dictionaries of the Bugis language. One of these, the *Kamus Bugis-Indonesia* (Said 1977), is a dictionary of modern spoken Bugis with Indonesian translations. The editor, Muhammad Said, is himself a Bugis, and his dictionary would have been a valuable source for the correct orthography of Bugis words were it not for the large number of typographical errors it contains. These make the dictionary unreliable other than as a source of the meanings of entries and their use in Bugis sentences.

The earlier dictionary, and by far the superior, is Matthes' *Boegineesche-Hollandsch Woordenboek* of 1874, hereafter abbreviated *Woordenboek*). This was based on a study of more than twenty years by Matthes of the Bugis language and draws upon numerous manuscript sources, some of which Matthes published in the *Boeginesche Chrestomathie* (Matthes 1864, 1872a and 1872b).

By and large, the arrangement of entries in Matthes' dictionary is to incorporate words having the same root in one entry. This makes using the dictionary difficult without an knowledge of Bugis grammar, due largely to the morphophonemic changes common to morpheme junctions (cf. Noorduyn 1955:11). Where the reader is referred to an entry in the *Woordenboek* I have therefore provided the number of the page on which it may be found. While Matthes' orthography of Bugis words is not always reliable, particularly in the case of words containing final glottal stops, the *Woordenboek* remains a valuable source for the study of manuscript Bugis, and contains numerous examples of the use of words in sentences as well as ethnographic commentaries. The supplement to the *Woordenboek* (Matthes 1881) is essentially an extended list of addenda and errata, and contains little of importance concerning the language of traditional Bugis literature (Sirk 1983:27).

Matthes had little published information on which to base his dictionary. The only previous guide of any substance to what was, in the nineteenth century, a widely spoken language, was the word list compiled by the Danish missionary L. G. Thomsen in Singapore in 1833.[12] Matthes was, however, able to draw on the knowledge of amateur Bugis linguists and scholars, who in his day were mostly elderly women of aristocratic origin. Chief among his informants was his friend Arung Pancana, Colliqpujié a daughter of the ruler of the little west-coast

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[12] *A vocabulary of the English, Bugis and Malay languages* (Mission Press, Singapore 1833). This was based on local sources and provides English translations for its 2000-odd Bugis and Malay entries arranged in parallel columns. It is completely superseded by the *Woordenboek*. For further information on Thomsen and the publications of the Mission Press, see Noorduyn 1957.

kingdom of Tanété.[13] Two other informants were Arung Mandallé, the ex-Regent of Kékéang, and his father, Daéng Mémangung (Swellengrebel 1974:150).

A word should be said here about Matthes' use of the terms 'Old Bugis' (abbreviated O.B.), 'Basa Bissu' ('Bissu[14] language', abbreviated B.B.) and 'La Galigo' (abbreviated La Gal), which I have included in footnote and textual references to the *Woordenboek*. These terms, which Matthes does not explain, have been examined in detail by Sirk, who has determined that the term 'Old Bugis' and 'Basa Bissu' are used in the *Woordenboek* to indicate 'spheres of functioning of lexical units', while references to literature, such as the I La Galigo, are rather 'to document words and expressions [. . .] rarely used in spoken language' (Sirk 1975:230,231). After examining some of the sources used by Matthes, Sirk concludes that:

> It may be supposed that abundant use of the B.B.-words was a characteristic feature of the 'inspired' speech of Bissus and other high-ranking persons who, no matter why, wanted to become similar to them. Quite naturally, it was not obligatory that such an inspired speech pursued a magic aim; that speech was possible in other situations too (ibid., p.234).

According to Sirk, 'Old Bugis' appears to be linked by a number of isoglosses with the languages of Central and Eastern Sulawesi, and by implication the Luwuq region, traditionally associated with the I La Galigo cycle. Indeed, 'Old Bugis' seems in some way to have originated from the La Galigo material. Sirk also notes that, at least in some situations, 'Old Bugis' and 'Basa Bissu' could be paired together to form compound words such as **tabumaloa** (from O.B. **tabu** 'food' and B.B. **maloa** 'many') (ibid., p.235).

1.3 The Bugis-Makasar Script

The Bugis writing system[15] has been used for several hundred years, both by the Bugis and the Makasar, and may, therefore, be called the Bugis-Makasar script. The script was widely used well into the twentieth century, not only to write the Bugis and Makasar languages, but also various other languages of Sulawesi, such

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[13] 'A widow of about forty years of age, a woman of genuine scholarship, who usually drafts all important correspondence for her father, and who understands not just the high language of Boné but who seems to be not unskillful in the old language of the I La Galigo, which is now quite obsolete' (*Reisverslag* dated October 1852, in Van den Brink 1943:172; cited in Swellengrebel 1974:150).

[14] **Bissu** are the transvestite ritual specialists associated with the pre-Islamic Bugis religion. Hamonic (1987) provides a detailed study of the Bissu and their rituals.

[15] The following description is based largely upon Sirk (1983:24-26) and Mills (1975:600-03).

as Mandar, Duri, Énrékang and Toraja, and also for Bima (Abidin 1971:159).[16] Today the Bugis and Makasar languages (and hence the script) are less commonly used as a means of written communication than is Indonesian, although the script is still taught to primary school children in Bugis-speaking areas of South Sulawesi; Grimes and Grimes (1987:27) have even seen the script being used by university students.

Like the majority of Indonesian scripts, the Bugis-Makasar script has its ultimate origin in an Indian model (Casparis 1975:67, Jensen 1970:397). There is, however, no evidence that the Bugis-Makasar script developed in a linear fashion from an introduced script, such as one of the so-called Old Javanese scripts, which developed in this way from an Indian model. While some similarity can be detected between certain Bugis and Old Javanese *aksara*, this could be accounted for by assuming the Bugis-Makasar script to have been invented by someone familiar with the principles and certain *aksara* of an Old Javanese script.[17]

The characteristic feature of these Indic scripts, of which there are about a dozen, is that they are syllabic, not alphabetic. Each symbol, or (Sanskrit) *aksara*, of which there are twenty three in Bugis, stands for a êt plus an 'inherent' vowel a; thus ∾ produces Ka, ∾ produces Pa, etc. (The frequency of the vowel a in Sanskrit exceeds that of all other vowels and the same may be true of all Indonesian languages.)[18] The value of the vowel may be altered by the addition of diacritics placed above, below, before or after the *aksara.* Thus ∾ (Pa) produces ∾̇ (Pi), ∾̖ (Pu), ⟨∾ (Pé), ∾ʌ (Po) and ∾̀ (Pĕ) The single exception is the *aksara* ∾, which produces the inherent vowel a without a preceding consonant.[19]

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[16] See however page 159, footnote 1, which states that 'the lontaraq of the raja of the Mandar, Duri, Énrékang and Sangallaq-Toradja regions were generally written in the Bugis language, as the royalty of these areas had genealogical ties to the Bugis aristocracy.' I have myself seen an early-twentieth-century version of a local chronicle written in the Mandar language in the Bugis-Makasar script that is in the possession of Dr. Darmawan in Ujung Pandang. Zollinger (1850, insert between pages 134 and 135) gives a table of the 'Bima alphabet', which is evidently based upon the 'Old Makasar' script (see page *∂* of this thesis), alongside an approximate rendition of the modern Bugis-Makasar script.

[17] Cf. the case of the invention of the Cherokee script and its relationship to the Latin script (Jensen 1970:241-243).

[18] One page of a randomly selected Bugis prose text (Matthes 1864:582) produces the following vowel counts: *a* 238, *i* 103, *u* 60, *é* 54, *o* 45, *e* 34. In percentage terms this translates as: *a* 44.6, *i* 19.3, *u* 11.2, *é* 10.1, *o* 8.4 and *e* 6.7.

[19] Sirk (1983:25) does not hold to ∾ be an independent vowel symbol since he considers it able to convey a pre-glottalized vowel (thus qa, a, etc.); Mills (1975:600) appears less certain, simply indicating the possibility with a question mark. As the glottal stop is never indicated in the Bugis-Makasar script, there being no way of representing it, the point seems a fine one.

1.3.1 Origin

The origin of the Bugis-Makasar script[20] and the date of the introduction of its prototype to South Sulawesi, has never been properly determined. Noorduyn has pointed out that the Indian origin of the script shows that the art of writing was known before the introduction of Islam in the early seventeenth century; for, had the Bugis or Makasar no system of writing at that time, they would surely have adopted the Jawi-Malay script (Noorduyn 1962:31).[21]

Noorduyn is cautious about suggesting a more precise date, restricting himself to the observation that the chronicles, while originating from a later date, are in large part concerned with the sixteenth century, their account of which may have been based on written documents dating back to those years (ibid., p.30). Scott (1984) presents important evidence that the pre-hispanic Philippine *baybayin* scripts are derived from a script from South Sulawesi, due to the inability of the *baybayin* scripts to express a final consonant:

> The Buginese, Makassarese and Mandar alphabets of Celebes (Sulawesi) to the south share this shortcoming with the Philippine alphabet, although it is a less serious handicap for the Bugis since their language only requires nasals or a glottal catch in this position. But the Sumatran *ka-ga-na* scripts use as many as 13 diacritical marks to express vowels, common consonantal endings like *n* and *ng*, and the equivalent of the *virama*,[22] and even several radical characters to represent consonant clusters in the middle of a word - like the *nd* in *landok.* The failure of the Philippine *baybayin* to have developed similar devices to meet its own phonetic needs, argues, like its limited distribution, for a comparatively recent introduction into the [Philippine] archipelago.

Scott concludes that:

> Considering the *baybayin*'s inability to express consonants at the end of syllables, its model was probably a script employed by a Sulawesi people like the Bugis whose language [unlike Tagalog] makes little use of final consonants (Scott 1984:61).

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[20] See section 3.2 for my own conclusions regarding the origin of the Bugis-Makasar script.

[21] Cf. Jones (1986:139), who argues that the adoption in the fourteenth century by the Malays of a modified form of the Arabic script suggests that they did not possess a previous written literary tradition.

[22] A small oblique stroke placed under a consonant to denote that it has no vowel inherent or otherwise pronounced after it (Monier-Williams 1899).

1.3.2 Development

Little is known of the development of the script subsequent to its introduction into South Sulawesi. The large majority of Bugis and Makasar) manuscripts are nineteenth-century copies; eighteenth-century manuscripts (these being for the most part late-eighteenth century) are few in number, and seventeenth-century ones are rare. Such a pattern reflects, in part, the late development of Western scholarly interest in South Sulawesi. Most of the manuscripts held in European collections are copies made for nineteenth-century scholars, such as Matthes, Ligtvoet, Niemann, Jonker and Schoemann.[23]

Crawfurd (1856:74) ascribes the invention of the script to the Bugis. Until the eighteenth century, however, there was at least one other script in use in South Sulawesi. This was the so-called 'Old Makasar' script, which there is reason to believe was once the usual Makasar script, which was gradually replaced by the relatively simpler Bugis(-Makasar) script. Several manuscripts written the Old Makasar script have survived (a brief list is given by Noorduyn (1985:22). Among these are three manuscripts which contain the chronicles of Goa and Talloq and the original Makasar-language version of the Treaty of Bungaya of 1669. (One page of this treaty is reproduced in Stapel 1939, vol. 3, p. 343).

A contract in Dutch and Makasar dated October 16, 1791, bears the signatures in this script of two Makasar Karaéng (a noble title), which shows that it was still used at the Makasar court, but not by the scribes who worked for the V.O.C., in the last decade of the eighteenth century (Noorduyn 1985:22).[24] If the present-day Bugis-Makasar script is of Bugis origin, then its general adoption could be due in part to the political domination of South Sulawesi by Boné from the late seventeenth century to the nineteenth century, as well as to its relative simplicity compared with the surviving examples of the 'Old Makasar' script.

Abidin states that the ancestor of the present script consisted of eighteen aksara. He cites the tradition that the aksara ∞ (Ha) was introduced by Abdul

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[23] As was mentioned in the preface, the Matthesstichting (now the Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara) was established in 1933 to further the copying of Bugis and Makasar manuscripts under the direction of Dr A. A. Cense. More than two hundred manuscripts were copied, many of them borrowed from important Bugis and Makasar families. Many of these copies are still held in the Yayasan, though a sizeable number was lost during the Japanese occupation and during the war of independence, and in the internal disturbances of the 1950s and 1960s.
Some of the manuscripts were microfilmed by Cense in the 1950s. The current collection of the YKSST was photographed by Dr C. C. Macknight in 1972 and 1974. The microfilms are now in the library of the Australian National University. Since 1972 more manuscripts have disappeared from the YKSST.
[24]Tables of the 'Old Makasar' script are found in Raffles (1817:clxxxviv), Mills (1975:603), Holle (1882) and Fachruddin (1983:33).

Maqmur, Chatib Tunggal, Dato ri Bandang, one of the seventeenth-century Islamic teachers credited with the introduction of Islam to South Sulawesi, to enable the transliteration into written Bugis of Arabic terms. Abidin also states that invention of the four pre-nasalized consonants, ⌢(NGKa) ⌢ (NRa) ⌣ (MPa) and ⌣ (Nya) is attributed to Colliqpujié, an eighteenth-century Arung Pancana (1971:162). Fachruddin identifies Colliqpujié with Matthes' friend and informant of that name who was also ruler of Pancana,[25] and throws doubt on such an origin of the pre-nasalized consonants by observing that none of the I La Galigo manuscripts copied by her, or under her direction, contain these characters (there are, on the other hand, numerous nineteenth-century manuscripts not copied by her which contain these characters) (Fachruddin 1983:41). Fachruddin points instead to the similarity between these four *aksara* and certain *aksara* of the South Sumatran scripts: he also observes that while the sound represented by the *aksara* ∞ (Ha) is rare in Bugis, it does occur in certain dialects, such as those of Sinjai and Soppéng, and that the shape of the *aksara ∂* bears a closer resemblance to the 'Kawi' *aksara ∂* (Ha) than it does to the Arabic *∂* (H).

The similarity between the Bugis script and those of Sumatra (and in particular the scripts of Lampong and Rejeng) has been frequently observed.[26] Fachruddin, however, sets out in a table the 'Kawi', Bugis(-Makasar) and 'Sumatran', aksara and concludes that the physical relationship between the Bugis-Makasar aksara and their 'Kawi' counterparts is as close, if not closer, than their Sumatran equivalents (ibid., p.33). On this evidence, it is as easy, if not easier, to imagine a common origin for both the Sumatran and Bugis-Makasar scripts from a Kawi script as it is to imagine a direct relationship between the latter two scripts. Fachruddin does not state the source of his 'Kawi' script, which bears a close similarity with Holle's examples of ninth-century Javanese scripts (Holle 1882): while this similarity is indeed striking, as is shown in Chapter Three, the evidence of the Bugis-Makasar sources points to a much later date for the development of writing. Considering the relative lateness of extant Bugis-Makasar manuscripts, none of which pre-date the late seventeenth century, the present writer agrees with Macknight (1986:227) that it is probably impossible to determine the relationship of the Sumatran, South Sulawesi and other apparently related scripts simply on the basis of the shapes of their *aksara*.[27]

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[25] It is difficult to know who is in error here: it is unlikely that there were two Arung Pancana with the same name within a single century.

[26] This observation can be traced back at least to Raffles, who wrote in his *History of Java* that 'The form of the character[s] is peculiar, and more nearly resembles that of the *Bátas* on Sumatra than any other we know of' (Raffles 1817:clxxxvii).

[27] See in this regard Thomas' review of Juan R. Francisco's *Philippine Palaeography* (*Philippine Journal of Linguistics*, Special Monograph Number 3; June 1973) in *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 14, pp. 153-162.

Little stylistic development in the script can be detected in the manuscripts examined in this book, most of which date from the mid-nineteenth century.[28] The linguistic values of the aksara are quite regular, though occasionally MP may be used to indicate geminate P. It seems possible that this usage has its origin in the historical transition MB > MP, MP > PP (Sirk 1983:16).

One text examined in this book does, however, contain three previously unrecorded *aksara.* MAK 100:136.1-137.12 uses ∂ for NG, ∂ for S and ∂ for B, the last of these being replaced, apparently at random, by the usual *aksara.* MAK 100 is a twentieth-century copy of a codex owned by the Opu Patunru Luwuq (the holder of a high office in the former kingdom of Luwuq).

Prior to the introduction of paper, possibly by the Malays in the sixteenth century,[29] writing seems to have been recorded on prepared leaves (Abidin 1971:161). Abidin reports that *lontaraq* written on leaves are today of great rarity, existing only among the Tolotang people:[30] according to Andi Makkaraka, 'an expert and collector of lontaraq', episodes of the I La Galigo written on rolled **akaq** leaves using an eighteen-character syllabary are still to be found in Luwuq (Abidin 1971:162, Makkaraka 1967:20).

On the basis of some rather slim evidence, it appears likely that prior to the general use of paper (which in remote areas may have been as late as the present century) the normal method of preserving written information was on strips of leaves, each containing a single line of writing. The strips were then stitched or glued end to end so that they could be read continuously. The attached strips appear to have been wound on to spools set in a wooden holder and read by winding the strip from one end of the holder to the other.[31]

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[28] See in this regard Kern (1939:581,1075), who states that some of the La Galigo manuscripts are noted for their extensive use of variant forms of symbols; also Ricklefs and Voorhoeve (1977:35-36), who record the same for two manuscripts of the La Galigo. Mention should also be made of the so-called cipher script that was sometimes employed in the nineteenth century to record **élong**, in which the independent symbols of the Bugis-Makasar script are replaced by Arabic figures (Sirk 1983:26).

[29] The history of paper in the Indonesian archipelago is as yet unstudied. It is possible that paper was introduced to South Sulawesi by the Portuguese, or perhaps via earlier contact with Java or the Malay world: there is evidence to suggest that by the fifteenth century the Malay court at Malacca was using imported paper to record Persian-inspired literary works (Jones 1986).

[30] The Tolotang people live in the Sidénréng area. They are believed to have originated in the village of Tatoni in Wajo. While they claim to be Muslim, they rarely observe Islamic practices (Abidin 1971:163, footnote 13). For a useful account of the Tolotang of Amparita see Maeda 1984.

[31] Examples of **lontaraq** constructed in the form of a continuous strip of leaves on which is etched a single line of writing, held in a wooden 'spool', are found in several collections. An illustration of such a **lontaraq** is shown in *Koleksi Pilihan Museum Nasional* (Selected Collections of the National Musuem, Jakarta) 1980, volume one, item no. 47 (no pagination, no author). For a discussion of the evidence for spooled **lontaraq** see Macknight 1986:222.

The earliest reference to this form of document occurs in the Chronicle of Boné. Having named two of the five children of the first ruler of Boné, the Chronicle adds, 'As for the [names of the] others, they remain in the chronicles which are rolled up' (Macknight and Mukhlis, in preparation). A more contemporary account is given in the *Adatrechtbundels* (1929:288) of a reading of a **lontaraq** from Kampung Mario in the regency of Camba in 1904, which was in the form of a 'roll of palm leaves attached to one another that were turned on a sort of mill'.

1.3.3 Orthography in Latin Transliteration

The Bugis-Makasar writing system, particularly in its seventeen-aksara form, is structurally deficient for the recording of the Bugis language (Noorduyn 1955:8). This structural deficiency can hardly result from an inability on the part of its users to provide sufficient symbols for the accurate representation of the Bugis language. The deficiency is, without reasonable doubt, a deliberate one. It will rapidly be discovered by anyone attempting to edit a Bugis work under the guidance of Bugis scholars that the script's structural deficiencies lie exactly in those areas where speakers of different regional dialects are most likely to differ, namely the occurrence of the glottal stop, the geminate consonants and pre-nasalization. What would be deemed an accurate transliteration by one Bugis colleague would be 'corrected' by another from a different dialect group in precisely these areas. This problem is largely avoided by the Bugis-Makasar script.[32]

In the Bugis-Makasar script, only the nucleus of a syllable and its preceding consonant or consonant-group is generally recorded. Thus for each syllable recorded one finds just the vowel forming the syllable summit and the preceding consonant, or consonant group, unless the vowel itself starts the syllable. A consonant that is not followed by a vowel cannot be represented by the script. Such a consonant only occurs in word-final position. Thus geminate consonants (which may be considered as consisting of paired vowel-final and vowel-initial consonants), glottal stops and the velar nasal ng where it occurs at the end of a word cannot be shown by the script. All three linguistic features are phonologically significant, being necessary for the understanding of the written Bugis word and for its accurate transcription. The inability of the Bugis script to differentiate between a number of phonetic possibilities, some ruled out by the phonotactic restrictions of the language and others by chance not occurring as actual words, means that the correct reading of a Bugis word has to be based on the context in which it occurs and with reference to independent linguistic

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[32] Of these three features the glottal stop poses the most problems. Geminates may sometimes be regarded as 'optional', while pre-nasalization is more rarely a matter for contention.

knowledge. In addition, while the script is capable of indicating the (semantically productive) pre-nasalization of Ka, Pa, Ra and Ca, in practice this is rarely done.

Mills states that, the phonologic incompleteness of the script makes the reading of texts, even for a Bugis or Makasar, extremely difficult, due to the constant choice of reading proffered by the script. I personally did not find this so. During fieldwork in South Sulawesi I was constantly impressed by the ease with which my Bugis-speaking colleagues (who were all scholars) could read material written in the Bugis-Makasar script. Such difficulties as they encountered were invariably those of archaic words or expressions, or textual corruption. The possibility of misreading what a text says is, however, a danger the non-Bugis-speaking translator has to learn to live with, especially when dealing with archaic material. In theory, every combination of two *aksara* offers a minimum of six and a maximum of nine lexical possibilities. Mills (1975:600) presents the example of the combination PaPa, which can represent the 'words' **papa**, **pappa**, **pampa**, **papaq**, **pappaq**, **pampaq**, **papang**, **pappang** and **pampang**. However, according to the data given in the *Woordenboek*, only the first, second and fifth of these occur as actual words, yielding a total of six semantic entries.

One difficulty faced when transcribing manuscript Bugis is that of dialectal variation. While the language of the majority of Bugis prose works 'displays certain features of a supradialectal standard [...] that seems to have emerged in the Bone region' (Sirk 1983:23), as was previously noted, the structural deficiencies of the Bugis-Makasar script mask important features of the spoken word, which have to be included in a transliterated transcription and must be derived either from a dictionary or an informant. These features – geminate consonants, pre-nasalization and the glottal stop – appear to vary considerably between different dialects.

Grimes and Grimes (1987:31-32) divide the Bugis language into eleven dialects, the distribution of which roughly corresponds to the traditional territories of the former Bugis kingdoms. Dialectal variation is significant: the shared lexical similarity of these dialects is as low as 82 per cent (ibid., figure 6).[33] It was my distinct impression that the glottal stop was less common in Soppéng than in Sidénréng-Rappang (Sidrap), and that Matthes' dictionary, like Said's, conforms more closely to the latter. I was unable to form any impression of the Boné dialect. While none of these regions can be said to offer a 'standard Bugis', in the same way that the Home Counties do for spoken and written English, or Paris

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[33] For a detailed discussion of Bugis dialects and subdialects, see Friberg and Friberg (1985): on page 39 the authors place the shared lexical similarity of Bugis dialects as low as 77 per cent. A table of words showing dialect variation between the eleven Bugis dialects is found in Grimes and Grimes (1987:98-199).

does for the French language, those of Boné (Palakka) and Soppéng are described by Grimes and Grimes as 'prestige dialects' (cf. Sirk, above).

One solution to the problem of the correct indication of geminate consonants, pre-nasalization and glottal stops, therefore, might be to use the dialect of Soppéng or Boné as a standard. Unfortunately, neither Matthes' nor Said's dictionary gives any consistent information as to the origin, or regional variation, of its entries, nor is it always possible to secure the help of a Boné or Soppéng-dialect-speaking scholar. I was, however, fortunate to obtain the help of Drs. Muhammad Salim from Alakuang in Sidrap, who read each of the transliterations and offered many suggestions, both regarding the correct transcription of the manuscript texts and their translation. Where Drs. Salim's reconstruction of the spoken word differs from that of Matthes, I have in most cases followed the reconstruction suggested by Drs. Salim.

During fieldwork in South Sulawesi, I also encountered a number of minor problems with the grammatical sketch of the Bugis language given by Noorduyn (1955). The first of these concerned the initial geminate consonants which Noorduyn says are a feature of certain verbal forms (Noorduyn 1955:15, section 8.3; 16-17, sections 9.2.1-9.3).[34] Theoretically, the presence of these geminate consonants is indicated by the contrast between verbal pairs such as **wawa/mpawa**, **réweq /nréweq**, which presume a historical infix *-um-, from which the vowel element has dropped (Noorduyn 1955:15, footnote 11: cf. Dahl 1976:119,128) However, neither I nor any of my Bugis colleagues were able to audibly detect the initial lengthening or pre-glottalizing of verbs as described by Noorduyn.[35] If, on occasion, a slight lengthening of the initial consonant was detected in a verbal form, as compared with a non-verbal word based on the same root, this could always be explained, so it seemed, by a shift in stress leading to a reduced emphasis on the initial part of the word, as in, for example, the words **tüdang** (to sit) and **tudängeng** (a seat). I therefore decided not to indicate initial geminate consonants.[36]

The second problem concerned the *aksara* ∾, which Noorduyn transcribes as NRa, but which is audibly pronounced *ndra*, at least among the Bugis in Soppéng and Sidénréng. As I do not have the linguistic skills to decide whether the *d* should be considered part of the pre-nasalization of *r*, or whether the *aksara* represents a cluster of three consonants before the vowel, in contradiction to

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[34] I gather from Noorduyn's remarks on page 10 that gemination and glottalization should be audible.

[35] Cf. Kaseng (1982) who does not indicate initial gemination.

[36] The two other phenomena described by Noorduyn in section 8.3 (**n** occurring before **r** and **mp** in place of **w**) were clearly audible and are indicated in the transcription.

Noorduyn's statement that this does not occur (Noorduyn 1955:12, section 4.3), I have continued to represent it as NRa.

The third problem concerned the forward and backward (i.e. progressive and regressive) assimilation of word endings (ibid., p. 11, sections 4 to 4.2). Noorduyn's examples in section 4.1 show that in all cases of morphophonemic changes, the assimilated consonant leads *either* to the gemination of the initial consonant of the following morpheme (the example he gives is Arung Tanété > ArutTanété) or to a change in the assimilated consonant (Arung Bélawa > AruqBélawa) *or* to a change in both the assimilated and initial consonant (Arung Boné > Arumponé). To put it simply, nothing is 'lost' in the process; each element is accounted for in the new construction. In reality this did not seem always to be the case. While there could be little doubt of the rule in cases of assimilated consonant change to a value different from that of the following initial consonant (e.g. Ujung Pandang > Ujumpandang), and assimilated and initial consonant change (e.g. Watang Boné > Watamponé), in certain instances where the assimilated consonant should have produced a gemination of the following initial consonant, none could be detected. One example of this was the name of the provincial capital Watang Soppéng, which was pronounced WataSoppéng rather than WatasSoppéng. It was also my impression that the second a in WataSoppéng had lengthened slightly. In the transcriptions, however, the system set out by Noorduyn is followed consistently.

1.4 Principles of Editing

1.4.1 The Diplomatic Edition

There has been a lively debate in recent years as to the type of text edition that editors of Malay and Javanese manuscripts should aim at producing. The debate, which must be of relevance to an editor of any Austronesian-language text, has centred around the suitability of the approaches and techniques of classical philology to the manuscript traditions of these two languages.

The core of the debate concerns the applicability of the text-critical method (alternatively referred to as 'textual criticism') to Malay and Javanese literature.[37]

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[37] The debate originated with a review by Kratz of Brakel's edition of the Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah (Kratz 1979). The merits of single-text editions of Malay works versus multi-text 'critical' editions were debated by Jones and Brakel (Jones 1980, Brakel 1980) and Kratz published an important article on the editing of Malay manuscripts in 1981. Both Kratz and Jones argue convincingly for the abandonment of the text-critical method in favour of single manuscript editions; both agree, however, that such an edition should also take into consideration the tradition in which such a manuscript is located. 'Hence in preparing his

Originally developed in the study of Biblical and ancient Greek and Latin manuscript traditions, the aim of the text-critical method is to produce, through a three-stage process, a text as close as possible to the manuscript from which a single manuscript, or a group of manuscripts, is believed to derive (Maas 1958:1). The text-critical method, and a number of important assumptions on which it rests, is summarized as follows.[38]

There are no surviving autograph manuscripts of the Greek and Roman classical writers, and no copies which have been collated with the originals. The manuscripts we possess are derived from the originals through an unknown number of intermediate copies and are consequently of questionable trustworthiness. The first task of an editor, therefore, is to establish, through a careful comparison of their differences, the family relationships of a work's manuscripts. In philological terminology, this stage of the process is called *recensio* (or recension). The relationships of a work's manuscripts are usually expressed diagrammatically, in the form of a family tree or *stemma codicum*. Using the stemma, a process of logical reasoning leads to the creation of a text resembling as closely as possible that of the manuscript from which the earliest detectable split in the transmission of the work occurred. This manuscript is called the *archetype.*[39]

Recensio rests on three assumptions: one is that each copy made since the primary split in the tradition reproduced one exemplar only and that no copyist has combined two or more exemplars to produce a 'contaminated' text (also referred to as 'horizontal transmission'); the second is that each copyist either consciously or unconsciously deviates from his exemplar in one or more places; the third is that the copyist tries to reproduce faithfully the text that he has before him.

The next stage of the process, *examinatio* (or examination), is to examine this text to determine whether it may be regarded as faithfully reproducing the original from which it is descended, which is rarely, if ever, the case. The third stage of the

edition, the editor will have to concentrate on the edition of one particular manuscript, transferring other, comparative material to his notes, or indicating his own editorial efforts in such a way as not to obscure the testimony of his guiding manuscript as a witness to its own time and place' (Kratz 1981:238). For the debate as regards the editing of Javanese manuscripts, see Van der Molen (1983), in which a more spartan definition of a single-text edition is pursued, and Gonda's response in defense of the text-critical method (Gonda 1986).

[38] An excellent introduction to the methods and history of textual criticism is provided by the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (15th edition), Vol. 18, p.p.189-195. The following summary is based on Maas' short but definitive handbook (Maas 1958): a modern, if less concise, exposition of the text-critical method is found in West (1973). An introduction to the history of the Greek and Roman manuscript traditions is provided by Reynolds and Wilson (1974).

[39] In the case of a single surviving manuscript this procedure is obviously unnecessary. In such a case, recensio consists of describing and deciphering the manuscript as accurately as possible.

process, *divinatio* (or emendation), is, therefore, the attempt to reconstruct the original by conjecture, or at least to identify where the text differs from the original. (These differences are termed 'corruptions'.)

Kratz has pointed out that two of the three assumptions on which the text-critical method rests do not seem to hold for the Malay manuscript tradition. These are (page 15) that the copyist is working from a single exemplar, and that he is attempting to reproduce its text faithfully. It is a well-known characteristic of Malay literature that the copying of manuscripts is considered not so much a mechanical process of reproduction as a creative process (Kratz 1981:233), though the extent and exact nature of the creative element, and the degree to which various genres encouraged or placed limits on such a process, has only recently begun to be examined.[40] Kratz excludes from his remarks 'directly translated' texts (i.e. Islamic theological works: personal communication, Dr E. U. Kratz, November 1987), the contents of which were carefully translated, often at the expense of Malay syntax. Roolvink, too, warns against the tendency to describe every Malay copyist as a joint author (Roolvink 1967:262).[41]

There is no evidence of substantial creative re-writing in any of the Bugis works examined in the following chapter. As was stated in section 1.1, the extant versions of each work can be shown to have descended from a single archetype. In most cases, too, we possess enough versions to reconstruct a useful stemma. Choosing between substantial variants therefore poses little problem: in most cases the original reading can be identified by reference to the stemma. But stylistic change (particularly with regard to the modal suffixes) is a characteristic feature of the Bugis scribal tradition. It would seem that while a Bugis copyist was concerned to transmit accurately the substance of his exemplar, he felt little constraint when it came to matters of style. Thus the second assumption on which the text-critical method rests – that the copyist is trying to faithfully reproduce his the text he has in front of him – does not hold either with regard to Bugis manuscripts.

While the relationship between manuscripts can be determined in most cases, it is impossible to choose between stylistic variants on such a basis, which therefore rules out the construction of a critical edition. I have thus taken the

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[40] See for example Proudfoot (1984) regarding variation within the manuscripts of the Hikayat Pelanduk Jenaka, and Behrend (1987) regarding the history of the Javanese poem Jatiswara. The extent to which the same may be said of 'historical' Malay texts, such as those of the Hikayat Raja Pasai, is equally uncertain.

[41] Roolvink gives as evidence the fact that 'The stories in the *Hikayat Bakhtiar* that were taken from the have been copied fairly accurately, and the differences are subject to the normal rules of philological criticism [...] Real freedom of the copyist is usually found in the kind of literature that is also orally transmitted' (ibid., p. 262). Jones traces the dictum, generally associated in the English-speaking world with Sir Richard Winstedt, as to the Malay copyist being at the same time a co-author, to the Dutch scholar Ph. S. van Ronkel (Jones 1985:10).

approach of selecting a single version to represent each of the ten works presented in Chapter Two. Additional information from other versions is provided in footnotes to the text and in commentary notes to the translation.

1.4.2 Transcription

Three systems of transcription are used in this book. The first is identical to the system of transliteration used by Sirk (1975, 1983), in which each *aksara* is allocated a single or a cluster of capitalized consonants and a vowel, with the exception of ᨎ, which is represented by the letter Q and the appropriate vowel. This is the simplest of the three systems in that it indicates only the *aksara* found in the manuscript, which, as we have seen, do not record geminate and word-final consonants. In this system, for example, ᨀᨙᨉᨚ is rendered KéDo (**kédo**, 'to move'), ᨓ as WeNi (**wenni**, 'night'), ᨐᨙᨒᨚ as QéLo (**élong**, 'poem') and so on. The disadvantage of this system is its inability to express the developed form of a written word, and thus (in most instances) its meaning. It is used sparingly in footnotes to indicate variant spellings of names or place-names, and the unusual spelling of words where an aksara is made to carry two diacritics. Thus, for example, ᨔᨄᨚᨔᨗᨔᨙᨀᨘ (**sapposisekku**, 'my cousin') is footnoted as SaPoSieKu.

The other two systems are based on the systems described by Noorduyn (1955).[42] The difference between the two is simply the retention in one system of the letters W and Y where these occur as glides between two vowels, the first of which is (respectively) O or U, and É or I. The use of W and Y as glides in written Bugis appears to be largely a matter of style. For example, the word **puang** (lord) may be spelt either PuQa or PuWa and the word **riaseng** (called, named) either RiQaSe or RiYaSe, with no change in pronunciation in either case. By retaining the glides in all cases it is possible to reproduce virtually all the features of a Bugis manuscript.

The system that retains the glides, which are regularly found in Bugis manuscripts, is used in the main body of transcription (the 'text') for each work set out in Chapter Two. The system that omits the glides is used outside of the main body of transcription to avoid inconsistent spellings in examples of written Bugis not directly linked to a manuscript text. Other than in the omission or retention of these glides the two systems are identical and the following remarks apply to both.

In line with Noorduyn's principle of basing his transcription of Bugis as closely as possible on the spelling of Indonesian (Noorduyn 1955:9, footnote 2) I have

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[42] This was devised by Dr Cense. I understand that Dr Noorduyn presently uses a system based on that developed in part by Professor Fachruddin (1983).

adapted the spelling conventions to accord with the changed value of the consonants in the 1972 revised spelling of Indonesian. Thus

tj	becomes	c
dj	becomes	j
nj	becomes	ny* (* see below)
j	becomes	y

I have also made a number of small alterations to Noorduyn's system. The first concerns the *aksara ∂* (Noorduyn: NYC) which I have transcribed NC, in keeping with modern Indonesian conventions. Secondly, I have transcribed ∂ as 'N' (Noorduyn: NJ [modern spelling NY]) and geminate NG as NGNG (Noorduyn: NNG). Finally, the 'punctuation' of the selected manuscript is preserved by using the symbol \ to indicate the (Bugis) **pallawa**, a chain of three dots sloping down to the right which divides the text into rythmico-lexical units. Transcriptions are not punctuated, other than by the manuscript **pallawa**.

The strength of Noorduyn's system lies in the fact that it adds any consonants not indicated by the script, allowing a choice to be made between the semantic possibilities of a text, and thus enabling its meaning to be fixed. As what is added are those parts of the spoken word which are not capable of representation in the Bugis-Makasar script, or which are inconsistently indicated, it is possible, with only slight effort, to ensure that the original manuscript text can be 'recovered' from the developed transcription. For example, geminate consonants and the glottal stop are never indicated, so their presence in a transcription can be ignored. Pre-nasalization is irregularly indicated in Bugis manuscripts: in the system followed in the main body of the texts, all editorially imposed pre-nasalization is placed within square brackets [thus]. All other additions to the text of the manuscript are likewise enclosed in square brackets. Where an aksara carries more than one diacritic this is indicated in a footnote.[43] The principles of the system are demonstrated with the following example:

[W]é Tappaqcinnana \ siala \ Anakaji \ nawawani \ wawinéna \ lao \ ri Luuq

Wé Tappaqcinna married Anakaji and he took his wife to Luwuq.

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[43] The only features of a manuscript text not represented in the transcriptions are instances where an *aksara* and its diacritic are separated by a line break. Such instances are quite common and their indication would quickly become tiresome.

In the first word, [W]é, only the vowel **é** is shown as occurring in the manuscript, so the manuscript must read Qé. The second word, **Tappaqcinna**, must read TaPaCiNaNa as neither geminate consonants nor glottal stops can be shown in the Bugis-Makasar script. The next six words are all of a consonant-vowel + consonant-vowel construction and have no glottal stops or bracketed additions. We know therefore that these must be written SiQaLa \ QaNaKaJi \ NaWaWaNi \ WaWiN´Na \ LaQo \ Ri. In the final word, **Luuq**, we know that the glottal stop cannot be shown in the Bugis-Makasar script: **Luuq** must therefore be written LuQu in the manuscript.[44] We now see that underlying the developed transcription is the manuscript text:

WéTaPaCiNaNa \ SiQaLa \ QaNaKaJi \ NaWaWaNi \ WaWiNéNa \ LaQo \ RiLuQu

⟨ᨓᨈᨄᨌᨗᨊᨊ \ ᨔᨗᨈᨒ \ ᨈᨊᨀᨍᨗ \ ᨊᨓᨓᨊᨗ \ ᨓᨓᨗᨊᨙᨊ \ ᨒᨈᨚ \ ᨑᨗᨒᨘᨈᨘ⟩

A few dialect-forms or archaic spellings regularly met with in manuscript Bugis are preserved in the transcription. The most common of these are **lattuq** (modern Bugis **lettuq**, 'to arrive'), **aneq** (**anaq**, 'child') and **makkada** (**makkeda**, to say). In addition, the suffix **-ang**, a dialectal (and possibly archaic) form of **-eng**, has been retained in almost all cases.

Morphophonemic change (sandhi) poses a particular problem owing to its frequency in spoken Bugis, where it occurs irregularly at the junctions of two free morphemes (independent words) and regularly at the junction of free morphemes and certain bound morphemes (prefixes and suffixes), as well as at the junction of two such bound morphemes (Sirk 1983:34-37). I have, therefore, indicated morphophonemic changes in the latter two cases but not in the first, unless such change is indicated by the manuscript text. Thus the complex RiLaLeSoPéToPa, 'also in Soppéng', which is constructed from **ri laleng** (in) **Soppéng** (the place-name Soppéng) plus the modal suffixes **-to** (also) and **-pa** (nevertheless), is transcribed as **ri laleng Soppettopa**, showing the assimilation of the **-ng** of Soppéng with the **t** of the suffix **-ta** but without morphophonemic change at the junction of **laleng** and **Soppéng**.[45] A second example is TeLuWeNi (three nights), which is composed of two independent words, **tellung** (three) and **wenni** (night), and is transcribed **tellung wenni**. But TeLuPeNi, which shows that the w of **wenni** has changed to a p, and by implication that the **-ng** of **tellung**

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[44] Luuq is standardized to Luwuq outside transcriptions to reflect the modern Indonesian spelling.

[45] This would, however, generally be pronounced **rilalesSoppéttopa** with the **-ng** of **laleng** assimilated to the **s** of **Soppéng**.

has changed to an **m** (Noorduyn 1955:11, section 4.1), is transcribed **tellumpenni**.

Like Sirk, I have avoided doubling the letters **b**, **d**, **g** or **j**, which may be preceded by the sign **q**; thus **qb**, **qd**, etc., to indicate either geminate or pre-glottalized consonants. The consonants **c**, **k**, **l**, **m**, **n**, **ng**, **ny**, **p**, **r**, **s** and **t** are never pre-hamzaed, other than in the case of a bound morpheme following a free morpheme ending in a glottal stop (e.g. **anaqna**, 'child of'), or, in the case of certain personal and place-names formed of two joined complexes, the first ending in a glottal stop. These consonants may, however, be doubled to indicate geminate consonants,

Finally, I have decided not to follow the style of recent linguistic literature produced by local scholars, which separates out certain morphemes. Instead, I accept the argument set out by Sirk (1983:75-78) that when transcribing a text written in the Bugis-Makasar script, larger complexes are more appropriate. (On the problem of word boundaries, see Sirk 1983:37-40.)

1.4.3 Layout

Layout has been determined to a large degree by the limitations of the computer editing program used and by the specified format of the A.N.U Ph.D. book.[46] Each edited text in Chapter Two is preceded by a philological introduction, which deals in turn with (1) the work represented by the selected text and any history of publication, (2) the manuscript versions of the work and the selection of a single version for editing, (3) the date of composition of the work and (4) the work as a historical source. This is followed by the text, which is without paragraphs and broken only by page-breaks, except where the text itself has significant internal divisions, which are then followed. Corrections to the text are indicated in footnotes. The translation and commentary notes come last. The same layout is followed for all edited texts.

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[46] This thesis was produced on a Digital Corporation VAX computer using Unilogic's *Scribe* Document Production System. The diacritics were produced by a programme designed by Dr Avery Andrews of the Faculty of Arts, A.N.U.

2. Texts and Translations

In Chapter Two, ten Bugis works are set out in Romanized transcription and English-language translation. Each is prefaced by an introduction covering (1) the general nature of the work and history of publication, (2) manuscript versions, relationships between versions and the selection of one version for editing, (3) the date of composition of the work and (4) its usefulness as a historical source.

2.1 The Lontaraqna Simpurusia

This work was published in the Bugis-Makasar script by B.F. Matthes in the first volume of the *Boeginesche crestomathie* (Matthes 1864), under the title 'Oudste geschiedenis van Luwu' (The earliest history of Luwuq). It forms one of a series of Bugis texts dealing with the early history of various kingdoms, a series that makes up the greater part of the first volume of the *chrestomathie*. As we shall see, the present work is not a history, in the sense of a systematic record of past events and individuals, but three short legends that have been gathered together by a redactor. I have therefore followed the appellation given in the version selected for editing and called it the Lontaraqna Simpurusia (hereafter LS), the 'Writing concerning Simpurusia'. The Royal Genealogy of Luwuq section 2.2) names Simpurusia as the first historical ruler of Luwuq and the progenitor of its ruling lineage.

Matthes' version of the LS was based on that found on pages 217.5-220.8 of NBG 99, a codex that Matthes had personally commissioned. Matthes' editorial emendations to the NBG 99 version were recorded directly on the manuscript, which was then sent to the printer in Amsterdam for typesetting. Many of Matthes' emendations appear arbitrary by modern standards.[1] No introduction was provided, but a set of notes dealing with obscure readings and the Romanized orthography of names and toponyms was provided in the third volume of the Chrestomathie (Matthes 1872b:93-94). A summary of Matthes' published text appeared later in the *Boegineesche en Makassaarsche legenden* (Bugis and Makasar legends) (Matthes 1885:4-6 / Van den Brink 1943:379-80).

Matthes' alterations to the text of NBG 99 were based not just on his personal knowledge of the Bugis language, but also upon two other versions of the LS (Matthes 1872b:60-61). These can be identified from the descriptions of their codices as NBG 101:41.10-42.22 and NBG 111:33.1-35.2. The second of these was provided by Daéng Mémangung, the copyist of NBG 99 and NBG 111, with an interlinear translation in Jawi Malay (Matthes 1875:43-44), no doubt as an aid to Matthes' understanding of the Bugis text. Matthes' use of NBG 111 is confirmed by the addition of the word *marola* in line 15 of the published text, this being

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[1] These include the deletion of *yi[a]na* on MS. page 217.8, the alteration of *agana* to *angkana* (219.6), *laoni* to *lettuqni* (219.9), the deletion of *laélaé* (220.3-4) and *saisaé* (220.5), as well as the extensive deletion and addition of *pallawa* throughout the text in order to make them serve more clearly as punctuation.

one of the three additional words that NBG 111 has to offer NBG 99.[2] In 1929 a translation of Matthes' version appeared, together with a number of other pieces from the first volume of the *Boeginesche Chrestomathie*, under the title 'Boegineesche scheppingsverhalen' (Bugis creation stories) (Kern 1929). In the introduction to his translations, Kern rejected the notion that such works were historical, characterizing them instead as 'brieven van adeldom' (letters of nobility) which served to legitimize the ruling Bugis lineages by providing them with heavenly ancestors in the form of *tomanurung* (heavenly descended beings) (Kern 1929:297).[3] Kern' s translation is rather free, and neither the brief introduction to the work, nor Kern' s commentary notes add more than superficial detail to Matthes' version.

2.1.1 Versions of the LS

There are at least ten versions of the LS extant. These are shown in table 2-1. These are henceforth referred to by the letter given in the right-hand column. There are several catalogue entries needing further investigation.[4]

Table 2-1: Versions of the LS

Collection	Number	Pages.Line	Designation
KITLV	Or. 272 Id	1.1-2.16	A
MAK	68	160.1-161.23	B
MAK	90	34.10-35.32	C
MAK	124	146.1-147.32	D
NBG	99	217.5-220.8	E
NBG	101	41.10-42.22	F
NBG	111	33.1-35.2	G
NBG	127	41.1-45.15	H
NBG	208	142.1-143.17	J
VT	84	339.16-341.18	K

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[2] The others are makkunrai, 'woman' (MS. page 33.4) and cemmé, 'to bathe' (34.11).

[3] Most high-status families in South Sulawesi trace their origins to one or more beings who are believed to have descended from the upperworld, and who were subsequently installed as the first 'kings' of South Sulawesi.

[4] Other versions of the LS are likely to be discovered under general categories, such as as 'Boegin. scheppingsverhaal met oud-Boegin. en Moslimse elementen' (Bugis creation story with old Bugis and Muslim elements: VT 139 [IV], pp. 1-11, described in Cense unpublished:14) or 'Sedjarah Barru, Tanete dan lain-lain' (Histories of Barru, Tanété and other former kingdoms: MAK 222 passim described in a YKSST manuscript list of 1954) (Macknight, 'A checklist of South Sulawesi manuscripts and related materials in Canberra libraries', unpublished.

A comparison of the ten versions of the LS reveals extensive and detailed agreement both in form and content That all versions are descended from a common ancestor is the only reasonable explanation for this similarity. No manuscript can be dated earlier than the mid-nineteenth century and four are twentieth-century copies.[5]

One version, *H*, stands out from the rest. This differs from all other versions in that it consists of three, rather than two, genealogically linked stories, the extra story preceding the others. The central character of the extra story is the tomanurung, Simpurusia, the first ruler of Luwu following the reputed 'Age of La Galigo',[6] while those of stories two and three are his son, Anakaji, and grandson, La Malalaé. The three stories may be summarized as follows:

1. Simpurusia journeys to the heavens in search of advice from their ruler, Patotoqé, concerning the proposed marriage of Simpurusia' s daughter.

2. Anakaji marries Wé Tappaqcinna, the daughter of the ruler of Mancapai. Ridiculed by her mother-in-law, Wé Tappaqcinna returns to Mancapai; her husband follows her. Husband and wife are reunited and return to Luwu with a gift of the earth that descended with the tomanurung of Mancapai.

3. La Malalaé is taken down to the underworld by his father. On his return to the earth his grandfather gives him magical objects.

A further feature of *H* is that it contains one extra line, and what appears to be a complex missing from the second line of other versions (represented here by *A*):

A	*H*
Inai anaq manédara	Anaq Wé Manédara \
ri lappaq téllang \	riuloqé \ ri yawope[ttung] \
	madeppaé ri lappaqtellang \

As all ten versions are evidently descended from an archetype, which we shall call *w*, the first question to ask is whether the extra story in H (and, presumably, the additional line in

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[5] It is interesting to note that of the ten manuscripts only *K* does not appear to have been commissioned by a European scholar.
[6] Traditional Bugis historiography places the 'age' of the La Galigo epic before the coming of the first *tomanurung*.

the poem) was found in w, and later omitted in an ancestor of the remaining nine versions or whether it is an interpolation, a later addition to the LS.

There are three reasons why the former is almost certainly the case. The first is that H gives us the longest and most detailed readings of stories two and three. Its extra material is spread throughout the text and contains a number of archaic words and difficult readings. These readings are hard to conceive of as additions; it seems more likely that they were a part of w and were omitted from one or more ancestors of the other nine versions. The second is that the first story makes coherent to an otherwise puzzling work. If we accept for the moment Kern' s hypothesis that the 'function' of the LS is the legitimization of the ruling lineage of Luwuq through the provision of a heavenly-descended progenitor, the logical place for the LS to start is with the founder of that lineage, the tomanurung Simpurusia, rather than with his son, Anakaji. The third reason for assuming that the extra story belonged to w is that *H* sets each of its stories in one of the three spheres, or levels, of the Bugis cosmos: Botillangi (the heavens), Kawa (the earth) and Uriliung (the underworld).[7] Other versions, by contrast, include just the latter two.

If Kern' s hypothesis, which may be more generally stated as an account of the origin of status, is correct, we are left with the question of what social usefulness the remaining nine versions could have had, and why the first story was omitted, presumably in a single ancestor from which the nine are descended. To answer the second question first, it is possible that the version from which this ancestor was copied contained a damaged or missing page, and that a copyist using it as his exemplar, being unable to make sufficient sense of the surviving body of writing, moved directly to the second story, adding to it his own introduction. The first question is more difficult to answer: one can only suggest that the status of its subjects in oral rendition and in other textual sources was sufficient to ensure its transmission from one codex to another.

Our conclusion, therefore, is that the first story of *H* was found in *w*. By virtue of its extra story and additional readings, *H* appears to contain the version of the LS that is closest to the archetype of the ten extant versions. Other versions appear to be separated from *H* by a common ancestor that omitted the first story. This ancestor we shall call α.

What can be said of the relationships between the remaining nine versions? A line-by-line comparison of all ten versions (page and line numbers are from *H*) reveals the following:

   1. H and K share a reading of La Malalaé (42.21) for the first occurrence of the name of the ruler of Mancapai, while ABCDEFGJ give Sellamalama or a close variant. K and H are in error here; Sellamalama occurs twice in each version, once in the poem (H

[7] This three part division of the cosmos is common throughout Indonesia. The Bugis divided the universe into an upper-world populated by gods, the earth, ruled by representatives of the gods, and an underworld populated by powerful beings (Hamzah et al., 1984:60). Cf. Errington 1979 on how the traditional Bugis house mirrors the pre-Islamic cosmos.

Sémmalamala, K Sellamalama [43.11-12]) and once in the prose text (H Silamalama, K Salamalamala [44.12]), where he is clearly identified as the ruler of Mancapai. La Malalaé is the grandson of Simpurusia and the central character of story three.

2. H and K share a reading of cangkiri (H ca[ng]kiri) (43.3) (cf. Malay cangkir, 'a cup') for the container in which Wé Tappaqcinna brings her fragrant oil to Luwu, while ABCEFGJ share piduang (a small vessel or bottle). (D omits both vessel and oil.)

3. H and K share a reading of raung (43.3) (O.B., 'incense') while ABCDEFGJ have (variously spelt) raung jeppu (jeppu: unknown).

It is clear, as a result of these shared readings, that *K* is more closely related to *H* than are the other eight versions. Since we have established that, like *ABCDEFGJ*, *K* is related to *H* through α, which omitted the opening story found in *H* and the additional line of the poem, *ABCDEFGJ*'s deviations from *K* must have occurred after α . Three possibilities suggest themselves:

1.That ABCDEFGJ are separated from K by an ancestor, in which the name La Malalaé was corrected to Sellamalama, jeppu was added to raung and cangkiri altered to piduang.

2.That 'contamination' has occurred.

3.That the copyist of K, or of one of its ancestors, spontaneously produced the same three variant readings found in H.

The third possibility is too remote for serious consideration: the second possibility can also be ruled out, as it supposes an ancestor of H being used to produce one error and two insignificant substantial variants, while the extra story and additional line of the poem was ignored. The first possibility, namely the existence of a single ancestor (in philological terminology a hyparchetype) as the source of ABCDEFGJ' s variant readings, is obviously the best explanation. This ancestor we shall call b.

One last objection must be examined. If the first explanation is correct, the erroneous reading of La Malalaé for Sellamalama in K and H (variant one, above) must have occurred in w, is it reasonable to suppose that the archetype itself contained this mistake? If so, why is it not found in versions that descend from b? Both questions are readily answered: there is no reason why w should have been the autograph (the original copy of the redactor who first set down the LS) rather than a later copy; the error is plain to see, and appears to have been corrected in b along with the other revisions.[8]

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[8] While autograph manuscripts of any reasonable length inevitably contain mistakes, such mistakes are unlikely to be of this magnitude.

Our conclusion regarding the relationships between the ten versions of the LS is the simplest possible explanation based on a process of accumulated scribal error and periodic revision of the transmitted work. The actual history of the transmission of the LS was doubtless more complex, but must have involved at least the two revisions outlined above. The relationships of the ten versions is illustrated in the following diagram.
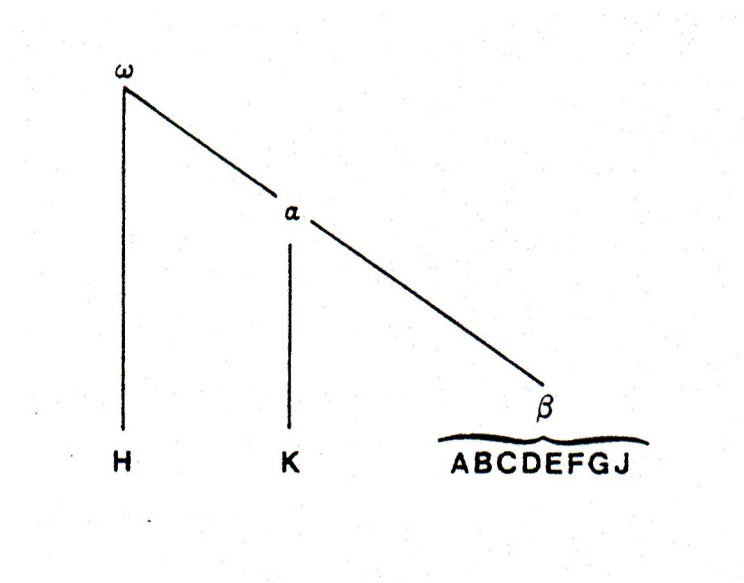
Figure 2-1: Stemma of versions of the LS

The version selected for transcription and translation is *H*. In dealing with textual problems *K*, *D* and *E* (the latter two versions are good examples of the *b* group) have been consulted in that order.

2.1.2 Dating the LS

The Royal Genealogy of Luwuq (section 2.2), the archetype of which can be dated to the late eighteenth century,[9] draws for its opening section on the LS. The Royal Genealogy' s vocabulary shows its source to have descended from *b*, that is, the origin of the shorter version of the LS. (The logic of the relationships between the LS versions makes the reverse relationship virtually inconceivable.) The LS is therefore shown to have existed in its later, short recension by this date.

The earliest date by which the LS could have existed in a form similar to *H* is difficult to determine. Certain of the stories must have been known in their present (that is, their latest) redaction well before the time of the earliest of these manuscripts. [The additional

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[9] See page *∂*

textual difficulties of *H* provide the only arguable evidence for a significantly earlier date for the existence of *H* or its ancestors.] The inclusion in *H* of To Panangi (*sic*. To Apanangi), the first arguably historical ruler of Luwuq, whose rule can be dated to c.1475-c.1500)[10] as the son of La Malalae [and thus as a grandson of Simpurusia] can be dismissed as a later insertion.

2.1.3 The LS as a Historical Source

Despite having as its subjects the legendary founder and immediate descendants of what is widely believed to have been the earliest kingdom of South Sulawesi, the LS is neither a history of Luwuq nor a direct attempt to legitimize its ruling family through the provision of a tomanurung progenitor. There is no emphasis on the appearance on earth of the tomanurung Simpurusia or his wife, such as we find in the Chronicles of Boné and Goa, or the Attoriolonna Soppéng (section 2.5), all of which are patently concerned with the origin of kingship. The 'events' of the LS post-date the appearance of Simpurusia and the subsequent establishment of kingship in Luwuq an event which the author mentions in order simply to locate the three stories he wishes to tell.

Two 'themes' may be said to unite the three stories of the LS: the genealogical relationship of father, son and grandson between the three subjects, and the linking of the founding family of Luwuq with the great powers of the three levels of the Bugis cosmos. Two of the latter are drawn from the pre-Islamic Bugis cosmology of the La Galigo; the third represents the Javanese kingdom of Majapahit. The second theme involves the production of 'signs of power', both in the form of useful advice and magically charged objects (regalia). In this sense at least, the LS does provide political legitimacy, though the recognition of the status of Luwuq' s ruling family by Botillangiq, Uriliung and 'Mancapai'.[11]

The LS belongs to a genre of 'popular' or 'folk' legend, woven, like the similar stories about Déwaraja, a later and indisputably historical ruler, around ancient memories of Luwu' s rulers.[12] It is derived from oral tradition: each of the three stories would originally have been an independent 'unit' , by which means legends centred around the early rulers of Luwuq would have been transmitted.[13] This oral tradition we shall call the 'Simpurusia legend' to differentiate it from its written forms.

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[10] See page *∂*

[11] No support can be found in the present work for Errington's hypothesis as to the role of regalia in Luwu (Errington 1983).

[12] MAK 85:272-276 contains a number of legends centered around Déwaraja. In November 1986 I visited the leader of the Tolotang Islam (one of the two Bugis communities that have retained a number of pre-Islamic beliefs and practices) in Amparita, Sidénréng, who, I was informed, knew a number of stories about Déwaraja. Unfortunately, I was unable to extract any of these from my host, who excused himself on the grounds that my written stories were no doubt superior to his oral ones.

[13] The oral transmission of legend and its subsequent incorporation into written works is discussed in section 2.8.3.

A second version of the Simpurusia legend is found in the Cina genealogies[14] (including the Royal Genealogy of Cina, which can be dated to around 1700 [section 2.4]). While some names are different from those of the LS, the basic structure of the legend is the same. A third version of the Simpurusia legend is reflected in the fragment of the poem preserved in the second story of the LS[15] [16]

There is, however, no reason to assume that the surviving sources have preserved more than a part, or at most the bare outline, of the Simpurusia legend. The differences between the LS and Royal Genealogy of Cina' s version of the Simpurusia legend consist essentially of transformations, or 'mirror images' of certain characters, the structure of the legend being the same in each. It would thus appear that the Simpurusia legend allowed its narrators little deviation from a story familiar to perhaps the majority of their audiences, a conjecture which is supported by the cursory introduction that its characters receive in the LS. Furthermore, details attached to some of its characters suggest that these characters were once the subjects of other, related traditions. For instance, we are told that on Anakaji' s return to Luwuq, his daughter Wé Mattengngaémpong was 'already queen of the crocodiles' (my emphasis); similarly Wé Demmikoro' s act of enclosing a garden 'in which she planted flowers' must refer to a well-known tradition for this brief reference to have made any sense.

How was the LS used in its written form? As Bugis literary works (sureq) are inevitably poetic and can run to considerable length (a toloq, the genre of the poetic fragment in story two, can run to ten thousand lines) it seems unlikely that the LS was ever intended to be read or chanted aloud. The LS is barely four pages in length, and seems more likely to have served as a mnemonic for a more leisurely oral creation. It appears to have survived the loss of a larger oral tradition (and the toloq quoted in the LS) through the continued interest of a small number of people who copied it from time to time. It is, however, just possible that detailed oral versions may still be found in Luwuq or in other remote areas of South Sulawesi.

The imagery of the LS, whose god-like characters are able to travel at will between the heavens, earth and underworld, is strongly reminiscent of the La Galigo; indeed, La

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[14] (See page ∂; a detailed version of the legend is found in LAL 1985:101-.ƒ)

[15] This fragment displays a number of the features found in orally-composed literature; note how lines 3, 4 and 10, 11 echo each in content (parallelism), while the prefix teng- is repeated at the beginnings of lines 9, 10 and 11, as is déqé in lines 18, 19 and 20 (Cf. Lord 1960:32, 'linking of phrases', (ibid., p. 35) 'systems'). Though it is possible that the poem derived directly from oral tradition, it is also possible that in a society where literature is read aloud to an audience, these features may function as conscious literary devices in written works.

[16] It is evident, therefore, that by the eighteenth century there were at least three versions of the Simpurusia legend to be found in Sulawesi.(There is, of course, no evidence that more than one of these was in written form. The section borrowed by the Royal Genealogy of Cina is short enough to have been quoted from memory; the same can be said of the poetic fragment in the LS).

Malalaés descent to the underworld may well be patterned on the similar journey undertaken by Sawarigading, outlined in the *Legenden* (Matthes, 1885:3 / Van den Brink 1943:378). While the lack of a scholarly edition of the relevant sections of the La Galigo material makes it difficult to demonstrate any such relationship, the La Galigo (not necessarily in the form of a written version) remains the obvious source of thematic models for the Simpurusia legend. The characters of the Simpurusia legend, however, are placed later in Bugis historical tradition than are those of the La Galigo. If such a borrowing could be shown to have taken place this would support an interpretation of the Simpurusia legend as a 'mythologization' of historical personalities, rather than pure myth, an interpretation to which the present writer is inclined (mythologization is characteristic of pre-modern societies (Eliade 1971).

Comparative evidence indeed suggests that the Simpurusia legend may be based, ultimately, on historical memory.[16] In his study of the origins of the Merlin legend, Tolstoy has argued persuasively that the sources used by medieval writers contained a substratum of historical material dating from the sixth century A.D. Although the poems and legends in which some of these sources have come down to us were written in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, 'the language in which these poems are written is frequently archaic and obscure, and it is clear that the medieval transcriber could not understand all he copied' (Tolstoy 1985:24), a description which could equally be applied to the versions of the LS.

Given the evidence for a historical Merlin, set out by Tolstoy, there seems no reason why the Simpurusia legend may not have also contained an identifiable substratum of historical truth dating back several centuries earlier than the archetypes of its modern witnesses. A word of caution, however, must be sounded against a too-ready identification of the characters of the LS as historical individuals. Bugis names - at least those of the nobility, as found in the historical sections of the royal genealogies - are composed of one or two elements, from which there can be extracted (in most cases) a plainly-understood meaning. Personal names are prefixed by La or Wé, signifying man or woman; alternatively a teknonym, indicated by To (father) or Da (mother) may be given instead of, or in addition to, a personal name. Thus one finds, for instance, in the Royal Genealogy of Cina, Da Pageq, 'mother of the fence' , Da Wanua, 'mother of the land' , To Batu, ' father of the rock' , La Paténréngi, 'he who sits astride' , Wé Teppodinro, 'she who is without mercy' and To Pasampa 'father of the one who supports' . Similarly, in the Royal Genealogy of Soppéng can be found Wé Tékéwanua, 'she who carries the land' , Wé Baku (a baku is a basket woven from palm leaves used to store rice, La Passapoi, 'builder of fences' , Wé Tenripalésé 'she who is not turned' and Wé Alu (an alu is a rice-pounding pestle). Many of these names contain elements reflecting the concerns of a settled agricultural community: genealogical names are, furthermore, closely linked to inland settlements, many of which can be identified on modern maps. We do not find more than the barest hint of a world outside the agrarian kingdoms of South Sulawesi.

2.1.4 Text, H

Fasal Panesséngngi \ lo[n]taraqna \ manurungngé \ Si[m]purusiya \ bicaraéngngi sinoqnorenna \ polé \ manaiq \ ri Botillangiq \ sito[m]porenna \ polémanoq \ ri Pérétiwi \ gauq datunna \ yi[a]maneng \ masapé \ baba \ mawa[m]pang lila \ mawekka ulu \ taniya kupomabusung \ palakkeqlakkeq \ wija toléba \ nayi[a] manurunnana \ ri lino \ riyasengngé \ Si[m]purusiya \ nato[m]poqtonasa \ ri lino \ taniya kupomabusung \ riyasengngé \ Wé Patéyaqjala[17] \ yi[a]na \ siyala \ Si[m]purusiya \ taniya \ kupomabusung \ nayi[a]na \ Pajung ri Luwuq \ nasekkoq \ pajung \ maéja \ nalaowang \ dodoq \ piduwang \ rupa aju \ aga \ [n]cajiyanni \ anaq \ Pajungngé \ ri Luwuq \ séuwa \ makku[n]rai \ tau kessing \ aga marajani \ anaqna \ manurungngé \ Si[m]purusiya \ e[ng]kana padanna \ tomanurung \ massuroiwi \ anaqna \ maélo \ powawinéi \ naduwasa \ padanna \ tomanurung \ massuroiwi \ napada \ nata[ng]keqsa \ apaq pada \ anaqurénamuwa \ yi[a] duwa \ namacaina \ ri wawinéna \ manurungngé \ Si[m]purusiya \ makkedai \ manurungngé \ Si[m]purusiya \ riwawinéna \ aso \ langeng[18] \ tananatu \ mupogauqé \ areppakeng tanatoi \ cappaqna \ séuwami \ anaqmu \ makku[n]rai \ naduwasa \ padapadammu \ muta[ng]keq \ taniya \ kupomabusung \ makkedai \ Wé Patiyaqjala \ napékkunisa \ tekkuta[ng]keq \ yi[a] duwa \ napada \ anaquréku \ jajimuni \ manuréngngé[19] \ Si[m]purusiya \ soroq \ ri léurenna \ natunui \ raung sakkéqna \ naéwaé \ sinoqnoreng \ polé \ ri Botillangiq \ naé[n]réqna \ ri Botillangiq \ taniya \ kupomabusung \ manurungngé \ Si[m]purusiya \ nalattuqna \ manaiq \ rio-

(42) lona \ Patotoqé \ ri Botillangiq \ makkedai \ Patotoqé \ aga makkatta \ mué[n]ré kamai[20] \ ri Botillangiq \ so[m]pani \ makkeda \ Si[m]purusiya \ [n]cajiyangaq \ anaq \ séuwa \ makku[n]rai \ tau kessing \ namarajana \ naduwa \ puwang \ padapadakku \ massuroiwi \ napada \ nata[ng]keqsa \ atatta \ Wé Patiyaqjala \ napusana \ tangngaqku \ yi[a]na maiyé \ puwang \ kuwé[n]rékang \ ri Botillangiq \ makkedai \ Patotoqé \ e[ng]kamugi \ mutaro \ érunna \ anaqmu \ ri wettu jajinna \ makkedai \ Si[m]purusiya \ e[ng]kamuisa puwang \ riparibalubu \ makkedai \ Patotoqé \ noqnoqno \ riya[21] \ ri yalé lino \ narékko \ lattuqno \ alani \ anaqmu \ makku[n]raiyé \ mupasibawai érunna \ muto[ng]koqi \ sekkoreng \ sang karuda \ nagenneqpa \ tellungesso \ tellu[m]penni \ muinappana \ ti[m]paqi \ purai \ ripauwang \ Si[m]purusiya \ massimanni \ ri Patotoqé \ nanoqnoqna[22] \ ri lino \ napoléna \ manurungngé \ Si[m]purusiya napogauqni \ napowadaé \ Patotoqé \ ri Botillangiq \ aga genneqni \ tellungesso \ tellu[m]penni \ nati[m]paqni \ sekkoreng sang karudaé \ naitani \ anaqna duwa \ madi[n]ru \ situdangeng \ déq amasingenna \ padapada \ yi[a] duwa \ akessingenna \ makkoniro \ appongenna \ tennarilemmeqsa \ érunna \ wijanaé manurungngé \ Si[m]purusiya \ apaq \ singa[ng]keqi

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[17] Patéaqjala read Patiaqjala, as below

[18] aso \ langeng read asolangeng

[19] manuréngngé read manurungngé

[20] kamai read komai or kumai

[21] The aksara RiYa are repeated at the beginning of the following complex. They are omitted in the translation.

[22] This is spelt NaNooNa.

\ érunna \ watakkaléna \ jajini \ pada botting \ yi[a] duwa \ anaqna \ manurungngé \ Si[m]purusiya \ nayi[a] anaqna orowané \ Si[m]purusiya \ riyasengngé \ Anakaji \ taniya \ kupomabusung yi[a]na sipowawiné \ riasengngé \ Wé Tappaqcinna \ nayi[a] \ [n]cajiyannengngi Wé Tappaqcinna \ anaqna \ manurungngé \ ri Ma[n]capai \ riasengngé \ La Malalaé[23]

(43) sialaé \ riasengngé \ Bara[ng]awéleq[24] \ [n]cajiyangngengngi \ Wé Tappaqcinna[25] \ [W]é Tappaqcinnana \ siala \ Anakaji \ nawawani \ wawinéna \ lao \ ri Luuq marola \ naripatiwi ri [i]na \ siuku[reng] raung \ sica[ng]kiriq miññaq \ sangiyang \ sipiteq \ wennang sutara \ riyatéuñi \ napawawayi[a]ngngi \ anaqna \ manurungngé \ ri Ma[n]capai \ mallaibiné \ maittani \ mo[n]ro \ ri Luu \ mallaibiné \ [n]cajiyanni anaq \ taniya kupomabusung \ riyasengngé \ Wé Mattengnga \ e[m]pong[26] \ anaqtoni \ riyasengngé \ To Panangi \ engkana séuwa \ esso \ naterri \ Wé Mattengngaé[m]pong \ nariakkélongana \ ri nénéqna \ makku[n]raiyé \ riyasengngé \ Wé Patéyaqjala[27] \ wawinéna \ Si[m]purusiya \ makkedai \ élonna \

> Anaq Wé Manédara \
> riuloqé \ ri yawope[tung] \
> madeppaqé ri lappaqtellang \
> lé[w]uq \ ri lapiru \ lali[28]
> batiqna \ anaq semmu[29]
> wijana \ Semmalamala[30]
> manurungngé \ ri yawo \ pettung \
> to[m]poqé \ ri busa é[m]pong \
> ténriuloqna lagi \
> téqbanawaé naola \
> tellopié \ napolaleng \
> lété \ ri wennang sila[m]paq \
> sutara \ riyatéuñi \
> pasoroq \ dengngeng \
> mai[n]rai[n]ra \ asu pa[n]ting \
> ajaq nara[n]ruq \ naruwa \
> silléjaq \ tangka \ walé[31]

[23] All other manuscripts (except *K,* which contains the same mistake) read Sellamalama. Sellamalama is followed in the translation. La Malalaé is the grandson of Simpurusia and protagonist of the third story of the present text.

[24] Bara[ng]awéleq read Bara[ng]awéli, as in *E* and in Matthes' version (*D* Batawéli, *K* Wé Tenriwéleng.

[25] The opening line of MS. page 43 appears confused: I have paraphrased slightly it in the translation.

[26] Mattengnga \ émpong read Mattengngnaémpong

[27] Patiaqjala, as above.

[28] lapiru \ lali read lappa tulali, as in *E.*

[29] semmu read se[n]rima, as in *E.*

[30] Semmalama read Sellamalama, as in *K.*

déqé \ tana \ sitékkéna \
déqé ca[ng]kuling kettéqna \
déqé \ tai marakkona \

namagellina \ Wé Tappaqcinna \ naé[ng]kalingana \ élonna \ matuwanna \ nasapuwanni \
miñña sangiyanna \ natunutoni \ raung sakeqna \ nawakkasangngi \ wennang sutaranna \
naolai \ lisu paimeng \ ri Ma[n]capai \ napoléna \ lakkainna \ riyasengngé \ Anakaji \
sappaqi \ wawinena \ nadéqna \ napoléi \ makkedani \ to[m]poqé \ ri busa é-

(44) [m]pong \ ri yana na \ Anakaji \ lisui \ ri Ma[n]capai \ wawiné mu \ nalaona \
masigaq \ Anakaji \ molaiwi \ wawinéna \ lét' é\ ri wawo uwaé \ nalattuqna \ ri
Ma[n]capai \ sitani \ matuwanna \ makkedani \ manurungngé ri Ma[n]capai \ magotu \
Anakaji \ mupolé \ tadawarawa \ ri Ma[n]capai \ makkedani \ Anakaji \ a[n]riqku puwang
\ kuwolai \ makkedani \ manurungngé \ ri Ma[n]capai \ nasengngi \ aléna \ Wé
Tappaqcinna \ ritutturi \ ri [i]nauréna \ makkedai \ Anakaji \ wérémmuwa \ puwang \
a[n]riqku \ Wé Tappaqcinna \ kutiwiqi \ lisu \ ri Luwuq\ narékko \ napaqbékaduwai \
adanna \ siyajimmu \ napotéyaé \ a[n]riqku \ Wé Tappaqcinna \ tekkéyanaqni
riyappuwang \ puwakku \ manurungngé \ mallaibiné \ naripalisuna \ paimeng \ ri
lakkainna \ Wé Tappaqcinna \ nariséséangenna \ tana \ ri Ma[n]capai \ nasinoqnorangngé
\ ri Silamalama \ narijorisang tana \ nawawai \ lao ri Luwuq \ nalaona \ toWagé \
toTé[m]pé \ toSi[ng]kangngé \ silao tanana \ nakkuwa \ rappeq \ ri Ta[m]pangeng \ aga
nakkuwana \ riyasengngé \ tana ritaroé aga \ lattuqni \ ri Luwuq \ duwa \ mallaibiné \
taniya kupomabusung \ yi[a]na \ anaqna \ Wé Tappaqcinna \ riasengngé \ Wé
Mattengngaé[m]pong \ marajanana \ datunnana[32] \ buwajaé \ napasialangngi \ anaqna \
yi[a]na napolakkai \ riyasengngé \ Popo \ Ca[ng]kuli[33] yi[a]na \ [n]cajiyangngi \ taniya
kupomabusung \ riyasengngé \ La Malalaé \ seuwato \ makku[n]rai \ riyaseng \ Da Layi[a]
\ yi[a]na riyala \ ri yamanna \ yi[a]na \ ripano \ ri yUriliung \ nayi[a] \ La Malalaé \
maqdajutoisa \ no cemmé \ ri saloqé \ tennarituru \ rimanurungngé

(45) narilékekang \ uwaé \ mé[n]réq \ ri la[ng]kanaé \ ri Luwuq \ joqjoq \ muisa[34] \
maéloq noq \ cemmé \ ri saloqé \ téyai cemmé \ uwaé rilékeqé \ ri batiliq salabettaé \
mameqjumuisa[35] \ maéloq \ noq \ ri saloqé \ aga \ naripanoqna \ cemmé \ ri saloqé \ La
Malalaé \ nariduppaina \ ri yamanna \ naripanoq \ ri Pérétiwi \ aséra \ wennina \
naripalisu paimeng \ ri yalé lino \ naripawawayina \ ri nénéqna \ anaqbeccinna
sujikamana \ silao \ patangareng \ asenna \ silao \ laé laé \ silao \ dapo \ balibongana \
Wé Demmikoro \ asenna \ [n]cujangngengngi[36] \ dapoqbalibongaé \ nayi[a] \
toPérétiwiyang \ nasilaongangngé \ mo[m]poq \ La Malalaé \ tiwirangngéngngi \ puang

[31] tangka walé read tangkawangngé
[32] datunnana read datunna
[33] Popo \ Ca[ng]kuli read Acang Kuling
[34] joqjoq \ muisa read joqjoqmuisa
[35] mameqjuisa read maqdajumuisa (*K* maqdajuini)
[36] [n]cujangngengngi read [n]cujungngengngi

datunna \ lisumanemmui \ paimeng ri Pérétiwi \ métauqi \ mémmauq \ bauq tolino \ napaléneqmanemmui \ ri potta[na]ngngé \ anaqbeccingngé \ sujikamaé \ laé laé \ patangarengngé \ Wé Demmikoro \ mani[37] mo[n]ro \ attawareng \ ri linoé \ nakkétaurenna \ reppaq \ dapoqbalibongana \ aga nao[n]ronasa \ ri linoé yi[a]na napogawuq \ Wé Demmikoro \ mappallaqpallaqé \ taneng bunga \ bunga \

2.1.5 Translation

This sets out the writing concerning the one who descended, Simpurusia.[38] It tells of the things which came down with him from Botillangi[39] and of the things which came up with him from Pérétiwi,[40] and the deeds of all the rulers. May [my] mouth be torn open, may [my] tongue be torn out, may my head be split open [should I cause offense]; may I not swell for setting out in order the descendants of the great ones.[41] Now he who was called Simpurusia descended into the world and she who was called, may I not swell, Patiaqjala[42] arose also [from the foam of the waves].[43] She married Simpurusia, may I not swell. Then there was a Pajung[44] in Luwuq and the red[45] umbrella shaded, accompanied by dodoq, piduang and rupa. Then a child was born to the Pajung of Luwuq, a beautiful girl. When the child of he who descended, Simpurusia, was grown up, two tomanurung of equal status requested his daughter's hand in marriage. They were both equally tomanurung who proposed, and they were equally marriage partners, as they were both equally nephews. The one who descended, Simpurusia, was angry with his wife. The one who descended, Simpurusia, said to his wife, 'What you have done will bring ruin and destruction to the land. You have only one daughter but you have accepted them both equally as marriage partners.' May I not swell, Wé Patiaqjala said, 'Why should I not accept both their

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[37] Demmikoro \ mani read Demmikoromani

[38] All manuscripts are in general agreement with the present version's reading of Si[m]purusia. The name is possibly a corruption of Sinhapurusa, a transposition of (Sanskrit) purusasinha, 'man-lion'; this would fit well with the meaning of the name of Simpurusia's wife. Alternatively, the first part of the name may be B.B. simpuru, a synonym for ulu, 'head, the handle of a knife or tool, the upper watershead of a river'. This would produce 'head/upper part of SiQa' (cf. Simpurutoja, 'head/upper part of the lake'); there are several possibilities for SiQa, none of them satisfactory.

[39] A kingdom of the upper-world of the La Galigo.

[40] The underworld of the La Galigo, which takes its name from the Hindu goddess and personification of the earth, (Sanskrit) Prthv. It is not clear whether Uriliung and Pérétiwi, whence Simpurusia's grandson La Malalaé obtains magical objects, are the same place; one realm appears to be under the earth and the other under the sea: see footnote ∂ on page ∂.

[41] As in other parts of Southeast Asia, in South Sulawesi it was considered disrespectful to refer to one's superiors by their personal names; among the Bugis it was believed that the spirits of the departed had the power to cause swelling.

[42] *ABCEGJ* PaTiQ/YaJaLa, *FK* PaTéQ/YaJaLa, *H* both, *D* PaTiJaLa. The name is probably derived from (Sanskrit) pati, 'lord' and jala, 'net', thus 'snare of her lord' (cf. jala, 'fishing net', or a type of boat [Niemann 1883:8 line 19]).

[43] 'From the foam of the waves': see line 8 of the poem starting on page ∂.

[44] 'Umbrella': this was the title of the paramount ruler of Luwuq.

[45] The colour of the state umbrella of Luwuq is confirmed by the Chronicle of Boné: 'It was actually a red umbrella, the umbrella of the Datu of Luwuq which was captured' (Macknight and Mukhlis, forthcoming).

proposals, they are equally my nephews and [to]manurung.' Simpurusia withdrew to his sleeping chamber. He burnt all the incense that had come down with him from Botillangiq, and he ascended to Botillangiq. May I not swell, he who descended, Simpurusia, went up before

(42) Patotoqé[46] in Botillangiq. Patotoqé said, 'What brings you here to Botillangiq?' Making obeisance, Simpurusia said, 'I have a child, a beautiful daughter who is now of age. Two lords, my equals in rank, have asked for her in marriage. Your servant, Wé Patiaqjala, has accepted them equally as marriage partners. I have no idea what to do; that is why I have come here, lord, I have come up to Botillangiq'. Patotoqé said, 'Is there not your child' s afterbirth, which you kept when she was born?' Simpurusia said, 'There is indeed, lord. It is stored in a jar.' Patotoqé said, 'You go down to the world. When you get there, take your daughter and afterbirth and place them under a garuda basket.[47] When three days and three nights have passed, open it.' When he had been told this, Simpurusia took leave of Patotoqé and descended to the world. When the one who descended, Simpurusia, arrived, he did as he had been told by Patotoqé in Botillangiq. When three days and nights had passed, he opened the garuda basket and saw two children, twins, sitting together. They were identical; one was as beautiful as the other. †That is the origin of [the custom whereby] the descendants of the one who descended, Simpurusia, do not bury their afterbirths.†[48] Both her afterbirth and her body were wedding partners, they were both children of the one who descended, Simpurusia.[49] Now Simpurusia' s son was called Anakaji,[50] may I not swell. He married the one who was called Wé Tappaqcinna[51] Now she

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[46] Patotoqé, 'he who apportions men's fates', also known as Palanroé, 'the creator', the highest of the gods of the upper-world of the La Galigo (Matthes 1864:377).

[47] The garuda (Sanskrit, garuda) is the giant bird of Indian mythology (sang is an honorific). The basket is presumably a larger version of the type used to cage fighting cocks. Under sékko karuda, Matthes (1874:668) offers the following: 'a sort of circular or square canopy which is hung above the sleeping place of him or her who hopes to be influenced by a higher spirit, and thus become a bissu. Such a canopy is called a sekkoreqkaruda. Underneath (daarin) are hung two imitation bekku karudas [garuda birds]. In such a sekkoreq karuda one can find, among other things, a lawolo, an entwined strand of blue, red, white and back cotton thread, which serves as a representation of the umbilical cord, which the natives regard as the beginning of life.'

[48] †-†: This line does not appear to form part of the original story: it is probably a later addition.

[49] Simpurusia's dilemma, and its solution, bears a notable resemblance to the story of Mandu Dari in the Hikayat Sri Rama, the Malay version of the Indian Ramayana epic. In the guise of an ascetic, the raksasa Rawana tricks Dasarata, the ruler of Isfaha Boga, into granting him a request. Rawana asks for Dasarata's wife, Mandu Dari. Bound by his promise, Dasarata orders Mandu Dari to bathe and to adorn herself before being given to Rawana. Mandu Dari withdraws and, by kneading her body, obtains a ball of dirt from her skin the size of a chicken's egg. She lights incense and prays over the ball of dirt, transforming it first into a green frog and then into an image of herself. Mandu Dari adorns her double and orders her to present herself before Dasarata. The false Mandu Dari is handed over to Rawana, who departs with her. Mandu Dari then appears before her surprised husband telling him of her cunning (Ikram 1980:143-144). Zeiseniss (1963:108) lists the story as being of Indian origin.

[50] 'Royal child'. This sentence introduces the second story.

[51] Heart's wish fulfilled'.

who gave birth to Wé Tappaqcinna (the child of the one who descended at Mancapai[52] who was called Sellamalama[53] was

(43) called [Wé] Barangawéli[54] Wé Tappaqcinna married Anakaji, and he took his wife to Luwuq. The child of the one who descended at Mancapai took with her a number of things her mother had given her: a bundle of incense, a jar of sangiang[55] oil and a length of silk thread dyed yellow with turmeric. When they had been living for a long time in Luwuq as man and wife, a child was born, may I not swell, called Wé Mattengngaémpong,[56] and also a son called To Panangi.[57] Now one day Wé Mattengngaémpong began to cry, so her grandmother, whose name was Wé Patiaqjala, the wife of Simpurusia, sang her a lullaby[58] which went like this:[59]

'The child Wé Maneqdara,[60]
he who was lowered in a bamboo,[61]
he who emerged from a bamboo segment,
lying in a bamboo segment,
the origin of the royal child,
the descendant of Sellamalama,
he who descended in a bamboo,

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[52] The fourteenth and fifteenth-century Javanese kingdom of Majapahit. Matthes 1872b:94 mentions a Mancapai in Boné and another in Wajoq, but this is not in keeping with the theme of the present work, which is to link Simpurusia and his descendants with the great rulers of the three levels of the pre-Islamic Bugis cosmos.

[53] The name Sellamalama is meaningless: it is possibly of Sanskrit origin. Matthes offers just sellaq, 'to moan, wail loudly', and lama, 'incense; bough, shoot; during' (Matthes 1874:745,557).

[54] The name Barangawéli is meaningless; it is possibly of Sanskrit origin. Matthes (1874:189) offers just barang, 'perhaps; sweat'.

[55] According to Matthes 1874:674, sangiang is 'a sort of dewata [Sanskrit: god] [. . .] also [a term] used in poetry in reference to rulers of god-like origin.' Here perhaps it refers to a type of oil used in religious ceremonies.

[56] 'In the middle of the waves'

[57] This is probably To Apanangi of the Royal Genealogy of Luwuq, who can be estimated to have ruled c.1475-c.1500. His name does not occur in other versions: see page ??, above.

[58] The poem is described as an élong, a poetic genre 'of various types, though the majority of them consist of three lines per verse, each line being of eight, seven and six syllables in length' (Fachruddin 1983:17). This description does not fit the present poem, which, despite considerable corruption, is clearly of an eight-syllable-per-line construction, this being the usual metre of the tolo and ménrurana genres.

[59] The inclusion of the poetic fragment in the present work may be compared to the so-called 'Song of the Sword' in Genesis iv 23-24: 'Adah and Zillah, hear my voice, / O wives of Lamech, give ear to my speech: / I have killed a man for wounding me, / A boy for injuring me. / If Cain be avenged sevenfold,/ Then Lamech seventy-sevenfold.' which is generally held to owe its inclusion in the 'Line of Cain' (Genesis iv 17-26) to the mention of Cain in the last couplet (Speiser 1964:37).

[60] maneqdara, O.B. ' serving maid' . The subject of the poem is Wé Tappaqcinna.

[61] The opening line of the poem suggests that the subject particle -é should be translated as 'she' rather than 'he'; this, however, does not make sense in the overall context of the poem. I have, therefore, assumed the subject of this and the following line to be the tomanurung Simpurusia. Cf. Braam Morris (1889:550) regarding how Bataraguru, the first of the La Galigo' s god-rulers, descended to earth in a bamboo, along a rainbow.

[and] she who arose from the foam of the waves,
no longer lowered,[62]
not by boat did she follow,
not by boat did she cross,[63]
[but] over a bridge of a single thread,
of silk dyed yellow with turmeric,
driving away the angry spirits,[64]
racing against the dog-ghosts,[65]
so that they would not crowd around,
and trample on her oil;[66]
not a clump of earth,
not a bitter cake filling,
not a dry turd,
[did she bring with her to Luwuq].

Wé Tappaqcinna became angry when she heard her mother-in-law's élong. She rubbed on her sangiang oil, burnt her incense, unwound her silk thread and crossed over [the ocean] on it, and returned to Mancapai. Her husband, who was called Anakaji, came looking for his wife, but could not find her. She who arose from the water foam

(44) said to her son Anakaji, 'Your wife has returned to Mancapai.' Anakaji set off without delay and followed his wife across the bridge over the water. Anakaji arrived in Mancapai, where he met his father-in-law. He who descended at Mancapai said, 'What is the matter, Anakaji? Why do you come in such haste to Mancapai?' Anakaji said, 'I am following my little sister, lord.' He who descended at Mancapai said, 'Wé Tappaqcinna claims that she was humiliated by her aunt.' Anakaji said, 'Give my little sister Wé Tappaqcinna to me, lord; I will take her back to Luwuq. Now if my mother says anything further that my little sister Wé Tappaqcinna does not like, my lords who descended will no - longer have a child.'[67] Wé Tappaqcinna was returned to her husband, and earth that had descended with Sellamalama at Mancapai was dug up and brought to Luwuq. The men of Wagé, Témpé and Singkang accompanied their earth. Then they met at Tampangeng. bThus they were called 'The lands which are kept'.b [68] Husband and wife arrived back in Luwuq.[69] May I not swell,

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[62] Kern (1929:311) translates this as 'not even made to smell sweet' , from O.B. ulo , 'fragrant'.

[63] The poem refers to Wé Tappaqcinna' s crossing of the Indian Ocean to South Sulawesi.

[64] This translation is based on Matthes (1872b:93).

[65] dog-ghosts: asu panting, 'a kind of ghost having the form of a dog. If approached, however, it will withdraw. When an asu panting eats a person's excrement, that person will develop dysentery and his or her anus will become enlarged' (Matthes 1874:899).

[66] The translation of this and the preceding line is uncertain.

[67] That is, 'I will disown my own mother and father.'

[68] b—b: This passage does not appear to form part of the original story: it a reference to overlordship by Luwuq. Wagé, Témpé and Tampangeng are settlements close by Singkang (modern-day Sengkang).The passage is probably derived from a Wajo tradition; cf. Abidin (1985:202), where the words tana polé ri Mancapai (the lands which came down from Majapahit) may be found in connection with the same three settlements.

Wé Tappaqcinna' s daughter, who was called Wé Mattengngaémpong, was already grown up and already queen of the crocodiles; she was married to the one who was called [La Tuppusolo][70] Acang Kuling[71]. She gave birth, may I not swell, to the one called La Malalaé,[72] and girl called Da La Ia[73] Da La Ia was taken down to Uriliung[74] by her father.[75] La Malalaé cried continuously, for he wanted to go down to bathe in the river, but he was not brought down by him who descended, [Simpurusia].

(45) Water was borne up to the palace at Luwuq, but La Malalaé refused to comply; he wanted to go down to bathe in the river. He refused to bathe with the water that had been carried up in the porcelain bowl and did not stop pleading to go down to the river. So La Malalaé was taken down to bathe in the river. He was met by his father, who took him down to Pérétiwi for nine nights before returning again to the earth. [Before he departed] his grandparent gave him what are called anaqbeccing, sujikama and patangareng, as well as laé laé and dapoq balibonga.[76]. Wé Demmikoro[77] was the name of the one who carried the dapoq balibonga. Then the people from Pérétiwi who had come up with La Malalaé returned to their lord, all of them returned again to Pérétiwi, as they were afraid of smelling the scent [of] the people of the world. They just placed the anaqbeccing, sujikama, laélaé and patangareng down on the earth. Only Wé Demmikoro remained on the earth, as she was afraid that her dapo balibonga would break. So she lived on the earth where she fenced in a garden and planted flowers.

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[69] This sentence introduces the third story.

[70] 'He who holds back the current'

[71] 'Droplets of dew'

[72] The root of this name appears to be O.B. mallala, 'separate, divide, sever' , thus 'he who separates' , etc.

[73] 'Mother of La Ia'

[74] 'Bottom of the deep', an underwater realm presumably believed to lie under the Gulf of Boné.

[75] *b* group manuscripts add that she had been cast under a spell.

[76] Matthes 1874:194 describes anaqbeccing laélaé as 'a kind of amulet (duiveldrijver)' , and laélaé (ibid., p. 619) is similarly defined. Sujikama (ibid., p. 719) is an amulet made of iron, and patangareng (ibid., p. 280) 'a sort of apparatus made of tin which bissu sometimes wear on their heads in the form of a small cage.' Dapo balibonga (ibid., p. 387) is possibly a kind of dapo [cf. Malay dapur, 'stove, kitchen'] formerly used by the sanro (medical specialists) as a censer in exorcism ceremonies, but elsewhere (ibid., p.211/689) 'a great earthen cooking pot.' Matthes illustrates a number of these 'amulets' in his Ethnographic Atlas of 1885. Figure 1 on plate 9 shows an anaqbeccing. Two varieties of laé laé are shown in figures 15 and 16, a sujikama in figure 5 and a dapoq in figure 34 on plate 11. Said (1977:36) describes anaqbeccing as 'a type of musical instrument (bunyi-bunyian) which is sounded at mid–day (pada waktu siang) for a number of days after a woman has given birth.' See also Zerner (1981:90), who translates Toraja dapo as 'forge hearth'

[77] The elements of this name appear to be demmi, 'noose' and koroq, 'shrink, contract'.

2.2 The Royal Genealogy of Luwuq

The Royal Genealogy of Luwuq (hereafter RGL) is the name I have given to the work (or perhaps works) represented by the eighteen manuscript texts listed in table 2–2. Each sets out in chronological order a list of the rulers of Luwuq, beginning with Simpurusia, the founder of Luwuq's ruling lineage following the 'Age of Galigo', and extending down to eighteenth– or nineteenth–century rulers. B.F. Matthes published the text of one of these manuscripts in the first volume of the *Boeginesch Chrestomathie* (Matthes 1864:529–530). Matthes did not mention his source, but his list of rulers is almost identical with those found in codices NBG 100 and 101 (cf. Matthes 1872b:60–61). It is also possible that Matthes obtained his list from Tajuddin, a Makassar–domiciled Malay, who was responsible for the important codex NBG 208, in which a similar list is found (Matthes 1864:3,61; 1881:6–16). A set of notes dealing with the correct orthography of names and titles was later published in volume three of the *Chrestomathie* (Matthes 1872b:94–96).

2.2.1 Versions of the RGL

Manuscript versions of the RGL are shown in table 2–2. These are henceforth referred to by the letter given in the right–hand column.

Table 2–2: Versions of the RGL

Collection	Number	Page	Letter
KITLV	272 Ia	1.1–2.3	*A*
KITLV	272 L	56.1–57.5	*B*
MAK	66	31.1–31.11	*C*
MAK	90	35.33–36.5	*D*
MAK	101	1.1–2.12	*E*
MAK	101	4.1–4.10	*F*
MAK	104	51.29–52.5	*G*
MAK	188	7.30–7.37	*H*
MAK	188	11.1–11.18	*J*
NBG	100	39.19–39.27	*K*
NBG	100	102.28–103.7	*L*
NBG	101	40.23–41.5	*M*
NBG	101	52.4–52.12	*N*
NBG	127	37.12–38.10	*O*
NBG	208	140.1–140.22	*P*
NBG	208	143.17–143.29	*Q*
VT	84	338.1–338.11	*R*
VT	133	132.1–135.3	*S*

Despite their common subject matter, the extent of disagreement among the eighteen versions is remarkable: while some record as many as fourteen rulers, one names as few as seven.[1] We shall therefore examine these textual differences with the aim of discovering what can be learnt of the relationships between the eighteen versions. In keeping with the limits of this study, the enquiry will end with the first Muslim ruler of South Sulawesi, La Patiwareq, Daéng Pareqbung, Sultan Muhammad Wali Muzhir (or Muzahir) al–din, Matinroé ri Wareq ('He who sleeps at Wareq' [the former palace–centre of Luwuq at Malangké]), whose acceptance of the Islamic faith is mentioned in most versions.[2] As we shall be examining only a part of each version, all conclusions regarding the relationships between them should be regarded as provisional. A single example will suffice to demonstrate the method used to determine the relationships between versions. In figure 2–2 below is shown the relative position of one ruler of Luwuq, Déwaraja, along with his teknonym, the name of his father and the name of his son, as found in the eighteen versions.

Figure 2–2: Déwaraja, Datu Luwuq

MS.	Ruler No.	Teknonym	Father	Son (Brother*)
A	6		To Apanangi	Bataraguru*
B	11	To Sangerreng	La Malalaé	To Apaio
C				
D	10	To Sangerreng	La Malalaé	To Apaio
E				
F	11	To Sangerreng	La Malalaé	To Paio
G	11	To Asengngerreng	La Malalaé	To Apaio
H	9		To Sangireng	To Apaio
J	9		To Sangireng	To Apaio
K	11	To Sangireng	La Malalaé	To Apaio
L	11	To Asengngerreng	La Malalaé	To Apaio
M	11	To Sangerreng	La Malalaé	To Apaio
N	11	To Sangerreng	To Malalaé	To Apaio
O				
P	11	To Sangerreng	To Malalaé	To Apaio
Q	11	To Sangerreng	To Malalaé	To Apaio
R				
S				

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[1] There seems to be little disagreement as to the names and sequence of rulers after 1600.

[2] It was common practice among Bugis and Makasar chroniclers to refer to deceased rulers by posthumous 'titles', which describe how or where they died, or where they were cremated or buried. La Patiwareq converted to Islam on February 4 or 5, 1605 (REF).

Two groups of texts can be discerned: *ABDFGHJKLMNPQ*, versions of which list Déwaraja as ruler of Luwuq and *CEORS*, versions of which do not.[3] Déwaraja's historical existence is confirmed in the Chronicle of Boné (Macknight and Mukhlis, forthcoming), a chronicle of Wajo (Noorduyn:1955:70,73) and the Lontara Sukkuqna Wajo (Abidin 1985:202,231–239), all of which describe Déwaraja as Datu, or ruler, of Luwuq.[4] *CEORS* must be mistaken in omitting him from their lists of rulers and can be set aside for the moment.

Turning to the thirteen versions of the first group (*ABDFGHJKLMNPQ*), it will be seen that nine agree regarding to Déwaraja's position within the list of rulers, ten agree regarding his teknonym, ten agree regarding the name of his father, and twelve agree regarding the name of his son. At this stage it is tempting to avoid the problem of variant readings by stating that according to most sources (*BFGKLMNPQ*), Déwaraja, alias To Sangerreng (or Sangireng) was the eleventh ruler of Luwuq , that his father was La (or To) Malalaé, and that his son was To Apaio. The temptation to do so increases when we find that that the objections raised by three of the four remaining versions are easily overcome. As we proceed with the analysis, however, we shall see that, in all likelihood, all but one of the attributes of this statement are wrong. Turning to the four versions which disagree with one or more of the above readings, we find that *D*'s listing of Déwaraja as the tenth, rather than eleventh, ruler of Luwuq, is explained by its accidental omission of one of the preceding rulers. *H* and *J* do likewise with no less than three earlier rulers, one of whom is La Malalaé; in addition, both versions confuse Déwaraja's teknonym, To Sangerreng, for the name of his father. *DH* and *J* can therefore be added to the group *BFGKLMNPQ*.

But the objections raised by *A* resist such ready explanation. *A*'s list of rulers preceding Déwaraja is radically different from those of *BDFGHJKLMNPQ*, and Déwaraja's position in *A* as the sixth ruler of Luwuq simply cannot be explained as the result of scribal error. *A*, moreover, states that To Apanangi was both the father of Déwaraja and of the following ruler, Bataraguru. The eighteen versions can now be divided into three groups: *BDFGHJKLMNPQ,* for which the reading is agreed, *CEORS*, upon which we have suspended judgement, and *A*, whose variant readings cannot be explained as the result of scribal error. By repeating this process for the rest of the individuals identified as rulers, we arrive finally at the conclusion that all eighteen versions can be divided into just two distinct groups. The first of these consists of versions *BDFGHJKLMNOPQR* and produces a list of fourteen rulers to A.D.1600. Versions belonging to this group present their information in the form of a simple and obviously idealized father/mother–son/daughter inheritance of rulership, adding little or no additional genealogical or anecdotal information. The list of rulers produced by versions belonging to this group can be confidently established, the full list

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[3] *CES* list Déwaraja simply as a son of To Apanangi, while *OR* omit him completely.
[4] Following the chronology provided by the Chronicle of Boné, Déwaraja's rule can be dated to the early sixteenth century. The Chronicle states that Déwaraja was defeated in battle by Boné's fifth ruler, La Tenrisuki (ruled c.1512–c.1540). Noorduyn's Chronicle of Wajoq states that one year prior to his unsuccessful attack on Boné, Déwaraja concluded a treaty with the fourth Arung Matoa of Wajoq, La Tadampareq, who ruled c.1490–c.1520 (Abidin 1971:169; 1985:230–232). Déwaraja's defeat can therefore be placed between c.1512 and c.1520.

being found in *GKLMNPQ*. The second group consists of versions *ACES*. Versions belonging to this group present their information in the form of a genealogy, and produce a list of twelve rulers, though with less certainty than for the list of fourteen rulers produced by the first group. The two lists (represented by versions *A* and *M*) are shown in figure 2–3.

Figure 2–3: Luwuq 's rulers to A.D. 1600 according to A and M

A	*M*
Simpurusia	Simpurusia
Anakaji	Anakaji
Tampabalusu	To Apanangi
Tanrabalusu	Tampabalusu
To Apanangi	Datu Apira
Déwaraja	Tanrabalusu
Bataraguru	Bataraguru
To Sangkawana*	Datu Maogé
La Malalae*	To Sangkawana
Datu ri Saoleqbi	La Malalaé
Maningo ri Bajo	To Sangerreng, Dewaraja
Matinroe ri Wareq	To Apaio
	Maningo ri Bajo
* marked as rulers in *C*	Matinroé ri Wareq

Versions within each group differ only in the sort of detail that, as we have seen above with the case of Déwaraja, can be accounted for as the product of simple or accumulated scribal error. It would thus appear that the two groups derive from independent sources dealing with the same subject. The genealogies produced by versions *A* and *M* may be compared with the paired genealogies found in Genesis 4 and 5 (figures 2–4 and 2–5). The Genesis genealogies are generally agreed to have been drawn from two separate sources, the 'Yahwist' (*J*) and the 'Priestly' (*P*), both of which derive from oral traditions; their range of variation is similar to, if not smaller than, that shown by *A* and *M*.[5]

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[5] For a discussion of these and other biblical genealogies, see Wilson (1977), chapters 3 and 4.
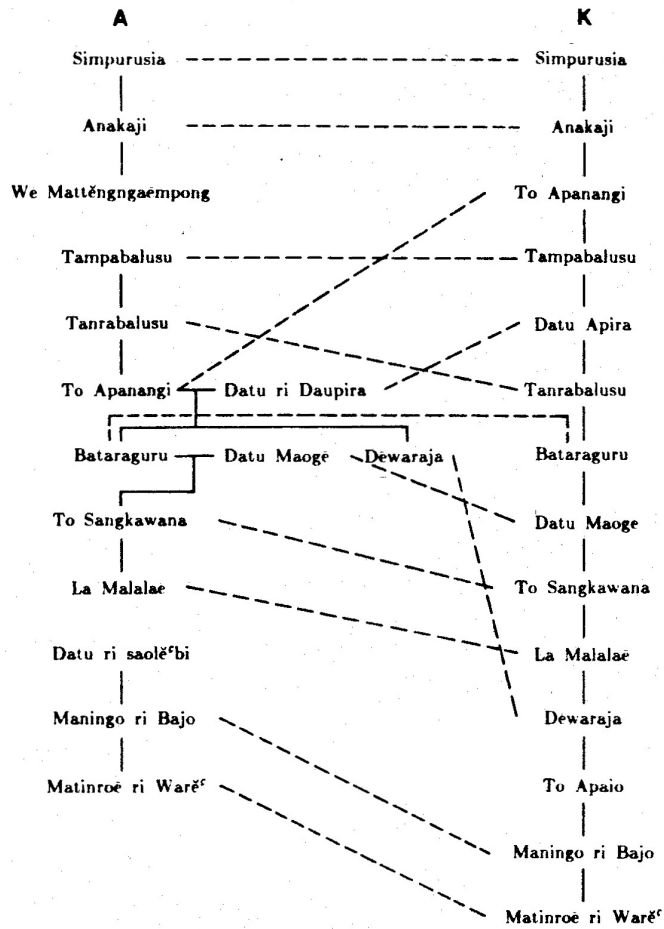
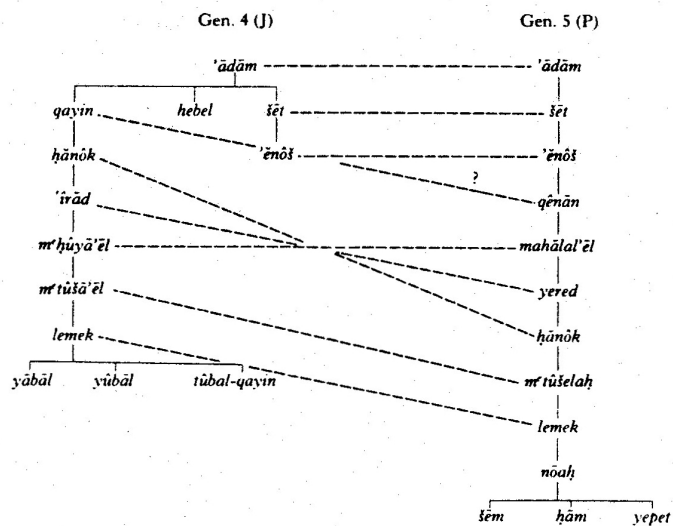**Figure 2-4:** Genealogical Variation in the RGL

Figure 2-5: Genealogical Variation in Genesis 4 and 5

The final task is to decide which of the two lists of rulers is historically more accurate. There are a number of circumstantial reasons for supposing versions belonging to the group *ACES* to contain a more reliable tradition than those of group *BDFGHJKLMNOPQR*. Versions *ACES* are certainly more impressive than versions *BDFGHJKLMNOPQR*, in that the former contain several times the information of the latter. While it would be easier to understand how a list like that found in versions belonging to the first group might derive from the more complex genealogy found in those of the second, there is no internal evidence for such a process. By a stroke of good fortune there exist two short texts against which we can compare the two groups of versions. These texts are the Attoriolongngé ri Déwaraja, (History of Déwaraja) (MAK 100:136.14–136.30, hereafter Dew) and the Atturunna To Apanangi (Descendants of To Apanangi) (MAK 66:1.1–1.11 [to '1600'], hereafter Apan). The first of these texts traces four generations of Déwaraja's descendants, only one of whom (La Malalaé) appears in the RGL. The second text provides a genealogy of To Apanangi's descendants, seven of whom appear as rulers in versions belonging to either or both groups of the RGL's versions.[6] While the titles of Déw and Apan are probably no more than tags attached to them by later copyists, it is clear that, while pursuing different genealogical lines, Déw and Apan agree very closely with the genealogy produced by *ACES* and hardly at all with the list of rulers produced by *BDFGHJKLMNOPQR*. Indeed, the close agreement between Déw, Apan and *ACES* strongly suggests that all, ultimately, share a common source. Furthermore, the additional information provided by Déw and Apan helps to account for many of the differences between the list of rulers produced by versions belonging to the first group and those of the second.[7] By comparing the genealogies in Déw and Apan with *A* and *M*, we shall attempt to demonstrate not only Déw's and Apan's support for versions *ACES* over those of *BDFGHJKLMNOPQR*, but also to reconstruct something of the source which appears to lie beneath Déw, Apan and *ACES*. (Edited texts and translations of the four sources are given on pages 33 to 44, together with an analysis of names.) The paraphrase will start with the first ruler of the RGL, Simpurusia and continue through to the last ruler of our period, Matinroé ri Wareq. Justification for the selection between the variant readings of the four texts will given as the reconstruction precedes.

Simpurusia is the first ruler of Luwuq following the age of I La Galigo. He marries Wé Patia jala. Simpurusia's son is Anakaji (*AM*).

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[6] As only one version each of Déw and Apan can be found, the question of whether they represent separate works or fragments of a larger work will be avoided here.

[7] These differences are: (1) in *A*, To Apanangi is the fifth ruler of Luwuq; in *M* he is the third: (2) in *K*, Datu [ri D]a[u]pira is the fifth ruler of Luwuq; in *A* she is the wife of To Apanangi: (3) in *A*, Déwaraja is the brother of Bataraguru; in *M* he is the great–great–grandson of Bataraguru: (4) in *A*, Datu Maogé is the wife of Bataragugu; in *M* she is the eighth ruler of Luwuq: (5) in *A*, To Sangkawana is Bataraguru's son; in *M* he is Bataraguru's grandson: (6) the twelfth ruler of *M*, To Apaio, is not found in *A*.

Anakaji is the second ruler of Luwuq (*AM*). Anakaji marries Wé Tappaqcinna, the daughter of the ruler of Majapai.[8] Anakaji's daughter is Wé Mattengngaémpong (*A*).

> The structure and language of this passage in *A* shows clearly that its source was descended from the *b* recension of the Lontaraqna Simpurusia. (See page 14.)

Tampabalusu, is the third ruler of Luwuq . He marries Da Oé. Tampabalusu's son is Tanrabalusu (*A*).

> There is no genealogical connection in *A* between Anakaji and Tampabalusu, neither does Tampabalusu appear in the Lontaraqna Simpurusia, Déw or Apan. We may conclude, both on internal and external grounds, that the author of the RGL turned here to a second source. (The problem of *M*'s variant reading will be examined shortly.)

Tanrabalusu, is the fourth ruler of Luwuq . Tanrabalusu's son is To Apanangi (*A*).

> The occurrence of the teknonym Da Oé ('Mother of Oé': oé is the term used by children of common birth to address their elders) between the names Tampabalusu and Tanrabalusu greatly reduces the possibility that Tanrabalusu is an accidental mis-reading of Tampabalusu: the *aksara* MPa and NRa are easily confused owing to their similar shapes.

To Apanangi is the fifth ruler of Luwuq. He marries Datu ri Daupira (*A,* Apan). His children are Ajiguna (from *C*) Déwaraja, Bataraguru (*A,* Apan), Ajiriwu, Sadaraja and Racépuja (*A*).

> So far we have followed A's account of rulers and their offspring rather than that of M. The reasons for this are as follows. Firstly, as has been observed, *M*'s idealized and unbroken father–son series of rulers renders its historical reliability suspect: A provides a more complex argument, particularly from its fifth ruler onwards. Secondly, from To Apanangi onwards, *A* is broadly supported by Apan and Déw. Thirdly, *M*'s fifth ruler, Datu Daupira, is the wife of To Apanangi in *A.* As it would seem considerably easier for a copyist to accidentally mistake the name of a wife for that of a ruler than vice–versa, *A*'s reading is preferred. Finally, as the sequences of rulers from To Apanangi onwards in Apan does not include Tampabalusu, we may conclude that he must precede To Apanangi as in *A,* rather than succeed him as in *M.*

Déwaraja is the sixth ruler of Luwuq (*A*). His teknonym is To Sangerreng (*M*). Déwaraja's children are Sangaji Batara and Sangaji La Mua (*A,* Apan, Déw). Sangaji Batara goes east (to Timor?) where he marries and has a daughter, Rajadéwa. On reaching adulthood, Rajadéwa returns to Luwuq and marries La Malalaé, the son of [To Sangkawana] the Datu Luwuq (*A,* Déw). Rajadéwa bears La Malalaé four children. Their names are Settié, To Luwuqmangura,

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[8] This spelling *A*: the *Lontaraqna Simpurusia* has Ma[n]capai.

Unitanyara and To Luwuqbébé. Rajadéwa then marries her father's brother's son, by whom she has two children, Patiwarasa and Patimajawari. Rajadéwa remarries La Malalaé (Déw), whom she bears two children: Sagariaja, who is also known as Patipaduri, and Sagarilau (*A, Déw*), who is also known as Macangngé (*A*). Settié, Rajadéwa's son by her first marriage, is driven out of Luwuq by the people of Luwuq , with the agreement of his younger brother, Luwuq mangura. Settié buys land at Mamutu and lives there. He has a daughter, Magalika, who is married at Patunru (Déw).

> The close correspondence between *A* and Déw (and initially Apan) provides confirmation of a common source. The historicity of this passage is at once apparent. Its detailed account of the births, marriages, remarriages and fraternal conflicts of the ruling family of Luwuq are presented in a dry and factual manner, providing us with a tantalizing glimpse of early–sixteenth–century political alliances and conflicts.

Bataraguru is the seventh ruler of Luwuq (*A*). He marries Datu Maogé (*A, Apan*). His son is To Sangkawana. To Sangkawana's son is La Malalaé (*AM, Apan*).

Datu ri saoleqbi is the eighth ruler of Luwuq (*A*) (see footnote *∂* on page *∂*.) He marries Maningo ri Jappué. Their child is Maningo ri Bajo. He or she is titled Oputta Opunna Rawe (*A*, Apan).

Maningo ri Bajo is the ninth ruler of Luwuq (*A*). Maningo ri Bajo marries Datu ri Balubu and their son is Matinroé ri Wareq (*A*, Apan).

Matinroé ri Wareq is the tenth ruler of Luwuq (*A*).

> From Bataraguru onwards, both *A* and Apan show signs of confusion, while *M's* sequence bears little relationship to either. The relationship of Datu ri saoleqbi to other members of the genealogy is questionable: *A* introduces him without mentioning his origin, while Apan appears to identify him as the son of Ajiriwu, the brother of Déwaraja mentioned in *CES.* Agreement is restored in all three texts with the names of the last two rulers, Maningo ri Bajo and Matinroé ri Wareq , Luwuq 's first Moslem ruler. It is clear from the above comparison that versions *A,* Déw and Apan share, in part, a common source. *A* was based upon three sources. These were: a *b* group version of the *Lontaraqna Simpurusia,* an unknown source which provided the names of two (apparently later) rulers and one of their wives, and the common source of Déw and Apan, which appears to have been a genealogy of pre–seventeenth–century rulers of Luwuq . *M's* sources were evidently quite different from those of *A,* unless we accept that *M* (and *BDFGHJKLNOPQR*) is descended from an ancestor of *A* via an oral source which radically re–structured the tradition contained within this ancestor.

2.2.2 Dating the RGL

It is difficult to suggest a date of composition for the RGL. An obvious problem is that some copyists have added the names of later rulers, thus keeping their versions 'up to date'. Eight versions of the RGL end with the names of three children of Matinroé ri tengnganna Patiro (she who sleeps in the middle of Patiro), which enables us to date them to the late eighteenth century (cf. Matthes 1864:530, 1872b:95) (*GHJKLMNQ*); others end at various times up to the early twentieth century. Thus the present form of the RGL probably dates from the late eighteenth century.

2.2.3 The RGL as a Historical Source

The RGL is of limited historical value, due partly to the fact that it offers us little evidence for the period before 1500, and partly to remaining uncertainties as to the relationships between certain individuals found in its post–1500 section. Despite our efforts at reconstruction of its major source, the RGL continues to provide more questions than answers regarding the names and relationships of Luwuq's sixteenth–century rulers. External sources are little help: the Lontara Sukkuqna Wajoq states that Déwaraja's father was La Busatana (Abidin 1985:202), who can reasonably be identified with To Apanangi (father of Apanangi). But YKSST 3024, 'book' 8, p. 145 (apparently another Wajoq source) states that Déwaraja was succeeded by his brother, Daéng Leqba, who was also known as Sagaria (=Sagariaja in *A*?), while the Chronicle of Boné records a quarrel between Bongkangngé (c.1565–c.1581), the seventh–recorded ruler of Boné, and a Datu Luwuq named Sangkaria. Further research is needed to solve these problems: in the meantime, the evidence of the RGL and its reconstructed source must be used with caution.

2.2.4 Text, Royal Genealogy of Luwuq

Datué riasengngé Si[m]purusia[9]yi[a]muto riputati[10] Patiaqjala manurungngé ri busa uwae ko[11] ri Ta[m]pengngeng[12] najajiangngi Anakaji manurungngé ri Majapai riaseng Sellamalama yi[a]na siala Batarawéli[13] najaji Wé Tabacinna[14] seukureng raung jeppu

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[9] Bold type is used throughout the transcription to indicate words or groups of words that are found in the left–hand margin, either parallel, or within reasonable proximity, to the text to which they refer, into which they have been included here. There are no *pallawa*; instead the complexes are separated by spaces, in the European tradition. The present version was made for Ligtvoet by an unknown copyist in the mid–nineteenth century.

[10] riputati: a corruption. The structure of this sentence, and a comparison with *C*'s opening words, manurungngé ri pettung riyasengngé Si[m]purusia, suggests that the ancestral reading of both texts was iamuto riasengngé manurungngé ri awo pettung. This conjecture is followed in the translation.

[11] ko: meaning unknown. It is omitted in the translation.

[12] Ta[m]pengngeng read Tampangeng

[13] Batarawéli read Barangawéli, as in version *E* of the Lontaraqna Simpurusia.

[14] Wé Tabacinna read Wé Tappaqcinna, as in version *H* of the Lontaraqna Simpurusia.

sepidupu[15] minynya sepite wannang[16] sutara riatéunyi naripawawai rinunu[17] lao marola ri Luu najajina Wé Mattangaempong[18] nariakkélongang rinénéqna inauréna ∂[19] makkadaé inanga yi[a]na mamana[20] ri lapatelleng – lé[w]u ri lappa tulala[21] nai[a]napa Anakaji Anakajina siala Wé Tappa cinna najajiangngi Wé Mattengngaé[m]pong nai[a]napa Ta[m]pabalusu yi[a]na siala Da wOé najaji Tanrabalusu nai[a]napa Tanrabalusu yi[a]na jajiyangngi To Apanangi nai[a]napa Datu ri wanuanna nai[a]napa La Mariawa nai[a]napa Datu ri Dawupira[22] nai[a]napa To Apanangi To Apanangi powawinéi Datu [ri Dau]pira najaji Déwaraja najaji Bataraguru a[n]rangngé Ajiriwu a[n]réngngé Sadaraja é[n]réngngé Racépuja nai[a]tapa[23] Déwaraja Déwaraja najajiangngi Sangaji Batara Sangaji La Moa[24] naSangaji Batarana lao ma bawiné ri timoro nakkéane séuwa woroané riaseng Rajadéwa naRajadéwana lisu ri Luwuq napowawinéi aneqna[25] La Malalaé najajina Sagariaja Sagarilau naSagariajana riaseng Patipaduri naSagarilauqna riaseng Macangngé Sagarilauqna Patunru nai[a]napa Bataraguru Bataraguruna powawinéi Datu Maogé najaji To Sapuwana[26] naTo jajiangngi La Malala[27] nai[a]napa La Mariala[28] (2) nai[a]napa Datu ri saoléqbi nasiala Maningo ri Ja[m]pué najajina Maningo ri Bajo Oputta Opunna Rawé polakkaiwi Datué ri Balubu najaji Matinroé ri Wareq

2.2.5 Translation

The ruler called Simpurusia.[29] He was also called 'he who descended in a bamboo'. [Simpurusia married Wé] Patiaqjala, the one who descended in the water foam at Tampangeng.[30] They had a child, Anakaji. The one who descended at Majapai was called Sellamalama. He married Barangawéli and they had a child, Wé Tappaqcinna. Her mother gave her a bundle of incense, a pot of oil and a bobbin of silk thread dyed yellow with turmeric to take with her to Luwuq. She gave birth to Wé Mattengngaémpong. Her grandmother sang her a lullaby, which went:

The child Wé Manédara,

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[15] sepidupu read sepiduang

[16] wannang read wennang

[17] rinunu read ri [i]nanna

[18] Wé Mattengngaémpong, as below.

[19] This symbol apparently indicates the beginning of the poem. An identical symbol can be found at the beginning of version *D* of the Lontaraqna Simpurusia.

[20] This line is corrupt: it is replaced in the translation by the first line of the poem in version *E* of the Lontara na Simpurusia, which reads anaq Wé Manédara.

[21] tulala read tulali

[22] *C*'s reading of Daupira is followed in the translation.

[23] naiatapa read naianapa

[24] *Déw*'s reading of Sangaji La Mua is followed in the translation. *CES* omit.

[25] aneqna read anaqna

[26] *M*'s reading of To Sa[ng]kawana is followed in the translation. CES omit.

[27] *M*'s reading of La Malalaé is followed in the translation. CES omit.

[28] La Mariawa, as above.

[29] For the use of bold type, see page ∂, footnote ∂.

[30] Pelras *Domains to kingdoms* p.11 says a landing place next to Amasengngneng in Sengkang.

[he who emerged] from a bamboo,
lying in a bamboo segment.[31]

Now concerning Anakaji. Anakaji married Wé Tappaqcinna and they had a child, Wé Mattengngaémpong. Now concerning Tampabalusu.[32] He married Da Oé[33] and they had a child, Tanrabalusu. Now concerning Tanrabalusu. He had a child, To Apanangi.[34] Now concerning Datu ri wanuanna.[35] Now concerning La Mariawa. Now concerning Datu ri Daupira.[36] Now concerning To Apanangi. To Apanangi married Datu ri Daupira and their children were Déwaraja,[37] Bataraguru,[38] Ajiriwu,[39] Sadaraja[40] and Racépuja.[41] Now concerning Déwaraja.[42] Déwaraja's children were Sangaji Batara[43] and Sangaji La Mua.[44] Sangaji Batara went to marry in the east.[45] He had a child called Rajadéwa.[46] Rajadéwa

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[31] The three gifts that Wé Tappaqcinna brings to Luwuq, the birth of her daughter and the lullaby that her grandmother sings are taken from the Lontaraqna Simpurusia, parts of which the author of the present work (or perhaps a later editor) can apparently recall from memory. The vocabulary used and the omission of the second line of the poem show the source to have descended from version *b* of the LS.

[32] The second element of this name and the name of the following ruler, Tanrabalusu, is balusu, a type of seashell which can be bored out to make a ring or bracelet. . The meaning of the first element of each name is uncertain: the *aksara* MPa is sometimes used in Bugis texts to represent a double Pa (and more rarely a single Pa), hence in its original form Tampabalusu may not have been pre–nasalized. Among the possibilities offered for TaMPa are tapa, 'ascetic practice', tappa, 'visible', tappang, 'prospective, future', tappa , 'shine, glimmer'; end (a variant of cappa), tampa, 'a gift' and tampang, 'to burn, as of the mouth with sirih.' The combination TaNRa likewise offers more than one reading; among these is tanra, 'sign'.

[33] According to Matthes (1874:897), oé is a term used by children of common birth to address their elders.

[34] Meaning unknown: pana, '[water] spout' is a possible root.

[35] 'The ruler in his [or her] land'

[36] Daupira is presumably a place–name.

[37] (Sanskrit) devaraja, 'god–king'. All the children of To Apanangi appear to have Javanese–Sanskrit titles.

[38] (Sanskrit) bhattaraguru, 'noble teacher': the title in Java of the Hindu deity Siva.]

[39] Meaning unknown. The name is probably of Javanese–Sanskrit origin, now corrupt: Aji is (Javanese) aji, 'king' (Aji is one of the titles of Patotoqé, the ruler of the heavens in the I La Galigo); (Sanskrit) ajita, 'invincible, unconquerable' is a remote possibility. In Bugis the second element, RiWu, produces riwu, 'hundred thousand', or riwuq, 'storm'. Sadaraja (Sanskrit), 'always a king'.

[40] (Sanskrit) sadaraja, 'always a king'.

[41] Meaning unknown: probably (Sanskrit) rajapuja, 'worship of the king', or perhaps here 'lord of the buffalo sacrifice' (cf. Matthes 1864:121). *C* states that there were six children (the present text lists only five) and adds the name Ajiguna (meaning unknown) (*E* Ajiguna *S* Ajicutu) before that of Déwaraja.

[42] *E* adds that Déwaraja opened Mamutu, and that he 'seized the child of the ruler of Sidénréng' (ala aneqna aqdatuangngé ri Sidé[n]réng) an action which presumably refers to Luwu q's conflicts with Sidénréng in the early sixteenth century, recorded in the Lontaraq Sukkuqna Wajoq (Abidin 1985).

[43] FOOTNOTE MISSING

[44] Mua, unknown. (Javanese) sang is an honorific; (Javanese) aji, 'king'; (Sanskrit) bhattara, 'noble lord'.

[45] in the east: ri timoro (=Timor?)

[46] 'Ruler of the gods', a transposition of Déwaraja (cf. Sanskrit rajin CHECK deva, 'queen of the gods').

returned to Luwu and married the son of [To Sangkawana, the Datu Luwuq, whose name was][47] La Malalaé. Their children were Sagariaja and Sagarilauq,[48] Sagariaja was called Patipaduri[49] and Sagarilauq was called Macangngé:[50] Sagarilau [held the office of] Patunru.[51] Now concerning Bataraguru. Bataraguru married Datu Maogé[52] and their son was To Sangkawana.[53] To Sangkawana's child was La Malalaé. Now concerning La Mariawa.[54]

(2) Now concerning Datu ri saoleqbi,[55] he married Maningo ri Jampué[56] and their child was Maningo ri Bajo[57] [who was titled] Oputta Opunna Rawé.[58] [Maningo ri Bajo] married Datu ri Balubu[59] and their child was Matinroé ri Wareq .[60]

2.2.6 Text, King List of Luwuq

Tania kupomabusung \ lakkeqlakkeqi \ wija tomangkauqé \ Si[m]purusia \ [n]cajiangngi \ Anakaji \ Anakaji \ [n]cajiangngi \ To Apanangi \ To Apanangi \ [n]cajajiangngi \ Ta[m]pabalosu[61] \ Ta[m]pabalosuna \ [n]cajiangngi \ Datu Apira \ Datu Apira \ [n]cajiangngi \ Ta[n]rabalosu[62] \ Ta[n]rabalosuna \ [n]cajiangngi \ Bataraguru \ iana mula

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[47] This conjecture solves the problem of the mismatched generations that the text produces between Rajadéwa and the 'child of La Malalaé'. See also section 2.2.9.

[48] These names are a pair: their final elements are respectively 'in the west' and 'in the east' (literally, 'towards the mountains' and 'towards the sea').

[49] Meaning unknown: the first element is perhaps (Sanskrit) pati, 'lord'; (Javanese), 'first minister'.

[50] 'The clever one'

[51] 'Father of council' (Mundy 1848:155)

[52] Meaning unknown: Maogé is presumably a place name. *ECS* state that Bataraguru married Datu ri Daupira.

[53] Meaning unknown: sang is an honorific. *ECS* state that Bataraguru's children were Datu ri saoleqbi (below) and Wé Raga (*E* Wé Ragi).

[54] It is difficult to place La Mariawa within the genealogy. His name has occurred above (following the first mention of To Apanangi); here someone (presumably the copyist) has attempted to erase the name. The present test's second mention of La Mariawa is found in the same position in *CES,* which add the names of two more unattached rulers, Datu Maogé (the wife of Bataraguru, above) and Datu Makkunraié ('the female ruler').

[55] FOOTNOTE MISSING

[56] The title Maningo is not found in Matthes (1874). This and the example on page ∂ are the only occurrences of the title that I have come across. Jampu (Malay jambu, a fruit) is a common place–name in South Sulawesi.

[57] Bajo is presumably a place–name, which would appear to derive from the Bajo, or sea–gypsies, who lived scattered along the coast in various parts of South Sulawesi. Some copyists have added 'Matinroé ri Bajo' as a gloss, but Maningo is evidently the ancestral reading.

[58] *C* adds that she was also known as Matinroé ri Bajo, Paropoé, Sawungngé, Datu Bissué and Opu Narawé, and that her children were Sangaji Daéng Léba, Opu To Tajiwa, Daéng Soréa, To Alé, Daéng Mangésa, To Apinajo, Daéng Macora and Batara Bissu. ES provide a similar list of names and titles. EVIDENCE OF RICHNESS OF LOST SOURCES

[59] A balubu is a large jar: here it is apparently a place–name.

[60] 'He who sleeps at Wareq', La Patiwareq, Daéng Paraqbung, the first Moslem ruler of Luwuq.

[61] 'Father of council' (Mundy 1848:155)

[62] A's reading of Ta[n]rabalusu is followed in the translation.

manurung \ ri Luwu \ Bataraguruna \ [n]cajiangngi \ Datu Maogé \ Datu Maogéna \ [n]cajiangngi \ To Sangkawana \ To Sangkawana ñajiangngi \ La Malalaé \ La Malalaéna \ ñcajiangngi \ To Sangerreng \ iatona riaseng \ Déwaraja \ Déwaraja \ ñajiangngi \ To Apaio \ To Apaiona \ nyajiangngi \ Maniboé ri Bajo[63] \ Maniboé ri Bajo \ ñajiangngi \ Matinroé ri Wareq \

2.2.7 Translation

May I not swell for setting out in order the descendants of the lord Simpurusia. [Simpurusia's] child was Anakaji. Anakaji's child was To Apanangi. To Apanangi's child was Tampabulusu. Tampabulusu's child was Datu ri Apira.[64] Datu ri Apira's child was Tanrabalusu. Tanrabalusu's child was Bataraguru; he was the first to descend at Luwuq.[65] Bataraguru's child was Datu Maogé. Datu Maogé's child was To Sangkawana. To Sangkawana's child was La Malalaé. La Malalaé's child was To Sangerreng;[66] he was also known as Déwaraja. Déwaraja's child was To Apaio. To Apaio's child was Maningo ri Bajo. Maningo ri Bajo's child was Matinroé ri Wareq.

Figure 2-6: Royal Genealogy of Luwuꞌ

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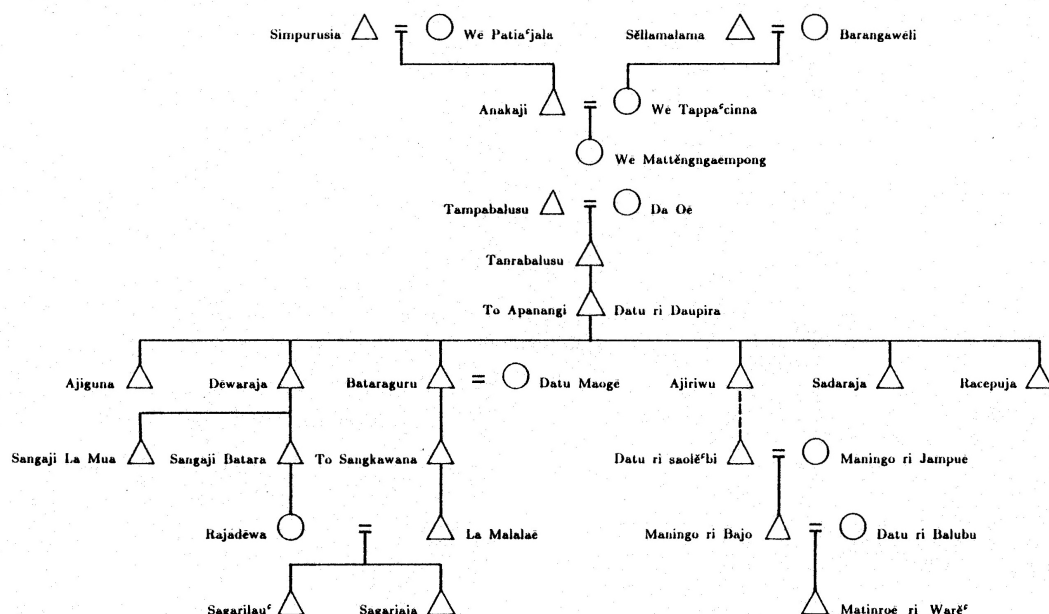
[63] FOOTNOTE MISSING

[64] In A and other MSS., Datu ri Daupira.

[65] The author of the present work, or a later copyist, has apparently confused the Bataraguru of the La Galigo epic cycle with the historical individual of the same name. In Java, Bataraguru is a title of Siva, the highest god of the Hindu pantheon.

[66] Meaning unknown. Some manuscripts have Sangireng.

2.2.8 The Attoriolonna Déwaraja, MAK 100:136.14–36.30

Fasal[1] Yi[a]na rinié angingeng rangennae[2] attoriolongngé ri Déwaraja nayi[a] appongenna Déwaraja \ yi[a]naritu Sangaji Batara lao ri timoro na bawiné nakkeane séuwa nariaseng Déwaraja[3] nayi[a] appongenna Sangaji Batara enrengngiang Sangaji La Mua yi[a]duwana aneqna Datué ri Luwu \ naDéwarajana[4] lisu ri Luwu maqbawiné \ ri rajena Datué ri Luwu \ riasengngé La Malalae[5] najajina Setti[6] enrengngiang To Luwu mangura \ enrengngiang Unitanyara enrengngiang To Luwuqbébé \ na bawinési parimeng Déwaraja[7] ri aneqna Sangaji La Muwa \ najajina Patiwarasa enrengngiang Patimajawari na bawinési parimeng ri aneqna La Malalaé[8] najajina Sangarilauq[9] \ enrengngiang Sangariaja[10] \ naSangariajana riaseng Patipaduri \ naSettiéna ripassu ri Luwuqé nayi[a]mukana naripassu asenna situju siajinna \ riasengngé To Luwu mangura \ muka kuanana ritu naellina tana Settié ri Mamutu nakkona monrona Settiéna ritu poaneqi Magalika naaneqna Magalika ripowawiné ri Patunru \

2.2.9 Translation

Here is the history of Déwaraja's descendants. Déwaraja's father was Sangaji Batara. [Sangaji Batara] went to Timoro to marry. His mother was called Rajadéwa. [Rajadéwa's] childern were Sangaji Batara and Sangaji La Mua; they were both children of the Datu of Luwuq . Rajadéwa returned to Luwuq to marry the child of [To Sangkawana] the Datu of Luwuq, whose name was La Malalaé. She bore him Settié, To Luwuqmangura, Unitanyara and To Luwuqbébé. Then Rajadéwa married again with the child of Sangaji La Mua and she bore him Patiwarasa and Patimajawari. Then she married again with the child of [To Sangkawana, whose name was] La Malalaé and bore him Sagarilauq and Sagariaja. Sagariaja was called Patipaduri. Now Settié was driven out by the [people of] Luwuq; he was driven out, so it is said, with the agreement of his younger brother, who was called To Luwuq mangura. Because of that, Settié brought land at Mamutu and lived there. He had a child, Magalika. His child, Magalika, was married to [the] Patunru.[11]

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[1] This text uses a number of unusual aksara: see page ∂.

[2] angingeng rangenna: meaning unknown. These words are omitted in the translation.

[3] Déwaraja's name (strictly speaking, title) has been accidentally substituted for that of Rajadéwa. *A*'s reading of Rajadewa as the daughter of Sangaji Batara is followed in the translation.

[4] Rajadewa, as above.

[5] This is spelt LaMaLaQé.

[6] Setti read Settié, as below.

[7] Rajadéwa, as above.

[8] This is spelt LaMaLaQé.

[9] *A*'s reading of Sagarilauq is followed in the translation.

[10] *A*'s reading of Sagariaja is followed in the translation.

[11] Prime minister: see OXIS texts on Luwuq
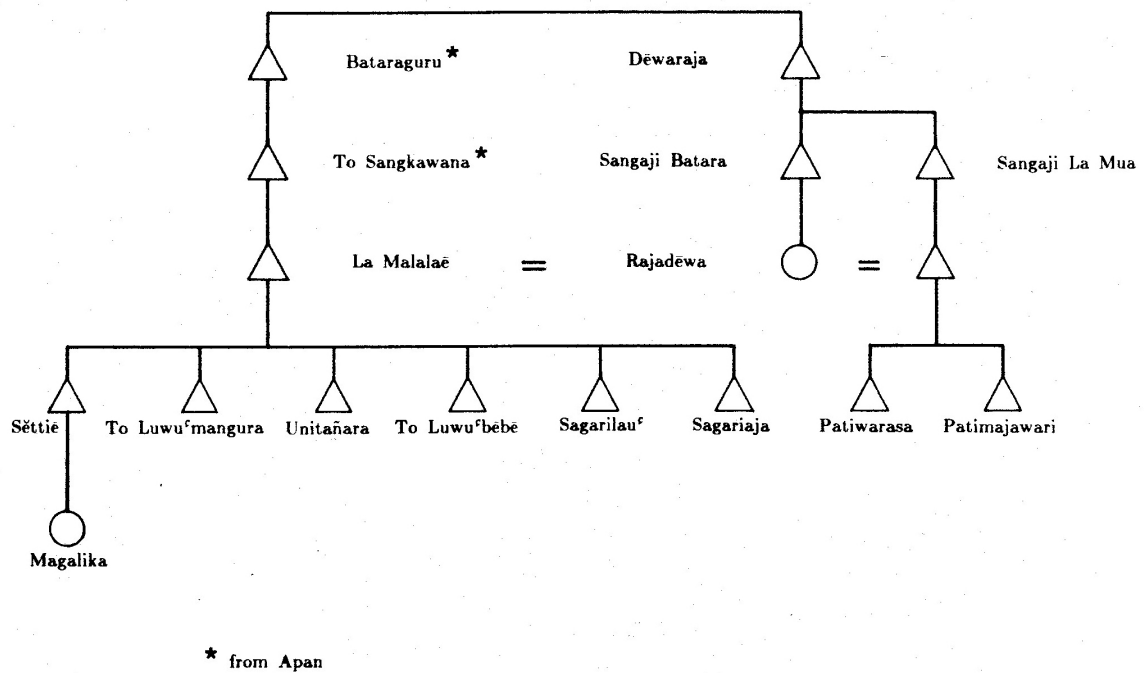
Figure 2–7: Descendants of Déwaraja

2.2.10 Descendants of To Apanangi, MAK 66:1.1–1.11

Panessaéngngi atturenna[12] datué \ To Apanangi powawiné Datu [ri Dau]pira \ najaji Déwaraja najaji Bataraguru Déwarajana jajiyangngi Bataraguru[13] \ Batara La Moa \ Sangaji Guru \ Sangaji La Moa[14] \ Bataraguruna powawinéni Datu Maoge \ séuwa aneq najajiang To Sauwana[15] \ naTo Sauwanana[16] jajiyangngi La Malalaé[17] Ajiri[w]u jajiyangngi Datu ri saoleqbina \ Datu ri saoleqbina siala Maningo ri Jampué \ najaji Maningo ri Bajo \ Oputta Opunna Rawé naOputta Rawé polakkaiwi Datu ri Balubu \ najaji Mati[n]roé ri Wareq \

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[12] atturenna read attorenna

[13] The inclusion of Bataraguru's name here is a mistake and is omitted in the translation.

[14] There is obviously some confusion here. According to *M* and Déw, Déwaraja's children were Sangaji Batara and Sangaji La Mua. The present text's Batara La Moa and Sangaji La Moa are clearly the same person: only the title differs. Sangaji Guru is presumably Snagaji Batara, the name having been transposed and Guru (from Bataraguru?) substituted. In the translation the names given are Sangaji Batara and Sangaji La Mua.

[15] To Sawana can be identified as To Sangkawana, *M*'s ninth ruler. To Sangkawana is followed in the translation.

[16] To Sangkawana, as above.

[17] This is spelt La Mala∂é

2.2.11 Translation

This sets out the descendents of the ruler To Apanangi. [To Apanangi] married Datu ri Daupira. Their children were Bataraguru and Déwaraja. [Déwaraja's] children were Sangaji Batara and Sangaji La Mua. Bataraguru married Datu Maogé. Their child was To Sangkawana. To Sangkawana's child was La Malalaé. Ajiriwu's child was Datu ri saoleqbi.[18] Datu ri saoleqbi married Maningo ri Jampué. Their child was Maningo ri Bajo; [he (or she) was also known as] Oputta Opunna Rawé.[19] Oputta Rawé married Datu ri Balubu and their child was Matinroé ri Wareq.
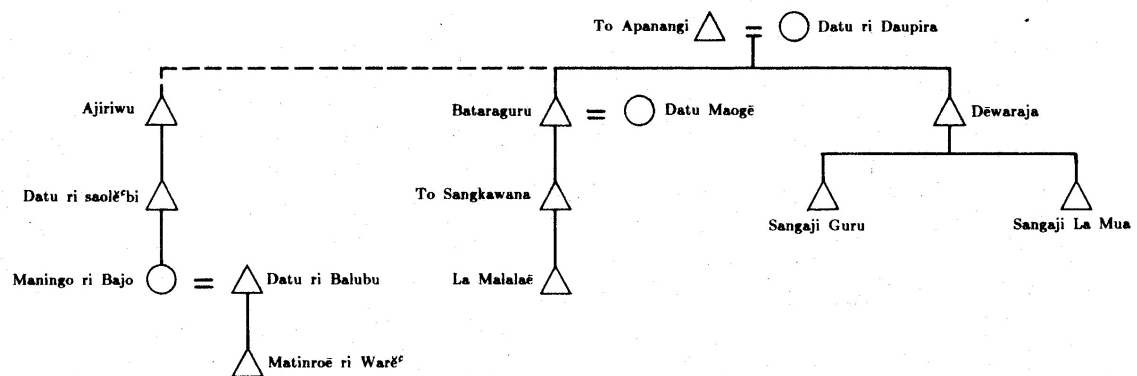

Figure 2–8: Descendants of To Apanangi

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[18] This is highly questionable. Ajiriwu is the brother of Déwaraja and Bataraguru in *A*. Here, Ajiriwu's name appears without connection to any preceding member of the genealogy. The text is probably corrupt: there is no evidence elsewhere for such a relationship.

[19] 'Our Opu, the Opu of Rawé'

2.3 Tributories of Luwuq

This short work—scarcely half a manuscript page in length—sets out a list of seventy settlements, which it describes as paliliqna[1] Luwuq, or vassals of Luwuq. The Luwuq Vassal List (hereafter LVL) is one of a number of similar lists available for all the large Bugis kingdoms and many of the smaller. The purpose for which these lists were compiled is unknown. As far as I am aware, no version of the LVL has yet been published.

2.3.1 Versions of the LVL

The three versions of the LVL work examined here are shown in table 2-3. These are henceforth referred to by the letter given in the right-hand column.

Table 2-3: Versions of the LVL

Collection	Number	Pages.Lines	Letter
NBG	100	119.25-120.8	*A*
NBG	101	136.22-137.6	*B*
NBG	112	63.1-63.8	*C*

Owing to the brevity of their contents, it is not possible to establish any firm relationships between the three versions of the LVL. I have therefore chosen to edit the most legible manuscript, *A,* against which variant readings in *B* and *C* have been examined.

2.3.2 Dating the LVL

While the present form of the LVL (i.e. the present arrangement and spelling of names) may not be particularly old, the list itself appears to date from the fourteenth or fifteenth century. This is because more that one half of the LVL's vassals appear to be located along the south and south-west coast of the peninsula, a region which Goa brought under her control in the first half of the sixteenth century. The historical situation to which the list refers must therefore date from before the sixteenth century.

2.3.3 The LVL as a Historical Source

The LVL provides important confirmation of Luwuq's political influence outside the region to which that name is applied today. There can be little doubt that the LVL is based upon historical reality: the relationships it records are supported by the Nagarakrtagama, a fourteenth-century Javanese poem, which links Bantaéng with Luwuq (see page ∂), while

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[1] The complex paliliqna is constructed from the root liliq, 'around', the noun-forming prefix pa- and the possessive suffix -na, thus 'something around [a centre] that belongs to it', or 'vassal'.

the reliability of the vassal lists as a whole is supported by the Soppéng Vassal List (section 2.7), the evidence of which fits well with archaeological data from that kingdom.[2]

The toponyms of the LVL appear to be clustered in two main groups: those numbered between one and about thirty in the following list can be identified in the general region of Luwuq, while those between thirty and seventy lie (with the exception of Sidénréng) along the south and south-west coast of the peninsula. The two groups are separated by the complex paliliqna, 'her vassals are', which occurs twice within the space of two settlements (Seppu - [unidentified] and Bénamo on the south-west coast). The LVL is further divided by the expression napanoqé rakalana 'and then the plough of [Luwuq] went down', which occurs once in the first group of settlements and three times in the second. The significance of this expression, which evidently unites together certain settlements, is unclear. The twenty five settlements that can be identified with reasonable confidence are shown in figure 2-9 on page ∂, following the text and translation.[3]

2.3.4 Text

Wareq paliliqna \ Baébu[n]ta \ Bua \ Ponrang \ Matana[4] \ Méngkoka \ Pa[n]tilang \ Bolo \ Ro[ng]kong \ Ta[m]pa[ng]ké \ Suso \ Waropo \ Lo[n]da \ Bajo \ Balabatu[5] \ Leqbaqni \ Léléwawo \ napanoqé rakkalana \ Ta[m]pina \ Na[m]pa \ Malili \ Patimang \ Cilellang \ Lamunré \ Suli Wata[n]larompong \ Sirigading \ La[n]rang \ Séngéng \ Cé-

[120] rékang \ babangé \ lao \ balilina[6] \ Seppu \ Bénamo[7] \ paliliqna \ Sidénréng \ Bala \ Cénépo[n]to[8] \ Sapanang \ Tiqnoq \ To[n]rokasiq \ napanoqé rakkalana \ Aculoé \ Kala[m]pang[9] \ Pajellao \ Bulubulo \ Patellessang[10] \ Jobé \ Pañutuna \ [A]ru[ng]kéké \ Todotodo \ Botoropo \ Pao \ Karoa \ Cino \ To[n]ra[11] \ Ru[m]bia \ Toloq[12] \ Ba[ng]kala[13]

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[2] Lists such as that of the LVL are seen by anthropologists as characteristic of societies making the transition from illiteracy to literacy, or of societies in which writing is confined to only a small number of people. Several examples of this phenomenon may be cited. Three quarters of the extant Mesopotamian cuneiform inscriptions are administrative documents—in essence, lists. Two thirds of Ugaritic texts (fourteenth to thirteenth century B.C.) are basically lists, including lists of people and geographical names. In contemporary Egyptian scribal manuals the whole structure of the cosmos can be broken down into enormous lists to be learnt as part of a scribe's training, including the ninety-six towns of Egypt and names of foreign places and people (Wood 1985:133). In South Sulawesi, the extensive genealogical records dating from the fifteenth century contain largely unstructured information in the form of long lists of names and relationships.

[3] These were identified on Sheet SA 51-9, Edition 1, 1:25,000 Joint Operations Graphic (Ground) Series 1501, (1957), Army Map Service, Washington D.C., and 1:50,000, U.S. Army Map Service 1943 reprints of Dutch Topografischen Dienst maps.

[4] Matana read Matano

[5] Balabatu read Bolabatu

[6] balilina read paliliqna

[7] Bénamo read Binamu

[8] Cénépo[n]to read Jénéponto: the aksara C and J are easily confused.

[9] Kala[m]pang read Kalumpang

[10] Patellessang read Patalassang

[11] In Boné XXXX

[12] In Jénéponto

\ napanoqé rakkalana \ Tanatoa \ Paléngung \ Malasoro[14] \ Garasiga[15] \ Masara[16] \ Rukuruku \ Laikang \ napanoqé rakkalana \ Patopangkang[17] \ Pañalangka \ Punaga \ Ca[n]rai \ Cikoang[18] \ Pangkajéné \ Barana \ aléalénamua \ Béroanging \ aléalénamua \ *tammat*

2.3.5 Translation

[In and around the Gulf of Boné] Wareq's tributories are: Baébunta, Bua, Ponrang, Matano, Mengkoka, Patila, **Bolo**, Rongkong, Tampangke, Suso Waropo, Londa, Bajo, Bolabatu, **Leqbaqni** and Léléwawo.[19] [In this region] Luwuq rules directly Tampina, **Nampa**, Malili, Patimang, Cilellang, Lamunré, Suli, Watanlarompong, **Sirigading**, Lanrang,[20] **Sengeng**, [and] Cérékang. (23/28√)

[120] South of the two sea gates,[21] her tributories are:[22] Seppu, Binamu; her tributories are Sidénréng, Bala, Jénépo[n]to, Sapanang, Tiqnoq and Tonrokasiq, then [in this region] Luwuq rules directly Aculoé, Kalapang, Pajellawo, Bulubulo, Patalassang, Jobé, Pañutuna, Arungkéké, Todotodo, Botoropo, Pao, Karoa, Cino, Tonra, Rumbia, Toloq and Bangkala, then [in this region] Luwuq rules directly Tanatoa, Paléngung, Malasoro, Garasiq, Masara, Rukuruku and Laikang, then [in this region] Luwuq rules directly Patopakang, Pañalangka, Punaga, Canrai, Cikoang, Pangkajéné, Barana, and, on its own,[23] Béroanging, on its own.

Figure 2-9: Locatable Toponyms of the LVL

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[13] In Jénéponto

[14] near Bira

[15] Garasiga read Garasiq

[16] Masara read Mangkasar

[17] Patopangkang read Patopakang

[18] Today a focus of Maulad activities, evidence of early Islamic influence.

[19] On Léléwawo Point, Léléwawo Bay, south of Ussuq Bay. See Monographie Celebes Kaart Ia (blad II) fol.7.

[20] According to Andi Anton, Ponrang, near Suli.

[21] The two large promontories on the east and west sides of the Gulf of Bone: see map.

[22] '500': meaning unknown.

[23] on its own: meaning unknown.
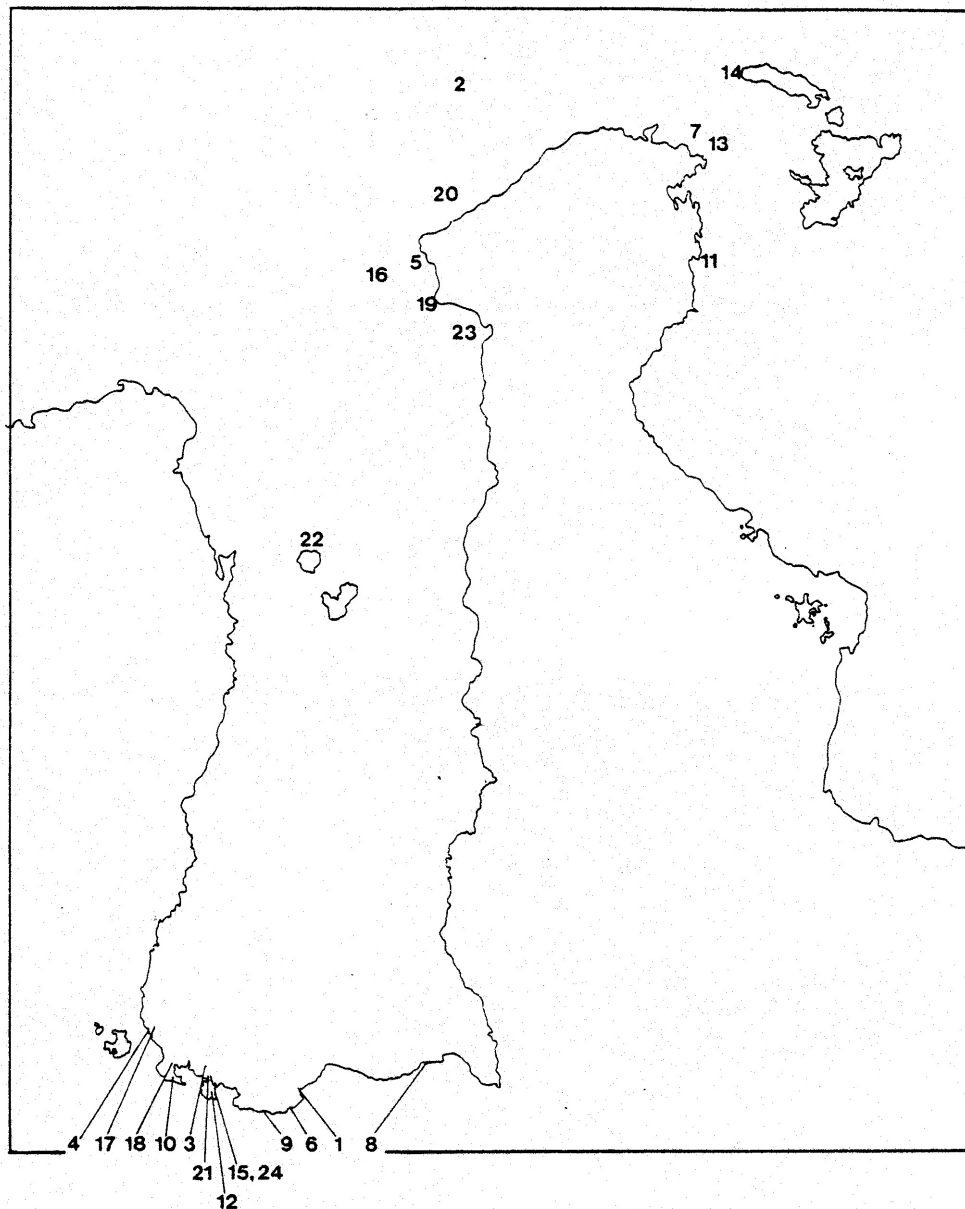
Figure 2-9:   Locatable Toponyms of the LVL

KEY TO FIGURE 5-1

1 Arungkéké	2 Baébunta	3 Bangkala	4 Bénamo
5 Bua	6 BuloBulo	7 Cérékang	8 Cino
9 Jénéponto	10 Laikang	11 Léléwawo	12 Malasoro
13 Malili	14 Matana	15 Pangkajéné	16 Pantilang
17 Patalassang	18 Patopakang	19 Ponrang	20 Rongkong
21 Rukuruku	22 Sidénréng	23 Suli	24 Tanatoa

2.4 The Royal Genealogy of Cina

The Royal Genealogy of Cina (hereafter RGC) is the name I have given to a work described by Matthes as the 'lijst der afstammeling van Simpoeroesiya, den eersten uit den Hemel gedaalden vorst van Loewoeq' (list of the descendants of Simpurusia, the first, heavenly–descended ruler of Luwuq) (Matthes 1875:34). Matthes' description is a reasonable one, for Simpurusia, the legendary first ruler of Luwuq following the reputed 'age of La Galigo', is here the first member of a genealogy which spans some sixteen generations to the mid–seventeenth century and which contains the names of more than one hundred individuals.

The 'focus' of most versions of the genealogy is La Tenritatta, the seventeenth–century Arung Palakka; having reached him, the genealogy returns twice to an earlier generation in order to add further information about his ancestry.[1] Although these parts of the RGC may be later additions, there can be little doubt that the work was designed to link La Tenritatta with the legendary founder of South Sulawesi's most ancient ruling lineage in order to demonstrate La Tenrittata's high ascriptive status.[2]

The 'central line' of the RGC follows the traditional list of Cina's twenty or twenty–two rulers (cf. Abidin 1983:219). Several versions of this list can be found, among them YKSST 3057:136, LAL 1985:101.25–∂[3] and Salim 2:149–152. The list and the relationship of its members to the RGC, is as follows:[4]

(1) Simpurusia	Luwuq's first ruler following the 'age of I La Galigo'. Generally regarded as the earliest of South Sulawesi's rulers, Simpurusia was known to seventeenth–century genealogists through a number of legends associated with him and his immediate descendants. RGC generation1.
(2) Wé Jangkeqwanua	In versions of the Simpurusia legend associated with Cina, she is the daughter of Simpurusia. RGC generation 2.
(3) La Malalaé	The grandson of Simpurusia. YKSST 3057:136 adds 'of Bangkangpaté'. RGC generation 3.

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[1] Two versions, MAK 187:53.18–54.36 and MAK 223:140.28–142.4, end before reaching La Tenritatta; these probably represent fragments of the RGC rather than an earlier form of the work.

[2] As the title by which he is best–known suggests, La Tentitatta came from the middle–ranking aristocracy. His mother, Wé Tenrisui, the ruler of Marioriwawo, appears to have been the daughter of the eighth–recorded ruler of Boné, La Iccaq, and a sister (or possibly a half–sister by a mother of lower status) of the twelfth–recorded ruler of Boné, La Tenripalé, Matinroé ri Talloq. La Tenritatta's father was La Pottobuneq, the ruler of Tanatengnga in Bone; his mother was a ruler of Sidénréng.

[3] In this MS. the list has been 'embedded' into a version of the RGC.

[4] This list is based upon more than one source.

(4) La Wéwanriwu	In YKSST 3057:136, La Wéwangenni. The first of four rulers who apparently pre–date the introduction of writing but whose names are not associated with Simpurusia. None of the four are found in the RGC.
(5) Wé Ampélangi	Identified in a number of versions as Wé Tenrileqbireng (generally both names are given).
(6) La Balaonyi	Variously given as La Balaunyi and La Balotengngi. YKSST 3057:136 adds that 'he was the first to own the sword that forms part of the regalia of Pammana to the present day.'
(7) La Mula Datu	'The first Datu'. The last of the 'pre–genealogical' rulers.
(8) La Sengngeng	'The whole one'. Some sources have La Sengnge[m]ponga (La Sengngeng Bonga: **bonga** is O.B. 'noble'.) La Sengngeng is the subject of a number of legends (see for example YKSST 3034 'volume' 17, page 320). While he starts what I have identified as the genealogical source in the RGC, his name, and that of his wife, Wé Matatimo, suggests a legendary rather than a historical figure. RGC generation 4.
(9) La Patauq	Probably a historical figure. RGC generation 5
(10) La Pasangkadi	La Pasangkadi, the Arung of Pammana, is one of three brothers whose names start detailed, related genealogies (see for example NBG 99:241.6–245.6). RGC generation 6.
(11) Wé Materreq	RGC generation 7.
(12) La Mappaleppeq	In the RGC we find instead La Panyorongi, who is remembered as having established settlements at Sumali and Baringeng (both in north Boné). His marriage to Wé Tenritaqbireng, the sister of the fifth–recorded ruler of Soppéng is found both in the Royal Genealogy of Soppéng (section 2.6) and

the RGC (generation 8).

(13) La Paléléang	The RGC gives La Mallélé: the root of both words is lélé, 'around'; both evidently refer to the same person. RGC generation 9.
(14) La Wéqdolimpona	There are several versions of this name: YKSST 3057:136 and Salim 2:152 add that her title was Datu Matolongngé RGC generation 10.
(15) La Kompéng	The Puang of Taq, a settlement in Boné. RGC generation 11.
(16) La Makkarangeng	Also known as To Leqbaqé, 'father of the wide one'. RGC generation 12.
(17) La Padasajati	Not found in the RGC. La Padasajati is a brother of La Pasangkadi (number 10 above, RGC generation 6). His position in the King List varies between 17 and 20.
(18) Wé Tenrisiqda	A daughter of La Makkarangeng. RGC generation 13.
(19) La Sangaji	The Karaéng Loé (great ruler): both name and title are generally given. RGC generation 14.
(20) La Tenrijello	'He who was not killed by the amok.' He is not found in YKSST 3057:136 or the RGC.
(21) La Sangaji	Also known as To Aji Pammana; according to legend, the ruler who requested on his deathbed that the name Cina be changed to Pammana. Not in the RGC.

2.4.1 Versions of the RGC

There are least seven versions of the RGC extant. These are shown in table 2–4. These will henceforth be referred to by the letter given in the right–hand column. As manuscript G is virtually illegible, owing to 'print through' caused by acid ink, it is omitted from the following discussion.

Table 2–4: Versions of the RGC

Collection	Number	Pages.Lines	Designation
MAK	124	144.26–145.40	*A*
MAK	187	53.18–54.36	*B*
MAK	223	140.28–142.4	*C*
NBG	99	236.1–241.5	*D*
NBG	100	31.1–32.27	*E*
NBG	101	30.27–33.4	*F*
VT	136	136.24–?	*G*

The close structural and linguistic similarities between versions leaves little doubt that all are descended from a common written ancestor. A comparison of the six versions of the RGC suggests that they can be divided into two groups, as is demonstrated by the following examples (manuscript page and line numbers cited below are from *D*):

1. At 236.1–2, *B* and *C* describe Simpurusia as **manurungngéri Lo[m]po**, 'he who descended at Lompoq', while *ADEF* read **yi[a]na tipangngi Lo[m]poq**, 'it was he who opened Lompoq'. Since **tomanurung** are generally identified as having *descended* at particular locations, *BC*'s reading is probably the better one. (All versions add that he opened Talettu.)

2. At 236.4, *B* and *C* have **ripakkarung**, 'made **Arung**' (the title of the ruler of a minor kingdom or principality), while *ADEF* read **ripaqdatu**, 'made **Datu**' (the title of the paramount ruler of Luwuq). Here what is presumably the older reading appears to have been altered in an ancestor of *ADEF.*

3. At 236.8, *B* and *C* have **La Tuppusolo** (cf. page *∂*) instead of *ADEF*'s **Datu Pusolo**. *BC*'s reading is evidently the better one.

4. At 237.9, *B* and *C* have **La Wéqdoli[m]pona** for *ADEF*'s **Wéqdoli[m]pona**, the loss of the prefix La presumably having occurred, as with the previous variations, in an ancestor of *ADEF.*

The simple division of the six manuscripts into two clearly defined groups, one offering apparently superior readings of substantial variants, is complicated by a comparison of manuscript lines 237.12–238.7. While the readings provided by *ABDEF* are very similar, C pursues a quite different genealogical line to 237.8, before briefly rejoining that of *ABDEF* and ending at 238.10 with a new subject, the Puang of Pada:

maqbawinétoi La Wéqdoli[m]pona siala Wé Madupa \ anaqi La Ko[m]pé ritellaé Puwang ri Ta \ anaqi La Palapalori Puwang ri Pada \ purani

La Wéqdolimpona married Wé Madupa, and their child was La Kompé, who was titled Puang of Taq. Their child was La Palapalori, Puang of Pada.

To further complicate matters, version *B*, which otherwise follows *ADEF*'s genealogical line, ends at 239.8 with the concluding words of *C*'s variant section! (Compare the italicized words below with the previous quotation.)

Karaéng Loéni maqbawiné ri Ganra \ *siala Wé Madupa \ anaqi La Ko[m]pé\ ritellaé Puwang ri Taq \ anaqi La Pa[lapa]lo \ ri Puwang ri Pada \ purani*

Karaéng Loé married at Ganra *with Wé Madupa, and their child was La Kompé, who was titled Puang of Taq. Their child was La Palapalori, Puang of Pada.*

While Wé Madupa, her son and grandson are clearly misplaced (Wé Madupa having occurred previously in *B* at 238.9–10), the sudden appearance in *B* of *C*'s variant section is puzzling, to say the least. It is difficult to conceive of a stemma that would convincingly explain all these features, and I am forced to concede that in the present case the division of manuscripts into loose groupings is as far as we are able to proceed in establishing the relationships between manuscripts.[5]

As for the group *ADEF*, it is clear that not only does *D* provide a more detailed genealogy than *AEF*, but that parts of *AEF* are either ambiguous or misleading, as a result of accumulated omissions by previous copyists. A single example, that of manuscript lines 239.6–9 (arranged here in lines of arbitrary length), will suffice by way of example:

D	*F*
Wé Te[n]risiqda \	Wé Te[n]risiqdana \
anaqna \ To Leqbaqe \	
mallakkai \ ri Uju[m]pulu \	mallakai \ ri Ujumpulu \
siala \ La Malamalaka \	siala La Malaka \
To Acca \aseng ri anaqna \	To Acca aseng ri anaqna \
anaqni \ Karaéng Loé \	Anaqna
14 Karaéng Loé \	Karaéng Loé \
maqbawiné \ ri Ganra \	maqbawiné ri Ganra \

D	F

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[5] To add a final mystery, *A* ends abruptly at 145.40 at the foot of a manuscript page, as if the copyist had either lost interest in it or had accidentally turned two pages in his exemplar. (In many respects *A* is a careless copy; the break comes in mid–line, and a new work starts on the following page.) Is it simply a coincidence that *A* ends at almost exactly the same place in the same line as does *B?*

Wé Tenrisiqda	Wé Tenrisiqda
the child of To Leqbaqé	
married at Ujumpulu	married at Ujumpulu
with La Malamalaka	with La Malaka
(his teknonym was To Acca)	(his teknonym was To Acca).
and their child was Karaéng Loé	The child of
14 Karaéng Loé	Karaéng Loé
married at Ganra	married at Ganra

It will be seen that not only does *F* lack the useful retrospective reference for Wé Tenrisiqda, which helps us to locate her accurately in the genealogy, but that it omits the second mention of Karaéng Loé found in *A.* Had this been retained, it would have enabled us to spot the corruption of **anaqni** (their child was) to **anaqna** (the child of) through the loss of a diacritic. This process of condensation, or contraction, of the contents of historical works through the accumulation of accidental omissions, and sometimes too the deliberate omission of what a copyist considered either unnecessary, or of minor interest, can also be found within other sets of manuscripts, such as those of the Lontaraqna Simpurusia.

The obvious candidates for selection for editing are *C* or *B; C* providing a number of better readings and B the longer text. Both are evidently closer in terms of content to the group's common ancestor than are *ADEF.* The shared disadvantage of *BC,* however, is that neither offers the *terminus post quem* that *DEF* do, in the figure of La Tenritatta. *D* has therefore been selected for editing with the aim of providing the most useful text from a chronological point of view. In establishing the translation, particular attention has been paid to the variants in *BC* and much of their extra material has been incorporated into the commentary notes. Where *BC* are not available to help with textual problems, I have followed *AEF* in that order. In the absence of any clear relationships between the six manuscripts my 'improvements' on the text of D are chosen simply on a semantic basis, rather than in combination with the usual consideration of the stemmatic relationships of the manuscripts in which they are found.

Lastly, the additional line found in *B* at manuscript page 238.3 and several lines found only in *CEF* at manuscript page 240.7 have been included in the translation, but in such a way as to show that these additions do not form part of the base manuscript.

2.4.2 Dating the RGC

The RGC can be confidently dated, by virtue of its central focus, to the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century: while it is likely to have been written during Arung Palakka's lifetime, or at least within a few years of his death in 1696, it seems unlikely to have been composed before his final victory over Goa in 1669. The two 'additional' sections following the initial mention of Arung Palakka are perhaps slightly later than the main body of the work.

2.4.3 The RGC as a Historical Source

The RGC is a valuable historical source, providing detailed evidence of a number of agricultural chiefdoms lying on fertile, rice–growing land south of the river in the upper Cénrana valley. The evidence of the King List of Cina and other traditions (cf. Abidin 1983:220) suggests that these settlements were united (perhaps rather loosely) under the name of Cina. Ignoring its legendary first three generations, the period covered by the RGC is approximately A.D. 1350 to 1600. The RGC also provides valuable evidence of the introduction of writing and the existence of genealogical records: this is examined in Chapter Three.

Figure 2-10 Royal Genealogy of Cina
(Omitted because of size)

2.4.4 Text, *D*

Tania upomabusung \ lakkelakkewija toma[ng]kau \ manurungngé\ riaseng Si[m]purusia \ yi[a]na ti[m]pangngi Lo[m]poq[6] \ nanoqna \ ti[m]pangngi Talettu \ nato[m]poq tonasa \ Da La Akko \ nayi[a] ri Luwuq naisengngi wawinéna \ to[m]poqé[7] ri Luwuq \ lao manoqni \ Si[m]purusia ri Luwuq \ napoléini wawinéna \ ripaqdatu[8] ri Luwuqé \ nadua liseq anaqna jajiang \ séuwa riaseng \ Bataritoja \ 2 séuwa riaseng Wé Cakeqwanuwa[9] \ 2 Bataritoja \ ripaqdatu ri Luwuq \ Wé Cakeqwanuwa[10] \ 2 siala massapposiseng \ anaqni[11] \ Lirotalaga[12] \ 3[13] ri Uriliung \ mappada makku[n]raiwi \ Da La Akko riasengngé \ Datu Pusolo[14] \ anaqni \ 3

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[6] *BC*'s reading of **manurungngé ri Lo[m]po** is followed in the translation.

[7] *B*'s reading of **tompoq** is followed in the translation.

[8] *BC*'s reading of **ripakkarung ri Luwuq** is followed in the translation.

[9] *BC*'s reading of **WéJa[ng]keqwanuwa** is followed in the translation.

[10] **Wé Jangkewanua**, as above.

[11] *BC*'s reading of **anaqna** is followed in the translation. This error appears to have led the copyist of the present text, or of an earlier version, to ascribe Linruttalaga to the third generation rather than to the first.

[12] *ABCEF*'s reading of **Li[n]ruttalaga** is followed in the translation.

[13] This should read 1, as in the translation.

[14] *BC*'s reading of **La Tuppusoloq** is followed in the translation.

La Malalaé \ 3 La Malalaé \ siala \ massapposiseng \ anaqna Bataritoja \ riaseng Wé Mattengngaé[m]pong \ anaqni \ La Sengngeng \ 4 La Sengngeng siala Wé Matatimo \ anaqni \ 5[15] La Patau \ 5 La Patau siala \ WéTe[n]riwéwang \ anaqni \ 6 La Pottoanging \ Arung ri Wawoulo[n]rong[16] \ 3[17] masijajing \ 6 La Pasa[n]kadi \ Arung ri Pammana \ 4[18] La Padasajati \ Arung ri Tétéwatu \ 6 La Pottoanging \ siala \ Wé Lekkawareq[19] \ anaqni \ 6 La Pabaturi \ anaqni

(237) Wé Teppedirona[20] \ La Pabaturi[21] \ siala massapposiseng \ anaqna \ La Pasa[n]kadi ri Pammana \ anaqni[22] \ Wé Materreq \ Da Sau aseng ri anaqna \ anaqni La Pañorongi yi[a]na ti[m]pangngi Sumuli[23] \ nayi[a]pasi \ ti[m]pangngi Baringeng \ anaqdaranna \ La Pabaturi \ anaqdaranna \ La Pabaturi[24] \ riasengngé\ WéTeppedirona[25] \ mallakkai \ ri Balubu \ siala \ La Palibureng \ anaqni \ To Pajung La Usa \ aseng ri anaqna[26] \ yi[a]na [n]réweq ri Luwuq \ maqbawiné\ La Pañorongi \ anaqdaranna \ Datué ri Soppéng \ romoro[27] \ anaqna La Pabaturi \ maqbawiné ri Soppéng \ anaqdaranna \ La Makkanengnga \ riaseng \ Te[n]ritaqbireng \ anaqni \ La Mallélé \ anaqni[28] La Térénga \ La Malléléanaqni[29] \ La Pañorongi \ maqbawiné\ ri Kébo[30] \ siala Wé Te[n]ribau \ anaqni \ Wadelli[m]pona[31] \ anaqni \ Wé Saqba[m]paru \ La Térénga \ anaqna \ La Pañorongi \ maqbawiné \ ri Luwuq \ siala \ Wé Apunana[32] \ anaqni \ Te[n]riadudu \ anaqni \ La Sappé\ anaqna \ La Terenga \ riaseng La Sappé\ siala massapposiseng \ riaseng Wé Saqba[m]paru \ anaqni[33] \ La Mallélé \ najajianni \ WéBawali[34]

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[15] The Arabic ∂ is used for 5: ∂ is used for 4, while ∂ (5) is used for the zero of 10. This usage is consistent throughout the text.

[16] *BC*'s reading of **Wawolo[n]rong** is followed in the translation.

[17] The copyist uses both Arabic and European numerals. European numerals are shown in bold. Arabic numerals are used to indicate the number of generations by which a member of the genealogy is removed from Simpurusia, and European numerals how many children he or she had.

[18] This should read 6, as in the translation.

[19] *B* **Wé Tekkawateng**: **Wé Tekkéqwateng** is followed in the translation.

[20] *C*'s reading of **Wé Teppodi[n]ro** is followed in the translation.

[21] **na \ La Pabaturi** read **naLa Pabaturi**

[22] *BC*'s reading of **riasengngé** is followed in the translation.

[23] **Sumuli** read **Sumali**

[24] The second occurrence of **anaqdaranna La Pabaturi** is omitted in the translation.

[25] **Wé Teppodinro**, as above.

[26] *B*'s reading of **aseng ri aléna** (B **anaqna**) is followed in the translation. All other versions share what appears to be an accidental reversal of name and teknonym, which is corrected in the translation.

[27] **romoro** read **riaja**: the words **anqdarana \ Datué ri Soppéng \ romoro ** are written vertically down the left hand side of the page, starting just above line 6 (the preceding line break) and ending at line 9. The words are linked to the main body of the text by the Arabic '2', written at the beginning of the words and also above the place in line six where they should be inserted. Cf. manuscript page 240.13 where a similar insertion is made.

[28] **anaqni** read **anaqna**

[29] **anaqni** read **anaqna**

[30] *ABCEF*'s reading of **Tua** is followed in the translation.

[31] *BC*'s reading of **La Wéqdoli[m]pona** is followed in the translation.

[32] *F*'s reading of **Wé Aputtana** is followed in the translation.

[33] **anaqni** read **anaqna**

[34] **Wé Kawali**, as below.

\ anaqni \ Wé Ije \ anaqni \ Wé Ina[35] \ WéKawali[36] \ tammat 11 Wé Kawali mallakkai \ ri Sallé \ siala Arung Sallé \ riasengngé To Le–

(238) ngngang \ anaqni To Icoi \ 12 To wIcoi \ anaqna Wé Kawali \ maqbawiné \ ri Amali \ siala Wé Te[n]re[m]pali \ yi[a]na Arung \ ri Amali \ anaqni \ La Page[37] \ anaqni \ Wé Ma déwata \ 13 La Maqdéwata[38] \ anaqna \ To Maqdéwata \ siala \ To Asalesseq \ dua ana jajiang \ namatédua \ siabéangngi \ Wé Maqdéwata \ To Asalesseq \ mallakkaini \ paimeng \ Wé Maqdéwata \ ri Bunne \ siala \ La Te[n]rigégo \ anaqni \ eppai masijajing \ 10 La Wadelli[m]pona[39] \ anaqna \ La Mallélé\ La Mallélé[40] maqbawiné \ ri Lo[m]péngeng \ siala \ Wé Madupa \ anaqni \ La Ko[m]péng \ yi[a]muto riaseng Puang ri Ta \ 11 Puang ri Ta \ maqbawiné \ ri Soppéng \ siala \ Wé Pautu \ [a]nani La Makkarangeng \ yi[a]mu[to] riaseng To Leqbaqé \ 12 To Leqbaqé \ anaqna Puang ri Taq \ anaqna \ Puang ri Taq[41] \ maqbawiné\ ri Alliwengeng siala \ Te[n]rijarangeng[42] \ 7 anaqna jajiang \ La Sa[n]rangeng \ To Kelli aseng ri anaqna \ La Pammasé La Sékati \ Wé Kocci \ tammat

(239) 13 Wé Te[n]risiqda \ Wé A[n]rakati \ 13 La Sa[n]rangeng \ maqbawiné \ ri Telleq \ siala Wé Boa \ anaqni Wé Kelli \ 14 Wé Kelli \ anaqna \ La Sa[n]rangeng \ siala \ La Sappeang \ ri Atakka \ anaqni \ La Maqgamang 15 La Maqgamang \ anaqna Wé Kelli \ maqbawiné\ ri Pattojo anaqni \ Datu Alie anaqni \ La Tepporitu[43] \ 14[44] Wé Te[n]risiqda \ anaqna To Leqbaqé \ mallakkai \ ri Uju[m]pulu \ siala \ La Malamalaka[45] \ To Acca \ aseng ri anaqna \ anaqni \ Karaéng \ Loé\ 14 Karaéng Loé \ maqbawiné \ ri Ga[n]ra \ siala anaqna \ Mati[n]roéri aseleng \ riaseng \ Te[n]risamareng \ anaqni \ La Saliu \ 15 La Saliu \ maqbawiné\ ri Soppéng \ siala \ WéTe[n]ria[m]beng \ anaqni \ To Pajurangang \ anaqni \ Da Wanuwa \ anaqni \ Da Page\ anaqni Wé Raié\ 13 Wé A[n]rakati \ anaqna \ To Leqbaqé \ mallakkai \ ri Lo[m]puleq \ siala Paca[ng]kangi \ anaqni To Wa[w]o \ 14 To Wawo anaqna Wé A[n]rakati \ eppona \ To Leqbaqé \ maqbawiné ri Ga[n]ra

(240) siala Te[n]risamareng \ Da Rié\ aseng ri anaqna \ sitolai \ massapposiseng \ riasengngé \ Karaéng Loé \ anaqni \ La Pottobuneq \ 15 La Pottobuneq maqbawiné \ ri Marioriwawo \ siala WéTe[n]risui \ anaqni La Te[n]ritatta \ To U[n]ru aseng ri anaqna \ yi[a]muto riaseng \

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[35] *ACEF*'s reading of **Wé Inalé** is followed in the translation.

[36] The second occurrence of **Wé Kawali** is ignored in the translation.

[37] *B* adds **anaqni To Ma déwata \ To Ma déwatana maqbawinéri Alimu siyala Wé Panaungi**. B's reading is approximately one manuscript line in length and solves both the problem of the present text's spurious **anaqna To Maqdéwata** and the awkwardly placed **anaqna La Page** in the previous manuscript line. It is therefore included in the translation in such a way as to show that it does not form part of the base manuscript. This conjecture is supported by LAL 1985:105.

[38] **Wé Maqdéwata**, as above.

[39] **La Wéqdolimpona**, as above.

[40] The second occurrence of **La Mallélé** is ignored in the translation.

[41] The second occurrence of **anaqna Puang ri Taq** is omitted in the translation.

[42] **Ten[n]rijarangeng** read **Tenrijurangeng**

[43] *ABEF*'s reading of **La Tepporina** is followed in the translation.

[44] This should read 13, as in the translation.

[45] *ABEF*'s reading of **La Malaka** is followed in the translation.

Mala[m]peé gemmena \ yi[a]muto riaseng \ To Riso[m]paé \ poléna \ ri Angke \ anaqni \ Da U[n]ru \ anaqni \ Da I[n]ra \ anaqni \ Da O[m]po \ anaqni \ Da É[m]ba⁴⁶ \ 12⁴⁷ La Pammase \ anaqna \ To Leqbaqé \ maqbawiné \ ri Alimu \ siala \ Wé Pali[n]rungi \ anaqni \ Wé Pacerro \ 14 Wé Pacerro siala \ La Pawiseang \ ri Pattojo \ anaqni \ Wé Maqdaung \ 15 Wé Maqdaung \ siala massapposiseng \ riasengngé \ To Batu \ anaqni Wé Paccing \ 16 Wé Paccing mallakkai \ ri Kébo \ anaqni To Pasa[m]pa \ 17 To Pasa[m]pa siala⁴⁸ \ anaqni \ Da Ra[w]é\ anaqni \ Da Page\ 13 La Pammasémuto anaqna To Leqbaqé \ maqbawiné \ ri Marioriawa \ siala massapposiseng⁴⁹ riase–

(241) ngngé\ I Mata \ ritellaé \ Mappaloé \ anaqnani La Wawo⁵⁰ \ anaqni La Page \ anaqni Wé Sakke \ 14 To Wawo siala Wé Belle \ Wé Temmarowa⁵¹ \ anaqni La Temmaroa \ 15 La Temmaroa siala \ anaqdaranna \ Arungngé ri Massépé \ riasengngé \ Wé Makku[n]rai anaqna La Pesaro \ anaqni La Botto \ anaqni La Sina[m]pe \ tammat

2.4.5 Translation

May I not swell for setting out in order the descendants of the lord who descended, called Simpurusia.⁵² He descended at Lompoq⁵³ and then he went down and opened Talettuq.⁵⁴ Then Da La Akko⁵⁵ arose in Luwuq. When he knew that his wife had arisen in Luwuq, Simpurusia went down to Luwuq. His wife came, she who was made Arung⁵⁶ at Luwuq . They had two

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⁴⁶ *F* adds **La Séketti \ maqbawinéri Mario \ riawa \ siala Wé Mulia \ anaqni Wé Cériwu \ Wé Cériwu mallakkai \ ri Lau[m]puleng \ rilauq \ siala La Musu \ anaqni ritellaé \ Juruamu \ Juruamusi \ siala Da Luwa \ anaqdaranna La Bunne \ To Base \ aseng ri anaq \ jajiangngengngi \ To Riso[m]paé ** *tammat* : *E* contains a similar passage. The additional material is included in the translation in such a way as to show that it does not form part of the present manuscript.

⁴⁷ This should read 13, as in the translation.

⁴⁸ The name of To Pasampa 's wife has been omitted in an ancestor of *DEF*.

⁴⁹ The words **siala massapposiseng** are written in the right margin slightly above the line. As on manuscript page 237.6, the addition is linked to its place in the text by the Arabic '2'.

⁵⁰ To Wawo, above and below, is followed in the translation.

⁵¹ **Wé Temmarowa** [=**La Temmaroa**, following] is omitted in the translation.

⁵² The opening section of the RGS is based on a variant version of the Simpurusia legend found in the Lontaraqna Simpurusia; see page 15. A more detailed account of the present version of the legend can be found in LAL 1985:101–∂

⁵³ 'Flat; valley, dale'; unidentified. In order to look in detail at the structure of the text, I have attempted to translate as many of the RGC's names as possible. Some of these provide clear and unequivocal meanings, while others produce less certain, if not plainly doubtful, meanings. This is due to a number of abbreviations, textual corruption and archaic words or constructions, as well as my limited knowledge of the Bugis language.

⁵⁴ 'Enclosure'; unidentified. The linking of Simpurusia with Lompoq and Talettu reflects a regional localization of a legend which appears to have originated in Luwuq (cf. section 2.1); both settlements are probably in the upper Cénrana region. Cf. the case of Patiaqjala, who 'descended in the water foam at Tampangeng' in north Boné, in the Royal Genealogy of Luwuq , on page ∂.

⁵⁵ 'Mother of La Akko'; the spelling is consistent in all MSS..

⁵⁶ Arung is a title used by rulers of minor kingdoms or principalities. This reading is based on *BC*; *AEF* have Datu, the title of the ruler of Luwuq.

children, one called Bataritoja[57] and (generation 2) one called Wé Jangkeqwanua.[58] (Generation 2) Bataritoja was made Datu of Luwuq. Wé Jangkeqwanua (generation 2) married her cousin, the child of Linruttalaga[59] (generation 1) of Uriliung,[60] [that is,] the sister of Da La Akko. He was called La Tuppusoloq. Their child was (generation 3) La Malalaé. (Generation 3) La Malalaé married his cousin, the child of Bataritoja, who was called Wé Mattengngaémpong, and their child was La Sengngeng.[61] (Generation 4) La Sengngeng married Wé Matatimo[62] and their child was (generation 5) La Patauq.[63] (Generation 5) La Patauq married Wé Tenriwéwang[64] and their children were (generation 6) La Pottoanging,[65] the Arung of Wawolonrong[66] (there were three brothers), La Pasangkadi,[67] the Arung of Pammana[68] and (generation 6) La Padasajati,[69] the Arung of Tétéwatu.[70] (Generation 6) La Pottoanging married Wé Tekkewateng,[71] and their children were (generation 7) La Pabaturi[72] and

(237) Wé Teppodinro.[73] La Pabaturi married his cousin, the child of La Pasangkadi, at Pammana. She was called Wé Materreq[74] (her teknonym was Da Sau). Their child was La Panyorongi.[75] It was he who opened Sumali[76] and he also opened Baringeng.[77] La Pabaturi's sister, who was called Wé Teppodinro, married at Balubu[78] with La Palibureng.[79] Their child was La Usa[80] (To Pajung[81] was his teknonym). He returned to Luwuq to marry. La Panyorongi,

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[57] 'Goddess of water'; Bataritoja occupies the same structural position as Anakaji in the version of the legend found in the Lontaraqna Simpurusia; we might therefore expect Bararatoja ('god of water'), however the present reading is found in all versions. LAL 1985:101–XX (which also gives Bataritoja) adds the title Daéng Talaga ('ruler of the lake'). According to Salim, **toja** (OB: water) more commonly means river. IDENTIFIED AS MALE IN GENEALOGY

[58] 'Span of the land'

[59] 'Shadow of the lake'; a euphemism for 'crocodile'.

[60] The underworld of the La Galigo.

[61] 'Whole one'; the subject of a number of legends in YKSST 3024, book 17, page 320.

[62] 'Eye of the east' (i.e. the Sun); possibly a corruption of Maqditimo, 'in the east'; cf. Salim 1:149.

[63] 'Instiller of fear' CHECK

[64] 'Unshaken'

[65] 'Tornado'; cf. Matthes 1874:783, **potto ri anging–kanging keteng**, 'a grooved armband, or an armband with `little moons' attached, through which the wind plays.'

[66] 'Come of age'; in north Boné.

[67] 'Pair of women'

[68] Meaning unknown; in north Boné.

[69] 'Equally empty'

[70] 'Stone bridge'; in Soppéng.

[71] Crosses the body [of the land]'; other sources have **Tenrilekke**, 'Unmoved'.

[72] 'Thrower of stones'

[73] 'Without mercy'

[74] In other sources **Materreraung**: 'Many leaves' (cf. Salim 1:150.3; NBG 237:2).

[75] 'One who parries'; LAL 1985:105 adds that La Panyorongi had an elder brother, La Mapaleppe, whom it states succeeded Wé Materreraung as Mattola (ruler; cf. Matthes 1874:364) of Cina.

[76] In north Boné.

[77] O.B. Wood; 'perhaps formerly a type of tree' (Matthes) or 'ladder, staircase' (Salim); a settlement in north Boné. LAL 1985:105 states that La Panyorongi was Mattola of Baringeng.

[78] Jar or pot; unidentified. Possibly the Balubu of the Royal Genealogy of Luwuq (page XX).

[79] 'Leave untouched'

[80] An abbreviation for La Tabusasa, 'dispersed, scattered'.

[81] 'Father of the royal umbrella'; Pajung was a title of the ruler of Luwuq.

(his brother [in–law] was [La Makkanengnga] the Datu of West Soppeng) the child of La Pabaturi, married at Soppeng[82] with the sister of La Makkanengnga[83] called [Wé] Tenritaqbireng.[84] Their children were La Mallélé[85] and La Térénga. La Mallélé, the child of La Panyorongi, married at Tua with Wé Tenribau.[86] Their children were [La] Wéqdolimpona[87] and Wé Saqbamparu.[88] La Térénga, the child of La Panyorongi, married at Luwuq with Wé Aputtana.[89] Their children were [Wé] Tenriadudu[90] and La Sappé[91] The child of La Térénga, called La Sappé, married his cousin, called Wé Saqbamparu,[92] the child of La Mallélé. Their children were Wé Kawali,[93] Wé Ije and Wé Inalé. (Generation 11) Wé Kawali married at Sallé[94] with the Arung Sallé, who was called To Lengngang'[95]

(238) and their child was To Icoi. (Generation 12) To Icoi, the child of WéKawali, married at Amali[96] with WéTenrémpali. She was the Arung of Amali and their children were La a Page[97] [a]and To Maqdéwata.[98] To Maqdéwata married at Alimu with Wé Panaungi[99][a][100] and their child was Wé Maqdéwata. (Generation 13) Wé Maqdéwata, the child of To Maqdéwata, married To Asalesse[101] and bore him two children, both of whom died. Wé Maqdéwata and To Asalesse were divorced, and Wé Maqdéwata married again at Bunne[102] with La Tenrigégo[103] and they

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[82] The Royal Genealogy of Soppeng also records this marriage, but states that Wé Tenritabireng (below) married at Baringeng with La Panyorongi. We may deduce from this that the expression 'he/she married at X' refers to the ruling family of X and not necessarily to the place of the wedding, which in modern Bugis society is generally held at the girl's house.

[83] 'Place in the middle'; or 'compassionate' (Salim). According to the Royal Genealogy of Soppeng, La Makkanengnga was the fifth ruler of Soppéng.

[84] 'Not treated by a dukun', i.e. 'healthy'.

[85] LAL 1985:105 has La Palléléang; both can be translated as 'one who goes around'.

[86] 'Not fragrant'; i.e., 'not noble'.

[87] Perhaps originally Teqbelimpona, Not many lands'. CHECK

[88] 'New spaces'; LAL 1985:105 states that she was known as Datu Maputé, 'the white Datu'.

[89] 'Earth dew.'

[90] 'She who is unloved'; B adds a second daughter, WéTe[n]risaperreng.

[91] Meaning uncertain; LAL 1985:105 states that he was known as Datu Maloangngné, 'the wide Datu'; C adds that his teknonym was To Coé.

[92] C adds that she had six or seven children, these being [Wé?] Ceba, Wé Iko, Wé Té[n]rili, Wé Tamono, Wé Tapa (whose teknonym was Da Wi) Wé Inalé and Wé Tekke. C also provides the names of five brothers and sisters, La Wéqdoli[m]pona, Wé Saupi, La Si, Wé Te[n]ri bua and I La Mallélé. Of all these names, only Wé Saqbamparu's daughter, Wé Inalé, and brother, La Wéqdolimpona, are found in the present text. The following section, dealing with the children of Wé Kawali and To Lengngeng, is missing from C, which continues with La Wéqdolimpona and Wé Madupa, their child La Ko[m]pé, and his child, La Palapalori, the Puang of Pada, who does not appear in the present text.

[93] A type of knife.

[94] 'Free, fearless'

[95] 'Father of [the one who] swaggers'.

[96] In Boné, near the border with Soppéng.

[97] 'Fence, enclosure'; B adds that he was the Arung of Amali.

[98] 'Father of [the one who] carries out ceremonies for the gods'.

[99] 'She who gives shade'.

[100] a—a

[101] Meaning uncertain; **salesseq** is 'to massage'; B adds that his father was To Ameng.

[102] A type of tree: in Boné.

[103] 'Unshaken'. According to other sources, La Tenrigégo was Arung of Bunne; B adds that he was the brother of Da Culé.

had four children. (Generation 10) La Wéqdolimpona, the child of La Mallélé, married at Lompéngeng[104] with Wé Madupa.[105] Their child was La Kompéng;[106] he was also called Puang of Taq.[107] (Generation 11) The Puang of Taq married at Soppéng with Wé Pautu . Their child was La Makkarangeng;[108] he was also called To Leqbaqé.[109] (Generation 12) To Leqbaqé, the child of the Puang of Taq, married at Alliwengeng[110] with [Wé] Tenrijurangeng.[111] They had seven children: La Sanrangeng[112] (his teknonym was To Kelliq[113]), La Pammase,[114] La Sékati, Wé Kocci[115]

(239) (Generation 13) Wé Tenrisiqda[116] and WéAnrakati.[117] (Generation 13) La Sanrangeng married at Telleq[118] with Wé Boa and their child was Wé Kelliq.[119] (Generation 14) Wé Kelliq, the child of La Sanrangeng, married La Sappéang[120] at Atakka[121] and their child was La Maqgamang.[122] (Generation 15) La Maqgamang, the child of Wé Kelli , married at Pattojo.[123] His children were the Datu Alié[124] and La Tepporina. (Generation 13) Wé Tenrisiqda, the child of To Leqbaqé married at Ujumpulu[125] with La Malaka[126] (To Acca[127] was his teknonym). Their child was Karaéng Loé. (Generation 14). Karaéng Loé married at Ganra[128] with the child of Matinroé ri aséleng,[129] called [Wé] Tenrisamareng.[130] Their child was La Saliuq.[131] (Generation 15) La Saliu married at Soppéng with Wé Tenriambeng. Their children were To Pajurangang,

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[104] 'Objective, aim, goal'; unidentified.
[105] In other sources Wé Padupai or Wé Adu; this is perhaps Wé Tenriadudu, the daughter of La Térénga, above.
[106] 'To sag, as of a slack rope'.
[107] A tree, the leaves of which were used as writing materials; in Boné.
[108] 'The one who arranges'
[109] 'Father of the great [one]'
[110] 'Crossing place' (as of a river); in Soppéng, near Lompulleq.
[111] 'Not mistress of a vessel'
[112] O.B. a well; or an outlet pipe set into a dam (Salim).
[113] 'Father of the bamboo fence'
[114] 'Gift'
[115] 'Curly, kinky' (of hair)
[116] 'Did not become'
[117] 'Gold [bird, fish, etc.] trap'. Only six children are listed; B supplies a seventh child, Wé Paccing, who is included in the translation.
[118] A type of grass or reed, from which bird cages are woven; in Boné, near the border with Soppéng.
[119] See To Kelli, above.
[120] The act of hanging something; cf. La Sappé, above.
[121] A tree of about six metres in hight.
[122] 'One with keen insight'
[123] Possibly derived from **tojo**, 'stiff'; about five kilometers south of WatasSoppéng.
[124] 'The One who derives the rulership from both Sides' (i.e. from both mother and father).
[125] 'End of the mountains'
[126] 'Prosperous' (Cf. Matthes 1874:263 **lipu malaka**, 'a prosperous land'.
[127] 'Father of the clever [one]'
[128] 'Spinning wheel'; about five kilometers east of WatasSoppéng.
[129] 'He who sleeps in his origin'
[130] 'Not regarded as a commoner'
[131] 'Mist, fog'; according to other sources, La Saliu was the Arung of Ujumpulu. He can be identified as Patépuangngé, an early seventeenth–century ruler of Sidénréng; cf. Salim 1:119 and MAK 129:2, where his marriage to Wé Tenriambeng is also recorded.

Da Wanua[132] Da Pageq[133] and Wé Raiqé.[134] (Generation 13) Wé Anrakati, the child of To Leqbaqé, married at Lompulleq[135] with [La] Pacangkangi. Their child was To Wawo.[136] (Generation 14) To Wawo, the child of Wé Anrakati and grandchild of To Leqbaqé, married at Ganra

(240) with [Wé] Tenrisamareng (Da Rié was her teknonym) after she and her cousin Karaéng Loé were divorced. Their child was La Pottobuneq.[137] (Generation 15) La Pottobuneq married at Marioriwawo[138] with Wé Tenrisui.[139] Their child was La Tenritatta[140] (To Unru[141] was his teknonym). He was also known as Malampeqé gemmeqna,[142] as To Risompaé[143] and 'poléna ri Angké'.[144] Their [other] children were Da Unru , Da Inra,[145] Da Ompo[146] and Da Émba.[147] [b]La Séketti[148] married at Marioriawa with Wé Mulia and their child was Wé Cériwu.[149] Wé Cériwu married at Laumpulerilau[150] with La Musu[151] and their child was the one titled Juruamu. Juruamu married Da Lua,[152] the sister of La [Potto]bunneq (his teknonym was To Baseq), whose child was To Risompaé.[b153] (Generation 13) La Pammasé, the child of To Leqbaqé, married at Alimu with Wé Palinrungi.[154] Their child was Wé Pacérro.[155] (Generation 14) Wé Pacérro married La Pawiséang[156] at Pattojo and their child was Wé Maqdaung.[157] (Generation 15) Wé Maqdaung married her cousin, who was called To Batu,[158] and their child was Wé Paccing.[159] (Generation 16) Wé Paccing married at Kébo[160] and her child was To Pasampaq.[161]

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[132] 'Mother of the land'

[133] 'Mother of the fence'; according to other sources =Wé Tenrikawareng, Datu Bulubangi, in Sidénréng.

[134] 'The craft'

[135] In Soppéng.

[136] 'Father of [the one who is] above'

[137] 'Heavy bracelet'

[138] 'Upper Mario'; in north Soppéng.

[139] 'She who[se worth] cannot be calculated'

[140] 'He who is not struck'. The famous Arung Palakka, and the focus of this genealogy.

[141] Probably a shortened form of To Appatunru , 'He who subdues' (Skinner 1963:232).

[142] 'He whose hair is long'

[143] 'Father of the one to whom obeisance is made'

[144] 'He who came from Angka', the river of that name which flowed through the Bugis kampung in Batavia.

[145] 'Nimble, adroit'.

[146] 'Rise up, emerge'

[147] 'Incomparable'

[148] 'One hundred'

[149] 'One thousand'

[150] 'East Laumpuleng'; in Soppéng, about three kilometres north of Caqbéngngé.

[151] 'War, battle'

[152] 'Flare up, or boil over'

[153] b—b from B

[154] 'She who gives shade'

[155] 'Spout, spray'

[156] 'The one who guides the perahu'.

[157] 'Leafy'

[158] 'Father of the rock'

[159] 'Pure'

[160] 'White'; in Wajo , near the border with Soppéng.

(Generation 17) To Pasampa married [name omitted] and their children were Da Rawe[162] and Da Pageq. (Generation 13) La Pammasé, the child of To Leqbaqé, married at Marioriawa with his cousin, who was called

(241) I Mata[163] and who was titled Mappaloé.[164] Their children were To Wawo,[165] La Pageq and Wé Sakkeq.[166] (Generation 14) To Wawo married Wé Belleq[167] and their child was La Temmaroa.[168] (Generation 15) La Temmaroa married the sister of the Arung of Massépé,[169] who was called Wé Makkunrai,[170] the child of La Pésaro.[171] Their children were La Botto[172] and La Sinampé.[173]

[161] 'Father [of the one who] supports, upholds'
[162] 'Almost the same'
[163] 'Eye'
[164] 'Wears a hat'
[165] 'Father of [the one who is] above' Repeat?
[166] 'Complete'
[167] A type of fish–trap.
[168] 'Not crowded'
[169] Approximately one kilometre south of Bulu Lowa in Sidénréng.
[170] 'Female'
[171] 'Wages, profit'; or pessaro: 'fortune'
[172] 'Small hill'
[173] 'A moment'

2.5 The Attoriolonna Soppéng

The fifth work is another member of the series of 'early histories' published in Bugis-Makasar script by Matthes in the first volume of the *Boeginesche Chrestomathie* (Matthes 1864:520-523). The title Attoriolonna Soppéng (History of Soppéng) (hereafter AS) is my own. It is derived from the title Attoriolongngé ri Soppéng (The History from Soppéng), which is found only in MAK 90:30.11-32.11 and evidently is not part of the original work. Most versions of the AS begin with the words: **Iana sureq poadaqadaqéngngi tanaé ri Soppéng**, 'This is the writing that tells of the land of Soppéng', to which the copyist of one version has added, 'in the time of the ancient lords'. However, will be seen below, an earlier form of the introduction began simply with the words **Panessaéngngi yi[a]siyé ripau**, 'This sets out that which is told.'

Matthes' version of the AS was based on that found in NBG 99:221.1-224.9, which was copied by Arung Mandallé from a codex owned by his father, Daéng Mémangung of Kékéang (Matthes 1872b:60, Swellengrebel 1974:160). As with the case of the Lontara qna Simpurusia, the work which precedes the AS in NBG 99, Matthes' emendations were based in part upon two other versions of the AS, NBG 100:76.10-78.2 and NBG 111:36.1-38.11 (Matthes 1872b:60-61) and were executed directly upon the manuscript from which the published version was prepared. The published version runs thirteen manuscript lines into the following work, the Royal Genealogy of Soppéng (section 2.6), which Matthes appears to have used as the basis of his own King List on pages 524-526 of the first volume of the Chrestomathie. The inclusion by Matthes of the first thirteen lines of the Royal Genealogy of Soppéng appears to have been deliberate, for the end of the AS is clearly marked in NBG 99. The opening section of the Royal Genealogy of Soppéng contains an interesting anecdote about Wé Tékéwanua, the fourth-recorded ruler of Soppéng, which Matthes seems to have wished to include in the Chrestomathie. A set of notes dealing with obscure readings and the Romanized orthography of names and places was provided in Matthes 1872b:89-91 and a summary of the AS appeared in the *Boegineesche en Makassaarsche Legenden* (Matthes, 1885:7-9; Van den Brink, 1943:381-382). A Dutch language translation of Matthes' version was later published by Kern (Kern 1929:298-301).

2.5.1 Versions of the AS

There are at least eleven versions of the AS extant.[1] These are listed in table 2-5. Versions will henceforth be identified by the letter given in the right-hand column.

Table 2-5: Versions of the AS

Collection	Number	Pages.Lines	Letter

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[1] In Sulawesi I came across several further versions; these added little to the picture obtained from those listed above.

CCM	8/4	43.5-43.15	*A*[2]
KITLV	Or. 272 L	4.8-6.10	*B*
MAK	90	30.11-32.11	*C*
MAK	104	21.23-23.23	*D*
MAK	188	5.1-7.29	*E*
MAK	223	182.1-183.31	*F*
NBG	99	221.1-224.9	*G*
NBG	100	76.10-78.2	*H*
NBG	101	48.1-49.28	*J*
NBG	111	36.1-38.11	*K*
NBG	208	135.1-136.21	*L*

All versions display a close similarity in content, structure and language. As with the case of the Lontara qna Simpurusia and the Royal Genealogy of Cina, this can only be explained by assuming them to have descended from a single archetype.

One version, *E,* stands out from all others. This is fully one-half as long again as any other; its additional material is spread throughout the text, enlarging upon the account provided by the other ten versions. This additional material is descriptive and adds little of importance (though much of interest) to the accounts of the other versions. In the light of our previous findings regarding related versions of the same work, it seems reasonable to assume that the additional material has come down to us from the archetype of the AS, and that it has been edited out of an ancestor from which *ABCDFGHJKL* are descended.

Version *E* is therefore selected for editing. As it produces few textual difficulties, and (with the exception of a variant opening section and what seems to be a missing line) other versions add nothing of substance, there is no need to establish the relationships between versions.

The only version to add anything of significance to *E* is *B,* which contains a longer and more detailed introduction. It seems clear from a comparison of *B* with *E* that *B's* introduction is the older:

> Fasal Panessaéngngi \ yi[a]siyé ri pau \ yi[a] maténana \ La Padoma \ matétoni arungngé ri Kawu \ puttamanettoni arung ménréqé \ ri Galigo \ riwélaini \ Séwo sibawa Gattareng \ loqbammanenni \ wanuwa nakkarungngiyé \ La Padoma \ sibawa akkarungenna Opunna Kawu \ apaq pada puttai \ aga napada noqna maséuwa ri Soppéng \ toKawué \ toGattarengngé \ loqbammanenni akkarungngenna \ La Padoma \ arungngé ri Kawu.

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[2] There are no page numbers marked in *A.* The numbers given are arrived at by counting the remaining pages of this damaged manuscript. Folios appear to be confused: page 44 does not continue the AS but contains a separate work.

This sets out that which is told. La Padoma was dead, and dead was the Arung at Kawu; destroyed too were all the rulers whose ancestry could be traced to [the age of I La] Galigo. Séwo and Gattareng were left, and the settlements ruled by La Padoma and the Opu Kawu were all empty. [Séwo and Gattareng] were both destroyed, so the people of Kawu and the people of Gattareng went down and formed one settlement at Soppéng. All the settlements ruled by La Padoma and the Arung of Kawu were empty.

Compare this with the introduction found in *E:*

Yi[a]naé sureq poada[a]daéngngi tanaé ri Soppéng \ yi[a] cappu qnana téqé ri Galigo \ nawélaini Gattareng \ Séwo \ noqni ri Soppéng maqbanuwa tauwé \

Here is the writing that tells of the land of Soppéng. Those whose ancestry could be traced to the age of [I La] Galigo were no more. Gattareng and Séwo were left and the people came down and settled at Soppéng.

Both versions now continue:

(*B*) yi[a]na toSéwoyé \ riyaseng \ Soppé[n]riyaja \ to Gattarengngé \ riyaseng Soppé[n]rilawuq \

(*E*) nayi[a] toSéwoé \ yi[a]na rias'e'ng Soppé[n]riaja \ nayi[a] toGattarengngé \ yi[a]na rias'e'ng Soppé[n]rilauq \

The people of Séwo were called [the people of] West Soppéng and the people of Gattareng were called [the people of] East Soppéng.

The opening lines of *B* are in part based upon the Bugis poem La Padoma Énnaja (The Tragedy of La Padoma). This poem provides the references to La Padoma and the Opu Batara Kawu (or Kau), the purpose of which is to account for the abandonment of Séwo and Gattareng.

The story of La Padoma Énnaja can be summarized as follows.[3] La Padoma, the only child of the ruler of Bulu, visits Kau, where he is the guest of the Opu Batara Kau, the son of the ruler of the settlement of that name. Opu Kau's sister, Wé Dénradatu, spies La Padoma from an upstairs window; La Padoma catches her gaze and the two are immediately attracted to each another. Despite his engagement to Wé Mangkawani, a princess of Gattareng, as well as a promise to his host that should he desire his sister, he will propose in the proper

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[3] This summary is based upon Sikki and Sande (1979). This is a transcription and Indonesian language translation of a nineteenth-century version of the poem, which is currently in the possession of Drs. Muhammad Salim. This version begins abruptly, La Padoma having arrived in Kau, and the ending is confused and incomplete.

manner, La Padoma seduces Wé Dénradatu. Opu Batara Kau discovers La Padoma in his sister's bedroom: despite Wé Dénradatu's pleas, La Padoma goes to out to fight him and is killed. The following morning, news of La Padoma's death is conveyed to his parents; grief-stricken, the men of Bulu march on Kau to recover the body of their dead prince. That evening, La Padoma's cousin, the Opu Batara Soppéng, arrives in Bulu. La Padoma's body is carried to Bulu Kamenynyang (Kamenynyang mountain) where he is buried. Opu Batara Soppéng calls on the assembled chiefs to join him in an attack on Kau: it is suggested that before attacking Kau, the ruler should be called upon to surrender his daughter, Wé Dénradatu, in order that she may accompany La Padoma in the afterlife. An envoy is sent to Kau, but the ruler refuses to surrender his daughter. Opu Batara Soppéng leads an attack on Kau and inflicts heavy casualties. Horrified by what she believes to be the death of her brother, as well as the general carnage, Wé Dénradatu is overcome by grief. Suddenly the spirit of La Padoma appears to Wé Dénradatu and summons her to join him in the afterlife. Wé Dénradatu falls to the ground lifeless. Discovering the body of his sister, her brother calls a truce, and informs Opu Batara Soppéng of Wé Dénradatu's death. Having seen for himself Wé Dénradatu's lifeless body, Opu Batara Soppéng leads the attacking army home. Most of the places named in the poem can be identified. Bulu is probably Bulumatanré (perhaps the Bulu mentioned in Matthes [1874:788]), a settlement formerly located on the summit of a one-thousand metre mountain to the south-west of WatasSoppéng. Séwo was located on the tops of two ridges along the trail leading from WatasSoppéng to Bulumatanré. [Gattareng?] Kawu is probably in the same region, although in Sikki and Sande's version of the poem it is linked with Tonra in south Boné.

2.5.2 Dating the AS

In December 1986, a team of four Indonesian and Australian archaeologists and myself surveyed several sites in Soppéng. Séwo and Bulumatanré provided firm evidence of occupation from the fourteenth century to about 1700, when they were both abandoned. Patterns of ceramic sherd deposits on the surface of the sites, which formed the basis of our dating techniques, were remarkably similar at both places. Gattareng, which was subsequently located [where?], provided similar evidence of desertion about 1700 (Kallupa et al. 1988). The AS must therefore postdate 1700. It seems probable from the evidence of the simultaneous abandonment of Séwo, Gattareng and Bulumatanré that they were evacuated by force of arms, probably in a single campaign, and almost certainly from WatasSoppéng. From the AS's introduction it would seem that those who survived the attack were taken down to the Walanaé Valley and divided up between a number of settlements. The reference to La Padoma shows that at the time of composition of the AS, the forced evacuation of Séwo, Gattareng and Bulumatanré (and possibly a number of other hill settlements) was still part of popular memory. The author of the AS clearly meant the tragic death of La Padoma, the only son of the ruler of Bulu, and the death of Opu Batara Kau (who does not die in the Sikki and Sandi version of the poem) to be linked in his

audience's minds with the abandonment of Séwo and Gattareng.[4] Later, when memory had faded and the need for a more acceptable account of events was no longer required, this element of the AS's introduction was dropped in an ancestor of *ACDEFGHJKL.*[5]

The oldest version of the AS is A, which appears from the microfilm to be written on good quality European paper attributable to the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. *A,* however, contains a short introduction typical of all versions but *B.* The ancestor of *ACDEFGHJKL* in which the references to La Padoma and Opu Batara Kau were deleted must pre-date the early nineteenth century. The AS can thus be securely dated to the eighteenth century.

2.5.3 The AS as a Historical Source

The purpose, or function, of the AS is to legitimize kingship in Soppéng and to support the authority of the Datu of Soppéng against that of his chiefs. This it sets out to do by the describing how the headmen of East and West Soppéng invited the *tomanurung* who appeared at Sékkanyili and Libureng to become their first rulers. The *tomanurung* agree, but only after the headmen (most prominent of whom are those of Botto, Bila and Ujung) have promised to obey them faithfully.

The AS was written some two hundred years after the unification of East and West Soppéng, and a minimum of five hundred years after the development in Soppéngng of a local elite.[6] Despite this distance, and allowing for the spurious origin of the people of Soppéng provided by its opening lines, historical traditions dating back to the pre-Islamic period are clearly contained within the AS. Tinco, a settlement that had probably been abandoned by the time of the composition of the AS, is named in it as the site of the palace of the ruler of West Soppéng. This, and the importance of the Matoa Tinco in the AS, is difficult to explain other than as a memory of the time when the rulers of West Soppéng had their palaces there.[7]

The pre-sixteenth-century division of Soppéng is well known in the present-day kabupaten and confirmed in several independent written sources. In - the capital WatasSoppéng may be heard many legends connected with local - sites, such as the road-island in front of the former palace of Soppéng, where are buried three stones. These stones are said by local residents to mark the unification of the two kingdoms. It seems reasonable, therefore, to assume - that the settlements named as belonging to East or West Soppéng are correctly

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[4] Nowhere in the poem is there any mention of their abandonment.
[5] This interpretation is supported by the fact that B has an unusually condensed central section and ends with the posthumous titles of a number of eighteenth-century individuals, suggesting that from an early date its line of descent has been removed from that shared by *ACDEFGHJKL.*
[6] See Chapter Five
[7] This interpretation is supported by archaeological evidence from Tinco. The site is particularly rich in ceramic sherds, including a remarkable proportion of early monochromes.

ascribed; the division of settlements between the two kingdoms is broadly supported by local traditions.

2.5.4 Text

Yi[a]naé sureq poada[a]daéngngi tanaé ri Soppéng \ yi[a] cappuqnana Soppéng téqé ri Galigo \ nawélaini Gattareng \ Séwo \ noqni ri Soppéng Soppéng maqbanuwa tauwé \ nayi[a] toSéwoé \ yi[a]na riaseng Soppé[n]riaja \ nayi[a] toGattarengngé \ yi[a]na riyaseng Soppé[n]rilauq \ enneng pulona pammatoangeng \ Soppé[n]rilauq \ naduwa Soppé[n]riaja \ napaqduwani aléna toSoppéngngé \ nayi[a] Saloqtungo \ Lo[m]poqé \ Kuqba \ Pani[n]cong \ Talagaé \ Riatassaloq \ Ma[ng]kuto[8] Maccilé \ Watuwatu \ Akka[m]peng \ paqduirenna Soppéng Soppé[n]rilau \ nayi[a] Pessé \ Seppang \ Pising \ Laanga \ Matabulu \ Araq \ Lisu \ Lawo \ Maqdellorilauq \ Ti[n]co paqduirenna \ Soppé[n]riaja \ nayi[a] Cé[n]rana \ Saloqkaraja \ Malaka \ Matoanging \ ri laleng Soppéttopa \ naduwangini \ malai paqduireng \ pitu lapiqni \ déq puwanna \ toSoppéngngé \ puppu[9] téqé ri Galigo \ nayi[a]mani matoa ennengngé pulona \ paotoq paléwuqi tanaé \ namanurunna petta ri Sékkanyili \ napaissenna Matoa Ti[n]co[10] \ napoadani Matoa Botto \ Matoa Ujung \ Matoa Bila \ makkedaé \ e[ng]karo [to]manurung \ ri Sékkañili \ makkedani Matoa Bila \ Matoa Botto \ Matoa Ujung \ madécéngngi tapaissengngi toSoppé[n]rilauqé \ aga [eng]kani Matoa Saloqtungo \ makkédasi kadoni toSoppé[n]riajaé \ toSoppé[n]rilauqé \ makkedani Matoa Ujung esso laippi talao makkarangngi alé \ makkedai Matoa Salo qtungo takkalai madeppu deppungeng \ madécénnisa takkarang alé \ saré mamaseammi \ talai puwéng[11] \ nayi[a] dongiri tennatipaiq \ salipuri temmadingiwiq [m]pesséi temmakapaiq \ [m]pawaiq ri mawéq ri mabéla \ namau ana qta \ pattarota \ natéyaiwi tatéyaitoi \ sia[12] purai kua laoni Soppéng matoaé[13] ennengngé pulona \ napalattu qni ri tomanurungngé \ makkedani ri[14] MatoaSoppéng Ujung \ Matoa Botto \ Matoa Bila \ yi[a]na kie[ng]kang \ maié La Marupe \ maéloqkeng

(6) muamaséi \ ajaqna muallajang \ naikona kipopuang \ mudongiri temmatipakkeng \ musalipuri temmadingikkeng \ muwesse temmakapakkeng muwessé temmakapakkeng[15] \ naikona [m]pawakkeng ri mawéq ri mabéla \ namau anaqmeng \ pattarommeng mutéaiwi kitéaito \ makkedai tomanurungngé \ tania sangkammu riolali[16] puatta[17] \ naé laono mai

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[8] **Mangkuto** read **Mangkutu**

[9] This is spelt Puu

[10] D adds **jennampessé a[ng]kana matowa pa qduisengngé toSoppé[n]riaja**. (Similar readings are found in other versions.) The additional words are included in the translation in such a way as to show that they do not form part of the present version.

[11] **puwéng** read **puwang**

[12] **tatéyaitoi \ sia** read **tatéyaitoisia**

[13] **matoaé** read **matoa**

[14] **ri** is omitted in the translation.

[15] The words **muwessé temmakapakkeng** are accidentally repeated at the beginning of a new line: they are omitted in the translation.

[16] This is spelt RioLaLi.

kulalengngekko muttama \ lokkani lattu i makkedai puatta manurungngé \ polé pégako matoa \ makkedai polé muka lolallolang \ naé [eng]kairo toSoppéngngé \ yi[a]maneng \ makkedai Matoa Botto Matoa Ujung \ Matoa Bila \ Matoa Ti[n]co \ yi[a]na kie[ng]kang maiyé La Marupeq \ maélokkeng muamaséi \ ajaqna muallajang \ naikona kipopuwang \ mudongiri temmatipakkeng musalipuri temmadingikkeng \ ri mawéq ri maqbéla \ namau anaqmeng patarommeng mutéaiwi \ kitéaitoi \ makkedai petta manurungngé \ pékkuna matoa \ mé[n]ré ri Soppéng \ nadéq bolaku sama mettéqni matoaé \ ennengngé pulona \ naikkenna La Marupeq \ maqbolako \ makkedasi petta agasi matoa rilisekkiyangngi bolaé \ nadéqsa atakku \ makkedai matoaé \ yi[a]pa pattékkakou anaqku \ eppoku \ makkedamusi petta manurungngé \ agasi kupa[n]réangngi liseq bolaku \ sama mettési matoa paqduisengngé riaja ri lauq \ makkeda \ ikkenna laowakkoruma \ makkedani petta Soppéng manurungngé ri Sékkanyili \ temmubaléccora[n]gaqmennang temmusalakaq léssoqga apaq yi[a] makkedamu[a] \ mau anaqku \ pattaroku \ mutéyaiwi kutéyaito[18] \ yi[a] makuto mau anaqku pataroku \ mutéyaiwi \ kitéyaito \ sice[ppa]ni mutowa[19] ennengngé pulona \ petta manurungngé \ e[ng]kamanenni bissué \ raméraméngngi \ adidéwatang[20] \ nalékeqi mé[n]réq ri Soppéng \ nakkuna ri bolana Matoa Ti[n]co ripatakkappo \ naqpangujumanenni matoa ennengngé pulona \ l[a]o mé[n]réq ri bulué maqbang \ napaissenna petta manurungngé \ nata[m]paimanenni pammatowangengngé \ Soppé[n]rilauq Soppé[n]riaja \ makkedai petta manurungngé \ yi[a] uta[m]paiyakko iko siliseq \ ajaqmua \ mué[n]réq Soppéng maqbang \ ri bulué \ kadoni toSoppéngngé \ aga wennini \ poléni guttuqé kileqé \ naturunna ure[n]riwuqé \ pitung esso pitu[m]penni \ samanna [é]loq maruttung langié \ namarutu[n]rutunna bulué \ nayi[a] aju marajaé \ maukkequkkeqni \ napoléna Soppéng lé[m]peqé namali manenna ajué ri bulué \ nayi[a] aju maliqé \ narékko lattuqi ri attana Ti[n]co ta[ng]si \ ajué \ nabukéna aju saloqé \ ri atta[na] Ti[n]co nakkuna turung toSoppéngngé maqbang \ na

(7) patettonna[21] la[ng]kana ri Ti[n]co tépui la[ng]kanaé \ tudassiSoppéssi[22] pammatoangengngé \ makkedana petta manurungngé \ yi[a] upoadako \ iko siliseq toSoppéngngé \ e[ng]katu sapposisekku[23] manurung ri Libureng \ madécéngngi muakkarangalému duppaiwi \ kudua sapparakko mupodécéngngé \ nayi[a q] Datu ri Soppé[n]riaja \ nayi[a]tonasa Datu ri Soppé[n]rilauq \ purai kuwa laoni matowa ennengngé pulona \ lattuqni ri Libureng \ kua riasengngé ri goarié \ napoléina tomanurungngé \ tudang ri balubu aqdepparenna \ makkédai Matoa Ujung \ Matoa Botto \ Matoa Bila \ yi[a]na mai La Marupeq \ ki[e]ngka \ maéloqkeng muamaséang \ ajaqna muallajang \ iko kipopuwang \ mudongiri temmatipakkeng musalipuri temmadingikkeng

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[17] **puatta** read **puammu**

[18] **kutéyaito** read **kitéyaito** Immediately following this complex is an accidental repeat of the previous twenty three aksara, starting from **yi[a]**: these are omitted in the translation.

[19] **mutowa** read **matoa**

[20] Little sense can be made of the grammatical structure of this complex, which appears to refer to ceremonies carried out on behalf of the gods of the pre Islamic pantheon.

[21] This is spelt NaPaTeoNa.

[22] This is spelt TuDaSioPéSi.

[23] This is spelt SaPoSieKu.

muwessé temmakkapakkeng \ muwawakeng ri mawéq ri mabéla namau anaqmeng \ pattarommeng mutéaiwi kitéyaito \ makkedai manurungngé ri goarinna \ temmubaléccora[n]gaq \ temmusalakaq léssoqga \ apaq mau yi[a] anaqku \ pattaroku mutéyaiwi \ kutéaito \ makkuluadassi manurungngé \ matoaé \ yi[a]naro akkuluadangenna \ toSoppéngngé matowaé \ lattuq ritorimo[n]rina datué \ natorimo[n]rina[24] matowaé \ *tammat*

[a]Apaq yi[a] tekkéanaq \ tekkéeppoqnapa \ petta manurungngé yi[a] duwa \ Matoa Botto Matowa Ujung \ Matoa Bila \ poadai ada nasamaturu qsiyé \ matoa ennengngé pulona \ ala ada massuq ala ada Soppéng muttama \ kuwaétopa ala ada ri laleng Soppéng \ naé kkéanaqni \ petta manurungngé \ yi[a] duwa \ naé kkéepponi e[ng]kana Pangépa \ e[ng]kana Paqda[n]reng yi[a]tosi samasituru turu \ Arung Bila Datué \ Datué[25] ri Botto \ Datué ri Ujung \ torilaleng Soppéngngé yi[a]maneng \ ala ada massuq \ ala ada muttama \ ala ada ri laleng SoppéngSoppéng narékko e[ng]kamanenni situruq \ sikuwaéro te[n]rigilinni adaé \ *tammat[a]26*

2.5.5 Translation

This is the writing that tells of the land of Soppéng. Those whose ancestry could be traced to the age of Galigo were no more.[27] Gattareng and Séwo[28] were left, and the people came down and settled at Soppéng. The people of Séwo were called the people of West Soppéng and the people of Gattareng were called the people of East Soppéng. There were sixty headmanships in East Soppéng and West Soppéng and the body of the people of Soppéng was divided in two.[29] Saloqtungo, Lompoqé, Kuqba, Panincong, Talagaé, Riatassalo q, Mangkutu, Maccilé, Watuwatu and Akkampéng comprised East Soppéng. Pessé, Seppang, Pising, Laanga, Matabulu, Ara q, Lisu, Lawo,u Ma qdellorilau q and Tinco comprised West Soppéng. Cénrana, Saloqkaraja, Malaka and Matoanging were also in Soppéng and were divided up and included [in the two groupings].[30] For seven generations[31] the people of Soppéng were without lords. Those whose ancestry could be traced to the age of Galigo

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[24] **torimo[n]rina** read **torimunrina**

[25] The second occurrence of **Datué** is omitted in the translation.

[26] [a—a:] This section is separated from the main body of the text in most versions.

[27] The 'age of I La Galigo', which was supposed to have preceded the appearance of the historical rulers of South Sulawesi.

[28] Séwo was located on the small hill that name behind WataSoppéng; Gattareng, 'a flat ridge top', was situated on the ridge directly to the south west of Séwo. Archaeological evidence suggests that both settlements were abandoned around 1700.

[29] The former division of Soppéng is supported in a number of independent written and oral sources. East and West Soppéng were united in the early sixteenth century by La Mataesso, the ruler of West Soppéng (Abdurrazak 1967:10).

[30] Most of the settlements listed can be identified on a map of Soppéng: see page XX. Salo qtungo (river bend), Talagaé (the water), Riatassalo q (south of the river), Watuwatu, (stony), Seppang (the name of a tree) and Salo qkaraja (river toll) are the only ones with clearly identifiable meanings.

[31] generations: **lapiq**, 'layers'

were no more, and the sixty headmen alone ruled the land.[32] Then our lord descended at Sekkanyili.[33] His appearance was made known by Matoa Tinco,[34] [a]Jennampessé[35] [was the] headman who made this known to the people a of West Soppéng[a36] Matoa Botto, Matoa Ujung and Matoa Bila[37] spoke, saying, 'There is a *tomanurung* over at Sékkañili.' The headmen of Bila, Botto and Ujung said, 'It would be good if we made this known to the people of East Soppéng.' Then there was the Matoa Saloqtungo.[38] He said that the people of East Soppéng agreed with the people of West Soppéng. Matoa Ujung said, 'On another day we will go and arrange ourselves.' Matoa Saloqtungo said, 'We have already come together. It would be good for us to arrange ourselves. He may take pity on us. We will take him as lord. He will protect [our fields] from birds so that we are not without food, cover us so that we are not cold, bind our rice sheaves so that we are not empty and lead us near and far. Should he reject even our wives and children, we too will reject them.' So the sixty headmen set off. When they reached the one who descended[39] the headmen of Ujung, Botto and Bila said, 'We have come here, O blessed one, to ask

(6) you to take pity [on us]. Do not disappear. We take you as lord. You protect our fields from birds so that we do not lack food. You cover us so that we are not cold. You bind our rice sheaves so that we are not empty and you lead us near and far. Should you reject even our wives and children, we too will reject them.'[40] The one who descended said, [b]'May it

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[32] The motif of a rulerless period of seven generations preceding the appearance of a tomanurung is almost certainly based upon a similar motif in the Chronicle of Boné, the opening pages of which appear to have provided the model for the present work.

[33] According to the Royal Genealogy of Soppéng (section 2.6), Sékkañili was the origin of the ruling lineage of West Soppéng. The name Sékkañili today appears to refer solely to the clearing in *kampung* Pétta Balubué (our lords of the jars), *desa* Turuttappaé, approximately two kilometers west of Léworeng, approximately eighteen kilometers north of Soppéng, where there are two well preserved, pre Islamic jar burial sites. The higher and larger of these contains the remains of a large, fifteenth century green celadon Chinese jar. The site is said to be that of a woman: it is just possible that the jar is the one in which the ashes of Wé Tékéwanua, the fourth recorded ruler of West Soppéng, who married at Léworeng, were buried.

[34] Matoa can be roughly translated as 'headman'. Tinco appears to have been the early capital of West Soppéng: see page XX, footnote XX.

[35] It is not clear whether Jennampessé is a title of the Matoa Tinco or a separate individual. Jennang is a political office, wessé is a rice sheaf. See Hitchcock, Binamese, *jena*, work.

[36] *a—a:* from D.

[37] Henceforth referred to as 'the headmen of . . . '. Bila Botto and Ujung are today within the urban boundaries of the provincial capital WatasSoppéng. Their former rulers are described by Matthes (1874:788, under épaq) as three of the four great lords of Soppéng.

[38] The Matoa Saloqtungo represents the people of East Soppéng in the present work. Salo qtungo lies one kilometer south east of Ujung.

[39] From what follows, would seem that the *tomanurung* is approached first by the headmen of Botto, Bila and Ujung, while the other headmen wait at a distance. There is no hill at Sékkanñili, which lies in a flat rice growing area of the central Walanae valley.

[40] Cf. a similar passage in the Chronicle of Boné, which appears to have served as a model: 'Here we come to you, lord. We want you to have mercy [on us], and to establish yourself here in your land. Do not disappear. You we will make lord. Your wish is what we wish, just as commands are. Even our children and wives [if] you reject them, we also reject them in turn. If only you will stay here, then you will have us as slaves. You will protect us against lack of food' (Macknight and Mukhlis, forthcoming).

not be . . . our lord.*b*[41] Now come here and I will lead you.' They set off, and when they arrived [where the other headmen were waiting], our lord who descended said, 'Where are you headmen from?' [The headmen] said, 'We come from all around.' Then there were all the people of Soppéng. The headmen of Botto, Ujung, Bila and Tinco said, 'We have come here, O blessed one, to ask you to take pity [on us]. Do not go away. We take you as lord. You protect [our fields] from birds so that we do not lack food. You cover us so that we are not cold and [you lead us] near and far. Should you reject even our wives and children, we too will reject them.' Our lord who descended said, 'How will it be, headmen, if I come up to Soppéng, for I do not have a house.' The sixty headmen replied together, 'We will build you a house, O blessed one.' Our lord said, 'Will you headmen fill the house? For I have no servants of my own.' The headmen said, 'We will send over our children and grandchildren.' Our lord who descended said, 'How will I feed the people of my house?' The headmen who comprised West [and] East [Soppéng] replied together, saying, 'We will go and open fields.' Our lord who descended at Sékkanyili said, 'You will not all act treacherously towards me? You will not wrongfully depose me?'[42] So they said simply, 'Should you reject even our wives and children, we too will reject them.' The sixty headmen made an agreement with our lord who descended. Then there were all the *bissu* in great numbers, making offerings to the gods,[43] as [our lord] was carried ceremoniously up to Soppéng. When they had assembled at Matoa Tinco's house, the sixty headmen made ready to ascend the hill [of Tinco] to fell [the trees]. Our lord who descended made an announcement, and he summoned all the headmen of East Soppéng and West Soppéng. Our lord who descended said, 'The reason I have summoned you all is simply so that you do not go up the hill to fell [the trees].' The people of Soppéng agreed. When night fell there came thunder and lightning and a great storm arose. For seven days and seven nights it was as if the sky were falling. The great trees were uprooted, then a flood came and carried all the trees down the hill. The trees that had been driven down the hill came to rest south of Tinco,[44] and blocked the river south of Tinco. So the people of Soppéng went down to collect[45] [the trees].

(7) and they began constructing a palace at Tinco.[46] When the palace was completed, the headmen rested in Soppéng. Our lord who descended said, 'This it what I have to say to

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[41] *b—b*: **tania sangkammu riolali puatta**

[42] Cf. the Chronicle of Boné: 'Your thoughts are not double. You do not lie.'

[43] A guess at the meaning of **raméraméngngi \ adidéwatang**. A guess at the meaning of **raméraméngngi \ adidéwatang**.

[44] Probably Tinco Baru, at the foot of the hill.

[45] collect: **maqbang,**: 'fell'

[46] The building of the palace suggests that the early 'capital' of West Soppéng was at Tinco [Tinco Lama], which was situated on the ridge of a low hill some seven kilometers north of WatasSoppéng. Archaeological evidence supports this interpretation: Tinco Lama is particularly rich in ceramic sherd deposits (including early monochromes) and shows clear evidence of occupation by an elite group from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. In addition, there are a number of jar burial sites at the north west end of the ridge, where, until recently, fertility ceremonies appear to have been conducted. There is also a local tradition of there once having been a palace (**langkana**) on top of the hill.

you, all you people of Soppéng. There is a cousin of mine, [who] descended at Libureng.[47] It would be good if you arranged yourselves and went to meet him. We will both seek what is good for you. I will be the ruler of West Soppéng and he [will be] the ruler of East Soppéng.' So the sixty headmen set off [and shortly] came to Libureng, [where there was] the one who was called ['He PELRAS SAYS SHE who descended] in the sleeping chamber.'[48] The one who descended had arrived in a jar from which he had emerged.[49] The headmen of Ujung, Botto and Bila said, 'We have come here, O blessed one, to ask you to take pity [on us]. Do not disappear. We take you as lord. You protect [our fields] from birds so that we are not without food [and] you cover us so that we are not cold. You bind our rice sheaves so that we are not empty and you lead us near and far. Should you reject even our wives and children, we too will reject them.' The one who descended in his chamber said, 'You will not act treacherously towards me? You will not wrongfully depose me?' [The headmen replied,] 'Should you reject even our wives and children, we too will reject them.' The one who descended and the headmen made an agreement. That was the agreement of the people of Soppéng and the headmen that has come down to the descendants of the rulers and to the descendants of the headmen.

While our two lords who descended had no children and no grandchildren, the headmen of Botto, Ujung and Bila ruled [Soppéng] in agreement with the sixty headmen. [They] sent orders out and sent orders in [and they] sent orders inside Soppéng. Then our two lords who descended had children and grandchildren. There were [instituted the offices of] Pangépa[50] and Padanreng.[51] They were obeyed by the Arung Bila, Datu Botto and Datu ri Ujung and all the people of Soppéng, [they] sent orders out and sent orders in [and they] sent orders inside Soppéng. They were obeyed by all, for the orders could not be changed.[52]

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[47] The building of the palace suggests that the early 'capital' of West Soppéng was at Tinco [Tinco Lama], which was situated on the ridge of a low hill some seven kilometers north of WatasSoppéng. Archaeological evidence supports this interpretation: Tinco Lama is particularly rich in ceramic sherd deposits (including early monochromes) and shows clear evidence of occupation by an elite group from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. In addition, there are a number of jar burial sites at the north west end of the ridge, where, until recently, fertility ceremonies appear to have been conducted. There is also a local tradition of there once having been a palace (**langkana**) on top of the hill.

[48] In the sleeping chamber: (Makasar) **ri goarié**, perhaps here a place name. In *kampung* Goarié, *desa* Libureng, can be seen what appears to be a well-preserved jar burial site. In WatasSoppéng I was shown a recent photograph of the *bissu* charged with the keeping of the Soppéng regalia performing a ritual at this site.

[49] emerged: **aqdepparenna**, 'hatched', as from an egg.

[50] Cf. page *∂*, footnote *∂*.

[51] Pangépa was the more important of the two offices. Here the AS accounts for the difference by making the the children of the *tomanurung* the first Padanreng, and their grandchildren the first Pangépa.

[52] It is not clear whether this passage is part of the AS or a later addition. The present version, like others, separates it from the main body of the AS by the word *tammat* .

2.6 The Royal Genealogy of Soppéng

The Royal Genealogy of Soppéng (hereafter RGS) is a genealogy of the ruling family of Soppéng. Starting with the La Temmamala, the tomanurung of Sékkañili, it records some fourteen of the former kingdom's pre-Islamic rulers and nearly one hundred of their descendants.

As was previously stated, Soppéng originally consisted of two kingdoms, Soppénriaja (West Soppéng) and Soppénrilauq (East Soppéng). Each of these was evidently a separate political unit, though regular intermarriage between their ruling families is almost certain. (One such marriage is recorded in the RGS.) East and West Soppéng were unified in the sixteenth century by La Mataesso, West Soppéng's eleventh ruler,[1] who drove his cousin, La Makkaroda, out of East Soppéng (Abdurrazak 1967:10,). For the first ten generations, therefore, the RGS traces just the West Soppéng family.[2]

Matthes' published a brief list of Soppéng's rulers, which was evidently based upon one or more versions of the present work (Matthes 1864:524-26, 1872b:91-93). It would be a simple matter to prepare such a list from any of the longer versions of the RGS, or from a manuscript list of Soppéng's rulers, such as NBG 208:133.1-133.19.

2.6.1 Versions of the RGS

Versions of the RGS are shown in table 2-6. These will henceforth be referred to by the letter given in the right-hand column. Page and line numbers extend to the second mention of La Tenribali (c.1659-1676), the fourteenth recorded ruler, or to the point at which the text ends, if this occurs first. *A* and *H* are simply lists of rulers and are omitted from the following discussion.[3]

Table 2-6: Versions of the RGS

Collection	No.	Page.Line	Designation
MAK	90	33.1-33.14	*A*
MAK	104	37.34-38.16	*B*

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[1] The present work names La Sékati, La Mataesso's elder brother, as the eleventh ruler.

[2] The first five rulers are described as Datu of West Soppéng, while three of the remaining five are identified as rulers by what appear to have been personal titles.

[3] It is my opinion that these lists have been extracted from longer versions of the RGS, such as *CDGJ.* This is in keeping with the evidence so far that material is generally lost rather than added in the repeated copying of Bugis historical sources for the period before 1600. For a contrasting view regarding the Malay historiographic tradition, see Roolvink [1967:311], who argues that the Sejarah Melayu was developed by adding material to an earlier king list. How this material was transmitted before its incorporation is not discussed.

MAK	223	146.2-148.9	C
NBG	99	224.10-230.6	D
NBG	100	90.23-91.7	E
NBG	101	49.26-50.13	F
NBG	127	45.16-50.4	H
NBG	208	133.1-133.20	G
NBG	208	136.22-139.16	J

A comparison of the variations found in the seven versions indicates that they can be divided into three groups. The basis of this division can be illustrated by a comparison of their opening sections. Page and line numbers are from *D* and orthography is standardized to avoid unnecessary complication.

1. At 224.11 *BDEFJ* have **nalao maqbawiné ri Suppaq** while *C* has **iatona Arung ri Soppéng ri aja naia siala** and *G* **iatona pammula Datu ri Soppéng ri aja naia siala**.

2. At 225.1 *BDEFJ* have **maqbawiné siala** while *CG* have **maqbawiné riSuppaq siala**.

3. At 225.1-2 *BEF* have **ianaqnréwe ri Suppaq Datu** while *DJ* have **iana nréwe Datu ri Suppaq**: *C* omits this passage, while *G* has **iana napolé Matinroé ri Pamatingeng sibawa aqdatuangngé ri Soppéngngé ri Soppéng**.

4. At 225.5 *CG* omit the anecdote about Wé Tékéwanua and resume at 225.10 with the words **Wé Tékéwanua mallakkai**.

5. At 225.7 *BEF* have **natujuna apa** while *DJ* have (correctly) **natujuiattampang**. The copyist of *G* appears to have noticed the error and corrected it by adding the *aksara* Ta above the line.

6. At 225.8 *BEF* omit *DJ*'s **attampang**.

7. At 225.9 *BEF* have **ri wanua ia toNépo** while *DJ* have **siwanua toNépoé**.

It can be seen from the above examples that versions *BEF* consistently agree with each other, as does *D* with *J. CG* differ from *BEF* in four places, the most significant differences

being the omission of the anecdote about Wé Tékéwanua (example 4 above). *C* and *G* provide different readings for two of their three other variations, but, more importantly, both differ at the same places.[4] *D* and *J* agree consistently; both contain *CG's* missing anecdote and share five minor deviations from *BEF.*

The close linguistic and structural similarity between versions leaves little doubt that all are descended from a single ancestor. We shall call this archetype *w*. The next task is to establish the relationships between the seven versions. Our conclusions are as follows:

1. If *BDEFJ's* anecdote was a part of *w* then it must have been omitted in an ancestor of *CG*. If the anecdote was not a part of *w*, then it must have been added in an ancestor of *BDEFJ*. That the former is more likely can be argued on the grounds of the anecdote's symbolic (and seemingly archaic) language and its reference to a late-fourteenth-century ruler, little memory of whom is likely to have survived outside of a written source. We shall call the version which excluded the anecdote *a.*

2. The close agreement between versions *BEF* suggests that they share a recent ancestor. *BEF* end earlier than do *CG,* with the statement that La Makkanengnga was the fourth ruler of West Soppéng. *BEF* must, therefore, be separated from *CG* by an ancestor which omitted the later rulers. We shall call this version *b*. *DJ,* however, share *CG's* ending as well as *BEF's* anecdote. *DJ's* line of descent must therefore have separated from that of *BEF* before *b*. This could have occurred either before or after *CG's* line of descent broke away from that of *BEF,* though *DJ's* general closeness to *BEF* suggests the latter.
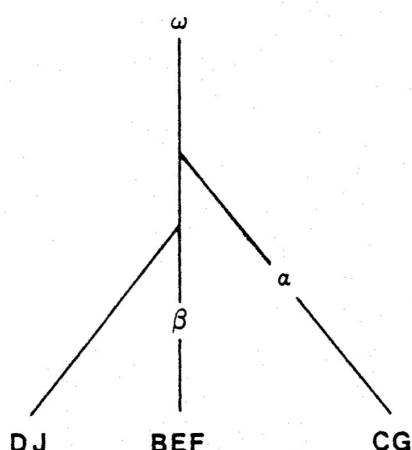

Figure 2-11:   Stemma of Versions of the RGS

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[4] *C* and *G* offer essentially the same reading at 224.11 (example 1) while *G's* problematic reading at 225.1-2 (example 3) may have been omitted in an ancestor of *C*. *G* also shows signs of orthographic 'correction' of a number of names, some of which are footnoted in the translation.

The family relationship of the seven versions is illustrated diagrammatically in figure 2-11. This is the simplest possible relationship, based on the assumption of a process of accumulated scribal error and periodic revision of the text.

D is selected for editing for three reasons. Firstly, like *CG,* it offers a longer text than do *BEF.* Secondly, it contains the anecdote omitted in *CG.* Thirdly, *D*'s copyist has simplified the task of editing the RGS by dividing it into fifteen numbered 'sections' (the use of parenthesis is to avoid confusion with the present book's divisions), each 'section' representing one generation of Soppéng's rulers.[5] Nevertheless, *D* is not without problems. While the existence of a minimum of three other versions (two of which belong to a separate line of descent) throughout the work makes choosing between substantive variants a relatively straightforward task, it is clear that *w* itself contained a number of textual errors and omissions.

In keeping with the limits of this study the text of *D* is edited and translated to the end of 'section' fourteen, the subjects of 'section' fifteen falling outside the period of reference. Lastly, I have deviated from the usual layout of text and translation by following the text's own division into 'sections', and marking manuscript page-breaks within these sections in the text only. This makes both the text and translation easier to follow.

2.6.2 Dating the RGS

If we assume the endings of versions *CDG* to reflect a similar ending in the group's archetype, *w*, the RGS can be dated to the seventeenth century. An earlier date is unlikely, due to the use of posthumous titles for two of the three children of Soppéng's fifteenth-recorded ruler, whose names conclude the RGS.

2.6.3 The RGS as a Historical Source

The absence of legendary elements and the occurrence throughout of names that reflect the features of an inland, agricultural society, suggests that the sources of the RGS were genealogical records. The reliability of these records for the period after 1400 seems beyond serious question: two fifth-generation members, one sixth-generation member, and possibly two eighth-generation members, can be cross-referenced with the Royal Genealogy of Cina, a work which draws upon what is clearly an independent tradition. As will be seen from the chronological evidence of the RGS and other genealogies examined in section 3.1, the names of the first four generations of Soppéng's rulers probably derived, via written sources, from an oral tradition, and may be less reliable. But the names of these

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[5] Of the other five versions, only *J* has these divisions. *J* is in some ways a superior version to *D,* but was not available to me until recently.

rulers are of the same general type as the others and thus must derive from a similar historical background.

2.6.4 Text, D

Taniya upomabusung[6] \ lakke lakke i \ wija toma[ng]kau \ La Temmammala \ asenna \ manurungngé \ ri Sekkañili \ nalao maqbawiné \ ri RiSuppaq \ siyala \ Wé Mappupu \ anaqnani \ La Maracinna \ (225)

2[7]

La Maracinnanaq\ maqbawiné \ siyala Wé Kawa \ anaqni \ La Bo[m]bang \ yi[a]na [n]réwe Datu ri Suppaq \ anaqni \ La Bang \ yi[a]na Datu Soppé[n]riyaja \

3

La Bassi \ lao maqbawiné \ ri Balusu \ siyala Wé Tima[n]ratu \ anaqni \ Wé Tékéwanuwa \

4

Wé Tékéwanua Datu \ Soppé[n]riyaja \ yi[a]na \ [m]pawa tanaq\ ri Suppa \ napuéi maleqbaqé \ napoloi malla[m]peqé \ nattaneng teqbu \ naloloq[8] bérébéré \ natiro tappareng \ natujui \ atta[m]pang \ toSidé[n]réngngé \ natiro tappareng \ natuju atta[m]pang \ toNépoé \ manu \ bekku tiro tappareng \ natuju atta[m]pang \ toMariyoriyawaé \ tiroi tasi \ siwanuwa \ toNépoé \ nayi[a] Wé Tékéwanuwa \ maloloé[9] \ yi[a]na \ Datu \ ri RiSuppaq \ nallakkai \ Wé Tékéwanuwa \ ri Léworeng \ siyala \ La Temmapéo \ pitu anaqna \ anaqni \ La Wadeng \ yi[a]na seppei \ Bila \ yi[a]na mula Mangépa ri Soppéng \ nayi[a] \ a[n]ring sirappi na La Wadeng \ riyaseng La Makkanengnga \ yi[a]na Datu Soppé–

(226) [n]riaja[10] \ anaqni \ La Dumola \ anaqni \ La Tubé \ anaqni \ Wé Baku \ anaqni \ Te[n]ritabireng \ Te[n]ritabirenna \ mallakkai \ ri Baringeng \ siala \ La Pañorongi \ anaqni \ La Te[n]rilélé \ anaqni La Térénga \ anaqni La Tessipalla[11] \ anaqni \ La Karekkeng \ anaqni Wé Lirojaji \ anaqni \ La Temmata \

5

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[6] The manuscript text is heavily annotated and the original reading frequently uncertain, particularly when read from a microfilm. Where in doubt, I have chosen what appears to be the better reading.

[7] Arabic numbers are used throughout. As with the Royal Genealogy of Cina, is used for 5.

[8] This is spelt NaLoo.

[9] This is spelt MaLooQé.

[10] *BEF* end here.

[11] *G*'s reading of La Tenripalla is followed in the translation.

La Makkanengnga \ mababiné[12] \ ri Bulumata[n]ré \ siyala \ Wé Téna \ anaqni \ La Karella \

6

La Karella \ siala \ massapposiseng \ anaqna \ Arung Bila \ La Wadeng \ riaseng \ Wé Bolossugi \ anaqni \ La Pawiseang \ anaqni \ La Matagima \ anaqnani \ Wé Raiqé \ anaqni \ Wé Bao \ anaqnani \ Wé Bulutanaq\ anaqni \ Te[n]ripalessé \

7

La Pawiséang \ siala \ Wé Temmupageq \ ri Pising \ anaqni \ La Pasappoi \ yi[a]muto riaseng \ Soro[m]palié \ anaqni \ La Pawawoi \ anaqni \ La Pawawu \ anaqni La Warani \ anaqni \ Wé Tékélopi \ anaqni \ Wé Jampucinna \ (227)

8

La Pasappoi \ maqbawiné \ ri Baringeng \ yi[a]muto riaseng \ Core[m]palié[13] \ siala Wé Tappatanaq\ Da Wiring aseng ri anaqna \ anaqni \ La Mannussa \ To wAkkarangeng \ aseng ri anaqna \ yi[a]muto riaseng \ Mati[n]roé \ ri tananaq\ anaqni \ La Mapañompa \ anaqni \ Wé Sidamanasa \ aga natellu \ si[i]na siama \ Mati[n]roé \ ri tananaq\ tammat

9

La Mannussa \ To Akkarangeng \ Mati[n]roé \ ri tananaq \ siala massapposiseng \ anaqnaé Wé Tékélopi \ ri aseng \ Wé Temmagopa \ anaqni \ La Dé \ anaqni La Co \ La Wadeng \ siala \ Wé Bubu \ anaqni \ La Pasajo \ anaqni \ Wé Te[n]ria bang \ anaqni \ La Ga \ lupang[14] \ anaqni \ Wé Bolossugi \ anaqni \ Te[n]risamungeng Wé Bolossugi \ siala \ La Karella \ anaqni[15] \ La Makkanengnga \ La Galu[m]pang \ siala Wé Ca[ng]ke wanuwa \ ri Baringeng \ anaqni \ La Pasoréang \ anaqni Wé Alu anaqni \ Wé Berrigau \ Wé Luwuq[16] \ siala \ La Pacikkeng \ Soppé[n]rilauq \ anaqni La Pottobuné \ anaqni \ La Pammasé \ La Tékébune [17] \ siala Wé Tékélopi anaqni \ Wé Temmagopa \ *tammat*

(228)

10

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[12] mababiné read maqbawiné

[13] Core[m]palié read Soro[m]palié, as above.

[14] La Ga \ lupang read La Galumpang (correctly, Kalumpang)

[15] anaqni read anaqna

[16] Wé Luwu read Wé Alu, as above.

[17] *GJ*'s reading of La Pottobune is followed in the translation (*C* La Bottobuneq).

La Dé \ maqbawiné \ ri Marioriawa \ siala \ Wé Temmabuleng \ yi[a]muto riaseng \ Mabolongngé \ anaqni \ La Sikati[18] \ To Sawamega \ aseng ri anaqna \ yi[a]muto riaseng \ Mallajangngé ri aséléng \ anaqni \ La Mataesso \ yi[a]muto riaséng \ Puang lipué \ anaqni \ La Waleng \ yi[a]muto riaseng Masaraungngé \ anaqni \ La Paremma \ yi[a]muto riaseng \ To wAkkaterru \ aseng ri anaqna \ yi[a]na \ najallo bawi \ anaqni \ I Pate dungi \ Da Cama \ aseng ri anaqna \ anaqni \ Wé \ Pancai \ Da Te[n]riwéwang \ aseng ri anaqna \ tammat

11

La Sikati[19] \ yi[a]muto riaseng \ Mallajangngé \ ri aséléng \ siala Wé Soda \ ri Lo[m]péngeng \ Da Rié \ aseng ri anaqna \ aluni[20] La Makkaterru \ To wÉpo \ aseng ri anaqna \ anaqni \ Te[n]risamareng \ Da Ripé \ aseng ri anaqna \ yi[a]muto riaseng Matte du[m]pulawengngé \ anaqni La Malalaé \ anaqni \ La Mapula \ Wé Cama \ mallakkai \ ri Uju[m]pulu \ siala Karaéng Loé yi[a]muto riaseng \ La Sangaji \ anaqni \ La Salawu \ La Makkaterru \ maqbawiné \ ri Bila \ siala Wé Te[n]risoke \ anaqni \ La Pababari \ anaqni \ La Jemmu \ tammat (229)

12

La Mataesso Puang lipué \ pada uroanéi[21] \ I La Sékati \ maqbawiné ri Ga[n]ra \ siala \ Te[n]rianiang \ anaqni \ La Mappaleppe \ yi[a]muto riaseng \ Patolaé \ anaqni La Tanapareng \ Datu Tellarié \ anaqni \ Wé Pawé[m]pé \ anaqni \ Wé Pamadeng \ Wé Pawé[m]pé \ mallakkai \ ri Marioriawa \ siala \ La Pageq \ anaqni \ Mappaloé \ anaqni \ La Panaongi[22] \ anaqni \ La Pate dungi \ Tellariéna \ siala \ Wé Supé \ anaqni \ Wé Temmaliro \ Da Éké aseng ri anaqna \ Wé Makku[n]raiselli \ mallakkai \ ri Citta \ siala \ To Pawawoi \ anaqni \ Wé Te[n]rijéka \ mallakkai \ ri Pacciro \ siala \ La Mapaé \ anaqni \ Wé Te[n]risolo \ mallakkai \ ri Bira[23] \ siala \ To wIpa \ anaqni \ La Musu \ To Kessi \ To Wutu Puang \ Rasamulia[24] Da Lalaé \ aseng ri anaqna \ eppai si[i]na siama \ La Mappaleppe \ Patolaé \ Datu ri Soppéng \ La Tanapareng \ Datu Tellarié \ Arung ri Ga[n]ra \ Wé Pawé[m]pé \ mala[kka]i ri Saogenneng \ La Mappamadeng[25] \ Arung ri Saloqtungo \ namanatoi \ ri Saola[m]pé \ Angepakengngé ri Soppéng \ yi[a]muto \ mala[m]péqé \ ca[m]pa kona \ tammat

13

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[18] *CJ*'s reading of La Sékati is followed in the translation (*G* La Sakati).
[19] La Sikati read La Sékati, as above.
[20] *CJ*'s reading of anaqni is followed in the translation (*G* yi[a]na [n]cajiyangngi).
[21] uroanéi read worowané
[22] *CGJ*'s reading of La Panaungi is followed in the translation.
[23] *CGJ*'s reading of Bila is followed in the translation.
[24] *CGJ*'s reading of Rajamulia is followed in the translation.
[25] La Mapamadeng read Wé Mapamadeng, as above and in *CG.*

La Mappaleppe Patolaé \ maqbawiné ri Pattojo \ siala \ massapposiseng \ (230) riasengngé \ Wé Te[n]riwéwang \ anaqni \ Wé Pa[n]cai \ anaqni \ Baoé²⁶ \ anaqni \ Wé Te[n]rigella \ Wé Te[n]rigella \ siala \ Arungngé \ ri Ma[m]pu \ riasengngé \ La Ma dusila \ To Aki aséng ri anaqna \ anaqni \ La Te[n]ribali \ Mati[n]roé ri datunna \ *tammat*

14

Béoé \ Datu ri Soppéng \ dé anaqna \ nallakkai \ anaqdaranna \ riasengngé \ Wé Te[n]ri \ gella²⁷ \ siala \ Arungngé ri Ma[m]pu \ riasengngé \ La Maqdusila \ To Aki aseng ri anaqna \ anaqni \ La Te[n]ribali \

2.6.5 Translation

May I not swell for setting out in order the descendants of the lord called La Temmammala²⁸ who descended at Sékkañili.²⁹ He went to marry at Suppaq³⁰ with Wé Mappupu.³¹ Their child was La Maracinna.³²

2

La Maracinna married Wé Kawa.³³ Their children were La Bombang,³⁴ who returned [as] Datu of Suppaq , and La Bang,³⁵ the Datu of West Soppéng.

3

La Bang went to marry at Balusu³⁶ with Wé Timanratu.³⁷ Their child was Wé Tékéwanua.³⁸

4

Wé Tékéwanua was Datu of West Soppéng. She ruled at Suppaq.³⁹ She broke the broad and split the long. She planted sugarcane and ants swarmed.⁴⁰ She looked down at the lake: she

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[26] Baoé read Béoé, as below.

[27] Te[n]ri \ gella read Tenrigella

[28] 'Does not want': *G* adds 'he was the first ruler of Soppéng'.

[29] In kampung Petta Balubué, desa Turuttappaé: see ∂ footnote ∂.

[30] A small coastal kingdom close to Paréparé.

[31] Probably mappupung, 'to gather': several readings are possible for the aksara PuPu.

[32] Possibly Marancinna, 'half-ripe desire'.

[33] Among other readings, O.B., 'earth': *G* adds 'at Suppaq'.

[34] 'Wave'

[35] bang is the root of maqbang, 'to fell (trees)'.

[36] A large jar: Balusu is a relatively common place-name in South Sulawesi.

[37] 'Received as ruler'

[38] 'Carries the land'

[39] ruled at: mpawa tana, 'brought earth'.

summoned[41] the people of Sidénréng.[42] She looked down at the lake: she summoned the people of Népo[43] [to come like the?] turtle doves. [She] looked down at the lake: she summoned the people of Marioriawa.[44] [She] looked down at the lake, and they settled together with the people of Népo.[45] Wé Tékéwanua was young.[46] She was Datu of Suppaq. Wé Tékéwanua married at Léworeng[47] with[48] La Temmapéoq.[49] They had seven children,[50] [among them] La Wadeng,[51] who ruled[52] Bila;[53] he was the first Mangépa[54] of Soppéng. The younger brother[55] of La Wadeng, called La Makkanengnga,[56] was Datu of West Soppéng. Their [other] children were La Dumola, La Tubé, Wé Baku[57] and [Wé] Tenritabireng.[58] [Wé] Tenritabireng married at Baringeng[59] with [the Datu Baringeng] La Pañorongi.[60] Their children were La Tenrilélé,[61] La Térénga,[62] La Ténripallaq[63] La Karekkeng,[64] Wé Lirojaji[65] and La Temmata.[66]

[40] The language of this passage is symbolic, but its general meaning is clear. 'She split the broad and broke the long' suggests a firm and just rule (Matthes [1872b:90] translated this as 'She returned what had been misappropriated to the rightful owners'). 'Long' is used in the Chronicle of Boné as a metaphor for wealth, though its use here may be purely figurative. The metaphor of ants being drawn to sugar is used widely in Indonesian societies to describe the attraction of people to a means of livelihood. Here it suggests the attraction of settlers to the shores of Lake Témpé owing to the prosperity of Wé Tékéwanua's rule. The remainder of the passage is difficult to translate due to the uncertainty of its subject, though the general meaning is still clear.

[41] summoned: natujui attampang, which can also be translated 'invited'.

[42] Evidently the kingdom of that name to the north of Soppéng.

[43] A deserted settlement in the north-west hills bordering the Walanaé valley, remembered in the élong: Dua natajeng naonro / coppo na Népo Népo / aténa Sidénréng: 'Two she awaits / a prince of Népo / or noble of Sidénréng'.

[44] 'Upper Mario': in north Soppéng.

[45] The geography of the anecdote points to agricultural expansion on the western shores of Lake Témpé: the southern shore is marshy and prone to flooding.

[46] was young: maloloé, 'the young.'

[47] A village two kilometers east of Sékkañili: see page ??, footnote ??.

[48] CG add 'the Arung Léworeng'.

[49] Possibly meaning 'not turned': G adds 'the brother of the one called La Karadu'.

[50] Only six children are named.

[51] Meaning unknown: a relatively common modern Bugis name.

[52] ruled: seppéi, 'broke'. Matthes (1872b:91) translates this as 'he appropriated himself a part of'.

[53] The Arung Bila was the most important of the post–Islamic lords of Soppéng.

[54] In all versions: presumably a misreading, or variant, of Pangépa, the title held by the lords of Botto, Bila, Ujung and Bulu (Matthes 1874:788). Botto, Bila and Ujung are today within the urban boundaries of WatasSoppéng; Bulu is probably Bulumatanré, a settlement located on the summit of the 1000m-high mountain of that name south-west of WatasSoppéng, which was abandoned around 1700.

[55] younger brother: anring sirappiqna, the sibling that follows immediately after ego.

[56] Probably derived from makkatengnga, to put (something) in a central position.

[57] A basket woven from lontar leaves, used to store rice.

[58] 'Not regarded as a commoner'

[59] O.B. 'wood', 'perhaps formerly a type of tree' (Matthes 1874:902), or 'steps, ladder' (Salim): in north Boné.

[60] This marriage is recorded also in the Royal Genealogy of Cina: see figure 3-1 on page ??.

[61] 'Not taken around': in the Royal Genealogy of Cina, La Maléllé.

[62] Meaning unknown: cf. the Royal Genealogy of Cina, in which La Térénga is recorded as having married Wé Aputtana.

[63] 'Without equal'

5

La Makkanengnga married at Bulumatanré with Wé Téna. Their child was La Karella.[67]

6

La Karella married his cousin, the child of the Arung Bila La Wadeng, whose name was Wé Bolossugi.[68] Their children were La Pawiséang,[69] La Matagima,[70] Wé Raiqé,[71] Wé Bao,[72] Wé Bulutana[73] and [Wé] Tenripalessé.[74]

7

La Pawiséang married Wé Temmupageq[75] at Pising.[76] Their children were La Pasappoi[77] (he was also called Sorompalié)[78], La Pawawoi[79] La Pawawu, La Warani[80], Wé Tékélopi[81] and Wé Jampucinna.[82]

8

La Pasappoi married at Baringéng (he was also called Sorompalié) with Wé Tappatana[83] (her teknonym was Da Wiring). Their children were La Mannussa[84] (his teknonym was To

[64] Probably derived from kerrekkeng, 'to grasp with the hand'.

[65] Perhaps originally Linru jaji, from O.B. linrung, 'shadow' and jaji, 'become, be'; from which, possibly, 'gives shade'.

[66] Perhaps originally Temmammata, 'blind' or 'one-eyed'.

[67] 'Brindled' or 'russet'.)

[68] From bolong, 'black' and sugi, 'wealthy, powerful'.

[69] 'The one who paddles [the perahu]'

[70] Meaning unknown: the first element is probably mata, 'eye'.

[71] 'The raft'

[72] Meaning unknown: perhaps originally bau, a measure of land (Matthes 1874); a noble title (Salim).

[73] 'Mountain earth'

[74] 'Not turned'

[75] Meaning unknown: the second element is probably O.B. pageq, 'fence'.

[76] Meaning unknown: approximately ten kilometers north of WatasSoppéng. According to Salim, batu pising means 'buried stone'.

[77] 'One who fences in'

[78] 'The one who pushes aside'

[79] 'One who carries'

[80] 'Brave'

[81] 'Carries the perahu'

[82] jampu is the Malay jambu fruit: the second element is probably cinna, 'desire'.

[83] 'Sunlight of the land'

[84] Meaning unknown: according to Abidin (1969:26), he was also known as Baso Soppéng, (Crown Prince of Soppéng). Abidin states that before being appointed Datu of Soppéng, La Mannussa studied in Luwu with Maccaé ('the clever one'), for whom the office of To Luwu ('father of Luwu') had been created by Déwaraja, an early-fifteenth-century ruler of that

Akkarangeng[85] and he was [posthumously] called Matinroé ri tanana[86], La Mapañompa[87] and Wé Sidamanasa. Thus there were three full brothers and sisters, [the children of] Matinroé ri tanana.

9

La Mannussa, ([his teknonym was] To Akkarangeng [and he was posthumously called] Matinroé ri tanana) married his cousin, the child of Wé Tékélopi, whose name was Wé Temmagopa.[88] Their children were La Dé[89] and La Co.[90] La Wadéng married Wé Bubu[91] and their children were La Pasajo, Wé Tenriabang,[92] La Galumpang, Wé Bolossugi and [Wé] Tenrisamungeng. Wé Bolossugi married[93] La Karella, the child of La Makkanengnga. La Galumpang married Wé Cangkeqwanua[94] at Baringeng and their children were La Pasoréang[95], Wé Alu[96] and Wé Berrigauq[97] Wé Alu married La Pacikkeng[98] [at] East Soppéng, and their children were La Pottobuneq[99] and La Pammasé.[100] La Pottobune married Wé Tékélopi and their child was Wé Temmagopa.

10

La Dé married at Marioriawa with Wé Temmabuleng (he was also called Mabolongngé[101]). Their children were La Sékati (his teknonym was To Sawaméga and he was also called Mallajangngé ri aséléng[102]), La Mataesso[103] (he was also called Puang lipué[104]), La Waléng (he was also called Masaraungngé[105]), La Paremma (his teknonym was To Akkaterru; he

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kingdom. The internal chronologies of the RGS and the Royal Genealogy of Luwu are compatible with such a tradition.

[85] 'Father of the rulership'

[86] 'He who sleeps in his land'

[87] Possibly meaning 'pays the bride-price'.

[88] Meaning unknown: perhaps originally Temmageppa, 'not struck', or Temmagempa, 'not swollen'.

[89] Meaning unknown: other sources read déa, a species of lalang grass.

[90] Meaning unknown: other sources have La Coa, 'The old one'. The remainder of this 'section' deals with the descendants of La Wadeng, the son of Wé Tékéwanua (see 'section' 4 above). Its purpose appears to be to provide a pedigree for Wé Temmagopa, La Mannussa's wife.

[91] A type of fish-trap. There are several possibilities for this name.

[92] 'Unseen'

[93] *CG* add 'with her cousin'.

[94] Probably Jangka wanua, 'span of the land'.

[95] 'The one who brings us to shore'

[96] An alu is a rice-pounding pestle

[97] Meaning unknown: perhaps originally Tenrigauq, 'not acted upon'.

[98] Meaning unknown: perhaps originally La Patikkeng, 'the one who seizes'.

[99] 'Large armband': C adds La Daka, G La Padaka.

[100] '[The one who] shows pity'

[101] 'The black one'

[102] 'He who vanished in the place of his origin'

[103] 'The Sun'

[104] 'Lord of the settlement'

[105] 'Shaded by the great umbrella'

destroyed a great number of enemies in battle[106]), I [Wé] Pateqdungi[107](her teknonym was Da Cama) and Wé Pancai (her teknonym was Da Tenriwéwang).

11

La Sékati (he was also called Mallajangngé ri aséléng) married Wé Soda at Lompéngeng (her teknonym was Da Rié). Their children were La Makkaterru (his teknonym was To Épéo), [Wé] Terisamareng (her teknonym was Da Ripé and she was also called Matteqdumpulawengngé[108]), La Malalaé and La Mapula. Wé Cama[109] married at Ujumpulu[110] with Karaéng Loé,[111] who was also called La Sangaji.[112] Their child was La Salawu. La Makkaterru married at Bila with Wé Tenrisoké and their children were La Pababari and La Jemmu.[113]

12

La Mataesso ([he was also called] Puang lipué and his brother was I La Sékati), married at Ganra[114] with [Wé] Tenrianiang. Their children were La Mappaleppeq[115] (he was also called Patolaé[116]), La Tanapareng ([he was also known as?] Datu Tellarié,[117] Wé Pawémpé[118] and Wé Pamadeng. Wé Pawémpé married at Marioriawa with La Pageq[119]. Their children were [La?] Mappaloé[120], La Panaungi[121] and La Pateqdungi. [La Tanapareng, the Datu?] Tellarié married Wé Supé. Their children were Wé Temmaliro (her teknonym was Da Éke) [and][122] Wé Makkunraiselli.[123] [Wé Makkunraiselli] went and married at Citta[124] with To Pawawoi [and their child was] Wé Tenrijéka. [Wé Tenrijéka] married at

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[106] destroy a great number of enemies in battle: najallo bawi [taué], to run amok like a wounded pig; used of somebody who single-handedly destroys a great number of enemy in battle (Matthes 1874:226).

[107] 'One who gives shade'

[108] 'Shaded by the golden umbrella', the title previously held by La Sékati. This seems to be a mistake, as La Sékati's brother La Mataesso inherited the rulership. It is possible that the original reading was anaqna riasengngé Mateqdumplawengngé, 'the child of he who was called "shaded by the golden umbrella."'

[109] The daughter of Wé Pate dungngi (Da Cama), above.

[110] 'End of the mountain'

[111] 'Great ruler': Karaéng is a Makasar title sometimes used by Bugis rulers.

[112] (Javanese) sang, an honorific, and (Javanese) aji, 'king': a relatively common modern Bugis name.

[113] jemmu is to knead with the hand.

[114] 'Fog, mist': about seven kilometers north-east of WatasSoppéng.

[115] 'Sets free'

[116] 'The one who succeeded [to the rulership]': a title of the ruler of Soppéng (Matthes 1874:545)

[117] The text omits the usual **anaqni**, 'their child was'.

[118] 'Climber'

[119] O.B. 'fence'

[120] 'Wears a hat'

[121] 'One who gives shade'

[123] The first element of this name is makkunrai, 'woman'.

[124] About sixteen kilometers measured in a straight line south-east of WatasSoppéng.

Pacciro with La Mapaé [and their child was] Wé Tenrisolo. [Wé Tenrisolo] married at Bila with To Ipa and their children were La Musu [and] To Kessi [and] To Wutu Puang[125] and Rajamulia[126] (her teknonym was Da Lalaé) (there were four children by the same mother). La Mappaleppe ([he was also called] Patolaé and was Datu of Soppéng), La Tanapareng ([who was?] Datu Tellarie and Arung of Ganra), Wé Pawémpé (she married at Saogenneng) and La Mappamadeng, the Arung of Saloqtungo.[127] He also inherited Saolape and [was the] Angepakeng[128] of Soppéng. He was also may I not swell, called 'He who[129] lengthened and ended.'[130]

13

La Mappaleppeq ([he was also called] Patolaé) married at Pattojo with his cousin, who was called Wé Tenriwéwang. Their children were Wé Pancai,[131] Béoé and Wé Tenrigella. Wé Tenrigella married the Arung of Mampu, whose name was La Ma dusila (his teknonym was To Aki). Their child was La Tenribali,[132] [posthumously called] Matinroé ri datunna.('He who sleeps in his rulership')

14

Béoé was Datu of Soppéng.[133] He had no children. His sister, who was called Wé Tenrigella, married the Arung at Mampu who was called La Maqdusila (his teknonym was To Aki). Their child was La Tenribali.[134]

Figure 2-12: Royal Genealogy of Soppéng
(Omitted because of size)

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[125] puang, 'lord'.

[126] (Sanskrit) raja, 'king, ruler' and mulya, 'value, price, worth', thus 'one who has the worth of a king'.

[127] In East Soppéng, about one kilometer from WatasSoppéng.

[128] Evidently a political office.

[129] b@ds3()b: from *G.*

[130] a@ds3()a: this passage repeats the information given above regarding the children of La Mataesso. It is taken from a different source; instead of Wé Pamadeng it lists a La Mappamadeng; Wé Pawémpé marries at Saogenneng instead of Marioriawa. EVIDENCE OF MULTIPLE SOURCES

[131] The sister of La Mataesso (above) also has this name.

[132] 'The one who] did not return'

[133] Béoé became the first Moslem ruler of Soppéng following the defeat of Soppéng by Goa in 1609.

[134] Datu of Soppéng c.1659-1676.

2.7 The Soppéng Vassal List

The Soppeng Vassal List (hereafter SVL) is a list of approximately sixty-three settlements[1] which are described as paliliq, or vassals of Soppeng. The SVL is one of a number of similar lists which exist for all the large kingdoms of South Sulawesi and many of the smaller. The purpose for which such lists were compiled (other than to preserve such information) is not known. As far as I am aware, no version of the SVL has yet been published.

2.2.7 Versions of the SVL

The six versions of the Vassal List examined here are shown in table 2-7. These will henceforth be referred to by the letter given in the right-hand column.

Table 2–7: Versions of the SVL

Collection	No.	Pages.Lines	Letter
NBG	100	26.25–27.5	*A*
NBG	100	116.21–117.1	*B*
NBG	101	72.21–73.2	*C*
NBG	101	133.22–134.3	*D*
NBG	112	56.7–56.17	*E*
NBG	123	62.1–62.9	*F*

All versions contain, in virtually the same order, an almost identical list of place-names, and must therefore derive from a single version. On the basis of a small number of substantial variants, the six versions can be divided into two groups, *ACEF* and *BD.* Due to the brevity of the work, it is not possible to establish a more detailed stemma. *D* has been selected for editing on the basis of textual clarity. One additional place-name found in *ACEF* is incorporated into the text of the edited version, and a few well-supported variants are provided in footnotes to the translation.

2.7.2 Dating the SVL

The SVL probably dates from the sixteenth or seventeenth century, Bulumatanré and Gattareng, which are listed as vassals, were abandoned around 1700 and never re-occupied. This would seem to preclude a later date of composition.

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[1] The number varies slightly between versions.

2.7.3 The SVL as a Historical Source

The SVL provides an illuminating political map of Soppeng. More than thirty of the settlements it names can be identified using 1:50,000 Dutch maps of the Walanaé valley. Twenty-six of these are shown in figure 2–13 on page *∂*. Most settlements are located at the southern end of the Walanaé valley, near Watasoppeng; the most distant is Lamuru.

The settlements of the SVL are separated into two groups, the first consisting of twenty-nine settlements and the second of thirty-five settlements. The two groups are divided by the expression napanoqé rakkalana Soppéng, 'and then the plough of Soppeng went down', an expression that is found also in the Luwuq and Sidénréng Vassal Lists.

The second group contains fifteen of the twenty settlements described in the Attoriolonna Soppéng as comprising East and West Soppeng, as well as one of the four settlements which were 'later divided up and included' into East and West Soppeng. All the identified Settlements belonging to the first group are close to Watasoppeng.

Settlements of the first group lie at a greater distance from Watasoppeng. Further, five versions of the SVL are followed in their respective codices by a series of short vassal lists belonging to twelve of the settlements named in the first group as vassals of Soppeng. These are (in approximate order): Lamuru, Mario, Patojo, Citta, Goagoa, Ujumpulu, Lompéngeng, Baringeng, Tanatengnga, Marioriwawo, Ampungeng and Kirukiru. We may conclude from these lists that each of these settlements was an important centre in its own right before its incorporation into Soppeng.

The structure of the vassal list suggests that all the places named in the first group were of a similar relationship to Soppeng. We may therefore conclude that the SVL records approximately twenty-eight formerly-independent political units (group one) allied to the political unit comprised by approximately thirty-five settlements located around Watasoppeng (group two).

2.7.4 Text, D

Sompéng paqliliqna[2] \ Lamuru \ Marioriwawo \ Goagoa \ Patojo \Uju[m]pulu \ Lompéngeng \ Baringeng \ Tanatengnga \ Apanang \ Bélo \ Ga[n]ra \ Bakeq \ Léworeng \ Marioriawa \ Citta \ paqliliq[3] baicuna \ Ja[m]pu \ Galung \

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[2] This is spelt PaLiiNa
[3] This is spelt PaLii

Gattareng \ Bua \ Béccoing \ Palakka \ Apungeng[4] \ Bulumatanré \ Kampiri \ Kading[5] \ Balosu \ Kirikiru \ napanoqé \ rakkalana \ Sompéng[6] \ Bila Saloqtungo \ Kuqba \ Pao \ Pani[n]cong \ Macopéq \ Maccilé \ Ma[ng]kutu \ Akka[m]péng \ Ujung \ Cénrana \ Pacciro \ Alo \ Tellang \ Pasaka \ Kajuara \ Areppa \ Ti[n]co \ Madellorilauq \ Tappareng \ Botto \ Seppang \ Pessé \ U[n]cing \ Laanga[7] \ Wécoi \ Kulo \ Watalaia[8] Ara \ Matobulu \ Cirowali \ Adungeng[9] \ Maingeng \ Lisu \

2.7.5 Translation

The vassals of Soppeng are: Lamuru, Marioriwawo, Goagoa, Patojo, Ujumpulu, Lompéngeng, Baringeng, Tanatengnga, Apanang, Bélo, Ganra, Bakeq, Léworeng, Marioriawa, Citta. [Soppéng's] small vassals are: Jampu, Galung, Gattareng, Bua, Béccoing, Palakka, Umpungeng, Bulumatanré, Kampiri, Kadi, Balosu, Kirikiru. The settlements directly ruled by Soppéng are: Bila, Saloqtungo, Kuqba, Pao, Panincong, Macopéq, Maccilé, Mangkutu, Akkampéng, Ujung, Cénrana, Pacciro, Alo,[10] Tellang, Pasaka, Kajuara, Areppa, Tinco, Madellorilauq,[11] Tappareng,[12] Botto, Seppang, Pessé, Uncing, Launga, Wécoi,[13] Kulo, Watulaia, Ara, Matobulu,[14] Ciroali,[15] Udungeng, Maingeng, and Lisu.

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[4] Apungeng read Umpungeng
[5] *ACEF* add Padu[m]pu, which is included in the translation.
[6] Sompeng read Soppeng
[7] Laanga read Launga
[8] Latalaia read Watulaia
[9] Udangang read Udangang (*AC*)
[10] *ABC* Ulo
[11] ACEF Madello Lawo
[12] ACEF Kampiri
[13] Cf, Bécoi ('star'), above. An uncommon name and therefore probably an accidental repeat.
[14] In the Attoriolonna Soppeng, Matabulu.
[15] XXXXXXXXX

WALANAĒ VALLEY

WALANAĒ RIVER

•18

•24

•20

22 •23

•10

•16   •7

15

•3

•17   •1

4 •   •26

5   •   •2

25 •21

•11

•6

•19

•13
•14

•12

•8

•9

LOW HILLS
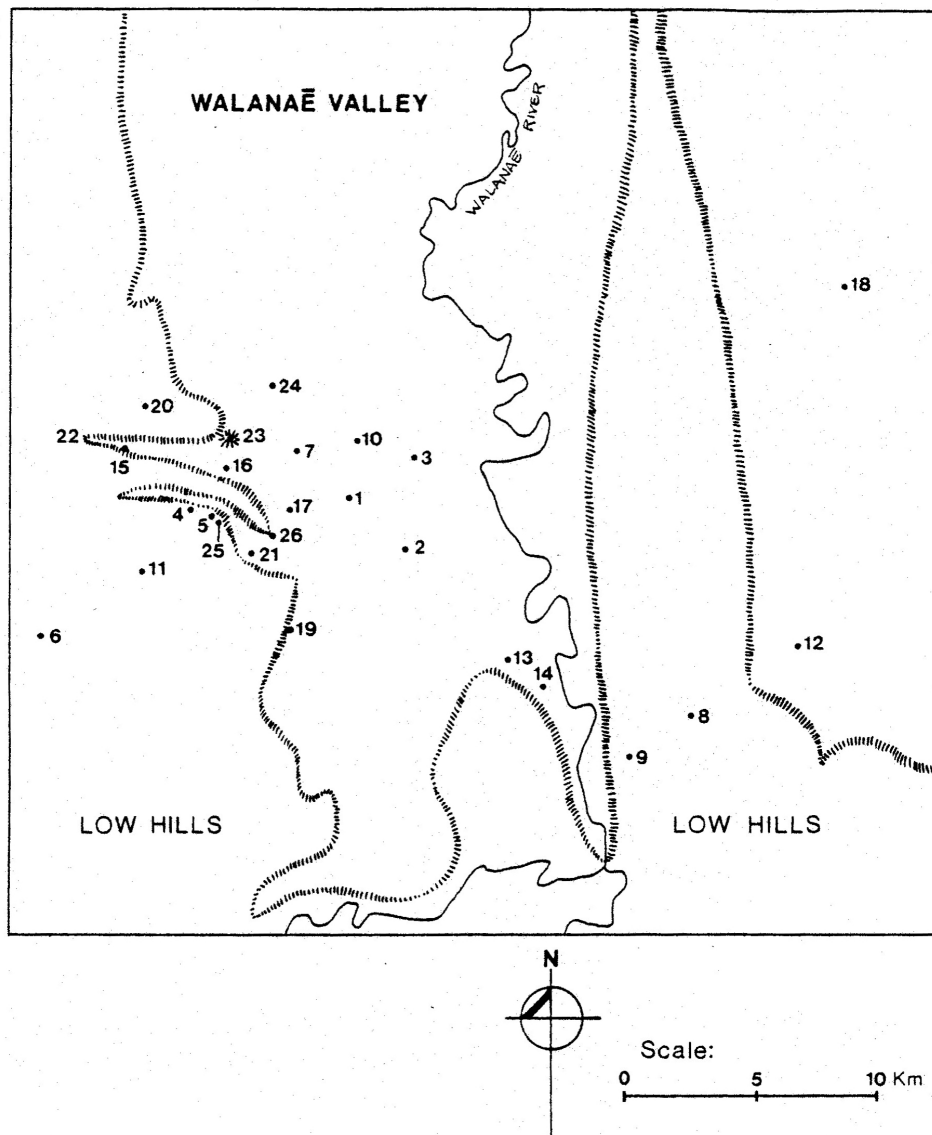
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0   5   10 Km

Figure 2-13:   Locatable Toponyms of the SVL

2.8 The Chronicle of Sidénréng

The Chronicle of Sidénréng (hereafter CSid) is a work hitherto unknown outside South Sulawesi.[1] As far I am able to determine, Matthes and other European scholars working on Bugis sources were unaware of its existence. The version examined below traces the ruling family of Sidénréng from the time of the kingdom's foundation to an early nineteenth–century ruler. The use of the term chronicle to describe the present work requires qualification. Even by Bugis historiographic standards, the CSid—a work of some ten manuscript pages—seems barely substantial enough to warrant such a description. Unlike the Chronicles of Goa, Talloq and Boné (and to a lesser degree Noorduyn's Chronicle of Wajoq), there is no sense of narrator, nor any detectable attempt to to integrate the CSid's source material within an authorial framework. Indeed, as far as the pre–Islamic period is concerned, the CSid is simply a chronological arrangement of previously–independent items which (as will be seen below) are for the most part derived from oral tradition. A summary of the CSid appeared in Mukhlis (1985): a published version of the complete chronicle has yet to appear.

2.8.1 Versions of the CSid

At present there are two known versions of the CSid. Both were copied by Drs Salim from a privately–owned manuscript in South Sulawesi in 1974. The MS. made by Drs Salim is designated Salim 1: one version of the CSid is found on pages 1–13 and the other on pages 16–26. The two versions do not appear to be directly related and probably draw upon different sources. As a copy of this manuscript was obtained late in my research, I have examined only the second version, as far as the first Moslem ruler of Sidénréng, LaPatiroi.

2.8.2 Dating the CSid

It is difficult to suggest any date either for the composition of the CSid or for its written sources. Considering the apparent scarcity of copies and the transparency of its structure, we may hazard a guess that the CSid is a nineteenth– or even twentieth–century work.

2.8.3 The CSid as a Historical Source

Interest in the CSid lies more with with its sources than with the chronicle as such. In the section to c.1600, the CSid draws upon at least three written sources: two of these were records of oral traditions concerning Sidénréng's pre–Isalmic rulers. The third written source was the Royal Genealogy of Sidénréng, which is examined in the following section.

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[1] I am grateful to Dr. G. Hamonic for bringing the Chronicle of Sidénréng to my attention and for kindly presenting me with a copy.

There are three oral traditions lying behind the first two sources of the CSid. These traditions, the beginnings and ends of which are clearly discernable within the CSid, may be compared to the basic units, or 'building blocks', used by the evangelists in the writing of the Christian Gospels. These units are generally termed 'pericopes' (Koine Greek pericope: section, pericopae: collections of sayings) by Biblical scholars. Like the initial sources of the present work, the Gospels derive from an oral tradition; pericopes are the units by which this oral tradition was passed on. New Testament pericopes are

> essentially disconnected stories [. . .] set down one after another with very little organic connexion, almost like a series of snapshots placed side by side in ?? photograph album. These paragraphs are sometimes externally related to one another by a short phrase at the beginning or end, but essentially each one is an independent unit, complete in itself, undatable except by its contents, and usually equally devoid of any allusion to place. By the same token, the minor characters in these stories, unless they had some special significance for the early Church, are very summarily described and hardly ever named (Nineham1963:27–28).[2]

Pericopes are identified by their form; in the Gospels each sets out to convey a particular aspect of Christ's ministry. Each was originally a complete unit in itself, with a beginning and an end. Most may be classified according to a number of general types. There are (among others) teaching pericopes, healing pericopes, pericopes dealing with the controversy between Christ and the Jewish religious authorities and pericopes which serve to reveal the unique nature of Jesus of Nazareth.[3]

In the present work four such oral units may be discerned. While their subject matter is clearly different from that of the Gospels, they display between them all the features of the Biblical pericopes described in the above quotation: a clearly defined beginning, an overall objective, minimal reference to person or place (just sufficient for the achievement of the pericope's objective) and a clear ending.

The oral pericopes that make up most of the pre–Islamic section of the CSid are concerned with political relationships both within Sidénréng and with its neighbouring kingdom, Rappang. Pericopes one and two set out the correct relationship between the Aqdatuang and the *arung* or lords of Sidénréng; pericope three outlines the relationship between

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[2] Nineham adds in a footnote that while some stories contain specific references to time or place, it will always be found that in such cases the reference serves a practical purpose; is is necessary for the full understanding of the contents of the pericope.

[3] Examples of each of these in St Mark are (in the above order): the parable of the sower (iv 1-9), the casting out of the demons in to the swine (v 1-15), the parable of the wicked husbandman (xii 1-12) and the feeding of the five thousand (vi 30-34). The Qur'an is also constructed at least in part, from oral pericopes (Wansbrough 1977:20-29, cf. Johns 1987),as are the texts of the Pali cannon (cf. Gombrich 1987).

Sidénréng and Rappang, while four sets out the rights of the Aqdatuang and the duties of the lords of Sidénréng.

Many of the characters portrayed in the pericopes were probably historical individuals. We should, however, be cautious in assuming the events that constitute the 'message' of the pericope to be historically linked to those individuals. While we cannot disprove the historicity of these traditions, it seems likely that their messages are apocryphal, and that the pre–Islamic rulers function as sources of authority through an appeal to antiquity. The problem of extracting historical information from these sections of the CSid is therefore a difficult one. Methods similar to that used by New Testament scholars seem the most appropriate, although until more material of this type has been examined our conclusions must remain tentative.[4]

2.8.4 Text (Salim 1:16.1–20.19)

Passaleng pannessaéngngi ri wettu mula ritimpaqna tanaé ri Sidénréng \ mulana engka Arung ri Tanatoraja riaseng La Maqdaremmeng anaqna Arungngé ri Sangalla \ asérai mappada worowané \ La Maqdaremmeng \ 2 La Wéwa[n]riwu \ 3 La Togellipu \ 4 La Pasa[m]poi \ 5 La Pakolongi \ 6 La Pababareng \ 7 La Panaungi \ 8 La Mappasessu \ 9 La Mappaturuq \ naLa Maqdaremmenna coccong ri Tanatoraja naéwamanengngi pada worowanéna aruwaé sisala ri Tanatoraja \ naéwamanengngi pada orowanéna aruwaé[5] \ namesséna ininawanna pada orowanéna aruwaé \ nasituruqna salaiwi Tanatoraja \ nanoqna ri lappaé kajoqkajoq ka sappaq onrowang yi[a] aruwa mappada orowané \ nayi[a] maqdeppeqna ri buluq maniyanna Tanatoraja natironi tapparengngé natoli napétujuna napoléna teppa ri lappaé ri wattang tappareng \ napada madekkana maéloq minung \ nasappaqna laleng maéloq naola noq ri tapparengngé nadéq naita laleng \ nasirénréng rénrénna aruwa mappada worowané \ natakko engkana laleng naita polé wattang lao ri timoreng matterru mattuju ri tapparengngé \ nalettuqna pada minung \ nayi[a] pada purana minung pada tudanni ri wirinna tapparengngé inapasi pada diyodiyo ri tapparengngé \ purai pada diyo tudassi paimeng massituruq pada makkeda okkonié ri urai tappareng madécéng pada monro idiq mappada orowané \ napada laona sappaq onrong

[4] In addition to the historical-critical method (the interpretation of texts in the context of their historical setting), the form-critical method appears to offer a useful method of analysis. This method is essentially a hybrid of historical and literary criticism which begins with the recognition that a particular biblical text or part of that text may have had a history of its own, independent of the work in which it is now located. Its objectives include the identification of established literary types, and the principles lying behind the use of words, style and construction of each formerly independent unit, as well as the practical purpose for which each was designed. The form-critical method is derived from a group of nineteenth and early twentieth-century scholars, known as form critics, of which H. Gunkel is the most notable. For a concise summary of the techniques of Biblical interpretation and exegesis, see Achtemeier (1985:132)m and the Encyclopedia Britannica (15th edition, Vol.14, pages 849-850). The standard English-language introduction to the form-critical method is Koch (1969).

[5] The second occurrence of naéwamanengngi pada orowanéna aruwaé is omitted in the translation.

sibawa sibawanna napada maqdareqdareqna \ tellung taungi maqdareq sawéni aséna sawétoni sibawanna tanettanenna \ pada maqbépagana sipulung \ nayi[a] nasituruqsi aruwa mappada worowané makkedaé padapadamanengngiq aruwaé mappada worowané \ yi[a] kiya

(17) kakaq matoiha kakaqé anringngé matoiha anringngé \ naagiagi éloqna kakaqta yi[a]na kuwa \ narékko engkana bicaratta sibawatta idiqna massituru pitué tangngaqi \ tettaisseppi tatiwirengi kakaqta natangngai \ naagiagi éloqna yi[a]ni kuwa \ nayi[a] nakko idiq pitué sisala baraqbaraqna matterrukiq lao ri kakaqta macowaé \ naagiagi pattarona yi[a]ni kuwa \ napédé sawémuwa aséna enrengngé tanettanenna sawétoni tédonna a'n'arenna \ namégatona sibawanna maqbanuwa ri wattang tappareng \ nariyasenni ri toSoppéngngé ri toBonéwé toraja mattapparengngé \ narimakkuwananaro nasituruqna toBonéwé toSoppéngngé masengngi tana naonroiyé maqbanuwa toraja mattapparengngé tanaé ri ajang tappareng \ nayi[a]ro tujuna puraé naonroi sirénréng rénréng aruwa mappada worowané nasenni tanaé ri Sidénréng \ nayi[a] rimunri maténana aruwaé mappada worowané engkasi anaqna La Maqdaremmeng polé ri Tanatoraja silao lakkainna yi[a]na mula Aqdaowang PELRAS SAYS POOR MAN ri Sidénréng \ najajiyanna tellu anaq \ séqdi riaseng La Makkaraka yi[a]na Aqdaowang ri Sidénréng \ yi[a]na riaseng Aqdaowangngé La Kasi \ yi[a]na Arung maserro téya riyala Arung ri toSidénréngngé nasabaq makkedana kasiyasiya ubongngoq \ yi[a]mana nakado riyala Arung makkedamani sumpung lolona sibawa toSidénréngngé éloqmu kuwa adammu tongeng \ naripawekkekkeqna adeq nariraiyang abiasang ri sumpung lolona sibawa ri toSidénréngngé \ makkedaé ikkenna mupoasogireng ikkettona mupojowaq ikkettona mupalaoruma ikkettona pinrusekko salassa naripoadasi pammulana rialaé arung ri Sidénréng \ Datué ri Pantileng[6] malasa ja oli nalao paliqi aléna ri mabélaé \ nateppana ri Tanatoraja napobawinéi anaq macowanna La Maqdaremmeng ri [Tana]toraja[7] \ nayi[a] poléna ri toraja léppangngi ri Rappeng[8] najajina yi[a]na

(18) makkarung ri Rappeng \ tellu anaq najajiyang \ séqdi makkunrai yi[a]na makkunraiyé macowa \ makkarunni ri Sidénréng \ yi[a]naro Arung namatojo toSidénréng \ nayi[a] dappi maccowaé makkarunni ri Rappeng nalaona toRappengngé sélléi \ makkedai toRapengngé madécéngngi puwang ikona lao ri Rappeng makkarung naanaqborowanému sélléo makkarung ri Sidénréng \ naLa Maliburenna Aqdaowang ri Sidénréng \ okkoni engka gauq salaé nataro jogéq \ najajina Arung Rappeng Arung Sidénréng maranaqdara \ na jancina[9] makkedaé maté élé i Rappeng maté arawéngngi Sidénréng lettu makkukuwaé déq napinrapinra jancinna Rappeng Sidénréng \ purani napaduppa annessana jancinna Arung Rappéng \ éngkanéngka séuwa wettu ri munrinaéro nanréi api salassaé ri Sidénréng ri arawéngngé \ nariassurona birittaiyang \ nakkedana Arung Rappeng aganami leppeq Arungngé ri Sidénréng \ nakkedana suroé alénami maranaq malaobiné sibawa cokinna

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[6] Pantileng read Pantilang
[7] The words ri toraja are omitted in the translation.
[8] Rappeng read Rappang
[9] naqjancina is omitted in the translation.

séqdi \ purai kuwa noqmanettoni Arung Rapeng ri tanaé \ naianapa natunu salassaé ri Rappeng riéléé \ nasabaq aqjancingenna maranaqboroané \ naLa Maliburessi jajiyang aruwa anaq \ yi[a] nala padakkala ri Lasalamaq aruwaé \ nayi[a] dappi malolowé yi[a]na riyaseng La Pawawoi \ naLa Pawawoisi Aqdaowang ri Sidénréng \ La Pawawoi jajiyang anaq pitu \ yi[a]na macowaé riyaseng La Pawéwangi \ yi[a]na Arung ri Tellulateqé \ yi[a]si rappina yi[a]na riyaseng La Makkaraka yi[a]si Aqdaowang ri Sidénréng \ yi[a]na pobainéi Pajungngé ri Luwuq \ yi[a]na napammulana napanessanessa siaqjancingenna toSidénréngngé napuwanna \ namula taro adeq paqbicara namarajana puwanna namakerrana adeqna puwanna namaserro tau ri adeqna \ aruwai mappada worowané Arungngé ri Sidénréng \ aruwato

(19) padakkalana \ nayi[a]naé maqjanci padakkalana aruwaé \ najellokettoni tonrong aleq nalai ongko \ nakkedana Aqdaowangngé agana napoliseq salassaé \ makkedani pada worowanéna pitué \ yi[a]na napoliseq salassamu \ makkedasi Aqdaowangngé ri Sidénréng birittamitu yi[a] \ ikomitu pitué punna salassa \ makkedani pitué \ pitumiq punna salassa siqdimi makkésalassa ri Sidénréng \ makkedasi Aqdaowangngé aruwaki palé punna salassa \ makedasi padakkala pitué aruwakiq massituruq pituwaq buwangngi wakkélé ku riko \ makkedasi Aqdaowangngé La Kasi kégana tanranna mubuwangeng wakkéléqmu \ makkedani matowaé aruwaé kipalaloko taro sumpampala \ alai peqjéwé otaé icoé naikomi massuro maqbalu \ déq rilaimmuwé \ makkedani Aqdaowangngé anukku peqjewe anukku icoe \ anukku otae \ makkedatopi matowae aruwae alatoi anu makalaillaingnge \ makkedasi Aqdaowangngé anukku calabaié tau pancéqé tau bulengngé \ wéréttowa mai jowa tallimamu uwalai assimémengngeng ri boné[ballaq] \ makkedatopi Aqdaowangngé engkamupa uwéllau \ makkedani matowaé aruwaé agapi muwéllau \ makkedasi Aqdaowangngé nakko engka waramparang mappaénrékengngi aléna ri salassaé mupasuqpi muwalai angkeqna pata[n]rella lama \ maqjancisi Aqdaowangngé matowa aruwaé mappadaworowané \ makkedai pitué nayi[a] bicarakkiq ikomuwa maraja Aqdaowangngé \ yi[a]na napoliseq salassamu \ tenripatalekiyang waramparakku narékko ménréqi ri salassaé \ yi[a] matoha panoqi yi[a] mato[ha] tarowangékko pakkatenni adeq \ narékko ucaccai utarowangngéko yi[a] matoha lukkai \ makkedasi Aqdaowangngé agatopi muwattujuwang riyaq iko pitué \ alao pattumaling pakkalawingngépu kipalalotoko mala tausala \ Wé Tappalangisi[10] Aqdaowang ri Sidénréng \ yi[a]tona

(20) Datu ri Suppaq \ najajiyang anaq tellu \ séqdi riyaseng Wé Pawawoi yi[a]na makkarung ri Bacukiki séqdi riaseng La Teqdullopo yi[a]na Datu ri Suppaq \ Wé Pawawosi mallakkai ri Sidénréng yi[a]to[11] anaqna manurungngé ri Lowa riasengngé Suku[m]pulaweng \ yi[a]si makkarung ri Sidénréng \ najajiang anaq séqdi riaseng La Batara \ La Batarana makkarung ri Sidénréng nalao maqbainé ri Bulucénrana siala Arungngé ri Bulucénrana Wé Cina \ najajiang anaq tellu séqdi riaseng La Pasa[m]poi séqdi riaseng Wé yAbéng \ séqdi riaseng La Mariase \ yi[a]na makkarung ri Sidénréng \ yi[a]na

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[10] Wé Tappalangi read Wé Tépulingé, as in the Royal Genealogy of Sidénréng (section 2.10).
[11] yi[a]to read siala

pobainéi anaqna La Botillangi ri[12] Arung Mario riyasengngé Wé Tappatana \ najajiang anaq séqdi riyaseng La Pateqdungi \ La Pateqdungisi Aqdaowang ri Sidénréng nalao maqbainé ri Rappeng najajiyang ana séqdi riaseng La Patiroi \ La Patiroisi Aqdaowang ri Sidénréng namula tama selleng tauwé taung 1602 nasitujuwangngé taung 1518 hijerriya \ yi[a]tona riaseng Matinroé ri Massépé aseng maténa \

2.8.5 Translation

This section tells of the time when the land at Sidénréng was first opened.[13] There was an Arung in Tanatoraja called La Maqdaremmeng,[14] the son of the Arung of Sangallaq.[15] There were nine brothers:[16] (1) La Maqdaremmeng (2) La Pababareng (3) La Wéwanriwu (4) La Panaungi[17] (5) La Togellipu[18] (6) La Mappasessu (7) La Pasampoi[19] (8) La Mappaturu and (9) La Pakolongi. Now La Maqdaremmeng oppressed his brothers in Tanatoraja, he fought with his eight brothers in Tanatoraja. The eight brothers were saddened, and so they decided to leave Tanatoraja and go down to the plain to look for a place to live, did the eight brothers. When they drew near to the hills south of Tanatoraja they saw the lake. They continued on until they came to the plain to the west of the lake. They were thirsty and wanted to drink. As they wished to continue down to the lake, they looked for a path, but could not see one. Hand in hand, the eight brothers lead each other forward.[20] Suddenly they saw a path running from east to west that led directly to the lake. When they arrived at the lake they drank; when they had finished drinking they sat down at the side of the lake and bathed themselves in the lake. When they had finished bathing they sat down again to agree [what they should do]. Together they said, 'Here at the west of the lake is a good place for us brothers to live.' So they and their followers[21] set off to look for a place to live, where they could open fields. For three years they cultivated [the land], and their rice harvest and their other crops and the number of their followers multiplied each year. The eight brothers agreed, saying, 'Among us eight brothers the

(17) elder brother remains elder brother, the younger brother remains younger brother. Whatever the elder brother wishes shall be done. If there is something to be decided with

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[12] ri is omitted in the translation.

[13] The first part of the Chronicle sets out a legend of the origin of Sidénréng; cf. the legend quoted by Pol (1941:121) which tells of the founding of the 'kingdom of the Toraja's' by seven families from Luwuq.

[14] 'to rattle, boom, roar' (Matthes 1874:517), or 'to tremble uncontrollably'.

[15] The former principality of Sangallaq in Tanatoraja, which had close economic and political ties with Luwuq. Cf. Nooy-Palm (1979), esp. pages 79-91.

[16] The names of the brothers suggest that the legend achieved its present form in an inland, agrarian society. All but one are typical of those found in the South Sulawesi genealogies: La Wéwanriwu, 'shaking storm' is derived from the I La Galigo.

[17] 'The one who gives shade'

[18] The elements of this name appear to be tongeng, 'true, just, sincere', and lipu, 'land'.

[19] 'The one who covers'

[20] A play upon the name Sidénréng, which is believed to derive from sirénréng, 'to lead each other by the hand'; the etymology is formally set out below.

[21] Thus providing an origin of the common people of Sidénréng.

our followers, the seven shall decide the matter. If we cannot reach agreement, we shall forward the matter to our eldest brother. Whatever he decides shall be done. If we seven disagree about anything, we shall go straight to our eldest brother. His decision shall settle the matter'. Their rice crop and their vegetables flourished, and their buffaloes and horses grew more numerous, as did the number of their followers who had settled to the west of the lake.[22] †The people of Soppéng and the people of Boné called them 'the Toraja who lived at the lake.' Thus the people of Boné and the people of Soppéng agreed to call the place where the Toraja who lived by the lake had established their settlements, 'the land to the west of the lake.'[23] The eight brothers who had led one another by the hand called the land 'RiSidénréng.'[24] †[25] Now after the eight brothers had died, a daughter of La Maqdaremmeng[26] arrived from Tanatoraja with her husband.[27] She was the first Aqdaoang[28] of Sidénréng and she had three children. One of them was called La Makkaraka:[29] he was the Aqdaoang La Kasi. He was the ruler who refused to be made Arung by the people of Sidénréng because, as he said, 'I am poor and foolish.' But he agreed to be made ruler. His family[30] and the people of Sidénréng all said, 'Your wishes shall be obeyed and your words shall be the truth. Customary law shall become great and traditional usage increased by your family and by the people of Sidénréng.' They said, 'We shall be your followers, we shall be your people, we shall cultivate [the land], we shall build you a palace.'[31] Now here is spoken of the origin of the Arung of Sidénréng. The Datu of Pantilang was afflicted by leprosy. So he went into exile in distant lands.[32] When he reached Tanatoraja he married the eldest child of La Maqdaremmeng. Then he left Tanatoraja. When he arrived in Rappang he

(18) was installed as ruler of Rappang. He had three children. One was a daughter (the eldest daughter) who was made ruler at Sidénréng. She was the ruler who was hard of heart towards the people of Sidénréng. [Her] younger brother ruled at Rappang. The people of Rappang came to exchange [him with her]. The people of Rappang said, 'It would be good, Puang, if you came to rule in Rappang, and you made your brother ruler at

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[22] The end of the first pericope.

[23] Cf. Ajattappareng (west of the lake), the name generally given to the 'confederation' of Sidénréng, Rappang, Sawitto, Alitta and Suppaq.

[24] led each other by the hand in single file: sirénréng rénréng, the popular etymology of Sidénréng.

[25] †-†: A double etymology, probably provided by the compiler of the written source upon which this section of the present text was based.

[26] The second version of the Chronicle names her as [Wé] Bolopatina: the opening clause is a redactor's gloss.

[27] The Datu of Pantilang: see below.

[28] Evidently a contraction of Aqdatuang, 'rulership'; but possibly 'the one who embraces'. A title of the ruler of Sidénréng.

[29] Meaning unknown. In the genealogy given in the third pericope (below) La Makkaraka is the great-grandson of the daughter of La Maqdaremmeng.

[30] family: sumpung lolo; according to Salim, 'knot of intestines' or 'placenta', thus 'blood relatives'.

[31] The end of the second pericope.

[32] Cf. the legend of the exiled princess of Luwuq who was suffering from a skin disease, who is supposed to have founded the kingdom of Wajo (Abidin 1984:531, Noorduyn 1955:34).

Sidénréng.' Then La Malibureng was Aqdaoang of Sidénréng. †Here arose the sinful practice of joget dancing.†[33] The Arung Rappang and the Arung Sidénréng, who were brother and sister, made an agreement, saying, 'What dies in the morning [in] Rappang dies [in] the afternoon in Sidénréng.'[34] To the present day this agreement between Rappang and Sidénréng has not been altered. The sincerity of the agreement was attested to by the following events. Sometime after this, it happened that the palace at Sidénréng was burnt to the ground in the afternoon.[35] When news of this reached the Arung Rappang she asked, 'What did the ruler of Sidénréng manage to save?' The messenger replied, 'Just himself, his wives and children, and one of his cats.'[36] So the Arung Rappang and her household descended [to the ground] and that very morning set fire to the palace at Rappang, because of the agreement made with the brother.[37] Now La Malibureng had eight children.[38] The eight [children] were ploughmen at Lasalama. The one but youngest brother was called La Pawawoi. La Pawawoi was the Aqdatuang of Sidénréng. La Pawawoi had seven children. The eldest was called La Pawéwangi; he was the Arung at Tellulateqé.[39] The second eldest child was called La Makkaraka.[40] He was the Aqdaoang of Sidénréng. He married the [daughter of the?] Pajung of Luwuq. He was the first to make firm agreements between the people of Sidénréng and their lord. He was the first to fix laws and appoint ministers. He was a great ruler. His laws were splendid and people feared the law. The eight brothers[41] of the Arung of Sidénréng were also the eight

(19) ploughmen. The eight ploughmen made an agreement with the Aqdaoang of Sidénréng. Also they presented him with exclusive rights over the central body of the

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[33] †—†: An addition, probably by the compiler of the written source used by the Chronicler. La Malibureng was evidently credited with the origin of jogeq dancing (cf. Malay *joget,* a secular dance with sexual overtones) of which the compiler clearly did not approve. The remark has no function within the pericope in which it is located.

[34] The distance between Sidénréng and Rappang is eleven kilometers, measured in a straight line.

[35] Rulers' palaces were built of wood and raised from the ground on wooden piles. Once they had caught fire there was little that could be done, other than to enjoy the conflagration. The present fire, however, is not the record of the destruction of a particular palace at Sidénréng during the rule of La Makkaraka/La Kasi, but a literary motif enabling the author of this particular section to demonstrate the loyalty of Rappang towards Sidénréng.

[36] Cats are the favourite animals of both the Bugis and Toraja; cf. Wilcox (1949:113) who states that in the district of Laqbo in Tanatoraja, the small Toraja cat known as serreh datu (cat prince), never sets foot on the ground outside the house in which it is born. When one dies, it is wrapped in a special mat and hung in the branch of a tree. It would even seem that in some districts a cat had to be appraised in formal words of its master's death, and then be carried to another house until the corpse was finally removed. Among the Bugis, cats are immortalized in the Sure Méompalo, the Poem of the Brindled (?) Cat; on a more prosaic note, cats protected their owner's clothes and fabrics from the voracious South Sulawesi rats.

[37] The end of the second pericope and the end of the first written source.

[38] Cf. the eight brothers of the first legend.

[39] 'The three panels': apparently a secondary palace at or near Sidénréng. The name derives from the three panels which were set above the doorway of a ruler's house (lesser nobles had one or two panels): such panels may be seen today at the former residence of the royal family of Goa at Sungguminasa, near Ujung Pandang.

[40] Cf. La Makkaraka, above

[41] Above and below, seven brothers, later eight.

forest. The Aqdaoang said, 'Who shall fill the palace?'[42] The seven brothers said, 'We shall fill your palace.' The Aqdaoang of Sidénréng said, 'I have just a title, it is you seven who own the palace.' The seven replied, 'Us seven own [the] palace, but there is only one who occupies a palace in Sidénréng.' The Aqdaoang said, 'It would seem therefore that eight of us own the palace.' The seven ploughmen replied, 'The eight of us are of one mind. We seven surrender our authority to you.' The Aqdaoang La Kasi said, 'What sign will you give to show that you are surrendering your authority?' The eight[43] headmen replied, 'We will hand over to you what is caught in the mouth of the enclosure; [you] take the salt, the sirih, the tobacco. Only you may order these sold, no–one other than you may do so.' The Aqdaoang said, 'I will own the salt, I will own the tobacco, I will own the sirih.' The seven headmen said also, '[You] also take possession of unusual things.' The Aqdaoang said, 'I will own the transvestites, the dwarves, the albinos. Each of you should also give me five followers whom I will take as special retainers in the palace. The Aqdaoang said also, 'There is something else I request.' The eight headmen said, 'What is it that you request?' The Aqdaoang said, 'When there are confiscated goods, send them up to the palace. When you have paid five old rial[44] you may take them.' The Aqdaoang and the headmen, the eight brothers, made a further agreement. The seven [headmen] said, 'It is our decision that only you are the great Aqdaoang. As for the contents of your palace, once they have gone up to the palace we shall have no further claim to them.' [The Aqdaoang said,] 'I alone send [goods] down [from the palace], I too who ensure that you maintain traditional law. If I do not like something which I entrust to you, I alone untie it.' The Aqdaoang said, 'What else will you seven give me? You give me serving girls and personal guards. I give you permission to seize wrongdoers.'[45] Wé Tépulingé was the Aqdaoang of Sidénréng. She was also

(20) Datu of Suppaq. She had three children. One was called Wé Pawawoi, she ruled at Bacukiki. One was called La Teqdullopo, he was Datu of Suppaq. Wé Pawawoi married at Sidénréng with the child of [La Bangéngngé] the one who descended at Lowa, called Sukumpulaweng, and she ruled at Sidénréng. They had one child, called La Batara. La Batara ruled at Sidénréng. He went and married at Bulucénrana with the Arung of Bulucénrana, Wé Cina. They had three children: one called La Pasampoi, one called Wé Abéng and one called La Mariaseq; he ruled at Sidénréng.[46] He [La Pasampoi] married the child of La Botillangi , the Arung Mario, called Wé Tappatana. They had one child called La Pateqdungi. La Pateqdungi was the Aqdaoang of Sidénréng. He went and married at Rappang. He had one child called La Patiroi. La Patiroi was the Aqdaoang of Sidénréng. He

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[42] i.e. provide servants and retainers.

[43] Correctly, seven.

[44] A Spanish silver coin imported by English and Dutch traders. It was worth about two and a half Dutch Guilders.

[45] The end of the third pericope. The source for the remainder of the Chronicle to 1600 is the Royal Genealogy of Sidénréng, which is examined in the following section.

[46] The Royal Genealogy of Sidénréng states at Bulucénrana.

was the first person to accept Islam in 1602; that is, 1508 A.H.[47] He was posthumously known as Matinroé ri Massépé.[48]

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[47] In European numerals: correctly 1018 A.H.; the Arabic '0' and '5' are easily confused. 1018 A.H. corresponds to the Christian year 1609, which is given in most Bugis and early European sources as the date of Sidénréng official Islamization.

[48] 'He who sleeps at Massépé'

2.9 The Royal Genealogy of Sidénréng

The Royal Genealogy of Sidénréng (hereafter RGSid) is the name I have given to a short genealogy tracing the ruling family of Sidénréng from c.1475 to the early seventeenth century. The RGSid was one of the sources used by the author of the Chronicle of Sidénréng, examined in the previous section. The independent versions of the RGSid are considerably more detailed than the version preserved (perhaps only in part) in the Chronicle, and are thus worth examining independently. As far as I am aware, no version of the RGSid has yet been published.

2.9.1 Versions of the RGSid

The five versions of the RGSid examined here are shown in table 2-8. These are henceforth referred to by the letter given in the right-hand column

Table 2-8: Versions of the RGSid

Collection	Number	Pages.Lines	Letter
KITLV	Or. 272 Ib	1.1-3.6	*A*
KITLV	Or. 272 V	1.1-2.16	*B*
LEID	Or. 6163 "book" 150	1.1-4.3	*C*
MAK	119	81.22-83.10	*D*
NBG	79	69.1-70.4	*E*

The five versions can be divided into two groups, *ABDE* and *C.* Versions belonging to the first group agree closely with each other and show only minor differences. Three share the same colophon[1] which contains the Moslem date Isnain 26 (correctly, 28) Jumadi 'l-awwal 1243 A.H., and the corresponding Christian year 1827, this, evidently, being the date of copying of their common source.[2] Version *C,* while containing a number of inconsequential variant readings and several omissions, is similar in content to *ABDE.* Given the very close readings of *ABDE,* a more complex stemma is unnecessary. *E* has been selected for editing on the grounds of textual clarity. One substitution, which is supported by all other versions, has been made in the transcription.

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[1] KITLV Or. 272 V omits the colophon, but is in all other respects almost identical to the other three.

[2] *A* contains a date of Khamis, 14 (correctly, 13) Jumadi 'l-awwal 1263 A.H. (29 April 1847), presumably the date on which it was copied.

2.9.2 Dating the RGSid

All but one version of the RGSid is prefaced by a colophon dated 1827: the work itself ends with the posthumous titles of the first Moslem rulers of Sidénréng, Suppaq and Sawitto. The RGSid can thus be roughly dated between the mid-seventeenth and the early nineteenth century.

2.9.3 The RGSid as a Historical Source

There can be little doubt that the RGSid was based on written genealogical records. The tomanurung of Bacukiki and Lawaramparéng, La Bangéngngé and Wé Tépulingé, whose names begin the RGSid, are very likely historical figures. Their designation as heavenly-descended beings in the RSid serves to provide the appropriate status for the ruling family of Sidénréng. The usefulness of the RGSid is limited by the fact that it extends back only five generations from c.1600.

2.9.4 Text

Naripammula rioki \ lo[n]tara attoriolongngé riéssona Isnainé[3] ri 26 o[m]pona koromaiuléng Jumadi 'l-awwal ri taung alipu \ hijratu 'l-nab sallallahu alaihi wasallama 1243[4] nayi[a] héjérrananabi Isa 1827 h-y-r[5]

Aja mumabusung[6] \ aja kumawéqdawéqda \ [n]ra[m]péra[m]péi \ asénna \ manurungngé \ ri Sidé[n]réng \ é[n]réngngé[7] manurungngé \ ri Bacukiki \ é[n]réngngé to[m]po é \ ri Lawaramparang La Bangéngngé \ asénna[8] manurungngé \ yi[a]na makkarung \ ri Bacukiki manurungngé \ ri Bacukiki \ yi[a]na sianurungngéng[9] \ pitu salassa \ ri Cé[m]pa \ yi[a]na siala \ to[m]poqé ri Lawara[m]parang \ sitomporéngngé \ lipa lumuqna \ ori[m]pulawéng \ saji ulawéng \ lowa ulawéng \ sa[n]ru kaju ulawéng lollong si[n]rangéng \yi[a]na riaséng Wé Tépulingé yi[a]na makkarung ri Suppa\ najajiangana \ téllu \ siqdi riaséng La Téqdullopo yi[a]na makkarung ri Suppa\siqdi riaséng Wé Pawawoi yi[a]na makkarung \ ri Bacukiki \ siqdi riaséng La Botillangi yi[a]na makkarung ri Tanétélangi oraiqna Bacukiki \ Wé Pawawoina mallakkai ri Sidé[n]réng siala anaq[na] manurungngé\ ri Lowa \ riaséngngé Sukumpulawéng yi[a]na

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[3] Italicized words are Arabic.
[4] 1243 is written in Arabic numerals.
[5] I am unable find any word either in Wehr 1961 or Lane 1881which gives a helpful translation for h-y-r (the root produces hayyir, 'rash, precipitate, thoughtless, ill-considered, imprudent'): it is probably an abbreviation.
[6] mumabusung read kumabusung.
[7] é[n]réngngé is omitted in the translation.
[8] Text in bold type is containedwithin circles within the main body of the text.
[9] sianurungngéng read sianurungngé

makkarung ri Sidé[n]réng \ najajianni riaséngngé La Batari[10] \ yi[a]na makkarung \ ri Sidé[n]réng yi[a]na lao maqbainé \ ri Bulucé[n]rana \ siala Arungngé \ ri Bulucé[n]rana \ riaséngngé Wé Cina najajiangana téllu \ siqdi riaséng La Pasampoi yi[a]na makkarung ri Sidé[n]réng \ siqdi riaséng Wé Abéng siqdi riaséng La Mariasé yi[a]na makkarung \ ri Bulucé[n]rana\ puattana La Botillangi maqbainé ri Mario \ siala Arungngé ri Mario\ najajiangana siqdi yi[a]na riaséng Wé Tappatina[11] yi[a]na mallakkai ri Sidé[n]réng siala Aqdaowangngé ri Sidé[n]réng \riaséngngé La Pasampoi najajianni riaséngngé La Patéqdungi yi[a]na Aqdatuang ri Sidé[n]réng \ puattana \ La Téqdullopo yi[a]na Datu ri Suppaq \ yi[a]na maqbawiné ri Cé[m]pa \ siala Arungngé ri Cé[m]pa \ riaséngngé Wé Patuli najajianni riaséngngé La Putébulu yi[a]na Datu ri Suppaq \ yi[a]na lao maqbawiné \ ri Mario \ siala Arung Mario \ siala \ masapposiséng \ riaséngngé Wé Tappatana \ puraé \ napobainé \ Adaowangngé ri Sidénréng \ riaséngngé La Pasa[m]poi najajianni riaséngngé \ Makkarié \ yi[a]na Datu ri Suppa\ yi[a]na mappadaworowané \ si[i]na \ Aqdatuangngé \ ri Sidé[n]réng \ riaséngngé La Patédungi yi[a]na lao ma bawiné ri Sawitto \ siala anaqna Wé Gé[m]po riaséngngé \ riaséngngé[12] Da [M]bala anina[13] Arung Rappéng \ riaséngngé La Pakolongi lakkainna puatta \ Wé Gé[m]po \ yi[a]na ripoana \ ri Aqdatuang ri So[m]poé ri Sawitto riaséngngé Palétéangngé najijiattoni[14] riaséngngé \ La Céllaqmata \ yi[a]na Aqdatuang ri Sawitto \ yi[a]tona riappa[n]rénaang asu balabangéng \ ri Karaéngngé ri Goa riru[m]pa na Sawitto Suppa\ ana natopa \ puatta Wé Gé[m]po ri ArunRappéng riaséng Wé Ré[n]rittana mappada makku[n]rai \ si[i]nasiamanni Da [M]bala yi[a]na polakkaiwi \ Aqdatuangngé ri Sidé[n]réng \ riaséngngé La Patéqdungi najajianni riaséngngé La Patiroi La Patiroi yi[a]na A datuang ri Sidé[n]réng \ yi[a]na mula muttama sélléng \ yi[a]na riaséng Mati[n]roé ri Massépé aséng maténa \ puattana Wé[15] Ré[n]rittana \ tana[16] \ polangkaiwi[17] sapposisénna anaqna puatta La Célla mata riaséngngé La La[18] Pa[n]cai najajianni riaséngngé Wé Passullé yi[a]na Aqdatuwang ri Sawitto yi[a]tona \ Datu \ ri Suppayi[a]tona mula muttama sélléng yi[a]tona riaséng Mati[n]roé ri

(70) Mati[n]roé \ ri[19] mala \ aséng maténa riaséttoi Datu Bissué \ yi[a]tona massapposiséng Mati[n]roé ri Massépé \ puattana \ LaCélla mata \ yi[a]na

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[10] *ABCD'*s reading of La Batarais followed in the translation.

[11] Wé Tappatana, asbelow and in other manuscripts, is followed in the translation.

[12] The second occurrence of riaséngngé is omitted in the translation.

[13] anina read anaqna

[14] najijaittoni read najajiattoni

[15] This is spelt u Wéé.

[16] tana is an accidental repeat of the last two aksara of the name Wé Ré[n]rittana. It is omitted in the translation.

[17] polangkaiwi read polakkaiwi.

[18] polangkaiwi read polakkaiwi.

[19] The second occurrence of Matinroéri is omitted in the translation.

Aqdatuang ri Sawitto \ yi[a]na riaséng puatta déqé gocinna puattana La Pa[n]cai \ yi[a]na A datuang ri Sawitto \ yi[a]namaté rijallo \ yi[a]tona punna gajang \ ula rauraungngé \ yi[a]na riasé[ngng]é Témmaruling \ tammat

2.9.5 Translation

The writing of this historical text[20] was begun on Monday the 26th day of the moon [in the] month of Jumadi 'l-awwal in the year alif 1243 [after] the era[21] of the prophet, God bless him and give him peace; that is, [after] the migration of the prophet Jesus, 1827.[22] May I not swell, may I not weaken for mentioning the names of the tomanurung of Sidénréng: he who descended at Bacukiki,[23] and she who arose at Lawaramparang.[24] La Bangéngngé[25] was the name of the one who descended. He ruled at Bacukiki, the one who descended at Bacukiki. The seven palaces at Cémpa[26] descended with him. He married the one who arose at Lawaramparang.[27] With her arose her "moss" sarong, a gold pot, a gold rice ladle, a gold pot, a golden vegetable ladle[28] and a palanquin. She was called Wé Tépulingé[29] and she ruled at Suppaq. They had three children: one named La Tédullopo,[30] he ruled at Suppaq; one named Wé Pawawoi,[31] she ruled at Bacukiki; and one named La Botillangiq.[32] He ruled at Tanétélangiq,[33] to the west of Bacukiki. Wé Pawawoi married at Sidénréng with the child of the one who descended at [Bulu] Lowa[34] who was called Sukumpulawéng:[35] She ruled at

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[20] 'historical text': lontara attoriolong.

[21] era: (Arabic) hijra, 'migration'; cf. the use of hijra below, which suggests a partial understanding of the word.

[22] 26 Jum'a'di 'l-awwal 1243 fell on a Saturday; the date should presumably read 28 Jum'a'di'l-awwal 1243, or 17 December 1817. The discrepancy is probably due to the fact that the establishment of the new month relied upon sightings of the moon, or to errors in a table used to establish the new month (cf. Hurgronje 1906:196). The designation alif refers to the eight year Muslim calendar cycle, in which the years are named after eight letters of the Arabic alphabet. For further details see Mattheson and Andaya 1982:311, footnote 2.

[23] 'Writhing rocks'; According to Pelras (1977:240, footnote 16) Bacukiki was originally situated on the boulder-strewn summit of Bulu Aruang, south of Paréparé.

[24] 'Wealth, property, riches'; unidentified.

[25] Meaning unknown.

[26] The name of a tree.

[27] SD photo: a spring, regarded as a well, on the seashore, a few km north of Pare-pare. Photo shows salo langiq.

[28] Literally,'wood-gold-ladle'.

[29] 'Perfect uterus'

[30] 'Great umbrella'

[31] Bring above

[32] 'Top of the sky

[33] A hill settlement, now deserted.

[34] 'Old hill'; a small, cone-shaped hill about a kilometre north of Amparita. The tomanurung of Bulu Lowa is not named.

[35] A small gold coin.

Sidénréng. They had a child who was called La Batara.[36] He ruled at Sidénréng. He went and married at Bulucénrana[37] with the Arung of Bulucénrana, who was called Wé Cina.[38] They had three children: one called La Pasampoi,[39] he ruled at Sidénréng; one called Wé Abéng,[40] and one called La Mariasé;[41] he ruled at Bulucénrana. Our lord La Botillangi married at Mario[42] with the Arung of Mario. They had a child called Wé Tappatana.[43] She married at Sidénréng with the Aqdaowang of Sidénréng, who was called La Pasampoi.[44] They had a child who was called La Patéqdungi.[45] He was Aqdatuang of Sidénréng. Now [returning to] our lord La Téqdullopo, he was Datu of Suppaq. He married at Cémpa with the Arung of Cémpa, who was called Wé Patuli.[46] They had a child who was called La Putébulu.[47] He was Datu of Suppaq. He went and married at Mario with his cousin the Arung Mario, who was called Wé Tappatana, after she was no longer the wife of the Aqdaowang of Sidénréng who was called La Pasampoi.[48] They had a child who was called [La] Makkarié.[49] He was Datu of Suppaq. He was the brother by the same mother of the Aqdatuang at Sidénréng who was called La Patéqdungi.[50] He went and married at Sawitto with the daughter of Wé Gémpoq,[51] who was called Da Mbala,[52] the daughter of the Arung Rappéng who was called La Pakolongi, the husband of our lady Wé Gémpoq. She was the child of the Aqdatuang at So[m]poé[53] at Sawitto who was called Palétéangngé.[54]

[36] A title derived from (Sanskrit) bhattara', 'noble lord'. The ruler of Majapahit was known as (Javanese) Bhatara. Cf. Manuel Pinto's statement that the ruler of Sidénréng 'was a very great lord, who was called emperor' (Pelras 1977:248).

[37] Cénrana is the name of a tree with fragrant yellow, red or while flowers; thus 'hill of the Cénrana trees: in east Sidénréng.

[38] Other sources give Wé Cinadio.

[39] 'The one who covers'

[40] Wé Abéng is the wife of Sawarigading, the father of I La Galigo.

[41] 'The one [who is] above'

[42] Probably Marioriawa in north Soppéng. [riwawo? SD]

[43] 'Sunlight of the land'

[44] Pelras'identification of Wé Tappatana as Juan de Eredia's 'Tamalina' (Pelras 1977:250-251) is not supported by the present text. It is possible that the text is corrupt, as La Pasampoi is here the nephew of Wé Tappatana, his wife.

[45] 'Gives shade'

[46] 'Goes around'

[47] 'White hair'. The present text supports Pelras's identification of La Putébulu as the ruler of Suppa whom Antonio de Paiva baptized in 1544 (Pelras1977:250). The ruler was then about seventy years old, "a mighty and warlike ruler, very much dreaded in the surrounding area" (Jacobs 1966:258).

[48] *C* adds "[with the] daughter of La Botillangi [and the] Arung Mario, who was called We Tappatana". This line is missing in other manuscripts.

[49] The root of this name appears to be ari, 'sprout, shoot, thus perhaps 'makes [s.t.] grow'.

[50] i.e. La Makkarié was the half-brother of the ruler of Sidénréng.

[51] Probably gémpoq, 'large'.

[52] Probably "mother of the house", from Makasar balla, 'house'.

[53] Unidentified; presumably a place in Sawitto (*B* Sopoé *C* omits *D* Sopaé).

[54] 'The one who crosses over [as of a bridge]'; the subject of this sentence is Wé Gémpoq.

Another of his children was called La Céllaqmata.[55] He was Aqdatuang at Sawitto. He was eaten by the war dogs of the Karaéng of Goa when he defeated Sawitto and Suppaq.[56] Another child of our lady Wé Gémpo and the Arung Rappéng was called Wé Rénrittana.[57] [She was] the full sister of Da Mbala. She married the Aqdatuang at Sidénréng called La Patéqdungi. They had a child who was called La Patiroi.[58] LaPatiroi[59] was Aqdatuang at Sidénréng. He was the first Moslem[60] and was posthumously called "He who sleeps at Massépé." Our lady Wé Rénrittana married her cousin,the son of our lord La Céllaqmata, who was called La Pancai.[61] They had a child called Wé Passullé.[62] She was Aqdatuang at Sawitto and she was also Datu of Suppa. She was also the first [ruler of Sawitto and Suppa] to accept Islam, and she was known posthumously as Matinroé

(70) ri mala[63] [She was] also known as "Datu bissu".[64] She married her cousin, Matinroé ri Massépé.[65] Our lord La Céllaqmata was Aqdatuang at Sawitto and was known as "Our Lord who had no Jar".[66] Our lord La Pancai was the Aqdatuang at Sawitto. He was killed by an amuck. He was the one who owned the gold serpent keris. He was also known as Témmaruling.[67]

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[55] 'Red eyes'. Pelras's identification of La Céllaqmata with Eredia's La Pituo (La Pétau) is not supported by the present text (Pelras 1977:251).

[56] The text is referring here to an incident during the conquest of Sawitto and Suppa by Tunipalangga, recorded in the Goa Chronicle. When, after a gap of approximately fourteen years, news of South Sulawesi reached Goa in 1559, it was learnt that Bacukiki had been conquered by Goa and that only "[Wé] Tamalina" remained alive (Pelras 1977:251).

[57] "'Wall [of the] land'

[58] The subject of this passage is Da Mbala.

[59] 'The one who sees'

[60] *C* adds "in 1602 (correctly 1609), or A.H. 1018".

[61] Other sources have La Pancaitana.

[62] 'The one who replaced'

[63] According to Salim, 'She who sleeps in a grave'.

[64] An incongruous title for a Moslem ruler.

[65] 'He who sleeps at Massépé'

[66] Thus signifying that he was buried rather than cremated, as was the normal practice among the pre-Islamic elite. He was presumably a Christian, perhaps among the thirty or so nobles baptized with the ruler of Siang by Paiva in 1544.
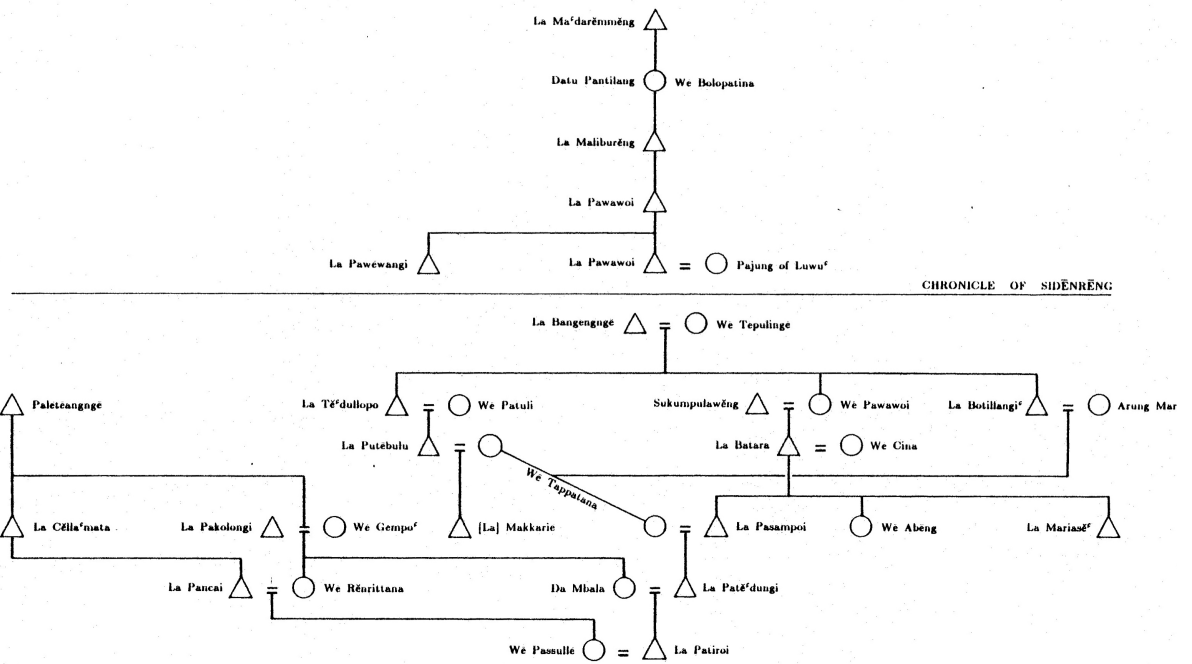
[67] 'Did not return'

La Ma'darèmmèng △

Datu Pantilang ○ We Bolopatina

La Maliburèng △

La Pawawoi △

La Pawèwangi △   La Pawawoi △ = ○ Pajung of Luwu'

La Bangenguge △ = ○ We Tepulinge

Paleteangnge △   La Tè'dullopo △ = ○ We Patuli   Sukumpulawèng △ = ○ We Pawawoi   La Botillangi' △ = ○ Arung Mar

La Putebulu △ =   We Tappatana   La Batara △ = ○ We Cina

La Cèlla'mata △   La Pakolongi △ = ○ We Gempo'   [La] Makkarie △ ○   La Pasampoi △   ○ We Abeng   La Mariasè' △

La Pancai △ = ○ We Rènrittana   Da Mbala ○ = △ La Patè'dungi

We Passulle ○ = △ La Patiroi

Figure 2-14: Royal Genealogy of Soppéng

2.10 The Sidénréng Vassal List

The final work is a list of the vassal settlements of Sidénréng, the most important of the five principalities that controlled the fertile lowland plain lying between the central lakes and the west coast of the peninsula both before and after 1600.[1] The Sidénréng Vassal List (hereafter SidVL) names approximately thirty-two settlements; these are divided into several groups by the use of three expressions, the precise meanings of which are uncertain. The purpose for which the list was compiled is unknown: as far as I am aware, no version of the SidVL has yet been published.

2.10.1 Versions of the SVL

The three versions of the SidVL examined here are shown in table 2-9. These will henceforth be referred to by the letter given in the right-hand column.

Table 2-9: Versions of the SidVL

Collection	No	Pages.Lines	Letter
NBG	100	118.2-118.14	*A*
NBG	101	133.1-133.12	*B*
NBG	112	59.2-59.16	*C*

The names and order of settlements contained in each version is nearly identical, and it is clear that all three derive from a single version. Owing to the brevity of the work it is not possible to establish any firm relationships between versions. Version *C* omits a textual corruption shared by *A* and *B* and is therefore chosen for editing.

2.10.2 Dating the SidVL

It is difficult to suggest a date of composition for the SidVL. The comparative evidence of the Vassal Lists of Luwuq and Soppéng would suggest that the tradition that it records dates back to the pre-Islamic period.

2.10.3 The SidVL as a Historical Source

Thirteen of the SidVL's thirty-one settlements can be identified on Dutch maps of the Sidénréng region. These are shown in figure 2-15. No settlement is further than fifteen

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[1] The other principalities were Rappang, Suppaq, Sawitto and Alitta.

kilometers (measured in a straight line) from Sidénréng, and all but one are closely associated with the region of wet-rice cultivation lying to the north and west of Lake Sidénréng. The other four members of the 'confederation' of Limaé Ajattapparéng—Rappang, Alitta, Suppa and Sawitto—are not named as vassals. What the SidVL appears to record is a map of Sidénréng's political administration.

Like the Vassal Lists of Luwuq and Soppéng, the SidVL divides up its list of settlements into several groups through the use of certain expressions. While the significance of all but one of these divisions is uncertain, the office of Arung is clearly associated with thefirst ten groups of settlements. It would seem that the settlements named in these groups were ruled through the office of Arung. The eleventh group—Massépé, Alakuang, Tétéaji and Lisa—is introduced by the expression 'then the plough of [Sidénréng] went down [to]'. This appears to mark a major division in the text (cf. a similar use of the expression in the Soppéng Vassal List). The settlements of this eleventh group do not appear to have been ruled by an Arung, the office of which is nowhere mentioned. In the case of Alakuang, this is confirmed by local tradition, which states that Alakuang had neither an Arung nor a high-status family of any importance (personal communication, Drs Muhammad Salim). The relationship of the remaining three groups, the first of which is divided from the preceding group by the word 'Sidénréng', is unclear. Local enquiry into the divisions of the SidVL would probably be of help in sorting out these relationships.

2.10.4 Text, *C*

Sidénréng \ paliliqna \ Mawoiwa \ Bulucénrana \ Oting duwa arung \ dé masala napoléi bilabilana Sidénréng \ bab Bila \téllu arung \ déq masala napoléi bilabilana Sidénréng \ Wala \ Botto Ugi \ Jampubatu \ duwa arung \ déq masala napoléi Sidénréng\ Baruku \ duwa arung \ dé masala napoléi bilabilana Sidénréng \ Bara Mamasé \ duwa arung \ dé masala napoléi bilabilana \ Sidénréng\ Bétao \ duwa arung dé masala napoléi bilabilana \ Sidénréng \Kalémpang \ téllu arung \ dé masala napoléi bilabilana \ Sidénréng Laténré \ Paraja \ Ampirita[2] \ Wawanio \ duwa arung \ duwato bilabilana Sidénréng \ Béloka \ duwa arung \ duwato bilabilana Sidénréng \ Cirowali Wéttéqé[3] \ tammat Sidénréng \ napanoqé rakkalana \ Massépé \ Alékkuwang[4] \ Tétéaji \ Liséq[5] \ Sidénréng \ Guru \ éngka arunna \ mapano tosia ri wanuanna \ Wala \ Séréa \ Liwuwu \ Araténg[6] \ éngka arung \ témmapanoqsa ri pabanuwanna \ Wéngéng \ Télla *tammat*

2.10.5 Translation

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[2] Ampirita read Amparita
[3] The modern spelling of Wattaé is followed in the translation.
[4] The modern spelling of Alakuang is followed in the translation.
[5] The modern spelling of Lisa is followed in the translation.
[6] The modern spelling of Aratang is followed in the translation.

Sidénréng's vassals are Mawoiwa,[7] Bulucénrana, Oting, two lords of equal rank, then came Sidénréng's envoys,[8] Bila, three lords of equal rank, then came Sidénréng's envoys, Wala, Botto, Ugi, Jampubatu, two lords of equal rank, then came Sidénréng's envoys, Baruku,[9] two lords of equal rank, then came Sidénréng's envoys, Bara , Mamasé,[10] two lords of equal rank, then came Sidénréng's envoys, Bétao, two lords of equal rank, then came Sidénréng's envoys, Kalémpang, three lords of equal rank, then came Sidénréng's envoys, Laténré Paraja, Amparita, Wawanio, two lords, also two envoys [of] Sidénréng, Béloka,[11] two lords, also two envoys [of] Sidénréng, Ciroali,[12] Wéttéqé. Then Sidénréng's plough went down [to] Massépé, Alakuang, Tétéaji, Lisa, Sidénréng, Guru,[13] these lords go down to their lands, Wala, Séréa, Liwuwu, Aratang, these lords do not go down to their lands, Wéngéng and Télla.

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[7] Unidentified: the only one of Sidénréng's vassals to possess its own vassals, which are listed after the present work in all MSS. AB have Mawoiriawa.

[8] envoys: bilana;'the bila-bila is a leaf of the lontar with a number of knots on it, specifying the number of days at the extinction of which the vassal is expended to attend' (Raffles 1817:clxxxv; cf. Kern 1948:6, footnote 1.

[9] *AB* Baroku

[10] Possibly Bara mamasé.

[11] On Dutch maps, Biloka.

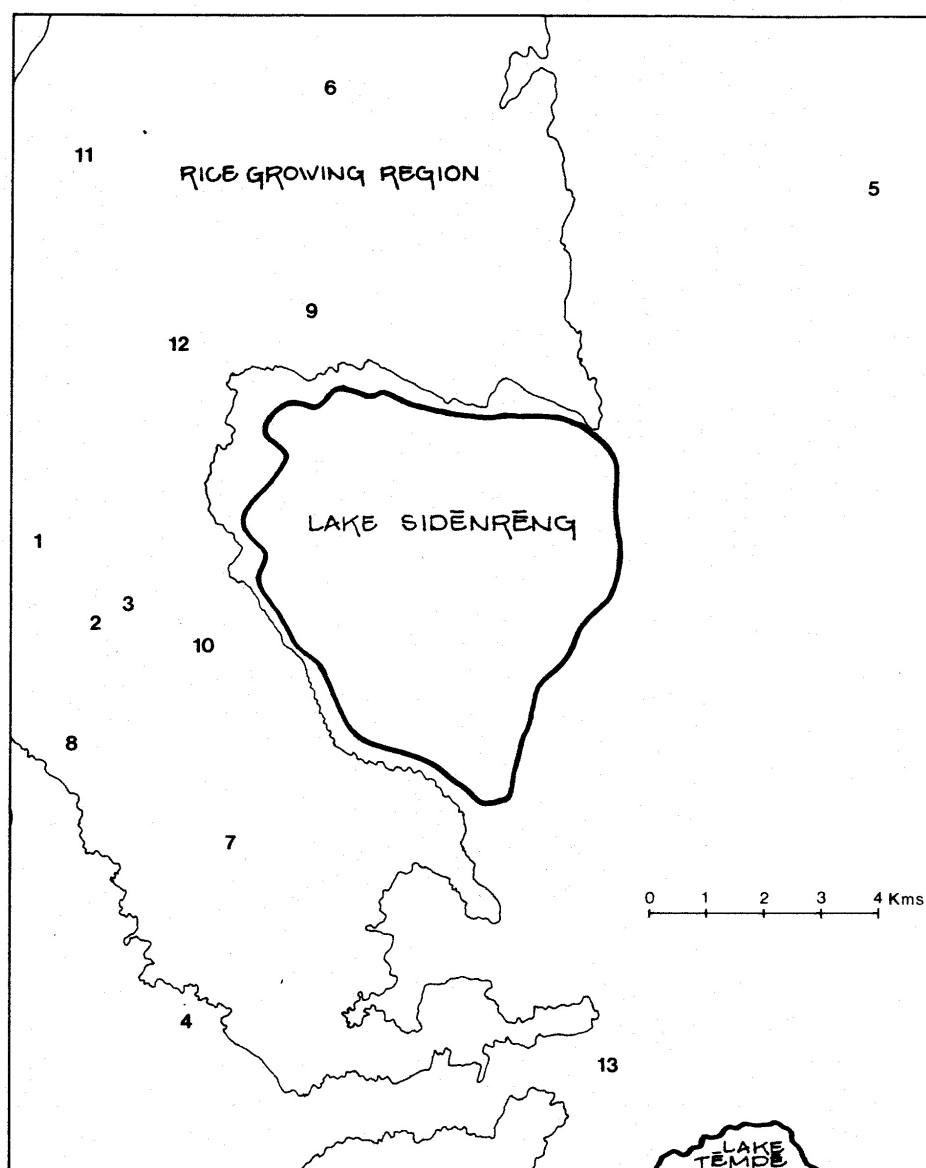[12] Ciroali is named also in the Vassal List of Soppéng.

[13] *AB* Buru

Figure 2-15: Locatable Toponyms of the SidVL

KEY TO FIGURE 2-15

1 Alakuang	2 Amparita	3 Aratang	4 Béloka
5 Bila	6 Botto	7 Lisa	8 Massépé
9 Sidénréng	10 Tétéaji	11 Wala	12 Wala[tédong]
13 Wattaée			

Chapter Three

3 Bugis Texts as Historical Sources

Before beginning to use the works set out in the previous chapter as historical sources, there remain two important tasks to carry out. The first is to develop a means by which to date the evidence of the works—how far back do they date and how can we know this? The second is to examine the relationship between the development of writing and the nature of Bugis-Makasar society. Do the beginnings of written records reflect an important change in the nature of society? Or is there a simpler explanation? Finally, a summary of the general features of the textual evidence is given.

3.1 Chronology

Chronology—the arrangement of individuals and events according to date or order of occurrence—is obviously central to most historical enquiries. Unfortunately, none of the Bugis sources examined in the previous chapter contains any dates or reign-lengths by which the events and individuals of which it speaks can be dated. Neither is it possible to turn to contemporary European sources for help, for these do not start until the arrival of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, and deal mainly with the west-coast kingdoms of Suppa and Siang (Pelras 1977). Post-seventeenth-century European sources are of little help either, as the relevant parts of these are based, either directly or indirectly, upon indigenous sources similar to those examined here.

The solution of this problem lies in the royal genealogies and chronicles. By taking a known and securely dated person late in a genealogy and 'backdating', using a fixed number of years for each generation, a chronological framework may be obtained for earlier individuals and events.[1] The scattered information accompanying various individuals in these and other sources can then be placed within this framework.

The period generally used for backdating is between twenty-five and thirty three and one-third years (cf. Alcock 1971:11, Desborough 1972:324, Snodgrass 1971:11, etc.). Considering the number of inter-kingdom conflicts of the sixteenth century (Andaya 1981, Chapter One, Pelras 1977, passim), thirty years may seem a rather high figure. We may turn for guidance here to the chronicles of Goa-Talloq and Bone, each of which provides reign-lengths for a number of rulers before 1600. These are: (Bone) La Umasa 17, Kerrampélua 72, Makkalempié 15, La Tenrisukki 27, La Ulio 25, La Tenriawé 20; (Talloq) Tuménanga ri Makkoayang 30, I Sambo 13; (Goa) Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna 36, Tunipalangga 18, Tunibatta 0 and Tunijalloq 24: some are estimates (Reid 1983:132-133, Macknight and Mukhlis,

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[1] The technique of backdating was first applied to South Sulawesi historical sources in the History of the Indian Archipelago (Crawfurd 1820), which includes a chart of Bugis and Makasar rulers in chronological order. Crawfurd's sources and the principles upon which he worked are not clear and I have not, therefore, made a systematic comparison between his conclusions and mine.

forthcoming). Even including the case of Tunibatta, who died in battle in 1565 after ruling just 'forty days', the average reign length is 24.75 years, close to the minimum period generally used for backdating .[2]

A figure of 25 years, or 15 years in the case of brother succeeding brother, will therefore serve as an average reign-length for backdating. A firm starting point is provided by the well-documented conversion to Islam of individual rulers of the major kingdoms of South Sulawesi in the first two decades of the seventeenth century. Reign-dates obtained by backdating will be preceded by the abbreviation *c.* (circa). In the following pages we shall examine the genealogical structure of several of the works examined in the previous chapter, to see what dates can be given to the rulers whom they name. As we have seen, Bugis historical writings may be based upon myth (archetype) and legend as well as upon more reliable historical sources such as written genealogical records. For several of the works to be examined here, we not only know what sources their authors used, but where one source ends and the next begins. This will enable us to compare the structural chronologies of those works with regard to the type of sources used in each.

As Luwuq is believed to have been the first Bugis kingdom to exercise any widespread authority in South Sulawesi, we might expect the Royal Genealogy ofLuwuq to produce the longest sequence of rulers of any of South Sulawesi's royal genealogies. In this respect the Royal Genealogy is a disappointing work, for it produces no individual who can be backdated earlier than the late fifteenth century. In section 2.2 the Royal Genealogy of Luwuq was shown to be based to A.D. 1600 on three sources. These were (1) a short recension of the Lontaraqna Simpurusia, which provided the first three rulers, Simpurusia, Anakaji and La Malalaé, (2) a unidentified source which provided the fourth and fifth rulers, Tampabalusu and Tanrabalusu, and (3) a written genealogy beginning with To Apanangi and extending over five generations to the first Moslem ruler of Luwuq, Matinroé ri Wareq .We may note that the rulers of the first source have no genealogical connection with those of the second source. Evidently the author of the Royal Genealogy was unwilling to join together what he considered to be two separate traditions. In addition, while the last ruler of the second source, Tanrabalusu, is stated to be the father of To Apanangi, the first ruler of the third source, the fact that each derives from an independent source argues against such a relationship. Thus, only the last six rulers provided by the third genealogical source can be backdated. The earliest of these, To Apanangi, can be estimated to have ruled from *c.*1475 to *c.*1500.

By contrast, the Royal Genealogy of Soppeng offers a relatively straightforward record of West Soppeng's rulers (later the rulers of a unified Soppeng) and their close relatives over a period of fourteen generations to the early seventeenth century. The first of these rulers,

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[2] Cf. Alcock (1971:11) on the early British genealogies, the evidence of which points to an average reign length of twenty five years. However, if Macknight (1983:100) is correct in assuming that inter-kingdom warfare arose largely after 1500 this average, which relies heavily on sixteenth-century reign lengths, may be too low.

La Temmammala, can be backdated to *c.*1315-*c.*1340. While La Temmammala is described as a *tomanurung*, he is identified with a settlement lying in the fertile, rice-growing central region of the Walanaé valley, while his wife, Wé Mapupu, is identified as the ruler of the west-coast kingdom of Suppaq. For reasons set out in Chapters Four to Six, I am inclined to view La Temmammala and his wife as historical figures, to whom the status of *tomanurung* has been later attached. Little is evidently remembered of La Temmammala, but by the time that the genealogy reaches his great-granddaughter, Wé Tékéwanua, who can be estimated to have ruled around the year 1400, the genealogy becomes appreciably more detailed. Not only do we learn through an attached anecdote of the expansion of agriculture in Soppeng under We Tékéwanua's direction, but her daughter, Wé Tenritaqbireng, can be cross-referenced with the Royal Genealogy of Cina through her marriage to La Pañorongi (figure 3-1).
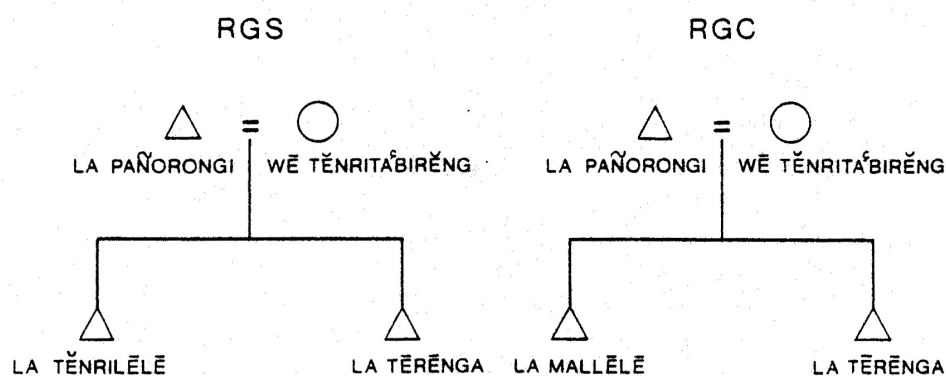
Figure 3-1: La Pañorongi and Wē Těnritaᶜbirěng in the RGS and RGC

Wé Tenritaqbireng and La Pañorongi can be dated to *c.*1400-*c.*1425 in the Royal Genealogy of Soppeng and *c.*1430-*c.*1455 in the Royal Genealogy of Cina. This result is well within the range of error we might expect from such a crude method as backdating. In addition, the difference in the name of their son between the two genealogies (RGS: Tenrilélé RGC: Mallélé) suggests that each name came from a different source. (The variant spellings are consistent between versions of each work.)

Like the Royal Genealogy of Luwuq, the pre-1600 section of the Chronicle of Sidenreng can be shown to have been based upon a number of sources, all but the last of which derived from an oral tradition. Each of these oral sources was formerly independent of the others; they are arranged in the Chronicle in approximate chronological order with little attempt at

connection. Despite some superficial contradictions, some information as to Sidenreng's pre-Islamic rulers can be obtained from them, although the events to which they are connected are probably apocryphal. The last of the five sources, however, was clearly a written genealogy (or genealogies). Members of this source can be backdated to *c.*1475 by virtue of La Patiroi, who is recorded in most versions as having converted to Islam in 1611. Historical individuals named in the oral sources must therefore be placed earlier than *c.*1475.

The final work examined here is the Royal Genealogy of Cina. Like Luwuq, Cina is believed to be one of the oldest kingdoms of South Sulawesi (Abidin 1983:218). It should, therefore, come as no surprise to find that the Royal Genealogy of Cina, like the Royal Genealogy of Luwuq, derives its first three generations from the legend of Simpurusia.[3] These legendary rulers are followed by a detailed genealogy, starting with La Sengngeng and extending through seventeen generations to the 'focus' of the Royal Genealogy of Cina, La Tenrittata, Arung Palakka (*c.*1633-1696).

The Royal Genealogy of Cina does not, however, provide the full list of twenty-two rulers that tradition tells us preceded Cina's change of name to Pammana. Nor are any members of its fourteen, 'post-Simpurusia legend' generations named as rulers of Cina. These are identified as such by the King List of Cina (YKSST 3057:136), which provides the names of four more rulers between those of the legend of Simpurusia and La Sengngeng.

The two sources combined produce a list of twenty-two rulers up to and including La Sangaji Pammana, who can be dated to the first half of the seventeenth century. The first three rulers are undatable: they owe their inclusion in the Royal Genealogy (and their position) to the status of Luwuq's ruling family. Rulers four to seven are supplied by the King List: like Tanrabalusu and Tampabalusu in the Royal Genealogy of Luwuq they are essentially undatable, but cannot be placed later than the early fourteenth century if we are to accept them as historical individuals. La Sengngeng, the King List's eighth ruler, is found also in the Royal Genealogy (generation four), as is his son, La Patauq (generation five). La Patauq's three sons - La Pottoanging, La Pasangkadi and La Padasajati - who can be dated to the first decades of the fifteenth century, provide the points of departure for a set of detailed, interlocking genealogies. This body of genealogies, of which the Royal Genealogy is a part, extends down to at least the seventeenth century. Given the paucity of information available for the previous generations, the detail and complexity of these genealogies is striking. It would therefore seem that for Cina the limits of detailed genealogical knowledge lie, as they do for Soppeng, around the year 1400.

Figure 3-2: Textual Chronology of the Northern Kingdoms

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[3] While some of the names are are different from those found in the Lontaraqna Simpurusia (the Royal Genealogy of Luwuq's source) the legend is clearly the same. No evidence can be found to support Abidin's assumption that Luwuq's Simpurusia and Cina's 'Simpurusiang' are different individuals: both names are spelt the same way in the Bugis-Makasar script (Abidin 1983:218-219)

When the chronological findings are presented diagrammatically as in figure 3-2, we see that none of the legendary rulers who begin all but the Royal Genealogy of Soppeng, can be placed any later than the mid-fifteenth century. Indeed, the evidence of the King List of Cina suggests that the three rulers who begin both it and the Royal Genealogy of Luwuq must be placed before 1300 (if one need attribute any historicity to their names). As there is evidently no connection in any source between these rulers and the following generations there is no reason why they should not be placed earlier still, perhaps by as much as several centuries. We may conclude that the legendary rulers are simply undatable, and therefore need no longer concern ourselves with them.

On the other hand, we have sound evidence that genealogical records, upon which the later sections of each work were based, contained the names of historical individuals. Some of the individuals named by these records can be dated to the fourteenth century. The accuracy of these records from about 1400 is attested to by a number of cross references both between the four works and with other Bugis historical works. The historicity of the individuals who pre-date 1400 is less certain.

This leaves us with two unidentified sources: one which provided the fourth and fifth rulers of the Royal Genealogy of Luwuq and another which provided the King List of Cina's fourth to seventh ruler. While these individuals should presumably be placed between the rulers derived from the legend of Simpurusia and those that derive from written genealogical records, they are, like former, essentially undatable.

3.2 The Origins of Writing in South Sulawesi

We have now seen that, when stripped of their legendary elements, none of the four works examined contains individuals who can be backdated earlier than 1300. There is, in addition, both a qualitative and a quantitative difference in the information they provide for the fourteenth century, as opposed to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. No individual of the fourteenth century can be 'cross-referenced' between genealogies, nor is there attached any anecdotal information of the sort that we find for individuals of the fifteenth and sixteenth century. Furthermore, the average number of individuals recorded for each generation in the fourteenth century is much less than that for the following two centuries. The Cina genealogies (the Royal Genealogy of Cina and related genealogies) record less than three individuals per generation during the fourteenth century, six in the first generation of the fifteenth century and eleven in the second generation.

The Royal Genealogy of Soppeng produces similar figures: an average of little more than two individuals in the fourteenth century, nine in the first generation of the fifteenth century and thirteen in the second generation, while the average for the first half of the fifteenth century in both genealogies is broadly maintained for the six remaining generations to 1600. The increase in additional information - place names, personal

relationships, teknonyms and anecdotes - is nearly as impressive, as can be seen from the extracts from these genealogies (figures 3-3 and 3-4 on pages *∂* and *∂*) which sets out their information for the period *c.*1415-*c.*1565. In addition to the substantial increase in recorded information that these provide by the beginning of the fifteenth century, by about 1415 we are able to identify members of one kingdom's ruling family in the genealogy of another kingdom's ruling family with which they intermarried.
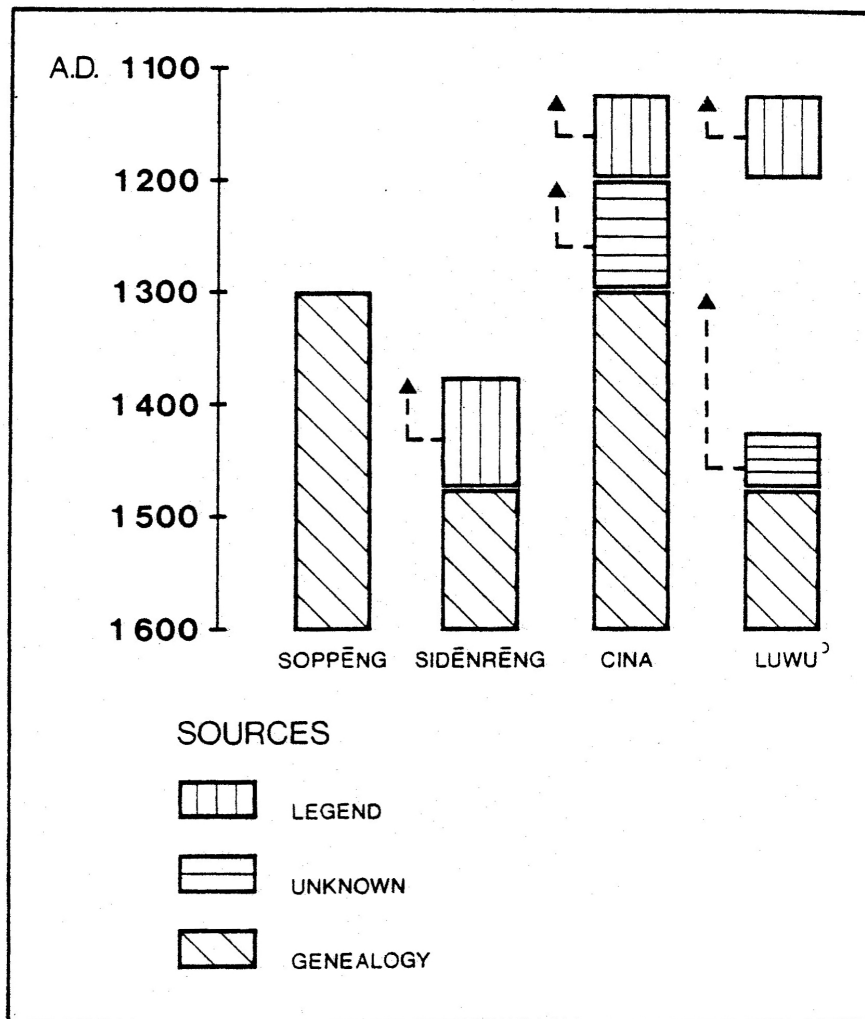
Figure 3-2: Textual Chronology of the Northern Kingdoms
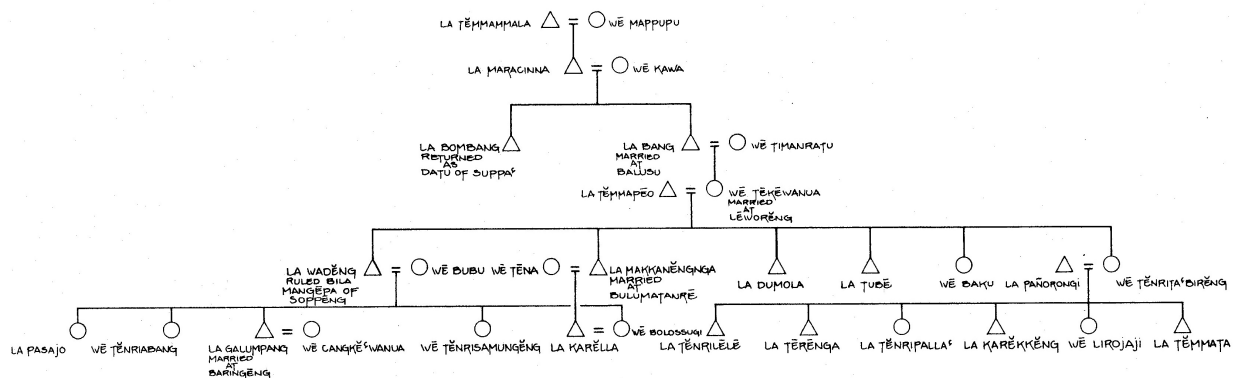
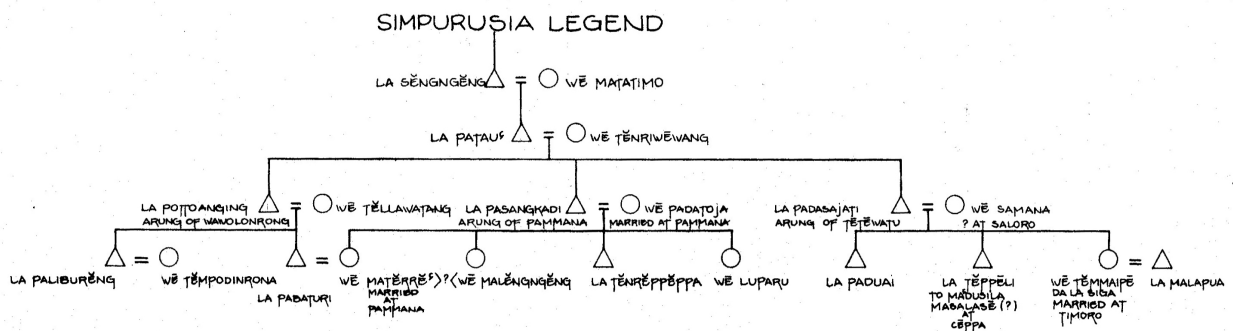**Figure 3-3: The RGS, c.1415-c.1565**

Figure 3-4: The RGC, c.1415-c.1565

These features cannot be due to coincidence and almost certainly reflect a single underlying cause. The simplest explanation, and one which fits all the evidence, is that writing was first developed around 1400. This would account for both the paucity of information on fourteenth-century rulers and the apparently synchronous appearance of genealogical sources in the various kingdoms of South Sulawesi. The accounts of the origins of these kingdoms found in Bugis and Makasar written sources that can be dated to the fourteenth century or earlier, should therefore be treated with caution.

This date is broadly supported by the evidence of the South Sulawesi chronicles, from which little indeed can be learnt before 1400, after which time the historical record which they provide becomes considerably more detailed (Pelras 1981:174). None, however, offers us such clear evidence of the existence of detailed genealogical records dating back to 1400 as do the Royal Genealogies of Soppeng and Cina. We should also bear in mind that some time may have elapsed between the development of the script and its use in the recording of genealogies. If we consider the evident importance of genealogical records (to

judge by the number of pre- and post-Islamic genealogies found in the corpus of lontara literature) there seems little doubt that this must have been one of its very first applications. The avoidance of personal names through the use of teknonym, ascription or title meant that Bugis society was subject to what Geertz and Geertz (1975:91) have termed 'genealogical amnesia'. (The very mention of the names of deceased rulers was fraught with danger, as we see from the opening lines of the royal genealogies.) It is therefore difficult to argue for a development of the Bugis-Makasar script much later than 1425 due to the quantity of genealogical information that has come down to us from the fourteenth century. A date around 1400 for the development of writing in South Sulawesi seems the most reasonable.

3.3 Textual Evidence: A Summary

The general findings as to the nature and historicity of the Bugis works examined in the previous chapter may now be brought together and briefly summarized.

We have seen that in Bugis historiography - itself a category of Bugis writing - there is a wide range of works of contrasting styles and subject matter. The range of material (genealogies, legends, chronicles, vassal lists, accounts of the origin of kingship) is clearly a reflection of the range of questions to which such material was addressed in Bugis society. None of the works in Chapter Two seems to have been composed before 1600:[4] all date from the seventeenth or eighteenth century; and it has even been suggested that the Chronicle of Sidenreng is a nineteenth or twentieth-century work. However, it is clear that that the authors of all the works drew extensively upon earlier sources, both oral and written, many of which (unlike the works in which they are found) date from the pre-Islamic period. Our interest in using the works as historical sources must, therefore, lie principally with an analysis of these sources. However, in using the component sources of the ten works as the basic units of our enquiry into the pre-Islamic period, we shall do well to consider the aim or function of the work or works in which they are found. This will in most cases tell us something of the way in which those sources were used by the author of each work and how this might have affected the information that they contained. We should also learn something of how these sources were viewed in the seventeenth and eighteenth century.

Noorduyn has shown that two of the major sources used by the writers of the chronicles of South Sulawesi were diaries (Noorduyn 1965:142). There is, however, no evidence for the keeping of diaries before the seventeenth century. Cense (1966:422) stated that the oldest diary known to him was that of the ruling family of Goa and Talloq, which dates from the beginning of the seventeenth century, and that the oldest Bugis diary that had come to his notice was that of the famous Arung Palakka (*c.*1635-1696). For the earlier sections of the

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[4] Possible exceptions are the vassal lists of Luwuq, Soppeng and Sidenreng, which cannot be dated by internal chronology or by identification of external sources. On the other hand, there is no evidence to suggest an earlier date of composition than the genealogies and other works examined.

chronicles, Cense divided the sources into 'stories, which have been handed down by oral tradition, or [. . .] written materials' (Cense 1966:424). This division is, however, not quite as simple as it first appears. Pelras' valuable study of written and oral traditions in modern-day South Sulawesi shows how transmitted information can move backwards and forwards between oral and written registers (Pelras 1979). This interaction between written and oral transmission seems to be true also for earlier periods. Textual sources which can only have derived from oral traditions, such as the legend of Simpurusia or the legend of the origin of Sidenreng, can be seen, by the time of their incorporation into works such as the Royal Genealogy of Luwuq and the Chronicle of Sidenreng, to have existed also in written form. While the author of the Chronicle of Talloq attributed his version of the legend of the origin of that kingdom to a story heard from I Kare Baji, Daeng ri Buloae (Rahim and Boharima 1975:6), it is possible that this too derived in part from a written text. An alternative approach would be to divide the sources into genealogical records (evidently deriving from sources contemporary with the individuals which they record) and what might be termed 'narrative traditions', that is, oral or written sources which present their information in a narrative form, and in which a logical structure and overall objective can be detected. For - instance, in the Chronicle of Sidenreng the object of the third oral source was to spell out the close relationship between Sidenreng and her neighbouring chiefdom of Rappang. Likewise, the three stories of the Lontaraqna Simpurusia share a common aim of linking up the legendary first three generations of Luwuq's post-Galigo rulers with the three great powers of the Bugis cosmos, namely the ruler of the Upperworld, the Earth and the Underworld. Any use of these narrative traditions for the writing of history must take account of the nature of these sources. It is not sufficient just to extract details without careful consideration of the role of those details in the overall structure of the work and its objective. In the case of the first example cited above, what is of interest are not so much the details of the financial obligations of the smaller centres to the Aqdatuang (which clearly date from the post-Islamic period) but the fact that the formalization of such obligations is linked to a specific individual, La Makkaraka, who can be estimated to have ruled in the fifteenth century. In the second example, what is important is the status conferred upon the ruling family of Luwuq by its association with the three great rulers of the Bugis cosmos, rather than the legendary marriage of a princess of Majapahit to a prince of Luwuq .

Furthermore, it seems certain, both from the work of Pelras (1979) and from studies of oral traditions in other cultures and periods, that the narrative traditions which we possess must have developed and altered over time, in response to changing political and social conditions. Such a process must account for the inclusion of elements dating from a later period alongside other elements in a narrative tradition, as in, for example, the association of Majapahit with the legendary first rulers of Luwuq, who evidently derive from an earlier period (cf. page 86). This admitted, and given the objectivity for which later Bugis historical writings are renowned, it would be foolish to dismiss such narrative traditions simply because we lack external confirmation of their subject matter. Rather, we should examine them individually, bearing in mind that none are historical records in the modern sense of

the word, and that each of them sets out to achieve an objective through the manipulation of its individual parts, many of which may be historical.

It has also been seen that the dividing line between 'legendary' and 'historical' individuals is not always very clear. While rulers such as those of the legend of Simpurusia are plainly legendary, other indisputably historical figures (Luwuq's fifteenth-century ruler Dewaraja is an excellent example) may also become the focus of fantastic legends. This phenomenon is, of course, well known in Javanese historical-literary traditions, as can be illustrated by the case of Surapati (Kumar 1976). Indeed, it seems quite possible that behind every important legendary Bugis figure stands a historical individual. Whether anything can be learnt of that historical individual is another question: were we to know of Dewaraja simply from the fantastic legends associated with him in MAK 108:161-166, which bear no apparent relation to historical reality, we would be unable to place him historically, let alone learn of the important decline in Luwuq's power which took place during his reign.

Perhaps most difficult to judge are those rulers who derive from sources which pre-date the keeping of genealogical records. Where such individuals are firmly linked to a reliable genealogical source, as are for example, the fourteenth-century rulers of Soppeng, it seems possible to accept them as historical figures, and to proceed on the assumption that their genealogical relationships are also basically correct. But rulers whose origins are independent of such sources, such as Tanrabalusu and Tampabalusu of the Royal Genealogy of Luwuq[5], or the four additional rulers of the King List of Cina, present a much greater level of uncertainty as to their historicity and period. Perhaps the most that one can do with such evidence is to cite them as pre-historic traditions.

However, when we turn to the second type of sources, the genealogical records used by the authors of the royal genealogies and chronicles, we see that their reliability from 1400 onwards is beyond reasonable doubt. This reliability points firmly to the conclusion that post-1400 genealogical information derives ultimately from records contemporary with the individuals recorded. In view of the evidence, no other conclusion will suffice. Even extant texts which have lost significant internal coherence due to accumulated corruption and contraction (such as most versions of the Royal Genealogy of Cina) can be restored, either in part or in whole, by reference to other texts preserving the same tradition, which have come down to us in a more intact state. These genealogies provide the basic chronology for pre-Islamic South Sulawesi, upon which we may locate the evidence of narrative and other sources.

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[5] MISSING FOOTNOTE

Chapter Four

4. State and Society in Early South Sulawesi

This chapter describes the general features of pre-Islamic South Sulawesi society as they appear from Bugis and Makasar sources. Where possible, the evidence offered by the sources is examined against anthropological and archaeological data.

4.1 The Kingdoms

 The first thing that strikes one about the genealogies, vassal-lists and chronicles of early South Sulawesi is the sheer number of place-names that they record. Few of these can have been more than villages, numbering perhaps a few hundred inhabitants. But the works in which these place-names occur refer to much larger political units, among them the traditional kingdoms of Luwu', Soppeng, Bone, Goa-Talloq and Wajoq. Seventeenth-century European descriptions of these kingdoms show them occupying roughly the same areas as the modern administrative districts (kabupaten) named after them. The word kingdom therefore will be used to describe these large units while we enquire into their structure.

  For the fourteenth to sixteenth century, the importance of the small units within the kingdoms in whose historical records they appear is evident from the marriages that the rulers of those kingdoms made with families associated with the smaller units. A good example is the early-fifteenth century marriage of La Makkanengnga, the ruler of Soppeng, with Wé Téna of Bulumatanré, a small political unit located in the hills of west Soppeng. The royal genealogy of Soppeng, in which this marriage appears, records other marriages at Balusu, Léworeng, Baringeng, Pising, Marioriawa, Lompéngeng, Ujumpulu, Ganra, Tellarié, Citta and Patojo (MS. NBG 99:224-30). All but one of these smaller units, like Bulumatanré, are named in the vassal list of Soppeng (MS. NBG 101:133-4) and all except Baringeng lie within the modern administrative boundaries of Soppeng. (Tellarié is unidentified.)

 Marriages between the kingdoms' ruling families are rarely recorded: the royal genealogy of Soppeng, for example, lists just one such marriage at Suppa', a small coastal kingdom 80 kilometers north of Watassoppeng, at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The more frequent occurrence of such marriages in post-Islamic sections of the same genealogies, particularly following the loose

unification of South Sulawesi under La Tenritatta (c. 1635-97), shows that this is not simply a stylistic or textual convention. Noble marriages must have been made with a view to establishing or to strengthening political ties, which suggests that before the seventeenth century cohesion within the kingdoms was more important than relationships with neighbouring kingdoms. An important exception is the kingdom of Ajattappareng, which by at least the sixteenth century was a confederation of five small kingdoms located on the fertile central depression between modern Pare-Pare and Sidenreng. The genealogies of these kingdoms extend back to AD 1500 and show extensive intermarriage between their ruling families (Mukhlis 1985:119).

The most common office mentioned in the texts is that of arung, the title of ruler of one of the smaller political units so plentiful in the chronicles and genealogies. The importance of these small political units plainly argues against the degree of political and administrative centralization, generally under a single government or constitution, by which Weber characterizes the state. Further, a state in the modern sense of the word is expected to possess an administrative bureaucracy. This is something we do not find in the historical records of pre-Islamic South Sulawesi: rarely do Bugis–Makasar sources mention an office based on administrative function as opposed to place. Nor is there emphasis in Bugis or Makasar sources on the capitals, or palace-centres, of the kingdoms—the royal genealogy of Soppeng, for example, does not even mention Tinco, where archaeological research shows the pre-Islamic rulers built their palaces (Bahru Kallupa et al. 1989:48). These three features strongly suggest that the kingdoms were ruled through the administrative structures of the small units.

This interpretation is supported by the vassal list of Soppeng (MS. NBG 101:133-4). This list divides Soppeng's 'vassals' (the question of their status will be examined later) into two distinct groups, separated by the expression, napano'é rakkalana Soppeng, 'then the plough of Soppeng went down.' The twenty-eight settlements of the first group lie some distance from the present-day kabupaten capital of Watassoppeng: the nearest, Apanang, is ten kilometres away, while Lamuru is fifty-six kilometres distant. The area covered by these settlements corresponds roughly with kabupaten Soppeng. These settlements are evidently the component parts of the former kingdom upon which kabupaten Soppeng is based. These units thus may be labeled chiefdoms while we enquire into their structure.

Our next observation is that twelve of Soppeng's twenty-eight chiefdoms—Lamuru, Mario, Patojo, Citta, Goagoa, Ujumpulu, Lompéngeng, Baringeng, Tanatengnga, Marioriawa, Ampungeng and Kirukiru—have their own vassal lists (MS. NBG 101:134–135). These lists name the settlements that made up those chiefdoms. This can be seen by plotting out the distribution of those that can be

identified on a modern map: each list forms a small cluster, centered on the village which lends its name to the chiefdom. It seems reasonable to assume that all Soppeng's twenty-eight chiefdoms had the same sort of structure and that the vassal lists of the remaining sixteen chiefdoms are lost or have yet to be identified.

We now have a picture of twenty-eight chiefdoms, each made up of a dozen or more villages centred on an eponymous settlement. But what about Soppeng's political centre, which is nowhere mentioned? This is the subject of the second half of the vassal list of Soppeng, which names some thirty five settlements. These settlements all lie close to the present-day capital of Watassoppeng: the furthest is ten kilometres from Watassoppeng while the nearest is one kilometre away. These are the villages that made up the central chiefdom of Soppeng at the time of the composition of the vassal list. They belonged directly to the central chiefdom, which in the sixteenth century was focussed on Lalambenteng ('inside the palace walls') in modern-day Watassoppeng (Bahru Kallupa et al. 1989:71). The expression napano'é rakkalana, 'and then the plough [of Soppeng] went down' thus can be translated 'the following settlements are ruled directly [by the central chiefdom of Soppeng]'. This interpretation is supported by the history of the origin of Soppeng (MS. MAK 188:5-7) which lists fifteen of the vassal list's thirty five settlements and describes them as having made up the original heartland of the kingdom (see figure 1).

This division of the settlements of the vassal lists into a higher and lower political order of chiefdoms and villages is supported by the fact that none of the marriages recorded in the royal genealogy of Soppeng are with places we have identified as villages. Instead, all marriages are at chiefdoms named in the first section of the vassal list (and in one case with the neighbouring kingdom of Suppa'). Nor is the title arung (chief) used of the rulers of any of the settlements identified as villages: for these the title matoa (headman) is used instead (MS. MAK 188:5-7).

Turning to the vassal list of Sidenreng, a similar picture emerges of a central chiefdom surrounded by other, less important chiefdoms. The thirty-odd names are divided— as in the case of Soppeng's list—into two groups by the expression napano'é rakkalana, 'then the plough [of Sidenreng] went down.' The first group names the chiefdoms that made up the kingdom and the second group lists the villages belonging to the central chiefdom. The title arung is used regularly for rulers' settlements in the first group, but never for those in the second (MS. NBG 112:59). The vassal lists of Soppeng and Sidenreng thus reflect a territorial notion of political authority based on chiefdoms, their villages, and associated lands. A similar picture is obtained from the vassal lists of other kingdoms listed on pages 36-7 of Matthes's catalogue of Bugis manuscripts. (Matthes 1875)

What we clearly are looking at is a segmentary state. A segmentary state is a state composed of smaller units that are structurally and functionally equivalent, focussed on a centre in a hierarchical arrangement. The state is, in effect, the sum of its parts. The kingdoms of Soppeng and Sidenreng were segmentary states made up of semi-independent chiefdoms, focussed on an eponymous chiefdom lying roughly at the geographic centre of the kingdom's territory. These chiefdoms controlled their territories and had villages directly attached to them. They are the component parts of Soppeng, as the villages are the component parts of the chiefdoms. The Bugis word palili', literally 'something around a centre', thus can be translated as 'component chiefdom or village' instead of 'vassal', avoiding the implication of a feudal relationship for which we have no evidence. (For brevity, we will continue to use the term vassal list.)

This picture of a simple three-level structure of kingdom, chiefdom and village is complicated by the vassal lists of the constituent chiefdoms of Soppeng mentioned above. The vassal list of Lamuru, which names twenty-eight settlements, divides these into two groups separated by the expression 'and the plough [of Lamuru] went down' (MS. NBG 101:134). This division separates the constituent chiefdoms of Lamuru (the first section of the list) from the villages which made up the eponymous central chiefdom (the second section). Marioriawa also has a list of five chiefdoms and fifteen villages, with the same textual division. Both Lamuru and Marioriawa evidently had the three-level political structure that we have proposed for Soppeng and other South Sulawesi kingdoms. This suggests that Soppeng was in fact a 'super-kingdom' or made out of several smaller kingdoms. The vassal list of Sidenreng also hints at a hierarchy of status among its chiefdoms. Its list of constituent chiefdoms is sub-divided in several places by the expression dua (tellu) arung dé' masala, 'two (or three) lords of equal rank'.

The structure of Soppeng may be compared to that of Srivijaya (Hall 1976). The kingdom or 'empire' of Srivijaya was ruled through a series of district chiefs (datu), each governing his domain: only the centre of the kingdom was directly governed by the king. Each of Srivijaya's constituent chiefdoms was originally an independent unit that was later attracted or pressured into alliance with the central chiefdom at Palembang. The chiefdoms continued to maintain a large degree of independence, based on traditional ties of loyalty and on economic relationships within the kingdom. These chiefdoms were integrated into the kingdom by a variety of means, which included, at least sometimes, the direct appointment of district chiefs (Hall 1976:75)

 In South Sulawesi, the direct appointment of chiefs seems to lie behind the marriage of male offspring of rulers to the daughters of chiefs. In the Bone

chronicle we read that the marriage of the third ruler of Bone 'was arranged with his first cousin, called Wé Tenrirompong, the daughter and heir of the king of Paccing' [my italics] (Macknight and Mukhlis, forthcoming). The royal genealogy of Soppeng states that La Wadeng, a son of an early fourteenth century ruler of Soppeng, ruled Bila, in later centuries at least, the most important chiefdom in Soppeng. Another son, La Makkanengnga, married at Bulumatanré, a chiefdom strategically located on the summit of a mountain, 1,000 metres high, to the west of Watassoppeng. The picture is complicated because women could be, and frequently were, appointed as rulers of chiefdoms in the pre-Islamic period, thus several marriages of daughters of the ruler of Soppeng to local chiefdoms also might be interpreted as direct appointments to the office of arung. The genealogies of the upper Cénrana river valley (MS. NBG 99:144-5) provide a similar record of inter-chiefdom marriages, but their interpretation is hindered by the lack of any known kingdom to which they might refer. This policy of control through strategic marriages could also be applied to kingdoms. Reid (1983:136) relates how the dualism of the Goa-Tallo' kingdom was thrown into question by the ascension to the throne of Goa of Tunipasulu', who could claim the rulership of Tallo' from his mother and that of Goa from his father.

Further parallels between Srivijaya and the lowland kingdoms of South Sulawesi may be found in the use of Indic elements, such as Sanskrit titles, with the aim of transforming the central chiefdom into a higher political order than that of the other constituent chiefdoms. A significant use of Javanese-Sanskrit titles is shown in the genealogies from sixteenth century Luwu' (MS. MAK 66:1, MS. MAK 100:136, MS. NBG 101:40-1). These include such titles as Déwaraja, Bataraguru, Sangaji Batara, Rajadéwa, Sadaraja, Racépuja (Rajapuja) and Ajiriwu (meaning unknown). Even the legendary founders of Luwu''s royal family have Sanskrit names: Simpurusia (evidently a transposition of purus[. place under preceding consonant]asin[.]ha, 'man-lion') and Patia'jala (patijala, 'snare of her lord'). But Luwu' is the only South Sulawesi kingdom to make any real use of Javanese-Sanskrit titles; the rulers of Soppeng, Bone, Wajo' and the Ajattappareng kingdoms have Bugis names or titles.

How old are the kingdoms of South Sulawesi? By the fourteenth century, when historical records begin, Luwu' and Soppeng (the latter then under a form of dual leadership) were the dominant powers in their respective regions. Archaeological evidence from Soppeng confirms the picture obtained from textual sources of a large kingdom centred on Tinco and Lalambenteng. This kingdom was trading with other parts of the archipelago, probably through the west coast port of Suppa', as early as A.D. 1200. But the other large kingdoms—Bone, Wajo' and Goa-Tallo'—do not seem to have become major powers until the sixteenth century, though their early development can be traced back to about 1400. For Bone, we can actually trace the development of the growth of the

kingdom from a small settlement of that name in the early 1400s (Macknight 1983).

The historical evidence for Sidenreng, the most powerful of the five small kingdoms known collectively as Ajattappareng ('west of the lake') is difficult to interpret. In the late fourteenth century the royal genealogy of Soppeng lists Sidenreng alongside Népo and Marioriawa, two of the chiefdoms that made up Soppeng. Yet in the early fifteenth century both the royal genealogy of Soppeng and the royal genealogy of Suppa' (MS. MAK 119:66) record the transfer of the west-coast port of Suppa' from Soppeng's sphere of influence to that of Sidenreng, which suggests that Sidenreng had expanded rapidly around the year 1400. The chronicle of Sidenreng (MS. Salim 1) consists for the period to 1600 of a series of four pericopes (a pericope is a unit of oral transmission) directed at recording or establishing hierarchies within and outside Sidenreng. While the pericopes contain the names of ancient rulers, the pericopes themselves date from a later period and are difficult to use as historical sources. A seventh kingdom, Cina, is found only in legend and must therefore pre-date the beginning of historical records.

The origins of the process of unification, by which one chiefdom emerged as the political centre in each kingdom, thus dates from the prehistoric period. South Sulawesi was one of the earliest regions of the archipelago to be settled by Austronesian seafarers, perhaps as early as 3000 B.C. (Bellwood 1979:123). From that time, small village communities must have farmed the fertile plains and valleys of the peninsula, though probably not entirely replacing older traditions in less-favoured environments. Assuming a gradual improvement of farming techniques linked to increased capital and human investment in land (including irrigation and the laying out of land), communities would have become more permanent over time. As populations expanded over the centuries, greater demands would have been made upon land and other resources. The chiefdoms, the emergence of which must date back to the first millennium A.D., if not earlier, must have come increasingly into competition with each other for access to and control of these resources. This competition would have been one factor, probably through a series of defensive alliances, stimulating the gradual integration of scattered chiefdoms into larger units offering physical protection for their members.

With the possible exception of Luwu', the emergence of the kingdoms of South Sulawesi appears to be largely unconnected to foreign technology or ideas. Unlike all other literate, pre-European-contact Indonesian societies, those of early South Sulawesi developed largely uninfluenced by Indic ideas, and the small number of Indic elements one does find are superficial and poorly assimilated.

Indianization—the historic process of adaptation into South-East Asian societies of a coherent set of pre-Islamic, Indic ideas—was defined by Coedès as (1) the expansion of an organized culture founded upon an Indian conception of royalty characterized by Hindu or Buddhist cults, (2) the mythology of the Puranas, (3) the observance of Indian law texts and (4) the use of the Sanskrit language. The transmission of the first three features was by means of the last, and he adds: 'It is for this reason that we sometimes speak of "Sanskritization" instead of "Indianization"' (Coedès 1968: 15–16).

None of these features can be shown to have been present in South Sulawesi. Unlike Java, South Sulawesi has neither monumental architecture nor vernacular-language versions of Indian literary and philosophical works. The Ramayana, Mahabharata and other great works of Indic literature were unknown in pre-colonial South Sulawesi. Nor is the Indian literary style, with its emphasis on myths, legends and symbols, reflected in the chronicles and historical writings of South Sulawesi. Sanskrit loans in the Bugis and Makasar languages are few by comparison with those of Javanese and Malay and acquired mostly through contact with the former language (Gonda 1952:38-45). Inscriptions are unknown. Reid writes elsewhere in this volume that the Indian idea of a cakravartin (world-ruler) appears never to have taken root in South Sulawesi, and that 'the chronicles and myths of the region show that the origin of its states was rooted in an animist culture still in full vigour' (p.-) Perhaps the most convincing argument for the slightness of Indianization is that writing, a prerequisite for the effective spread and adaptation of Indian ideas—shown by the close relationship of the origin of writing and the Indianization of other Southeast Asian societies—was not developed in South Sulawesi until around 1400, at least one hundred years after the emergence of the first large segmentary states.

4.2 The Ruling Elite

We have established that the kingdoms of pre-Islamic South Sulawesi were segmentary states, and that the origins of some kingdoms pre-date 1200, while others emerge only later. It has been argued that the emergence of these kingdoms is largely unconnected with foreign ideas, so that the mechanisms by which they developed must be sought nearer home. The question of origins is obviously connected to the question of political integration: what was it that united the villages into chiefdoms and the chiefdoms into kingdoms? The fear of attack is obviously one reason for villages to combine into larger units; the same reason could be offered for the combination of chiefdoms into kingdoms. But organization requires hierarchy, and to examine hierarchy we must look at the

nature of Bugis society as reflected in our sources. These, not surprisingly, are concerned largely with the ruling elite.

It is clear from the chronicles and genealogies that political power in each kingdom was associated with a limited kin-group of very high status. The ruler was chosen from this kin-group and was usually the son, or more rarely the daughter, of the previous ruler, or the ruler's brother or sister, or brother or sister's child. The regular transfer of office within these ruling families points to a prevailing, pan-Bugis ideology of power, in which eligibility for political office rested on ascriptive, not achieved, status. In the terms of the ideology, the personal qualities necessary for leadership were the result, not the cause, of an individual's status. Status meant power, not power status.

This does not mean that individual achievement did not play an important part in the selection of a ruler. Broadly speaking, descent in South Sulawesi is bilateral, and it appears from the genealogies that any of a ruler's children—male or female, first-born or last—could be selected to succeed him, though in practice a male was usually chosen. In addition, young men of outstanding ability could be promoted within a ruling family's status hierarchy, as the seventeenth-century Arung Palakka's 'adoption' by Karaeng Pattinngaloang during his early years of exile in Goa shows (Andaya 1981:51). Individuals could and did rise in status because of personal qualities or achievements, but their rise would have been perceived more as a 'recognition' of their status than its acquisition. Millar (1989) has shown how in present-day Bugis society, personal achievement—or the lack of it—is adjusted to ascribed status in the Bugis wedding ceremony. The adjustment is brought about by a communal 're-assessment' of the ascriptive status of the two families and other individuals at various stages of the wedding ceremony. Women, whose status is in theory fixed, act as the markers of status within the group: they can move neither up nor down, but record the adjustment of the ideological system to stresses produced by the daily realities of power (Millar 1989: Chapter One).

A similar situation exists in Makasar society, according to Chabot (1950), who writes that:

[. . .] social status in South Celebes signifies in the first place the possibility to marry. A marriage is an expression of status relationships obtaining at that moment. (p.82).

[. . .] the woman is, as it were, the gauge value of her group. (p.91).

It is believed that men should strive to rise, and that women merely should take care that they do not fall. (p.94).

Children from such a[n unequal] marriage, even where the difference in level between the parents is considerable, are regarded officially as equals within their mother's group of relatives, because people hold fast to the idea that a woman may not fall [in social standing]. (p.96).

The central importance of ascriptive status in the selection of a Bugis ruler is illustrated by the chronicle of Bone's account of the origin and installation of the third Arumponé:

He [the second Arumponé, La Umasa'] had no child as heir, although he did, in fact, father toSualléng and toSalawakeng, but their mother was only a commoner. When he knew his sister who had married in Palakka to be pregnant, he went to sleep on the problem and it is said he was shown what to do. After that he was relaxed at heart for he knew his sister, who was married in Palakka, was in labour. He called toSualléng and toSalawakeng and said, "Go now quickly westwards to Palakka for my young sister is said to be in labour. If my young sister is delivered, just take the baby in a rough bag, you hold it close, you bring it quickly eastwards to here. Thus its umbilical cord will be cut here, and thus too it will be washed here."

ToSualléng and toSalawakeng did indeed hasten and went quickly. They came to Palakka, they went straight on up to the palace. ToSualléng and toSalawakeng did not even sit down. The wife of the king of Palakka was delivered and her child was a boy. His hair all stood up on end. ToSualléng went straight up and took the baby in a rough bag, he held it close in a gathered-up sarong, then he went eastwards to Bone. But the king of Palakka was absent when his child was taken.

When they came to Bone they went straight on up to the royal hall. After that (the baby's) umbilical cord was cut, and after that also, he was washed [. . .] That very night a general summons was given to the people of Bone, namely, "Gather yourselves together tomorrow, bringing arms."

Early the next morning, there were the people of Bone complete with arms. The Worompong [the state flag] was unfurled. Arumponé went down to the meeting house. Arumponé said, "For this, I have gathered together all you people of Bone. Here is my child called La Saliwu and entitled Kerrampélua'. To him I hand over the kingship of Bone. By this child of mine also, I uphold the treaty that our lord [the first Arumponé], before disappearing, entrusted to my hands."

The people of Bone all gave their assent and after that rendered fealty and the command was also given to send for the shamans. [. . .] Our lord Kerrampélua'

was enthroned by his uncle over seven days and nights [. .] When his after-birth had been carried around the house, our lord, the old one, moved down from the palace.' (Macknight and Mukhlis), forthcoming.

This extensive quotation tells us two important things. First that an individual's status was essentially determined by his or her mother's status (c.f. Chabot 1950:96, above), and secondly that the rulership of Bone was available only to those of high ascriptive status. La Umasa's sister had the same ascriptive status as La Umasa. But as La Umasa's wife was a commoner, so his sons were of lower status than him. This lack of status excluded them from succession to the rulership: La Umasa therefore kidnapped his sister's child and installed him as Arumponé. As the chronicler makes clear, neither of La Umasa's two sons would have been accepted as ruler by the arung of Bone, owing to their lack of status, directly attributable to their commoner mother.

The idea of status was evidently linked to agricultural fertility, the ultimate source of which was supernatural. References to the link between status and fertility are widespread in Bugis sources. The history of the origin of Soppeng (MS. MAK 188:5-7) describes how the people of Soppeng, led by their headmen, request the tomanurung of Sékkanyili to become their ruler:

So the sixty headmen set off. When they reached the one who descended, the headmen of Ujung, Botto and Bila said, "We have come here, O blessed one, to ask you to take pity [on us]. Do not disappear. We take you as lord. You protect our fields from birds so that we do not lack food. You cover us so that we are not cold. You bind our rice sheaves so that we are not empty and you lead us near and far. Should you reject even our wives and children, we shall reject them also."4

The close relationship between status and agricultural fertility is also illustrated in the chronicle of Tanete, a small west coast kingdom. This tells how, after the death of the first ruler —a noble from the neighbouring kingdom of Segeri—a local district chief was installed.

There was no arung at Agannionjo. So Puang Lolo [the district chief of Ujung] was chosen to rule; he called himself arung; thus did the people install him as Datu Golaé ['the sweet lord', the title of the ruler of Tanete] to rule at Agannionjo. He had ruled for a year when the paddy began to die and the number of fish started to decline. After three years the paddy failed completely and the fish disappeared, and the people suffered greatly from starvation. [Puang Lolo] said to the elders, "I am sorry for what I have done. [Go and] fetch an arung to replace me as ruler, for I am not truly the descendant of an arung." (Niemann 1883:14).

Puang Lolo abdicated and an arung from Segeri was appointed ruler. Once he was installed, fertility was restored, a fact so obvious that the chronicler proceeds straightaway to another subject. While the story clearly served to explain, among other things, the historical relations of Tanete and Segeri (Noorduyn 1965:139), the linking of fertility and status is explicit and unequivocal. In the pre-Islamic Bugis world the ruler was the 'channel' for agricultural fertility.

The belief in the Bugis ruler as the source of fertility was shared by the Toraja. Nooy-Palm (1979:69) writes:

Every year some of the leading persons of Pantilang [a Toraja kingdom] went to Luwu' to pay homage to the Datu (Prince). A cock was invariably part of their tribute. In return they received from the prince sowing rice which he, personally, had blessed.

O.W. Wolters has put forward the hypothesis that in pre-Indic, Southeast Asian society 'leadership [. . .] was associated with what anthropologists sometimes refer to in other parts of the world as the phenomenon of "big men".' (Wolters 1982:5). By this term is meant achievement-based leadership, as opposed to hereditary, descent-based leadership:

Big men do not come to office; they do not succeed to, not are they installed in, existing positions of leadership over political groups The attainment of big-man status is rather the outcome of a series of acts which elevate a person above the common herd and attract about him a coterie of loyal, lesser men. (Sahlins 1963:289).

The evidence from South Sulawesi, discussed above, does not support Wolters' hypothesis. Status, not achievement, was the key to power among the Bugis and Makasar. Wolters' statement that 'A notable feature of cognatic kinship is the downgrading of the importance of lineage based on claims to status through descent from a particular male or female' (1982:5) clearly is not true of lowland pre-Islamic South Sulawesi, where ascriptive status forms a (or the) central concern of chroniclers and genealogists. Despite the apparent 'openness' of bilateral descent systems, descent lines in cognatic societies can be constructed quite as effectively as in unilineal societies. In South Sulawesi this was achieved through the role of women as markers and transmitters of status. While the genealogies and chronicles show a strong patrilineal bias in the appointments of rulers, it must be remembered that eligibility for political office—namely high ascriptive status—was provided by women. Thus lineage, defined here as female transmission of ascriptive status, was of fundamental importance in appointment to political office. Achievement, in the form of 'male' skills such as

military prowess and the ability to lead and inspire men, played an important role in the selection from qualified candidates, as we may deduce from the less frequent appointment of women rulers. But the basis of selection was status, which enabled the occasional appointment of strong women rulers, such as Wé Tékéwanua of Soppeng, who 'broke the broad and split the long', married or appointed her sons and daughters to key chiefdoms within the kingdom, and is remembered as directing agricultural expansion in north Soppeng in the early fifteenth century (MS. NBG 99:224-30).

The importance of ascriptive status as a prerequisite for political office effectively limited power to a small, high-status elite. As described above, the frequency of marriage between the ruler's family and the noble families that ruled the constituent chiefdoms of the Bugis kingdoms recorded in the chronicles and genealogies shows that they record not a series of conical clans (Kirchoff 1959), but the successful members of a high-status class. By the sixteenth century, intermarriage between the component kingdoms had become so frequent that it is difficult to know whether to speak of intermarrying royal families or of a single bilateral group of high status individuals (c.f. Mukhlis 1985:119). While status differences within this elite are not indicated in the genealogies, they can be found elsewhere, as we see in the chronicle of Bone's account of the origin and installation of the third Arumponé quoted above.

The right to rule was a prerogative of status not place, both in ideology and practice. Ruling families could and did disappear, but the important point is that they were always replaced by another high-status family, the origins of which can be traced to another kingdom. This right to power was self-identifying. There is in Bugis and Makasar sources no emphasis on charisma, no transference of divine grace (cf. Anderson 1972:22), no evidence of a Bugis or Makasar ratu adil. On the other hand, the notion of status is highly developed in Bugis historiography. This can be seen in the tomanurung legends that begin most chronicles and provide the ultimate source of status for the ruling family to which those works refer (Kern 1929:297; Macknight 1983:98), and in the concern with the correct ascription of status shown by the widespread writing of genealogies, some dating from A.D.1400.

4.3 Trade and the Rise of Wet-Rice Agriculture

We now have a picture of several large segmentary states ruled by a mobile, aristocratic elite, whose right to power was the product of ascriptive status. We may now turn our attention to the economic basis of political power, namely control over trade and agriculture.

South Sulawesi is probably the richest source in Indonesia of Chinese and Southeast Asian trade ceramics. Most of these date from the thirteenth to sixteenth century, while a smaller proportion—perhaps ten percent—is from earlier centuries (Hadimuljono and Macknight 1983:77). According to antique dealers in Ujung Pandang, most of the Song pieces are found in Luwu' and Selayar. But ceramics dating from the thirteenth to fourteenth century can be found in inland regions such as the Walanaé Valley. This is not to argue that the ceramics actually measure the beginnings of the development of trade. The quantities found are broadly compatible with other regions of Indonesia and the Philippines, and reflect instead the origins and development of Chinese and Chinese-inspired Southeast Asian exports of trade ceramics, together with metals, silks and other luxury goods.

Trade was an important part of the political economy of pre-Islamic South Sulawesi. Luwu' is believed to have been the first kingdom of South Sulawesi to exercise power outside its immediate region. The economic basis of political organization in pre-Islamic Luwu' was almost certainly that of trade. The soil in the Luwu' region is poor; the staple crop appears to have been sago (Takaya 1984:85). Until recently there was little wet-rice farming. Luwu''s ancient capital, Ware', located close to the modern capital Palopo, sits on an important trade exit from the Toraja highlands. These highlands are connected by ancient trade routes to Mamasa, and from there to Polewali, Majene and Mamuju on the west coast, and to the Seko valley, deep in the interior of central Sulawesi.

The importance of trade between Luwu' and the Toraja highlands is reflected in Toraja ritual verse (Zerner 1981:97-8). Nineteenth century exports from the Toraja region include gold, coffee and slaves (Braam Morris 1889:506, 508, 516-517). One of Luwu''s chiefdoms, Baébunta, controlled the pass leading from Sa'bang into the Rongkong valley (Rongkong is also listed as a chiefdom of Luwu'). Much of Baebunta's wealth derived from trade passing along this route between the coast and the fertile Seko valley, deep in the mountainous interior of central Sulawesi. From the upper reaches of the Rongkong, it is possible to reach Mamuju and Palu on the west coast, and Poso on the north coast in as little as five days by foot.

The chronicles of Wajo' (Noorduyn 1955; Zainal Abidin 1985) tell us that Luwu' had traditional claim to the lower reaches of the Cénrana river, the other major trade exit on the east side of the peninsula. This is a likely location of the prehistoric kingdom of Cina, closely associated with Luwu' in the epic I La Galigo literature (Caldwell et al., forthcoming). The upper reaches of the Cenrana river valley have been occupied since at least 1400 by several small agricultural kingdoms, among them Baringeng, Pammana and Tétéwatu (MS. NBG 99:236-41). These chiefdoms, which were later incorporated into Bone and Wajo',

appear to have looked to the memory of a vanished, estuarine Cina as the source of status for their ruling families. This may have extended to the installation of a Datu Cina as the nominal overlord of the region (Zainal Abidin 1983:220). In the Lontara' Sukku'na Wajo', Cina functions as a source of status in a legend concerning the origin of Cinnotta'bi (Zainal Abidin 1985:65). By at least the early sixteenth century, Cina was replaced by Luwu' as the power that controlled this important river mouth (Zainal Abidin 1985:63, 248).

No study of ceramic deposits from Luwu' is available, but if the evidence of land-locked Soppeng is representative, the scale of trade between South Sulawesi and other parts of the archipelago in the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries was impressive.5 The former capital of Soppeng at Tinco, eighty kilometres from the nearest port, yielded more than two thousand sherds of imported Chinese and Southeast Asian ceramics dating from the twelfth century, collected from a freshly ploughed surface in a recent survey (Bahru Kallupa et al. 1989:48). The exceptional richness of the deposits at Tinco, compared to those found at the nearby constituent settlements of Watassoppeng, show royal control of valuable, status-enhancing ceramics. These would have been used to maintain hierarchical loyalties within the kingdom and to encourage the upward supply of foodstuffs and export goods. What was Soppeng trading for these ceramics and—presumably—silk and cotton textiles? The Walanaé valley lacks significant mineral deposits, and goods had to be carried for the most part overland. The obvious trade good, given Soppeng's domination of the fertile Walanaé valley, is rice. Writing in 1775, the Dutch traveller Stavorinus stated '[Soppeng] yields nothing but paddee (Stavorinus 1798,II:228) The export of river gold is another possibility, though references to gold by eighteenth and nineteenth century writers point to northern, not southern Sulawesi.

Little mention of trade is made in Bugis sources for the pre-Islamic period, these sources being for the most part concerned with status and power. But the vassal list of Luwu' offers valuable evidence of Luwu''s peninsula-wide importance as a pre-Islamic trading kingdom. The list sets out some seventy place-names, of which twenty-five can be identified on a modern map. The seventy names are divided into two groups. The first group of about thirty refers to settlements in the present-day region of Luwu', and the second group of forty refers to settlements on the south and southwest coast of the peninsula; most lie between Takalar and Bantaéng. These two regions—Luwu' and the south coast—are linked in the Nagarakrtagama's garbled list of 'tributaries' of Majapahit:

[. . .] the countries of Bantayan, the principal is Bantayan, on the other hand Luwuk, then the (countries) of Uda, making a trio; these are the most important of those that are one island. (Pigeaud 1962 v.3:17)

Pigeaud identifies Bantayan and Bantaéng and Luwuk as Luwu' (or Luwuk on the coast of eastern central Sulawesi—an improbable identification), while Uda is unidentified. The vassal list and the Nagarakrtagama are evidently talking about the same thing, namely a relationship between Luwu', at the head of the Gulf of Bone and a number of chiefdoms, or small kingdoms, on the south and south-west coast of the peninsula. The evidence of the vassal list must, like that of the Nagarakrtagama, must predate the sixteenth century, when the entire coast of South Sulawesi became subject to Goa. The political alliances recorded in both sources may date back to the fourteenth century or earlier.

There seems little doubt that the relationship between Luwu' and the south coast chiefdoms centred on trade between Java and South Sulawesi. The trade route from Java to the Moluccas has been known from at least the fourteenth century and probably much earlier. While the southern coast of Sulawesi is not directly on this route (ships sailing to the Moluccas would generally have followed the northern coasts of the Lesser Sunda islands) it would not have required too great a detour to call for wood, food and water at the southern tip of the peninsula. The relationship between Luwu' and the south coast chiefdoms suggests that Luwu' was trading with other parts of the archipelago via these chiefdoms.

What was Luwu' supplying? Most of the identified place-names from the 'Luwu'' section of the vassal list are around Palopo. But Cérékang, Malili and Matano lie in the north-eastern corner of the Gulf of Bone. This is an important iron-and-nickel-bearing region, and from here iron ore or pig iron and probably some nickel were exported to other parts of the archipelago. The export of iron and steel from Luwu' was noted by Speelman (1670:43); the nickel deposits at Lake Matana are lateritic, but can be extracted rather inefficiently by a simple smelting process. Most of the iron and nickel was probably traded to Java, where even today a certain quality of nickel inlay in Javanese keris is called pamor (damascene) Luwu' (Solyom 1978:18).

The absence of Bugis or Makasar seafarers at Malacca in the histories of de Barros or Barbosa, first noted by Crawfurd (1856:74-5), suggests that trade from Sulawesi to other parts of the archipelago was largely in the hands of Javanese and Malay traders. But the lack of mention of any foreign traders in Bugis historical sources before the sixteenth century suggests that the local collection and transport of goods to the trading centres along the south and east coasts was in Bugis (or possibly Makasar) hands. The lack of foreign traders in Bugis sources may be contrasted with the Sejarah Melayu's depiction of fifteenth century Malacca, where foreign control of trade is at once apparent. Not only did foreigners dominate Malacca's trade, but they married into the ruling family to the extent that certain of Malacca's ruling family were half-Tamil. There is no

evidence of traders marrying into the Bugis or Makasar elite. Nor are there in Bugis sources any references to Majapahit or other external maritime powers, other than a single mention of Majapahit that can be traced to a seventeenth-century legend (Kern 1929:310-2; Caldwell 1988:33).

Macknight has suggested an important shift from trade to agriculture as the basis of political power, around the year 1400. His evidence for this is the detailed references to centrally controlled agriculture and its expansion in the fifteenth and sixteenth century in the Bugis and Makasar chronicles (Macknight 1983). Unlike trade, which was dependent on foreign custom, and thus subject to the vagaries of demand, the economic potential of settled agriculture was limited only by the availability of settled land and the people to work it. Besides, an agricultural surplus could be used not only to attract followers and maintain loyalties, but could feed those engaged in the opening of new land. The chronicle of Bone, for instance, tells how a late-fifteenth century ruler bought two hills in western Bone:

Our lady Makkalempi'é bought the hill south of Lalidong, and she bought it for thirty buffaloes. Following that, she ordered people to settle on the hill of Cina. She also ordered them to lay out gardens. She also ordered people to go to the hill south of Lalidong that she had bought.

Earlier in the chronicle there is record of the resettlement of people under the third ruler, Kerrampelua':

A part of the people of Bukaka were set apart and they were taken to live at Majang and they too were made to be the people of Makkellumpi'é [the daughter of Kerrampelua' and arung of Majang].

Later we read that:

Also when that king was ruling he sent out his personal slaves and put them at Panyula and they were called the people of Panyula. Then, the slaves that came into his possession while he was king, he put those at Lipenno.' (Macknight and Mukhlis, forthcoming).

In the royal genealogies of Soppeng and the upper Cenrana valley (now parts of Bone and Wajo') several individuals are remembered as having opened settlements. This may have involved not just the direction, but also the feeding of those so engaged. It also seems possible that in the early stages, agricultural expansion was initiated not only by the rulers of kingdoms, but also by their brothers. This may have involved their going off with their followers, or simply directing them to clear new land. The motif of dissatisfied brothers moving off to

found new settlements occurs in the chronicle of Sidenreng, which begins with the story of how the eight younger brothers of the ruler of Sangalla (a Toraja kingdom), unable to bear their brother's overbearing rule, decided to leave their homeland in search of suitable land on which to establish new settlements:

When they drew near to the hills south of the Toraja highlands they saw the lake. They continued on until they came to the plain to the west of the lake [. . .] Together they said, "Here at the west of the lake is a good place for us brothers to live." So they and their followers set off to look for a place to live, where they could open fields. For three years they cultivated [the land], and their rice harvest and their other crops and the numbers of their followers increased each year. (MS. Salim 1:16).

In a genealogy of the descendants of an early sixteenth-century ruler of Luwu' we read that:

Settié was driven out by the [people of] Luwu'; he was driven out, so it is said, with the agreement of his younger brother, who was called To Luwu'mangura. Because of that, Settié bought land at Mamutu and lived there. (MS. MAK 100:136).

In the chronicle of Wajo' we are told how dissatisfied elements move off from Cinnotta'bi, an early capital, and 'live off their farmland', led by three brothers of the ruler, and even the legitimate line moves to clear a new settlement (Noorduyn 1955:156). Centred around high status individuals (full brothers were of equal ascriptive status), such settlements were, in effect, new chiefdoms, tied by varying degrees of loyalty to the political centre of the kingdom.

The above examples show that evidence of the increasing importance of centrally directed agriculture, in particular wet-rice agriculture, from about the year 1400 can readily be found in Bugis and Makasar sources. Archaeological evidence suggests that the decline in the importance of trade as the economic basis of power proposed by Macknight (1983) was relative, not absolute. At least in Soppeng, the quantity of imported ceramics seems to have increased steadily over the centuries from about 1200 to 1600 (Bahru Kallupa et al. 1989, figures 17-20), reflecting, presumably, the growing prosperity of Soppeng's agricultural base and the increasing availability and cheapness of the ceramics themselves. What is certain is that since at least the twelfth century, the agricultural kingdoms of South Sulawesi have been linked via the north coast ports of Java to places as distant as Thailand, Vietnam and China. While the rise of the 'southern' kingdoms of Ajattappareng, Wajo', Bone, Soppeng and Makasar was closely linked to the centrally-directed expansion and intensification of agriculture, the remains of large numbers of high quality celadon and blue and white ceramic

ceramics at sites within Soppeng show that trade continued to form an important part of the economic basis of political life.

4.4 The Geography of Power

In an earlier section it was observed that there was no discernible textual emphasis on the capital as the locus of power in pre-Islamic South Sulawesi. We have also seen how ascribed status was not simply a prerequisite for political power, but the very quality believed to account for its effective exercise. Yet political power existed in a physical landscape, a landscape of fertile rice-bearing plains separated by low rolling hills with scattered ladang cultivation, or by wild and forested mountain ranges. When we look at the physical landscape in relation to the political topography of these kingdoms, it becomes clear that geographical features played an important part in the distribution of power in South Sulawesi.

The main geographical determinants were the physical exigencies of agricultural production, namely irrigation, the direction of manpower, and defense. Geertz (1980:22) has shown how in Bali, except for Badung, the southern Balinese kingdoms lay almost precisely along a 350-metre line, 'just above the place where something which can reasonably be called a plain begins.' This was in effect the dividing line between the upland lords who controlled irrigation, and the lowland lords who controlled rice production. The physical demands of agriculture—irrigation, communication and defense—seem to have determined the location of the Balinese capitals.

The spatial ordering of power in pre-Islamic South Sulawesi was also closely related to agriculture, in particular wet-rice farming. The capitals of Luwu', Makasar, Soppeng, Bone, Wajo', Sidenreng, Rappang, Sawitto, Alitta, and Suppa' (the last five the constituent kingdoms of Ajattappareng) are all well located to control the economic potential of their territories. The dual capitals of pre-sixteenth century Soppeng stood on low hills at the mouths of the two small valleys that lead from the western hills to the Walanaé valley (see Map 1). The capital of West Soppeng was at Tinco, at the mouth of the northern valley. This would have been the ideal spot from which to have directed agricultural production on the plain to the east, and control the movement of people and goods from the plain to the mountain and coastal chiefdoms to the west. East Soppeng's capital—now the kabupaten capital, Watassoppeng—was located on a low hill at the foot of the southern valley, where it enjoyed a similar advantage (see Map 1).

The capital of Bone, in the sixteenth and seventeenth century the most powerful of the Bugis kingdoms, was located about six kilometres inland, on a slight rise

between the heads of a small creek, between the Palakka and the Pattiro rivers. The coastal plain is here about fifteen kilometres wide and is backed by low hills of uplifted coral limestone. Several minor rivers flow out of the hills and across the plain to the sea, of which the two most important are those mentioned above. A map showing land use in the mid-nineteenth century shows a closely settled plain with extensive sawah associated to some extent with the rivers. Watamponé, the capital of Bone sits near the centre of this plain, which is without major hills or lakes. Watamponé is ideally situated to control the plain's agricultural potential (tucked half-way up the western coast of the Gulf of Bone, the plain lacks both harbour and an easy passage to and from the interior), particularly as regards communication, an important aspect of centrally directed wet-rice production.

The failure of Wajo' to develop kingship can perhaps be attributed to the lack of a single, large plain north of the Cérékang river. A topographic map of Wajo' shows that its rivers do not flow westwards to the sea, as do those of Bone, but meander in several directions, feeding small lakes, indicating a region prone to flooding. Further, the chronicles of Wajo' are alone in recording the tradition of three widely-separated early 'capitals', thus suggesting that no single site held a strong natural advantage for the control of agriculture or trade (Zainal Abidin 1985).

Geographic factors are probably also the reason the Ajattappareng kingdoms never developed into a political power on the scale of Bone or Goa, despite the considerable agricultural potential of the Ajattappareng region, the 'rice bowl' of South Sulawesi (Maeda 1984:123). Each of the kingdoms—Sidenreng, Rappang, Sawitto, Suppa' and Alitta—encompasses a single plain, separated from the others by low hills or by stretches of water. Each plain possesses its own irrigation system, fed by seasonal rainfall, the management of which would have required local direction based on detailed knowledge of the terrain. None of the five kingdoms could on its own rival the economic or military power of Goa or Bone, while distance and topography set significant barriers to their effective integration.

The kingdoms of South Sulawesi provide an interesting contrast to the coastal and riverine world of the Malay kingdoms, where a balance between the demands of trade and defence was facilitated by several thousand miles of coastline, with hundreds of river estuaries on which to locate a capital. The remarkable mobility of political power in the Malay world is reflected in the Malay Annals in the oft-quoted exchange between the Sri Nara 'diraja and Sultan Mahmud of Malacca, during the attack in 1526 by the Portuguese on Bintan. In this exchange, the Sri Nara 'diraja stressed that the physical or territorial kingdom was secondary to the ruler himself:

The Sri Nara 'diraja urged him to leave Bentan now that the city had fallen. But he replied, "When I came here, Sri Nara 'diraja, I knew full well that Bentan was an island; and it was because I was determined that there should be no retreating that I took up my abode here! If I had thought of retreating, I should have done better to have stayed on the mainland. (But I did not do that,) for it is the custom of Rajas that when their country falls to the foe, they die." And the Sri Nara 'diraja said, "Your Highness is mistaken. Every country has a Raja, and if your Highness is granted length of days, we can find ten countries for you!"' (Brown 1952:189)

The earlier peregrinations of the Sultan following the fall of Malacca, first to Batu Hampar, then to Pahang, and finally to Bintan, where his kingdom re-formed around him, reflects the essential truth of the Sri Nara 'diraja's observation. While the lineage of rulers continued to exist, so did the kingdom. But the murder in 1699 of Sultan Mahmud of Johor, who died without having produced an heir, ended the line of rulers who could claim descent from the rulers of Srivijaya. The complex structure of loyalties that constituted the Malay sultanate never recovered from the shock. The extinction of Mahmud's ancient and prestigious lineage resulted in a crisis of loyalty and leadership that enabled the Sumatran adventurer Raja Kecik, posing as a son of the murdered ruler, to seize control of the sultanate in 1717 (Andaya 1975:191).

 The geographical continuity of the Bugis and Makasar kingdoms, some of which are named in the sources as early as A.D. 1300 and continue down to the present century, despite decades of civil war resulting in the death or capture of several rulers, suggests that the Bugis or Makasar ruler was less central to the identity of the kingdom. Regicide was not uncommon, nor does the murder of a ruler and his replacement by another high-status noble appear to have produced any lasting disturbance to the kingdom concerned. Among the rulers murdered at various times in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were La Ulio, the sixth ruler of Bone, and La Icca', the eighth ruler, who was killed, so the chronicler tells us, because of his cruel and arbitrary rule (Mukhlis and Macknight, forthcoming). In the sixteenth century, the third Batara Wajo', La Pateddungi, was deposed and later killed, among other things for seizing his subjects' daughters and wives (Zainal Abidin 1985: 99), while Tunipassulu', the thirteenth ruler of Goa, was driven out in 1593 owing to the brutal and arbitrary nature of his rule (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim n.d.:56; Reid 1983:136)

 There seems, in addition, little evidence in Bugis and Makasar sources that the ruler was ever conceived of as the 'sacred lodestone' around which the community evolved, as in the Indianized kingdoms of Southeast Asia (Zainal Abidin 1983:253). The necessity of earning a living from the land would have set

constraints on mobility that were largely absent in the maritime Malay world. It seems probable, therefore, that there was less need for the ruler to act as the focus of social organization. In addition, the Bugis notion of power as a product or quality of status meant that potential rulers were always available: in theory at least, anyone with the required degree of ascriptive status could become ruler. The system drew not on a single lineage, but on a class of potential rulers and chiefs scattered across the fields and hills of South Sulawesi.

Chapter Five

5. Towards a Political History, 1300-1600

In this final chapter, a number of questions regarding the political history of pre-Islamic South Sulawesi are examined in the light of the works provided in Chapter Two. These questions concern the location and origins of specific chiefdoms, their internal organization, their historical expansion or decline, and their influence, if any, outside the region with which they have been more recently associated. In setting into context the conclusions suggested by the new data, the evidence of published Bugis and European sources is briefly re-examined.

5.1 The Decline of Luwuq: 1500-1600

The chiefdom of Luwuq, 'the most highly esteemed of the Bugis kingdoms' (Noorduyn 1986), has long been regarded as the oldest, and at one time the most powerful, of the Bugis chiefdoms. Early writers state that formerly much of the peninsula was subject to Luwuq. Speelman (1670:43) noted that a great deal of Boné, Bulubulu (the area behind Sinjai) and the south-east coast to Bantaéng was formerly subject to Luwuq.1 Writing in 1759, Blok, who drew not only on European records but also upon indigenous written sources, stated that:

> Before Maccassar, or Bone, had so much as a name, Lohoo was the most powerful, and the largest kingdom of Celebes: for, in addition to Lohoo proper, most part of Bone, Bolee Bolee, the point of Lassem [on the south coast], round to Bolecomba, together with all Toadjo or Wadjo, and probably all the country of Torathea, [Turatéa, on the south-east coast] were in subjection to Lohoo (Blok 1817:3-4).

Despite the evidence of European writers, it is no easy task to provide confirmation of the extent or nature of Luwuq's influence from published Bugis historical sources. Luwuq does not seem ever to have possessed a state chronicle, such as those we find for several of her neighbours. Furthermore, the Royal Genealogy of Luwuq (section 2.2), in which we might expect to find much valuable information on early Luwuq, turns out, on close inspection, to be a confused and disappointing work (cf. page PAGE). Far from containing the longest genealogy of the ruling families of South Sulawesi's major chiefdoms, (Pelras 1981:178), it contains instead the shortest. For the centuries before 1500 all it provides us with is the names or titles of two rulers and one of their wives. As we have no way of knowing when any of these people lived, or indeed if their names reflect those of historical individuals, such information is of marginal usefulness.

Our sources for Luwuq are thus largely the historical sources of her neighbours. Naturally, we can only expect these to tell us about Luwuq in regard to events that concerned those neighbouring chiefdoms. Two of the most important of these sources are the Lontara Sukkuqna Wajoq and the Chronicle of Boné. The latter, or something like it, was evidently one of Blok's sources: in a footnote to the previous q uotation, Blok adds that 'both the Boneers and Maccassars deny [the former greatness of Luwuq], though the fabulous History of the Boneers themselves makes it very clear.'

Both the Chronicle of Boné and the Lontara Sukkuqna Wajoq record Luwuq's decline, from a confident and powerful chiefdom at the beginning of the sixteenth century to a minor regional power by the middle of the same century. The decline of Luwuq is firmly linked to the growing power of her southern neighbours, Wajoq and Boné, as well as the rising west-coast chiefdom of Goa.

The Lontara Sukkuqna Wajoq (hereafter LSW) states that Déwaraja, an early-sixteenth-century ruler of Luwuq, twice made a treaty with the ruler of Wajoq, La Tadampareq (c.1491-c.1520); on the second occasion with the aim of organizing a combined attack on Sidénréng.[1] The conflict appears to have arisen over the sale by the Datu Luwuq to Sidénréng of a tortoise said to excrete gold, but which on delivery failed to bear out its reputation (Abidin 1985:228-229). The chronicler carefully distances himself from this improbable story, which he describes as 'a well-known oral tradition'; the legend is found also in Noorduyn's Chronicle of Wajoq, where 'the writer relates with dry humour the disappointment of the buyer who did not get what he expected' (Noorduyn 1965:138).[2]

Wajoq's forces proceeded overland while Luwuq's army travelled by boat (presumably up the Cénrana River) to Lake Témpé. Following the successive defeat of Bélawa, Otting, Bulucénrana and Rappang, Sidénréng surrendered without a fight (Abidin 1985:229-237).[3] According to the Chronicle of Boné, there were three armed conflicts in the first half of the sixteenth century between Luwuq and Boné, the chiefdom which was from that period onward to replace Luwuq as the major east-coast power. The first of these conflicts is

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[1] The attack on Sidénréng can be dated to between c.1511 and c.1521. The LSW also states that Luwuq had twice attacked Sidénréng without success before enlisting Wajoq's help (Abidin 1985:232). This information comes in a passage of reported speech, where Déwaraja is thanking La Tadampareq for his assistance, and may be a literary device aimed at stressing the contribution made by Wajoq's forces.

[2] In Noorduyn's version of the legend, the animal is a crocodile.

[3] The pattern and order of attack suggests that the Luwuqrese fleet landed on the northern shore of Lake Témpé, and that the combined forces moved in a wide arc eastwards to Rappang, potentially the most dangerous of Sidénréng's allies.

recorded almost verbatim in the LSW (its source is probably the Chronicle of Boné), which places the conflict one year after the defeat of Sidénréng (ibid., pp. 237-239). Led by the Datu Luwuq, the Luwuqrese army landed south of Celluq,[4] and, after a few inconclusive skirmishes, met at Biru with the army of Boné. The Chronicle of Boné tells how the Luwuqrese army was distracted by a group of women captives who had earlier escaped and had taken refuge in the village of Attassalo, with the result that they found themselves caught between two attacking forces:

> They [the women and the people of Attassalo] were just coming out of Attassalo at the hour before dawn, when the Luwuqrese right there raised the war-cry. (The Luwuqrese) wanted to follow up their cry. But also the people of Boné had settled into position at Biru. Just as the dawn of the day was breaking, the Luwuqrese spied (the people of Boné), then (the Luwuqrese) saw the women in the road east of Anrobiring. For these (the Luwuqrese) charged ahead. The people of Attassalo struck at the Luwuqrese. The Luwuqrese were recognized by the people of Boné. The Luwuqrese were put to disorderly flight. The umbrella of the Datu of Luwuq was captured. Yet the Datu of Luwuq was not wounded. It just happened that the Arumponé [the ruler of Boné] restrained the people, saying, 'Do not wound the person of the Datu of Luwuq.'

> Then (the Datu of Luwuq) was followed eastwards right up to his ship. There were only twenty reaching the ship of the Datu of Luwuq. It was only a small ship that he got to and departed in. He sat in it and went to his territory. So from this, there was again an umbrella in Boné. It was actually a red umbrella, the umbrella of the Datu of Luwuq which was captured. Hence La Tenrisukki, may my belly not swell, was entitled Mappajungngé [the one with an umbrella] (Macknight and Mukhlis, forthcoming).

The LSW adds that in revenge for his defeat, Déwaraja asked the Arung Matoa of Wajoq to harass Boné on her northern borders. Following the surrender of Mampu and Lompo to Wajoq, the ruler of Boné returned Luwuq's umbrella and sued for peace, the terms of which were formally set out in a treaty known as Polo Malélaé ri Unynyi (Breaking Steel at Unynyi). The LSW tells how the state umbrella of Luwuq was graciously returned to Boné to remind her of her status as a 'child of Luwuq' (Abidin 1985:237-241).

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[4] Celluq lies about three kilometers east of Watamponé on the road to Bajoé. Biru (following) is three kilometers south-east from Watamponé; Anrobiring is three kilometers and Attassalo eight kilometers south from Watamponé.

It would appear that Luwuq's attack on Boné stemmed from disagreement over control of the lower Cénrana Valley. The LSW states that Déwaraja's forces departed from Cénrana (presumably the settlement of that name near the mouth of the Cénrana River) a region which it indicates was traditionally subject to Luwuq (Abidin 1985:63).[5] When we consider the Chronicle of Boné's detailed account of that chiefdom's expansion under La Tenrisukki (c.1512-c.1540) (Macknight 1983), the ruler whose forces defeated those of Luwuq at Anrobiring, it would seem that, despite being cast as the aggressor in that particular conflict, Luwuq was in fact attempting to maintain her traditional claim to the Cénrana region in the face of Boné's northward expansion.

This interpretation is supported by the Chronicle of Boné's account of a subsequent conflict with Luwuq during the reign of Bongkangngé (c.1565-c.1581), who

> quarreled with the Datu of Luwuq, called Sangkaria. Since *again* [my emphasis] the Luwuqrese were unwilling to acknowledge Cénrana as territory (of Boné), yet *again* [my emphasis] the Luwuqrese attacked Cénrana. Thus there were two occasions when the land of Cénrana was captured by the people of Boné at the point of the sword (Macknight and Mukhlis, forthcoming).

While neither conflict is supported by independent sources, the laconic, matter-of-fact style of the Chronicle of Boné, and its author's careful self-distancing from the occasional supernatural event which his sources recorded, inclines the reader to accept the chronicle's account 'not as imagined event, but as veritable fact' (Macknight and Mukhlis, forthcoming, 'Introduction'). However, we should bear in mind that the accounts of these conflicts may derive, at least in part, from oral traditions, and that events which the chronicle records were separated from the chronicler by a period of up to one hundred and fifty years.[6]

One last piece of evidence regarding Luwuq's former greatness is found in the LSW. This is its record of the annexation by Wajoq in the early sixteenth century of Témpé, Singkang (modern-day Séngkang) Wagé and Tampangeng; all were Wajoq's close neighbours and traditionally belonged to Luwuq (Abidin 1985:202-204). Given the rapid expansion of Wajoq in the early sixteenth century, there seems little reason to doubt the historicity of either the annexation of these settlements or their former relationship to Luwuq. (Cf. the

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[5] Cellu lies about three kilometers east of Watamponé on the road to Bajoé. Biru (following) is three kilometers south-east from Watamponé; Anrobiring is three kilometers and Attassalo eight kilometers south from Watamponé.

[6] A date of *c.*1670-c.1700 for the composition of the Chronicle of Boné is suggested by Macknight and Mukhlis.

end of the second story of the Lontaraqna Simpurusia on page PAGE, where the three settlements are linked to Luwuq.)

The consistency of the image of Luwuq provided by the various traditions preserved in the Chronicle of Boné and the LSW is perhaps the best argument for accepting their accounts, if not as contemporary records then as later re-tellings of important historical events. Both the LSW and the Chronicle of Boné portray Luwuq as a major power at the beginning of the sixteenth century, willing (and initially able) to defend her interests along the east coast of the peninsula. It is almost certain that Luwuq's eclipse by the emerging agricultural chiefdoms to her south would have been remembered in some detail in those chiefdoms little more than a century later.

It is against this background that we may now examine the evidence of the Luwuq Vassal List. This records some seventy settlements which were once paliliq (vassals) of Luwuq. The term paliliq refers to a relationship between a political centre and a smaller outlying unit (cf. page PAGE, footnote FOOTNOTE). A number of settlements so described in the Soppéng Vassal List lie just a few kilometers from the early palace-centres of East and West Soppéng. We may therefore conclude that their relationship to those centres must date from a very early period in the formation of Soppéng.

Two distinct groups of settlements can be identified in the Luwuq Vassal List. The first of these is clustered around the post-Islamic capital of Luwuq, Palopo. In view of our ignorance regarding Luwuq's pre-Islamic palace-centre, and the fact that the word paliliq can refer to settlements close to the political and ritual centre of a chiefdom, the cluster of place names around Palopo is significant. Many historians have located the early political centre of Luwuq in the region between Wotu and Malili, on the basis of that region's importance in the I La Galigo and because of the deposits of iron ore found there, which Luwuq was evidently exploiting. Yet the evidence of the Vassal List, both in its cluster of Palopo-centred vassals and the absence of a similar cluster in the Wotu-Malili region, suggests that Luwuq's pre-Islamic political centre was at Palopo.

The second cluster of vassal chiefdoms lies on the south coast (most of the chiefdoms lie between Takalar and Bantaéng). This cluster enables us to date the tradition preserved in the vassal list to around 1500, for in the sixteenth century the entire south coast of South Sulawesi became subject to Goa. The Chronicle of Goa states that during the reign of Tumapa risi Kallonna (*c.*1512-*c.*1548) some kind of tribute was imposed upon Bulukumba and Selayar by Goa (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim n.d.:18). During the reign of Tunipalangga (*c.*1548-*c.*1566) the southern coast was brought more firmly under Goa's control.

Aided by the ruler of Talloq, Tuménanga ri Makkoayang (*c.*1547-*c.*1577), Goa attacked and defeated Binamu, Bulukumba and Selayar, thus gaining control of the important ship-building centre of Bira on the south-east coast (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim n.d.:25, Rahim and Boharima 1975:10-11). The political alliances recorded by the Vassal List must pre-date the mid-sixteenth century, and may conceivably date back to the fourteenth century or earlier. As noted on page *f*, the fourteenth-century Javanese poem Nagarakrtagama links the south-coast chiefdom of Bantaéng with Luwuq .

It would thus appear that, before 1500, Luwuq exercised control over large parts of the east coast, and presumably some way inland along the more accessible watercourses. The picture of agricultural expansion found in the Chronicles of Wajoq and Boné suggest that in the fourteenth century the interior of the west-coast of the peninsula was still rather sparsely settled by small groups of agriculturalists, from whom a surplus would have been difficult and often costly to extract.[7]

Luwuq's decline may thus have been due in large measure to the increasing economic and military powers of her southern neighbours, whose increasingly centralized systems of wet-rice agriculture could support (and indeed encourage) steadily growing populations. Between harvests, the rice farmer could be engaged as a soldier in the conquest of new territory. Agricultural units —a cluster of settlements and their lord—doubled as military units (cf. the division of Boné's army into three divisions, each comprising a number of settlements, in the reign of Kerrampélua in the Chronicle of Boné. Other factors may have contributed, but we have no evidence of these.

From the Vassal List it also appears that Luwuq's main interest lay in controlling and taxing trade with other parts of the archipelago. Palopo is located at the foot of an important exit from the Toraja highlands: the importance of trade between Palopo and the Toraja highlands is reflected in Toraja ritual verse (Zerner 1981:97-98) and in a detailed major nineteenth century study of Luwuq (Braam Morris 1889).[8] The lower Cénrana River, control of which formed the core of Luwuq's dispute with Boné, was an important exit for the rice-growing region lying in its upper watershed. The south-coast chiefdoms recorded in the Luwuq Vassal List were evidently the places at which products from these inland regions, along with iron ore and possibly some nickel, were exchanged for imported cloths, ceramics and other luxury goods. Control of the two major exits

[7] Cf. the Lontara Sukkuqna Wajoq'saccount of how the people of Boli fled from tax collectors sent from Luwuq (Abidin 1985:64). While one need not accept the historicity of this account, the motif presumably reflects actual practice.

[8] Speelman (1670:42) mentions the export from Luwuq of rice, sago, rattan and dammar (a resin).

at Palopo and Cénrana would have been imperative for any large east-coast, trade-based chiefdom.

The memory of Luwuq's economic and military power in the fourteenth century (and perhaps earlier) clearly lies behind much of the respect with which she was regarded by her neighbouring chiefdoms long after her decline to the status of an unimportant backwater.[9] There can be little doubt that Luwuq's eclipse by the rising agrarian kingdoms to her south was the most significant event of the sixteenth century. Of all of Luwuq's non-legendary, pre-Islamic rulers, only Déwaraja, who presided over the initial stages of Luwuq's decline, is widely remembered both in the chronicles and legends of other chiefdoms. What is perhaps of greatest significance is that the process of political and economic centralization of scattered agricultural communities, a process which appears to have been well underway in Soppéng by the year 1300, gave rise only in the early sixteenth century to the first agrarian chiefdoms capable of effectively challenging the power of Luwuq.

5.2 The Origin of Soppéng

Evidence for the origin and development of the chiefdom of Soppéng is found in a number of sources. Among these are the Royal Genealogy of Soppéng, the Attoriolonna Soppéng and the Vassal List of Soppéng. Unlike Luwuq and Cina, we are able to identify the area of origin of Soppéng and to trace its ruling family from about the beginning of the fourteenth century.

In addition to the textual evidence, a recent archaeological survey of a number of places named in the Attoriolonna Soppéng and the Royal Genealogy of Soppéng provides a number of important archaeological data which can be used to check and enhance the evidence of these two works (see page 51). All the archaeological evidence cited in this chapter is based upon this survey: the interpretations are my own.

The Attoriolonna Soppéng (hereafter AS) sets out to support the idea ofkingship in Soppéng. This its author does by presenting his work as a historical account of the origin of kingship. This requires him to adapt to his purpose a number of historical traditions current in his day. He tells us that in earlier times Soppéng consisted of two smaller chiefdoms, East and West Soppéng. (The division of Soppéng is confirmed in several other Bugis sources.) The main characters of the AS are the headmen of Botto, Bila and Ujung, who symbolize the ancestors of the three great lords of these settlements, who, at least in post-Islamic times, installed the ruler of Soppéng.

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[9] Cf. Brooke's remark that 'It is difficult to believe that Luwuq could ever have been a powerful state, except in a very low stage of native civilization' (Mundy 1848:155).

The AS is written with a marked emphasis on the importance of West Soppéng. The headmen of Botto, Bila and Ujung are the representatives of West Soppéng, yet they act on behalf of both chiefdoms by inviting the tomanurung of Sekkanyili and Libureng to become the rulers of West and East Soppéng respectively. East Soppéng is represented by the headman of Saloqtungo, who appears briefly for the purpose of agreeing with the other three headman. This emphasis on the importance of West Soppéng can readily be explained by the fact that West Soppéng absorbed East Soppéng in the first half of the sixteenth century, and that the AS was composed in the eighteenth century.

The AS lists two groups of settlements which it says comprised East and WestSoppéng. (A third group of settlements is described as having later been incorporated within these two chiefdoms.) As the AS states that there weresixty headmanships in Soppéng, it seems reasonable to assume that the twogroups of settlements described as constituting East and West Soppéng correspond approximately to the original territory of each chiefdom. This assumption is supported by the Vassal List of Soppéng, which names fifteen of the twenty settlements in its second group of vassals (cf. page 65). The settlements named in the AS are shown on the map on page 119.

We can see from this map that each chiefdom was associated with a small river valley leading from the western hills into the larger Walanaé Valley. But whereas the settlements of West Soppéng are firmly sited on the small northern valley, those of East Soppéng are located not on the small southern valley, but immediately to its east on the western side of the Walanaé Valley. Furthermore, Botto, Bila and Ujung (the headmen of which represent West Soppéng and which do not appear in any of the three lists) are located at the mouth of the southern, not northern, valley, close by the Walanaé Valley settlements of East Soppéng.

A further puzzle is provided by the role in the AS of Tinco. Matthes' dictionary does not list the ruler of Tinco as one of the great lords ofSoppéng (Matthes 1874:788), nor have I discovered any reference to Tinco in other Bugis works. Yet it is the headman of Tinco who discovers the tomanurungof Sékkañili, and it is at Tinco that the tomanurung builds his palace.

Tinco appears to have been situated on a small hill at the mouth of thenorthern valley, overlooking the Walanaé Valley. This is the logical point from which to control both the irrigation network supplied by the Lawo River, which flows out of the northern valley, and communication and trade between theWalanaé Valley and the mountain chiefdoms to its west. The role of Tinco inthe AS suggests that prior to the unification of East and West Soppéng, thepalace-centre

of West Soppéng was there. (Tinco is today deserted, and appears to have been only recently re-opened as ladang by local farmers.)
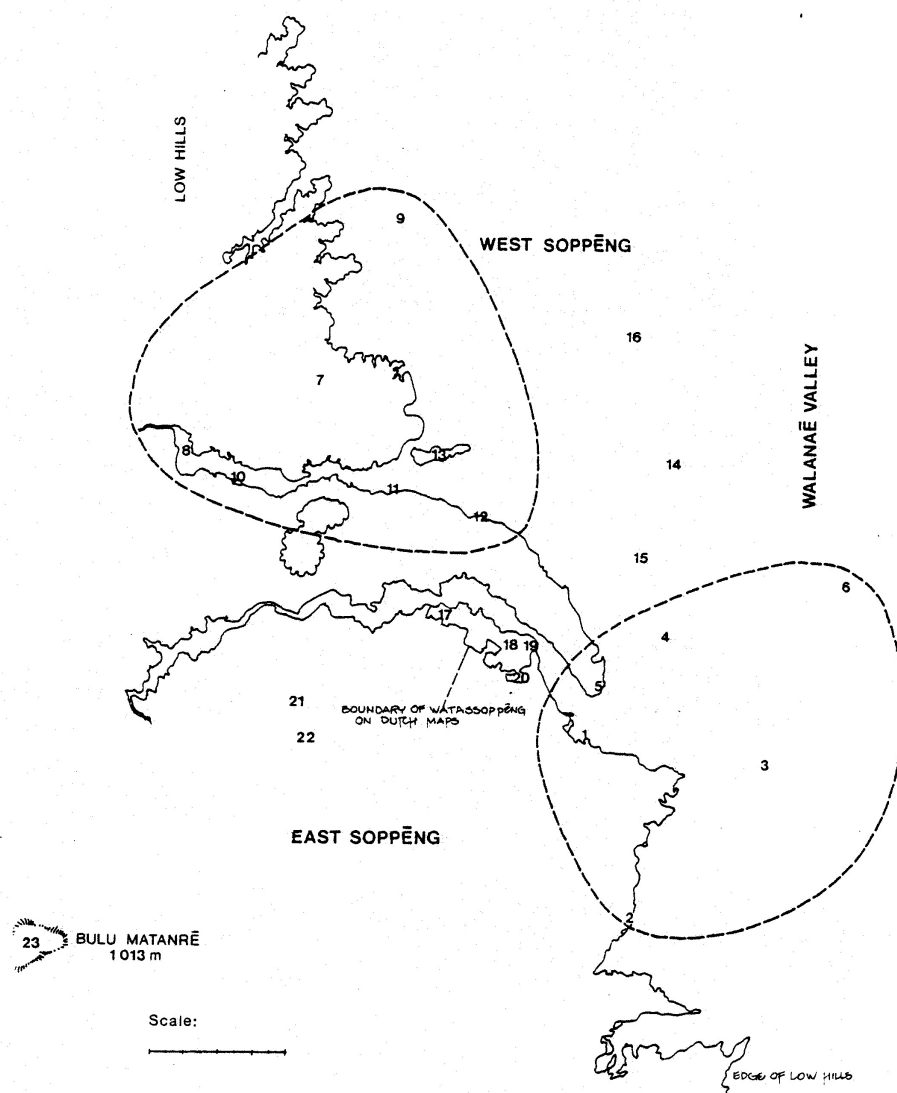

Figure 5-1: East and West Soppēng, according to the AS.

1 Saloqtungo	2 Panincong	3 Talagaé
4 Makkutu	5 Watuwatu	6 Akkampéng
7 Péssé	8 Séppang	9 Pising
10 Lisu	11 Lawo	12 Madéllo[rilauq]
13 Tinco	14 Cénrana	15 Saloqkaraja
16 Matoanging	17 Bila	18 Laléqbénténg
19 Botto	20 Ujung	21 Séwo
22 Gattaréng	23 Bulumatanré	

It may further be seen that the WatasSoppéng settlements of Botto, Bila and Ujung lie on low hills at the mouth of the southern valley. This is the logical point from which to control the irrigation system supplying theagricultural settlements named as belonging to East Soppéng, the first of which lies a few hundred metres from Ujung. From these low hills it would alsobe easy to control trade and communication between the Walanaé Valley and themountain settlements of Bulumatanré, Séwo and Gattaréng (among others)which lay directly to the west of WatasSoppéng.

It seems reasonable, therefore, to conclude that prior to unification, thepalace-centre of East Soppéng was at Botto, Bila or Ujung, or at thepost-Islamic palace-centre of Soppéng, Lalé bénténg, which lies between Botto and Ujung,[10] and that Tinco was the palace-centre of West Soppéng. The identification in the AS of the headmen of Botto, Bila and Ujung with West Soppéng rather than with East, suggests that sometime after the unification of the two chiefdoms in the sixteenth century, the ruler of Soppéng moved his palace from Tinco to Laléqbénténg where he could more easily control his recently-expanded chiefdom.

This hypothesis appears to be supported by archaeological evidence from Tinco and WatasSoppéng. Tinco is by local standards a remarkable site. The three hundred by one hundred metre area surveyed in December 1986 produced more than two thousand Chinese and Southeast Asian ceramic and stoneware sherds dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. No less than one hundred and fifteen of these sherds were monochromes, which were provisionally dated to the thirteenth to fourteenth century. In the centre of the site, where local inhabitants told us that a palace (**langkana**) formerly stood, was a large stone platform (possibly a jar-burial site) topped by the fossilized remains of a huge banyan tree, and several scratched and engraved rocks. In addition to the evidence of occupation from perhaps as early as 1200 by a high-status elite, at the northern end of the hill are the remains of several pre-Islamic jar-burials.

The regional capital WatasSoppéng was, not surprisingly, a more difficult site to survey. But a reasonably detailed picture of the former occupation of Botto, Bila, Ujung and Laleqbénténg (all of which lie within the urban boundaries of WatasSoppéng) was obtained from the modest quantities of sherds obtained. Of

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[10] It is of interest to note that the *bissu* who presently cares for the regalia of the former ruling family of West Soppéng periodically carries out religious ceremonies at a Pétta Goarié, a jar-burial site at Libureng, where the founder of the ruling lineage of East Soppéng is supposed to have appeared. (I have myself seen a recent photograph of the *bissu* carrying out ceremonies at Libureng.) When I spoke to the self-appointed caretaker of the jar-burial site at Sékkañili, no mention was made of any visits by the *bissu* of Laléqbénténg.

these four sites, Botto and Laleqbénténg produce the earliest evidence of occupation by a high-status elite. Like Tinco, both yielded sherds dating from the thirteenth to fourteenth century, while the sherds from Bila and Ujung suggest for these sites a later rise to importance.[11]

The quantity of sherds collected from Tinco point to its early importance.[12] The decline in the number of sherds from about 1600 suggests a gradual loss of importance of Tinco from about that time, while the corresponding rise in importance of the WatasSoppéng sites in the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries (reflected by the quantities of sherds collected for each century) supports the textual evidence that the rulers of Soppéng moved from Tinco to WatasSoppéng, sometime after the political unification of the two chiefdoms. Due to the very different collecting conditions at each site, no comparison can, however, be made between the relative importance of Tinco or Laleqbénténg before the seventeenth century.

Archaeological data would support a date sometime in the first half of the seventeenth century for a transfer of power from Tinco to Laleqbénténg. Against this must be set the reputed burial site of La Mataesso, the ruler who is said to have united East and West Soppéng, which is in Botto.[13] It is, of course, q uite possible that two palace-centres were maintained for some time following unification of the chiefdoms.

It may further be noted that the central role in the eighteenth-century AS of the Arung Bila is in accord with the archaeological evidence, which suggests that Bila was of little importance in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but expanded rapidly to play a much more important role in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Bila appears, in fact, to have become the religious and ceremonial centre of unified Soppéng in early Islamic times, and contains both Soppéng's oldest mosque and the present-day graveyard of the former ruling family of Soppéng.

5.3 Pre-Islamic Sidénréng

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[11] Ujung was particularly difficult to survey. Much of Ujung is now under asphalt, which reduced our survey to the Islamic graveyard and its immediate surroundings. The relatively small number of sherds thus collected may greatly underestimate Ujung's importance in earlier times.
[12] To some degree, the quantities of sherds recovered at Tinco must reflect the excellent collecting conditions there. But the yields were many times greater than those encountered under similar conditions in other areas of Soppéng.
[13] When we surveyed this site, we were told by a number of people that the jar in which his ashes rested had been sold to a Japanese collector. The site has been overtaken by urban development and is now crowned by the semi-permanent structure of an outdoor lavatory.

To date, very little information has been available on Sidénréng from either Bugis or European sources. A European visitor to Sidénréng in the sixteenth century left a brief account of its prosperity, linked to an incomprehensible description of the geography of the region of the central lakes (Pelras 1977:233). Neither Sidénréng nor any of the Ajattappareng kingdoms are represented in Matthes' series of 'early histories' (Matthes1864), nor is there any significant information on Sidénréng before 1600 in Blok (1817), or in the works of other early European visitors.

The historical records of her neighbouring chiefdoms give little impression of Sidénréng as a power to be reckoned with before the fifteenth century. At the end of the fourteenth century, the Royal Genealogy of Soppéng lists Sidénréng alongside Népo and Marioriawa, two minor kingdoms which lay, like Sidénréng, on Soppéng's northern borders (page 60). But by the end of the first quarter of the fifteenth century, the royal genealogies of Soppéng and Suppaq both record the transfer of control of Suppaq, an important west-coast port, from Soppéng to Sidénréng (cf. page XX). Suppaq had been closely linked to Soppéng since at least the early fourteenth century, to the extent that the ruling family of Soppéng had provided the rulers of Suppaq. The transfer of control of Suppaq to Sidénréng is probably indicative of a growth in Sidénréng's influence in the region north of the great lakes in the early fifteenth century. One last piece of evidence comes nearly a century later, in the Lontaraqna Sukkuqna Wajoq, namely the assault on Sidénréng by Wajoq and Luwuq in the first decades of the sixteenth century, cited in section 5.1.

On the basis of this rather slim evidence, it would seem that Sidénréng grew slowly from a small and relatively unimportant chiefdom in the fourteenth century, to a major regional power by the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

What do the three works referring to Sidénréng in Chapter Two add to this picture? The Chronicle of Sidénréng, a hitherto unknown work, was seen in section 2.8.3 to have been based, up to 1600, upon three written sources. But when we looked more closely, we saw that the first two of these were in turn composed of smaller units. These units derive from oral tradition and represent the basic units by which that particular tradition was passed on (in the terminology of Biblical scholarship, 'pericopes'). It is a relatively straightforward matter to identify these units, each of which originally no had connection with the others. Each pericope is a source in its own right, and must be examined individually to determine whether it can tell us anything of the period of which it claims to speak.

The apparent aim of the first pericope is to account for the foundation of Sidénréng. We are told how eight brothers of the Arung of Sangalla , a Toraja

chiefdom to the north-east of Sidénréng, left their homeland, and how they settled at Lake Sidénréng. But this story serves simply to set the background for the central 'message' of the pericope. This is to emphasize through the example of Sidénréng's founders the correct relationship between the Aqdatuang and the great lords of Sidénréng, symbolized by the eldest brother and his seven younger brothers:

> The eight brothers agreed, saying, 'Among us eight brothers the elder brother remains elder brother, the younger brother remains younger brother. Whatever the elder brother wishes shall be done. If there is something to be decided with our followers, the seven shall decide the matter. If we cannot reach agreement, we shall forward the matter to our eldest brother. Whatever he decides shall be done. If we seven disagree about anything, we shall go straight to our eldest brother. His decision shall settle the matter.'

This decided, the chiefdom prospers:

> Their rice crop and their vegetables flourished, and their buffaloes and horses grew more numerous, as did the number of their followers who had settled at the west of the lake.

The second pericope tells of the arrival in Sidénréng of a daughter of La Maqdaremmeng and her husband. She was installed as the first A daoang of Sidénréng. She had three children, among them La Makkaraka, alias La Kasi. La Makkaraka was prevailed upon to succeed his mother as Aqdaoang, an office he accepted only reluctantly:

> But he agreed to be made ruler. His family and the people of Sidénréng all said, 'Your wishes shall be obeyed and your words shall be the truth. Customary law shall become great and traditional usage increased by your family and by the people of Sidénréng'. They said, 'We shall be your followers, we shall be your people, we shall cultivate [the land], we shall build you a palace.'

This is the central message of the pericope: the emphasis upon the authority of the Aqdatuang, conferred upon him by his family and the people of Sidénréng. (The pericope appears to have lost its conclusion: cf. the ends of the other three periscopes.)

The third pericope begins with the words 'Now here is spoken of the origin ofthe Arung of Sidénréng'. At first sight this appears to be simply a variant version of the previous pericope. But while the characters are indeed the same, the aim

here is to set out the close political relationship of Sidénréng with the chiefdom of Rappang, which lies eleven kilometers north of Sidénréng. We learn how the Datu of Pantilang (a Toraja chiefdom), was afflicted by a skin disease and went into exile. When he arrived at Sangalla he married the eldest daughter of La Maqdaremmeng. The couple proceed on to Rappang where the Datu Pantilang was installed as ruler. He had three children: the eldest, a daughter, was installed as Aqdatuang of Sidénréng. This brings us to the central message of the pericope, namely the loyalty of Rappang to Sidénréng, which is contained in the following passage:

> She was the ruler who was hard of heart towards the people of Sidénréng. [Her] younger brother ruled at Rappang. The people of Rappang came to exchange [him with her]. The people of Rappang said, 'It would be good, Puang, if you came to rule in Rappang, and you made your brother ruler at Sidénréng.' Then La Malibureng was Aqdaoang of Sidénréng. The Arung Rappang and the Arung Sidénréng, who were brother and sister, made an agreement, saying, 'What dies in the morning [in] Rappang dies [in] the afternoon in Sidénréng.' To the present day this agreement between Rappang and Sidénréng has not been altered.

To emphasize the sincerity of this agreement, the pericope concludes with a story of how this agreement was attested to by a fire which destroyed the palace at Sidénréng. When the news reached the Arung Rappang, she at once had the palace at Rappang burnt to the ground.

The fourth and longest pericope begins with a genealogical introduction of La Makkaraka, who is presented as the great-grandson of the daughter of La Maqdaremmeng. (In the second pericope he is her son.) Having located La Makkaraka, the pericope moves swiftly to its central point:

> He was the first to make firm agreements between the people of Sidénréng and their lord. He was the first to fix laws and appoint ministers. He was a great ruler. His laws were splendid and people feared the law. The eight brothers of the Arung of Sidénréng […] made an agreement with the Aqdaoang of Sidénréng.

We are then given a detailed account of the promises made to La Makkaraka by his brothers. These include royal monopolies on the sale of salt, sirih and tobacco, ownership of the main body of the forest, albinos and transvestites (!) and the right to a levy on goods seized by his brothers. All these provisions we may assume had a basis in historical fact. The brothers are then rewarded with the right to act as the ruler's representatives and to seize wrongdoers.

What are we to make of these pericopes? Our first observation must be that they are manifestly not historical records, in the sense that one may use the word of genealogical sources. This is not to say that some of their characters were not historical individuals. In addition, the things which the pericopes speak of—the relationships between Sidénréng and Rappang, the rights of the ruler of Sidénréng to certain monopolies, etc—almost certainly reflect historical realities. We may further deduce from the fact that there are seven younger brothers of the ruler in both the first and the third pericopes, that there were (at least in theory) seven great lords of Sidénréng.

What we cannot be certain of, however, is whether the individuals thus named are contemporary with the other elements of the pericopes. In the absence of external evidence we cannot assume that the pericopes are older than the eighteenth or nineteenth century. There is therefore no reason to assume thatin pre-Islamic times there were seven great lords of Sidénréng, or that an agreement of friendship was concluded by the pre-Islamic rulers of Rappang and Sidénréng. (That there were seven great lords, or that such an agreement once existed is probable.) The only elements of the four pericopes that we may safely ascribe to the pre-Islamic period are the names of some of their characters, who—if we accept their historicity—must date from before c.1475, simply because we have detailed genealogical records dating from this period in which they do not appear.

It is tempting to argue that the appeal to La Makkaraka as a source of authority reflects the memory of Sidénréng's growing importance in the fifteenth century. But he may simply reflect a literary type, namely the good and just ruler who sets out the rules, regulations and court ceremonial of a chiefdom (cf. Tumapa risi Kallonna in the Chronicle of Goa or Sultan Muhammad Shah in the Malay Sejarah Melayu [Brown 1952]). We must therefore conclude that apart from a handful of names, the oral traditions recorded in the four pericopes are of little use as historical sources for the pre-Islamic period.

The third source used by the chronicler was the Royal Genealogy of Sidénréng. While this is clearly based upon contemporary records, it unfortunately tells us little of Sidénréng, apart from the names and relationships of some thirty members of its ruling family, from about 1475 to 1600. But when set beside genealogies of the ruling families of the four other Ajattappareng chiefdoms (Mukhlis 1985:119) we see that their members are so closely linked by marriage that it is difficult to decide to which family many belong. One is given rather the impression of one large one ruling family, members of which are located at one of the five major political centres of Ajattappareng.

From this and the Vassal List of Sidénréng, it would seem that Sidénréng never gained control over its surrounding chiefdoms to the extent that Soppéng and Boné evidently did. The Vassal List of Sidénréng's component chiefdoms lie no further than a few kilometers from her palace-centre. The reasons for this must be largely geographic. Each of the five chiefdoms of Ajattappareng is located on a fertile plain: each plain is separated from the others by low hills or by water, and each possesses its own system of irrigation, fed largely by seasonal rainfall, the management of which would have req uired local direction and control. It is this requirement that would appear to lie behind the looseness of Sidénréng's control over Ajattappareng, as well as the relative equivalence of the resources each of the five chiefdoms could command. It is probably these geographical considerations too that explain why neither Sidénréng nor any of its sister chiefdoms ever became as formidable military power as Boné or Goa, despite the considerable wealth of the Ajattappareng region, 'the rice bowl of South Sulawesi' (Maeda 1984:110). None of the five chiefdoms could, on its own, summon the equivalent economic or military power, while distance and topography set significant barriers to the integration of the five chiefdoms into a single unit.

5.4 The Disappearing Chiefdom of Cina

Along with Luwuq, Cina is believed to be one of the oldest chiefdoms in South Sulawesi. It is an important place in the I La Galigo: Wé Cudai, the sister of Sawerigading, a prince of Luwuq, marries there; and Sawerigading visits Cina on several occasions. More substantial evidence of Cina, however, is difficult to find. To date I have identified just two works which appear to relate directly to this elusive chiefdom. These are the Royal Genealogy of Cina and the King List of Cina (page 41). (Occasional references to Cina are found in other historical sources.) However, both these works raise more questions than they provide answers in relation to the existence of Cina. Indeed, we cannot even be certain that the Cina to which they refer is the same as that of the I La Galigo. Very importantly, no evidence of Cina can be found in early Dutch or Portuguese sources. Even the location of Cina is uncertain: some historians place it in Wajoq, others in Boné.[14]

The disappearance of Cina is accounted for in Bugis historiography by a tradition that when La Sangaji Ajipammana, the childless, twenty-second Datu Cina, was dying, he asked the members of the Adat Council and the Matoa (headmen) to change the name of Cina to his own. He further proposed one of five candidates living in Boné, Soppéng and Wajoq to be elected as his successor. After his death, Cina was called Ajipammana or Pammana (Abidin 1983:219-220, after the accounts found in NBG 109 and MAK 115).

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[14] See page *∂.*

The legend is plainly apocryphal: the name Pammana appears in the Royal Genealogy of Cina some eleven generations earlier than does La Sangaji in the King List of Cina. Indeed, in the Royal Genealogy, Pammana is named as the settlement ruled by La Pasangkadi, one of the three sons of La Patau who head important, related genealogies, which extend back to the early fifteenth century (see figure 3-4 on page 89). In the Lontara Sukkuqna Wajoq, Pammana is also named on several occasions before the seventeenth century, when, on the intrinsic evidence of the King List, La Sangaji can be estimated to have died.

The legend of La Sangaji Ajipammana should not, however, be dismissed out of hand. The tradition of a change in name, if not literally true, might well record a historic re-focussing of power between Cina and Pammana, a minor chiefdom located in the western Cénrana region. By examining the places named in the Royal Genealogy, it is indeed possible to find evidence of such a shift in political power. It is, furthermore, possible to link this shift to the change in the economic basis of political power in South Sulawesi around the year 1400, argued by Macknight (1983).

The legend of Cina's change of name to Pammana would make little sense were the two chiefdoms not neighbours. This narrows our search to the Cénrana Valley, along the border of Wajoq and Boné, as the most likely location of Cina. An examination of Dutch maps of the area reveals a promising site comprising a bukit Cina, a sungai Cina and what appears to be a small settlement with the name of Cina, all within half a kilometer of each other, near the mouth of the Cénrana River (figure 5-1 on page 124).[15] While the mouth of the Cénrana River offers little in the way of suitable rice-growing land, the land on either side consisting for the most part of salty marshland, a location such as that of bukit Cina would have been ideal for controlling the movements of goods and people up and down the Cénrana River.[16] We can reasonably conclude that any substantial chiefdom situated near Bukit Cina at the mouth of the Cénrana River would have drawn its basic revenues from trade rather than from centrally-directed wet-rice farming.

The focus of the Royal Genealogy is, however, the western part of the Cénrana region. The settlements named by the Genealogy are all located on fertile rice-growing land to the south of the Cénrana River. Furthermore, the Royal

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[15] Just a few kilometers downstream from Bukit Cina are the remains of the fortress built by the seventeenth-century Arung Palakka (Andaya 1981: Map 8). The location of these seventeenth-century remains suggests that the course of the Cénrana river has changed little in recent centuries.

[16] On the northern side of the Cénrana River is a site called Laleqbénténg, 'inside the walls'. The word bénténg derives from the Portuguese and probably refers to a part of Arung Palakka's fortifications rather than to the chiefdom of Cina.

Genealogy of Cina (the title, it should be recalled, is my own) does not mention Cina, nor can the name Cina be found on maps of this region further up the river, be it in connection with river, hill or settlement.

What should we thus make of the several, geographically unlocated references to Cina in the historical literature, of which the most important is the King List's insistence that its first twenty-two members were the rulers of Cina? Of these rulers, seventeen are found also in the Royal Genealogy of Cina, where they form what could be called a 'central line', firmly linked to a number of settlements in the western Cénrana region. Finally, if the legend of La Sangaji is apocryphal, what historical events lie behind its development?

One possible solution is to accept the I La Galigo's Cina as representing a pre-historic chiefdom located near the mouth of the Cénrana River. This chiefdom appears to have disappeared by the beginning of the fifteenth century, when writing began. It seems to have been replaced by Luwuq as the power that controlled this important river-mouth (Abidin 1985:63,248). The western Cénrana region has been occupied since at least 1400 by a number of small agricultural chiefdoms, including among others Baringeng, Pammana and Tétéwatu. These chiefdoms, which were later incorporated into Boné and Wajoq, appear to have looked to the memory of the vanished, estuarine Cina as the source of status for their ruling families. This view of Cina may have extended to the installation of a Datu Cina as the nominal overlord of the region (Abidin 1983:220).

The strength of this rather speculative argument is that it accounts for all the data presented so far. Indeed, one might argue that the problem of reconciling the various traditions concerning Cina in Bugis historiography is precisely due to the fact that its period of importance in the region preceded the development of writing. This has enabled the use of the memory of Cina as a source of status (and hence political legitimacy) elsewhere in the Cénrana Valley. For example, the references to Cina in the Lontara Sukkuqna Wajoq occurs in its opening pages, where it functions as a source of status in a legend concerning the origin of Cinnotta bi (Abidin 1985:65).

If we are correct in locating a pre-historic Cina near the mouth of the Cénrana River, its use as a source of ascriptive status by a number of chiefdoms located in the western Cénrana region would seem to imply that this region did not possess a ruling elite of respectable antiquity. This points to the relatively late centralization of authority in the western Cénrana region. The historical problem produced by this tracing of the status of unrelated families to an earlier, pre-historic chiefdom, appears to be reflected in the tradition cited by Abidin that:

> Cina […] consisted of West Cina with its capital Alangkanangnge ri Latanété (the name [Alangkanangngé?] is still current in the district of Pammana) and East Cina (some people locate this second area in the part of Bone now called Cina [presumably the hill of Cina]).[17]

The full hypothesis may be succinctly restated as follows. It is argued that Cina was a trade-based, coastally-oriented chiefdom, the palace-centre of which was located near the mouth of the Cénrana River. The close linking of Cina and Luwuq in the I La Galigo presumably preserves some element of historical veracity and is supported in a roundabout way by the evidence in historical sources of Luwuq's claim to this region. By the end of the fourteenth century Cina seems to have disappeared, by which time XXXX while a number of nascent agricultural chiefdoms had appeared in the western Cénrana region. It seems probable that these chiefdoms were united into some kind of loose confederation called Cina that based its legitimacy and status upon the memory of the earlier, trade-based chiefdom of that name. It is finally argued that the traditional 'King List' of Cina is (excluding its legendary elements) a list of rulers of these upper-valley chiefdoms, and not those of the Cina of the I La Galigo.

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[17] The identification of Cina with Cina in southwest Boné (the hill of Cina spoken of by the Chronicle of Boné) can be dismissed simply on the grounds of its distance from any means of communication, such as a major waterway. The authors of the Peristiwa place the capital of Cina at desa Sumpang Alék, some seven kilometers from Séngkang (Peristiwa 1976:1). A third possibility, which I investigated in December 1986, is the site located on the highlands between Bukit Topopangi (118 m.) and the hamlet of Sarapao (Topografische Dienst1930, Blad 76/XXXII). Known locally as Wé Cudai's palace (Wé Cudai is the sister of Sawarigading in the I La Galigo), this hill is identified by residents as the former palace-centre of Cina. While the site is unsurveyed, it shows evident signs of earlier occupation: several thirteenth to fourteenth-century sherds were observed on the path leading up to the summit of the hill. The summit is overgrown with lalang grass and provides a commanding view over the rice-bearing plains to the east. It also has an elaborate grave, probably of post-Islamic date and now vandalized.
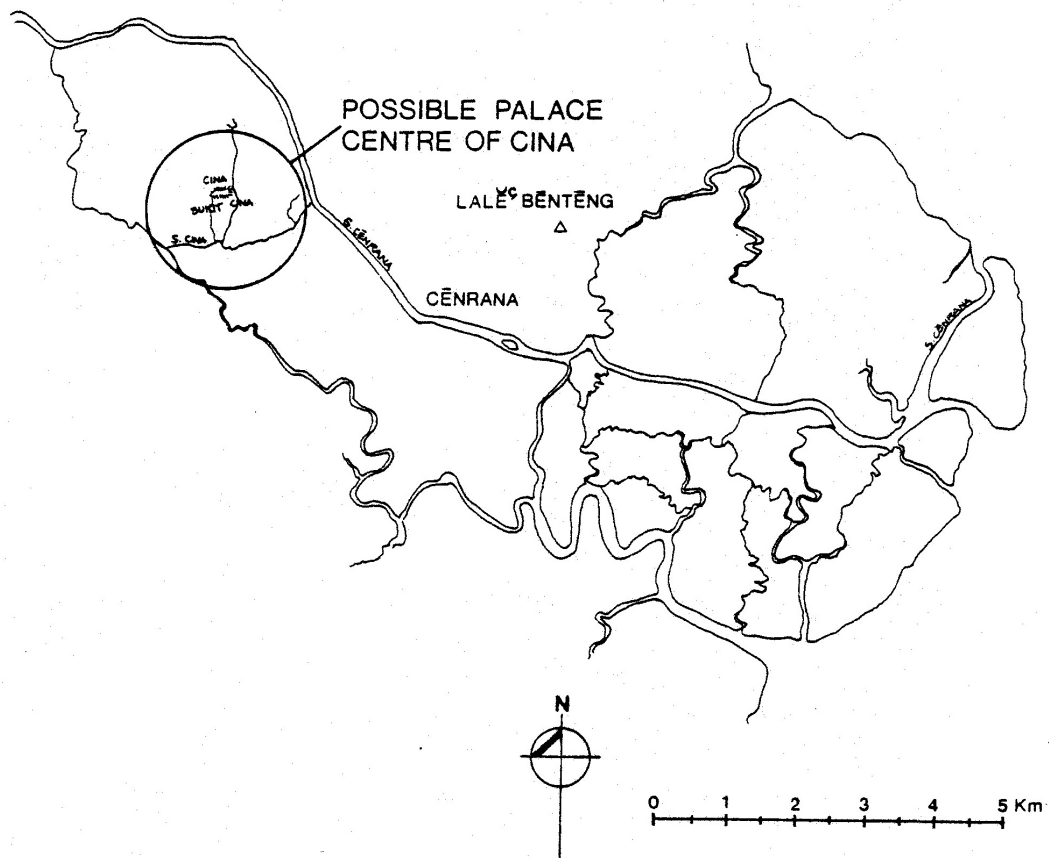
POSSIBLE PALACE
CENTRE OF CINA

LALE BENTENG

CĒNRANA

CĪNA

BUKIT CĪNA

S. CĪNA

S. CĒNRANA

S. CĒNRANA

N

0   1   2   3   4   5 Km

Figure 5-2: The Palace-Centre of Cina in the 14th Century

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