

A CHAIN OF KINGS

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33

A CHAIN OF KINGS

The Makassarese chronicles of Gowa and Talloq

edited and translated by

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Preface

The opening invocation of the *Gowa chronicle* states that it commemorates the *karaeng*, or rulers, of Gowa by recounting their names so that they will not be forgotten. 'Because if they are not known there are two dangers: either we will feel ourselves to be such *karaeng* or outsiders will say you here are just common people.' This book has been written for those very outsiders that a chronicler some four centuries ago believed would otherwise overlook the history of this corner of the world. Translations of the two main chronicles written at the courts of Gowa and Talloq offer readers a window on a tumultuous chapter in Indonesia's long history. These two close allies dominated Makassar and a substantial portion of South Sulawesi before their conquest by the Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC, Dutch East Indies Company) and Bugis in 1669, and it is largely through these chronicles that we know what transpired in Makassar before this date.

The chronicles of Gowa and Talloq are the most important historical sources for the study of pre-colonial Makassar. They have provided the basic framework and much of the information that we possess about the origins, growth, and expansion of Gowa during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. During this period Gowa and its close ally Talloq became the most powerful force in the eastern Indonesian archipelago, and historians have relied heavily on Indonesian translations of the chronicles (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim 1959; Rahim and Ridwan 1975) to chart the developments of this period. Unfortunately, the Indonesian translations contain numerous errors, have a tendency to gloss over difficult passages, and were based on a published transcription (Matthes 1883), itself based on manuscripts that in hindsight were not the best choice. J. Noorduyn described them as 'less convincing on every point' (Noorduyn 1991:481). Since so few scholars can read Makassarese, a careful translation of the chronicles will offer historians an invaluable foundation on which to base interpretations of this crucial place and time in Indonesian history.

In addition to their role as sources of historical information, the two chronicles are extremely valuable historiographically. Careful translations provide scholars the opportunity to examine how the chronicles were narratively constructed, how their structure and form related to their content, and

how chronicle writing was connected to social formations and social changes during the pre-modern period. Such translations can also facilitate investigations of Makassarese notions of history, identity, power, religion, society, and a host of other ethnographic topics. Careful and critical examinations of the chronicles as a whole or of individual reigns or themes can yield valuable information about Makassarese perceptions of their social world.

This book is divided into two main sections. The first pair of chapters examines what we can know of pre-colonial Makassarese history (and what we cannot) through the chronicles. This includes the historical background of pre-colonial Makassar as well as careful consideration of the textual issues surrounding the extant manuscripts containing the chronicles and that affect their transcription, translation, and interpretation. A glossary and reign lists for the rulers of Gowa and Talloq will help readers navigate the translated texts. The second part of the book presents translations, explanatory notes, and transcriptions of the Gowa and Talloq chronicles.

Like all projects, this one has accumulated several years of professional and personal debts. Within the small field of South Sulawesi studies, Anthony Jukes, Campbell Macknight, and a diligent anonymous reader have provided support, advice, and saved me from numerous (though doubtless not all) errors. The University of South Florida and the department of History have provided a collegial atmosphere in which to pursue this work. In particular I thank Mike Decker for the frequent coffee breaks. Andi Malarangeng and Jim Henry at Northern Illinois University developed the Bugis font used in the text. Above all others, however, I am deeply indebted to Sharon, without whose encouragement, love, and understanding this work would have little meaning. *Terima kasih.*

Abbreviations

AL	Lembaga Sejarah dan Antropologi, Cabang II ms. 2
ANRI	Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia
AS	Lembaga Sejarah dan Antropologi, Cabang II ms. 1
BL	British Library, Department of Oriental Manuscripts
CM	Matthes, B.F., 1883, <i>Makassaarsche chrestomathie; Oorspronkelijke Makassaarsche geschriften in proza en poëzij uitgegeven.</i> 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff.
KIT	Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen
MS	Matthes Stichting
NBG	Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap
SPBK	Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Oriental Manuscripts
VOC	Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie
VT	Miscellaneous languages collection, Museum Nasional, Jakarta

CHAPTER I

Introduction

This chapter presents a narrative overview of Makassarese history as glimpsed through the Gowa and Talloq chronicles, then assesses the historiographical issues related to the interpretation of the chronicles as historical sources and historical narratives.

The chronicles' history of pre-colonial Makassar

A narrative reconstruction of Gowa and Talloq's past begins with oral legends incorporated into the *Gowa chronicle*. As the chronicle tells it, the rulers of what would become Gowa descended from the marriage between a *tumanurung*, or mythical being who descended from the Upperworld and in whose veins noble white blood flows, and a stranger named Karaeng Bayo. Karaeng Bayo may have come from the southern Makassarese coastal area of Bantaeng, an early trading spot in which important archaeological finds have been unearthed, or from Sanrabone, another coastal community long linked to external trade routes. The name Bayo probably derives from *bajo*, a term which referred to those who came from the seas. Structurally, then, the origin story of Gowa follows a widespread Austronesian pattern in which a stranger-king from overseas marries a local woman, though in this case one who mysteriously descended from above (compare Bellwood 1996; Fox 1995; Sahlins 1985). Indeed, the *tumanurung*'s unearthly origins ensure that the line of *karaeng* who came from her union with Karaeng Bayo can claim a descent and status unequalled by any other rival rulers in Makassar. Asserting and defending the uniqueness of the rulers of Gowa was a central purpose of the chronicles (Cummings 2002).

The *tumanurung* and Karaeng Bayo's child, Tumassalanga Barayang ('the one with uneven shoulders'), was born with deformities that signified his otherworldly nature and hinted at supernatural powers of sight, hearing, and smell beyond those of normal humans. The *Gowa chronicle* says nothing of Karaeng Bayo's fate, though it describes how the *tumanurung* disappeared without a trace. From each of his parents Tumassalanga Barayang inherited

objects that would become the central regalia of the rulers of Gowa: half of a necklace named Tanisamaang and the sword Sudanga, borne by Karaeng Bayo's brother Lakipadada. Culturally connected to the founding figures that possessed them, subsequent rulers could point to these sacred objects (*kalom-poang*) as tangible proofs of their illustrious, indeed incomparable, descent.

Tumassalanga Barayang disappeared as abruptly as his mother, and was succeeded by his son. The chronicles tell us nothing more than the names of the four rulers after Tumassalanga Barayang. It is likely that the impressive and important origins of Gowa were considered important to remember, but the details about these rulers were not as valued. When the *Gowa chronicle* was composed later, chroniclers could only report that their wives, children, wars, and the lengths of their reigns are not known 'because nothing is said of it'.

Unlike the dramatic and otherworldly origins of Gowa, the origins of Talloq were a matter of succession politics (Cummings 1999). The sixth ruler of Gowa, Tunatangkalopi, had two sons, Batara Gowa and Karaeng Loe ri Sero. After a quarrel over an unknown matter, Karaeng Loe ri Sero left Gowa and journeyed westwards. When he returned, he discovered that not all of the local lords whom his father Tunatangkalopi had assigned to him had switched their allegiance to Batara Gowa. With these few loyal followers and their households, he established a new settlement close to the sea in the mid to late fifteenth century. This community, Talloq, was distant enough from inland Gowa to retain its independence for several generations.

The founding of Talloq as described in the chronicle is pervaded by mythical tropes. As Ian Caldwell notes, the tale of a quarrel between brothers, the younger of whom is forced to leave and seek his fortune by starting a new settlement beyond the pale of civilization, is an ancient pan-Austronesian theme common in South Sulawesi (Caldwell 1995:413-4). The presence of the outrigger canoe is also reminiscent of Austronesian stories of settlement. The very notion of a community led by a chief being analogous to a ship led by a captain is likewise an Austronesian theme, and may have its origins in the actual voyages by which bands of Austronesians spread through and beyond Southeast Asia (Bellwood 1996, 1997; Fox 1996; Manguin 1986). Cultural mythology may have trumped geography here, for travel from Gowa to Campagaya does not require a ship, though it may have been the easiest way to journey from Bangkalaq to Campagaya. Additionally, while it is possible that following their dispute Karaeng Loe traveled to Java it is far from likely. To Makassarese the term 'Jawa' referred to peoples from the western archipelago, more often Malays than Javanese. In the story here, it may mean that Karaeng Loe journeyed to meet Malay traders on the coast in a place like Garassiq, that he visited offshore islands, or that he traveled to a nearby destination such as a Malay community across the Makassar Strait

in Borneo. Unlike his successor's three-year journey overseas to Melaka and Banda, explicitly described in the chronicle, the travels of Karaeng Loe are too vague for certainty.

Beginning in the sixteenth century the two chronicles provide detailed accounts of the reigns of the rulers of Gowa and Talloq. It is important to emphasize that these chronicles are not general histories of these two communities, but descriptions of their rulers. Events, places, and people are included insofar as they were connected to the ruling *karaeng*. These are related thematically, not chronologically. In general, the account of each reign begins by stating the ruler's names and titles, after which come three basic kinds of information. Marriages and significant offspring are described first; followed by the conquests, important events, and developments that took place during that *karaeng*'s reign; and finally the character or personality of the *karaeng* is briefly assessed. The greatest portion of each narrative account consists of genealogical information. This information was crucial for succession politics. Makassarese society seems to have become increasingly focused on ordering society along the lines of ascribed rank. Later observers universally remarked on the careful marking of rank and the politics of status rivalry evident in Makassar.¹ Genealogical closeness to the ruler generally corresponded to social importance and political power, though this was tempered by the fact that a ruler's closest rivals were typically siblings of similar rank.

Gowa and Talloq did not remain small communities that are of interest primarily because of the complexity of their kinship politics, however. During the course of the sixteenth century Gowa came to dominate most of South Sulawesi. This process began with Karaeng Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna, the first Gowa ruler whose reign the *Gowa chronicle* describes at length. While his accomplishments are perhaps all the more impressive because of the paucity of information about his predecessors, there is no doubt that decisive changes during his reign transformed Gowa. Ruling from late 1510 or early 1511 to late 1546, Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna laid the foundation for Gowa's later domination of Makassar. Among his accomplishments the *Gowa chronicle* mentions the first written records, laws, and declarations of war. With Gowa's long list of conquests of other Makassarese communities during his reign the dramatic rise of Gowa's influence throughout Makassar began. Many of those 'conquered' were defeated in battle and forced to acknowledge Gowa's sovereignty, but this did not mean permanent submission or immediate incorporation into Gowa's growing empire. Ties of marriage, exchanges of sacred *kalompoang*, commercial access to overseas valuables brought to Gowa, population resettlement, and other factors had to do their slower work before early relations based on defeat

¹ Bulbeck 1996; Chabot 1996; Cummings 2002; Pelras 2000; Reid 2000.

in war could give way to more stable links tying and subordinating outlying Makassarese communities to Gowa. At the same time, Gowa employed its growing and formidable military might as far afield as Bugis Boné and Sidénréng, while signing a treaty with Luwuq. Gowa's horizons moved quickly from the small stage of local politics to wars, treaties, and trade with polities across the peninsula and beyond. During his reign too Makassarese traded at Melaka and welcomed Portuguese merchants to Gowa.

The expansion of Gowa's influence begun under Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna – militarily, economically, politically – continued throughout the early modern era. Gowa's sixteenth-century rulers descended from Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna. He was succeeded by his sons Tunipalangga (reign late 1546 to early 1565) and Tunibatta (ruled for forty days in 1565), Tunibatta's son Tunijalloq (reign 1565 to late 1590), and Tunijalloq's son Tunipasuluq (reign late 1590 to early 1593). The *Gowa chronicle* records impressive accomplishments during these reigns as well. Under Tunipalangga a range of specialized craftsmen began to work for the ruler: ironsmiths, goldsmiths, builders, shipwrights, blow-pipe makers, ropemakers, and more. Bricks were fired, gold smelted, and gunpowder mixed. Weapons and agricultural implements were improved. Earthen forts began to be buttressed with brick walls. Communities as far away as Mandar in central Sulawesi now acknowledged Gowa's suzerainty. Tunibatta died fighting the Bugis, but Gowa's rise continued during the reign of his son Tunijalloq. He worked hard to further the efforts of his predecessors. He strengthened defensive forts along the coast with powerful cannons, improved Makassarese ships and weapons, and patronized court scribes. Trade flourished, and Tunijalloq sent envoys abroad and made alliances outside of Sulawesi with the rulers of Mataram, Banjarmasin, Johor, and with rulers in Maluku and Timor. Tunijalloq built a mosque for the burgeoning Malay community, who themselves may have begun proselytizing among Makassarese. After some time Tunijalloq felt that Gowa was strong enough to challenge the Bugis again, and the Bugis kingdoms of Boné, Soppéng, and Wajoq banded together in a triple alliance in 1582 against Gowa. By the end of his reign Gowa was without doubt the preeminent power and commercial centre in South Sulawesi. The *Gowa chronicle* remembers Tunijalloq's son and successor Tunipasuluq as a despot known for arbitrary behavior. Only fifteen years of age when he came to power, Tunipasuluq exiled or seized the property of many nobles, presumably removing resistance to his efforts to centralize and reorganize Makassarese social relations and manpower obligations (Cummings 2005b). Many Malay traders and Makassarese fled during his brief reign, opposing his demands for subservience or fearful that his gaze would next fall upon them. Finally, the nobles of Gowa and Talloq collectively deposed Tunipasuluq, and he died in exile on the distant island of Buton twenty four years later.

The *Gowa chronicle* describes at length two great turning points during the sixteenth century. The first of these was a war fought between Gowa and its allies against the combined forces of Talloq, Maros, and Polombangkeng in the 1530s. Gowa was victorious, and simultaneously gained access to the manpower and rich agricultural lands of Maros and Polombangkeng and the maritime trade of coastal Talloq. This access must have been decisive in fueling Gowa's rise. Significant too was the beginning afterwards, as yet tentative, of a close partnership with Talloq that would flourish in the seventeenth century. The second major turning point came in perhaps 1561, when a group of Malays approached Tunipalangga and asked for a place to dwell. This was certainly not the first time that Malays and Makassarese encountered each other. Malays had been trading at Makassarese ports for decades, and some groups settled in Makassarese coastal communities after being forced from Melaka by the Portuguese conquest in 1511. Makassarese too may well have been known in Melaka: the Portuguese merchant Tomé Pires mentioned traders from the 'Macaçar islands', while the *Gowa chronicle* noted that Karaeng Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna came to power in the same year that Melaka was conquered. But now a pattern of intermittent or seasonal interaction with Malay merchants gave way to the regular, everyday contact that only a permanent community could facilitate (Cense 1978; Cummings 1998). More than any other group, Malay mercantile acumen and commercial contacts throughout the archipelago accelerated the pace and profitability of trade at Gowa. These two events were of profound importance for Gowa's later history.

The chronicles also reveal significant trends shaping Gowa and Makassar during the course of the sixteenth century. Most evident, Gowa's rulers began to create a hierarchy of positions and titles that would endure beyond the lifespan of personal and kinship links between individuals. The two most important were probably those of harbormaster (*sabannaraq*) and an advisor to the ruler known as 'The Speaker of the Land' (*tumabicarabutta*). Other officials included a trio of ministers (*tumailalang*) that acted as intermediaries within Gowa. Individual nobles now occupied these permanent positions, each of which had defined duties, privileges, and ritual roles. Some communities were transformed into appanages for the noble who held the title – the '*karaeng*-ship' – of that area. In addition, a bewildering variety of local titles were arranged over time into a coherent hierarchy. The most powerful rulers of important communities were titled *karaeng*; other local lords were titled *gallarrang*; leaders of smaller communities were called *kare*, *datuq*, *loqmoq*, or one of several other titles. The ruler of Gowa alone was addressed as *somba*. More important than these individual designations was the recognition that they represented particular ranks or positions within a Makassarese society whose pinnacle was in Gowa. Not rigid or unchanging, this evolving hierarchy of positions and titles nevertheless marked out a comparatively coherent

system of relative statuses and clear political and social relationships within an integrated whole.

Accompanying and making possible this growing hierarchy was the increasing power of the ruler of Gowa. From being an adjudicator of disputes and first among equals, the Karaeng Gowa became an august ruler with considerable power. In Gowa's early years the ruler's main source of support was the followers of local *gallarrang* who otherwise possessed considerable autonomy. During the course of the sixteenth century, however, more and more prestige, resources, and influence lay with the titled positions and *karaeng*-ships established over the course of the sixteenth century. The ruler of Gowa and a handful of *karaeng* dominated Gowa's affairs, making decisions and reaping the economic and political benefits that stemmed from their privileged positions. Yet this power was not unlimited. Tunipasuluq's arbitrary actions established the boundaries beyond which rulers could not go, and the belief that rulers must be lawful rather than rapacious remained a potent ideal.

During the seventeenth century these trends and the general pattern of Gowa's expansion and rising power continued at an even swifter pace. Following the deposition of Tunipasuluq, the influential statesman and ruler of Talloq Karaeng Matoaya installed on the throne of Gowa Tunipasuluq's brother (and his own nephew) who would come to be known as Sultan Ala'uddin (reign 1593 to 1639). The new ruler of Gowa was a young boy at the time, and it was Karaeng Matoaya who supervised the rebuilding of a Gowa empire that Tunipasuluq's actions had threatened to destroy. Sultan Ala'uddin remained under Karaeng Matoaya's tutelage for most of his long reign until Karaeng Matoaya's death. Sultan Ala'uddin considered his uncle his closest advisor, and he followed Karaeng Matoaya's lead in all things.

The account of Karaeng Matoaya's reign is by far the longest in the *Talloq chronicle*, and it is effusive in describing the accomplishments of his reign. Chief among these were extensive conquests in Makassarese and Bugis lands, innovations in warfare and naval technology, extension of Makassarese domination overseas, construction of elaborate fortifications, attainment of a high level of craftwork, and the growth of Makassar into an important trading entrepôt. From 1593 to 1636, when Karaeng Matoaya died, Gowa and Talloq flourished. By all accounts a gifted, industrious, and wise man, Matoaya presided over Gowa's rise from a local power within South Sulawesi to a key power within the Indonesian archipelago (Reid 1981). Crucial to this success were the close bonds the rulers of Gowa and Talloq forged beginning with Matoaya and Ala'uddin. During this period, outsiders often assumed the two kingdoms were one, living up to the famous and long-remembered Makassarese pronouncement that Gowa and Talloq had 'only one people but two rulers' (*seqreji ata narua karaeng*).

Punctuating this continuing narrative of rulers overseeing the expansion of Gowa during the seventeenth century was another important watershed: conversion to Islam. Muslim Malays had been visiting and residing in Makassar for a century or more before the rulers of Gowa and Talloq converted to Islam. Quite probably individual Makassarese converted before 1605, but on 22 September of that year Karaeng Matoaya formally and publicly embraced Islam, followed soon thereafter by Sultan Ala'uddin (the Islamic title by which this first Muslim ruler of Gowa is known). In a society where rulers were the focus of social life and its norms, other Makassarese quickly followed these rulers. There was resistance to formally accepting Islam by some Makassarese, and 'conversion' itself is best understood as an ongoing process rather than a single transformative event.² For example, lowland Makassarese populations participated in Islamic practices and identified themselves as Muslims long before highland Makassarese, who often equated entering Islam with political submission to Gowa. Nevertheless, Karaeng Matoaya and Sultan Ala'uddin fundamentally changed South Sulawesi. Matoaya and Ala'uddin launched campaigns known as 'Wars of Islamization' throughout and beyond the peninsula. Between 1608 and 1611 all the major polities of South Sulawesi south of the highland Toraja were forcibly converted to Islam. Overseas areas conquered or under the influence of Gowa, such as Bima on the island of Sumbawa, were similarly compelled to convert to the new faith (Noorduyn 1987). This explicitly Islamic Makassarese identity did not cause major social changes in the pre-colonial period, but it did become an important idiom in which Makassarese political relations were expressed, and it did establish Gowa as an Islamic polity on a par with Aceh, Banten, and the other major Islamic courts dominating the archipelago during the seventeenth century.

The last ruler described in the *Talloq chronicle* is Tumammaliang ri Timoroq (reign 1623 to 1641). The son of Karaeng Matoaya, he is described in lackluster terms, and is most known for marrying twenty times. He was succeeded by his brother Karaeng Pattingalloang (reign 1641 to 1654), who outside observers considered to be as sage and capable as Matoaya. It is puzzling that no extant chronicle manuscript contains an account of his reign. Possibly such an account was composed, but no copies of the chronicle containing that section survived. We are better served by *Gowa chronicle* manuscripts. All recount the reign of Sultan Ala'uddin's successor Sultan Malikussaid (reign 1639 to 1653), and many contain accounts of his successor, Sultan Hasanuddin (reign 1653 to 1669). Hasanuddin was the last independent ruler of Gowa, and the one who oversaw the debacle of the Makassar Wars (1666-1669), which ended in

² Andaya 1984; Cummings 2001; Noorduyn 1956; Pelras 1985.

Gowa's subjugation (Andaya 1981). Though the wars are not described in the chronicle, following the conquest he abdicated, and died soon after. With his death the *Gowa chronicle* ends too, a poignant recognition that a glorious era had come to a close.

Historiographical comments

We know nothing of the anonymous writers who composed and copied these chronicles, which perforce limits assessing their historiographical character to what we can learn from the texts themselves. For the most part, modern historians have been content to mine the chronicles for historical facts with which to construct narrative accounts of the rise and fall of Gowa. In contrast to historical texts from Java, texts from South Sulawesi have famously been pronounced 'sober' and 'factual' (Cense 1951; Noorduynd 1961, 1965). Yet these judgments were perhaps too hasty. We should first ask just what are we studying, and what do we presume this object of study to be like?

Most basically, what kind of histories do the chronicles tell or enable us to tell? An established empiricist strain in South Sulawesi studies offers one answer: the chronicles record a treasure-trove of by and large reliable, factual information about Makassar in the early modern period. This practical view has much to commend it, not least of all because without the information recorded in these two chronicles we would know little about Makassarese history before the middle of the seventeenth century. It is no exaggeration to state that their narrative has been synonymous with Gowa's history in particular. Abdurrazak Daeng Patunru's *Sejarah Gowa* (History of Gowa, 1969) closely follows the chronicles, as do the works of Leonard Andaya (1981) and Anthony Reid (1981, 1983). Historians interested in empirical reconstruction of the main historical figures, events, developments, and patterns that have structured or characterized Makassarese history are deeply in the debt of our anonymous chroniclers.

Yet, despite the presence of many useful facts, there are numerous topics about which the chroniclers remained silent. As accounts of the reigns of rulers, the chronicles are clearly not ambitious in scope. There is enough mention of inaugural events like the minting of gold coins, the arrival of foreign merchants, and establishment of standardized weights and measures to gain a sense of the rising importance of trade in Makassar, but very little information that would allow us to reliably chart economic developments. We know that Karaeng Tunipalangga of Gowa (reign 1546 to 1565) was described as wealthy, but in comparison to what? Tumammaliang ri Timoroq of Talloq (reign 1623 to 1641) was also described as wealthy, but did this have a different meaning nearly a century later? Ultimately, we can only reconstruct the volume and scope of trade at Makassar through the observa-

tions of Europeans and VOC records, as Noorduyn (1983) has done for the pre-colonial period and Gerrit Knaap and Heather Sutherland (2004) for the eighteenth century.

Another difficulty in interpreting the information contained in the chronicles derives from uncritical reliance on models of historical development that scholars have imported from outside Sulawesi. For example, the assumption that what developed in sixteenth and seventeenth century Makassar was an 'early modern state' is based on criteria derived from the European experience. Thus Ian Caldwell confidently writes, 'The chronicles of these kingdoms record, in the sixteenth century, the development of kingship, the codification of law, the rise of a bureaucracy, the imposition of a military draft and taxation, and the emergence of full-time craftsmen. These are all features of the modern state' (Caldwell 1995:418). Yet scholarship on the nature of the state suggests that this list of criteria is problematic and arbitrary.³ Furthermore, many of the features of the state that Caldwell sees as being evident in the chronicles are in fact only hinted at. We know little about the rise of a bureaucracy, for example, beyond the fact that several titled positions were created, and the same can be said for the codification of law, the imposition of a military draft, and taxation. Too often we are inferring that these processes were taking place on the basis of fragmentary, if suggestive, evidence. Such inferences risk conflating what Christian Pelras (2000:51) called 'spontaneous patterns' with 'consciously articulated models' when it comes to matters such as succession and bureaucratization. Other historians have made similar cautions that we should heed. Oliver Wolters emphasized the difference between centralization via meaningful structural change and ad hoc decisions that superficially resemble such change: 'I think that one needs to distinguish between genuine institutional change, designed to reform situations irreversibly and perhaps in the direction of more centralized rule, and improvisations in response to changing circumstances and in the form of time-honoured expedients' (Wolters 1999:138). In similar terms, Sunait Chutintaranond (1990) has argued that in the case of Ayudhya it is easy to mistake what were really 'spasmodic bureaucratic improvisations' for the introduction of centralized institutions. In short, while the chronicles do contain useful facts, they contain far fewer than we might wish, and this scarcity presents interpretive temptations when it comes to plotting the trajectory of Makassarese history. We cannot be sure that the meager facts in the chronicles present anything more than ad hoc improvisations, though we would like them to be evidence of conscious policies.

³ Bentley 1986; Christie 1995; Day 2002; Lieberman 2003; Migdal 2001; Mitchell 1991; Tilly 1990.

Judging the utility of the information in the chronicles is but one historiographical issue confronting modern readers of the texts. It is also worth assessing the chronicles as historical works in their own right. Based on what we can infer from the texts themselves, the chroniclers' intent was to relate the truth about the rulers of Gowa and Talloq, as they saw it. It was not their intent to write what we conventionally term a 'history'. There is little evidence of concern with questions of causation or motive, for example, or interest in identifying patterns or themes in the past. The texts do not appear reflective about the past and, with the exception of remarks about the personality of rulers, show no interest in assessing, judging, or interpreting the past. Most importantly, chroniclers never recorded facts for their own sake. A wide range of people and events, observations and information, could conceivably have been included in the chronicles. But that was not their writers' purpose. Though I believe there is no reason to doubt the veracity of most of the information contained in the chronicles, this by no means implies that the chronicles share our historiographical sensibility. Containing facts does not make them factual, particularly if that connotes an objective evaluation of the past.

Two hallmarks of the Gowa and Talloq chronicles as historical narratives particularly merit discussion and interpretation. The first concerns their genealogical character and the second their significance in extending the authority of the rulers whose lives they chronicle. As we shall see, these two features are closely related.

As noted in this chapter's overview of Makassarese history as presented in the chronicles, the texts are elaborately genealogical. Each of the chronicles is quite literally a chain of *karaeng*: an account of successive rulers bound together by descent from august, even sacred ancestors. The word for chronicle (*patturioloang*) means 'that which is of the ancestors' and underscores the fundamentally genealogical nature of the texts. Genealogy and the passage of generations, it seems, provided the structure in which time was conceptualized and change expressed. It was the reference point or measuring stick in the way that a linear time line is the modern historian's reference against which to plot events and place people. Events and people were chronicled in relation to rulers, not in an abstract framework. The early reigns of the rulers of Gowa and Talloq contain no dates at all; the lives of rulers alone was sufficient measure. A new conception of dating began with conversion to Islam in the early seventeenth century. Makassarese became aware of foreign systems for marking time: the Arabic lunar and Portuguese solar calendars. This form of temporal reckoning was expressed far more clearly in the Gowa court *lontaraq bilang* records than in the chronicles (Kamaruddin et al. 1969; Ligtvoet 1880). Even the increased interest in reign lengths and the years in which important events occurred in the final reigns of the chronicles does not

obscure the fact that they continued to be structured by the lives of the ruling *karaeng* (Cummings 2005a).

This genealogical character was politically significant. In an important essay Tony Day (1996) argued that Southeast Asian states be viewed as constituted by families and kinship relations. Day's article is a provocative offering, an invitation to think about Southeast Asian societies in new ways, rather than a systematically worked-out argument, but it encourages us to assess the degree to which Gowa as a polity was the sum of its kinship ties. In such a reading we need not cull through texts for the scanty evidence about institutionalization of offices and functions, but rather see in the kinship mappings of the Gowa and Talloq chronicles the architecture of the state. Certainly this accords well with our understanding that in Makassar marriages were highly political, outsiders' access to women contested, and that political expansion took place through both marriages and rituals which established 'fictive' kinship relations in the idiom of siblingship or parentage (Bulbeck 1996; Cummings 2002).

In other words, evaluating the chronicles on their own terms of what was considered important to record suggests that abundant genealogical information – chains linking individuals with their ascendants and descendants – should be read as more than just legitimizing descent, or even as being essential to the calculus of determining social rank according to the purity of one's noble white blood. More than just informative and functional, these genealogical passages constitute descriptions of the boundaries of the kingdom. Indeed, the extent of this familial polity unfolds before our eyes as we read of the wives, concubines, children, and grandchildren of successive rulers of Gowa. Though it is not a line of analysis I wish to pursue too far, it is valid to write that each of these figures is brought into being as part of the essential constitutive structure of the polity as they are named in the chronicle. Each is brought into being by virtue of their relationship to the rulers of Gowa and Talloq, the family heads of the kingdoms described in each chronicle. The genealogy-infused chronicles are social maps of the extent and substance of the realm.

In attempting to 'read past' the genealogical information in search of facts describing the creation of an early modern state – or in pursuit of evidence for other historical developments – we are failing to see the forest for the trees. Gowa may have developed into an early modern state (if we can agree on exactly what this is), but this is certainly not the history that the Gowa and Talloq chronicles relate. They speak instead of the expansion of a social order arranged and understood in terms of personal relationships, particularly kinship ties relying on familial metaphors. From this perspective, the chronicles embody a Makassarese view of the pre-colonial state.

Quite obviously, then, genealogy is intimately connected to authority in

the texts. It is especially closely connected to the authority of the ruling *karaeng*. The chronicles themselves were composed in a cultural, social, and historical context in which the rulers of Gowa sought to distinguish themselves from rivals and assert their dominance over Makassar. Historical writing played a crucial role in this effort (Cummings 2002). The kinship networks, chains, and connections of the two chronicles represent the growing extent of that authority. The chronicles inscribe the expansion of the authority of their rulers across and within generations. By textually making the argument that power derives from genealogical proximity to the ruling *karaeng*, they help foster or bring this vision of the social order into being. Historiographically, then, the Gowa and Talloq chronicles stand out not so much for the facts they contain but for their vivid conception of how authority, kinship, rulers, and identity were intertwined in pre-colonial Makassar. More than simple political charters or useful sources for the writing of new historical narratives, the chronicles of Gowa and Talloq are evocative representations of Makassarese political culture. In this light, we can read them anew as windows onto another world.

CHAPTER II

The chronicle texts

In between the historical context discussed in Chapter I and translations of the Gowa and Talloq chronicles in the following chapters lay the texts themselves. This chapter performs three functions: describing the manuscripts used in the preparation of the translations, analyzing the tradition of chronicle composition in Makassar, and discussing the choices made in the process of translation itself.

Description of manuscripts

An unknown number of manuscripts containing either or both the Gowa and Talloq chronicles are available in libraries, archives, and miscellaneous collections across the world. No comprehensive list or catalog exists. This edition is based on detailed analysis and comparison of texts in the following eight manuscripts.

- 1 BL – British Library MS 12351 (London, England). This eighteenth-century codex of historical texts is written in the ‘Old Makassarese’ or *jangan-jangan* script. It contains complete texts of the Gowa and Talloq chronicles, though the text of the *Gowa chronicle* does not contain the account of the reign of Sultan Hasanuddin, and presumably derives from a copy of the chronicle extant before that section was composed. It was inscribed upside-down in a book with already numbered pages, meaning that the chronicles begin on page 33 and end on page 20, with recto preceding verso pages.
- 2 KIT – Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen MS 668/216 (Amsterdam, the Netherlands). Like BL, this is an eighteenth-century codex of historical texts written in the ‘Old Makassarese’ or *jangan-jangan* script. It is missing the first pages of the *Gowa chronicle*, however, and its narrative begins mid-sentence during the account of Karaeng Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna’s reign. One third of the way through its account of Tunipalangga’s reign,

changes in handwriting make clear that a second writer took over from the first. Narratively this does not correspond to a break or transition, coming as it does in the midst of Tunipalangga's accomplishments. The text of the *Talloq chronicle* is complete.

- 3 SBPK – Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Or. 386 (Berlin, Germany). Of uncertain date, this contains a *lontaraq беру* copy of the *Gowa chronicle* in a codex that is otherwise filled with Bugis texts. It does not contain the *Talloq chronicle*. The writer was Bugis, and his spelling variations are consistent with Bugis pronunciation. SBPK often sides with BL in cases where the other texts disagree, suggesting SBPK's Bugis writer had access to BL or a similar manuscript. For example, SBPK also omits the reign of Sultan Hasanuddin. In general this is the most divergent of the chronicle texts compared here. In several places the writer adds additional information pertaining to the Bugis not found in any other text. The writer also uses a letter resembling an 'x' for the letter 'ya'.
- 4 VT – Museum Pusat Jakarta VT 124 (Jakarta, Indonesia). Of uncertain date, and written in the *lontaraq беру* script, this manuscript's writer was probably Bugis. The Gowa and Talloq chronicles are the only Makassarese texts in this codex, and the writer used the Bugis diacritical mark above letters to indicate a final velar nasal (-ng) or doubled consonant. VT and CM (see below) are in many places so nearly identical and substantially different from other extant manuscripts in how they reorder information and reword passages that we can conclude that both descended from a common ancestor. Both insert an additional section in the *Gowa chronicle*, a coherent narrative unit relating events concerning Gowa's overlordship over Boné, transcribed and translated in Appendix 1 of Chapter V. The text of the *Talloq chronicle* concludes just before the end of Section 6, omitting the reign of Tumammaliang ri Timoroq found in most versions.
- 5 MS – Matthes Stichting MS 159a (Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan, Makassar, Indonesia). This codex of historical texts written in the *lontaraq беру* script is of uncertain date. It contains an abbreviated version of the *Gowa chronicle* describing the origins of Gowa that may have been seen as a coherent narrative work separate from the chronicle as a whole. It does not contain the *Talloq chronicle*. A typed transcription of this manuscript is available as KITLV Or. 545/258.
- 6 AL – Lembaga Sejarah dan Antropologi, Cabang II ms. 2 (Makassar, Indonesia). This codex of historical texts dates from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. It contains both *lontaraq беру* texts (including a

Talloq chronicle toward the beginning of the codex) and *serang* script texts (including a *Gowa chronicle* toward the end of the codex). The writer of the *Talloq chronicle* text was comparatively sloppy, and his copyist errors more numerous. He also tended to frequently insert the extraneous clarifying third-person pronoun *ia*. The *Gowa chronicle* text was written by two or three people, one of whom invented a letter which most resembles an Arabic final mim but is actually a velar nasal ending. The *Gowa chronicle* text in AL does not contain the reigns of Sultan Malikussaid and Sultan Hasanuddin (Sections 9 and 10). It does have a stylized mark that suggests a coherent ending point, rather than an incomplete text. This same manuscript is available as Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia 62/2.

- 7 AS – Lembaga Sejarah dan Antropologi, Cabang II ms. 1 (Makassar, Indonesia). This codex of historical texts in the *lontaraq beru* script was written in the early nineteenth century. The first item in the codex is the *Talloq chronicle*. The codex proper does not contain the *Gowa chronicle*, but an attached sheaf of eight *serang* script pages does contain the beginning portion of the *Gowa chronicle*. This manuscript is available as Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia 62/1 and in the Leiden University Library as Cod. Or. 14,451.
- 8 CM – Unlike the other source texts used in the preparation of this edition, CM is itself an edition based on other texts: B.F. Matthes' 1883 *Makassaarsche chrestomathie*. This text was based on NBG 15 with notes on variations in NBG 16 and NBG 208. All three are nineteenth-century texts written in the *lontaraq beru* script and prepared at Matthes' behest. CM served as the basis for the Indonesian translations of the chronicles (Rahim and Ridwan 1975; Wolhoff and Abdurrahim 1959). Both NBG 15 and NBG 16 added a genealogy of the descendants of Karaeng Popoq to Section 6 of the *Talloq chronicle*, possibly suggesting that this family was involved in the transmission of the chronicles in the seventeenth century.

Establishing the relationships between these eight source texts is difficult. Precise lines of transmission are impossible to trace, particularly because of the unknown dating and provenance of the various manuscripts. However, it is possible to categorize these texts into two groups based on internal evidence. Based on patterns of variation in phrasing, structure, and textual errors we can hypothesize that BL and SBPK represent one line of transmission and that KIT, AL, VT, and CM represent another. These attributions cannot be verified, and not all the texts can be clearly grouped. In fact, the situation may have been more complicated still, as it is likely that there were several extant chronicles in the possession of nobles at the courts of Gowa and Talloq by the

middle of the seventeenth century. Each of these may have been copied over the centuries. Indeed, the sheer varieties of endings for the *Gowa chronicle* (only KIT and VT are the same) indicate the complexity of the problem.

Nevertheless, we are fortunate to have eighteenth-century copies of BL and KIT upon which to base a translation. This edition uses BL as a base text. This is the oldest surviving complete text of the Gowa and Talloq chronicles. KIT is next in importance, and in several cases it is used as the basis for alternate readings included in the translation. As BL does not contain the reign of Sultan Hasanuddin, and because of the desirability of including this in the translation, KIT is the base text for this section. Extensive comments compare the readings in BL and where applicable KIT to the other manuscripts listed above, noting significant differences to the base text.

In addition to the significant differences treated in the notes to the translations, there are abundant minor variations among the extant versions of the chronicles. In fact, a large percentage of the changes discovered in the different chronicle manuscripts are the inevitable result of scribal inattention. Ian Proudfoot (1984) calls these the 'white noise' of scribal transmission: the syntactical and semantic changes that were not intended to change the meaning of a text. These differences are not noted elsewhere, so it is worth discussing them briefly here. In his discussion of Indonesian philology (1988), Stuart Robson divided minor textual errors that crop up in the process of copying into five categories: mistakenly writing one letter for another similar letter; accidentally omitting a letter, word, or phrase (lipography); inadvertently adding a letter, word, or phrase; accidentally transposing letters, words, or phrases; deliberately choosing a word or phrase if the copyist believed the source text was incorrect.

To this list we can add dittography (unintentional repetition of a word or letter), which is encountered occasionally in the chronicle texts, though its opposite haplography (inadvertent failure to repeat a word or letter that should be doubled) is quite rare. Lipography is more frequently encountered. Variation in spelling (orthography) is especially common. Another common type of variation between different manuscripts of the Gowa and Talloq chronicles is the chirographic variation in how each writer formed letters (Noorduyn 1993). This is particularly evident in texts written using the 'Old Makassarese' or *jangan-jangan* script. Particular letters may be written in very different ways in each text; the newer *lontaraq baru* script is far more standardized and presents few difficulties. Variations in *jangan-jangan* letters can usually be quickly deciphered, though occasionally this can pose other difficulties. In KIT 668/216, for example, only slight graphic differences separate how this writer made the letters 'pa' and 'la' (and occasionally 'sa') on the one hand, and 'ga' and 'da' on the other. All of these mistakes are found in the eight texts used in this edition to one degree or another, but

they are comparatively inconsequential. The lone exceptions are deliberate ‘corrections’ which if consequential are discussed in the notes to the translation. Most importantly, it needs to be stressed that all of these minor scribal variations were not considered significant in Makassarese eyes: the new copy still faithfully preserved the same significant past.

Indeed, from one perspective to consider any of this scribal ‘error’ is misleading. In its written form the Makassarese language is graphically incomplete – glottal stops, doubled consonants, and velar nasals are not written. Words are in fact phonograms: symbols meant to represent sound, and reading a means of reconstructing the spoken word from graphic cues. A more extreme version of this is evident among the Kodi, who reported to Janet Hoskins that, ‘their language could never really be written down, since it could not be pronounced the way it was spelled. When they could recognize a few words, they still maintained that the “tune” of their own tongue, its special texture and resonances, could never be captured on the page’ (Hoskins 1998:178). Because Makassarese writing was regarded as a mechanism by which spoken utterances could be produced, variations in spelling alone did not result in confusion or ‘mistakes’ when read aloud. There is also considerable variation in where stops (•) are written, but this too would have had little effect when spoken.

The graphically incomplete nature of the Makassarese script and the scribal variations have little effect on the translation, but they do affect how the text of BL is transliterated. In place of fetishizing every minor variation, stop within the text, and scribal error, I have chosen to transcribe BL with the following guidelines: 1. glottal stops, doubled consonants, and velar nasals are added where appropriate; 2. variations in spelling are not corrected; 3. scribal errors such as dittography or transposition are corrected; 4. stops within the text are omitted. In making these decisions I have opted for ease of use over laboring to produce what would otherwise be virtually a facsimile of the original manuscript. The transliterated texts generally follow spellings in A.A. Cense and Abdurrahim (1979) with a few exceptions that I believe more closely approximate spoken Makassarese. In terms of glottal stops, while some authors prefer to use a ‘k’ or a conventional mark (‘) to indicate glottal stops, I use a ‘q’ simply because it avoids the problem of doubling when marking possessives; thus Tunijalloq’s rather than Tunijallo’s. Velar nasals are written ‘ng’ and in doubled combined consonants only the first letter is written twice; thus *manngalle* rather than *mangngalle*.

Chronicle composition

In an earlier work (Cummings 2002) I made arguments about the composition of the Gowa and Talloq chronicles in pre-colonial Makassar. The more extensive textual analysis of chronicle manuscripts undertaken for this project reinforces several important conclusions first presented there.

Makassarese first began to write *patturioloang* toward the end of the sixteenth century. This date comes from internal evidence, such as backdating based on passages that mention figures alive when the chronicle was composed, overall patterns of increasing historical and genealogical detail found in successive reigns, and the increasing use of specific dates during later reigns. Historically this period followed the disastrous reign in Gowa of Tunipasuluq, who was deposed in 1593. Tunipasuluq's young brother, later known as Sultan Ala'uddin, was installed as the *karaeng* of Gowa by Karaeng Matoaya of Talloq. Such a period of restoration could well have sparked the desire to commemorate the rule of past *karaeng* and thus initiate the composition of chronicles.

We can only speculate on how the first chroniclers may have used other genres of historical texts such as *rapang* (guidelines from renowned ancestors) as written sources for the chronicles. *Patturioloang* may have had such textual precursors. We can be surer that chroniclers incorporated oral sources into their work. The opening sections of the Gowa and Talloq chronicles both bear the hallmarks of oral traditions that were set to paper. So too there are places where chroniclers mention their informants by name, an obvious indication those chroniclers sought out information from rulers or elders who possessed knowledge about the past.

The most intriguing of these informants relates the origins of Talloq. The source of the story of Talloq's beginnings under Karaeng Loe ri Sero is stated directly: 'These are the words of I Daeng ri Buloa. What could be heard has been told.' Unlike BL, other *Talloq chronicle* texts add that I Daeng ri Buloa was also called I Kanrebajiq. It is quite possible that he was none other than Tunilabu ri Suriwa, the son of Karaeng Loe ri Sero and Talloq's second ruler (ruled late fifteenth century to 1500s). It is highly suggestive that Tunilabu ri Suriwa is described in these terms: 'This *karaeng* was said to be strong and a great eater. He built fish ponds at Buloa.' To be a great eater in Makassarese is *kanrebajiq*, and it is common for a mundane characteristic to be the source of the name others use to refer to that person; hence, I Kanrebajiq. Additionally, the construction of royal fish ponds at Buloa was certainly accompanied by the establishment of some kind of settlement there. These inhabitants owed their direct allegiance to Tunilabu ri Suriwa: he was their lord or *daeng*. Thus, as he was called I Kanrebajiq, Tunilabu could also have been called I Daeng ri Buloa. Finally, this declaration that the words related in the manuscript

come from I Daeng ri Buloa clearly resemble the Makassarese genre of *rapang*. Advice and guidelines from renowned ancestors often take precisely this form, and the majority records the words of Gowa and Talloq's rulers and most prominent nobles. If this surmise about I Daeng ri Buloa's identity is accurate, it means that the narrative about how Karaeng Loe came to and founded Talloq was related by his son. His narrative could have been transmitted orally until it was incorporated by a chronicler nearly a century later.

Though they began to be written in the late sixteenth century, the Gowa and Talloq chronicles were composed progressively. That is, upon the death of a ruler a new reign account was composed and added to the existing chronicle. Each such reign forms a coherent narrative unit, and there is nothing in the structure of the chronicles that necessitates they be viewed as a single whole composed at one sitting or by one writer. Indeed, changes in phrasing are substantial enough to indicate that no one writer composed accounts of all the reigns in either chronicle. Had Gowa and Talloq not been conquered in 1669, there is every reason to think that additional reign accounts would have been appended to the chronicles. The sheer variety of endings is evidence that multiple manuscripts existed that were based on originals composed at different points during the seventeenth century. Even the short narrative appendix to the *Gowa chronicle* may represent an embryonic effort to compose another section that was intended to continue the chronicle.

Extant texts also provide evidence of the changes incorporated by successive chroniclers. These changes are more consequential than the minor variations or white noise discussed above. In a recent article, Campbell Macknight and Ian Caldwell (2001) discussed more meaningful variations among Bugis texts. They found five levels of variation of increasing size. The first two levels, spelling alternatives based on the fact that the same spoken word can be written in more than one way using South Sulawesi scripts, and scribal errors, fall into the category of white noise. The third level, alternate wording, resembles Robson's category of deliberate corrections. In these instances the scribe intentionally substituted one word for another of similar meaning or referred to an individual by a different but still valid name or title. More significant is the fourth level, changes in content, which includes deliberate elaboration by the copyist in an effort to help explain what seemed obscure or unclear. As one would expect, this form of variation is increasingly evident in later chronicles in comparison to early chronicle manuscripts. The final level, structural change, refers to major and intentional alterations of the narrative. In the analysis of chronicle texts undertaken here it is possible to identify five areas in which successive Makassarese (and several Bugis) writers made changes in the text as they copied from a source manuscript.

1 Later writers frequently added clarifying explanations to make the intent of earlier writers more explicit. This is particularly evident in CM, in which the writer often replaced pronouns (*iami*) with full names and carefully prefaced lists of children with phrases such as ‘one other daughter was named’ (*sitau pole anaqna baine nikana*). Presumably this was intended to make the often tortured genealogical relationships and references in the chronicle texts more readable. In other cases writers added whole sentences to clarify what was only briefly stated or implied in texts such as BL and KIT. For example, VT 59 inserts this clarification about how Tunipalangga’s fortifications differed from his predecessor: ‘[This] *karaeng* bricked [the fortifications at] Gowa and Somba Opu. *Karaeng Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna*, he built with earth.’

2 Over time too standardized textual schemas evolved that represented Makassarese understandings of what a chronicle of a ruler’s reign should contain and in what terms it should be described. This is most evident in the development of standardized phrases to describe the transition from one ruler to another. For example, whereas early texts are inconsistent in how they narrate transitions, later texts such as CM and VT follow a formulaic pattern in first declaring the genealogical relationship between the two rulers, then stating that one died, and finally writing that the next succeeded as ruler. Thus ‘This child of Tunibatta, Tunijalloq, succeeded as ruler’ in BL 29v became ‘*Karaeng Tunibatta* had a child *Karaeng Tunijalloq*. *Tunibatta* died. *Karaeng Tunijalloq* succeeded as ruler’ (*Karaeng Tunibatta anganakangi Karaenga Tunijalloq matei Tunibatta Karaengami Tunijalloq asossorangi magauka*) in CM 162.

It is also likely that the statements of what remained unknown about early rulers of Gowa and Talloq were inserted by chroniclers who had developed expectations that certain kinds of information needed to be included in an account of a ruler’s reign. We can imagine frustrated chroniclers writing early in the *Gowa chronicle*, ‘Until *Tunatangkaqlopi* from *Tumassalangga Barayang* their wives are not known, their children are not known, except the children who spoke as rulers. Not known also are their wars. Not known further is how long they ruled. This too is not known because nothing is said of it.’

3 There is evidence that as the *patturioloang* tradition developed and chronicles were transmitted there was increasing self-consciousness about the process of writing histories. This is especially the case with the shift from relying on oral sources for composition to relying on extant texts for copying. For example, ‘Because nothing is said of it’ (*kataenana kana-kanana*) in BL 33v eventually becomes ‘Because there were no *lontaraq yet*’ (*kataenapa lontaraq*) in SBPK 77, VT 52, and CM 148. Similarly, at the end of Tunijalloq’s reign KIT 19, VT 71, SBPK 104, AL 156, and CM 170 omit BL 27v’s oral phrase ‘this is

what is told of him' (*kontuminne kana-kanana*). It could be argued that these are the kinds of textual transformations one might expect in the chronicles as Makassarese increasingly lived in a world in which the past was associated with and contained in prestigious written texts.

4 The most evident type of structural change in the chronicles is the incorporation of new sections (most often blocks of genealogical information), particularly at the end of the two chronicles. These additions presumably reflect the ancestral history of the families who possessed and preserved the manuscripts. During the *Talloq chronicle's* account of Karaeng Matoaya, for example, CM 197-198 and, according to Matthes (n26), NBG 16 add an entire genealogy about Karaeng Popoq's descendants. It begins with the last phrase in the Indonesian translation of the *Talloq chronicle* section 145 (*iami anjangangngi Tumakkajannangnganga*) and continues until the end of section 159 (*sikammaminjo anaqna Karaenga ri Popoq*). Chapter V's Appendix 1 to the *Gowa chronicle* represents another such structural modification.

5 There is an increasing tendency to lengthen the dating sections that describe important events using Western and Arabic calendrical systems. There is in fact considerable variation in how each manuscript writer records dates. No two are identical, though later manuscripts (especially CM) tend to be the longest and most elaborate.

Like any textual tradition, the *patturioloang* genre displays patterns of growth and change that become evident when extant manuscripts are compared. Strikingly, however, there is no textual variation to such an extent that we must consider any of the texts analysed for this translation as anything but recognizable Gowa and Talloq chronicle texts. The two earliest external descriptions of the chronicles date from 1670 and 1759. Cornelis Speelman described what is clearly the *Gowa chronicle* shortly after the VOC and Bugis conquest of Makassar in his 1670 'Notitie' (Speelman 1670). Roelof Blok (1848) provided a more detailed account of the *Gowa chronicle* some ninety years later. What is striking is that these early descriptions closely resemble chronicle texts from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. There was, in other words, a high degree of stability in the process of transmitting chronicles for three centuries.

We have no external evidence describing the production of chronicles in pre-colonial Makassar, and are thus left to speculate on many issues. One such issue involved the relationship between the Gowa and Talloq chronicles. Noorduyn (1991:455) suggested that the two be treated as a single work, though this conclusion is based only on two instances in which the *Gowa chronicle* refers to the *Talloq chronicle*. In the first, the *Gowa chronicle* in BL

33v reads ‘Karaeng Loe ri Sero is not yet discussed, just those who ruled in Gowa’. Significantly, Noorduyn relied on CM for this passage, and in this version the intertextuality is more explicit than in BL. CM 148 reads ‘Karaeng Loe ri Sero is not yet discussed here, but in his proper place later’. This construction suggests a greater awareness about the intertextual relationship between the Gowa and Talloq chronicles than the BL version, a growing consciousness that chroniclers worked and that chronicles existed within the context of other written works. In the second instance, during the account of Tunijalloq’s reign the *Gowa chronicle* reads, ‘The lands conquered during the reign of Tumamenang ri Makkoayang are not discussed here, but later in the discussion of Tumamenang ri Makkoayang’. This information is indeed found in the *Talloq chronicle*, but these two instances of intertextuality must be weighed against evidence suggesting that the two works are separate (there are also two instances where the writers of the *Gowa chronicle* refer readers to points later in the *Gowa chronicle*).

Most importantly, each of the chronicles can stand alone as a whole work that recounts the chain of *karaeng* that ruled one of the two locations, and indeed the fact that the two chronicles are not always found in the same manuscript suggests they should not be considered a single work. This is undoubtedly the case for the *Talloq chronicle*, which never refers readers to the *Gowa chronicle*. Each chronicle does mention rulers in the other community, but this is hardly evidence that the two are a single work. It is simply reflective of the close relationship that Gowa and Talloq’s rulers forged in the seventeenth century. I have argued that Noorduyn’s reading overstates the degree of historical unanimity in Gowa and Talloq’s relationship at the expense of periods of significant tension and rivalry (Cummings 1999). This debate is an excellent example of the type of interpretive issues and problems that characterize textual analysis for those who study South Sulawesi. The best explanation may be that the two historiographically saw themselves as increasingly intertwined as time passed. We may validly wonder if part of this perception derives from hindsight after the Makassar war ended in 1669, or from the largely unrecoverable history of how the two chronicles were stored, re-copied, and handed down over many generations.

However, even if the two chronicles are properly considered separate works, there is modest reason to suggest that both the Gowa and Talloq chronicles may have been written in Talloq, or at least at the behest and encouragement of the rulers of Talloq. As already mentioned, the *Talloq chronicle* does not refer readers to the *Gowa chronicle*. From this perspective, despite its greater length and the supremacy of Gowa, the *Gowa chronicle* actually appears to be historiographically subordinate to the *Talloq chronicle*. The best evidence for the crucial role of Talloq in the production of the chronicles derives from the use of informants. Both chronicles contain instances

where the chronicle's composers explicitly relied on oral testimony from others. In some cases this is anonymous, but in other cases we are told who the chronicler received information from. In every example of this, the informant comes from Talloq. In the *Talloq chronicle*, Karaeng Matoaya (the seventh ruler of Talloq) reports that it was Tumamenang ri Makkoayang (the fourth ruler of Talloq) who made the famous pronouncement that Gowa and Talloq are 'just one people, but two *karaeng*'. Later, Karaeng Pattingalloang (Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng, the ninth ruler of Talloq) recalls what Karaeng Matoaya told him. Additionally, the Loqmoq ri Paotereka (located in Talloq) provided a description of Karaeng Matoaya's Islamic piety. Finally, the origin story of Talloq is related by I Daeng ri Buloa in Talloq. It is of course not surprising that the composers of the *Talloq chronicle* relied on local informants, but in the one case where the *Gowa chronicle* quotes the words of an informant, it is again Karaeng Pattingalloang recalling that Sultan Ala'uddin (the fourteenth ruler of Gowa) married more than forty times. Internal textual evidence indicating the importance of informants from Talloq also matches the argument that Anthony Reid (1981) has made based on European sources about the relative intellectual importance of the rulers of Talloq, Karaeng Matoaya and Karaeng Pattingalloang during the seventeenth century. Their accomplishments and interest in learning could well have fostered an atmosphere at the Talloq court more conducive to writing chronicles than the rulers of Gowa provided. Unfortunately, like so many issues involving Makassarese texts, this must remain a hypothesis until when and if further information is uncovered.

In addition to speculating about where the chronicles were composed, we can also suggest something of how they were transmitted. Ian Caldwell and Campbell Macknight (2001) suggested that Bugis texts were copied orally. That is, a reader may have recited the source text while a scribe wrote the words down in a new text, or possibly a scribe may have read aloud one text and then written down those words in a new text himself. There is information suggesting this was the case with Makassarese chronicles as well. To begin, the wide variation in spelling of simple words such as *siangang* (ᨀᨁᨗᨗ, ᨀᨁᨗᨗ, ᨀᨁᨗᨗᨗᨗ, and ᨀᨁᨗᨗᨗ) meaning 'with or together' hints that as one person recited the text the writer simply wrote down the word as he or she typically spelled it, a variation made possible by the nature of the Makassarese script. This is also true of other terms, such as *kasuwiang*, which is spelled in six different ways: ᨀᨗᨗᨗᨗᨗ, ᨀᨗᨗᨗᨗᨗ, ᨀᨗᨗᨗᨗᨗ, ᨀᨗᨗᨗᨗᨗ, ᨀᨗᨗᨗ, and ᨀᨗᨗᨗᨗ. These examples could be multiplied almost indefinitely. In general, it is not uncommon for 'e' and 'i' vowels and 'o' and 'u' vowels to be used interchangeably to record spoken Makassarese sounds. These variations suggest that what was important to Makassarese was the ability to re-speak the words recorded on paper, not the spelling of indi-

vidual terms. This indicates an aural element in the writing process, as these variations would not occur if a solitary scribe was focused on transferring the written symbols from one manuscript to another. Other aspects of the manuscripts, such as the haphazard placement of stops (•) within the texts, include changes in handwriting that do not correspond to a narrative break or transition, and the inconsistent use of glides ('wa' or 'ya' for the single vowel 'a') also indicates that transmission of the Makassarese chronicles was oral and aural.

Oral composition, however, does not mean that the chronicles were orally recited as part of a performance tradition. We have little evidence to indicate that Makassarese ever read *patturioloang* aloud for either their entertainment or didactic value. In this they differ considerably from many textual traditions in the archipelago. It is also in marked contrast to what scholars have noted of Bugis, particularly La Galigo material, where oral stories and written texts circulate material back and forth (Pelras 1979; Koolhof 1999). Nevertheless, as I have argued elsewhere (Cummings 2003), presuming that oral and written traditions must be interwoven is no less sweeping an assumption than earlier declarations of their presumed autonomy. Texts are performed on rare occasions even today at the former royal palace in Gowa (Ballaq Lompoa), but they are performances of Islamic texts such as the Barzanji. Nor do we have evidence that *patturioloang* were ever read aloud to soothe and calm an audience, as Shelly Errington experienced in Luwuq (1989:49), much less part of the Malay *penglipur lara* 'soother of cares' tradition. Compared to these other written traditions, chronicles appear to represent a tradition intentionally more isolated from other genres, written and oral. The reasons for this are probably political and social, as rulers sought to possess the past and control its interpretation to enhance their own status relative to others (Cummings 2002).

From its beginnings at the close of the sixteenth century, the *patturioloang* tradition was firmly established by the second quarter of the seventeenth century. Chroniclers developed a clear sense of what each reign account should contain and how it should be structured. Yet chronicles were only composed for a comparatively brief time. The *Talloq chronicle* texts we possess end with the reign of Tumammaliang ri Timoroq in 1641, though it would not be surprising if a text relating the reign of his successor Karaeng Pattingalloang (ruled 1641 to 1654) came to light. The *Gowa chronicle* continued through the reign of Sultan Hasanuddin, who died in 1670 shortly after Gowa's calamitous 1669 defeat. With his death, chronicle composition ceased. No text has been found that continues the story of Gowa and Talloq's rulers. This is understandable given the disastrous circumstances and ongoing humiliations their successors suffered for the remainder of the seventeenth and into the eighteenth centuries. The Gowa and Talloq chronicles, however, continued to be copied, honoured, and transmitted down to the present day.

With a greater appreciation of the nature of the chronicles, the processes of composition and transmission, and the likely patterns of changes in content and structure as the *patturioloang* tradition evolved, we can now turn to the issue of translation itself.

Translating Makassarese texts

Scholars recognize that translation is not a mechanical process in which a source text is mirrored in a translated text that can be straightforwardly pronounced adequate or inadequate, faithful or deficient, definitive or preliminary.¹ If the standard of success is 'equivalence' we must ask, equivalence of what? Word, phrase, text, effect, grammar, lexicon? Denotative meaning, connotation, stylistic arrangement, syntax, spoken rhythm? What is of primary importance varies from text to text depending on the translator's background, intent, translation style, and intended audience.

Thus there are abundant choices for any translator of Makassarese chronicles to make before beginning work. Deciding which paths to tread and which to shun is partly a matter of personal style. Each translator re-writing the work of another inevitably translates within the frame of his or her own strengths and preferences as a writer. But this must be balanced with sensitivity to the nature of the material in the source language. To take an extreme example, it would be possible (I suppose) to translate the United States Constitution into a series of the paired and rhymed couplets known in Malay as *pantun*, but this curious choice would obviously come at great cost. The translator's style and the work's character must both speak. For remarkably sound advice on how to do this, I turn to a passage by the poet-translator Jane Hirshfield (1997:65).

A translator's first obligation is to convey each poem's particular strengths [...] If music and intricacy of form are the greatest pleasures in the original, this is what the translator should try to capture; if a startling directness of language is at the heart of the work, then straightforwardness should govern the new version as well. Imagery, sensibility, feeling, sound, ideas – any of these can become the through-line of a poem's unfolding.

What then are the main features or strengths of the Makassarese chronicles? Some have long been noted, including their frank character. With a few notable exceptions – especially the opening segments of the *Gowa chronicle* – Makassarese chronicles are indeed straightforward, avoiding complex

¹ Bassnett 1991; Becker 1995; Munday 2001; Venuti 1995.

word-play, effusive imagery, and other conventional hallmarks of what we expect to encounter in either 'literature' or 'myth'. Their translations should be so as well.

The Gowa and Talloq chronicles are also characterized by conciseness in word and phrase. Partly this impression derives from the nature of Makassarese in the eyes and ears of an English speaker. Articles and pronouns are usually implied rather than inscribed. It is not desirable to be so adamantly tied to the Makassarese in this case, however, for the resulting English translation would confuse readers rather than make the chronicles accessible.

This feeling of conciseness also stems from the nature of the written Makassarese script. When Makassarese began to write in the sixteenth century, writing recorded spoken words. But they did so incompletely: not all sounds were graphically represented. Double consonants, glottal stops, and velar nasals are not written, despite the fact that these features are both common and essential in differentiating between words (Tol 1996). In a favorite example of mine, ᨆᨆᨆᨆᨆᨆ could be spoken as either 'Chinese temple image' (*ballaq datoka*) or 'bald Dutchman' (*balanda tokkaq*). As this example suggests too, Makassarese wrote without consistent spacing between words, often running several together in an unbroken series of letters. Reading Makassarese requires adding all of these features to produce complete expressions. The very way in which Makassarese wrote, therefore, was graphically concise. A good translation of the chronicles must find a middle ground between an English that is complete and familiar and an English that is choppy and alien. My translation inevitably contains more words than the original, and in so doing trades some of that conciseness for readability in English without going so far as to completely elide the nature of the original texts.

There is also the practical problem that Makassarese chronicles are not easy to interpret, even if the script can be reconstructed without difficulty. The terseness of expression and the writer's assumption on the reader's part of a wealth of social and cultural context means that even comparatively simple passages can validly be interpreted in two or more ways. Even for specialists it is often difficult to be sure who is being discussed, whether the narrative is going forward or digressing, and how one section or passage relates to another. Some sections are narratively 'thinner' or more skeletal than others, tending to move quickly from topic to topic without elaboration. In this they almost resemble an outline when compared to sections that narrate events in great detail. Where appropriate, I have included words or phrases in brackets that either make implied relationships clear or explain terse references, allowing readers to follow the narratives with greater ease.

In addition to being straightforward and concise, a third evident feature

of the chronicle's language is their reliance on short, standardized phrases. Linked together in long chains, the chronicles unfold as series of declarative phrases. Graphically, the text of Makassarese chronicles is broken up into smaller units by two devices: lines, designs, or boxes containing text that mark a new ruler's ascension to power; and characters composed of three dots in a vertical or sloping line (•••) that separate far shorter bursts of text. No other punctuation or similar device is used to guide the reader. The first kind of division is not found on every page, particularly as the accounts of individual reigns become longer as the chronicle progresses. Nor is it found uniformly in the various chronicle manuscripts. The second kind may at first seem to mark the end of short sentences, but in fact its use is never consistent. Each writer appears to have had his own preferences for how often to insert these stops. Some texts contain many times the number of these breaks as others, though the words themselves may be identical. In extreme cases, almost every word is bracketed by these marks. On average, such breaks divide the text into two-to-three word segments. Names, titles, and formulaic devices are often written together in a single segment, though longer names and titles are just as often split into two segments.

This prosodic structure corresponds to neither prose nor poetry, the two categories in which westerners tend to lump written compositions. A translation into poetic verse, even free verse, would fundamentally alter the structure, style, and reception of the chronicles. Prose, however, is no less an alteration, for it demands the arbitrary combination of separate phrases into longer English sentences. Nevertheless, a prose translation is the better of two poor choices, if only because of the implications and connotations that poetry has for English readers. The prose translations of the chronicles presented here strive to retain some of the rhythm of the Makassarese. So too, to avoid awkwardness in English, I have occasionally changed word order when the alternative was hopelessly awkward English.

In preparing this work I have strived to translate the Gowa and Talloq chronicles in a way that does not obscure their principal features: the directness and conciseness of written Makassarese, the serially phrased and genealogically structured way in which chroniclers composed. Most importantly, the translations lean toward the literal. In particular I strive to not make the translation 'overly poetic' in comparison with the original. Another way of stating this is that the translation tries to not let the suppleness and richness of the English language overwhelm the text and transform it beyond recognition. In this I follow Lawrence Venuti, who believes that natural, fluent, invisible styles of translation that minimize the foreignness of the source text do so at too great a loss of the character of the original. We should, in his words, 'write and read translated texts in ways that seek to recognize the linguistic and cultural difference of foreign texts' (Venuti 1995:41).

There are two features of the translated chronicles that do not appear in the original. First, while some chronicle texts do visually separate the reigns of rulers, the division of each chronicle into sections (ten for the *Gowa chronicle* and seven for the *Talloq chronicle*) has been done for ease of use. Similarly, the titles for each section do not correspond to anything found in the Makassarese texts. Second, within each section the text has been subdivided into paragraphs that as much as possible separate topics. This is an imperfect solution, as there are no such subdivisions within the original chronicles, but it makes the translations more accessible and the often confusing narrative paths of the chroniclers easier to follow.

Finally, much has been made of the differences between critical and diplomatic editions of Indonesian texts (Robson 1988). As discussed above, the translations here are based on BL with substantive variations found in other texts presented in the notes. Nevertheless, in certain cases I have departed from a reading in BL, particularly if all the other texts agree on a reading or if it is clear from the context that the copyist of BL inadvertently omitted or miswrote a passage. These occasions are always clearly marked. So too Section 10 and Appendix 1 of the *Gowa chronicle* are not found in BL, but are included here. In short, these translations are not quite diplomatic editions of single texts, but neither are they reconstructions of hypothetical 'best' texts based on all the surviving manuscript versions of the chronicles. Foregrounding the oldest complete text of the chronicles is sensible, but I agree with Helen Creese that 'slavishly reproducing every feature of a manuscript' (Creese 1998:10) limits the usefulness of the edition. Above all else, I hope that the translations, notes, and transliterations in the chapters that follow are indeed useful.

CHAPTER III

The Gowa chronicle

The *Gowa chronicle* has been subdivided into ten sections and an Appendix. The ten sections are as follows:

- 1 The founding of Gowa
- 2 Batara Gowa and early rulers
- 3 Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna
- 4 Tunipalangga
- 5 Tunibatta
- 6 Tunijalloq
- 7 Tunipasuluq
- 8 Tumamenang ri Gaukanna (Sultan Ala'uddin)
- 9 Tumamenang ri Papambatuna (Sultan Malikussaid)
- 10 Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana (Sultan Hasanuddin)

Translation

Section 1: The founding of Gowa

[33r] Batara Guru was the sibling of Tunabunoa Tolali, Ratu Sampo Marantaya, Karaeng Katangka.¹

May I not be cursed, may I not be destroyed, as I name² the ancient *karaeng*: those who recline on royal settles, those who rest on royal settles, those who are of the purest gold, the chain of kings. For it is feared they will be forgotten by our descendants, by those who follow us. Because if they are not known there are two dangers: either we will feel ourselves to be such *karaeng* or outsiders will say you here are merely common people.

Tumanurung married Karaeng Bayo. She had a child³ Tumassalangga Barayang. She was called by the people of old Tumanurung because unknown are her origins, her manner of death. It only is said she disappeared. She was married by Karaeng Bayo. Unknown too is his community. It is only said that purportedly he was brothers with Lakipadada, known as

the bearer of Sudanga.

Karaeng Bayo wed Tumanurung and had a child Tumassalangga Barayang. For three years he was in the womb. When he was born he immediately knew how to run, immediately could speak. It troubled his mother and the household that people said he was misshapen. He is called Tumassalangga Barayang because of his shoulders (one side went down, one side went up), his ears (one was gnarled, the other was overlarge), the soles of his feet were just as long as his heels extended out,⁴ his navel grew large like a woven rice basket.⁵ For those reasons the people said he was a misshapen man. Then his father⁶ said, 'Why do you say that my son is misshapen? For his shoulders are like *barayang* trees, his ears are flanking [?] mountains, hair snapping in Java he detects, dead white buffalo in Selayar he smells,⁷ white spots on a leech [?] in Bantaeng he perceives.⁸ His feet are balanced like scales. His navel is a great well. His hands are capacious vessels:⁹ when they scoop¹⁰ they yield taels of gold, when they scoop they fold precious cloths, when they scoop his men walk in multitudes.'

Her child grew up, then she broke in two her necklace. She entered her chamber, then was no longer inside. [33v] One half of this necklace was placed with her child. It is called I Tanisamaang.

Tumassalangga Barayanga became ruler. Nothing is said of his wives, death. It is only said by the ancestors that he disappeared, saying¹¹ to those in his household, 'Stay, you.'¹² Then he went out into the mountains north of Jonggoa. There was thunder, then rain in the sunshine, then he could not be seen.

Section 2: Batara Gowa and early rulers

Until Tunatangkaqlopi starting from Tumassalangga Barayang their wives are not known, their children are not known, except the children who spoke as rulers.¹³ Not known also are their wars. Not known further is how long they ruled. This too is not known because nothing is said of it.¹⁴

Karaeng Bayo was one of two siblings, both brothers. His younger sibling was named Lakipadada. He was the bearer of Sudanga. Karaeng Bayo, his sword was called Tanruq Ballanga.¹⁵ This child of Karaeng Bayo by the Tumanurung, Tumassalangga Barayang, then had children.¹⁶ Tumassalangga Barayang had a child I Puang Loe Lembang. I Puang Loe Lembang had a child Tuniatabanri. Tuniatabanri had a child Karampang ri Gowa. Karampang ri Gowa had a child Tunatangkaqlopi. Tunatangkaqlopi had two children: one called Karaeng Loe ri Sero, one called Batara Gowa (his posthumous name was Tuniawang ri Parallakkenna).¹⁷

The *gallarrang* and the people of the land were apportioned, divided by

their father: one part for Batara Gowa, one part for Karaeng Loe ri Sero. To Batara Gowa went Paccellekang, Pattallassang, [upland Bontomanaiq, Tomboloq, Mangasa,] seaward Bontomanaiq.¹⁸ One portion went to Karaeng Loe ri Sero: Saumata, Pannampu, Moncong Loe, Parang Loe.¹⁹ Karaeng Loe ri Sero is not yet discussed,²⁰ just those who ruled in Gowa.

Batara Gowa married a person from Garassiq. A child of Somba Garassiq he wed. They had a child Tunijalloq ri Passukkiq whose personal name was I Pakereq Tau. Another child was called Barataua whose *karaeng*-title was [32r] Karaeng ri Garassiq. Another child was a daughter called Karaeng ri Bone whose personal name is not known.

Karaeng Tunijalloq ri Passukkiq had no children. Karaeng ri Bone had no children either. Karaeng Barataua married a woman from Bila named Karaeng Maccillaka. They had children: Karaeng Botoroka; Karaeng Loaya; Karaeng ri Taipaya who was also called Karaeng ri Balapapanga.

Karaeng Botoroka had two sons:²¹ one named Karaeng Tomponga, one named Karaeng Maros. Karaeng Loaya had children: a daughter Karaeng Maros and Karaeng ri Patteqne. Karaeng ri Taipaya had children: I Daeng Bodo and the grandmother of I Jiya (I Kare Luqmuq).

[Batara Gowa's] wife from Garassiq died. There was a *karaeng*, a lime trader, who came up²² here. He had a slave for sale named I Rerasi bought by I Juragang. He was asked for that person by Batara Gowa. She was given and slept with [by Batara Gowa]. They had children: Karaeng Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna; a daughter Karaeng Makeboka.

Section 3: Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna

Batara Gowa died. He was called Tuniaawang ri Parallakkenna. His child was Tunijalloq ri Passukkiq. The child of Batara Gowa became ruler. Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna,²³ he married the child of Tunilabu ri Suriwa.²⁴ They had children: Tunipalangga; Karaeng ri Bone (the personal name of Karaeng ri Bone, may I not be cursed, was I Tapacinna); Tunibatta;²⁵ Karaeng ri Somba Opu, may I not be cursed, was named I Sapi. We will not yet recount all his children and descendants who would come to rule.²⁶

Karaeng ri Bone was married by a child of Karaeng ri Pakalle Ballaka. They had children: the father of I Daeng Mamo; the father of I Daeng Mattoq.

Karaeng ri Somba Opu was married by Karaeng Tunikakkasang. They had no children. [Subsequently] she was married by Karaeng Tumamenang ri Makkoayang. They had a child: the mother of Karaeng [Tumamenang ri Gaukanna].²⁷ They had a child: Karaeng Batu-Batu. Another son [32v] was still small when he died. They divorced. [Subsequently Karaeng ri Somba Opu] was married²⁸ by Karaeng Mandalleq. They had a child: Karaeng Ballaq Bugisika.

He married a Polombangkeng woman, did Karaeng Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna. A child of Karaeng Jamarang he wed. They had a child Karaeng Jonggoa. Another daughter was named I Kawateng. She went to marry a man in Jipang and had children. Called I Lajalle, that was the name of her husband. They had children: Pabua; Pasaria. Karaeng ri Jonggoa married the elder sibling of I Daeng ri Pattukangang. They had a child who was the mother of Karaeng Tompoqbalang.

This was the ruler who made written laws, written declarations of war. The *sabannaraq* of this *karaeng* was Daeng Pamatteq – he was *sabannaraq*, he was *tumailalang*, he made Makassarese manuscripts.

He²⁹ conquered Garassiq, Katingang, Parigi, Siang, Sidénréng. He made vassals of Sanrabone, Jipang, Galesong, Laba. He took *saqbu katti*³⁰ from Bulukumba, Selayar. He conquered Panaikang, Madalloq, Cempa[ga].³¹ He made treaties with the people of Maros, the people of Polombangkeng, the people of Boné. The ruler of the people of Maros was called Karaeng Loe ri Pakere. The ruler of the people of Polombangkeng was called Karaeng Loe ri Bajeng. The ruler of the people of Boné with whom he also made a treaty was [called]³² Boteka (he was the father of Bongkanga).

This ruler was praised as a very learned person, as ruling well and justly. His *gallarrang*-title was Kasuwiang³³ ri Juru. His *kare*-title was I Kare Manngutungi. He was the first to establish the community of Bontomanaiq. He was also called Gallarrang Loaya. With this *karaeng*, rice thrived, and other crops. Fish were plentiful. Palm wine flowed.³⁴ It was while he was ruling that a Javanese named I Galasi³⁵ came and warred in Pammolikang. For thirty-six years he ruled.

It was also while he was ruling that he was surrounded [and attacked]³⁶ by the people of Talloq, by the people of Polombangkeng, by the people of Maros. The *karaeng* of Talloq with whom he struggled was called [31r] Tunipasuruq. His personal name, may I not be cursed, was I Mangayoaberang. He who ruled in Maros was called Patanna Langkana. His posthumous name was Tumatinroa ri Buluqduaya. His personal name, may I not be cursed, was I Mappasomba. His royal name was I Daeng Nguraga.³⁷ He who ruled in Bajeng was the child of Karaeng Loe called I Pasairi. He was the older brother of I Daeng Masarro. He was siblings with those who ruled in Sanrabone, in Lengkeseq, in Katingang, in Jamarang, in Jipang, in Mandalleq. They were seven siblings; all had royal sunshades.³⁸

This *karaeng* was supported by the Three Gaukang.³⁹ Karaeng ri Lakiung and Gurudaya, with the people of Mangasa, Tomboloq, Saumata, and Sudiang,⁴⁰ there in Baroqbosoq they readied their arms and stood against the people of seaward Polombangkeng. The *karaeng* himself and Sulengkaya, poised in Rappocini with the people of Sudiang, the people of Manuju, the people of Boriqsallo, confronted the people of Talloq with I Daeng Masarro

himself who stood directly against [the *karaeng*].⁴¹ Karaeng ri Dataq and Cakkuridia, in Tamamangung he held firm with Paccellekang, Pattallassang, Bontomanaiq, and fought against the people of Maros. Once the battle raged the people of Talloq, the people of Maros, the people of Polombangkeng were put to flight. They launched ships and flew up toward their homelands. The people of Talloq fled deep into Talloq.⁴²

Then an invitation was sent out to Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna. He entered Talloq. For seven [nights] there he was feasted and honoured. They all swore oaths, the *karaeng* [of Gowa], the *karaeng* of Talloq, all the *gallarrang* in the great hall: 'Anyone who sets Gowa and Talloq against each other, he is cursed by the gods'. The only words put in are that they warred.⁴³

As for his death, he died of illness, this Karaeng Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna.

He fought and then made an agreement with Luwuq's Datuq Matinroa ri Wajoq. He made an agreement with Karaeng ri Saluqmekkoq called Magajaya. [He made vassals of]⁴⁴ Sanrabone, Jipang, Galesong, Agangnionjoq, Kawu, Pakombong. He was also first to have the Portuguese come ashore. In the same year he conquered Garassiq, Melaka too was conquered by the Portuguese. During this *karaeng*'s reign there were no thieves in the land. Also then a famine struck called Tambarinring.⁴⁵

The royal name⁴⁶ of this *karaeng* was I Daeng Matanre. His personal name no one knows; among all those who were asked none knew.

Section 4: Tunipalangga

Tunipalangga, this was the child of Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna. Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna died. [31v] Tunipalangga replaced him as ruler.

May I not be cursed, his personal name was I Mariogauq. His royal name was I Daeng Bonto. His *karaeng*-title before he became ruler was Karaeng Lakiung.

At age thirty-six he became ruler and ruled eighteen years, then died.

This *karaeng* was not praised for being just, was not praised for being learned. He was only said to be a brave man,⁴⁷ renowned, wise.

This *karaeng* conquered Bajeng; conquered all the peoples of Polombangkeng; first warred with the Bugis at Bampangang; then mastered Lamuru right to the Walenae. He took *saqbu katti* from them, then took the sword of their ancestors,⁴⁸ I Lapasari. He then had the one from Soppéng⁴⁹ named Puang ri Jammaq swear an oath and took the sword of their ancestors named I Lapattuli. [He conquered Datuq Baine named]⁵⁰ I Daengku and her vassals. He conquered Cenrana, Saluqmekkoq, Cino,⁵¹ Patukung, Kalubimbing, Bulobulo, Raja, Lamatti. Accompanied by the people of Maros he advanced⁵² and conquered Samanggi, Cenrana, Bengo, made vassals of Saomata⁵³ and Camba who were charged five *katti* and five taels. Accompanied, he advanced

to Luwuq and took tribute from Wajoq, which was charged twenty *katti*. Accompanied by the people of Sidénréng he advanced and conquered Otting, Buluq Cenrana, then mastered Wajoq and took *timbaq sareong*,⁵⁴ charging them ten *katti*. He then conquered Suppaq, Sawitto, and made vassals of Letang, Duri, Panaikang, and all the Bugis. Some were made slaves. Some were made vassals. He relocated people from Sawitto, people from Suppaq, people from Bacukiki up to [Gowa]. He conquered Bulukumba, Ujung Loe, Pannyikkokang, Pationgi, Gantarang, Wero, Selayar. He took *saqbu katti* from the people of Bira and made vassals of those who lived in the upland mountains. This was the *karaeng* who first made vassals of those he conquered. He also made them swear oaths, saying 'I speak and you agree'.

He too was the first to order that *tumakkajannang* be established for the *anaq karaeng*,⁵⁵ ironsmiths, goldsmiths, builders, shipwrights, blowpipe makers,⁵⁶ metalsmiths,⁵⁷ sharpeners, *palariq*,⁵⁸ ropemakers.

He too separated the *sabannaraq* position from the *tumailalang* position. I Daeng ri Mangallekana became *sabannaraq* (his royal name was I Kare Manngaweang, his personal name was I Manngambari). The *tumailalang* was I Daeng Pamatteq.

He too was the first to encircle fortifications;⁵⁹ to make *taikang*,⁶⁰ *dacing*,⁶¹ [standardized] weights; to establish *gantang*,⁶² ship tariffs of forty *kakana*;⁶³ to clarify what would be known as a *patung*, the measure of a *koyang*.⁶⁴ He too first placed great cannons in a row on the great fortifications. He also was the Makassarese who first knew how to make gunpowder, smelt gold, fire bricks.⁶⁵

Also during his reign, he made an agreement with the one who asked for a place to dwell named Anakoda Bonang.⁶⁶ He brought to the *karaeng*, [30r] when he asked for a place to dwell, these things: eighty-six blunderbusses,⁶⁷ one piece of cloth, half a score of silk, one piece of velvet. Said Anakoda Bonang to Karaeng Tunipalangga, 'There are four things that I ask for us.' Said the *karaeng*, 'What?' He spoke, 'We ask that you do not enter our homes, do not enter our compound, do not demand payment if we have children,⁶⁸ do not confiscate our goods if we commit a crime.' This was agreed to by the *karaeng*. The *karaeng* said, 'If my water buffalo is tired, I will rest it in water. If it's burden is heavy, I will set it down. What less could I do for my human flock?' Then spoke the *karaeng* to him, 'You may not kill in my land without my knowledge.' The *karaeng* spoke again, 'For which peoples do you speak?'⁶⁹ and Anakoda Bonang said to the *karaeng*, 'All of us who wear these sarongs.' These were the words of Anakoda Bonang, 'Such as Patani, Campa, Minangkabau, Johor, Pahang.'

He was also the first to spread *kompaq*,⁷⁰ fashion *babuq*,⁷¹ make smaller the long shields, shorten spear shafts. He was also the first to forge Palembang bullets.⁷²

He conquered Toli-Toli, Kaili. It was only Boné that was not conquered, from Pekang Laqbu above to Topeaja in the north.⁷³ For six years⁷⁴ he struggled with the people of Boné then died.

He died of illness, sick so that he could not swallow food. Hampered and indeed in great difficulty, he journeyed into Papolong and inside its fort became much worse and expired. Informed of this, Karaeng Tumamenang ri Makkoayang went and invited his sibling [Tunibatta] to come forth. He agreed and was brought forth. After forty-eight nights in his house he [Tunipalangga] died.⁷⁵

He had three wives. Balu Maqlonjoka was his main wife, his first cousin twice over and his niece, as she was the child of his second cousin. Balu Maqlonjoka was the child of Tunipasuruq by Karaeng Makeboka. Her royal name was I Daeng Ningai. They had four children: [two sons], two daughters. Another of his wives was called Karaeng ri Biliq Tanngaya. She was the child of Karaeng Loe ri Katingang. An *anaq karaeng* of one from Anaq Sappu was her mother. She was the elder sibling⁷⁶ of Karaeng I Waraq. They had only one daughter. Another of his wives was Karaeng ri Suppaq. Called Datuq ri Bali, they had no children.

Tunipalangga had no grown sons when he died, so it was his sibling who inherited power.

He was the *karaeng* who first issued frequent summons for corvee labor, was greatly renowned, very crafty in war. This *karaeng* was not praised as just, knowledgeable, a great worker. He was only said to be wise, wealthy, a very brave person.⁷⁷

Tunipalangga, before he ruled, ran off with Balu Maqlonjoka, angering Tunipasuruq. He set against each other the people of Talloq, the people of Gowa. The child of Tunipalangga by Balu Maqlonjoka was Karaeng ri Lakiung⁷⁸ whose personal name was I Ranti Patola, whose *bissu*-name was I Bale (as for his death, he was hacked to death. He was called Tunipongko ri Biliqna).⁷⁹

[30v] When she first took a husband, the ruler married her. They had children: Karaeng ri Tamamaqring;⁸⁰ a daughter named I Sugi Ratu, her royal name was I Daeng Situju. She had children: I Daeng Tubengo; I Daeng Sepe. Another child was a son named Karaeng ri Anaq Gowa. His personal name was I Tariawang. After just ten years he died, died of measles.⁸¹ Another child was a daughter named I Rieangi, the mother of I Tambaq.⁸² Her *karaeng*-title was Karaeng ri Ujung Loe. Her personal name was I Bayu. Another child was a daughter named I Daeng Sanninging. She was married by Karaeng ri Ujung. They had one daughter. She was married by Karaeng ri Betang. They had a child: the mother of I Daeng Ngago.⁸³ Another child was a daughter named Karaeng ri Bone. Her personal name was I Lotong.

She [Balu Maqlonjoka] was married by Karaeng Tunijalloq. She adopted

Karaeng ri Manjalling. Widowed by Karaeng Tunijalloq, she was married again by Karaeng Galesong. They had one daughter whose personal name was I Tobong. She was married by Tumamenang ri Gaukanna and had a child I Mene, whose engagement was arranged to Karaeng ri Majannang.

Another child [of Tunipalangga] was a son whose personal name was I Kanang. His royal name was I Daeng Keke. He was still small when he died.

As for children by Karaeng ri Biliq Tanngaya, they had only one daughter named I Daeng Mangamung. She was married to Karaeng ri Bangkalaq. They had children: Karaeng Bangkalaq with a large stomach; Karaeng ri Suppaq who had no children.

Another child by his Bugis wife was I Daeng Kapetta. He was the father of I Daeng Manggappa.⁸⁴

Another child by a slave woman, her mother was also Bugis and named I Masiqnai. They had a child I Daeng Madoko. I Daeng Madoko was married by Adatuang ri Massepeq and had a child: Adatuang ri Massepeq, named I Lagauq.

Another child given birth to by a household servant was named I Daeng Talaraq. His personal name was I Taniasseng. He had no children and died.

These are all the children we have heard of.⁸⁵

Section 5: Tunibatta

Tunibatta, this brother of Tunipalangga, succeeded him as ruler. His brother died. He succeeded him because he had been chosen.

His personal name, may I not be cursed, was I Teji Barani. His royal name was I Daeng Marompu. His *karaeng*-title before he became ruler was Karaeng ri Dataq.

Shortly after Tunipalangga died, that very night Gallarrang Loaya went to Bontomanaiq to Tunibatta and said, 'It may be best if you summon your child.' He responded, 'Yes,' and indeed Karaeng Tunibatta sent word summoning Karaeng Tunijalloq from inside Boné. Seven nights [29r] after his uncle's death, he came. Upon arriving here, three nights after coming in, he married Karaeng ri Lakiung.⁸⁶

He ruled twenty-three nights then marched into battle. Stopping in Soppéng, he wed the sister of Pulipua. Married three nights, after he had married he advanced toward Boné. Upon arriving in Papolong, blind with rage [Tunibatta and his forces] pressed forward, routing the people of Boné, pressing them into their forts⁸⁷ and burning all the houses in Bukaka. As the day grew short they were attacked by the people of Boné. The Makassarese fled. The *karaeng* was beheaded. After ruling merely forty nights he died. After living forty-eight years, the *karaeng* died.

A child of Karaeng ri Jamarang named I Daeng Mangkasaraq, she was married by Karaeng Tunibatta. Upon her marriage down⁸⁸ here in Gowa, she was granted by her father all of Kanjilo. She was the mother of⁸⁹ Karaeng Tunijalloq and the mother of Karaeng Mapeqdaka. Her *karaeng*-title was Karaeng ri Bontotanga. Her personal name was I Tamakeboq. Her royal name was I Daeng Makkeqngang.⁹⁰ Another child was named I Biasa, who had no children.

Karaeng Mapeqdaka, she had children: Karaeng ri Sanrabone;⁹¹ Karaeng ri Kasuarrang; Karaeng ri Bambangang; the father of I Daeng Manggappa, Tumatea ri Joroq;⁹² the father of Karaeng ri Tompoqbalang; the father of Karaeng ri Ujung Pandang; the father of Karaeng ri Balang Baru; plus many other children whom we do not name.

Karaeng Bisei married the daughter of Gallarrang Lampa Saile. They had one daughter. She went over to Surabaya.⁹³

Karaeng Tunibatta then married again a child of Tunipasuruq by a woman from Maros, a full sibling of Tumamenanga ri Makkoayang named Karaeng ri Barung Patola. They [had two children: one girl, one boy. The girl married]⁹⁴ up in Campagaya and had a child, the mother of I Mata. Their other child was a son named I Andaga. His *karaeng*-title was Karaeng ri Ujung. His royal name was I Daeng Mannyauruq. He married a daughter of Tunipalangga named I Daeng. They had a child, the mother of I Kopu. He married a *gallarrang* of the people of Tomboloq. They had a child, Karaeng ri Pattungang.

Karaeng ri Barung Patola died. He married again her younger sister. She was the mother of Karaeng ri Dataq. The royal name of Karaeng ri Dataq was I Daeng Marinyo. His personal name was I Karisa. He never married among his own.⁹⁵ Only the child of a metalworker did he marry. They had children: Karaeng ri Katapang and siblings.

There was a slave of one from Parigi whom he married. They had children: I Jamo and I Daeng Makanang.

Another slave of one from Kalli-Kalli he married. They had a child: I Kare Kontu. He married one from Galesong named I Tappo.

At Tunipalangga's death, [29v] Balu Maqlonjoka was married again by another child of I Tunipasuruq. The women of Gowa called her Karaeng Makeboka.⁹⁶

This *karaeng*, his rule was not praised. It was only said he diligently planted rice and was lucky at gambling.

Section 6: Tunijalloq

This child of Tunibatta, Tunijalloq, succeeded as ruler. His personal name, may I not be cursed, was I Manggorai. His royal name was I Daeng Mammeta.

His *karaeng*-title before he became ruler was Karaeng ri Bontolangkasaq.

After his father was beheaded, he went over to the people of Boné. Gallarrang Mangasa was sent with I Loqmoq ri Manrimisiq. In the morning they went out to Bongkanga with Kajao La Liddong. Together [the parties] agreed. It was called the treaty on the north of Boné. Precisely there was established the Three Lands⁹⁷ by Karaeng Tumamenang ri Makkoayang. After agreeing⁹⁸ with the people of Boné he came out to Makassar. Upon arriving there he was installed as ruler by Tumamenang ri Makkoayang.

For twenty-five years he ruled⁹⁹ then died. He died cut down on board ship, on the north side of Agangnionjoq, seawards of Lipukasiq, during harvest in Maros, on the third night of the month, cut down by his milk-sibling. One from Majannang named I Lolo Tamakana¹⁰⁰ cut him down.

Shortly before going to Boné, his first cousin he married: the child of Tunipalangga named I Daeng Malelei. In fact, she had been his fiancée since she was small.

There had been an unmarried woman in the household of Tunipalangga named I Kare Leo, the child of a *gallarrang* of one from Polombangkeng, whom he wronged.¹⁰¹ Discovered by Karaeng Tunipalangga, who was angered, the woman was bound and thrown into the sea. Fearful, Karaeng Tunijalloq fled into Boné. The ruler of Boné then was called I La Bongkang. While the *karaeng* was in Boné he was twice wounded by darts. He married while in Boné. She whom he married was also Makassarese, named I Kare Pate, the child of I Kare Mangenjeng, one from Polombangkeng who had fled there. While the *karaeng* was in Boné he was much liked by the Arumpone. When Tunipalangga died, a summons came from his father. Eight nights after his uncle's death¹⁰² he arrived there. He then married Karaeng ri Lakiung.

Twenty nights he ruled, Karaeng Tunibatta. Then he went into Boné. Going also, Karaeng Tunijalloq entered Boné with his father.¹⁰³ Tunibatta died. Coming out from there, he was installed as ruler by Tumamenang ri Makkoayang. When he buried his uncle he also buried his own grandmother named Karaeng Loe Baine.

Upon ruling he married Karaeng I Waraq, the child of Karaeng Loe ri Katingang. An *anaq karaeng* of one from Anaq Sappu was her mother. Only three times had he visited her at night when she was cut down by Karaeng ri Lakiung inside the *karaeng's* chamber. The keeper of his dogs killed her in the night.¹⁰⁴ Karaeng ri Lakiung died.

He then married the child [28r] of Tumamenang ri Makkoayang by Karaeng ri Somba Opu. May I not be cursed, her personal name was I Sambo. Her royal name was I Daeng Niasseng. Her *karaeng*-title before she ruled¹⁰⁵ was Karaeng ri Patingalloang. She was the mother of Tumamenang ri Gaukanna.

And her sister [Tunijalloq married too]. Karaeng I Waraq bore Tunijalloq

three girls. Tuniwang ri Kalassukanna, may I not be cursed, her personal name was I Puppusuq. Her royal name was I Daeng Tojeng. Her *karaeng*-title before she married was Karaeng Kanjilo. After going seawards to dwell in Bontoalag she was called Karaeng ri Naung. Another child was I Bissu Jamarang who died while still small. She had been promised to Karaeng ri Barobosoq. Another child was I Dundu who died while still small and had been promised to Karaeng ri Manjalling.

Another wife was I Daeng ri Rappocini, the chosen niece of Karaeng ri Jipang who had no children. Karaeng ri Jipang's personal name was I Katipa and his royal name was I Daeng Matawang.

Another wife was I Daeng ri Lekoqboqdong. They had one child who died while still small.¹⁰⁶

Another wife was Karaeng ri Popoq, also a sister of Karaeng I Waraq. Her personal name was I Bungko. She was the mother of Karaeng ri Ballaq Jawaya whose personal name, may I not be cursed, was I Sikati. She was the mother of I Daeng Manggappa, Matea ri Joroq.

She¹⁰⁷ was the mother by the *karaeng* of eight children. The siblings included a son: Karaeng Assuluka [Tunipasuluq]. His personal name, may I not be cursed, was I Tepu Karaeng. His royal name was I Daeng Parambu. His *karaeng*-title before he ruled was Karaeng ri Bontolangkasaq. He was the father of I Daeng Kalauq; the mother of I Daeng Mangompoq; I Daeng Majarreq.¹⁰⁸

Another daughter, her personal name, may I not be cursed, was I Callanna. Her royal name was I Daeng Tamaqring. Her *karaeng*-title was Karaeng Tabaringang. She was married by Karaeng Kotengang who was called I Taere.¹⁰⁹ Before having children she was widowed by Karaeng Kotengang. She was then married by Karaeng Sanrabone named I Pammusurang and had a child Karaeng Malolo, and had a child Karaeng Panarukang Baine, and had a child Karaeng Tamananga, and had a child Karaeng Taniciniq. Divorcing from Karaeng ri Sanrabone, she was married by Karaeng Patteqne and had a child Karaeng Patteqne who was killed on Buton.

Another son was I Topali, who had no children then died.

Another daughter, her personal name, may I not be cursed, was I Bissu Maliba. Her *karaeng*-title was Karaeng Pacelleq. She was married by Karaeng ri Pattungang and had a child Karaeng Taipaya, and had a child Karaeng Masale, and had a child I Tamaqlili.

Another daughter, her personal name, [28v] may I not be cursed, was I Sabesiang. Her royal name was I Kare Lamorroq. She was married by Karaeng Bulo-Bulo. They had no children but Daenta I Taniciniq was adopted and it was she who inherited.

Another of his sons, his personal name, may I not be cursed, was I Manngaranngi. His royal name was I Daeng Manrabia. This one was called

Tumamenang ri Gaukanna. We will discuss his wives¹¹⁰ only in their place.¹¹¹

Another son, his personal name, may I not be cursed, was I Kelo. His royal name was I Daeng Uraga. His *karaeng*-title was Karaeng Ujung Tana. He had no children, but Karaeng ri Pattukangang was adopted. [I Kelo] died. Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng received all his possessions except those already given [to his adopted heir].

Another of his sons was I Yung. His royal name was I Daeng Macciniq. His *karaeng*-title was Karaeng Buluq Sipong. He married his first cousin, a child of Karaeng Barombong, named I Tadumai and had children Karaeng Paqbineang and Karaeng Garassiq.

We do not know the children of Karaeng Baine.¹¹²

Another wife¹¹³ was I Loqmoq Pareq. She also had one daughter who was married by Karaeng Lekoqbodong, named I Sambali, and had a child I Ralung who was married by I Daeng Mangalle and adulterous with Daeng Bombong. The personal name of I Loqmoq Pareq was I Tamakaqdoq.¹¹⁴

Another of his slave wives was I Sambe. After the *karaeng* died she gave birth to a daughter named I Kawateng. She married then died.¹¹⁵

Another lady at court he did sleep with, and she had a son named I Mammaneka. His royal name was I Kare Tanjang.

The wife of Karaeng Tunijalloq who did not have children was Karaeng Bissua. She was also called Karaeng Batu-Batu. A full sibling of Karaeng Baine, her personal name, may I not be cursed, was I Lingga. She adopted Karaeng ri Barombong.

Another of his wives was Karaeng ri Bone. A child of Tunipalangga, she adopted Karaeng ri Manjalling, whose personal name was I Lotong.

Another of his wives was Bugis, one from Soppéng named Karaeng ri Majannang and widowed by the *karaeng*.

Another of his wives, one from Lamuru, was I We Dadi. She was called Karaeng ri Balloq.

Another of his wives, a sister of Karaeng I Waraq, was Karaeng Maqdangea. She was divorced and then married by Daeng ri Mangallekana.

Another of his wives was I Daeng ri Pattukangang, a widow of Tumamenang ri Makkoayang and a child of Gallarrang Bontomanaiq named I Kare Saluq. The personal name of I Daeng ri Pattukangang was I Tuli. Her royal name was Daenna I Mene. Her mother [27r] was an *anaq karaeng* of one from Garassiq, a grandchild of the Somba Garassiq,¹¹⁶ named I Daeng Paikaq.

Another of his wives was I Daeng ri Dataq. She was also called I Daeng Malompoa. Her royal name was I Daeng Arenne. She was a second cousin of Karaeng I Waraq.

The lands conquered during the reign of Tumamenang ri Makkoayang are not discussed here, but later in the discussion of Tumamenang ri

Makkoayang.

Tumamenang ri Makkoayang died.¹¹⁷ [Tunijalloq] ruled with his wife. [For thirteen years and eight months they ruled.]¹¹⁸ When he first ruled, a great famine struck. It lasted three years. Just fifty sheafs of rice was the price of a black [water buffalo].

During his reign were the first carved houses, Makassarese forging knives, supervised blowdart makers. There were the first writers, chroniclers, ornamenters of fine gold.¹¹⁹ He erected a mosque for traders who came to live in Mangallekana and ordered them to make the haj.

This was the *karaeng* who first made I Daeng ri Mangallekana *tumailalang*, I Daeng ri Tamacina *sabannaraq*,¹²⁰ I Daeng ni Sambe *anrong guru* of the *tumakkajannang* and the *anaq buraqne*.¹²¹

I Daeng ri Mangallekana died. Karaeng ri Maros became *tumailalang* with I Daeng ri Tamacina's help. The personal name of Karaeng ri Maros was I Yunyiq. His royal name was I Daeng Mangemba. Daeng ri Tamacina was called I Painyong. His royal name was I Kare Paeso.

It was also this *karaeng* who befriended the Javanese, crossed over to Karasanga, to Johor, crossed over to Melaka, crossed over to Pahang, crossed over to Balambangang, crossed over to Patani, crossed over to Banjar, went east to Maluku.

During the *karaeng's* rule all the Bugis transformed and created the Tallumbocco.¹²² The ruler of the people of Soppéng was I Lamattang. The *gallarrang* was called Pulipuya. The Arung Matoa of Wajoq was I Lamangkace. His royal name was I Todama. His posthumous name was Matinroa ri Kannana. The Arumpone was called I Laenca, the younger sibling of Bongkanga.¹²³ He married one from Timurung and had children: Tumatinroa ri Talloq and Makkalarua. His posthumous name was Matinroa ri Aqdenenna. He was also called Ampadae Salassiqna. Inside Macciniq, before Suang, the Bugis reformed and returned back home. Then said the people of Wajoq and the people of Soppéng, 'Why? We will pursue, we will kill them all.' Then said the Arumpone, 'Be happy in your hearts: your heads are still on your shoulders.'

Tunijalloq journeyed back here. In Porampi a palanquin was summoned to go to Karaeng ri Maros. Then he was borne there and together Tunijalloq made a pledge with Karaeng ri Maros, saying, 'As long as your descendants rule my descendants too will you appoint *tumailalang*.'

Afterwards, ordered to accompany Datua ri Gulawang out from here were the people of Boné. They were ordered to accompany [27v] the Arumpone. Forbidden to come closer on their journey until past Samanggi, they returned to their communities.¹²⁴

The communities conquered after Tumamenang ri Makkoayang [died]: Luwuq; Batulappaq (I Lamusu was the name of their *karaeng*); Segeri (their

karaeng was I Cikondo; his royal name was I Daeng Boting); the people of Maros (their *karaeng*, I Karrang was his name; his royal name was I Daeng Marewa, the child of a Bugis female who was a slave of Tunikakasang.)

Akkotengang we befriended, with Sawitto. Sidénréng we also befriended. After the *karaeng* died, they left us, taken by the people of Soppéng.

This *karaeng* was loved by the *tumailalang*, by the *anaq karaeng*, loved by the *tumalompo*, by the *gallarrang*, by the *tau taqballaq*, and was loved too by Tumamenang ri Gaukanna.

This is what is told of him.¹²⁵

Section 7: Tunipasuluq

Tunijalloq had a child Tunipasuluq. Tunijalloq died. Karaeng Suluka became ruler. His personal name was I Tepu Karaeng. His royal name was I Daeng Parabbung. His *karaeng*-title before he ruled was Karaeng Bontolangkasaq.

Once he was ruling, he expelled I Daeng ri Tamacina as *tumailalang*, took his servants and their overseers, established his servants as bound followers too.¹²⁶

It was he who titled *tumailalang* Karaeng ri Patteqne. His personal name was I Tamanggoa. His royal name was I Daeng Arenne.

At fifteen years he became ruler and ruled two years and was cast out.

He clashed with the people of Boné in Meru. He subdued Daeng Marewa in Kaluku. He conquered Boq Loe.

Once he was expelled and inside Luwuq, he entered Islam. Twenty-four years after being cast out he died over on Buton.

He had three children by his slave wife: one daughter, two sons.

On 1 Rajab 1026 of the Islamic calendar, the 5th night of July, Tunipasuluq was expelled.¹²⁷ It was year 1617 of the Christian calendar [when he died].

It was this *karaeng* who organized the people of the *karaeng* by forming people into the Bate Salapang bearing half-banners.

It was this *karaeng* too who first enjoyed small firearms, iron vests, swords, long krisses.

Three nights after Karaeng Tunijalloq died and he [Tunipasuluq] was presented by Karaeng Matoaya with what was his [and his] people.

He also forbid his subjects from honouring his two elder siblings. This *karaeng* expelled people though they committed no wrong knowingly, or just suddenly had them killed. All the Javanese¹²⁸ departed. The *anaq karaeng* fled too. Not fleeing were Karaeng Matoaya, Karaeng ri Barombong, Karaeng ri Dataq, a child of Karaeng Caqdia, Karaeng Baroqbosoq, Karaeng Alluq, a child of Karaeng Matoaya, Karaeng Maros, Karaeng Patteqne.

Other actions of his were said to be wrong. Those who know say we should not know. It is not good to speak of them.¹²⁹

Section 8: *Tumamenang ri Gaukanna (Sultan Ala'uddin)*

Tunipasuluq was the sibling of Tumamenang ri Gaukanna. After his elder sibling was expelled he was installed as ruler by his mother. Entering his seventh year, [26r] he became ruler.

His personal name, may I not be cursed, was I Manngarangi. His royal name was I Daeng Manraqbia. His Arabic name was Sultan Alau'ddin.

For twelve years he ruled then entered Islam. A Minangkabau converted him. Kota Tanga was the name of his homeland. Katte Tunggalag was his personal name. He settled on land at the end of Pammatoang. Named I Datoq ri Bandang, he led the *karaeng* into Islam on the ninth night of Jumadilawal, on Friday in 1014 of the Islamic calendar, 22 September 1605 of the Christian calendar.

On the ninth of the month of Rajab, 1016 of the Islamic calendar, Christian year 1606,¹³⁰ he had a son whose personal name,¹³¹ may I not be cursed, was I Mannuntung. His royal name was I Daeng Mattola. His *karaeng*-title before he ruled¹³² was Karaeng ri Lakiung. His mother was Karaeng ri Lakiung. Her personal name was I Mataina.¹³³ Her royal name was I Daeng Macciniq. Her *karaeng*-title was Karaeng Bontoa. She was a child of Karaeng I Waraq from her husband who was cut down with Karaeng Tunibatta¹³⁴ (an *anaq karaeng* of one from Parianga and a second cousin of Karaeng I Waraq too). She was married by Karaeng ri Kasuarrang and had his child Karaeng Bontoa.

Another of his wives, a first cousin of his and a child of Karaeng ri Manjalling, was I Layu. Her royal name was I Daeng Mapassang. She was the mother of Karaeng Lempangang whose personal name was I Saqbe, whose royal name was I Daeng Tamaga, whose *karaeng*-title was Karaeng Lempangang.

Another of his wives, one from Bacukiki, her mother brought up here was named I Kare Sallang.¹³⁵

Another¹³⁶ [of his wives] was one from Lengkeseq called I Kare Talesang. She had a daughter named I Tanikutaqngang. Her royal name was I Daeng Memang. Her *karaeng*-title was Karaeng ri Popoq.

Another of his wives, her mother was one from Segeri. Her father was one from Lekoqbodong, a blade sharpener. Named I Rasa, her royal name was I Loqmoq Teqne. She was the mother of I Mappangara whose royal name was I Daeng Manrungrungang, whose *karaeng*-title was Karaeng ri Katinting, and another named I Manjagai whose royal name was I Daeng Palipung and who died at only ten years of age.

Another of his wives was a child of a *gallarrang* of one from Talloq and a milk-sibling of Karaeng ri Karuwisi. Her mother was I Toneq. Her father was Kare Leoq. Her personal name was I Alle. Her royal name was I Kare Balluruq. She had one son called I Mallelei. His royal name was I Daeng

Manngawi. His *karaeng*-title was Karaeng Bawangang.

Another of his wives, a Bajo from Garassiq, was I Uru. She had one son named I Mattalle who died while still small.

Another of his wives, a child of Karaeng Galesong and his first cousin too, was I Tobo. She had one daughter called I Mene who [26v] was engaged to Karaeng ri Majannang. She died while still small.

The wife installed with him, also his first cousin, was a child of one called Datu Paboli with Karaeng Ballaq Bugisika. Her personal name, may I not be cursed, was I Tadampalili. They had no children. Tumamenanga ri Bontobiraeng [Karaeng Pattingalloang] was adopted and he was also called family by his elder siblings, by the elders.

We will not name all the wives of this *karaeng*. Said Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng, 'After he married a Bugis, he repeatedly married Javanese, then again married overseas.' Said Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng, 'More than forty times he married.'

One household woman he slept with, named I Teqne, also had one daughter called I Rikong. Her royal name was I Daeng Tunang.

This *karaeng* was not praised as a brave man, a wise man, nor praised as a famous man. He was only called a good-hearted man, a just man.

Thirty-four years after becoming Muslim he died. He had ruled forty-six years. Following Karaeng Matoaya by two years, eight months, twenty nights (two hundred fifty-six nights in all)¹³⁸ after Karaeng Matoaya died he died too.¹³⁹

There are no conquered communities discussed here because he conquered no communities after Karaeng Matoaya [died].

This *karaeng* was loved by the *gallarrang*, the *tau taballaqna*, though the *anaq karaeng* and the *tumailalang* loved Tunijalloq more.

This Karaeng retained [as *tumailalang* Karaeng ri Maros, Karaeng ri Patteqne and retained also]¹⁴⁰ as *sabannaraq* I Kare Panngepaq. Karaeng ri Patteqne died. Karaeng ri Maroanging replaced Karaeng ri Patteqne. He had seven children. One of his children was I Ganti¹⁴¹ whose *karaeng*-title was Karaeng ri Alluq, and who had a child Karaeng Paqbundukang along with his siblings. Another was I Mallombasi who was the grandparent of Karaeng ri Suli. Another of his children was I Mappakanro whose *karaeng*-title was Karaeng Jeqneqpono and who was the grandparent of Gallarrang Saumata. Another daughter, she had a child, the mother of I Kalula. Another daughter, she was married by Karaeng ri Batupute.¹⁴² Karaeng ri Maroanging,¹⁴³ he was the youngest. He succeeded because he was the child of an equal. A sibling of Karaeng ri Maroanging named I Mamminawang, his royal name was I Daeng Manngawing.¹⁴⁴

The children of Karaeng ri Maros were nine. One daughter was I Tanikallong, who was the grandparent of I Kare Nana.¹⁴⁵ One named I Daeng

Cokko was the grandparent of Karaeng Karunrung. Another of his children¹⁴⁶ was I Linga, whose royal name was I Daeng Nisona and who was the grandparent of [25r] Karaeng ri Tabaringang, the mother of I Mappatamba. Another of his children was [I Daeng ri Bone. She was the mother of Karaeng Citta. Another of his daughters, she]¹⁴⁷ married up in Urikeke and had a child Karaeng Urikeke. Another of his children was Karaeng Bontolangkasaq who had no children. Another of his children was I Bonto whose *karaeng*-title was Karaeng Cenrana. He was the father of I Kare Bayang along with his siblings. Another of his sons was I Sambali. His *karaeng*-title was Karaeng Lekoqbodong. He was the grandfather of Karaeng Rodia. Another of his sons was Karaeng ri Maranang. He was the grandfather of I Tuqduq and the grandfather of the mother of I Ali.

Karaeng Patteqne died. Karaeng ri Maroanging replaced him. Karaeng Maros died. Karaeng ri Cenrana replaced him. Karaeng Cenrana died. Another Karaeng ri Cenrana replaced him. His personal name was I Mallewai. His royal name was I Daeng Maqnassa. Karaeng Maroanging died. Karaeng ri Suli succeeded him. His personal name, it was I Mappa.

It was this *karaeng* who first befriended those over in Aceh and the ruler of Mataram.

This *karaeng* was praised as good-hearted, not aggrandizing.

This *karaeng* lived to age fifty-three. For forty-six years he ruled then died. Above in Cikkoang, while inside Jongaya, illness came to him on the ninth night of the month of Safar, on the tenth¹⁴⁸ night of June, on Sunday night. Once it was day on Sunday he was brought down to his home. On the twelfth of the [Islamic] month, on the fifteenth night of the Christian month, on Wednesday, at the stroke of one in the night, he died, 1639 of the Christian calendar, 1049 of the Islamic calendar.

While he was *karaeng*, a great epidemic struck, a famine struck, fierce wars took place.

Nine hundred and fifty-six¹⁴⁹ nights after the death of Karaeng Matoaya, he died too,¹⁵⁰ Tumamenang ri Gaukanna, at the age of fifty-three.¹⁵¹

Section 9: Tumamenang ri Papambatuna (Sultan Malikussaid)

Tumamenang ri Papambatuna was installed as ruler because he was the child of an equal wife.¹⁵² One hundred fifty-nine nights thence,¹⁵³ at age thirty-two he became ruler, on the day of Araba, the twelfth of the month of Safar, the fifteenth of the Christian month of June. He became ruler on Tuesday the eighteenth, the twenty-first of the Christian month.¹⁵⁴

He informed Tumammaliang ri Timoroq, the *tumailalang*, the *anaq karaeng*, the *gallarrang*,¹⁵⁵ 'If I am to be *karaeng*, together with Tumamenappa ri Bontobiraeng [Karaeng Pattingalloang] I will rule, for he guides all the people.'

The name of this *karaeng*, may I not be cursed, was I Mannuntung. His royal name was I Daeng Mattola. His *karaeng*-title before he ruled was Karaeng Ujung. It was later changed to Karaeng Lakiung.

When he was young he was promised in marriage to a child of the Arumpone [25v] named I Lapalang. [The Arumpone] was called Matinroa ri Talloq. His fiancée died and he was promised in marriage to a child of Tumammaliang ri Timoroq named I Ranga. Her royal name was I Daeng Mateqne. Her *karaeng*-title was Karaeng ri Tangallaq. She was a child of Karaeng Tumammaliang ri Timoroq by a child of Karaeng ri Barombong. Her mother's personal name was I Bijawi.¹⁵⁶ Her royal name was I Daeng Kaling. Upon reaching puberty, he married her while she was still small. They divorced.

He then married a child of Karaeng Matoaya named I Baine. Her royal name was I Kare Maqnassa. She was named Daenta ri Pattingalloang.

He then married one from Laikang living in Pattoppakang named I Saqbe. Her royal name was I Loqmoq Kontu. She had two children. A daughter named I Patima, her Makassarese name was I Saniq. Her royal name was I Daeng Nisakking. Her *karaeng*-title was Karaeng Bontojeqneq. A son named Muhammad Bakir, his Makassarese name was I Mallombasi. His royal name was I Daeng Mattawang. His *karaeng*-title before he ruled was Karaeng Bontomangape.

These were all his children before he became ruler.

He then divorced Daenta ri Pattingalloang. He married Karaeng ri Tangallaq. He married and then became ruler. Upon ruling he married again a friend of one from Tallampuang, one from Binamuq named I Bissu. Her royal name was I Kare Jannang. She had one daughter named I Rabia. Her Makassarese name was I Sungguminasa. Her royal name was I Daeng Nisanga. Her *karaeng*-title was Karaeng Sanggiringang. After two years he and Karaeng ri Tangallaq divorced.

He then married again to a first cousin, one from Sanrabone named I Ranga. Her royal name was I Daeng Marannu. They had no children.

Then he married a granddaughter of Karaeng Matoaya, a child of Daenta ri Mangeppeq by Karaeng ri Cenrana named I Mallewai. Her royal name was I Daeng Maqnassa.

He married. I Ralle was her Makassarese name. Her royal name was I Daeng Paikaq. She had one daughter named I Manneratu. Her royal name was I Daeng Niasseng. Her *karaeng*-title was Karaeng ri Bontomateqne. It was later changed to Karaeng ri Lakiung. Her Javanese name was I Sapuru.¹⁵⁷

Another, only a slave, gave birth to one named I Asseng. [I Asseng's] mother was I Yata. [I Asseng's] royal name was I Loqmoq Singaraq.

Another was a son. A mere household woman gave birth to him. [24r] Named I Tanriwalu, his Arabic name¹⁵⁸ was I Sepulo. His Makassarese name

was I Atatojeng. His royal name was I Kare Tulolo. His *karaeng*-title was Karaeng Bontomajannang.¹⁵⁹

This *karaeng* never faced epidemics, never faced fierce wars, never faced great famines.

It was this *karaeng* who befriended the governor in Manila, the viceroy in Goa, the president in Coromandel, the Mir Jumla in Machhilipatnam, the ruler of the English, the ruler of the Portuguese, the ruler of the Spanish.

Befriending the mufti in Mekka, he was the *karaeng* who first was titled [Sultan] by Mekka. Named Muhammad Said, his name indeed was Malikussaid.

This *karaeng* was praised among the *karaeng* as a proficient reciter, was praised as a man respectful toward the elders, was praised as governing kindly with his subjects.

This *karaeng* was adept at having visions, adept at honouring others, adept at repaying generosity. He was loved by the people, though the *anaq karaeng* and the *tumailalang* loved Tumamenang ri Gaukanna more.

This *karaeng* was skilled at writing Arabic, very good at writing Makassarese.¹⁶⁰

Section 10: Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana (Sultan Hasanuddin)

[KIT 30] Tumamenang ri Papambatuna had a child Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana. Tumamenang ri Papambatuna died. Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana inherited power because he was the child who had been designated.

This *karaeng*, his Arabic name was Sultan Hasanuddin. His Makassarese name, may I not be cursed, was I Mallombasi. His royal name was I Daeng Mattawang. His *karaeng*-title before he ruled was Karaeng ri Bontomangape.¹⁶¹

At the age of twenty-three years he became ruler and ruled for seventeen years, then stepped down and installed his child in power. [KIT 31] For one year he ruled together with his child, then died. His death was caused by his inflamed stomach.

This was the *karaeng's* wife before he ruled: a child of Karaeng Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng. She was his first wife because she was indeed his fiancée. May I not be cursed, she was called I Mami. Her royal name was I Daeng Sannging. She had one son who died while still small.

He was widowed and then married again a child of Karaeng Banyuwanyaraq of Sanrabone. Her personal name, may I not be cursed, was I Peta. Her royal name was I Daeng Nisali. They had seven children: five sons, two daughters. The eldest was I Manjawakkang who at only seven years of age died. Another child, may I not be cursed, was I Mappadulung.

His Arabic name was Abdul Jalil. His royal name was I Daeng Mattimung. His *karaeng*-title before he ruled was Karaeng ri Campagaya. The people of Sanrabone expelled their *karaeng*. One from Sanrabone went down there to ask for the *karaeng*. He was put in as *karaeng* and called Karaeng ri Sanrabone. Another child, may I not be cursed, was I Mappaosong, whose royal name was I Daeng Mangewai, whose *karaeng*-title before ruling was Karaeng ri Bisei. Another daughter, may I not be cursed, was I Sunggu. Her royal name was I Daeng Talebang. Her *karaeng*-title was Karaeng Langelog. Another son was I Sumaili. At only seven years he died. Another [KIT 32] son was I Makkarurung. His royal name was I Daeng Mattulu. His *karaeng*-title was Karaeng Agangjeqneq. Another daughter named I Saena died at only seven years of age. It was she [the child of Karaeng Banyuwanyaraq] who he married and was with when he became ruler.

Another of his wives, one from Batea, was I Loqmoq Dayang. She had one son named I Manrurungang. His royal name was I Kare Gappa. His *karaeng*-title was Karaeng Mangalliq.

Another of his wives was I Loqmoq Toboq. She had four children: two sons, two daughters. The eldest was I Maninrori, whose royal name was I Kare Tojeng, whose *karaeng*-title was Karaeng Galesong because he was taken as *karaeng* by the people of Galesong. Another was I Sapia, whose royal name was I Daeng Rikong. One was I Aduluq, whose royal name was I Daeng Mangalle. One was I Rukia, whose royal name was I Daeng Mami.

Afterwards he married again to a child of Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng. Her personal name, may I not be cursed, was I Bate. Her royal name was I Daeng Tommi. Her *karaeng*-title was Karaeng Paqbineang. Married by the *karaeng*, she was called Karaeng Baine. She had two sons. The eldest, may I not be cursed, was I Mappasomba. His royal name was I Daeng Uruga. He had no *karaeng*-title, then was given power by his father.¹⁶² One was named I Ama. His royal name was I Daeng Arene. [KIT 33] At only nine years of age he died.

Another of his wives, an *anaq karaeng* of one from Sanrabone, was named I Daeng Talele. She had one daughter named I Patima. Her royal name was I Daeng Takontu.

Another of his concubines had a daughter named I Yalima. Her royal name was I Daeng Jipaleng.

Another of his wives was one from Paqbineang. She had a child named I Minang whose royal name was I Kare Nanang. She had a daughter who died while still small.

This is his wife who bore no children: the child of Karaeng ri Tarung by Karaeng ri Batu-Batu. Named I Baya, her royal name was I Daeng Masiang.

Another of his wives, a child of I Kare Tulolo, was I Yoci. Her royal name was I Daeng Antu.¹⁶³

This *karaeng* completely confided in Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng and

together they ruled, for he installed [Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana] as ruler. For ten months they ruled together. Then Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng died and the *karaeng* spoke for his land.

This *karaeng* went eastwards to Buton and then conquered Tobeia.

He too was the *karaeng* approached by his brother, the ruler of Maluku, named Kaicili Kalamata. He left his homeland and went overseas and then married a child of Tumammaliang ri Timoroq named Karaeng ri Panaikang. He had no children by Karaeng ri Panaikang.

Appendix 1

[CM 180]¹⁶⁴ This *karaeng* [Sultan Malikussaid] ruled in Gowa and Karaeng Matinroa ri Bontobiraeng spoke for the land in Gowa as *tumabicarabutta*.

Boné was conquered in war at Pare-Pare. The Aruppitu¹⁶⁵ was ordered by Tumenanga ri Bontobiraeng to seek a descendant to install,¹⁶⁶ one said able to bring life to the land of Boné. Then requested the Aruppitu five nights to deliberate. Five nights passed. The Aruppitu came to Tumenanga ri Bontobiraeng and said, 'We have sought a descendant to install that we say can bring life to the land of Boné, but there is none. On him we are agreed: the *karaeng* [of Gowa] we take as ruler of Boné.' After the *karaeng* refused, then said Karaeng Tumenanga ri Bontobiraeng, 'This is customary: if we take a *karaeng*, the people of Boné cannot follow. If they take a ruler, we too cannot follow.' Then Tumenanga ri Papambatuna purportedly said, 'We then must oversee the people of Boné.' Spoke Tumenanga ri Bontobiraeng 'You should not order us,¹⁶⁷ the servants of Tunijalloq, and then Karaeng ri Sumannaq was ordered to oversee the people of Boné. I Tobalaq was installed as *kali*. Then said Tumenanga ri Bontobiraeng to the Aruppitu, 'If you take a ruler and do not inform us, I will not protect you: I will pursue you.' Then the *karaeng* came away from there.

Only three years after, the people of Boné took a ruler and went up to Passempaq, constructing a stockade, and were marched on again by Tumenanga ri Bontobiraeng. It was the younger sibling of the ruler who had been conquered whom they took [CM 181] and put in again as ruler of the people of Boné. His personal name was I Laaji. His royal name was I Tosarimang. Passempaq was encircled by the Makassarrese and Boné was conquered again. This was called the War of Passempaq. Afterwards the people of Boné were despoiled. [The spoils] were returned again because it was said only the Arumpone may strike his subjects in anger.

This *karaeng* twice was brought by Karaeng Tumenanga ri Bontobiraeng to conquer Boné. He was also the *karaeng* of Gowa first taken as ruler by the people of Boné. Then Karaeng ri Sumannaq oversaw the people of Boné.

Notes

¹ The meaning of these initial ten words is a long-standing puzzle in the study of Makassarese chronicles. Early Dutch summaries (Blok 1848:7; *Bijdragen* 1854:149) state that they refer to the four earliest known rulers: (1) Batara Guru, the brother of (2) Tunabunua Tolali, meaning 'the one who was killed by Tolali', (3) Ratu Sampo Marantaya, and (4) Karaeng Katangka. There are good reasons for this reading, not the least being that these Dutch summaries may have relied on discussion with Makassarese informants in the mid-eighteenth century. Twentieth-century scholars of South Sulawesi have also written that this passage refers to four early rulers (Friedericy 1929:365; Abdurrazak 1969:1). Yet other equally valid readings are possible. Alternate readings turn on the third name, Ratu Sampo Marantaya. There is little agreement among the available texts, and several contain readings found in no other manuscripts. SBPK 75, for example, has Sao for Sampo, while the typed manuscript of MS 3 gives these two words as Ratu sampo marantataya.

J. Noorduyn (1991) hypothesizes that the third name may have the meaning 'king whose house was full of slaves'. This is based on the inherent ambiguity of the Makassarese script, so that reconstructing this name as Sapu (a dialect word for 'house') Marataya (derived from *ata*, 'slave', and meaning 'to have many slaves or subjects'). While this still supposes four individuals, Noorduyn further speculates that we read the last name – Karaeng Katangka – as a title borne by the others. He concludes, 'In translation it then becomes: Batara Guru, his brother The One Who Was Killed by Tolali, (and) King Whose House Was Full of Slaves, were (all of them) Lord of Katangka' (Noorduyn 1991:461). Following this interpretation, we now have three named individuals who in short succession ruled Katangka and were titled Karaeng Katangka.

These ten words can also be read as describing three rather than four individuals based on the anomalous text in AL 150. This text, written in *serang* script that resolves the ambiguity of how to interpret Sa(m)po and Mara(n)taya, clearly reads as follows: *Batara Guru saribattanna Tunibunua Tolali Datu Sampo saribattanna Karaeng Katangka*. Translated, the words thus mean either 'Batara Guru was the sibling of Tunibunua Tolali Datu Sampo and the sibling of Karaeng Katangka' or else 'Batara Guru was the sibling of Tunibunua Tolali Datu Sampo who was the sibling of Karaeng Katangka'. In either reading there would be three individuals. However, the fact that no other text has such a reading suggests that it may be the effort of a puzzled scribe himself trying to work out this elusive beginning to the chronicle.

Finally, it is also valid to read this as referring to only two individuals, Batara Gowa and his brother. In other words, Tunabunua Tolali could be the posthumous name of Ratu Sampo Marantaya (or, in Noorduyn's interpretation, Ratu Sapu Marataya), who also bore the title Karaeng Katangka. Makassarese rulers commonly had multiple names and titles. Additionally, it is plausible that Ratu Sampo Marantaya, establishing a new ruling line at Katangka, gave himself or was given the title Karaeng Katangka. A third designation was attached to this illustrious figure after his death at the hands of Tolali: the posthumous name Tunabunua Tolali. My suspicion is that this is the correct reading, but it must perforce remain a matter of speculation. It is unlikely that this mystery will ever be resolved. Nor is this of the utmost importance. More significant is that the Gowa chain of kings is linked to Batara Guru, the central figure in origin myths across South Sulawesi (the name is also known in Java). In the Bugis epic *La Galigo*, Batara Guru is sent by his father Patotoqé from the Upperworld to Luwuq to become the first human being to inhabit the empty Middleworld. The massive corpus of *La Galigo* texts narrate the experiences of Batara Guru and five generations of his offspring. It is in fact Batara Guru's brother, Karaeng Katangka, who may well be the more significant figure in this sentence. As Noorduyn (1991:458) notes, there is no other mention of Batara Guru in Makassarese tradition or mythology. Katangka and the title Karaeng Katangka, however, are well known. Katangka is a toponym for a settlement in the heart of Gowa and was considered one of its most sacred locations. The creation of a new kingdom of Gowa at Katangka that was linked to the mythical Batara Guru would have been a powerful cultural foundation for a new ruling line.

Not all chronicle manuscripts even contain these initial ten words. CM 146 begins with the framing announcement 'This is the story of the ancestors of the people of Gowa' (*anne patturioloanga rituGoaya*). SBPK 75 begins 'This *lontaraq* tells of the land of Gowa and those who ruled in Gowa as far as can be heard' (*iaminne lontaraq akkana-kanai buttaya ri Gowa siagang antu magaukang ri Gowa sanggena nirapika nilangereq*). VT 51 has no preamble, title, or description of any sort.

² Before 'as I name' CM 146, AL 150, and VT 51 add 'as I recount' (*anngarengi*). This doubling is not inappropriate, for it enhances the other instances of parallelism in the opening invocation.

³ In place of 'she had a child' (*iami anganakangi*) most texts (CM 146, AL 150, AS 6, VT 51) read 'she was the mother of' (*ayana*). SBPK 75 alone reads 'the father of' (written *aeana*, which for this Bugis writer is probably *ayana*).

⁴ Meaning that his feet were the same length from ankle to heel as from ankle to toe.

⁵ The Makassarese for this is *bakuq karaeng*, and refers to small baskets woven of lontar palm. Filled with rice in which candles are placed, they are used in a variety of rituals. According to Cense (1979:49), the number of candles inside indexes rank, with eighteen for rulers and their high status offspring, fourteen for other nobles, and but seven candles for commoners.

⁶ BL 33r appears unique in placing this speech in the mouth of Tumasalangga Barayanga's father. CM 147 and AS 6 have mother (*ayanna*) for father (*aenna*). SBPK 76 reads Tumanurunga, again referring to his mother. With only a vowel mark distinguishing the two words, some manuscripts (VT 52 and AL 150) are unclear.

⁷ While this line is absent in BL 33r, other texts (CM 147, AL 150, AS 6, and SBPK 76) add this additional testimony to Tumasalangga Barayang's abilities.

⁸ The phrase 'white spots on a leech' (*pute lamati*) is a somewhat conjectural translation of an elusive phrase (see Noorduyn 1991:464-6). CM 147, AL 150, and AS 6 have *pute mantang*, while SBPK 76 has *pute lamate*.

⁹ J. Noorduyn puzzled over the best way to understand and translate what the writer intended by the archaic words *punca sinomba*, eventually deciding on 'hollowed-out extremities' (Noorduyn 1991:464-7). I have chosen to translate this as 'capacious vessels' because this strikes me as less ambiguous, while still describing Tumasalangga Barayanga's unusual hands with an unusual turn of phrase. It also fits well with the verb 'scoop' in the lines that follow (though see note 10 below).

¹⁰ The word 'scoop' (*mannyomba*) also means 'to pay homage', and yields an equally valid translation: 'His hands are capacious vessels: when they pay homage they yield taels of gold, when they pay homage they fold precious cloths, when they pay homage his men walk in multitudes'.

¹¹ I have added here the words 'that he disappeared, saying' (*mallayangi nakanaja*), which are not found in BL 33v. They are found in most texts – including CM 148, AL 151, AS 6, VT 52, and SBPK 76 – and have to be inserted for the text that follows to make sense.

¹² The word 'stay' (*mammempo*) also means 'sit' and 'dwell'. The significant point is that Tumasalangga Barayanga is presented as instructing the people of Gowa not to follow him, thereby sanctioning the establishment of Gowa and justifying its rule over the region.

¹³ This is my attempt to translate *magaukang bicarana*, which connotes both becoming ruler and being ruler by making declarations. Other versions (SBPK 77, VT 52, CM 148, AL 151, and AS 6) add the verb *asossorangi* before *magaukang* which explicitly means 'to come to power'.

¹⁴ As discussed in the introduction, later versions transform 'Because nothing is said of it' (*kataenana kana-kanana*) to 'Because there were no *lontaraq* yet' (*kataenapa lontaraq*). This is the case in SBPK 77, AS 6, VT 52, and CM 148. AL 151 reads 'Because there were no *lontaraq*' (*kataenana lontaraq*).

¹⁵ MS 3, AS 6, and VT 153 give an alternate name, Caruq Ballanga, for Karaeng Bayo's sword.

Tanruq Ballanga means 'Spotted Horn' or 'Striped Horn', a name which apparently derives from the appearance of the blade, but the meaning of Caruq Ballanga is not so easy to determine. Caruq is generally used in the phrase *accaruq-caruq*, which means to present a formal offering to ceremonially honour someone. The sword's name could conceivably derive from *carruq*, which refers to a loud, piercing sound. Carruq Ballanga would thus translate as something like 'Shrieking Horn'.

¹⁶ While MS 5 does contain this sentence about Tumassalangga Barayang, most texts (SBPK 77, VT 53, CM 148, and AL 151) omit these transitional phrases (*anne anaqna Karaeng Bayu ri Tumanurunga Tumassalangga Barayanga naanakang*). This point in the chronicle marks an important transition in the history of Makassarese chronicle composition. In terms of subject matter, the chronicle is about to narrate the reign of Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna, the first ruler about whom we learn a considerable amount. The chronicle is leaving the distant or mythic (though not necessarily false) past behind and relating the history of the rulers whose accomplishments, significance, character, and genealogical location are both well-remembered and immediately relevant to the Makassarese politics of status-rivalry during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Additionally, two *serang* (Arabic script) versions of the chronicle have major visual breaks at this point that indicate the end of one coherent narrative unit and the beginning of another. AL 151 begins to relate a very odd genealogy: 'Tumanurung had a child Karapang ri Gowa. Karapang ri Gowa had a child Tumassalangga Barayang. Tumassalangga Barayang had a child Tunitakkalopi. Tunitakkalopi had two children. Impuang Loe Lembang. Impuang Loe Lembang. One was called Batara Gowa. His posthumous name was Tuniatabatubassi. He had a child Tuniatabanri. Tuniatabanri had a child Tuniwang ri Parallakkenna. One was called Karaeng Loe ri Sero.' (*Tumanurung anganakangi Karapang ri Gowa Karapang ri Gowa anganakangi Tumasalanga Barayang Tumasalanga Barayang anganakangi Tunitakkalopi Tunitakkalopi ruwai anaqna Impuang Loe Lembang Impuang Loe Lembang sitau nikana Batara Gowa areng matena nikana Tuniatabatubassi anganakangi Tuniatabanri Tuniatabanri anganakangi Tuniwang ri Parallakkenna sitau nikana Karaeng Loe ri Sero*). The account promptly continues the chronicle in the middle of what in the published Wolhoff and Abdurrahim version is verse 138. It thus omits a substantial portion of the chronicle, knitting the resulting halves together awkwardly. AS 6 also contains this odd genealogy with only minor spelling differences, although it does replace the uncertain Tuniatabatubassi with the more expected Tuniatabanri. This genealogy is graphically presented as a distinct textual unit. However, after this is related the chronicle does not continue at all: the next two pages contain a genealogical chart.

¹⁷ This genealogical passage is a representative example of the kind of textual variation-omission, changing word-order, and adding new phrases – often found in comparisons of extant chronicle manuscripts. In what reads like an extraneous reminder, CM 148 adds the additional phrase 'Batara Gowa was siblings with Karaeng Loe ri Sero' (*Batara Goa sisariqbattangi Karaeng Loe ri Sero*) before 'his posthumous name was Tuniwang ri Parallekkanna'. MS 5 condenses the whole section, reading 'Tunatangkalopi had a child Batara Gowa who was siblings with Karaeng Loe ri Sero. The posthumous name of Batara Gowa was Tuniwang ri Parallekkanna' (*Tunatangkalopi anganakangi Batara Gowa assisariqbattang Karaeng Loe ri Sero areng matena Batara Gowa nikanaya Tuniwang ri Parallakkenna for Tunatangkalopi rua anaqna sitau nikana Karaeng Loe ri Sero sitau nikana Batara Goa areng matena Tuniwang ri Parallakkenna*). SBPK 77 simply omits the phrase 'his posthumous name was Tuniwang ri Parallekkanna' (*areng matena Tuniwang ri Parallakkenna*). VT 53 reverses the order in which the brothers are named, though it does not change the words.

¹⁸ BL 33v omits mention of upland Bontomanaiq, Tomboloq, and Mangasa. This is a rare case where CM 148 gives the correct reading. SBPK 77-8 also lists upland Bontomanaiq, Tomboloq, and Mangasa. VT 53 lists what it calls 'lower' Bontomanaiq along with Tomboloq and Mangasa.

¹⁹ Sometimes these two communities are referred to as 'Moncolloe' and 'Paralloe'.

²⁰ The phrase 'Karaeng Loe ri Sero is not yet discussed' (*Karaeng Loe ri Sero taiapi nikana-kana*)

changed over time. While MS 5 largely agrees with BL 33v (*Karaeng Loe ri Sero taiai nikana-kana*), other versions become longer and more explicit. CM 148 reads 'Karaeng Loe ri Sero is not yet discussed here, but in his proper place later' (*taiapi niserokanai ri Karaeng Loeta ri Sero riempoan-natomp i sallang*). This construction suggests a greater awareness about the intertextual relationship between the Gowa and Talloq chronicles than the version translated above, a growing consciousness that chroniclers worked and that chronicles existed within the context of other written works. Similarly, though not quite as explicitly, VT 53 reads 'Karaeng Loe ri Sero we will not yet discuss here, but in his place later' (*Karaeng Loe ri Sero teaipi kikana-kana ri empoanatompi*). SBPK 78 is nearly identical to this, reading 'Karaeng Loe ri Sero is not yet discussed here, but in his place later' (*Karaeng Loe ri Sero taiapi nikana-kana ri empoana tongi*).

CM n7 interprets this phrase as a reference to the *Talloq chronicle*, but this is not a safe assumption. It reads more into 'but in his proper place later' than is warranted, particularly because – as the other versions indicate – this addition has strong implications about the relationship between the chronicles. Along with a similar passage later in the chronicle, Noorduyn (1991:455) used the Matthes version cited here as support for his position that the Gowa and Talloq chronicles can be considered a single work, since the text implies they were viewed as inseparable and mutually informing. I have argued that this reading overstates the degree of historical unanimity in Gowa and Talloq's relationship at the expense of periods of significant tension and rivalry (Cummings 1999). This debate is an excellent example of the type of interpretive issues and problems that characterize textual analysis for those who study South Sulawesi. The best explanation may be that the two historiographically saw themselves as increasingly intertwined as time passed. We may validly wonder if part of this perception derives from hindsight after the Makassar War ended in 1669, or from the largely unrecoverable history of how the two chronicles were stored, re-copied, and handed down over many generations.

²¹ VT 53 contains a unique section that provides far more genealogical information than any other chronicle text, though whether it is accurate or not is impossible to determine. It reads, 'Karaeng Botoroka had five sons: one named Karaeng Tomponga; one named Karaeng Maros; one more son, he was the grandfather of Karaeng Kotengang, named I Mangkasaraq; one more son was called Karaeng ri Untia (he was the grandfather of I Daeng Manggea); one daughter, she was married by I Daeng ri Tamacina and had a child Karaeng ri Balabaru.' (*Karaeng Botoroka lima anaqna buraqne sitau nikana Karaeng Tomponga sitau nikana Karaeng Marusug sitau pole anaqna buraqne iami natoang Karaeng Kotengang nikanaya I Mangkasaraq sitau pole buraqne nikana Karaeng ri Untia iami natoai I Daeng Manggea sitau baine anaqna iami nabaineang I Daeng ri Tamacina naanaq-mo Karaeng ri Balabaru*).

²² Makassarese adverbs indicating spatial orientation will at first puzzle readers familiar with the geography of South Sulawesi. In English, 'up' is associated with north and 'down' with south. These are arbitrary conventions. In Gowa, 'up' (*naiq*) generally corresponds to south and 'down' (*naung*) to north. See Liebner 2005 for a discussion of the complexity of these systems of spatial orientation.

²³ The three phrases ending here that discuss Batara Gowa's children are elaborated in much greater detail in other chronicle manuscripts. In the text here it is not obvious at first that Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna became ruler after the death of Tunijalloq ri Passukkiq. This is made explicit in the versions in VT, SBPK, and CM. The alternate texts for these terse passages are as follows.

VT 54 reads 'His child was Tunijalloq ri Passukkiq. This child was the sibling of [Barataua]. Tumammenang [ri Parallakkenna] died. Tunijalloq ri Passukkiq became ruler. Tunijalloq ri Passukkiq died. Karaeng Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna ruled.' (*anaqna Tunijalloq ri Passukkiq anne anaqna sariqbattanna Tumamenang matei Tunijalloqmo ri Passukkiq asossorang i magauq matei Tunijalloq ri Passukkiq Karaengamo Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna magauq*).

SBPK 79 reads 'His child was Tunijalloq ri Passukkiq. The children of Batara Gowa were Tunijalloq ri Passukkiq and his sibling Karaeng Barataua. It was Batara Gowa who [then] had a child Karaeng Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna. Karaeng Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna ruled in Gowa. We

have not heard his personal name, but his royal name was I Daeng Matanre.’ (*anaqna Tunijalloq ri Passukkiq anne anaqna Batara Gowa Tunijalloq ri Passukkiq saqribattangi Karaenga Barataua Batara Gowatonji anganakangi Karaenga Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna Karaengami Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna magauq ri Gowa takirapikai kilangereq areng kalena areng pamanaqnaqi nikana I Daeng Matanre*).

CM 150 reads ‘Batara Gowa was the child of Tunatangkalopi. Tunijalloq ri Passukkiq was the child of Batara Gowa. Tumammenang [ri Parallakkenna] was the sibling of [Karaeng Loe ri Sero]. Batara Gowa died. Tunijalloq ri Passukkiq became ruler. Tunijalloq ri Passukkiq died. Karaeng Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna became ruler.’ (*ia anaqna Tunatangkaqlopi Batara Gowa ia anaqna Batara Gowa Tunijalloq ri Passukkiq ia sariqbattanna Tumammenang matei Batara Goa Tunijalloqmi ri Passukkiq asossorangi magaukang matei Tunijalloq ri Passukkiq Karaengami Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna asossorangi magaukang*).

There is no obvious basis for preferring one reading over another. One additional version, MS 6, reads only ‘the child of Batara Gowa’, at which point its much abbreviated chronicle ends.

²⁴ VT 54 makes a point of stressing the position occupied by Tunilabu ri Suriwa, and thus the significance of the marriage, by adding the phrase ‘called Karaeng ri Talloq’ (*Karaenga ri Talloq nikanaya*).

²⁵ The account of the first three children of Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna in SBPK 79 differs on several points. After the passage ‘They had children’ it reads ‘may I not be cursed, I Mariwugauq, his royal name was I Daeng Bonto. His posthumous name was Tunipalangga. Then they had a child, may I not be cursed, I Tapacinna. She was called Karaeng ri Bone. Then they had a child, may I not be cursed, I Tejibarana. His royal title was I Daeng Maropu.’ (*iangku mabassung I Mariwugauq areng pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Bonto areng matena nikana Tunipalangga naanaqmo iangku mabassung I Tapacinna iami nikana Karaenga ri Bone naanaqmo iangku mabassung I Tejibarana kana pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Maropu*).

²⁶ Thus, the additional names and titles of Tunipalangga and Tunibatta – each brother would rule Gowa – are not given here.

²⁷ The writer of BL 32r accidentally (we must assume) skipped over the posthumous title, which is found in most other chronicle manuscripts, including VT 55 and CM 150.

²⁸ VT 55 and CM 150 add the word ‘again’ (*-seng*) here, which helps readers know who is being discussed by referring back to the subject’s earlier marriage(s), avoiding interpretations that would assume one of her children was being discussed.

²⁹ Many texts seek to make this narrative jump back to Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna clearer. SBPK 80 adds ‘This was the *karaeng* who’ (*iatominne karaenga*), while VT 55 and CM 151 add ‘This Karaeng Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna’ (*iaminne Karaeng Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna*).

³⁰ *Saqbu katti* means a substantial payment, usually in gold, by the vanquished to the victor.

³¹ My belief that the writer of BL 32v omitted a character is supported by the readings in CM 151 (Cempaga) and VT 55 (Campaga). On the other hand, SBPK 81 is in most cases a better guide than either of these manuscripts, and it too gives Cempa, which thus may refer to a different community.

³² BL 32v omits ‘called’ (*nikana*) here, but it is found in KIT 1, VT 55, and SBPK 81. It is appropriate as it parallels preceding passages about the rulers of Maros and Polombangkeng.

³³ This is spelled in a variety of ways, including Kasiwiang in the *Talloq chronicle*, highlighting the degree to which Makassarese writing was oriented towards speech and suggesting that oral transcription was one method of chronicle transmission.

³⁴ Other texts (KIT 1, SBPK 81, VT 55, and CM 151) omit ‘palm wine flowed’ (*napammattiki balloq*). This may be accidental, but possibly was deliberate because an abundance of palm wine certainly violated the image of Muslim piety later sultans of Gowa wanted to project.

³⁵ While BL 32v spells this name I Nagalasi, all other versions (KIT 1, SBPK 81, VT 56, and CM 151) give this name as I Galasi.

³⁶ BL 32v omits 'attacked' (*nibunduq*), but I have included it because it is found in all other versions (KIT 1, SBPK 81, VT 56, and CM 151).

³⁷ There is some uncertainty about this name. SBPK 82 and CM 152 give this name as I Daeng Uraga, written *aideaaurg*. The writers of BL and KIT did often use the 'nga' (G) character to write the initial vowel after a velar nasal, so Uraga could be the name they intended when they wrote what in the *lontaraq беру* script would be *aideaGurg*. There is no certain way to determine if Nguraga or Uraga is correct. VT 56 is no help, as it omits the passage 'His royal name was Daeng Uraga [or Nguraga]' entirely.

³⁸ Literally meaning 'half-umbrellas' (*laqlang sipue*), this refers to a sunshade made from *lontaraq* leaves that was held above the heads of rulers as a mark of their loftiness. The ritual of first having such an umbrella raised over one's head was part of the ceremony by which a new ruler was installed. For example, an entry in the Gowa court *lontaraq bilang* reports that Sultan Malikussaid received the royal umbrella 3-7-1639 (Ligtvoet 1880:13).

³⁹ This refers to three banners named Gurudaya, Sulengkaya, and Cakkuridia. Each was an important part of Gowa's growing collection of sacred objects. Commonly believed to be imbued with a sentient spirit, tales abound of how these (and other) banners could move of their own will, pulling their bearer this way and that. Troops who fought beneath these three banners were believed to gain bravery and might from the *gaukung*.

⁴⁰ The writer of BL consistently spells this 'Sodiang' but to avoid confusion I have used the generally accepted spelling for this community, which is used in KIT, VT, and Matthes. Note too that three versions (KIT 1, VT 56, and CM 152) of the chronicle omit reference to Sudiang here, only mentioning them as fighting alongside the ruler of Gowa himself in a subsequent passage. SBPK 82 does mention them as being part of both forces, and it is possible that both Karaeng ri Lakiung and Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna could call upon support from Sudiang.

⁴¹ BL 31r omits 'the *karaeng*', making it unclear whom he stood against and tempting readers into thinking it was the leader of the third of Gowa's fronts: Karaeng ri Dataq. KIT 2, SBPK 82, and CM 152 add *karaeng*, and it is distinctly possible that the writer of BL simply forgot to write *karaeng* twice.

⁴² Other texts give slightly longer versions of the flight of the defeated forces in the chronicle, describing the retreat in greater detail than BL 31r. KIT 2, SBPK 82-3, and VT 56 read 'The people of Maros fled from Tamamangung straight down to Maros. The people of Polombangkeng launched ships and flew up [to Polombangkeng]. The people of Talloq fled deep into Talloq' (*tuMarusuka larina ri Tamamangu tulusuki manaung ri Marusug tuPolombangkenga manguloromami biseang namabiseang manaiq tuTalloka malari mantama ri Talloq*). CM 152 is nearly the same, reading 'The people of Maros fled from Tamamangung straight down to Maros. The people of Polombangkeng launched ships and flew up to Polombangkeng. The people of Talloq retreated deep into Talloq' (*tuMarusuka larina ri Tamamaung tulusuki naung ri Marusug tuPolombangkenga manguloroqmami biseang manaiq ri Polombangkeng tuTalloka mammonoqmami mantama ri Talloq*).

⁴³ This ambiguous passage can be interpreted in several ways, depending on where we suspect the words were being put. The most parsimonious interpretation is that the writer was referring to the agreement reached between the rulers of Gowa and Talloq after seven days together. It is also possible that the writer of BL 31r forgot a word such as *lontaraq*, in which case the passage would read 'The only words put in the *lontaraq* are that they warred'. We cannot be sure if the agreement was oral or written, or which was being referred to here. While SBPK 83 has the same sparse passage, other texts expand on it, firmly stating that a written text is being described. KIT 2 and VT 57 read 'There was not put in the *lontaraq* words about their war. It was only put in that they warred' (*taiai nipailalang lontaraq kana-kanaya ri bunduqna iaji nipailalang maqbunduqna*). Matthes 153 has almost the same passage, but replaces the second-to-last word *nipailalang* with the even more literary *nipalontaraq* so that the last sentence reads 'It was only written that they warred'.

⁴⁴ BL 31r omits this passage contained in KIT 2 and SBPK 83, but it is essential to understand the list of communities that follows. VT 57 and CM 153 add the word *karaeng* to this passage, reading ‘this is the *karaeng* who made vassals of’ (*iaminne karaeng ampareki paliliq*).

⁴⁵ This term derives from *tambaq* (‘to strike’) and *rinring* (meaning ‘wall’ in general, and occasionally ‘face’, ‘side’, or ‘skin’). The name given to this famine presumably refers to the effects it had on people’s bodies. KIT 2, SBPK 83, VT 57, and CM 153 spell this Patambarinring.

⁴⁶ SBPK 83 omits the entire section which begins here describing Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna’s names, instead reading ‘This *karaeng* ruled for thirty-six years and then departed from power’ (*anne karaenga tallumpulo taungi angannang magauq nanapelarii gaukanna*).

⁴⁷ BL 31v writes *tupurani*, which is most likely a mis-writing derived from the similarity of the letters ‘pa’ and ‘ba’. *Tubarani* means ‘a brave person’, which is expanded to ‘a very brave person’ in KIT 3 and VT 57 (*tubarani dudu*) and in CM 154 (*tau baranidudu*). SBPK 84 has *tupuritii*, which means ‘a strong or hale person’.

⁴⁸ KIT 3, SBPK 84, VT 57, and CM 154 add ‘of the people of Lamuru named’ (*tuLamurua nikanaaya*) here.

⁴⁹ KIT 3, SBPK 84, VT 58, and CM 154 add ‘the *karaeng* of the people of Soppéng’ (*karaenna tuSoppenga*) here.

⁵⁰ BL 31v omits Datuq Baine here, placing it instead in the list of conquered communities in the next line before Kalubimbing, but this is probably a simple scribal error. It is out of place there, and other texts (KIT 3, SBPK 84, VT 58, and CM 154) omit it from the list. KIT 3 and CM 154 include Datuq Baine and make clear that her name was I Daengku here, and that seems the most likely reading.

⁵¹ KIT 3, SBPK 84, VT 58, and CM 154 spell this Cina, which must be correct. SBPK 84, VT 58, and CM 154 then add Kacci.

⁵² This translation is close to the literal meaning of the Makassarese passage *niangani manaiq ri tuMarusuka*. What this translation loses is the closeness of the bond implied between Gowa and Maros. In this spirit the English expression ‘embraced in friendship’ could also be a viable translation of the idiomatic Makassarese phrase *niangani manaiq*. In this alternate translation the first word – befriended (*niangani*) – is literal and the second – to go up, rise, or increase (*manaiq*) – is metaphorical.

⁵³ This apparently is a different community than Saumata, which lies close to Gowa.

⁵⁴ Valuables instead of gold.

⁵⁵ Though I lean towards interpreting *anaq karaeng* as the group of noble sons over whom a supervisor was established, it is possible that this is meant to be read instead as indicating that all the *tumakkajannang* were drawn from the ranks of the *anaq karaeng*.

⁵⁶ While BL 31v only reads ‘shaper’ or ‘maker’ (*parauq*), KIT 4, SBPK 85, and CM 155 have ‘blowpipe maker’ (*parauq sappuq*). VT 58 has both: *parauq parauq sappuq*.

⁵⁷ What I have translated as ‘metalsmith’ (*patiriq*) refers to someone who smelts metals, which in this context may mean someone skilled in making bronze from copper and tin.

⁵⁸ The proper transcription and meaning of this term is uncertain. Most likely it refers to people who turn wood (as on a lathe) or throw pottery (both from *palariq*). Conceivably this is meant to be *palari*, ‘runners,’ which could refer to messengers, or *pallariq*, which would refer to land surveyors.

⁵⁹ CM n9 notes that *mapailalang benteng* means ‘he constructed an earthen rampart around forts’.

⁶⁰ A balance with two equal scales.

⁶¹ A kind of portable scale with two arms of unequal length separating fixed and moveable weights.

- 62 A measurement equal to 20 *katti*, or 1/20th of a *pikul*.
- 63 The meaning of *kakana* is not clear, though it apparently is relating the amount of the tariff the ruler of Gowa charged visiting ships. This sense is strengthened by SBPK 85-6, which adds 'per *gantang*' (*nasigantang*) to this passage.
- 64 Cense 1979:536 notes that *patung* is a unit of measurement (for rice and other goods) equal to a *gantang*, which as noted above is 20 *katti* or 1/20th of a *pikul*. *Koyang* was a unit of measurement too, though we cannot be sure how large. Cense again notes (1979:338) that in Makassar a 'small *koyang*' (*koyang caqdi*) was equal to thirty *pikul*, and a 'large *koyang*' (*koyang lombo*) was equal to one hundred *pikul*, implying that a 'regular' *koyang* would be equal to about sixty-five *pikul*. CM 155 omits 'ship tariffs of forty *kakana*; to clarify what would be known as a *patung*, the measure of a *koyang*'.
- 65 VT 59 adds what has the feel of a later explanation or clarification: '[This] *karaeng* bricked [the fortifications at] Gowa and Somba Opu. *Karaeng Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna*, he built with earth' (*karaeng ambata nideqdeki Gowa siagang Sombopu Karaenga Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna naambatabatai iatommi*). CM 155 inserts virtually the same explanation: 'He was also the *karaeng* who bricked [the fortifications at] Gowa and Somba Opu. The *karaeng Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna* built with earth' (*iatommi karaeng ambata nideqdeki Goa siagang Somba Opu anjo karaeng Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna ambata buttai*). CM n10 states that NBG 15 has *ambatai* for these last two words, which makes the passage slightly less explicit but maintains the same basic meaning.
- 66 KIT 4, SBPK 86, VT 59, and CM 155 add the term Jawa to this passage so it reads 'a Javanese named Anakoda Bonang'. Makassarese used the term 'Javanese' to describe people from the western seas, most often Malays, not to designate an ethnic group.
- 67 SBPK 86 has 'eighty-six ornamented blunderbusses' (*kaleti belo sagantuju pulona angannang*) for the first item on the list. KIT 4, VT 59, and CM 155 appear to have two items here: 'one ornamented blunderbuss' (*kamaleti sibatu belo*) in all three is followed by 'eighty *soongana*' (KIT), 'eighty *songana*' (VIT), or 'eighty *sowongang*' (CM). What *soongana* in its diverse spellings refers to remains unclear. As it is used today it refers to a load carried on a person's head. Possibly this is the result of a mis-writing in which 'sa' replaced an 'a' in a source text, for the two letters are nearly identical in the *jangan-jangan* script. Moreover, other items in the list first mention the object (such as cloth) and then the amount (one piece), but with the elusive phrase 'eighty *soongana*' this word structure is reversed. This too suggests that a mistake may well be involved here.
- 68 This refers to a Makassarese practice in which, if a man and woman divorced, and there was an odd number of children, one parent paid the other a sum of gold in compensation for taking the youngest child. Anakoda Bonang's request implies a strong Malay identity and the concomitant desire to not be forced to live by Makassarese social strictures.
- 69 In slightly different forms, two versions replace this question with 'who is included in your words?' (*nupailalang kanaa* in VT 59 and *nupailalang kana-kana* in CM 156). It could be argued that this is the kind of transformation one might expect in the chronicles over time as Makassarese increasingly became aware of literacy and – speculatively – more liable to conceptualize speech as a container for words analogous to a written manuscript.
- 70 Cense (1979:332) believes this is some kind of musical instrument.
- 71 Apparently *babuq* refers to a kind of clothing.
- 72 According to Cense (1979:504), *palembang* refers to a kind of long-barreled firearm in use at the time. At this point, KIT 5, VT 59-60, and CM 156 insert a significant section not found in BL 30r. KIT 5 reads 'He was also the first to conquer Bila-Bila. The main great ruler among the Mandar was Bila. He made slaves of all Mandarese throughout Mandar. In Bila the *karaeng* made bound followers of those in the four communities of Bungka, Mapilli, Poda-Poda, Campalagiang. There before the *karaeng* the four communities were declared bound followers. Then were enslaved all the Mandarese throughout Mandar by the *karaeng*. After the war

in Tobalaq, the spirit of the Mandarese was praised. Then were made favored servants [those from] the six river mouths. Descending on Lanngi, the people of Binoang went up to Lanngi [aiding Gowa]. Thus they too were made favored servants, the people of Binoang' (*iatodong uru ambetai Bila-Bilami pokoq karaeng lombo ri Mandaraq Bilami angatai ngasengi Mandaraka siMandaraq Karaengami ri Bila angata ri kaleangi appaka paqrasangang Bungka Mapilli Poda-Poda Campalagiang anrinni ri Karaenga nikana ata ri kalea appaka paqrasangang naia ata ngasengi Mandaraka siMandaraq ri Karaenga leqbapi bunduka ri Tobalaq nanipuji ewana Mandaraka naniparemmo ata mateqna annanga baba binanga nipanaungi Lanngi nanamanaika ri Lanngi tuBinoanga jarimi niparettodong ata matene tuBinoanga*). VT 59-60 and CM 156 closely resemble KIT 5.

⁷³ KIT 5 omits the phrase 'from Pekang Laqbu above to Topeaja in the north' (*anggena Pekang Laqbu paminaia naanggena Topeaja pawaraqna*).

⁷⁴ KIT 5, VT 60, and CM 159 add 'and seven months' (*antuju bulang*).

⁷⁵ SBPK 87 has only 'this *karaeng*' (*anne karaenga*) for a major section. It omits the sentences following 'For six years he struggled with the people of Boné...' to this point. At the end of the account of Tunipalangga's reign, however, it does describe the circumstances surrounding his death in detail (see note 85 for details).

⁷⁶ This kinship term is found in KIT 6, SBPK 87, VT 60, and CM 157 (*kakaqna* or *kakannai*) while BL 30r reads *tikana*, a mis-writing.

⁷⁷ SBPK 87 omits these two sentences describing Tunipalangga's character.

⁷⁸ BL and VT consistently spell this Lakiung. KIT, SBPK, and CM spell it Lakiung, the contemporary spelling I have adopted for simplicity.

⁷⁹ This name means 'The one who was caught in (or pulled from) his or her chamber'. Pongko is used to describe getting coconuts from palm trees, and the name plays upon the similarity of heads and coconuts to connote how this person was caught and cut up like so much fruit. SBPK 90 spells this Tunipongka ri Biliqna. Note that the jump in SBPK from page 87 to page 90 is sudden because pages 88 and 89 are blank, though none of the chronicle text is missing.

⁸⁰ These phrases are particularly elusive in Makassarese (*uru maqburaqne ratua ambaineangi anaqmi Karaenga ri Tamamaqring*), but I believe in the context of the chronicle's narrative this is their sense. They discuss the first child Tunipalangga and Balu Maqlonjoka had after they formally married, an event which took place only after he had become Gowa's ruler. CM 158 uniquely has 'and took a husband' (*naburaqneang*) for 'married her' (*ambaineangi*), which makes little sense.

⁸¹ *Puru* refers to pustules or boils and makes measles the likely cause of his death.

⁸² KIT 7, VT 61, and SBPK 90 omit I Rieangi, making these two phrases read 'called the mother of I Tambaq' (*nikana ayanna I Tambaq*), though VT 61 spells this name I Tambuq. Possibly writers omitted this name because of uncertainty. Indeed, in BL 30v I Rieangi is unclear: there are a lot of extraneous vowel marks that make its transcription uncertain. CM 158 compresses this into 'Another was called the mother of I Tambaq' (*sitau pole nikana ayanna I Tambaq*).

⁸³ CM 158 has this name as I Daeng Ago. BL 30v and other versions could have the same spelling if you interpret the velar nasal 'ng' as being the ending for *daeng* rather than the beginning of the name. This was not uncommon, and it is not possible to discern which is correct.

⁸⁴ KIT 8, VT 62, and CM 159 add 'he was siblings with' (*sisariqbattang*) here, which links this section to the following one about Daeng Madoko, the child of another Bugis woman. Exactly who is being identified as siblings is unclear, which makes the intent of this addition rather obscure. The simplest explanation may be either the word was mistakenly added, or that it was followed by another name identifying Daeng Kapetta's sibling.

⁸⁵ SBPK 91-2 omits 'These are all the children we have heard of' (*angennaminne kilangereq anaqna*). Instead it adds a significant section describing Tunipalangga's death: 'This *karaeng* much distressed went into Papolong and inside the fort was very distressed and breathless. Informed,

Karaeng Tumamenang ri Makkoayang went and summoned his elder sibling to come out from there. Agreeing, he was brought out of there. [After] forty-eight nights in the house he died of disease, unable to eat food or swallow. Eighteen years he ruled, then left power' (*anne Karaenga maballasamemmami namaqlampa mantama ri Papolong nailalammo ri bentenga maballasaqdudu poso naiassengi Karaenga Tumamenang ri Makkoayang mangemi natenai kakaqna suluq mae mammioqmi naerammi suluq mae napatampulo banngi assagantuju ri ballaqla namate garrinna tamanaungai kaqdoka naaluq sampulo sagantuju taunna magauq nanapilari gaukanma*). SBPK in general is the most divergent of the chronicle texts.

⁸⁶ VT 62 adds 'Only seven nights after the death of Tunipalangga, Balu Maqlonjoka was married by Karaeng Tunibatta' (*tuju banngiji matenna Tunipalangga nanibaineang Balu Maqlonjoka ri Karaenga Tunibatta*). CM 159 inserts the same passage with the addition of 'Karaeng' before 'Tunipalangga'.

⁸⁷ KIT 9, SBPK 93, VT 62, and CM 160 use the word for 'walls' (*batana*) instead of 'fortifications' (*bentenna*), but the meaning is the same.

⁸⁸ See note 22 above on Makassarese terms of spatial orientation.

⁸⁹ CM 160 has 'and she' (*naia*) in place of 'and the mother of' (*naayang*), a significant change since it suggests a change in topic and does not explain where Karaeng Mapeqdeka came from. VT 63 too omits the phrases 'She was the mother of Karaeng Tunijalloq and the mother of' (*iami naayang Karaenga Tunijalloq naayang*), instead awkwardly inserting 'and the karaeng-title' (*siagang areng pakaraenganna*). It is worth noting that this part of the chronicle recounting the marriage and brief events of Tunibatta's life has more variation than typically found in the chronicle manuscripts.

⁹⁰ KIT 9-10 inserts 'Karaeng ri Bisei, his royal name was I Daeng Tonji' (*Karaenga ri Bisei kana pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Tonji*). More explicitly, VT 63 inserts, 'Tunibatta by Daeng Mangkasaraq had a son named Karaeng ri Bisei. His royal name was I Daeng Tonji' (*Tunibatta ri Daeng Mangkasaraq buraqne nikana Karaenga ri Bisei areng pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Tonji*). Even more explicitly, CM 160 inserts 'Another child of Tunibatta by I Daeng Mangkasaraq was a son named Karaeng ri Bisei. His royal name was I Daeng Tonji' (*sitau pole anaqna Tunibatta ri I Daeng Mangkasaraq buraqne nikana Karaenga ri Bisei areng pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Tonji*).

⁹¹ Some texts assert that Karaeng Mapeqdeka married Karaeng ri Sanrabone, not that she had a child with this title. SBPK 93 for example, begins this section 'Karaeng Mapeqdeka was married by Karaeng Sanrabone. His posthumous name was Tumamenang ri Parallakkenna' (*Karaenga Mapeqdeka nibaineang ri Karaenga Sanrabone areng matena nikana Tumamenang ri Parallakkenna*). SBPK 93-4 then adds 'Tumamenang ri Campagaya' after 'Karaeng ri Sanrabone,' which would mean that Karaeng Mapeqdeka married one ruler of Sanrabone and had a son who succeeded his father in the same position. More simply, CM 160 has 'married' (*ambaineangi*) for 'she had children' (*iami anganakangi*), which would mean that she married Karaeng ri Sanrabone rather than had a child with this title.

⁹² KIT 10, VT 63, and CM 160 omit the name Tumatea ri Joroq. I interpret this as the name of I Daeng Mangappa's father, but it could also be the posthumous name of I Daeng Mangappa.

⁹³ Several texts give additional information about her fate in Surabaya not found in BL 29r. In place of 'She went over to Surabaya', VT 63 reads 'This child purportedly was married by the ruler of Mataram and had a child: I Raden Papa' (*anaqmaminne bedeng nibaineang ri Karaenga ri Matarang anaqmi I Raden Papa*). KIT 10 and CM 161 have nearly identical passages. This information could well have been incorporated into the chronicle by a later writer.

⁹⁴ BL 29r is clearly missing a section here, which I have taken from KIT 10 (*mammanaq rua sitau baine sitau buraqne iami baineang*). SBPK 94, VT 63, and CM 161 add nearly identical sections.

⁹⁵ KIT 11, SBPK 95, VT 64, and CM 161 have 'among the karaeng' (*paranna karaeng*) for 'among his own' (*sakotuna*).

⁹⁶ BL 29v mistakenly writes Makeboka instead of Maqlonjoka; Karaeng Makeboqa was her mother. VT 64 adds an explanation regarding her name: 'She was called Balu Maqlonjoq because she was widowed consecutively, as only forty nights later she was widowed a second time' (*iami nikana Balu Maqlonjoq kaiami nanikabalumalonjoka kapatampulo banngiji napinruang balu*). CM 161-2 adds a similar explanation: 'She was called Balu Maqlonjoka because only forty nights later she was widowed a second time' (*iami nanikana Balu Maqlonjoka kapatampulo banngiji napinruang balu*).

⁹⁷ According to Wolhoff and Abdurrahim (1959:85), this refers to Bulo-Bulo, Lamatti, and Raja, found in Balannipa to the south of Boné.

⁹⁸ BL 29v adds the word 'vassal' (*palili*) here, which makes little sense unless it refers to the Tallu Lipoya. KIT 11, SBPK 96, VT 65, and CM 162 omit *palili*, and I have followed them in my translation.

⁹⁹ Some texts supply more information about Tunijalloq's age and length of reign. KIT 12 and CM 162 preface this line with 'at age twenty he became ruler' (*ruampulo taungi namaqauq*). In place of 'for twenty-five years' (25 *taunna*) SBPK 96 and VT 65 both read 'at the age of twenty' (20 *taungi tallasaqna*). VT 65 adds 'and for twenty-five years ruled' (*naruampulo allima magauq*).

¹⁰⁰ SBPK 96 omits from 'then died' near the beginning of this section to this point. This entire section is instead placed at the very end of the narrative about Tunijalloq, concluding the account of his reign.

¹⁰¹ Whether this sexual liaison was welcomed and should be translated as 'that he did wrong with' cannot be determined from the verb *kasalai*.

¹⁰² KIT 12, VT 65, and CM 163 correctly have 'his uncle' (*puanna*) while the copyist of BL 29v mistakenly wrote 'his child' (*anaqna*).

¹⁰³ SBPK 96 omits another significant section beginning with 'Eight nights after his uncle's death' and ending here.

¹⁰⁴ It is not clear who the 'her' killed by Tunijalloq's dog keeper refers to, or why she was killed. The most likely explanation is that this describes how Tunijalloq's dog keeper killed Karaeng ri Lakiung, possibly because he discovered or witnessed Karaeng ri Lakiung's killing of Karaeng I Waraq. Rivalry based on sexual jealousy and status competition probably lies behind the incident.

¹⁰⁵ AL 152 and VT 66 add 'in Talloq' (*riTalloq*). She ruled Talloq from 1576 to 1590.

¹⁰⁶ Other texts include a section about Tunijalloq's wife I Sambo. KIT 14 adds 'Another wife named Karaeng ri Patingalloang, one of their children died while still small' (*sitau pole bainena nikana Karaenga ri Patingalloang sitau anaqna macaqdijji namate*). AL 152, VT 66, and CM 164 have similar additions.

¹⁰⁷ This refers to I Sambo, Tunijalloq's main wife. Such a wife was designated by the term Karaeng Baine, and VT 66 and CM 165 include this clarification.

¹⁰⁸ I have interpreted I Tepu Karaeng as the father of three children, but it could equally be interpreted as discussing two children: I Daeng Kalauq and the mother of I Daeng Mangompoq and I Daeng Majarreq.

¹⁰⁹ This name is difficult to read in BL 28r. KIT 14, AL 153, and CM 165 have I Taere, which I have used. VT 67 and SBPK 99 have I Toiri.

¹¹⁰ KIT 15, SBPK 99, VT 67, and CM 166 have 'his children and wives' (*anaqna siagang bainena*) for 'his wives' (*bainena*).

¹¹¹ CM 166 adds 'later' (*sallang*) here, making it more explicit that it will be discussed elsewhere.

¹¹² This statement is puzzling, as eight of her children were just listed. In their Indonesian translation, Wolhoff and Abdurrahim (1959:47) interpret this as meaning we do not know of any additional children. This could be correct, as a copyist could easily have omitted the word 'additional' (*pole*).

¹¹³ Though probably incorrect, several texts describe I Loqmoq Pareq as a daughter of Tunijalloq rather than one of his wives. CM 166 adds *anaqna*, making her one of Tunijalloq's daughters (*anaqna baine*) instead of one of his wives (*bainena*). More simply, SBPK 100 and AL 154 have child (*anaqna*) in place of wife (*bainena*). KIT 165 adds 'slave' (*atana*) here, making it clear that this wife was a slave.

¹¹⁴ CM 166 and VT 68 have the phrase *ata makkaqdoq* for the name I Tamakaqdoq. *Ata* refers to a slave, and *makkaqdoq* means to eat or consume in a wide variety of contexts. If this is not a scribal error, which kind of slave this refers to is uncertain.

¹¹⁵ Since CM 166 has the subtle difference of 'the husband of' (*buraqna*) in place of 'married [a man]' (*maburaqne*), Wollhoff and Abdurrahim (1959:47) interpret this phrase as 'then her husband died' (*baru suaminya meninggal*). This is clearly mistaken, since Tunijalloq could not have died both before and after I Kawateng's birth!

¹¹⁶ Once Garassiq was conquered by Gowa, its rulers were forbidden from using the title Somba, which became the preserve of the ruler of Gowa.

¹¹⁷ He ruled Talloq until his death in 1576.

¹¹⁸ KIT 17, VT 69, SBPK 102, AL 155, and CM 168 all include this sentence (*sampulo taungi antallu assagantuju bulanna mabaligauq*). The question is whether this was an addition not found in the earliest chronicle texts, or whether it was accidentally omitted by the writer of BL 27r.

¹¹⁹ This is the most likely translation of the text in BL 27r and SBPK 102 (*paparallaq bulaeng caqdi*). KIT 17, VT 69, AL 155, and CM 168 read *paparada bulaeng dacing*, which would translate as 'gilders of gold, scales [for weighing objects]'.

¹²⁰ KIT 18, VT 69, AL 155, and CM 168 have 'shared his office' (*sampaqbali*) in place of the position-title *sabannaraq*. This would mean he established two *tumailalang* positions here instead of after the death of I Daeng ri Mangallekana.

¹²¹ KIT 18, SBPK 102, AL 155, and CM 168 add 'had no overseer' (*tanijannangiai*), which would mean that I Daeng ni Sambe was only *anrong guru* of the *tumakkajannang*, while the *anaq buraqne* had no appointed leader.

¹²² An alliance between Boné, Wajoq, and Soppéng against Gowa.

¹²³ SBPK 103, presumably from knowledge its Bugis writer possessed, adds here: 'Only two years after the Tallumbocco was formed, Bongkanga died. He was called *Matinroa ri Gucie* as his posthumous name. Then his sibling succeeded as ruler. He was called *Laica*' (*ruang tauji lebaq namatallumbocco namatemo Bongkanga iami nikana Matinroa ri Gucie areng matena nasariqbattannamo asosorangi magauq nikanaya Laica*).

¹²⁴ This section is difficult to interpret. It appears that after an inconclusive struggle, the Arumpone of Boné ordered his forces to return home. His allies from Wajoq and Soppéng wanted to pursue the Makassarese forces, and it required strict orders to dissuade them.

¹²⁵ Significantly, KIT 19, VT 71, SBPK 104, AL 156, and CM 170 omit the oral phrase 'this is what is told of him' (*kontuminne kana-kanana*). As noted above, SBPK 104 adds the section describing Tunijalloq's death here.

¹²⁶ 'Bound followers' is the translation of *ata ri kale*, which literally means 'personal slaves' but does not carry the same connotations of ownership and powerlessness that this translation implies. Nevertheless, this passage makes clear that as bounded followers of Tunipasuluq they had fewer freedoms than they had as servants (*bembeng kaqdoq*). Wollhoff and Abdurrahim (1959:54) read this passage as implying that Tunipasuluq gave the privileges of Daeng ri Tamacina's servants to his own bounded followers, not that Daeng ri Tamacina's servants were made into Tunipasuluq's bounded followers.

¹²⁷ This is actually the date of his death, not of his expulsion, which took place in 1593.

¹²⁸ As noted earlier, Makassarese used the term 'Javanese' to describe people from the western

seas, and this generally refers to Malays.

¹²⁹ VT 72 and CM 171 add 'This *karaeng* of Gowa, *karaeng* of Talloq, when the *karaeng* of the people of Maros died out, he also was the first taken as *karaeng* by the people of Maros' (*anne karaenga ri Goa karaenga ri Talloq puttai karaenna tuMarusuka iatommi pole uru nialle karaeng ri tuMarusuka*).

¹³⁰ Using slightly different language, both AL 158 (*lebang sitaung laqbuna mantama Isilang*) and VT 72 (*lebangi sitaung bella mantama Isilang*) note that this took place one year after his conversion and omit the month and year the birth took place.

¹³¹ All other manuscripts (KIT 22, AL 158, VT 72, SBPK 107, CM 172) note his Arabic name, replacing the phrase 'whose personal name' (*areng kalena*) with 'whose Arabic name was Malikussaid. His Makassarese name...'*(areng Araqna nikana Malikussaid areng Mangkasaraqna)*.

¹³² KIT 22, SBPK 107, VT 72, AL 158, and CM 172 insert an additional name that the writer of BL 26r might simply have forgotten. They add that his *karaeng*-title before he ruled was 'Karaeng ri Ujung. It was changed again and he was called...'*(Karaeng ri Ujung nilesang pole nikanaseng)*.

¹³³ This name is garbled in BL 26r. The name used here is found in SBPK 107 and VT 72. Other texts have similar spellings (AL 158 I Mataia; KIT 22 Matainung; CM 172 I Mainung).

¹³⁴ KIT 22 and VT 72 add that 'he was called I Daeng Melu' (*nikanaya I Daeng Melu*); CM 172 and AL 158 add 'he was called I Daeng Malu' (*nikanaya I Daeng Malu*).

¹³⁵ While the word order in BL 26r suggests that I Kare Sallang is the mother's name and that she is from Bacukiki, KIT 22, VT 72-73, CM 172, and AL 158 have a different word order indicating that this is the name of his wife and that it is her mother alone who is from Bacukiki. These texts read 'another of his wives was Kare Sallang. Her mother, one from Bacukiki, was brought up here' (*sitau pole bainena nikana Kare Sallang anronna tuBacukiki nilalinga manaiq mae*).

¹³⁶ KIT 22, SBPK 108, VT 73, AL 158, and CM 173 write 'her father' (*manggenma*) in place of 'another' (*sitau pole*). In this case the father's name would be I Kare Talesang.

¹³⁷ KIT 24, VT 74, AL 159, and CM 174 give this number as forty-three years.

¹³⁸ This total number of days is obviously in addition to the two years. KIT 24 and VT 74 have two hundred and eighty-six nights. AL 159 is indistinct and both SBPK 110 and CM 174 omit this phrase (see the next note).

¹³⁹ CM 174 adds here 'Karaeng Tumenanga ri Gaukanna, the number of nights was nine hundred and fifty-six nights' (*Karaenga Tumenanga ri gaukanna bilang banngina salapang bilangana allimampulo anngannang banngina*). The writer of CM (or its ancestor) may have retotalled the number of nights in an effort to correct the misleading figure found in manuscripts BL 26v, KIT 24, and VT 74. SBPK 110 omits this entire section about dating, from (inclusive) 'Thirty-four years after becoming Muslim...' to '...he died too'.

¹⁴⁰ This is missing in BL 26v, but probably represents simple scribal error because the next sections give genealogical information about the descendants of these two *tumailalang*. KIT 24-25, AL 159, SBPK 110, and CM 174 contain this addition (*natumailalangang Karaenga ri Marusuq Karaenga ri Patteqne nagappangji*).

¹⁴¹ KIT 25, VT 74, CM 175, and AL 160 spell this I Mappaganti; SBPK 110 I Paganti.

¹⁴² KIT 25, SBPK 110, VT 74, and CM 175 add an additional genealogical layer here which may mistakenly have been telescoped and omitted in BL 26v. They read '...she was married by Karaeng ri Pattungang and had a child: Karaeng ri Batupute' (*iami nabaineang Karaenga ri Pattungang naanaqmo Karaenga ri Batupute*). AL 160 simply replaces Karaenga ri Batupute with Karaenga ri Pattungang.

¹⁴³ AL 160 omits from 'Karaeng ri Maroanging...' to '...because he was the child of an equal...'.

¹⁴⁴ Other texts contain more information about Karaeng ri Maroanging and his mother. KIT is

representative, reading 'He succeeded because only he was the child by an equal wife, the sibling of Karaeng I Waraq. She was his mother. The personal name of Karaeng ri Maroanging was I Mamminawang. His royal name was I Daeng Mangawing (*naia assosorangi kaijai anaq ri baine sangkontuna saqribattanna Karaenga I Waraq ia naayang areng kalena Karaenga ri Maroanging nikana I Mamminawang kana pamanagna nikana I Daeng Mangawing*). In this reading, only six of the seven children of the *tumailalang* Karaeng ri Maroanging are listed.

¹⁴⁵ With the exception of SBPK, other manuscripts have a consistent addition here. KIT 25 gives this name as I Kare Lesang Suroa, then adds 'Another of his daughters was named I Tanikutaqnanang as her royal name' (*sitau pole anaqna baine nikana I Tanikutaqnanang kana pamanagna*). VT 75, AL 160, and CM 175 do the same, though the spelling of I Kare Lesang Suroa varies.

¹⁴⁶ In a rare split decision, VT 75 and AL 160 declare this child a son (*buragne*) while KIT 25 and SBPK 111 state this child was a daughter (*baine*).

¹⁴⁷ This section is missing in BL 25r and AL 160, but found in the other texts. The phrasing here is from KIT 26 and VT 75 (*I Daeng ri Bone iami naayang Karaeng Citta sitau pole anaqna baine iami*). CM 175 and SBPK 111 differ by calling her I Daeng ri Bone-Bone. SBPK 111 further describes I Daeng ri Bone as the grandparent (*natoang*) rather than the mother (*ayang*) of Karaeng Citta.

¹⁴⁸ KIT 26, VT 75, SBPK 112, and CM 176 give this as the twelfth.

¹⁴⁹ KIT 27, AL 160, and CM 176 give this as nine hundred and eighty-six, SBPK 112 as nine hundred and six.

¹⁵⁰ At this point AL ends.

¹⁵¹ SBPK 113 omits 'at the age of' (*umuruqna*) and inserts standardized phrasing: 'Tumamenang ri Gaukanna had a child: Tumamenang ri Papambatuna. Tumamenang ri Gaukanna died' (*Tumamenang ri Gaukanna anganakangi Tumamenang ri Papambatuna matei Tumamenang ri Gaukanna*). KIT 27 and CM 176 omit 'at the age of fifty-three'.

¹⁵² Interestingly, KIT 27, SBPK 113, and VT 76 have *sangkaraenna*, which might be translated as 'equal *karaeng*' or 'fellow *karaeng*' in place of simply describing her as an 'equal' (*sangkontuna* in BL 25r or *sangkammana* in CM 177).

¹⁵³ This phrase in BL 25r and SBPK 113 appears to indicate that one hundred fifty-nine nights passed between the death of Tumamenang ri Gaukanna and the installation of Tumamenang ri Papambatuna. The Gowa court *lontaraq bilang* support this interpretation, noting that Tumamenang ri Gaukanna died on June fifteenth and Tumamenang ri Papambatuna was installed on December nineteenth (Ligtvoet 1880:13-4). KIT 27 has 'One hundred [nights] later' (*sibilangangi sallana lebana*) instead, and VT 76 and CM 177 omit this phrase entirely.

¹⁵⁴ SBPK omits '...on Tuesday the eighteenth, the twenty-first of the Christian month' (*allo Salasaya 18 bulanga meseka 21*) and in its place reads 'six nights after being installed he became ruler' (*annang banngi lebana nitannang magauq*). This phrase clarifies the seemingly contradictory dates the chronicle supplies for Tumamenang ri Papambatuna's accession to the throne. This apparently took place in two rituals set six days apart. Judging from the description in the Gowa court *lontaraq bilang*, during the first ritual the royal umbrella was raised over the head (*nanilaqlangi*) of the new ruler. In the second ritual, he was formally installed or elevated (*nanilantiq*). For Tumamenang ri Papambatuna, the *lontaraq bilang* state these rituals took place in 1639 on July third and December nineteenth, a far longer gap than the six days described in the chronicles (Ligtvoet 1880:13-4). KIT 27 places the two rituals ten days apart.

¹⁵⁵ Each manuscript describes Tumamenang ri Papambatuna informing different constituents, or lists them in a different order. KIT 27 omits Tumammaliang ri Timoroq and the *gallarrang*. VT 76 omits the *gallarrang*.

¹⁵⁶ KIT 28, SBPK 114, VT 76, and CM 177 spell this I Bissu Jawa.

¹⁵⁷ This is a Makassarese rendering of a Javanese name. KIT 29 spells this name 'Sitti Sapuru' in Arabic script. CM 179 has 'Her Arabic name was Sitti Sapuru' (*areng Araqna nikana Sitti*

Sapuru) for 'Her Javanese name was I Sapuru' (*areng Jawana I Sapuru*).

¹⁵⁸ BL 24r and SBPK 116 mistakenly have 'his child's name' (*arenna anaqna*) for 'his Arabic name' (*arenna Araqna*), a difference of only a single letter.

¹⁵⁹ Following this section SBPK 116 adds additional information pertaining to the Bugis: 'This *karaeng* conquered Walenru, conquered Boné twice, established I Tobalaq in authority in Boné' (*iaminne karaenga ambetai Walenru ambetai Bone pinruang ampappentengi jannang I Tobalaq ri Bone*). This event, which took place in November 1643, is discussed in Andaya 1981:41-2.

¹⁶⁰ The BL chronicle ends at this point. SBPK 116-117 inserts 'This sickness of the *karaeng* brought his death. He was wrapped and sunk in his grave' (*anne garrinna karaenga nakamateanga maqrokongi natalangejeraq*). This unusual detail is followed by a line break, then one short section before the *Gowa chronicle* comes to an end in this manuscript as well. Also at this point VT and CM insert an additional section, transcribed and translated in Appendix 1 of this chapter. The remainder of the *Gowa chronicle* presented in translation here as Section 10 is based on KIT compared with VT, CM, and (briefly) SBPK.

¹⁶¹ SBPK 117 has this as Bontomangalle. This is followed by the fragment 'It was this *karaeng* who was the first installed...' (*iapa anne karaeng uruna nilantiq*). At this point the *Gowa chronicle* in SBPK abruptly ends (the manuscript does not contain the *Talloq chronicle*).

¹⁶² In 1669 he succeeded his father as Sultan Amir Hamzah of Gowa.

¹⁶³ CM's *Gowa chronicle* ends here. What follows is another new section. The major texts used here – BL, KIT, SBPK, AL/2, VT, and CM – have different endings for the *Gowa chronicle* (only KIT and VT are the same). The orphan ending in KIT and VT is also found in ANRI 74/17, NBG 17, and NBG 208. ANRI 74/17 then has one further section found in no other manuscript consulted here.

¹⁶⁴ This section is found only in VT and CM and has been placed in an appendix because it is not present in either BL or KIT. It is a coherent narrative unit relating events concerning Gowa's overlordship over Boné, and was added to one (or possibly more than one) chronicle but not to others. By this point it is likely that there were several extant chronicles in the possession of nobles at the courts of Gowa and Talloq. We can reasonably speculate that there were at least three. BL represents one manuscript, KIT another, and this text a third. I believe that this third variant was an offshoot of KIT. There is no clear reason to prefer VT or CM as a base text for translation; I have used CM. Differences with VT are minor.

¹⁶⁵ Aruppitu is a Bugis term referring to the seven traditional lords of Boné.

¹⁶⁶ Literally, the phrase *cucuna mapayunga* means to find a 'grandchild' (*cucu*) to be recognized as lord by being given a sunshade (*payung*), though more broadly it refers to recognized descendants of the ruler of Boné.

¹⁶⁷ While Wollhoff and Abdurrahim (1959:71) interpret *ikambe* ('us' or 'we') as referring to Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng alone, I believe it refers to the ruling line of Talloq on whose behalf he speaks. The friendship between Gowa and Talloq was forged during the reign of Tunijalloq (reign 1565 to 1590) in Gowa, and he may not have wished this tradition of service to Tunijalloq and his descendants transformed. As *tumabicarabutta* of Gowa like his father before him, Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng might understandably have been reluctant to loosen this partnership by having he or his close relatives assume this position. Karaeng Sumannaq, who was appointed Boné's overseer, may have been a compromise because while he was a grandson of Tumenanga ri Makkoayang of Talloq and later became *tumabicarabutta* of Gowa, he was not likely to become a ruler of Talloq.

¹⁶⁸ Literally, placed in a small sack (*nanikampilimmo*).

¹⁶⁹ At this point VT 79 ends.

Transliteration

33r

Batara Guru saribattanna Tunabunoa Tolali Ratu Sampo Marantaya Karaeng Katangka iangku mabassung iangku maweke-weke ambilang-bilangi karaeng rioloa assi palakaya lulu gulang-gulanga bulaeng nipannenga ratu sikolaka nikamallakkinaji nikaluppai ri jaritauna ri turibokoana kaponna taniassenga ruai kodina kisaqringkai kalenta karaeng dudu nakanaka tau ipantarakata tau bawang dudujitu iaminne Tumanurunga sikalabini Karaeng Bayu iami anganakangi Tumassalangga Barayanga iami nanikana ri turioloa Tumanurunga kataniassengai kabattuana kamateana nikanaja malayengi iami nabaineang Karaeng Bayu taniassengtonngai paqrasanganna nikanaja bedeng sisariqbattangi Lakipadada nikanaya patanna Sudanga Karaeng Bayumi ambaineangi Tumanurunga naanaqmo Tumassalangga Barayanga tallu taungi nitiananga lassuki malari-larimemammi mangassengmemammi makana-kana masaiqmi aenna siaganga tau taballaka nakana tau sala-salai iami nanikana Tumassalangga Barayanga kasalanganna siwali irawa siwali irate tolina siwali mabatu siwali malaqbaq palabangkenna sallaqbuji katuluqna mange riolo poccina malompoi kontu bakuq karaeng kontuminjo nakanamo taua tau sala-salai nanakanamo aenna angappai natau sala-salang anakku kasalanganna salangga barayang tolina buluq manngape uwu ri Jawa matappuq natalangerang pute lamati ri Bantaeng natilingi bangkenna bangkeng taikang poccina timbuseng loe limana punca sinomba ia mannyomba ia attaiq bulaenna ia mannyomba ia lappaq karoanna ia mannyomba ia palulung tauna malompo-lompoi anaqna napolong ruai tokenna namantamamo ri biliqna nataenamo ilalang ia-

33v

-mi tokenna sipolonga nampaempoangi anaqna nikana I Tanisamaang Tumassalangga Barayanga magauq taena angkana-kanai baina kamateana nakanaja turioloa ri tau taballaqna mamempomako namalampa mawaraqmo ri moncong-moncong iwarakanna Jonggoa nagunturuqmo nabosi lalawamo nataenamo niciniq sanggena Tunatangkalopi nasanggena Tumassalangga Barayanga taniassengai baina taniassengai anaqna passawalina anaqna magaukang bicarana taniassengtonngai bunduqna taniassengtonngai salonna magauq taniassengtonngai kataenana kana-kanana Karaeng Bayu ruai sisariqbattang buraqne rua arinna nikana I Lakipadada iami patanna Sudanga Karaeng Bayu sonriqna nikana Tanruq Ballanga anne anaqna Karaeng Bayu ri Tumanurunga Tumassalangga Barayanga naanakang Tumassalangga Barayanga anganakangi I Puang Loe Lembang I Puang Loe Lembang anganakangi Tuniatabanri Tuniatabanri anganakangi Karampang ri Goa Karampang ri Goa anganakangi Tunatangkalopi Tunatangkalopi

rua anaqna sitau nikana Karaeng Loe ri Sero sitau nikana Batara Goa areng matena Tuniwang ri Parallakkena nanitawammo gallarranga tumabuttaya nitawangi ri aenna sitawang ri Batara Goa sitawang ri Karaeng Loe ri Sero ri Batara Goa Paccellekang Pattallassang Bontomanaiq ilauqmene sitawang ri Karaeng Loe ri Sero Saomata Pannampu Moncong Loe Parang Loe Karaeng Loe ri Sero taiapi nikana-kana tumagaukasammo ri Goa mabainei tuGarassiq Batara Goa anaqna Somba Garassiq nabaineang iami anganakangi Tunijalloq ri Passukkiq areng kalena nikana I Pakere Tau sitau pole arinna nikana Barataua pakkaenganna nikana

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Karaenga ri Garassiq sitau pole anaqna nikana Karaenga ri Bone baine takiassengai areng kalena Karaenga Tunijalloq [ri] Passukkiq taena anaqna Karaenga ri Bone taenatong anaq Karaenga Barataua mabaine tuBila nikana Karaenga Maccillaka iami anganakangi Karaeng Botoroka Karaeng Loaya Karaenga ri Taipaya iatonji nikana Karaenga ri Balapapanga Karaeng Botoroka rua anaqna buraqne sitau nikana Karaeng Tomponga sitau nikana Karaeng Marusuq Karaenga Loaya anganakangi Karaenga ri Marusuq bainea siaganga Karaenga ri Patteqne Karaenga ri Taipaya anganakangi I Daeng Bodo siaganga toana I Jiya I Kare Luqmuq matei baine tuGarassiqna niaqmo Karaeng padagang paleo manaiq mae niaq atana nabalukang nikana I Rerasi naballimi I Juruagang nipappalakki tau ri Batara Goa iamo napassareang nimangeimi anaqmi Karaenga Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna Karaenga Makeboka baine nikana matei Batara Goa iami nikana Tuniwang ri Parallakkenna anaqna Tunijalloq ri Passukkiq anaqna Batara Goa magaukang Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna iami ambaineangi anaqna Tunilabu ri Suriwa naanaqmo Tunipalangga Karaenga ri Bone areng kalena Karaenga ri Bone iangku mabassung nikana I Tapacinna Tunibatta Karaenga ri Sombopu iangku mabassung nikana I Sapi takiserokanapi anaqna jari tauna sikontu leqbaka magauq Karaenga ri Bone nibaineangi ri anaqna Karaenga ri Pakalle Ballaka anaqmi aena I Daeng Mamo aena I Daeng Mattoq Karaenga ri Sombopu nibaineangi ri Karaenga Tunikakasang taena anaqna nibaineangi ri Karaenga Tumamenang ri Makkoayang anaqmi ayana karaenga naanaqmo Karaeng Batu-Batu sitau pole anaqna buraqne

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macaqdiiji namate sipelaki nibaineangi ri Karaeng Mandalle anaqmi Karaeng Ballaq Bugisika mabainei tuPolombangkeng Karaenga Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna anaqna Karaeng Jamarang nabaineang anaqmi Karaeng Jonggoa sitau pole baine nikana I Kawateng iami maburaqne mantama ri Jipang manaq nikana I Lajalle arena buraqna iami anganakangi Pabuu Pasaria Karaenga ri Jonggoa ambaineangi kakaqna I Daeng ri Pattukangang anaqmi ayana

Karaenga ri Tompoqbalang iapa anne karaeng mapareq rapang bicara timu-
 timu ri bunduka sabannaraqnami anne karaenga I Daeng Pamatteq ia saban-
 naraq ia tumailalang iami ampareki lontaraq Mangkasaraka ambetai Garassiq
 Katingang Parigi Siang Sidenreng ampalilikangi Sanrabone Jipang Galesong
 Laba angallei saqbu katina Bulukumba Silayaraq ambetai Panaikang Madallo
 Cepa maulukana tuMarusuka tuPolombangkenga tuBoneya karaenna tuMa-
 rusuka nikana Karaeng Loe ri Pakere karaenna tuPolombangkenga nikana
 Karaeng Loe ri Bajeng karaenna tuBoneya naaganga maulukana Boteka
 iami aenna Bongkanga anne karaenga nipuji panrita dudu mabajiq magauq
 malambusuki gallarranna nikana Kasuiang ri Juru pakkareanna nikana I
 Kare Mangutungi iami anne uru angallei paqrasangang Bontomanaiq iaton-
 ji nikana Gallarrang Loaya anne karaenga napanjari ase lamung-lamung
 napanrarakki jukuq napammattiki balloq iatominne magauq nabattu Jawa
 nikanaya I Nagalasi mabunduki ri Pammolikang tallumpulo taungi angan-
 nang magauq iatonji magauq nanilipungi ri tuTalloka ri tuPolombangkenga
 ri tuMarusuka Karaenga ri Talloq naaganga siewa nikana

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Tunipasuruq areng kalena iangku mabassung nikana I Mangayoaberang
 tumagaukang ri Marusuk nikana Patanna Langkana areng matena nikana
 Tumatinroa ri Buluqduaya areng kalena iangku mabassung nikanami I
 Mappasomba padaengang nikana I Daeng Nguraga tumagaukang ri Bajeng
 anaqna Karaeng Loe nikana I Pasairi kakaqna I Daeng Masarro iaminne sisar-
 iqbattang tumagaukang ri Sanrabone ri Lengkeseq ri Katingang ri Jamaraang
 ri Jipang ri Mandalleq tujui tujui sisariqbattang malaqlang sipuaengaseng
 iaminne karaeng nilipungi ri gaukang tallua Karaenga ri Lakiung siagang-
 tongi Gurudaya tuMangasaya Tomboloq Saomata Sodiang anjorengi ri
 kalena Imamangkasi Barobosoq napaentengi iami naagang tuPolombang-
 kenga ilauka kalena karaenga siagangi Sulengkaya Rappocini Rapo napaen-
 tengi tuSodianga tuManujua tuBoriqsalloa tuTalloka siagangi kalena I Daeng
 Masarro iami naagang situju kalena Karaenga ri Dataq siagang Cakuridiya
 Tamamangung napaentengi siagangi Paccellekang Pattallasang Bontomanaiq
 tuMarusuka naagang situju lebaki mabunduqmi nipalarimi tuTalloka tuMa-
 rusuka tuPolombangkenga manguloromami biseang namabiseang manaiq ri
 paqrasanganna tuTalloka malari mantama ri Talloq nassuluqmoa nasurokioq
 Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna mantama ri Talloq tujui ilalang nitoana nirappoi
 iami anjo nasitalliq karaenga Karaenga ri Talloq gallarranga iangaseng ri
 baruga nikelua ia-ianamo tau ampasiewai Goa Talloq iamo nacalla rewata
 kakananaji nanipailalang mabunduq matena mate magarriji anne karaenga
 Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna iaminne mabunduq namaulukana Luwuka Datuq
 Matinroa ri Wajoq namaulukana Karaenga ri Salumekkoq nikanaya Magajaya
 Sanrabone Jipang Galesong Agangnionjoq Kawu Pakombong iatonji uru

nasorei Paranggi julu taungi nibetana Garassiq nibetanatodong Malaka ri Paranggia anne karaenga ri magauqna taena palukka ri paqrasanganga iatodong antabangi paqre nikanaya tamba rinringa areng pamaanaqna anne karaenga nikana I Daeng Matanre areng kalena taena angassengi sanggena nigappaya nikutaqnaqna taena angassengi anne anaqna Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna Tunipalangga matei Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna

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Tunipalangga assambeangi magauq iangku mabassung areng kalena nikana I Mariogauq areng pamaanaqna nikana I Daeng Bonto pakaraenganna rita-magauqna nikana Karaeng Lakiong 36 umuruqna namagauq 28 magauq namate anne karaenga tanipujiai malambusuq tanipujiai tupanrita nikanaja tupurani tukapatiang gannaqaiki iaminne karaeng ambetai Bajeng ambetai tuPolombangkenga iangaseng uru mabunduq Bugisika ri Bampangang nanapasomba Lamuru anggena masade Walanaya naallei saqbu katina naallei sonriq turiolona I Lapasari natalliki tuSoppenga nikanaya Puang ri Jammaq naallei sonriq turiolona nikanaya I Lapattuli I Daengku siaganga paliliqna ambetai Cenrana Saluqmekkoq Cino Patukung Datuq Bainea Kalubimbing Bulu-Bulo Raja Lamatti niagangi manaiq ri tuMarusuka nabetai Samanggi Cenrana Bengo napalilikangi Saamata Camba nideqdeki lima katti allima tai niagangi manaiq ri Luwuka naallei saqbu katina Wajoq nidedeki ruampulo kattina niagangi manaiq ri tuSidenrenga nabetai Otting Buluq-Cenrana napasombai Wajoq naallei timbaq sareonna nidedeki sampulo kattina nabetai Suppaq Sawitto napalilikangi Letang Duri Panaikang Bugisika iangaseng niaq naatai niaq napalilikang allalingi tuSawitto tuSuppaka tuBacukikia manaiq mae ambetai Bulukumba Ujung Loe Pannyikkokang Pationgi Gantarang Wero Silayaraq angallei saqbu katina tuBiraya ampalilikangi turiwawo buluka irateanga iapa anne karaenga uru mapaliliq punna mammeta iatempa ampatallikangi angkanaya makkanamaq numammioq iatempa uru massuro mangalle tumakajannangang anaq buraqne padeqdeq bassi padeqdeq bulaeng panrita ballaq panrita biseang parau patiriq pagurinda palariq paotereq iatempa nasisalammo kassabannaranga kattumailalanganga naI Daeng ri Mangallekana sabannaraq areng pamaanaqna nikana I Kare Manngaweang areng kalena nikana I Manngambari tumailalanna nikana I Daeng Pamatteq iatempa uru mappailalang benteng ampareki taikanga dacinga batua ampareki gantanga banaraka patampulo kakana ampanasai nikanaya patu bakuka koanga iatempa uru majijiriq badiliq lombo ri benteng lompoa iatodong Mangkasaraq uru mangasseng mapareq ubaq mannyanga bulaeng mandeqdeq bata iatommi naaganga maulukana napappalaki empoang nikanaya Anakoda Bonang erang-eranna ri karaenga napa-

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-laq-palaqna empo kontua anne kameleti 86 sakallaq sikayu cinde sitannga kodi biluqluq sikayu nakana Anakoda Bonang ri Karaenga Tunipalangga appaki rupanna kupalaq-palaka ri katte nakanamo karaenga apa nakanamo kipalaq-palaki tanipantamaia ballammang tanipantamaia embammang tanigayanga ponna niaq anammang tanirappunga ponna niaq salammang naniioi ri karaenga nakana karaenga tedong kuposo kuparamme mabattalaq kutaroi ikau mamoseng parangkua tau nanakana ku nakaraenga naia tamamunoako ri buttaku ponna takuassenga nakanamo pole karaenga siapai rupana tau nupakanai nanakana ri karaenga Anakoda Bonang sikontu ikambe malipaq baraya pakanana Anakoda Bonang kontua Patania Campaya Marangkaboa Joroka Paanga iatodong uru ampalelei kompaka ampareki babuka ancaqdii lengu laqbua ambodoi batakanga iatempa uru mannaro anaq palembang ambetai totoli Kaili Bonemamitong tanabeta anggena Pekang Laqbu pami-naia naanggena Topeaja pawaraqna annang taungi siewa tuBonea namate mate magarrinji garrina tamanaungai kaqdoka naalu maballasaqmemami namalampaja mantama ri Papolong nailalammo ri bentenga maballasaq dudu posoi naiassengi Karaenga Tumamenang ri Makkoayang mangemi natenai kakaqna suluq mae mamioqmi naerammi suluq mae 48 banngina ri ballaqa namate tallu baina Balu Maqlonjokami baine pokoqna pinruangi nasampu sikaliang nakamanakangang kaanaqna sampu pinruanna Balu Maqlonjoka anaqna Tunipasuruq ri Karaenga Makeboka areng pamanaqna nikana nikana I Daeng Ningai appaki anaqna rua baine sitau pole baina nikana Karaenga ri Biliq Tanngaya anaqna Karaeng Loe ri Katingang anaq karaeng tuAnaq Sappu naayai nikana Karaenga Iwaraq sitauji anaqna baine sitau pole baina Karaenga ri Suppaq nikana Datuq ri Bali taena anaqna Tunipalangga taena anaqna buraqne malompo namate nasariqbattannamamo asosorangi magauq iatempa karaeng uru sarro paqngarana kapatiang dudu malaqbu uragana ri bunduka anne karaenga tanipujiai malambusuq mangasseng panrita jamang nikanaja gannaqiki kalumannyangi tubarani dudui Tunipalangga tamagaukappi nanalariang Balu Maqlonjoka namakukuqmo Tunipasuruq iami nasiewaimo tuTalloka tuGoaya anaqna Tunipalangga ri Balu Maqlonjoka Karaenga ri Lakiung areng kalena nikana I Ranti Patola areng bissuna nikana I Bale matena mate nijalloki iami nikana tunipongko ri biliq-

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-na uru maburaqne Ratu ambaineangi anaqmi Karaenga ri Tamamaqring baine nikana I Sugi Ratu areng pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Situju iami anganakangi I Daeng Tubengo I Daeng Sepe sitau pole anaqna buraqne nikana Karaenga ri Anaq Goa areng kalena nikana I Tariawang sampulo tauji namate mate mapurui sitau pole anaqna baine nikana I Rieangi ayana I

Tambaq pakkaraenganna nikana Karaenga ri Ujung Loe areng kalena nikana I Bayu sitau pole anaqna baine nikana I Daeng Sannging iami nibaineang ri Karaenga ri Ujung mammanaqmi sitau baine iami nabaineang Karaenga ri Betang naanaqmo ayana I Daeng Ngago sitau pole anaqna baine nikana Karaenga ri Bone areng kalena nikana I Lotong iami nibaineang ri Karaenga Tunijalloq iatommi angkatuoi Karaenga ri Manjalling nikabaluimi ri Karaenga Tunijalloq nibaineammi ri Karaeng Galesong ammanaqmi sitau baine areng kalena nikana I Tobong iami nabaineang Tumamenang ri Gaukanna naanaqmo I Mene iami nipasiparekanga Karaenga ri Majannang sitau pole anaqna buraqne areng kalena nikana I Kanang areng pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Keke macaqdijji namate anaqna Karaenga ri Biliq Tanngaya sitauji baine nikana I Daeng Mangamu iami nabaineang Karaenga ri Bangkalaq anaqmi Karaeng Bangkalaq malompoa battanna Karaenga ri Suppaq taena anaqna sitau pole anaqna ri baine Bugisiqna nikana I Daeng Kapetta iami naayenggang I Daeng Manggappa sitau pole anaqna ri baine atanna iami Bugisitonji anronna nikana I Masiqnai iami anganakangi I Daeng Madoko I Daeng Madokomi nibaineang ri Adatuanga ri Massepeq naanaqmo Adatuanga ri Massepeq nikanaya I Lagau sitau pole anaqna bone ballaq napimanaki nikana I Daeng Talaraq areng kalena nikana I Taniasseng taena anaqna namate anggennaminne kilangereq anaqna anne sariqbattang Tunipalangga asossorangi magauq Tunibatta matei kakaqna iami asossorangi kaia kaia nipappasangi areng kalena iangku mabassung nikana I Teji Barani padaengana nikana I Daeng Marompu pakaraenganna nikana ritamagauqna nikana Karaenga ri Dataq lebaji mate Tunipalangga iaiji anjo banngia namangemo Gallarrang Loaya ri Bontomanaiq ri Tunibatta angkana barang mabajiki nusurokioq anaqnu nakanamo ioq masuromemami antama Karaenga Tunibatta assurokioki Karaenga Tunijalloq ialalang ri Bone tuju banngi

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matena puaqna nabattu battui suluqmae tallumbanngi ipantaraq mae nana-baineang Karaenga ri Lakiong ruampulo banngi antallu magauq namalampa mantama mabundug nasumengka ri Soppeng ambaine sariqbattana Pulipua nabaineang tallu banngi lebaq mabaine naosong mange ri Bone battui mange ri Papolong sasangi nasosongimi nipalarimi tuBoneya naasaki mantama ri bentenna nasussuluqmi siballaqna Bukika mabodoi alloa nipinrumpakkimi ri tuBoneya malarimi Mangkasaraka nibattami karaenga 40 banngiji magauq namate tallasaqna 48 tallasaqna karaenga namate anaqna Karaenga ri Jamarang nikanaya I Daeng Mangkasaraq iami nabaineang Karaenga Tunibatta iami uru maburaqne manaung mae ri Goa nanipiturungiamo ri ayena Kanjilo tun-tung tete iami naayang Karaenga Tunijalloq naayang Karaenga Mapeqdaka areng pakaraenganna nikana Karaenga ri Bontotanga areng kalena nikana I Tamakeboq padaenganna nikana I Daeng Makenang sitau pole anaqna nika-

na I Biasa taena ia anaqna Karaenga Mapeqdaka iami anganakangi Karaenga ri Sanrabone Karaenga ri Kasuarrang Karaenga ri Bambangang ayenna I Daeng Manggappa Tumatea ri Joroq ayenna Karaenga ri Tompoqbalang ayenna Karaenga ri Ujung Pandang ayenna Karaenga ri Balang Baru majaiiji anaqna maraeng takibilangngassengai Karaeng Bisei ambaineangi anaqna Gallarrang Lampa Sailea ammanaqmi sitau baine iami antaqle ri Sorobaya lebaki ambainei pole Karaenga Tunibatta anaqna Tunipasuruq ri baine tuMarusuqna sitanjenganna Tumamenanga ri Makkoayang nikanaya Karaenga ri Barung Patola iami amburaqne manaiq ri Campagaya naanaqmo ayanna I Mata sitau pole anaqna buraqne nikana I Yadaga pakaraenganna nikana Karaenga ri Ujung padaenganna nikana I Daeng Manyauruq iami ambaineangi anaqna Tunipalangga nikana I Daeng naanaqmo ayana I Kopu mabaine gallarrang tuTomboloq anaqmi Karaenga ri Pattungang matei Karaenga ri Barung Patola nabaineangi pole arinna iami ayana Karaenga ri Dataq paqdaenganna Karaenga ri Dataq nikana I Daeng Marinyo areng kalena nikana I Karisa tinang mabaineangi sakotuna anaqnaji padeqdeq sembonga nabaineang naanaqmo Karaenga ri Katapang sisariqbattang niaq atanna tuParigi nabaineang iami anganakangi I Jamo siaganga I Daeng Makanang sitau pole atanna tuKalli-Kalli nabaineang iami anganakangi I Kare Kontu mabaine tuGalesong nikana I Tappo matei Tunipalangga

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nabaineammi pole Balu Maqlonjoka anaqnatonji I Tunipasuruq ri baine tuGoa nikanaya Karaenga Makeboka anne karaenga taena gauqna nipuji nikanaja masigai mammarri matuai botoroq anne anaqna Tunibatta asosorangi magauq Tunijalloq areng kalena nikana iangku mabassung nikana I Manggorai areng pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Mammeta pakaraenganna nikana ritamagauqnapa Karaenga ri Bontolangkasaq lebaki nibatta ayenna massuromi taqle ri tuBoneya Gallarrang Mangasa nisuro siaganga I Loqmoq ri Manrimisiq bariqbasaki suluqmi mae Bongkanga siaganga Kajao La Liddong sitabami macappami iami nikana kanaya iwarakanna Bone anjoremminjo nanipareqmo Tallu Lipoya ri Karaenga Tumamemenang ri Makkoayang lebaki sitaba paliliq tuBoneya suluqmi mae ri Mangkasaraq battui suluq mae nitannammi magauq ri Tumamenang ri Makkoayang 25 taunna magauq namate matena mate nijalloki ri biseanga iwarakanna Agangnionjoq ilaukanna Lipukasiq pakkattoangi ri Marusuq tallumbanngina bulanga nanijalloq sariqbattang keqmukoanna anjalloki tuMajannang nikana I Lolo Tamakana ri tama-tamanapa ri Bone sampu sikalina nabaineang anaqna Tunipalangga nikanaya I Daeng Malelei parekanna memangi ri macaqdicaqdina lebaki niaqmo bone ballaqa Tunipalangga nikana I Kare Leo anaq gallarrang tuPolombangkenga nakasalai niassengi ri Karaenga Tunipalangga nikalarroimi bainea nisikkoq bangkemmi mamallammi Karaenga Tunijalloq

malarimi mantama ri Bone iami Karaeng ri Bone nikanaya I Labongkang ilalanna Karaenga ri Bone pinruangi maloko ipoq mabainei ilalang ri Bone Mangkasarattonji nabaineang nikana I Kare Pate anaqna I Kare Mangenjeng tuPolombangkeng malari mantama ilalanna Karaenga ri Bone ningai dudui ri Arumpone matei Tunipalangga antamami antamami nisurokioq ri ayenna sagantuju banngi matena anaqna nabattu suluq mae nanabaineang Karaenga ri Lakiong 20 banngi magauq Karaenga Tunibatta namalampa mantama ri Bone namalampatodong Karaenga Tunijalloq mantama ri Bone siangan- ga ayenna matei Tunibatta massuluqmi mae iamo nitannang magauq ri Tumamenang ri Makkoayang iapa anngawangi puanna iatempa anngawangi toa kalena nikanaya Karaeng Loe Baine magauki nabaineammi Karaenga Iwaraq anaqna Karaeng Loe ri Katingang anaq karaeng tuAnaq Sappu naayang pintalluji nilele banngi nanijallommo Karaenga ri Lakiong ilalangi ri biliqna karaenga napakalawaki kongkonna anjalloki ri banngia matei Karaenga ri Lakiong nabaineammi anaqna

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Tumamenang ri Makkoayang ri Karaenga ri Sombopu iangku mabassung areng kalena nikana I Sambo areng pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Niasseng pakaraenganna ritamagauqna nikana Karaenga ri Pattingalloang iami naayang Tumamenang ri Gaukanna sisariqbattangi Karaenga Iwaraq nipi- manaki ri Tunijalloq tallu baine Tuniwang ri Kalassukanna iangku mabas- sung areng kalena nikana I Puppusuq areng pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Tojeng pakaraenganna ri tamaburaqna nikana Karaeng Kanjilo kalauppi ri Bontoalaq ammemo nanikana Karaenga ri Naunga sitau pole anaqna nikana I Bissu Jamarang macaqdiji namate iami naparekangang Karaenga ri Barobosoq sitau pole anaqna nikana I Dundu macaqdiji namate iami naparekangang Karaenga ri Manjalling sitau pole baine nikana I Daeng ri Rappocidi kamanakang kalena Karaenga ri Jipang taena anaqna Karaenga ri Jipang areng kalena nikana I Katipa areng pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Matawang sitau pole baina nikana I Daeng ri Lekoqboqdong sitau anaqna macaqdiji namate sitau pole baina nikana Karaenga ri Popoq sariqbat- tannatonji Karaenga Iwaraq areng kalena nikana I Bungko iami naayang Karaenga ri Ballaq Jawaya areng kalena iangku mabassung nikana I Sikati iami naayanga I Daeng Manggappa Matea ri Joroq ayanna karaenga sagan- tujui anaqna sisariqbattang nasiagang buraqne Karaenga Suluka areng kalena iangku mabassung nikana I Tepu Karaeng areng pamanaqna nika- na I Daeng Parambu pakaraenganna nikana ritamagauqnapa Karaenga ri Bontolangkasag iami naayanga I Daeng Kalauq ayanna I Daeng Mangompoq I Daeng Majarreq sitau pole anaqna baine areng kalena iangku mabassung nikana I Callanna areng pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Tamaqring pakaraen- ganna nikana Karaeng Tabaringang nibaineangi ri Karaeng Kotengang ia

latu ari tamamanakai balupi ri Karaeng Kotengang nanibaineang ri Karaeng Sanrabone nikanaya I Pammusurang naanaqmo Karaeng Malolo naanaqmo Karaeng Panarukang Bainea naanaqmo Karaeng Tamananga naanaqmo Karaeng Taniciniq sipelaki Karaenga ri Sanrabone nibaineammi ri Karaeng Patteqne naanaqmo Karaeng Patteqne niposo a ri Butung sitau pole anaqna buraqne nikana I Topali taena anaqna namate sitau pole anaqna baine areng kalena iangku mabassung nikana I Bissu Maliba pakaraenganna nikana Karaeng Pacelleq iami nabaineang Karaenga ri Pattungang naanaqmo Karaeng Taipaya naanaqmo Karaeng Masale naanaqmo I Tamaqlili sitau pole anaqna baine areng

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kalena iangku mabassung nikana I Sabesiang areng pamanaqna nikana I Kare Lamorroq iami nabaineang Karaeng Bulo-Bulo taena anaqna Daentaji I Taniciniq nakatuo naiatommo asossorangi sitau pole anaqna buraqne areng kalena iangku mabassung nikana I Manngaranngi areng pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Manrabia iami anne nikana Tumamenang ri Gaukanna takikana-kanapi baina ri empoanatOMPI sitau pole anaqna buraqne areng kalena iangku mabassung nikana I Kelo areng pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Suraga pakaraenganna nikana Karaeng Jungtana taena anaqna karaengaji ri Pattukangang nakatuo matei Tumamenanammo ri Bontobiraeng nasareangngaseng pannganuanna passanngalinna lebakamo napassareang sitau pole anaqna buraqne nikana I Yung areng pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Macciniq pakaraenganna nikana Karaeng Buluq Sipong ambaineangi sampu sikalinna anaqna Karaeng Barombong nikana I Tadumai naanaqmo Karaeng Paqbineang siaganga Karaeng Garassiq taenamo kiasseng anaqna Karaenga Bainea sitau pole baina nikana I Loqmoqpare mammanaqtodong baine sitau iami nabaineang Karaeng Lekoqbodong nikana I Sambali naanaqmo I Ralu iami nabaineang I Daeng Mangalle nanikaembai ri Daeng Bombong areng kalena I Loqmoqpare I Tamakaqdoq sitau pole baine atana nikana I Sambe matepi karaenga nalassuq anaqna baine nikana I Kawate nampai maburaqne namate sitau pole anaq-anaq ri bokonna namangei nammanaq sitau buraqne nikana I Mammaneka areng pamanaqna nikana I Kare Tanja baina Karaenga Tunijalloq tanapimanakia Karaenga Bissua iatonji nikana Karaeng Batu-Batu sariqbattang sitanjenganna Karaenga Bainea areng kalena iangku mabassung nikana I Lingga iami angkatuoi Karaengta ri Barombong sitau pole baina nikana Karaenga ri Bone anaqna Tunipalangga iami angkatuoi Karaenga ri Manjalling areng kalena nikana I Lotong sitau pole baina Bugisiq tuSoppeng nikana Karaenga ri Majannang nikabalui ri karaenga sitau pole baina tuLamuru nikana I We Dadi iami nikana Karaenga ri Balloq sitau pole baina sariqbattanna Karaenga Iwaraq nikana Karaenga Maqdangea nipelaqnami nanibaineang ri Daeng ri Mangallekana sitau

pole baina nika I Daeng ri Pattukangang balunna Tumamenang ri Makkoayang anaqna Gallarrang Bontomanaika nikanaya I Kare Saluq areng kalena I Daeng ri Pattukangang nika I Tuli areng pamanaqna nika Daenna I Mene anronna

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anaq karaeng tuGarassiq cucuna Somba Garassiq nikanaya I Daeng Paikaq sitau pole baina nika I Daeng ri Dataq iatonji nika I Daeng Malompoa padaenganna nika I Daeng Arenne sampa pinruanna Karaenga Iwaraq butta nabetaya ri mabaligauqna Tumamenang ri Makkoayang taiyai nikanakana anrinna anjorengpi sallang ri kana-kana Tumamenang ri Makkoayang matei Tumamenang ri Makkoayang iami mabaligauq sikalabine mabali gauqiji nanataba paqre lombo tallung taung lima puloji ase ballina leqlenga iapa magauq nauru niaq ballaq niukiriq namandeqdeq Mangkasaraka toboq nanijannangi parauq sappuka nauru niaq juru tulisi palontaraq paparala bulaeng caqdi ampammangungangi masigiq padangganga namajannammo mamempo ri Mangallekana massurro manaiq aqji anne karaenga uru magauqna I Daeng ri Mangallekana tumailalanna I Daeng ri Tamacina sabannaraqna I Daeng ni Sambe(ng) anrong guru tumakkajannanga naanaq buraqnena matei I Daeng ri Mangallekana Karaengamo ri Marusuq tumailalang mabali I Daeng ri Tamacina areng kalena Karaenga ri Marusuq nika I Yunyiq areng pamanaqna nika I Daeng Mangemba Daeng ri Tamacina nika I Painyong areng pamanaqna nika I Kare Paeso(ng) iatempa anne karaeng mabela Jawa taqle ri Karasanga ri Joroq taqle ri Malaka taqle ri Paang taqle ri Balambangang taqle ri Patani taqle ri Banjarang manrai ri Maluku iaminne Karaeng magauq namalisiqngaseng Bugisika namatallumbocco Karaenga tuSoppenga nikanaya I Lamattang gallarranna nika Pulipuya Arung Matoaya ri Wajoq nika I Lamangkace areng pamanaqna nika I Todama areng matena nika Matinroa ri Kannana Arumpone nika I Laenca arinna Bongkanga iami mabaine tuTimurung nianaqmo Tumatinroa ri Talloq siaganga Makkalarua areng matena nika Matinroa ri Aqdenenna iatonji nika Ampadae salassiqna ilalangi ri Macciniq nadalekammi Suang namammalisimmo Bugisika namammaliammo suluq mae nanakanamo tuWajoka tuSoppenga angapai kakipinawangi kibunongaseng nanakana Arumpone bati teqne anne paqmaikku nupallellenganna ulungku salanggaku namalalang suluq mae Tunijalloq ri Porampi nipakkiokang bukiq ri Karaenga ri Marusuq nanampa nibuleq anjoremminjo nasitalliq Tunijalloq Karaenga ri Marusuq nanakana ponna jaritaunuija magauq jaritaukutongiji nutannang tumailalang lebaki nisuro iruruimi assuluq mae ri tuBonea Datua ri Gulawang nisuro angirurui

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siaganga Arumpone tanipaqbiang niresereseq ri aganga sanggenapi Samanggi namamaliang paqrasanganna nabetaya ri bokoana Tumamenang ri Makkoayang Luwuq Batulappaq I Lamusu arenna Karaenna Segeri karaenna nikana I Cikondo areng pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Boting tuMarusuka karaenna I Karrang arenna areng pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Marewanaq ri baine atanna Tunikakasang Bugisika akkotengammami kiaganga siagang Sawitto Sidenreng kiagattonji matepi karaenga kinapilariang nanaallemo tuSoppenga anne karaenga ningai ri tumailalanna ri anaq karaenna ningai ri tumalompona ri gallarranna ri tau taballanna ningaiangi Tumamenang ri Gaukanna kontuminne kana-kanana Tunijalloq anganakangi Tunipasuluq matei Tunijalloq Karaeng Sulukamo asossorangi magauq areng kalena nikana I Tepu Karaeng areng pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Parabbung pakaraenganna ritamagauqnapa nikana Karaeng Bontolangkasaq iapa anne magauq nanapasulummo I Daeng ri Tamacina tumailalang naallei bembeng kaqdongna tumakajannanga apappentengi pole bembeng kaqdoq ata kalena iami anne ampatamai tumailalang Karaenga ri Patteqne areng kalena nikana I Tamanggoa areng pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Arenne 15 taunna namagauq naruang taung magauq naisuluq ia maruppa tuBonea ri Meru ia ampasombai Daeng Marewa ri Kaluku ia ambetai Boq Loe lebapi nipasuluq nailalang ri Luwuq mantama sallang 24 taunna lebaq nipasuluq namate ibaqla ri Butung tallu anaqna ri baine atanna sitau baine rua buraqne 1 Rajaka 1026 hijrah Julu 5 banngia nanipasuluq Tunipasuluq 1617 era iapa anne karaeng antawa-tawai taunna karaenga ampareki tumaBate-Bate Salapanga assipue bate iatempa anne karaeng uru anngai badilika caqdia baju bassia paqdanga toboq laqbua natalu banngia mate Karaenga Tunijalloq nanitawang iamo Karaenga Matoaya erang-eranna taua iatonji tampaqbiangi makasiang atanna kakaqna ia rua anne karaenga nanipasuluq manna taena salanna taua niasseng tiqring nibunoji malampangasemmi Jawaya malarinasemmi anaq karaenga tamalaria Karaenga Matoaya Karaenga ri Barombong Karaenga ri Dataq anaq Karaeng Caqdia Karaeng Baroqbosoq Karaenga Alluq anaq Karaeng Matoaya Karaeng Marusuq Karaeng Patteqne namaraemmo pole gauqna nikana makodii tuanggappangai takiissengaseji tasitabaji nikana-kana Tunipasuluq sariqbattangi Tumamenang ri Gaukanna lebaki nipasuluq kakaqna iamo nitannang magauq ri ayana mantamai ri taung tuju

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namagauq areng kalena iangku mabassung nikana I Manngarangi areng pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Manraqbia areng ngaraqna nikana Solotani Alaidini Sultan Alau'ddin 12 taunna namagauq namantama Isilang Marangkaboya ampasadaki Kota Tanga arenna paqrasanganna Katte Tunggalaq areng kalena mamempoi ri tanaya ri appaqna Pamatonga nikana-

mo I Datoq ri Bandang napantamanga Isilanga karaenga salapang banngina Jumadeleq awwalaq ri Jumaka 1014 hijrah era 1605 Satemburuq 22 nabulang Rajab 9 ejaranga 1016 hijrah era 1606 nanampa mammanaq buraqne areng kalena iangku mabassung nikana I Mannuntung padaenganna nikana I Daeng Mattola pakaraenganna ritamagauqna nikana Karaeng ri Lakiong ayanna Karaenga ri Lakiong areng kalena nikana I Mataina padaenganna nikana I Daeng Macciniq pakaraenganna nikana Karaeng Bontoa anaqna Karaenga Iwaraq anganakangi ri buraqne naaganga nibatta Karaenga Tunibatta anaq karaeng tuParianga sampu pinruannatonji Karaenga Iwaraq iami nabaineang Karaenga ri Kasuarrang naanaqmo Karaeng Bontoa sitau pole baina sampu sikalianna anaqna Karaenga ri Manjalling I Layu areng pamaanaqna nikana I Daeng Mapassang iami naayang Karaeng Lempangang areng kalena nikana I Saqbe areng pamaanaqna nikana I Daeng Tamaga pakaraenganna nikana Karaeng Lempangang sitau pole baina tuBacukiki naanronga nilalinga manaiq mae nikana I Kare Sallang sitau pole tuLeng-keseq nikana I Kare Talesang iami mammanaq baine nikana I Tanikutaqnaq padaenganna nikana I Daeng Memang pakaraenganna nikana Karaenga ri Popoq sitau pole baina anronna tuSegeri manggenna tuLekoqbodong pagurinda nikana I Sara areng pamaanaqna nikana I Loqmoq Teqne iami naanronga I Mappangara areng pamaanaqna nikana I Daeng Manrungrungang pakaraenganna nikana Karaenga ri Katinting sitau pole nikana I Manjagai areng pamaanaqna nikana I Daeng Palipung sampulo tauji namate sitau pole baina anaq gallarrang tuTalloq sariqbattang keqmokanna Karaenga ri Karuwisi anronna nikana I Toneq manggena nikana Kare Leoq areng kalena nikana I Alle areng pamaanaqna nikana I Kare Balluruq iami mammanaq sitau buraqne nikana I Mallelei areng pamaanaqna nikana I Daeng Manngawi pakaraenganna nikana Karaeng Bawanga sitau pole baina Bayo Garassiq nikana I Uru mammanaq sitau buraqne nikana I Mattalle macaqdiji namate sitau pole baina anaqna Karaeng Galesong sampu sikalinatorji nikana I Tobo iami mammanaq sitau baine nikana I Mene iami na-

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-parekangang Karaenga ri Majannang macaqdiji namate baine naaganga nilantiq sampu sikalinatorji anaqna nikanaya Datu Paboli ri Karaeng Ballaq Bugisika areng kalena iangku mabassung nikana I Tadampaliliq taena anaqna Tumamenanga ri Bontobiraeng nakatuo naiatommo niareng pammanakkangi ri kakaqna ri tumatoana takibilangai sikontu baina anne karaenga nakana Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng lebaki mabaine Bugisiq minasatongi mabaine Jawa lebaqtongi mabaine kalauq nakana Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng lebangi pitampapulo mabaine sitau anaq-anaq ri bokona namangei nikana I Teqne mammanaqtodong sitau baine nikana I Rikong areng pamaanaqna nikana I Daeng Tunang anne karaenga tanipujiai tubarani

tugannaqyai tanipujiai tukapatiang nikanaja tubajiq pamaiq tumalambusuki 34 taunna Salang ri bokoana namate namagauqna 46 taunna ri bokoana Karaenga Matoaya ruang taungi assagantuju bulanna anruampulo banngi 256 bilang banngina mate Karaenga Matoaya namatetodong iami nataena paqrasangang nabeta ilalang nikana-kana kataenamona paqrasangang nabeta ribokoana Karaenga Matoaya anne karaenga ningai ri gallarranna ri tau taballaqna ponna ri anaq karaenga ri tumailalanga ningaianngi Tunijalloq anne karaenga nagappaiji naSabannaraq I Kare Panngepaq matei Karaenga ri Patteqne Karaengamo ri Maroanging assambeangi Karaenga ri Patteqne tuju anaqna sitau anaqna nikana I Ganti pakaraengana nikana Karaenga ri Alluq iami anganakangi Karaeng Paqbundukang sisariqbattang sitau pole nikana I Mallombasi iami natoang Karaenga ri Suli sitau pole anaqna nikana I Mappakanro pakaraengana nikana Karaeng Jeqneqpono iami natoang Gallarrang Saomata sitau pole anaqna baine iami anganakangi ayana I Kalula sitau pole anaqna baine iami nabaineang Karaenga ri Batupute Karaengami ri Maroanging bungkona iami naia assambeangi kaia anaq ri sangkontuna sariqbattanna Karaenga ri Maroanging nikana I Mamminawang paqdaengana nikana I Daeng Manngawing anaqna Karaenga ri Marusuq salapangi sitau baine nikana I Tanikallong iami natoang I Kare Nana nikanaya I Daeng Cokko iami natoang Karaeng Karunrung sitau pole anaqna nikana I Linga paqdaengana nikana I Daeng Nisona iami natoang

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Karaenga ri Tabaringang ayana I Mappatamba sitau pole anaqna nikana maburaqne manaiq ri Urikeke naanaqmo Karaeng Urikeke sitau pole anaqna nikana Karaeng Bontolangkasaq taena anaqna sitau pole anaqna nikana I Bonto pakaraengana nikana Karaeng Cenrana iami naayengang I Kare Bayang sisariqbattang sitau pole anaqna nikana I Sambali buraqne pakaraengana nikana Karaeng Lekoqbodong iami natoang Karaeng Rodia sitau pole anaqna buraqne iami natoang I Tuqduq nikana Karaenga ri Maranang siaganga natoang anronna I Ali matei Karaeng Patteqne Karaengamo ri Maroanging assambeangi matei Karaeng Marusuq Karaengamo ri Cenrana assambeangi matei Karaeng Cenrana Karaengamo pole ri Cenrana assambeangi areng kalena nikana I Mallewai paqdaengana nikana I Daeng Manassa matei Karaeng Maroanging Karaengamo ri Suli assosorangi areng kalena nikana iami I Mappa iaminne karaenga uru mabela-bela taqle ri Ace Karaenga ri Matarang anne karaenga nipuji mabajiq paqmaiq tamasiwalaq anne karaenga 53 taunna tallasaqna 46 taunna magauq namate iratei ri Cikkoang ilalangi ri Tongaya nanabattui garring salapang banngina bulang Sapparaka Junyu 10 banngina ri banngina [Arabic Ahaq] allonapa Aaka nabattumanaung ri ballaqa sampulona anrua bulanga 12 meseka 15 banngina [Arabic Araba] seqrena garigataya ri banngina namate era 1639 ejarahna

Nabia [illegible Arabic] anne karaenga lebaki nataba pua sarro lebaki nataba paqre lebaki nataba bunduq sarro 956 banngina matena Karaenga Matoaya namatetodong Tumamenang ri Gaukanna umuruqna 53 Tumamenangmo ri Papambatuna nitannang magauq kaiami anaqna ri baine sangkontuna 159 banngina 32 umuruqna namagauq allo Araba bulang [Arabic Safar] 12 meseka Junyu 15 namagauq allo [Arabic Salasa] 18 bulanga meseka 21 nanipabiritammo ri Tumammaliang ri Timoroq ri tumailalanga ri anaq karaenga ri gallarranga iapa kuero karaeng Tumamenappa ri Bontobiraeng kua-gaang magauq iatempa anngerangi taua iangaseng anne karaenga arena iangku mabassung nikana I Mannuntung paqdaengana nikana I Daeng Mattola pakaraengana nikana ritamagauqna Karaeng Ujung lebaki nilesami nikana Karaeng Lakiong ri macaqdi-caqdina nipasasiparekangangi anaqna Arumpone

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nikanaya I Lapalang iami nikana Matinroa ri Talloq matei parekanga nipasi-parekammi anaqna Tumammaliang ri Timoroq nikanaya I Ranga areng pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Matteqne pakaraengana nikana Karaenga ri Tangallaq anaqna Karaenga I Tumaliang ri Timoroq ri anaqna Karaenga ri Barombong naayang areng kalena nikana I Bijawi areng pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Kaling lebaki balereqmi nabaineammi macaqdi-caqdiiji nipasipelaqmi anaqnamo Karaenga Matoaya nabaineang nikanaya I Baine areng pamanaqna nikana I Kare Maqnassa iami nikana Daenta ri Pattingalloang lebaki mabainemi tuLaikang mammempo ri Pattoppakang nikana I Saqbe areng pamanaqna nikana I Loqmoq Kontu iami ammanaq rua bainea nikana I Patima areng Mangkasaraqna nikana I Saniq paqdaengana nikana I Daeng Nisakking pakaraengana nikana Karaeng Bontojeqneq anaqna buraqnea nikana Moama Bakere areng Mangkasaraqna nikana I Mallombasi paqdaengana nikana I Daeng Mattawang pakaraengana nikana ritamagauqna nikana Karaeng Bontomangape sikontuminne anaqna ritamagauqna lebaki napelaki Daenta ri Pattingalloang nabaineammi Karaenta ri Tangallaq iami nabaineang namantama magauq magauki mabainemi pole aganna tuTallampuang tuBinamuq nikana I Bissu areng pamanaqna nikana I Kare Jannang iami ammanaq sitau baine nikana I Rabia areng Mangkasaraqna nikana I Sungguminasa paqdaengana nikana I Daeng Nisanga pakaraengana nikana Karaeng Sanggiringang lebaki rua taung nasipelammo Karaenga ri Tangallaq nabaineangiseng sampu sikalina tuSanrabone nikana I Ranga areng pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Marannu taena anaqna lebaki nabaineangi cucuna Karaenga Matoaya anaqna Daenta ri Mangeppeq ri Karaenga ri Cenrana nikanaya I Mallewai paqdaengana nikana I Daeng Maqnassa iami nabaineang I Ralle areng Mangkasaraqna areng pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Paikaq iami ammanaq sitau baine nikana I Manneratu areng pamanaqna nikana I

Daeng Niasseng pakaraengana nikana Karaenga ri Bontomateqne lebaki nile-sammi nikana Karaenga ri Lakiong areng Jawana I Sapuru sitau pole atanaji napimanaki nikana I Asseng anronna nikana I Yata areng pamanaqna nikana I Loqmoq Singaraq sitau pole buraqne anaq-anaq ribokonaji napimanaki

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I Tanriwalu arena anaqna nikana I Sepulo areng Mangkasaraqna nikana I Atatojeng areng pamanaqna nikana I Kare Tulolo pakaraengana nikana Karaeng Bontomajannang anne karaenga tinanatabai pua tinanatabai bunduq sarro tinanatabai paqre lompo iapa anne karaeng ambela-bela Garonadoroka ri Manila Bijurei ri Goa Peresedeti ri Kalima Rajamala ri Macilipata Karaenga ri Anggarrisiq Karaenga ri Paratugalaq Karaenga ri Kasatella mabela-bela Mupattia ri Makka iatempa anne karaeng uru nigallaraq ri Makka nikana Moammad Saed arena memang nikana Malikosaid anne karaenga nipuji tumangasseng baca ri paranna karaeng nipuji tumappakabutti ri tuma-toana nipuji massuro tau ri panngatainna anne karaenga manngassengi mapisoqnai manngassengi mappakalompo manngassengi mabalasaq paqmai ningai ri tau taballaqna ponna ri anaq karaenga ri tumailalanga ningaiangi Tumamenang ri Gaukanna anne karaenga manngandalaki malekoqballoq Araq mabajiq batena malekoqballoq Mangkasaraq

Section 10: KIT 30

Tumamenang ri Papambatuna anganakangi Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana matei Tumamenang ri Papambatuna Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana assosor-angi magauq kaanaqnai nanapappasanngi anne Karaenga areng Araqna nikana Sultan Hasanuddin areng Mangkasaraqna iangku mabassung nikana I Mallombasi kana pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Mattawang pakaraengana ritamagauqna nikana Karaenga ri Bontomangape ruampulo taungi antallu umuruqna namagauq nasampulotaung antuju magauq nanapasuluq kalena nanatannang anaqna magauq

KIT 31

nasitaung naaganga mabaligauq anaqna namate matena mate masakakiki bane-anna anne bainena Karaenga ritamagauqna anaqna Karaenta Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng uru bainena kaparekannamemangi iangku mabassung nikana I Mami kana pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Sannging iami mamanaq sitau buraqne macaqdijji namate iami nakabalui nanabaineammopole anaqna Karaeng Banyuwanyaraq ri Sanrabone areng kalena iangku mabassung nikana I Peta kana pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Nisali iami mamanaq tuju lima buraqne rua baine uluana nikana I Manjawakkang tuju taujji umuruq nanamate sitau pole anaqna iangku mabassung nikana I Mappadulung areng Araqna nikana Abdul Jalil kana pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Mattimung

pakaraengana ritamagauqna nikana Karaenga ri Campagaya napasulu-ki Karaenna tu Sanrabonea iamo manaungmae napalaq tu Sanrabonea ri Karaenga napantama Karaeng nikanamo Karaenga ri Sanrabone sitau pole anaqna iangku mabassung nikana I Mappaosong kana pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Mangewai pakaraengana ritamagauqna nikana Karaenga ri Besei sitau pole anaqna baine iangku mabassung nikana I Sunggu kana pamaanaqna nikana I Daeng Talebang pakaraengana nikana Karaeng Langeloq sitau pole anaqna buraqne nikana I Sumaili tuju taujji namate sitau pole

KIT 32

anaqna buraqne nikana I Makkarurung kana pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Matulu pakaraengana nikana Karaeng Agangjeqneq sitau pole anaqna baine nikana I Saena tuju taujji tallasaqna namate iaminne nabaineang naangan-ga mantamagauq sitau pole baina tu Batea nikana I Loqmoq Dayang iami mamanaq sitau buraqne nikana I Manrurungang areng pamanaqna nikana I Kare Gappa pakaraengana nikana Karaeng Mangalliq sitau pole baina nikana I Loqmoq Tobo iami mamanaq appaq rua buraqne rua baine kaminang matoayami nikana I Maninrori areng pamanaqna nikana I Kare Tojeng pakaraengana nikana Karaeng Galesong kaniallei Karaeng ri tu Galesonga sitau nikana I Sapia areng pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Rikong sitau nikana I Aduluq areng pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Mangalle sitau nikana I Rukia areng pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Mami lebaki nabaine-angi pole anaqna Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng areng kalena iangku mabas-sung nikana I Bate kana pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Tommi pakaraengana nikana Karaeng Paqbineang nibaineangi ri Karaenga nikanamo Karaenga Bainea iami mamanaq rua buraqne matoanga iangku mabassung nikana I Mappasomba kana pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Uraga taena pakaraengana nanisareang gaukanga ri ayena sitau nikana I Ama kana pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Arene

KIT 33

salapang tauji umuruqna namate sitau pole baina anaq karaeng tu Sanrabonena nikana I Daeng Talele iami mamanaq sitau baine nikana I Patima kana pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Takontu sitau pole palopoqna napimanaki sitau baine nikana I Yalima kana pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Jipaleng sitau pole baina tu Paqbineang napimanaki nikana I Mina areng pamanaqna nikana I Kare Nanang napimanaki sitau baine macaqdijji namate anne baine-na tanapimanakiang anaqna Karaenta ri Tarung ri Karaenga ri Batu-Batu nikana I Baya kana pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Masiang sitau pole baina anaqna I Kare Tulolo nikana I Yoci areng pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Antu anne karaenga narapikangiji Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng naagaang maba-ligauq kaiyami atanangi magauq nasampulo bulang naagaang mabaligauq

namate Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng nakaraengamo ampakanangi buttana iaminne Karaeng aparaikibutu nanabeta tobeya iatonji karaeng nabatui sar-iqbatanna Karaeng Maluku nikanaya Cilikalimata napilariina paqrasangana nailaummomene nanabaineang anaqna Tumammaliang ri Timoroq nikanaya Karaenga ri Panaikang taena anaqna ri Karaenga ri Panaikang.

Appendix 1: CM 180

iaminne karaeng magauq ri Gowa nakaraenga Matinroa ri Bontobiraeng ampakkanangi buttaya ri Gowa barangkana tubicarayabutta nanibeta Bone ri bunduq Pare-Parea nanisuromo Aruppitu ri Tumenanga ri Bontobiraeng aqboyai cucuna mapayunga nakana ia maka antallassi buttaya ri Bone namapalakana Aruppitu nalima banngi manawa-nawa gannaki lima banngi battumi Aruppitu ri Tumenanga ri Bontobiraeng akkana kiboyami cucuna mapayunga kikanaya maka antallassi buttaya ri Bone nataenamo naiamo kiparapaqmaikki karaenga kialle karaeng ri Bone lebaki teai karaenga nakanamo karaenga Tumenanga ri Bontobiraeng ia adana ikatte mangallea karaeng tanapantamai tuBoneya mangallea karaeng takipantamai tongangai nanakanamo bedeng Tumenanga ri Papambatuna ikattemo paleng ajannangi tuBoneya nakanamo Tumenanga ri Bontobiraeng teako ikambe suro naata ia Tunijalloq apa nakaraenta ri Sumannaq nisuro ajannangi tuBoneya I Tobalaq nitannang Kali nanakanamo Tumenanga ri Bontobiraeng ri Aruppitu punna mangalle karaeng natanukanakanaya takusongkangamako nakupanaikkiko namasulummo mae karaenga lebaki tallu taujji namangallemo karaeng tuBoneya namanaimmo ri Pasepaq bangung kalliq nipanaimmi pole siagang Tumenanga ri Bontobiraeng arinnaji karaenga nibetaya naalle

CM 181

napantama pole karaeng tuBoneya areng kalena nikana I Laaji areng pamanagna nikana I Tosarima(ng) nanikampilimmo Pasepaq ri Mangkasaraka nibetami pole Bone iami nikana bunduka ri Pasepaq iapajo rewasa nanirappammo tuBoneya nisare atommi pole kanikana Arumponemami malarro mannunrung ri atana iaminne karaeng pinruang nierang ri Karaenga Tumenanga ri Bontobiraeng ambetai Bone iatodong karaeng ri Gowa uru nialle karaeng ri tuBoneya nakaraentamo ri Sumannaq ajannangi tuBoneya

CHAPTER IV

The Talloq chronicle

The *Talloq chronicle* has been subdivided into seven sections as follows:

- 1 The founding of Talloq
- 2 Tunilabu ri Suriwa
- 3 Tunipasuruq
- 4 Tumamenang ri Makkoayang
- 5 Karaeng Baine and Tunipasuluq
- 6 Karaeng Matoaya
- 7 Tumammaliang ri Timoroq

Translation

Section 1: The founding of Talloq

[24r] This is the story of the ancestors of Talloq. Here are its words. Tunatangkalopi had a child Karaeng Loe ri Sero. His father died and he took his portion [of the kingdom] and settled in Sero. He and his sibling quarreled. He went over to Java. A portion of the *gallarrang* went to his older brother, Batara Gowa. For example, Tomboloqkeke, Saumata, Borong Loe, Pacciqnongang, and Pao-Pao were taken. Those who did not go [with Batara Gowa] stayed awaiting their *karaeng*. Karaeng Loe returned from Java and discovered that not all his household followers had been taken. They went to dwell on the north side of Bangkalaq [at a place] called Passanngaleang.

After some time there, one of his *gallarrang* built an outrigger. He rowed out to the river mouth. After he departed, he was summoned by Karaeng Loe, who was told he was not there. The *gallarrang* returned and was told by the people from his household, 'You were summoned by Karaeng Loe.' Upon learning this, he went to the *karaeng*. Spoke the *karaeng*, 'Where are you coming from, *gallarrang*?'¹ 'I've come, my lord, from the river mouth. I was looking² because here is a bad location, neither on the coast nor in the mountains.' Karaeng Loe accepted this. Then the *karaeng* agreed: all the people went out to build a dwelling at Tarung. They spotted a higher-lying area [24v] outside

of Campagaya. This they settled. He commanded they build a noble house in the centre of Talloq. Karaeng Loe died and was brought back to Sero.³

To this point, what we have heard has been told. We do not know how long he ruled. We also do not know of his wives. These are the words of I Daeng ri Buloa.⁴ What could be heard has been told.

Section 2: Tunilabu ri Suriwa

Karaeng Loe had a child Tunilabu ri Suriwa. Karaeng Loe ri Sero died. Tunilabu ri Suriwa succeeded as ruler of Talloq. He married in Garassiq and had children: Karaeng ri Pattukangang, Karaeng ri Tanasanga, Karaeng ri Patteqne, Karaeng ri Panaikang, the mother⁵ of I Daeng Kanjilo.

He married one from Siang and also had a daughter.

He then married the daughter of the Kasiwang of Lampa Saile. Her Javanese mother from Surabaya was named I Nyai Papati and had been taken in war by one from Unti. Then married by the Gallarrang ri Lekoqbodong, they had a child I Kare Suwaya. She was then married by Karaeng Tunilabu ri Suriwa and they had a child, Karaeng Loe Baine, may I not be cursed, named I Rerasi.⁶ They also had a child Tunipasuruq ri Talloq.

It was this *karaeng* who went over to Melaka, then straight eastwards to Banda. For three years he journeyed, then returned. Tunipasuruq, who had been in the womb [when Tunilabu ri Suriwa departed], could run when he returned. Over in Sandao he warred and was killed⁷ aboard ship. He was not brought over from there, but sunk off Suriwa. He was then called Tunilabu ri Suriwa. An *anaq karaeng* of one from Polombangkeng killed him. [His killer] was not caught and executed.

This *karaeng* was said to be strong and a great eater. He built fish ponds at Buloa. He also constructed the Talakapandang sawah fields.⁸

Section 3: Tunipasuruq

Tunilabu ri Suriwa had a child Tunipasuruq ri Talloq. Tunilabu ri Suriwa died. Tunipasuruq ruled in Talloq.

His personal name, may I not be cursed, was I Mangayoangberang. His *karaeng*-title before he became ruler was Karaeng Pasiq.

He married in Gowa a sister of Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna named Karaeng Makeboka and they had children: Karaeng Bissua, Karaeng Balua. They divorced.

He married in Maros a child of Karaeng Loe ri Maros named Tumammaliang ri Talloq. Her personal name⁹ was I Lasilemba. They had children: the mother of Karaeng ri Ujung Tana;¹⁰ Tumamenang ri Makkoayang; the father of I Daeng Palenguq (he became the grandfather of I Dulu ri Galesong); Karaeng ri Barung Patola.

[Karaeng ri Barung Patola] was married by Karaeng Tunibatta and had a child Karaeng ri Ujung.¹¹ Divorced by Tunibatta, she was married by Karaeng Campagaya ri Lau. She became the grandparent of the current Karaeng Campagaya.

[He also had these children:]¹² the mother of I Daeng Maqdaeng; Karaeng ri Langkanaya; Karaeng ri Sanjai; I Daeng Tidung [23r] (he became the grandparent of I Daeng ri Ka,¹³ the *sabannaraq's* wife, and he became the grandparent of¹⁴ the current Karaeng Bontokappong); the mother of Karaeng ri Dataq; Karaeng ri Manngarabombang.¹⁵ These are the children of the *karaeng*, except those who died while still small.

He ruled together with Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna. This *karaeng* conquered Garassiq, conquered Soloka, conquered Endea, conquered Sandao, conquered Kaluku in Galeteng.¹⁶

This *karaeng* first forged muskets and first excelled at writing, built ships, enjoyed traveling far by ship. He was praised as a dedicated worker [but] not praised as a great thinker.

It was he who had fought Gowa.

After going over to Melaka he also stopped in Johor. An outstanding debt was not paid in Johor.¹⁷

As for his death, he died of disease. Right in Talloq he was buried.¹⁸ His death came before Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna's, and he also ruled before him.

Section 4: Tumamenang ri Makkoayang

Tunipasuruq had a child Tumamenang ri Makkoayang. This Karaeng Tumamenang ri Makkoayang, his personal name, may I not be cursed, was I Mappatakangkangtana. His royal name was I Daeng Paduluq. His *karaeng*-title before he became ruler was Karaeng ri Pattingalloang.

At age twenty he became ruler. At age fourteen, before becoming ruler, he destroyed Tidung¹⁹ below in Majeneq.

Tunibatta was beheaded, and he [Tumamenang ri Makkoayang] was installed as speaker for the people of Gowa by Tunijalloq. He had authority over the people of Boné and together with the people of Boné made an agreement to the north of Boné.

He ruled together with Tunijalloq and they conquered Barasaq twice, conquered Binamuq, conquered Sapaya, conquered Bulukumba. Then these were made slaves.

It was then they renewed the treaties with all their vassals. So too the declarations of the ancestors were changed.²⁰

For eleven years he ruled with Tunijalloq, then died. He was fifty-six years old. For thirty years he ruled, then died. As for his death, he died of disease. Up in Bilaya he became ill. In Tamalate he died.

It was he who battled the people of Boné in Bulappatarang and exchanged long lontar-palm branches with the people of Boné. They were called *bila-bila laqbu*. It was not successfully concluded with the people of Boné and simply died inside the *bila-bila laqbu*.²¹ Then Tumamenang ri Makkoayang died. Then Kajao La Liddong died.²² Then Bongkanga died.²³

And spoke also Karaeng Matoaya, '[It was he who first said,]²⁴ "Only one people, but two *karaeng*. Death to those who dream or speak of making Gowa and Talloq quarrel.'"

This *karaeng* was praised as a very learned person, praised as a brave person, a very friendly person, good-hearted. He was not said to be renowned. It was only said he was a wise person. He was not called a great worker.

He was wounded with a spear in the conquest of Selayar by Tunipalangga.

He diligently planted sawah.

He became ruler before Tunipalangga.

A year after becoming ruler he married Karaeng ri Somba Opu, his first cousin, a child of Karaeng Loe Baine [23v] by Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna. They had three children: the mother of Tumamenang ri Gaukanna, may I not be cursed, named I Sambo (her royal name was I Daeng Niasseng; her *karaeng*-title before becoming ruler was Karaeng ri Pattingalloang); one child died while still small; Karaeng Bissua, who was also called Karaeng ri Batu-Batu (and whose personal name was I Lagasi). These were his children by Karaeng ri Somba Opu. They divorced.

He then married a child of Gallarrang ri Dataq. Her father committed a wrong and was enslaved²⁵ by Karaeng Lakiung. I Sakati was her name. Her royal name was I Daeng Tamagang. She was called I Kare Parampang. They had one daughter named I Kunengmarusung. She was called the grandmother of I Taningjeqneq. She was the great-grandmother of Karaeng Baine who was named I Daeng Nisali. Another child [of Tumamenang ri Makkoayang and I Sakati] was I Daeng Tacoa, who had a child I Daeng Mallaqbang (and his sibling I Daeng Mabela) who had a child I Daeng Arenne.²⁶ Another child was I Bissu Bonto. Another was I Tamakaraeng. Another son was I Mappaenreq. His royal name was I Daeng Mammoke. After Tumamenang ri Gaukanna became ruler, then he was titled Karaeng Garassiq. Settling in Barombong, he was called Karaeng Barombong.

Another wife was an *anaq karaeng* of one from Polombangkeng, I Kare Paqrisiq. They had no children.

Another wife was a child of a *gallarrang* of one from Bontomanaiq. Her father was I Kare Suluq. The niece of the Somba Garassiq was her mother, named I Daeng Paikaq, the sibling of I Daeng ri Tamacina. She was called I Daeng ri Pattukangang. Her personal name was I Tuli. Her royal name was Daenta I Mene. They had children: Karaeng Tumamenang ri Agamana [Karaeng Matoaya] and Karaeng ri Manjalling, whose personal name was I

Tasumengka. His royal name was I Daeng Masiga. Another child was I Dole, whose royal name was I Daeng Marannu. She was called Karaeng Jipang Baine. She became the grandmother of Karaeng Pekang Laqbu. These are all the *karaeng's* children that we know of.

Section 5: Karaeng Baine and Tunipasuluq

Tumamenang ri Makkoayang had a child, the mother of the *karaeng* [Tumamenang ri Gaukanna, Sultan Ala'uddin].²⁷ She was called Karaeng Patingalloang before ruling in Talloq. Her personal name, may I not be cursed, was I Sambo. Her royal name was I Daeng Niasseng.

At age fifteen she married Tunijalloq. She ruled together with him. They had eight children: three daughters, five sons. The sons were named Karaeng Suluka, I Topale, Tumamenang ri Gaukanna, Karaeng ri Ujung Tana, Karaeng ri Moncong Sipong. The daughters were Karaeng ri Tabaringang, Karaeng ri Bulu-Bulo, Karaeng ri Pacelleq.

Tumamenang ri Makkoayang died. It was she who became ruler with her husband. [22r] After Karaeng Suluka was deposed, then he was replaced as ruler of Talloq by Karaeng Tumamenang ri Agamana.²⁸

With this Karaeng Baine, much [craft] work of the ancestors was abolished and much new work begun. For example, refined gold, engraved platters, printed cloths, fabric decorated with criss-crossing patterns, sarongs with embroidered ribbon hems, decorative two-sided pleating.²⁹

Section 6: Karaeng Matoaya

The mother of the *karaeng* [Tumamenang ri Gaukanna]³⁰ was the sibling of Tumamenang ri Agamana [Karaeng Matoaya].³¹

At twenty years of age he became ruler. At twelve he bore Sulengkaya. At age sixteen he became the guide³² of the people, the servants.³³ At age eighteen Tunijalloq died. He became the speaker for the land. While Karaeng Tunijalloq still lived, he was honoured with a royal sunshade.

His personal name – may I not be cursed for bringing up, speaking about the ruling *karaeng*, those who recline on royal settles, those who rest on royal settles, the chain of kings, those who are of the purest gold – was I Mallingkang. His royal name was I Daeng Mannyonriq. His *karaeng*-title before he became ruler was Karaeng Kanjilo. At the conquest of Segeri, he was given this too and was also called Karaeng Segeri. After becoming ruler he was called Karaeng ri Talloq. After the wars of Islamization he was called Karaeng Matoaya. At thirty-five years he entered Islam, on September twenty-second of the Christian year 1605, Islamic year 1015, on the ninth night of Jumadilawal, on Friday night.³⁴ His Arabic name was Sultan Abdullah.

This *karaeng* Islamicized the people of Makassar until they became Islamic.

Except for Luwuq, he Islamicized the Bugis throughout the Bugis lands, except only for the unbelievers.³⁵

It was he who conquered Bulukumba twice, marched on and battled in Meru the people of Boné, renewed the treaty with the Three Lands in Taka[raq],³⁶ conquered Bilusu, mastered Sidénréng and part of Bilawa, mastered lower Mario and Lamuru, mastered Pattojo, mastered the people of Soppéng and their vassals, the people of Wajoq and their vassals, conquered Boné. The people conquered entered Islam. These conquered people were taken as vassals and placed before him: part of Tempe, Buluq Cinrana,³⁷ Wa[won]nio,³⁸ Bilokka, Lemo,³⁹ Campaga, Pationgi, Pekang Laqbu.

Conquering the Bugis of the Tallumbocco, he did not trample them and also did not take *saqbu katti*, did not take *raqba bate*. They were not taken. Then said Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng, 'Karaeng Matoaya said to me, "At my conquest of the Tallumbocco, not a branch did I break. A sum of three hundred *katti*⁴⁰ of my own gold did I present, did I distribute.'"

This *karaeng* first swore oaths on the Qur'an, first swore oaths on Sudanga.

He was the *karaeng* who first armed [soldiers] with small firearms. He was the *karaeng* who first cast [22v] Makassarese cannons and also had people make gunpowder.

He was the *karaeng* who erected stone walls and irrigation works, strengthened the masts of cargo vessels, added sleeves to sailor's jackets, and first had people who built royal warships.⁴¹ It was he who first had masts of Makassarese ships attached with iron spikes and first had Makassarese who knew how to build galleys.

He was the *karaeng* who first conquered Bima twice, Dompu, Sumbawa twice, made a vassal of Sanggara, conquered Kekelu, conquered Papekang, conquered Buton, conquered the land of Pancana, Wawonio, conquered Tubungku, Banggea, Sula he did three times, conquered Taulaya, Bolotalowa,⁴² conquered Larompong, conquered Topeleqleng⁴³ twice, mastered Tobong, conquered Maros, mastered I Daeng Marewa in Kaluku.

It was with this *karaeng* that those from Salaparang, Pasirika,⁴⁴ Kutea came to us for protection.

It was this *karaeng* who expelled Karaeng Tunipasuluq, installing as ruler Tumamenang ri Gaukanna.

It was with this *karaeng* that the Portuguese came to dwell in Makassar, along with the English trading chief in Panyamang,⁴⁵ and the Dutch, the Danes, and the French.

It was this *karaeng* who built stone walls in Talloq. All the workers alone [participated], not the servants, and the laborers, not the people.⁴⁶ He built stone walls in Ujung Tana, fortified Ujung Pandang and Panakkukang. He also constructed an arched gate at Somba Opu.⁴⁷

It was he who first made gold coins, ordered tin coins made. It was this

karaeng who first forged muskets and swivel guns, first armed soldiers with small firearms. It was with him that Makassarese became adept at forging swords.

This *karaeng* made rice and crops thrive. Fish were plentiful. Palm wine flowed. Cared for, people grew healthy.

[During his reign people] were adept at marking embroidery, adept at writing, adept at woodworking and embroidery, adept at striping ships,⁴⁸ adept at surveying, adept at carving, adept at looking after [people and things], adept at making incense and mixing oil, adept at marking Javanese embroidery, Bugis embroidery. He was loved by merchants, by vassals, by *anaq karaeng*, by the *tumailalang*, by the *gallarrang*, by the household. [During his reign people] were adept at making gunpowder, firecrackers, fireworks, pyrotechnics in water. [During his reign people] were excellent at shooting, Maluku war dancing, constructing ships, building cargo ships and *palari*,⁴⁹ and ships were rowed rhythmically.⁵⁰

It was this *karaeng* who dreamed of drinking water from heaven called Sanjabila.⁵¹

The *karaeng* was called an expert, a brave person, a renowned person, a wise person, an expert worker, adept at weaving, adept with his hands and knowledgeable about work for women and work for men, honest, good with people, a good host, cheerful, [21r] adept at grasping meanings, proficient in writing Arabic.

He often read holy books, never neglected [prayer] times once he became Muslim until his death, except when his foot swelled and he was given alcohol by an English physician. For eighteen nights he did not pray. He often performed optional prayers, such as *ratib*, *witr*, *wadduha*, *tasbih*,⁵² *tahajjud*.

Said I Loqmoq ri Paotereka [one of his wives], 'At the least he did two *rakaat*, at the most ten *rakaat*. On Friday nights he did the *tasbih* prayers. During Ramadan each night he gave out alms of gold.'⁵³

This *karaeng*, Karaeng Tunijalloq's oldest [daughter] by Karaeng I Waraq became his main wife. She was called Karaeng ri Naung. She was called Tuniwang ri Kalassukanna. She gave birth to ten children (seven sons). One was, may I not be cursed, called I Tamassaile. He was called Karaeng Segeri. At only seven years he died. One was called Mulapara (his Arabic name). His Makassarese name was I Mannginyarang. His royal name was I Daeng Makkioq. His *karaeng*-title before he became ruler was Karaeng Kanjilo. He was called Tumammaliang ri Timoroq. One was called Ma[h]amuq (his Arabic name). May I not be cursed, he was called I Manngadacina. His royal name was I Daeng I Baqle. His *karaeng*-title was Karaeng Patingalloang. Another was called, may I not be cursed, I Manibang.⁵⁴ His royal name was I Daeng Matutu. His *karaeng*-title was Karaeng Lembaya. Another was called I Useng. His royal name was I Daeng Mangemba. His Makassarese name was I Mangaru. He was called Tumatea ri Banten. Another was called I Salemang.⁵⁵

His royal name was I Daeng Sunggu. His *karaeng*-title was Karaeng ri Majannang. One died right after birth. Their daughters, one was called, may I not be cursed, I Sapuruq. At only seven years she died. Another was called, may I not be cursed, I Makkutaqngang. Her royal name was I Kare Tojeng. She was called Karaeng Agangjeqneq. She was also called Karaeng ri Karuwisi. Another, may I not be cursed, was called I Tamatoa. Her royal name was I Daeng Anrene. Her *karaeng*-title was Karaeng ri Pattukangang.

Another of his wives was from Binamuq. Her mother was from Baroqbosoq. Her father was a friend of I Lolo Pujiang. Named I Bungasaq, they had eight children: seven daughters, one son named Abdul Kadir. His Makassarese name was I Mallawakkang. His royal name was I Daeng Sisila. His *karaeng*-title was Karaeng ri Popoq.⁵⁶ Another daughter, we do not know her name. She was taken to become a [21v] milk-sibling of Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng and died while still small. Another was called I Bissu Tumigisi. Her royal name was I Kare Tonji. She was called Daengta ri Mangeppeq. Another daughter was named I Patima. Her royal name was I Daeng ri Nangke. Another was called I Dena. Another was called I Baine. Her royal name was I Kare Maqnassa. She was called Daenta ri Patingalloang. Another was called I Yani and died while still small. Another died while still small.

Another of his wives was from Majannang. Named Angaya, she was a slave of Karaeng ri Pacelleq. She was called I Loqmoq Malolo. Once she lived in Maroanging she was called I Loqmoq ri Maroanging. They had five sons, one daughter. One was called I Mallakkang. His Arabic name was Abdul Karim. His royal name was I Daeng Tomamo. Another was called I Atabawang. His royal name was I Daeng Kalula. His *karaeng*-title was Karaeng Tamalaqba. Another child died while still small. Another was called I Paang. His royal name was I Daeng Nampa. His *karaeng*-title was Karaeng Bontolangkasaq. She was the youngest of the *karaeng*'s wives.⁵⁷ Though she miscarried, he did not marry again afterwards. One was called I Battu. Her royal name was I Kare Niaq. She had a child Karaeng Bae Baine.⁵⁸

His wives who did not have children were three. One was from Barasaq and named I Tobo. She was called I Loqmoq ri Boqdia. She was also called I Loqmoq ri Pannampu. Another of his wives was from Sawitto, up there [in a community] named Campaga. Her royal name was I Loqmoq Teqne. She was called I Loqmoq ri Paotereka. One of his wives was from Paqbineang and named I Kalli. She was divorced, then killed after the death of Karaeng Tumamenang ri Agamana.

He ruled twenty-eight years then left Talloq, going seawards to live in Bontoalaq and installing Tuma[mma]liang ri Timoroq as ruler. Twenty-three years⁵⁹ after [a royal sunshade] was raised over him, he abdicated power on the first of October, the second night of Jumadilawal, on Wednesday. At eleven o'clock that day he left ruling behind. He was brought to Gowa for burial. On Thursday morning he was buried. He lived sixty-three years. He

ruled thirty years then removed himself and installed his child. For thirteen years he ruled together with his child, then died. As for his death, he died of disease.

He was praised by his equals, by his descendants. He was a good host, cheerful, friendly, adept at establishing fish ponds for new arrivals,⁶⁰ adept at [20r] arousing the spirit of his warriors, adept at arousing the spirit of his household, adept at reciting to his fellow *karaeng*, adept at honouring⁶¹ people, adept at knowing the intent of the *anaq karaeng* and the *gallarrang*, at commanding his subjects. He was loved and feared by the people.⁶² Christian year 1656,⁶³ Islamic year 1040.

Section 7: Tumammaliang ri Timoroq

Tumamenang ri Agamana had a child Tuma[mma]liang ri Timoroq who became ruler during his father's lifetime. For fifteen⁶⁴ years he ruled together with his uncle, Tumamenang ri Gaukanna, then Tumamenang ri Gaukanna died. For two years he ruled together with Tumamenang ri Papambatuna, then the *karaeng* [Tumammaliang ri Timoroq] died as well.

The personal name of this *karaeng*, may I not be cursed, was I Manginnyara. His royal name was I Daeng Makkioq. His *karaeng*-title before he became ruler was Karaeng Kanjilo. His Arabic name was Mulapara.

For eighteen years he ruled, then died.

It was he who conquered Timor.

With him there were swords sheathed in wrapped cloth, there were ships gilt as in Macao, there were ships with elaborate decking.⁶⁵

This *karaeng* married twenty times. The first he married was a first cousin, a child of Karaeng ri Tabaringang by Karaeng Sanrabone. [Named] I Joloq, her royal name was I Daeng Ilalang. She was called Karaeng Panarukang Baine. They had no children and divorced.

He again married a first cousin, a child of Karaeng I Baqle named I Bissu Jawa. Her royal name was I Daeng Kalling. They had one daughter named I Sitti Maralia. Her Makassarese name was I Ranga. Her royal name was I Daeng Tamene. She was called Karaeng ri Tangallaq. He became a widower [upon her death].

One of his wives was a slave of Karaeng ri Maroanging, one from Polombangkeng named I Bibaga. She had one son named I Yata. His royal name was I Daeng Tadung. He was killed by his father. Word spread of his death.

Another of his wives was Torajan, a thrall⁶⁶ of Karaeng ri Bontoa. [Named] I Saerana, she had one son named I Lita. His royal name was I Daeng Tasannging. His *karaeng*-title was Karaeng Bontosunggu.

Another of his wives was from Segeri. Named I Taqrupa, she had three sons.⁶⁷ One was called I Daeng Manina. One was called I Maninrori. His royal

name was I Daeng Mangeppeq. One was called I Muntu. His royal name was I Daeng Manggappa. Another died while still small, killed by the *karaeng*.

Another⁶⁸ was named I Maning, whose royal name was I Daeng [20v] Nisayu.

Another of his wives was from Lengkeseq, a slave of Karaeng ri Cenrana. Named I Caqdi, she had one daughter named I Nampa. Her royal name was I Daeng Niaq. Her *karaeng*-title was Karaeng Panaikang.

Another wife, also his first cousin, was a child of Tumamenang ri Gaukanna. Named I Saqbe, her royal name was I Daeng Tamaga. Her *karaeng*-title was Karaeng ri Lempangang. She had one son named Harunarasyid as his Arabic name. His Makassarese name was, may I not be cursed, I Mappaio. His royal name was I Daeng Mannyauruq.

On the seventeenth of the month of Rajab, the third night of the Christian month November, this *karaeng* was born. Only ten nights after returning from Timor he died. As for his death, he died of disease. Right in Talloq he was buried. During the month of Safar, on the sixth night, on Saturday of Christian year 1641, Islamic year 1051, he died.

The *karaeng* was not praised as an expert, not praised as a knowledgeable person, not praised as an honest person, not praised as a renowned person. He was only said to be a brave person, a wealthy person, fortunate in diligently planting sawah, fortunate in trading.

At forty⁶⁹ years of age Tuma[mma]liang ri Timoroq died.

Notes

- ¹ Making the conversation more explicit and literate, KIT 34, VT 82, AS 1, CM 185, and with small variations AL 511 add “You went just now. I summoned but you were not there.” “Then said the *gallarrang*,” (*numange sumpaeng kusurokioq nutaena nakanamo gallarrang*).
- ² KIT 34, VT 82, AS 1, AL 511, and CM 185 insert ‘...for a good place at which we might establish a community’ (*mabajiki anjokipareq paqrasangang*).
- ³ KIT 35, VT 82, AS 1, and AL 511 add *niauwang* and CM 185 adds *nitarawang*. Both mean ‘and buried’.
- ⁴ KIT 35, VT 82, AS 1, AL 511, and CM 185 add ‘called I Kanrebajiq’ (*nikanaya I Kanrebajiq*), which could also be spelled I Kare Bajiq.
- ⁵ BL 24v mistakenly has ‘the child of’ (*anaqmi*) in place of ‘the mother of’ (*ayana*), which is found in KIT 35, VT 82, AS 1, AL 511, and CM 186.
- ⁶ According to Matthes, this section means that Tunilabu ri Suriwa married successively two daughters of a Javanese woman from Surabaya named I Nyai Papate. She had been brought from Java by a man from Unti. The first daughter was from her marriage to Kasiwiang ri Lampa Saile, the second daughter was from her marriage to Gallarrang ri Lekoqbodong. Matthes notes that this section is different in NBG 15 (CM n22).
- ⁷ Not simply ‘killed’, but the victim of an amuk attack.
- ⁸ Significantly, AS 2 and AL 510 add ‘Such are the words we obtained in a story’ (*sikam-maminne kana-kanana kigappai pau*).
- ⁹ KIT 37, VT 83, AS 2, AL 510, and CM 187 insert the phrase ‘may I not be cursed’ (*iangku mabassung*).
- ¹⁰ KIT 37, VT 83, AL 510, AS 2, and CM 187 omit ‘the mother of Karaeng ri Ujung Tana’ (*ayana Karaenga ri Jungtana*).
- ¹¹ KIT 37 and CM 187 have ‘the mother of Karaeng ri Pattukangang’ (*ayana Karaenga ri Pattukangang*) for ‘Karaeng ri Ujung’. VT 83, AS 2, and AL 510 simply have ‘Pattukangang’ for ‘Ujung’.
- ¹² By whom Tunipasuruq had these children is unclear.
- ¹³ There is little agreement among the manuscripts about the spelling of this name. KIT 37 has *I Daeng ri Boko*; VT 83, AS 2, and AL 510 have *I Daeng ri Ko(ng)*, CM 187 has *I Daeng ri Kassiq*.
- ¹⁴ In place of ‘he became the grandparent of’ (*iami natoang*), KIT 37, VT 83, AS 2, AL 510, and CM 187 list another child of Tunipasuruq named *I Daeng Makkulle*.
- ¹⁵ KIT 37, VT 84, AS 2, and AL 510 add ‘the mother of Karaeng ri Ujung Tana’ (*ayana Karaenga ri Ujungtana*) and CM 187 adds ‘another child was known as the mother of Karaeng ri Ujung Tana’ (*sitau pole anaqna nikana ayana Karaeng ri Ujungtana*).
- ¹⁶ KIT 38, VT 84, AS 2, AL 510, and CM 187 have ‘planted coconuts in Galeteng’ (*allamungi kaluku ri Galeteng*) for ‘conquered Kaluku in Galeteng’ (*ambetai Kaluku ri Galeteng*).
- ¹⁷ According to Matthes this passage means that he lent money to people from Johor who hadn’t paid him back (CM n23).
- ¹⁸ KIT 38, AS 2, AL 510, and CM 188 add ‘His *karaeng*-title before he became ruler was Karaeng ri Pasiq’ (*pakaraenga ri tamagauqna nikana Karaenga ri Pasiq*).
- ¹⁹ According to Rahim and Ridwan (1975:30-1), Tidung on the east coast of Borneo was known for its seafarers, who often voyaged to settle along the littorals of South Sulawesi. People from there were known as *turijeqneq* or *bayo*.
- ²⁰ ‘Declarations of the ancestors’ corresponds to the Makassarese phrase *bicara turiolo*.

²¹ The precise meaning of these passages is difficult to ascertain, but the general sense that an effort at mutual coexistence between Gowa and Boné did not succeed is clear. The Makassarese phrases in question read *iami nikana bila-bila laqbua natassiqramo sirapanga tuBonea matei ilalam-minjo ri bila-bila laqbua*. Unfortunately, other manuscripts shed little light on this section.

²² He was an advisor to the ruler of Boné.

²³ He was the seventh ruler of Boné.

²⁴ KIT 39, VT 85, AS 3, AL 509, and CM 189 contain this phrase, which the writer of BL 23r probably omitted accidentally, as Karaeng Matoaya is clearly relating events during Tumamenang ri Makkoayang's reign.

²⁵ Rahim and Ridwan (1975:31-2) note that this refers to a punishment for offenses against the ruler in which the offender and the offender's family became slaves and their home was burned to the ground.

²⁶ CM 190 adds genealogical information about additional figures here: '...and I Daeng Maqnassa. I Daeng Maqnassa was married by Karaeng Bontokappong and had children: I Jinne; I Daeng Maingaq; and I Daeng Mannaqgalaq. I Daeng Mannaqgalaq was widowed by Tumammaliang ri Timoroq and Tumenanga ri Lakiung' (*siangang I Daeng Maqnassa I Daeng Maqnassaqmi nibaineang ri Karaeng Bontokappong naanaqmo I Jinne I Daeng Maingaq siangang I Daeng Mannaqgalaq I Daeng Maingaqmi angkabalui Tumammalianga ri Alluq siangang Tumenanga ri Lakiung*).

²⁷ VT 86 and CM 191 add 'Tumenanga ri Makkoayang died [and] Karaeng Bainea came to power in Talloq. She ruled with her husband because at fifteen years of age she married Karaeng Tunijalloq while Tumenanga ri Makkoayang was still alive' (*matei Tumenanga ri Makkoayang Karaengami Bainea assosorangi magauka ri Talloq iami mabaligauq buraqna kasampulo taungi allima umuruqna nasikalabini Karaenga Tunijalloq tallasaqiji Tumenanga ri Makkoayang*).

²⁸ Karaeng Baine's son Tunipasuluq (by the ruler of Gowa, Tunijalloq), briefly made himself ruler of both Gowa and Talloq. The *Gowa chronicle* recognizes his ill-fated reign, but his effort to rule Talloq as well was considered illegitimate and is not discussed beyond these few passages in the *Talloq chronicle*.

²⁹ AS 4 and AL 508 conclude this section with the unusual passage 'These are the words of the people who possess the story' (*kammaminne kana-kanana tau ampatanaya pau*).

³⁰ The curious usage of this phrase to refer to Karaeng Baine in this section and the previous section suggests that when the chronicle was composed Tumamenang ri Gaukanna was ruling Gowa (1593-1639) and is directly referred to in this way. Later manuscripts would replace these phrases, systematically inserting standardized passages describing the transition between reigns.

³¹ Karaeng Baine and Karaeng Matoaya were in fact half-siblings, children of Tumenanga ri Makkoayang (the fourth ruler of Talloq) by different wives. Karaeng Matoaya thus succeeded either his half-sister, or if Tunipasuluq's brief claim to the throne of Talloq is recognized, his half-nephew.

³² KIT 43, VT 87, AS 4, AL 508, and CM 192 have 'summoned' (*mappaqngara*) for 'became the guide' (*nampa manngerang*). In either case, at a comparatively young age Karaeng Matoaya received leadership responsibilities within Talloq. Sulengkaya was one of the three sacred banners of Gowa, and Matoaya's reception of this powerful regalia at such a young age is testament to the close ties forged between Gowa and Talloq during the reigns of Tunijalloq and Karaeng Baine.

³³ Rahim and Ridwan (1975:32) note that 'the people' (*bilang tau*) refers to the common people who do not have special assigned tasks, while 'servants' (*bembeng kaqdoq*) refers to those with assigned duties, particularly in ceremonies. They also note (1975:33) that the phrase *appaqngara bilang tau bembeng kaqdoq* means he differentiated the two groups on this basis.

³⁴ Each manuscript records these dates in a slightly different manner. Only CM offers a variant date, stating September twentieth instead of September twenty-second. VT 87 and CM 192 then add 'the two brother *karaeng* embraced Islam' (*namantama Isilang karaenga rua sisariqbattang*). The copyists of these texts took this phrase from an entry in the *lontaraq bilang* court annals of the same period.

³⁵ The word 'unbeliever' (*kapereka*) derives from the Arabic *kafir*. It is not certain who this refers to, but it may indicate upland groups outside the ambit of the major Bugis kingdoms who refused to convert to Islam.

³⁶ The Tallu Lipoa ('the three lands') refers to Bulo-Bulo, Lamatti, and Raja, south of Boné. The writer of BL 22r omitted the final letter of the name *Takaraq*, which is the spelling found in KIT 44, VT 87, AS 4, and according to Matthes (n24), NBG 16 and NBG 208 as well.

³⁷ This spelling is found in KIT 44, VT 88, AS 4, AL 507, CM 193, and according to Matthes (n24), NBG 16 and NBG 208. BL 22r uniquely spells this *Balu Tararana*.

³⁸ The writer of BL 22r omitted a letter found in KIT 44, VT 88, CM 193, and according to Matthes (n24), NBG 16 and NBG 208 have this as *Wawonio*. AS 4 and AL 507 spell this *Wawanio*.

³⁹ This spelling too is found in KIT 44, VT 88, AS 4, AL 507, CM 193, and according to Matthes (n24), NBG 16 and NBG 208 as well, though BL 22r reads *Lakalemo*.

⁴⁰ One *katti* equalled about 600 grams.

⁴¹ According to Cense and Abdoerrahim (1979:110), this type of warship (*biluq*) could only be used by the ruler of Gowa.

⁴² There is great variation in the spellings of these two places. KIT 45 and CM 194 have *Taulada Buoloq Gorontalo*, VT 88 has *Taolaya Buwoloq Golotalo*, AS 4 has *Tajoladaya Buwoloq Bolotalo*, and AL 507 has *Tajoladaya rioloi Golotalo* for *Taulaya Bolotalowa*.

⁴³ BL 22v spells this *Tajapalela*, but KIT 45, VT 88, AS 4, AL 507, CM 194, and according to Matthes (n24), NBG 16 and NBG 208, have this as *Topeleqleng*.

⁴⁴ KIT 46, VT 88, AS 4, AL 507, and CM 194 add *Baroa*.

⁴⁵ BL 22v has *rasapanyama*, but all other texts have *ri Panyamang*.

⁴⁶ Thus, the *tumakkajannang* (workers) and *pajama* (laborers) but not the *bembeng kaqdoq* (servants) or the *bilang tau* (people) helped build the walls in Talloq.

⁴⁷ While other texts make it clear that these walls were constructed of stone, BL 22v has 'built earthen walls' (*ambatabuttai*) for 'built stone walls' (*ambatabatui*). Graphically, the only difference between the phrases is the placement of two vowel marks and is thus a mistake easily made.

⁴⁸ No other text contains the curious phrase 'adept at striping ships' (*manngassengi mammasiq biseang*), which could also refer to being adept at sailing ships so they leap like fish. With the exception of AL 507, which omits the phrase entirely, other texts read simply *manngassengi mammassiq*, which Cense and Abdurrahim (1979:84) state means adept at using a plumb bob or guideline.

⁴⁹ A *palari* is a boat that Rahim and Ridwan (1975:35) describe as for passenger journeys and that Cense and Abdoerrahim (1979:379) describe as for cargo.

⁵⁰ This is an awkward translation for *biseang nibise nisoeya*.

⁵¹ From the Arabic *zandjabil*, meaning water from a well in paradise.

⁵² This word is unclear in BL 21r, but is clearly *tasbih* in other manuscripts.

⁵³ Other texts insert an additional section elaborating on Karaeng Matoaya's Islamic duties. KIT 48, for example, continues with '...alms of water buffalo, alms of rice annually. He did many good works and also prayed often. Said Karaeng ri Ujung Pandang, "Many works on Arabic grammar did he study with *khatib* Intang from Koja Manawaraq"' (*sakka pannyeloronna sakka asema taung-taung majaiisi namalaq majaitongi doaang nakana Karaeng ri Ujungpandang majai sarapaq*

nappapilajari ri katteq Intang ri Koja Manawaraq). VT 90, AS 5, AL 506, CM 196-7, and according to Matthes (n25), NBG 16 and NBG 208 have substantially the same phrases.

⁵⁴ KIT 49, VT 90, AS 5, AL 506, and CM 196 have this as *I Mannimang*.

⁵⁵ KIT 50, AS 5, AL 506, and CM 197 have this as *I Sulemang*.

⁵⁶ At this point CM 197-198 and, according to Matthes (n26), NBG 16 add an entire genealogy about Karaeng Popoq's descendants. It begins with the last phrase in the Indonesian translation of the *Talloq chronicle* section 145 (*iami anjangangngi Tumakkajannangnganga*) and continues until the end of section 159 (*sikammaminjo anaqna Karaenga ri Popoq*). This is an excellent example of supplementary material later interpolated into the chronicle.

⁵⁷ KIT 51, VT 91, AS 6, AL 505, and CM 199 have *Karaeng Matoaya* in place of *Karaeng Bainea*. The texts would thus refer to Karaeng Bontolangkasaq, reading 'He was the youngest of Karaeng Matoaya's [children]'.
⁵⁸ BL 21v has *Karaeng Bae Baine*, but all other texts have *Karaeng Bantaeng Baine*.

⁵⁹ KIT 52, VT 92, AS 6, AL 505, and CM 200 give this figure as 13 years.

⁶⁰ This phrase is an effort to make sense of *manngassengi manngempang tau beru*. Rahim and Ridwan translate *manngempang* as *meladeni* in Indonesian (to attend, listen to, or serve someone), though this reading too is suspect. KIT 52 and CM 200 have *manngempung* and VT 92 has *manngempong* for *manngempang*, spelling variations which shed little light on the meaning of this phrase. AS 6 and AL 504 omit the phrase entirely.

⁶¹ BL 20r has *mappakarimi*, which is of uncertain meaning, for *mappakatinggi* (honouring), found in KIT 53, VT 92, AS 6, AL 504, and CM 200.

⁶² The VT chronicle ends here, omitting the last reign found in other extant versions of the *Talloq chronicle*.

⁶³ KIT 53 correctly gives this figure as 1636, though BL 20r has 1656 and CM 200 has 1638. AS 6 and AL 504 omit these dates entirely. The Hijri date 1040 is also incorrect. This date in the text marks Karaeng Matoaya's 1636 death.

⁶⁴ KIT 53, AS 6, AL 504, and CM 200 give this figure as twenty-five years.

⁶⁵ Translated here as 'elaborate decking', Cense and Abdurrahim (1979:483) note that the phrase *niobaraq gading* is of unknown meaning, though *gading* refers to the decking on a ship. Rahim and Ridwan (1975:26) translate this into Indonesian as *dilapisi dengan gading perhiasan*. Given the context, the phrase indicates some kind of stylistic innovation rather than a technical improvement in shipbuilding.

⁶⁶ Rahim and Ridwan (1975:35) note that the term *pakaiq* refers to a slave of the lowest rank. It is translated here as 'thrall' to distinguish it from the more common word for 'slave' (*ata*).

⁶⁷ KIT 55, AL 504, and CM 202 add that they also had two daughters (*rua baine*). AS 7 states they had two sons and two daughters (*rua buraqne rua baine*), not three sons.

⁶⁸ It is unclear if this refers to a wife or child of the Tumammaliang ri Timoroq, though the previous note suggests this may refer to a daughter by I Taqrupa.

⁶⁹ KIT 56, AL 503, and CM 203 give this figure as forty-three years.

Transliteration

24r

anne patturioloang ri Talloka iaminne kana-kanana Tunatangkalopi anga-
nakangi Karaeng Loe ri Sero matei ayena naallemi tawana mamempomi ri
Sero sisalapaqmaiki sisariqbattang taqlemi ri Jawa mangemi sipaqaang gal-
laranna ri kakaqna Batara Gowa kontu Tomboloqkeke Saomata Borong Loe
Pacciqnongang Pao-Pao niallemi naia tamangeai ammempomi anngantalai
karaenna battui Karaeng Loe ri Jawa naassengi tianallengaseng ata tau tabal-
laqna mangemi mamempo iwarakana Bangkalaq nikana Passanngaleang
masallo-sallo anjoreng niaqmo gallarrang mamangkuluq lepa-lepa mammi-
semi suluq ri babana binangaya lebaki mangemi nisurokioq ri Karaeng Loe
nikanamo taenai battui gallarranga nakanamo tau ri ballaqa nisurokioki
ri Karaeng Loe naassengi mangemi ri karaenga nakanamo karaenga battu
kerekomae gallarrang battua sombangu ri babana binangaya macciniq-
ciniq kasarene sala-salai empoanta tapabiringbonetongki tapamoncongcong-
ki amadamemi katoalawe (?) masuluq ngasemmi taua mappareq ballaq ri
Tarung niciniki bonto-bon-

24v

-to ipantaraq ri Campagaya iamo naempoi assurao pareqmi ballaq tojeng ri
kalena Talloq matei Karaeng Loe nierammi mange ri Sero anggenaminne
kilangereka nikana-kana takiassengami sallona magauq takiassengtongangai
bainena kontuminne pakanana I Daeng ri Buloa nagappaya nalangereq nika-
na-kana Karaeng Loe ri Sero anganakangi Tunilabu ri Suriwa matei Karaeng
Loe ri Sero Tunilabumo ri Suriwa assosorangi magauq ri Talloq mabainei ri
Garassiq anaqmi Karaenga ri Pattukangang Karaenga ri Tanasanga Karaenga
ri Patteqne Karaenga ri Panaikang anaqmi I Daeng Kanjilo mabainemi
tuSiang mammanaqtommi sitau baine nabaineammi anaqna Kasiwiangi
ri Lampa Saile Jawa anronna nikana I Nyai Papati Sorabeya naalle pam-
musu tuUnti nanabaineammo Gallarranga ri Lekoqbodong naanaqmo I
Kanre Suwaya iamo nabaineang Karaenga Tunilabu ri Suriwa naanaqmo
Karaeng Loe Baine iangku mabassung nikana I Rerasi iatommi anganakangi
Tunipasuruq ri Talloq iaminne karaeng leba taqle ri Malaka tulusuq anraiq ri
Banda tallu taungi lampana nanapabattu nampai nitianangang Tunipasuruq
namalari-laripa nabattu taqlei ri Sandao mabunduq nanijalloqmo ri biseanga
tanierangai taqle mae nilabuji ri Suriwa iami nanikana Tunilabu ri Suriwa
anaq karaeng tuPolombangkeng anjalloki tanigappai nibuno anne karaenga
nikana magassingi majaina kaqdoq ia ampaempangi Buloa iatong ampareki
tana Talakaparang Tunilabu ri Suriwa anganakangi Tunipasuruq ri Talloq
matei Tunilabu ri Suriwa Tunipasuruqmo magauq ri Talloq areng kalena
iangku mabassung nikana I Mangayoangberang pakaraengana ri tamagau-
qna nikana

Karaeng Pasiq mabainei ri Gowa sariqbattana Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna nikana Karaenga Makeboka naanaqmo Karaenga Bissua Karaenga Balua sipelaki mabainei ri Marusuq anaqna Karaeng Loe ri Marusuq nikanaya Tumammaliang ri Talloq areng kalena nikana I Lasilemba iami anganakangi ayana Karaenga ri Jungtana Karaenga Tumamenang ri Makkoayang ayena I Daeng Palenguq iami natoang I Dulu ri Galesong Karaenga ri Barung Patola nibaineangi ri Karaenga Tunibata anaqmi Karaenga ri Ujung nipelaki ri Tunibata nibaineangi ri Karaeng Campagaya ri Lau iami natoang Karaeng Campagaya anne kontu ayana I Daeng Maqdaeng Karaenga ri Langkanaya Karaenga ri Sanjai I Daeng Tidung

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iami natoang I Daeng ri Ka baina sabannaraka iami natoang Karaeng Bontokappong anne kontu ayana karaenga ri Dataq Karaenga ri Manngarabombang sikontuminne anaqna karaenga passangalina mate macaqdia iaminne mabaligauq Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna anne karaenga ambetai Garassiq ambetai Soloka ambetai Endea ambetai Sandawoya ambetai Kaluku ri Galeteng iaminne karaenga uru anniriq badiqli sadoko nauru ambajiq uki-rika manngisseng mannyikoq biseang nangai malampa bellaya mabiseang nipuji panrita jamaang tanipujiai panrita nawa-nawa iatonji lebaq anngewai Gowa lebaqtongi taqle ri Malaka nasumengka ri Joroq niaq papiirana tasulukapi ri Joroq matena mate magarringji ri Talloqji niawang rioloangi matena Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna rioloangtongi magauq Tunipasuruq Tunipasuruq anganakangi Tumamenang ri Makkoayang anne karaenga Tumamenang ri Makkoayang areng kalena iangku mabassung nikana I Mappatakangkangtana areng pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Paduluq pakaraengana ritamagauqna nikana Karaenga ri Pattingalloang 20 taungi magauq 14 umuruqna tamagaukapi nanaropu Tidunga irawa ri Majeneq nibattai Tunibatta iamo nitannang makana ri tuGowaya ri Tunijalloq iami massuro taqle ri tuBonea nasitaba tuBonea namacappa iwarakanna Bone mabaligauqmi Tunijalloq nanabeta Barasaq pinruang ambetai Binamuq ambetai Sapaya ambetai Bulukumba iapa nanapareqmo ata iapanne amberui ulukanaya iangaseng ri palilika niaqtong bicara turiolo nalesang 11 taunna mabaligauq Tunijalloq namate 56 taunna tallasaqna tallumpulo taungi magauq namate matena mate magarriji iratei riBilaya magarring ri Tamalatei mate iatempa marumpa tuBonea ri bulappatarang nasarei bila-bila laqbu tuBonea iami nikana bila-bila laqbua natassiramo sirapanga tuBonea matei ilalamminjo ribila-bila laqbua namate Tumamenang ri Makkoayang namate Kajao La Liddong namate Bongkanga nanakanatodong Karaenga Matoaya seqreji ata narua karaeng nibunoi tumassoqnaya angkanaya sisalai Gowa Talloq anne karaenga nipuji panritadudu nipuji tubarani mataududui mabajiq paqmaiki tanikanaa tukapatiangi nikanaja tugannaqaiqi tanikana tupanrita jamangi malokoq pokei nibetana Silayaraq ri Tunipalangga masigai mammarri rioloangi magauqna

Tunipalangga lebangi sitaung magauq nanabaineang Karaenga ri Sombopu sampusikalina anaqna Karaeng Loe

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baine ri Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna mammanaqmi tallu ayana Tumamenang riGaukanna iangku mabassung nikana I Sambo areng pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Niasseng pakaraengana ritamagauqna nikana Karaenga ri Patingalloang sitau anaqna macaqdiji namate Karaenga Bissua iatonji nikana Karaenga ri Batu-Batu areng kalena nikana I Lagasi sikontuminne anaqna ri Karaenga ri Sombopu sipelaki nabaineami anaqna Gallarrang ri Dataq natabai kasalang manggena nanibone ballakang ri Karaeng Lakiong I Sakati arena areng pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Tamagang nikana I Kare Parampang iami ammanaq baine sitau nikana I Kunengmarusung iami nikana toana I Tangingeqneq iami naboweang Karaenga Bainea nikana I Daeng Nisali sitau pole anaqna nikana I Daeng Tacoa iami anganakangi I Daeng Mallaqbang sisariqbattang I Daeng Mabela anganakangi I Daeng Arenne sitau pole anaqna nikana I Bissubonto sitau pole nikana I Tamakaraeng sitau pole anaqna buraqne nikana I Mappaenreq areng pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Mammoke magauqpi Tumamenang ri Gaukanna naiamo anngarengi Karaeng Garassiq mammempoi ri Barombong nikanamo Karaeng Barombong sitau pole baineana anaq karaeng tuPolombangkeng I Kare Paqrisiq taena anaqna sitau pole baineana anaq gallarrang tuBontomanaiq manggena nikana I Kare Suluq kamanakanna somba Garassika naanrongang nikana I Daeng Paikaq sariqbattanna I Daeng ri Tamacina iami nikana I Daeng ri Pattukangang areng kalena nikana I Tuli areng pamanaqna nikana Daenta I Mene iami anganakangi Karaenga Tuamenang ri Agamana Karaenga ri Manjalling areng kalena nikana I Tasumengka paqdaengana nikana I Daeng Masiga sitau pole anaqna nikana I Dole areng pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Marannu iami nikana Karaeng Jipang bainea iami natoang Karaeng Pekang Lakbu sikontuminne anaqna karaenga kiassenga Tumamenang ri Makkoayang anganakangi ayana karaenga iami nikana Karaeng Patingalloang tamagauqnapa ri Talloq areng kalena iangku mabassung nikana I Sambo areng pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Niasseng 15 taunna nasikalabini Tunijalloq iami naagaang mabaligauq sagantuju anaqna tallu baine lima buraqne anaqna buraqnea nikana Karaeng Suluka I Topale Tumamenang ri Gaukanna Karaenga ri Jungtana Karaenga ri Moncongipoong anaqna bainea Karaenga ri Tabaringang Karaenga ri Bulu-Bulu Karaenga ri Pacelleq matena Tumamenang ri Makkoayang iaji mabaligauq sikalabine

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nipasuluppa Karaeng Suluka nanampamo nisambeammo magauq ri Talloq ri Karaenga Tumamenang ri Agamana anne karaenga bainea majai jamang turiolo napalele majai jamang beru napakaramula kontua panneng talang niuki-

rika tallappoq rantea bangkeng tope tarrusuka kaisule pimbalia ayana karaenga sariqbattangi Tumamenang ri Agamana 20 taungi tallasaqna namagauq nampai sampulo taung anrua nanaerangi Sulengkaya sampulo taungi anganang nampa manngerang bilang tau bembeng kaqdoq sampulo taungi assagantuju namate Tunijalloq iami ampakkanangi buttaya tallasaqiji Karaenga Tunijalloq nanilaqlangi laqlang sipue areng kalena iangku mabassung anngerangi asserokanai Karaenga Magauka assi palakaya lulu gulang-gulanga ratu sikolaka bulaeng nipannenga I Mallingkang areng pamanagna nikana I Daeng Mannyonriq pakaraengana ritamagauqna nikana Karaeng Kanjilo betai Segeri nisareangiseng nikanaseng Karaeng Segeri magauki nikanamo Karaenga ri Talloq lebaki bunduq kasalangana nikanamo Karaenga Matoaya 35 taunna namantama Isilang era 1605 Satemburuq 22 [Arabic hijri 1015] Jumadeleawola 9 banngina ri banngina Jumaka areng Araqna nikana Soltani Abdullah iaminne karaeng ampasalangi taua ri Mangkasaraq sanggena Isilang passangalina Luwuka ampasalangi Bugisika siBugisiq pasanngalina kaperekaija anne kontu ambetai Bulukumba pinruang anngagangi marumpaq ri Meru tuBonea amberui ulukanaya ri Tallulipoa ri Taka ambetai Bilusu ampasombai Sidenreng Bilawa sipue ampasombai Mario irawa Lamuru ampasombai Pattojo ampasombai tuSoppenga sipaliliq tuWajoka sipaliliq ambetai Bone tunabetaya napantamai Salang tunabetaya nanaroi paliliq nadallekangi Tempe sipue Balu tararana Wanio Bilokka Lakalemo Campaga Pationgi Pekang Laqbu nabetai Bugisika Tallumbocco-boccoa tamarappai tamanngalletonngai saqbu katti tamanngalleai raqba bate teami angalle nanakana Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng nakana ri nakke Karaenga Matoaya kubetana Tallumbocco-boccoa manna kayuna takutippasaq teami naraqga tallumbilangang kattina bulaekku kupappibaraiang kupassare-sareang iaminne karaeng uru ampatallikangi koranga uru ampatallikangi Sudanga iatempa anne karaeng uru anngewannngangi baqdili caqdia iatempa anne karaeng uru manniriq

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Mangkasaraka mariang naniaqtodong tumappareq sundawa iatempa anne karaeng mappareq batabatu jeqneq panaiq ampalang-palangi banawaya allimai babuka nauru niaq tumappareq biluq iatempa nauru niaq biseang nipa-soqbassi biseang Mangkasaraq nauru mangasseng Mangkasaraka mappareq galleq iatempa anne karaeng uru ambetai Dima pintallung Dompu Sambawa pinruang ampalilikangi Sanggara ambetai Kekelu ambetai Papekang ambetai Butung ambetai tana Pancana Wawonio ambetai Tubungkuya Banggea Sula iatallu ambetai Taulaya Bolotalowa ambetai Larompong ambetai Tajapalela pinruang ampasombai Tobong ambetai Marusuq ampasombai I Daeng Marewa ri Kaluku iapa anne karaeng namataqgala ri katte Salaparanga Pasirika Kutea iami anne karaenga ampasuluki Karaenga Tunipasuluq atanngangi magauq Tumamenang ri Gaukanna iatempa anne karaeng namajan-

nang Paranggia ri Mangkasaraq namapeqtoroq Anggarisika rasapanyama siagaang Balandaya janamarakaya siagaang Paransaya iaminne karaeng ambatabuttai Talloq sangi tumakkajannangannaji taiai bembeng kaqdoqna napajama taiai bilang tau ambatabuttai Jungtana ambatai Jungpandang Panakkukang ampapparekangi timungang nikaloko Sombopu iaminne uru amporeq jingaraq assuro pareq balanja tumbera iatempa anne karaeng uru manniriq busaku rantakang uru angewangangi baqdiliq caqdia iatempa namanningseng Mangkasaraka madeqdeq sonriq anne karaenga napanjari ase lamung-lamung napanrarakki jukuq napammattiki balloq napaqbakkaki tau katu-katuoang manngassengi mayscale suki manngassengi manngukiriq manngassengi mannyuqbi suki manngassengi mammasi biseang manngassengi mallariq manngassengi manngoroq manngassengi madepara manngassengi malleoq dupa manngumung minyaq manngassengi mayscale suki Jawa suki Bugisiq ningai ri padanggangang ri palilika ri anaq karaenga ri tumailalanga ri gallarranga ri tau taballaka manngassengi mappareq ubaq baraccung bunga pepeq sumelang ri jeqneka pitappaki mammadiliq makkanjaraq mallokui mallanga biseang manyiko banawang biseang palari biseang nibise nisoeya iaminne karaeng lebaq assoqnai annginungi jeqneka risuruga nikanaya sanjabila anne karaenga nikana tupanritai tubarani tukapatiang tugannaqaiki panrita jamangi manngassengi matannung manngasseng karemenglimanna naissengi jamang bainea jamang buraqnea malambusuki mataui patoanai massombereki mannga-

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-ssengi battuang manngandalaki massuraq Araq majai kitaq nabaca tinamamelakkai awattu bakuna Isilang naanggena matena passangalina makkambanna bangkenana naniballei balloq ri tabina Anggarisika sampulo banngi assagantuju tamassambayang majai sambayang sunnaq naerang kontua rateka wittirika aloaka nawariya tasaqjoka nakana I Loqmoq ri Paotereka kaminang sikadena ruang rakakang kaminang jaina sampuloa rakanna bannginna Jumaka nasambayangangi sunnaq tasaqbea ponna romallang banngi-banngi assuluq sakaq bulaenna anne karaenga uluana Karaenga Tunijalloq ri Karaenga Iwaraq nabainepokokang iami nikana Karaenga ri Naunga iatommi nikana Tuniwang ri Kalassukanna iami nipimanakki sampulo anaqna tuju buraqne sitau nikana iangku mabassung nikana I Tamassaile iami nikana Karaeng Segeri tuju taunji namate sitau nikana Mulapara areng Araqna areng Mangkasaraqna nikana I Mannginyarang areng pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Makkioq pakaraengana ritamagauqna nikana Karaeng Kanjilo iami nikana Tumammaliang riTimoroq sitau nikana Ma[h]amuq areng Araqna iangku mabassung nikana I Manngadacina areng pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Ibaqle pakaraengana nikana Karaeng Patingalloang sitau pole nikana iangku mabassung nikana I Manibang areng pamanaqna nikana I Daeng Matutu pakaraengana nikana Karaeng Lembaya sitau pole nikana I

Useng areng pamaanaqna nikana I Daeng Mangemba areng Mangkasaraqna I Mangaru iami nikana Tumatea ri Bantang sitau pole nikana I Salemang areng pamaanaqna nikana I Daeng Sunggu pakaraengana nikana Karaenga ri Majannang sitau nampa I Lassuq namate anaqna bainea sitau nikana iangku mabassung I Sapuruq tuju taunji namate sitau pole nikana iangku mabassung I Makkutaqnaqng areng pamaanaqna nikana I Kare Tojeng iami nikana Karaeng Agangjeqneq iatonji nikana Karaenga ri Kariwisi sitau pole iangku mabasung nikana I Tamatoa paqdaengana nikana I Daeng Anrene pakaraengana nikana Karaenga ri Pattukangang sitau pole baina tuBinamuq anronna tuBaroqboq manggena aganna I Lolo Pujiang nikana I Bungasaq sagantuju anaqna tuju baine sitau buraqne nikana Abdul Kadir areng Mangkasaraqna nikana I Mallawakkang areng pamaanaqna nikana I Daeng Sisila pakaraengana nikana Karaenga ri Popoq sitau pole anaqna baine takiassengai arena iami naalle ke-

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-muqna Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng macaqdijji namate sitau pole nikana I Bissu Tumigisi areng pamaanaqna nikana I KareTonji iami nikana Daenta ri Mangeppeq sitau pole anaqna baine nikana I Patima areng pamaanaqna nikana I Daeng ri Nangke sitau pole nikana I Dena sitau pole nikana I Baine areng pamaanaqna nikana I Kare Manassa iami nikana Daenta ri Pattingalloang sitau pole nikana I Yani macaqdijji namate sitau pole macaqdi duduiji namate sitau pole baina tuMajannang nikana angaya atana Karaenga ri Pacelleq iami nikana I Loqmoq Malolo mammempoi ri Maroanging nikanamo I Loqmoq ri Maroanging iami mammanaq lima buraqne sitau baine sitau nikana I Mallakkang areng Araqna nikana Abdul Karim areng pamaanaqna nikana I Daeng Tomamo sitau pole nikana I Atabawang areng pamaanaqna nikana I Daeng Kalula pakaraengana nikana Karaeng Tamalaqba sitau pole anaqna macaqdijji namate sitau pole nikana I Paang areng pamaanaqna nikana I Daeng Nampa pakaraenga nikana Karaeng Bontolangkasaq iaminne bungkona Karaenga bainea mannamangebattang talebaki ambainepi ri bokoanna sitau nikana I Battu areng pamaanaqna nikana I Kare Niaq iami anganakangi Karaeng Bae Bainea baina tanapimanakkia tallui sitau tuBarasaq nikana I Tobo iami nikana I Loqmoq ri Boqdia iatonji nikana I Loqmoq ri Pannampu sitau pole baina tuSawitto iratea mae nikana I Campaga areng pamaanaqna nikana I Loqmoq Teqne iami nikana I Loqmoq ri Paotereka sitau baina tuPaqbineang nikana I Kali nipelaki nibunoi lebaqna mate Karaenga Tumamenang ri Agamana 28 magauq nanapilari Talloq nakalauq mamempo ri Bontoalag nanatannammo magauq Tuma[mma]liang ri Timoroq 23 taunna lebaq nipirangkakki nanapilari gaukanna uruna Otuburu ruang banngina Jumadeleawalaka allo Araba sampulona asseqre garigataya rialoa nanapilari gaukanna nierangi mange ri Gowa niawang bariqbasaqna Ammisika naniawang 63 taunna tallasaqna 30 taungi magauq nanapasuluq kalena nanatan-

nang anaqna sampulo taungi antallu naagang mabaligauq anaqna namate matena mate magarrinji nipuji ri pangkaqna ri turibokoana apotawawi masombereki marampui manngassengi manngempang tauberu manngissengi maki-

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-rikiri pamaiq jowaq manngassengi mappari paqmai tau taballaq manngassengi baca ri paranna karaeng manngassengi mappakarimi ri taua manngassengi batuang ri anaq karaenga ri gallarranga massuroi tau ri panngataina ningaiji nikamallakkanji ri taua eraq 1656 taung [Arabic hijri 1040] Tumamenang ri Agamaana anganakangi Tuma[mma]liang ri Timoroq magauqmammi ri tallasaqna ayena sampulo taungi allima ambaligauq putona Tumamenang ri Gaukanna namate Tumamenang ri Gaukanna ruang taungi mabaligauq Tumamenang ri Papambatauna namatetodong karaenga areng kalena karaeng aanne iangku mabassung nikana I Mangijara areng pamaanaqna nikana I Daeng Makkioq pakaraengana ritamagauqna nikana Karaeng Kanjilo areng Araqna nikana Mulapara 18 taunna magauq namate iami anne ambetai Timoroq iatempa naniaq sonriq nibanowai bungkeng sakallaq naniaq biseang niparada makau naniaq biseang niobaraq gading anne karaenga pinruampuloi mabaine uru mabainena sampu sikalina anaqna Karaenga ri Tabaringang ri Karaeng Sanrabone I Joloq areng pamaanaqna nikana I Daeng Ilalang iami nikana Karaeng Panarukang bainea tasipimanakiai nasipelaq nabaineangi pole sampu sikalina anaqna Karaenga I Baqle nikana I Bissujawa areng pamaanaqna nikana I Daeng Kalling ammanaki sitau baine nikana I Sitti Maralia areng Mangkasaraqna nikana I Ranga areng pamaanaqna nikana I Daeng Tamene iami nikana Karaenga ri Tangallaq nikabalui sitau bainena atana Karaenga ri Maroanging tuPolombangkeng nikana I Bibaga ammanaq sitau buraqne nikana I Yata areng pamaanaqna nikana I Daeng Tadung nibunoi ri ayena mate natabai kana sitau pole bainena Toraja pakaiqna Karaenga ri Bontoa I Saerana iaminne sitau buraqne nikana I Lita areng pamaanaqna nikana I Daeng Tasannging pakaraengana nikana Karaeng Bontosunggu sitau pole bainena tuSegeri nikana I Taqrupa iami manaq tallu buraqne sitau nikana I Daeng Manina sitau nikana I Maninrori areng pamaanaqna nikana I Daeng Mangeppeq sitau nikana I Muntu areng pamaanaqna nikana I Daeng Manggappa sitau pole macaqdijji namate nibunoi ri karaenga sitau pole nikana I Mani areng pamaanaqna nikana I Daeng

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Nisayu sitau pole bainena tuLengkeseq atana Karaenga ri Cenrana nikana I Caqdi iami ammanaq sitau baine nikana I Nampa areng pamaanaqna nikana I Daeng Niaq pakaraengana nikana Karaeng Panaikang sitau pole baine sampu sikalina todong anaqna Tumamenang ri Gaukanna nikana I Saqbe areng pamaanaqna nikana I Daeng Tamaga pakaraengana nikana Karaenga

ri Lembangang iami manaq sitau buraqne nikana Aru narasi areng Araqna areng Mangkasaraqna nikana iangku mabassung I Mappaio areng pamanagna nikana I Daeng Mannyauruq bulang Rajaq 17 meseka Nuwemburuq 3 banngina naanaq anne karaenga sampulo banngiji battu ri Timoroq namate matena mate magarrinji ri Talloqji niawang bulang Sapparaq annang banngina allo Sattu era 1641 [Arabic hijri 1051] namate karaenga tanipujiai tupanrita tanipujiai tumanngasseng tanipujiai tumalambusuq tanipujiai tukapatiang nikanaja tubarani tukalumanyangi matuwai masigai mamma rri matuwai mabaluq-baluq 40 patampulo taungi tallasaqna namate Tuma[mma]liang ri Timoroq

Glossary

anaq buraqne	a term applied to sons of nobles, it may have referred to a distinct group of young warriors
anaq karaeng	a term applied to refer to noble offspring
anrong guru	leader/teacher; a common term for a chief of a community or religious authority, it was also the title given to the one in charge of the <i>tumakkajannang</i>
ata mateqne	a group or class of people translated as ‘favored servants’, they were often entrusted with important tasks
ata ri kale	this term is translated as ‘bound followers’ and describes a group or class of people. It literally means ‘personal slaves’ but does not carry the same connotations of ownership and powerlessness that this translation implies
ata	a group or class of people translated as ‘slave’
ballaq lompoa	meaning ‘great house’, this refers to a ruler’s home and is used as a proper name for the Gowa royal palace
bembeng kaqdoq	a group or class of people translated as ‘servants’
bilang tau	a general term describing commoners translated as ‘people’
dacing	a kind of portable scale with two arms of unequal length separating fixed and moveable weights
daeng	a title distinguishing nobles from commoners, usually chosen to reflect a physical or mental characteristic of the person named
gallarrang	a title of local rulers beneath the level of <i>karaeng</i>
gantang	a unit of measurement equal to 20 <i>katti</i> , or 0,2 of a <i>pikul</i>
jangang-jangang	the oldest Makassarese script
kali	the chief Islamic official in the land and religious advisor to the ruler
kalompoang	meaning ‘greatness’, it denotes sacred objects or regalia possessed by many Makassarese <i>paqrasangang</i>

karaeng	a title granted to high-ranking nobles, usually but not always based on the toponym of a <i>paqrasangang</i> which became the appanage of the title-holder
koyang	a unit of measurement. Cense (1979:338) notes that in Makassar a 'small <i>koyang</i> ' (<i>koyang caqdi</i>) was equal to thirty <i>pikul</i> (1 <i>pikul</i> equaled approximately 60 kg), and a 'large <i>koyang</i> ' (<i>koyang lombo</i>) was equal to one hundred <i>pikul</i> , implying that a 'regular' <i>koyang</i> would be equal to sixty-five or so <i>pikul</i>
laqlang sipue	literally meaning 'half-umbrellas', this refers to a sunshade made from lontar palm leaves that was held above the heads of rulers as a mark of their loftiness
lontaraq	this term is used in several different senses, but in this work usually refers to a physical manuscript (as they were originally written on lontar palm leaves)
lontaraq baru	meaning 'new lontar', it refers to the most common Makassarese script
lontaraq bilang	a genre of Makassarese writing. A court record of important events, dated and in chronological order
pajama pakaiq	a group or class of people translated as 'laborers' this term refers to a slave of the lowest rank, translated as 'thrall' to distinguish it from the more common word for 'slave' (<i>ata</i>)
paqrasangang patturioloang	settlement, village, community, polity, <i>kampung</i> a genre of Makassarese writing. Literally 'that which is about the ancestors', it is usually translated as 'chronicle'
patung	a unit of measurement equal to a <i>gantang</i> or 20 <i>katti</i>
rapang	a genre of Makassarese writing containing advice, guidelines, and declarations from renown ancestors
raqba bate	like <i>saqbu kati</i> , a fine imposed by the victor on the vanquished
sabannaraq saqbu katti	a title meaning 'harbourmaster' a substantial fine imposed by the victor on the vanquished, usually paid in gold
serang	Makassarese written in Arabic script
Sudanga	the sacred regalia-sword of Lakipadada given to the rulers of Gowa
taikang	a balance with two equal scales
Tallumbocco	an alliance formed by Boné, Wajoq, and Soppéng in an effort to withstand Gowa's rising power in the sixteenth century

Tanisamaang	the sacred golden chain the <i>tumanurung</i> gave to her son and later rulers of Gowa
tau taballaq	a group or class of people translated as 'household followers'
timbaq sareong	a war indemnity or payment, but comprised of various valuables instead of gold
tumabicarabutta	chief advisor and minister of Gowa known as 'The Speaker of the Land'
tumailalang	title of ministers that acted as intermediaries within Gowa
tumakkajannang	a term or title describing those charged with supervising others who had specific tasks
tumalompo	a term used to refer to important persons
tumanurung	literally 'the person who descended', it refers to a heavenly ancestor of pure white blood who was recognized and installed as the first ruler of a new kingdom by the people of the land

Reign list for the rulers of Gowa and Talloq

Rulers of Gowa to 1669

1	Tumanurung	mid-14th century ¹
2	Tumassalangga Baraya (son)	
3	I Puang Lowe Lembang (son)	
4	Tuniatabanri (son)	
5	Karampang ri Gowa (son)	
6	Tunatangkalopi (son)	
7	Batara Gowa (son)	
	Tuniawang ri Parallakkenna	
8	Tunijalloq ri Passukkiq (son)	late 15th century to late 1510 or early 1511
9	Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna (son)	ruled late 1510 or early 1511 to late 1546
	Karaeng Manngutungi, Gallarrang Loaya	
10	Tunipalangga (son)	ruled late 1546 to early 1565
	Karaeng Lakiung	lived 1511 to 1565
11	Tunibatta (brother)	ruled 40 days in 1565
	Karaeng Dataq	lived 1517 to 1565
12	Tunijalloq (son)	ruled 1565 to 1590
	Karaeng Bontolangkasaq	lived 1545 to late 1590
13	Tunipasuluq (son)	ruled late 1590 to early 1593 (deposed)
	Karaeng Bontolangkasaq	lived 1575 to 5 July 1617
14	Tumamenang ri Gaukanna (brother)	ruled 1593 to 15 June 1639
	Sultan Alau'ddin	lived 1586 to 15 June 1639

¹ This can only be an estimate, and assumes that reigns during this period averaged 20 years. The rulers of Gowa until the mid-eighteenth century for whom we have reliable dates had reigns averaging 14 years, and the rulers of Talloq had reigns averaging 21 years over the same period. Any earlier estimate for the *tumanurung* is unlikely.

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| 15 | Tumamenang ri Papambatuna (son)
Sultan Malikussaid (Muhammad Said) | ruled 1639 ² to 5 Nov 1653
lived 11 Dec 1607 ³ to 5 Nov 1653 |
| | Karaeng Ujung, Karaeng Lakiung | |
| 16 | Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana (son)

Sultan Hasanuddin

Karaeng Bontomangape
lived Dec 1733 ⁴ to 1753 | ruled 1653 to 17 June 1669
(abdicated)
lived 12 Jan 1631 to 12 June 1670 |

Rulers of Talloq to 1673

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| 1 | Karaeng Lowe ri Sero (son of G6) | mid to late 15th century |
| 2 | Tunilabu ri Suriwa (son) | late 15th century to 1500s |
| 3 | Tunipasuruq, Karaeng ri Pasiq (son) | 1500s to 1540 or 1543 |
| 4 | Tumenanga ri Makkoayang (son)
Karaeng Pattingalloang | ruled 1540 or 1543 to 1576
lived 1520 to 1576 |
| 5 | Karaeng Bainea (daughter)
Karaeng Pattingalloang | late 1576 to 1590 |
| 6 | Tunipasuluq (son) | late 1590 to early 1593 |
| 7 | Karaeng Matoaya (son of T4)

Sultan Abdullah, Tumamenang
ri Agamana
Karaeng Kanjilo, Karaeng Segeri | ruled 1593 to 1623 (advised
son to 1636)
lived 1573 to 1636 |
| 8 | Karaeng Kanjilo (son)
Sultan Mudhaffar
Tumammaliang ri Timoroq | ruled 1623 to 18 May 1641
lived 1598 to 18 May 1641 |
| 9 | Karaeng Pattingalloang (brother)
Sultan Mahmud
Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng | ruled 1641 to 15 Sept 1654
lived Aug 1600 to 15 Sept 1654 |
| 10 | Tumamenang ri Lampana (son of T8)
Sultan Harunarasyid | ruled 1654 ⁵ to 16 June 1673
lived 3 Nov 1640 to 16 June 1673 |

² There are two possible dates. The *lontaraq bilang* report both that he received the royal sunshade 3 July 1639 and was installed 19 December 1639. Usually ceremonially receiving the royal sunshade signified being installed as ruler.

³ This is the *lontaraq bilang* date. According to the *Gowa chronicle* he was born in 1606.

⁴ Exact date not given. 20 Rajab 1146 is the Islamic date.

⁵ According to a small collection of *lontaraq bilang* found in NBG 17, page 135-6, he was installed in early 1655, which is quite possible.

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Index

The large number of places, names, titles, and potential topics of interest to readers makes indexing the Gowa and Talloq chronicles difficult. For ease of use there are separate indices for places and people as well as a general index of topics. The latter is straightforward, but the former pair requires some explanation. Individuals generally are listed under their most well-known name or title; additional names or titles of prominent figures such as rulers may also be listed, but this index is not comprehensive. Important *karaeng* and other individuals are indexed, but not every person mentioned in the chronicles is listed below. The sheer number of *daeng* names, personal names, and other titles make a comprehensive index unwieldy. In cases where individuals are only referred to by their *karaeng*-ship, such as Karaeng Maros, because these positions had multiple title holders, these toponyms are listed in the index of place names. In some cases it is uncertain if a *karaeng*-title is toponymic. In a few cases the same location may be found in the index of both place and personal names; for example, Karaeng Pattingalloang receives his own entry under the index of names, but additional instances where the community of Pattingalloang is mentioned require this also be found in the index of places.

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