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Historical texts as social maps *Lontaraq bilang* in early modern Makassar

One fascinating development in seventeenth-century Makassar is the evolution of a written form of record-keeping known collectively as *lontaraq bilang*. Meaning literally ‘counting manuscripts’, *lontaraq bilang* have been termed ‘diaries’ but are better understood as a public record of notable events than as a diary or journal of an individual’s private thoughts. For this reason they are best glossed as ‘annals’, lists of significant events. This article analyses this historical genre and offers an interpretation of its purpose and meaning grounded in the social and cultural context of early modern Makassar. I argue that these texts are most appropriately read as maps that inscribe social networks and claims to authority. Three such social maps are described here as a basis for reassessing this crucial genre of historical writing.

Lontaraq bilang described

Perched at the tip of South Sulawesi, the region of Makassar was the most important trading entrepot in the eastern archipelago during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. During the course of these two centuries the small kingdom of Gowa rose to become the dominant polity, so dominant that to outside observers Gowa and Makassar seemed synonymous. During the first half of the seventeenth century Gowa was the Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie’s (VOC, Dutch East India Company) chief rival for control of the spice trading routes to Maluku. Gowa and the VOC fought three times, with the last and conclusive conflict coming during the reign of Gowa’s last powerful ruler, Sultan Hasanuddin (ruled 1653 to 1669). The VOC finally vanquished Gowa in 1669 with the help of Bugis allies, long-time historical rivals of the Makassarese.

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One factor facilitating the social and political changes fuelling Gowa's rise to dominance was the advent of literacy (Cummings 2002). *Lontaraq bilang*, one of several forms of historical writing that evolved during this period, have received less attention from historians than the genre of *patturioloang*, or chronicles.

Among all the genres of Makassarese historical writing, it is *lontaraq bilang* that probably developed last. The Dutch scholar A.A. Cense (1966:422) believed that the Makassarese tradition of *lontaraq bilang* was borrowed from the Portuguese, since Makassarese derived the names of the months from Portuguese and Portuguese traders had been visiting South Sulawesi since the mid-sixteenth century. While we cannot be certain about this question of possible external influences or inspiration, the genre can at least be dated with some certainty.

Internal evidence strongly indicates that Makassarese at the Gowa court began compiling *lontaraq bilang* in the 1630s. There are entries that predate the 1630s, but these were most likely events of special importance set down retrospectively. The first entry is dated 1545, for example, and for the remainder of the century there are but six entries. Early entries also are often prefaced with *kutaeng*, meaning 'it is said' or 'approximately', while by the 1630s the entries lose this tentativeness. Moreover, these early dates often contain errors. Most famously, the date for the conversion to Islam is given in the *lontaraq bilang* as 1603, but it was actually 1605 (Noorduyn 1956). In addition, early entries are few in number. The first decade of the seventeenth century has four entries, the 1610s eight, and the 1620s eleven, while the 1630s have seventy-eight entries. Pre-1630 entries also are more limited in subject matter: the coming of Islam and the births, marriages, and deaths of prominent nobles are recorded, but not the natural disasters, supernatural occurrences, and arrivals of ships and visitors that figure prominently in post-1630 entries. Collectively, this suggests that *lontaraq bilang* had assumed a steady significance by the 1630s, though they may have been kept in earlier years with occasional entries.

In 1880 A. Ligetvoet published a transcription and Dutch translation of a Makassarese *lontaraq bilang* manuscript written in the modified Arabic Makassarese call *serang*. This *serang* manuscript is currently catalogued as Or. 236a in KITLV along with Ligetvoet's handwritten translation of the text. A copy is in the Indonesian National Library, catalogued as VT 25. Ligetvoet's 'Transcriptie van het dagboek der vorsten van Gowa en Tello' is the standard text that subsequent scholars have consulted, preferring it to an Indonesian translation of the same manuscript published more recently.¹ This prefer-

¹ Kamaruddin et al. 1969-86. There are slight differences between the two. Though a thorough comparison of each transcription and translation with Or. 236 has yet to be carried out, a cursory examination does reveal that while the bulk of the entries are identical, each does contain entries omitted in the other. Neither can therefore be truly regarded as superior until a full comparison is completed. I therefore refer to the text in this article as Or. 236.

ence gives non-specialists the impression that the Ligtvoet text is canonical, or even the sole *lontaraq bilang* text from the period. But this is not the case. At least six *lontaraq bilang* manuscripts exist containing entries from the seventeenth century. This is fortunate, for it gives scholars the opportunity to compare manuscripts covering the same period and compile a more complete set of dated entries, hence offering a broader range of information than any single text affords.² However, the Kamaruddin et al. and Ligtvoet editions represent the longest and most complete of the *lontaraq bilang* manuscripts. They also appear to represent the oldest. In most cases, Makassarese made the other manuscripts by copying selected entries from the Leiden *lontaraq bilang* or its ancestor, then added entries that were clearly written at other places and times. There are thus important series of entries in the other *lontaraq bilang* manuscripts not found in the published editions.

In appearance, most *lontaraq bilang* have a standard form (see Figure 1). Roger Tol (1993:618) describes the equivalent Bugis genre *sureq bilang* as 'more or less similar to a condensed form of the modern executive diary'. At the top of each page the year is typically written. Several columns at the right side of the page give the names of the month and the date, often both Christian and Islamic versions. Each day thus gets a single line, which means longer entries will curve and turn, escaping the rigid constraints of this format. On those days in which events judged significant take place, the annalist notes what occurred. Many, and in some cases most, days are left blank. Who these annalists are is usually difficult to determine, since these texts, like other Makassarese texts, are anonymous. But the annalists were almost certainly royal officials born into the kinship networks surrounding the royal palaces. No one else would be both literate and privy to the events. In one case we know precisely who the annalist is: early eighteenth-century Gowa court *lontaraq bilang*. There the writer during the 1710s and 1720s, Karaeng Lempangang, who would later become ruler of Talloq (a historical ally of Gowa), several times describes other Makassarese nobles as 'my uncle', 'my grandfather', 'my mother', or 'my friend'. At times he refers to himself in the first person, as for example when he was installed as the *karaeng*, or ruler, of Lempangang in 1714. Whether Karaeng Lempangang and other annalists decided on their own which events were worthy of recording, or whether they entered events into *lontaraq bilang* at the ruler of Gowa's instruction, is unknown.

² The versions I cite most often are either the Indonesian (Kamaruddin et al. 1969-86) or Dutch (Ligtvoet 1880) published translation, thereby allowing scholars who do not read Makassarese to check my use of sources. The two are generally the same, and both supply Makassarese transcriptions, but often entries in one are omitted in the other, making it impossible to rely solely on either. Other *lontaraq bilang* manuscripts may be found in Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, Jakarta (16/6), Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Leiden (Or. 272Y), Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap, Utrecht (17, 19) and *Makassaarsche historiën* 1855.

As an illustration of the concerns and style of *lontaraq bilang*, the following are the entries for the year 1648.³

2 Feb	Karaeng Paqbundukang dies	namate Karaeng Paqbundukang
20 Mar	female Karaenta ri Popoq dies	namate Karaenta ri Popoq bainea
5 Apr	Karaenta ri Tamasongoq gives birth to a son by Tuammenang ri Jungtana [Karaeng Karunrung] named I Manginara Majduddin, Daenta Daeng Mattiro	namamanaq Karaenta ri Tamasongoq ri Tuammenang ri Jungtana buraqne nikana I Manginara Majduddin Daenta Daeng Mattiro nikana
12 May	the mother of the ruler named Karaenta ri Bontoa dies	namate Karaenta ri Bontoa ayana karaenga
14 June	on the hour Daenta Daeng Naratang has a daughter named Habibah	tette garigantaya namamanaq Daenta Daeng Naratang baine nikana Habibah
3 Aug	Karaeng Jipang dies when still young	namate Karaeng Jipang maloloia
11 Oct	I Maqminasa Daenta Daeng Sannging dies	namate I Maqminasa Daenta Daeng Sannging nikana
30 Sept	Friday prayer services are begun in Bontoalaq	nauru mammenteng Jumaka ri Bontoalaq Jumaq
30 Nov	the son of Karaeng Salaparang [on Lombok] named Ammasa Pamayan becomes ruler of Sumbawa	naKaraeng ri Sambawa anaqna Karaeng Salaparang nikanaya Ammasa Pamayan
8 Dec	a house is built for the great bell	nanibangung ballaqla gariganta lompoia
9 Dec	I Assing dies	na[mate] ⁴ I Assing

As this excerpt suggests, noble births and deaths are the most frequently recorded events in *lontaraq bilang*, but construction projects, the installation of nobles in important positions, divorces, natural disasters such as fires and earthquakes, the arrival of foreign ships and delegations, unusual events such as eclipses and comets, and the departures and arrivals of rulers are all recorded. The seventeenth-century Makassarese *lontaraq bilang* thus differ some from the texts reviewed by Cense (1966), who describes Bugis *sureq bilang* in particular as containing much longer and more detailed descriptions of events.

Lontaraq bilang have pleased western historians of South Sulawesi. More than other available writings, they have been seen as supremely factual, reliable, and uncontaminated by mythical or controversial elements. Historians

³ These entries are from Kamaruddin et al. 1969-86, I:26-7. The Dutch version contains only four of these entries for the entire year (Ligtvoet 1880:18).

⁴ I follow Kamaruddin et al. (1969-86, I:110) in inserting *mate*, which is either his reconstruction or what is found in the original manuscript but omitted in a printing error on page 27.

هجرة ١٠٩٨هـ ثمانين كراي فابندوكع ١٦٤٨	الرامد	٢١	محرم	٢	فبراير
ثمانين كرايقت رفوفو بيبي	بج اربع	٢٤	صفر	٢٥	مارس
ثماننا كرايقت رمسوقف رفوفو مينغ رجبنتان بران نيكان امجانار	بج سبت	١٠	ربيع الاول	٥	ابريل
عجدا لادين دايتت دايم متير نيكان					
ثمانين كرايقت ربتوي ايان كرايغ	بج اثنين	١٨	ربيع الاخر	١٢	ماي
تسعين كرايقتي ثماننا دايتت واين نراش بيبي نيكان حيبه	بج سبت	٢٥	جمادى الاولى	١٥	يونيو
ثمانين كرايقت جيفو ملو كوي	بج اثنين	١٣	رمضان	٣	اگست
ثمانين اممنا س دايتت واين سغف نيكان	الواربع	١٢	رمضان	١١	اكتوبر
ناو رممشتي جبال ربتو والجمعة	الوجعت	١٢	رمضان	٣٥	نوفمبر
ثمانين كرايقت رممنا و اناث كرايقت سلفارغ نكاي امس قماين	الواشرين	١٤	ذوالقعد	٣٥	نوفمبر
ثمانين كرايقت ربتو نيكان	الواربع	٢٤	ذوالقعد	٥	ديسمبر
ثمانين كرايقت	الوفس	٢٤	ذوالقعد	٥	ديسمبر

Figure 1. The entries for the year 1648 from Or. 236a, courtesy of KITLV

have considered the facts in these texts to be by and large referential and accurate. Cense (1966:418) describes *lontaraq bilang* as ‘pre-eminently characterized by a sober conciseness, and which, as far as I know, is met with in Indonesia only in South Celebes [South Sulawesi] and a few other areas which have undergone influence from the Macassarese and Bugis’. Based on this assessment, Cense and other historians (Bulbeck 1992; Noorduy 1965; Tol 1993) have considered *lontaraq bilang* reliable sources of factual historical information. This is not incorrect, yet far more is going on in *lontaraq bilang* than this.

To cease analysis at this point shortchanges these texts. *Lontaraq bilang* were more than compilations of noteworthy facts, however accessible they are as historical sources. *Lontaraq bilang* also map social networks, and we can glimpse these networks and gain a new perspective from which to view *lontaraq bilang* and seventeenth-century Makassar by looking at these texts not just as collections of unrelated, individual entries. There are larger patterns at work here. The remainder of this article describes three types of social maps.

The first focuses on the life and social location of individuals mentioned repeatedly in *lontaraq bilang*. The second considers the Gowa court *lontaraq bilang* as a whole and the social and political purposes behind this form of historical record. The third examines a series of entries found in a *lontaraq bilang* manuscript other than the one translated by Ligtvoet and Kamaruddin et al.

Individual social maps

We have no way of knowing how Makassarese read, consulted, or used *lontaraq bilang* during the seventeenth century. We can speculate that Makassarese at the Gowa court may have turned to them for examples of how past rulers confronted different situations, but whether this was with practical, pedagogical, or pleasurable intent is uncertain. Did Makassarese try to reconstruct or narratively follow the life of prominent individuals whose birth, experiences, marriages, children, and death were recorded? This question cannot be answered, but there is no reason that we cannot perform such a reading to gain an interpretive foothold on *lontaraq bilang*.

Lontaraq bilang map the lives of prominent individuals. Who was deemed worthy of inclusion by the annalists of *lontaraq bilang* depended on two main factors: rank and political favour. The more closely related an individual was to the ruler of Gowa at the time that entries were made, the greater the chance that the events of his or her life (and even the fact that he or she existed) would be judged significant. But politics played its inevitable role too. Powerful, highly-ranked individuals can for all intents and purposes disappear from the pages of *lontaraq bilang* when they are out of favour, as happened to Karaeng Karunrung, one of the most important Makassarese nobles and leader of a faction at Gowa's court. His presence or absence in the text indicates the changing nature of his relationship to Sultan Hasanuddin, the ruler of Gowa during its most turbulent years (see below). Biographically, then, the Gowa court *lontaraq bilang* can be read as a 'who's who' that assigns significance based on blood rank and political status.

We are not confined to such obvious figures as Karaeng Karunrung, however. Selecting other figures can often shed more light on Makassarese society and politics. Consider, for example, the role of powerful women in Makassarese politics, something only hinted at in the *Gowa chronicle* (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim 1959). One of the noble women about whom we can learn a substantial amount is Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq. The following portions of entries from Or. 236a recount her involvement in Makassarese marriage politics.

7 Aug 1628	Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq born [to the ruler of Gowa, Sultan Malikussaid and a commoner wife who also gave birth to the future ruler of Gowa Sultan Hasanuddin]	naanaq Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq
3 Sept 1646	the ruler of Bima I Ambela marries Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq	namaqnikka Karaeng Dima I Ambela Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq
13 Dec 1651	the future ruler of Bima I Mapparabung Nuruddin is born [the son of I Ambela and Karaenta Bontojeqneq]	naanaq karaenga ri Dima I Mapparabung Nuruddin
23 Jan 1653	Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq has a daughter named Sitti Aminah	namamanaq Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq baine nikana Sitti Aminah
22 Apr 1654	Karaenta ri Bontopaqja Maemuna born [the daughter of I Ambela and Karaeng Bontojeqneq]	naanaq Karaenta ri Bontopaqja Maemuna
8 Dec 1655	Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq arrives from Bima	nabattu ri Dima Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq
11 Nov 1656	Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq has a daughter named I Cinra	namamanaq Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq baine nikana I Cinra
27 Mar 1658	Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq and the ruler of Bima divorce	nasipelaq Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq Karaenga ri Dima
20 June 1658	Karaenta ri Jarannika [the brother of Karaeng Lengkeseq] marries Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq	nasikalabini Karaenta ri Jarannika Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq
3 Jan 1660	Karaenta ri Jarannika and Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq divorce	nasipelaq Karaenta ri Jarannika Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq
19 Apr 1661	Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq and Karaenta ri Jarannika divorce ⁵	nasipelaq Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq Karaenta ri Jarannika
4 June 1662	Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq is banished down to the house made of kersaq wood	nanicinde Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq manaung ri ballaq kersaq
18 Sept 1662	the ruler of Sumbawa marries Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq	nasikalabini Karaeng Sambawa Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq
3 Feb 1663	the ruler of Sumbawa and Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq divorce	nasipelaq Karaeng Sambawa Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq

⁵ When exactly they divorced is uncertain; either date could be correct. Kamaruddin et al. (1969-86, I) contains both entries; Ligtoet (1880) omits the 3 January 1660 entry. They did remarry sometime after 3 February 1663, as on 30 January 1665 the pair divorced a second time.

10 Feb 1663	Daenta Daeng Mattiro [a son of Karaeng Karunrung] marries Padukka Dompū [a daughter of the ruler of Bima I Ambela and Karaenta Bontojeqneq], her first husband; she is age 13	nabunting Daenta Daeng Mattiro ri Padukka Dompū uru buraqna umuruqna 13
25 Nov 1664	Tuammenang ri Lakiung [the future Sultan of Gowa Abdul Jalil] marries Karaenta ri Bontomateqne [a daughter of I Ambela and Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq]	nasikalabini Tuammenang ri Lakiung Karaenta ri Bontomateqne
30 Jan 1665	Karaenta ri Jarannika and Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq divorce	nasipelaq Karaenta ri Jarannika Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq
4 Feb 1669	Tuammenang ri Lakiung and Karaenta ri Bontomateqne [a daughter of Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq] divorce	nasipelaq Tuammenang ri Lakiung Karaenta ri Bontomateqne
8 Feb 1669	Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq dies at age 41	namate Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq umuruqna 41
10 May 1669	Tuammenang ri Lampana [the ruler of Gowa Sultan Harrunarasid] marries Karaenta ri Bontomateqne [a daughter of Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq] and leaves quickly	namaqnikka Tuammenang ri Lampana Karaenta ri Bontomateqne mange memang tommi

During her lifetime Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq married and divorced four times, twice to rulers of overseas kingdoms within Gowa's political ambit (Bima and Sumbawa) and twice to Karaenta ri Jarannika, one of the foremost nobles in Gowa. The motives for these marriages and divorces are not transparent, but their overall effect is clear: they placed Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq along the lines linking future generations with powerful forebears. The rulers of Bima would trace their ascent through her, and had the marriage not failed the same might have been true of later rulers of Sumbawa and even Gowa, through her daughter's marriage to Tuammenang ri Lakiung. Though they produced no children, Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq's two marriages to Karaenta ri Jarannika were strategic and potentially of enormous significance. In fact, Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq was apparently active in court politics, forcing her brother Sultan Hasanuddin to temporarily exile her in 1662. Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq also supervised politically important marriages of her daughters from her first marriage. One married a son of Karaeng Karunrung, the dominant figure at the Gowa court and active in Makassar politics for over two decades. Another daughter was married to a son of Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq's brother

Sultan Hasanuddin. Offspring from this marriage of first cousins would have been influential and high-ranking figures at the Gowa court, but the marriage failed shortly before Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq died. Undaunted, her daughter married the ruler of Talloq three months later.

The expansion of a political and social order in which marriage and descent were critical shaped how noble Makassarese women sought influence both in the present and in the future by becoming ancestors linking later generations with influential forebears. As Nancy Florida (1995) reminds us, histories are often made with an eye toward how those in the future will read the past. While this sense of acting for posterity may be increasingly rare in the modern world, it was of the utmost significance in seventeenth-century Makassar. This was a world in which ancestors provided the social rank of their descendants. It was from their blood that one's potential for greatness flowed. Makassarese viewed notable ancestors as the source of their most important values and traditions, and for centuries handed down their words unchanged, seeing them as repositories of ancient, unimpeachable wisdom. The social heights that ancestors occupied was therefore a resource to which later Makassarese were eager to demonstrate connections. Makassarese charted their histories along genealogical lines, passing from one ancestor to the next, tracing their ascent back to the high-ranking and most ancient ancestor possible. It is no surprise that to some day be remembered as an important ancestor was a potent stimulus for Makassarese. The beginning of the *Gowa chronicle* explains, 'This is recited so that nothing is forgotten by our children, by our grandchildren, by our descendants. Because if it is not known, there are two dangers: either we will feel ourselves to be Karaengs too or outsiders will call us common people.' (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim 1959:9.)

With their ability to marry numerous prominent men, and to bear high-ranking offspring from more than one noble, Makassarese women such as Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq maximized their chances to become revered ancestors. Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq's genealogical prominence guaranteed her political future. Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq was not the only Makassarese woman to manipulate the politics and possibilities of marriage, offspring, and divorce. Throughout *lontaraq bilang* manuscripts there are women who astutely manoeuvre themselves into positions of influence, aligning first with one noble and then another. Examining their lives as recorded in *lontaraq bilang* brings into sharp focus perspectives on status, success, and the political life of high-ranking women in seventeenth-century Makassar. When we read *lontaraq bilang* in terms of the life of individuals, as we have done here, what at first seemed only a dispersed collection of entries takes on shape. These biographical maps of prominent individuals point to one way in which *lontaraq bilang* can be used to give us insight into seventeenth-century Makassarese society. We turn now to a second means of reaching this same goal.

Royal lontaraq bilang as a social map

Another type of social map that we can read in *lontaraq bilang* takes shape when we consider the place and function of the text as a whole. In contrast to Makassarese *patturioloang*, or chronicles, which in the eyes of historians are clearly seen as legitimating political charters, *lontaraq bilang* have been seen as comparatively apolitical and objective. But this interpretation is deceptive, for it derives from reading each entry as a separate piece of information. When viewed as a totality, another social purpose and mapping becomes evident. The *lontaraq bilang* of the seventeenth-century royal courts before the downfall of Gowa in the Makassar Wars were thoroughly politicized. Several characteristics and patterns in the texts make this clear.

Whether or not to include events related to a particular person was an exceedingly political choice. Not all births, marriages, and deaths were recorded, even among the nobility. While the isomorphism is not perfect, in general the closer the blood relationship to the present ruler of Gowa, the greater the likelihood that the person's life would be memorialized in *lontaraq bilang*. But even here, putative blood rank did not reign supreme. Those whose children's births were recorded represent those who were politically in favour at the Gowa court. As court factions contested for influence, gaining or losing the favour of the ruler, the political significance of any one figure would thus wax and wane over time. Shifting fortunes were mapped in the *lontaraq bilang*. With the exception of the rulers of Gowa, and possibly the rulers of Talloq, no figure's presence in the *lontaraq bilang* remained consistent. Noticing when a given person appears in the annals, and when not, provides insight into the never-ending contests for status and influence that permeated Makassarese political and social life.

An excellent and dramatic example of this is the controversial Makassarese noble Karaeng Karunrung, a central figure at Sultan Hasanuddin's court in the 1650s and 1660s. *Lontaraq bilang* entries inform us that Karunrung, a son of the ruler of Talloq Karaeng Pattingalloang, was born on 4 September 1631. In 1654 he became *tumabicarabutta*, or 'speaker of the land', the chief adviser and minister of Sultan Hasanuddin, and in 1660 helped in the fight to put down a major Bugis rebellion. Dutch sources indicate that Karunrung favoured war with the VOC and that his advice carried much weight, though it appears that by 1661 he had been replaced as *tumabicarabutta* by his chief rival, Karaeng Sumannaq (Andaya 1980:60-1). Another political enemy was Sultan Harrunarasyid, the ruler of Talloq who had succeeded Karunrung's father, and the two convinced Sultan Hasanuddin to exile Karunrung in 1664 and then again in 1666. The *lontaraq bilang* dutifully record his changing fortunes, referring to him by his posthumous title Tuammenang ri Jungtana:

26 May 1664	Karaeng Karunrung is exiled and his possessions seized; he goes to Banten; he is exiled for the first time	nanicinde nanirapping Tuammenang ri Jungtana nakalauq ri Bantang nicinde riolona
17 Feb 1666	Karaeng Karunrung returns from his exile	nabattu Tuammenang ri Jungtana nicindena
28 Nov 1666	Karaeng Karunrung is exiled again and goes over to Saburo; he is exiled once more	nanicinde pole Karaenta Tuammenang ri Jungtana namantaqle ri Saburo nicinde ribokona
20 July 1667	Karaeng Karunrung returns from this other exile	nabattu Tuammenang ri Jungtana nicinde ribokona

Karaeng Karunrung's turbulent career in Makassarese politics would continue unabated until his death on 27 January 1685. It is particularly noteworthy that while in exile Karaeng Karunrung for all intents and purposes ceased to exist. Dropping off the page and dropping off the face of the earth were much the same thing, it seems. For Karaeng Karunrung, and for other figures in the *lontaraq bilang* as well, social and textual exile were identical.

The only figure immune to these changes in fortune was the ruler of Gowa. He provided the social centre around which events were mapped and inscribed in *lontaraq bilang*. People moved toward and away from the ruler; with few exceptions events were recorded only if they took place close by, and places entered or departed the annals because of his actions or presence. This is undoubtedly true in part because of the simple fact that the annalists of the *lontaraq bilang* were members of the royal entourage. However, news travels, and far more events that took place further away could have been included, but they were not. It is the selectivity of the annalists that is striking and that begs explanation. Textually the *lontaraq bilang* demonstrate how Makassarese society was conceptualized as being centred on its ruler. Or, more accurately, *lontaraq bilang* textually argue that Makassarese society should be so conceptualized. We can better perceive the special nature of a ruler of Gowa's presence as reflected in the *lontaraq bilang* by examining the entries concerning one such ruler, Sultan Muhammad Said (also spelled Malikussaid), who is typically referred to by his posthumous title Tuammenang ri Papambatuna, and occasionally Karaeng Lakiung, his title before he became ruler.

11 Dec 1607 ⁶	Karaeng Tuammenang ri Papambatuna, Muhammad Said, born	naanaq Karaenga Tuammenang ri Papambatuna Muhammad Said
June 1618 ⁷	Tuammenang ri Papambatuna circumcised	nanisunnaq Tuammenang ri Papambatuna
13 Aug 1624	Tuammenang ri Papambatuna first called Karaeng Lakiung	nauru nikana Karaeng Lakiung Tuammenang ri Papambatuna
7 Aug 1628	Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq born [Tuammenang ri Papambatuna's daughter]	naanaq Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq
4 June 1629 ⁸	engagement of Karaeng Lakiung	pakkawinganna Karaenga ri Lakiung
12 Jan 1631	Karaeng Tuammenang ri Ballaq Pangkana [Sultan] Hasanuddin born [Tuammenang ri Papambatuna's son]	naanaq Karaenga Tuammenang ri Ballaq Pangkana Hasanuddin
3 Nov 1631	Karaeng Lakiung and Karaenta ri Tangallaq meet together [an engagement ritual]	nasipolei Karaenga ri Lakiung Karaenta ri Tangallaq
3 July 1639	Patimataranga [the declared heir, Tuammenang ri Papambatuna] honoured with royal umbrella	nanilaqlangi Patimataranga
19 Dec 1639	Patimataranga installed as ruler	nanilantiq Patimataranga
14 Mar 1640	Karaeng issues bila-bila [summons to war] for one month hence	namappalele bila-bila karaenga sibulang
13 Apr 1640	Karaeng sails into Luwuq, then directly up to Tiworo	namammise karaenga mantama ri Luwuq natulusuq manraiq ri Tiworo
21 May 1640	Karaeng returns from Luwuq	nabattu ri Luwuq karaenga
18 June 1640	Dompu people made personal servants by Karaeng Tuammenang ri Papambatuna	nanipareq ata ri kale Dompuia ri Karaenga Tuammenang ri Papambatuna
23 Sept 1640	bila-bila are issued for 33 nights hence	nanipalele bila-bilaya 33 banngina
27 Oct 1640	sailing from Somba Opu, the Karaeng enters Walinrang to make war	namammise ri Sombopu karaenga mantama ri Walinreng maqbanduq
24 Nov 1640	Walinrang conquered	nabeta Walinreng

⁶ Omitted in Ligetvoet 1880.

⁷ This entry is inadvertently dropped in Ligetvoet's transcription (1880) of the Makassarese text, though it is found in the Dutch translation on page 87.

⁸ Omitted in Ligetvoet 1880.

15 Dec 1640	returning from Walinrang, the Karaeng conquers and masters Bolong	nabattu ri Walinreng karaenga nabetana napasombai Bolong
27 Sept 1642	Karaeng leaves to dwell elsewhere while a broken wall is repaired	nassuluq karaenga maqballaq-ballaq lanitampengina bata gesaraka
31 Oct 1642	Tumammenang ri Papambatuna divorces Karaenta ri Lempangang ⁹	nasipelaq Tumammenang ri Papambatuna Karaenta ri Lempangang
29 Jan 1643	Tuammenang ri Papambatuna and the grandmother of Karaenta ri Bontoa marry	nasikalabini Tuammenang ri Papambatuna toana Karaenta ri Bontoa
31 Aug 1643	Karaenta ri Bontomajannang, Syaifulmuluk born [Tuammenang ri Papambatuna's son]	naanaq Karaenta ri Bontomajannang Syaifulmuluk
8 Oct 1643	Karaeng goes down to Agangnionjoq to do battle; at asar [afternoon prayer] he reaches Pancana; sailing with him are 125 ships	namanaung ri Agangnionjoq karaenga makkaruru asaraki na ri Pancana biseanga niaganga pada-pada 125
19 Nov 1643	Karaeng returns after defeating Bone in the Pare-Pare War; I Tobalaq raised to be kali [principal religious official in Gowa]	nabattu karaenga nabetana Bone ri bunduq Pare-Pare I Tobalaq nitannang kali
18 Apr 1646	Karaeng sails into Bone to the Pasempa War	namammise karaenga mantama ri Bone ri bunduq Pasempaka
25 May 1646	Karaeng returns from Bone, having conquered Bone	nabattu ri Bone karaenga ambetai Bone
3 Sept 1646	the ruler of Bima I Ambela marries Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq [Tuammenang ri Papambatuna's daughter]	namaqnikka Karaeng Dima I Ambela Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq
15 Nov 1646	Karaeng sinks off Mangindara while returning from Kalakongkong	natallang karaenga ri tujunna Mangindara battu ri Kalakongkong
12 May 1648	Karaenta ri Bontoa dies, mother of the Karaeng	namate Karaenta ri Bontoa ayana karaenga

⁹ Kamaruddin et al. (1969-86, I:104) notes that this is probably a mistake, because Karaenta ri Lempangang was a sibling of Tuammenang ri Papambatuna. What is probably meant is Karaeng Tangallaq. She is noted in the *Gowa chronicle* as a wife of Tuammenang ri Papambatuna (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim 1959:67-8).

13 Nov 1650	Karaeng ascends into Macciniq Sombalaq [his palace]; eighty-six nights after it was built the Karaeng goes up into it	namanaiqmo karaenga ri Macciniq Sombalaq sagantuju pulo banngi angannang leqbaqna nibangung nanapanaiki karaenga
25 Nov 1651	Dutch request Ambon from the Karaeng	nanapalaq Balandaya Ambong ri karaenga
9 April 1653 ¹⁰	Anciq Majjah dies, the teacher of Tuammenang ri Papambatuna	namate Anciq Majjah anrongguru Tuammenang ri Papambatuna
25 Aug 1653	bila-bila are issued for 71 nights hence to go up to Ambon	nanipalele bila-bila manraika ri Ambong 71 banngina
5 Nov 1653	Karaeng Tuammenang ri Papambatuna has left us	kinapilari Karaenga Tuammenang ri Papambatuna

The tale these entries tell about Tuammenang ri Papambatuna's life is significantly different from what is recorded in the *Gowa chronicle* (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim 1959:65-73). The chronicle contains far more genealogical information about his wives, concubines, marriages, divorces, and offspring than the annals, which record the presence of comparatively few of these people and events. It also discusses the circumstances surrounding his installation as ruler of Gowa, alliances he made with foreigners, circumstances surrounding his wars with Bone, and the character of his reign and his temperament. The greater detail in the *Gowa chronicle* most likely results from the expectations of what an account of a ruler's reign should contain in the *patturioloang* genre.

The annals of Sultan Muhammad Said's life and reign appear comparatively flat at first appraisal. All the entries are remarkably even in tone, and we can sense little emotion, judgement, or reflexivity about the entries on the part of the annalist. Yet there is a significant transition in the type of entries recorded that becomes evident when Sultan Muhammad Said is elevated to become ruler of Gowa on 19 December 1639. Entries before this date simply register his participation in rituals, principally rites of passage. He is passive, and from these entries does not appear to do anything. This immediately changes when he becomes *karaeng*. He is now active, issuing *bila-bila*, making journeys, and going to war, until his death on 5 November 1653. Textually, at least, he goes from being important enough to be noted to becoming the dominant actor shaping his society and making it conform to his wishes. The *lontaraq bilang* would have us in fact believe that virtually all human action takes place at the behest of Sultan Muhammad Said (a sure exaggeration of his actual authority and control). He is a whirlwind of activity who acts upon

¹⁰ Omitted in Ligtvoet 1880.

his world with the same inescapable force as the earthquakes and fires the *lontaraq bilang* also record.

The annals of Muhammad Said's successor, Sultan Hasanuddin (ruled 1653 to 1669), display the same basic pattern, but with a significant twist. We see the same transformation from a passive presence to an active force on becoming ruler, the same importance placed on his journeys and declarations, and the same clustering of genealogical information related to Hasanuddin. Toward the end of his reign, however, Gowa's power was challenged and ultimately crushed by the combined forces of the Dutch East India Company and their Bugis allies under Arung Palakka. Sultan Hasanuddin was forced to abdicate, and lived the last year of his life in the same kind of textual and literal exile that affected Karaeng Karunrung. Hasanuddin, hitherto the focal point of Makassarese political life, seems to vanish, and all that the *lontaraq bilang* report is that he died on 12 June 1670. The main difference between his reign as recorded in the *lontaraq bilang* and Muhammad Said's, however, is the presence of Arung Palakka. Arung Palakka would dominate South Sulawesi after 1669, spending much of this time in Gowa, and it is not surprising that he became a textual focal point in the *lontaraq bilang*. At first glance, his rival textual presence seems to challenge the theory offered here that *lontaraq bilang* depict rulers as unrivalled centres in Makassarese life. Arung Palakka's case, however, is the exception that proves the rule. It is very likely that key events from Arung Palakka's life were inserted into the *lontaraq bilang* retrospectively, giving him a textual presence that he did not enjoy during Hasanuddin's reign. Entries recording his birth and key dates in his perambulations as he rose to power, evading and eventually challenging Gowa's authority, were most likely added years later. These entries gave Arung Palakka the textual position Makassarese expected and granted to such an illustrious and powerful figure. In short, Arung Palakka's presence as a rival for textual authority during Sultan Hasanuddin's reign is a product of the period after Gowa's collapse. His disturbing presence in the *lontaraq bilang* during the reign of Hasanuddin, in other words, offers another type of evidence for the way in which *lontaraq bilang* mapped social centres.

Historians have commonly seen annals like *lontaraq bilang* as being incomplete, inferior, or quasi-historical forms of record-keeping because they do not contain the causal chains of reasoning that transforms a collection of facts into a coherent story with a definable plot and outcome. As Hayden White (1987:11) writes of the medieval *Annals of Saint Gaul*,

What is lacking in the list of events to give it a similar regularity and fullness is a notion of a social center by which to locate them with respect to one another and to charge them with ethical or moral significance. It is the absence of any consciousness of a social center that prohibits the annalist from ranking the events he

treats as elements of a historical field of occurrence. And it is the absence of such a center that precludes or undercuts any impulse he might have had to work up his discourse into the form of a narrative.

But the textual position of the ruler of Gowa provides precisely such a social centre, making this annal rather more complex than White's example.

This social centrality is also conveyed spatially. The *lontaraq bilang* are written from what is nearly, but not quite, a geographical location: Gowa, and the Gowa court in particular. Ships and people are recorded arriving and departing. But in reality this is done because Gowa is where the *karaeng* dwells. He is the true spatial anchor of the text and its entries. The effort to record the construction, repair, and fate of the various royal palaces (Tamaqrappo, Tamalate, Macciniq danggang) of the rulers of Gowa is important not just because they are significant structures, but also because they textually locate the presence of the ruler. The perambulations of rulers are followed closely, as we can see in the entries treating Sultan Muhammad Said's movements and expeditions. In fact, *lontaraq bilang* record eighteen journeys that three successive rulers of Gowa made between 1626 and 1664, whether to make war, supervise construction or irrigation projects, attend meetings with other rulers, or simply to live elsewhere while palaces were renovated. In all but a few cases, no other events are recorded in *lontaraq bilang* before the ruler returns. The exceptions involve notations about the births of high-ranking offspring of Gowa nobles. For the most part, however, activity stops when the ruler is absent. More precisely, history and activity revolves around the ruler, and where he goes they follow. A more unmistakable social map and textual claim is difficult to imagine. *Lontaraq bilang* are not apolitical and objective, but have a subject and a politics, and they do so in dramatic fashion. This mapping and claim is also evident in the genre's form.

We should also consider the graphic appearance of these texts. The most distinctive characteristic of *lontaraq bilang* is how they locate events in a chronological framework. White again provides a useful starting point for our analysis. Like this annal from a very different time and place, *lontaraq bilang* locate events 'in chronological time, in time as it is humanly experienced. This time has no high points or low points; it is, we might say, paratactical and endless. It has no gaps. The list of times is full even if the list of events is not.' (White 1987:8.) White suggests that the formal elements of an annal – the vertical list of dates on the left side of the page and the corresponding entries of events on the right side of the page – have great significance. The list of dates 'confers coherence and fullness on the events by registering them under the years in which they occurred. To put it another way, the list of dates can be seen as the signified of which the events given in the right-hand column are the signifiers. The meaning of the events is their

registration in this kind of list.' (White 1987:9.) The dual systems of dating, in other words, may be more important than the events themselves. What makes events important is placing them within the novel frameworks of Christian and Muslim notions of linear time.

The way in which events are recorded is also telling. First off, all events are recorded as if they have equal significance. There is no difference in how genealogical events, such as a prominent birth or marriage, in how natural events, such as earthquakes and comets, and in how social events, such as the ruler's departure on a journey or the construction of a building, are narrated. This naturalness and equivalence are part of a textual claim about the rightness and inevitability of the presence and rule of Gowa and Talloq's governing nobility. The representation of genealogical events as having the same status as an eclipse or fire implies that they could not be otherwise. They have to be reckoned with. This textual effect derives not only from how these events are recorded, but from the fact that they are recorded within calendrical time's infinite, encompassing, and unalterable nature. *Lontaraq bilang* may have connoted that the presence and rule of the *karaeng* of Gowa possessed a degree of inevitability and naturalness by being located within these new temporal frames. This, then, is the beginnings of a social map that extends temporally, granting the rulers of Gowa a graphic, visible immortality throughout time.

Viewed as a whole, what we are confronted with in the seventeenth-century Gowa court *lontaraq bilang* is the establishment of textual authority. By textual authority I mean the web of relationships linking power, society, and textuality.¹¹ Constructions of authority in the text, of the text, and in the social order that produced the text are parallel constructions; each draws sustenance from the others. The social mapping in *lontaraq bilang* is one way in which authority was asserted and social relationships defined. The creation of hierarchies and social positions within seventeenth-century Makassarese society in part depended on one's relationship to texts: both the texts in which one was mentioned and the texts that one possessed. Each indexed exemplary status. From this perspective, *lontaraq bilang* are not nearly as anomalous in the world of Makassarese historical texts as they first appear. They are fully engaged in the same sort of textual politics and claims to authority so apparent in *patturioloang*. As powerful as these claims were during the golden age of Gowa's dominance over Makassarese society, however, they would not last long. This becomes clear in our final social map.

¹¹ About this web of concerns much has begun to be written in Southeast Asia and elsewhere, particularly in the Islamic world. See, for example, Bowen 1991; Cummings 2002; Drakard 1999; Messick 1993; Mitchell 1991; Tol 2000.

Alternate social maps

A third type of social mapping present in *lontaraq bilang* manuscripts consists of alterations of entries found in texts other than the Gowa court *lontaraq bilang* edited and translated by Ligetvoet (KITLV Or. 236a). A good example was published in Dutch in 1855. The article 'Makasaarsche historiën' consists of an edited translation of a 1795 historical manuscript owned by an old man named Ince' Timor living in Maros. Presumably of mixed Malay-Makassarese descent, we do not know if he was from Maros or if the text was authored there. We can assume that he must have had access to the royal court in order to have copied portions of existing Makassarese texts and authored new sections. Part of the manuscript is a *lontaraq bilang* text containing 117 entries, the first dated 1602 and the last 2 April 1747, suggesting Ince' Timor may well not have been their author. Virtually all entries from the seventeenth century are found in Or. 236a, though the number of entries is much smaller. But beginning in the eighteenth century the entries are entirely different. In this the 1795 *lontaraq bilang* text evidences a common pattern in which an annalist with access to an earlier *lontaraq bilang* text selected the entries he or she wished to include, then from that foundation went on to continue adding entries to the annal. Both the selection of events concerning the seventeenth century and the nature of the new entries from the eighteenth century provide insight into this form of history-making.

The set of entries included by the annalist(s) is a fascinating example of an eighteenth-century perspective on seventeenth-century Makassarese history. A social remapping took place which appears to have derived from the central event in seventeenth-century Makassarese history: the Makassar Wars (1666-1669) and the accompanying fall of the rulers of Gowa and rise of Arung Palakka (Andaya 1981). The fate of Gowa's rulers is clearly evident in the choices the annalists of the 1795 text made about which past events were significant and which were not. The contrast between this *lontaraq bilang* and the one in Or. 236a is most evident in their choices of initial entries.

The first seven entries in Or. 236a cover the years 1545 to 1600. They record the birthdates of Tunijalloq (ruled Gowa 1565 to 1590), Karaeng ri Barombong (a prominent Gowa noble, father of Karaeng Sumannaq), Karaeng Matoaya (ruled Talloq 1593 to 1623), Tuammenang ri Gaukanna (Sultan Ala'uddin, ruled Gowa 1593 to 1639), Tumammaliang ri Timoroq (ruled Talloq 1623 to 1641), and Tuammenang ri Bontobiraeng (Karaeng Pattingalloang, ruled Talloq 1641 to 1654), calculated by backdating from their ages the year they died, and the death of Tunijalloq in 1590. These six births and one death register the lives and significance of some of the most prominent figures in Gowa and Talloq's history. The eighth entry, dated 2 March 1602, registers the creation of the Dutch East India Company by 73 people with capital totalling 2,640,000 reals.

It is telling that of these eight events, only the 2 March 1602 entry about the VOC is found in Or. 236a. In fact, it is the first entry, though it differs in details, listing 75 men with capital of 264,000 rijksdollars. None of the births or deaths of six towering figures in Makassar history was seen as worthy of inclusion. While Or. 236a is above all else concerned to record the births, marriages, achievements, children, and deaths of Gowa and Talloq's premier nobles, not a single such entry is contained in the 1795 *lontaraq bilang*. The next four events in this text all concern Islam.¹²

22 Sept 1607	At this time the ruler of Gowa and his brother embrace Islam
1608	With the war of Pakaca, those from Soppeng embrace Islam
10 May 1610	The people of Wajo also become Muslim
23 Nov 1611	Those from Bone are conquered by the Makassarese, because their religion dictates that the Makassarese persuade them to accept Islam, as they have done

These four events are also recorded in Or. 236a, but they are interspersed with the births of other rulers and prominent nobles and are (in the case of the 1611 entry) briefer. In other words, the 1795 *lontaraq bilang* has dropped genealogical information about the rulers of Gowa as no longer significant in an eighteenth-century Makassar these rulers no longer controlled.¹³

In contrast, the annalist(s) of the 1795 text took great pains to include entries dealing with Arung Palakka. Sixteen entries record his movements, actions, wounds, and finally his death on 6 April 1696. So too the turbulent decades of the 1660s (twenty-eight entries) and 1670s (eighteen entries) are well represented in this *lontaraq bilang*. The annalist(s) of this text judged the events of the Makassar Wars and the tumultuous upheaval that followed the overthrow of the rulers of Gowa and Talloq by Arung Palakka and the VOC of enduring significance. Undoubtedly this is because these decades marked the fundamental watershed that led to the world experienced by eighteenth-century Makassarese. The tremendous uncertainty that this produced is recorded in another way as well. Far more than Or. 236a, the 1795 *lontaraq bilang* records all manner of wondrous events and supernatural omens, from two suns appearing in the sky, to comets eight consecutive nights, to dead men coming back to life. In the years before 1667 only three such events are noted (an average of one every twenty-two years), while for the years after

¹² The Makassarese text for these entries is not available, as we only possess a Dutch translation of this 1795 manuscript (*Makasaarsche historiën* 1855).

¹³ As one anonymous reviewer noted, the eighteenth century witnessed unsuccessful rebellions against the rulers of Gowa in 1739 and 1778. This suggests that dissatisfaction with the rulers of Gowa for having 'sold out' to the VOC in exchange for retaining power may also have contributed to the diminished attention paid to these rulers.

1667 nineteen such events are registered (an average of one every four years). These entries record a perception of a world that had changed fundamentally and that was filled with ambiguous happenings. The 1795 text thus represents an acknowledgment of how much Makassar had been transformed by the events set in motion by the Makassar Wars, events to which the annalist(s) of Or. 236a apparently had difficulty reconciling themselves. In this new mapping, the lives of Makassarese rulers textually disappeared, while the presence of Arung Palakka, the momentous events he caused, and the uncertain world in which Makassarese now found themselves remained.

A central principle in *lontaraq bilang* social mapping emerges from examining which seventeenth-century individuals Makassarese in the following century saw fit to include: the dominant preoccupation is not whether an entry is true or false, accurate or inaccurate, but whether a person's presence is recorded or omitted. The rulers of Gowa and Talloq, and the genealogical details of their lives, were irrelevant in a world dominated by the VOC and Arung Palakka and his heirs. It is the presence and absence of individuals which mark the first step in creating a social map using *lontaraq bilang*. Being present in the manuscripts is an index of social significance. Ultimately it is not terribly significant if a date is accidentally changed, or if small discrepancies and inaccuracies creep into the annal, but to be left out entirely is a grave matter.

The social reference point in Or. 236a is the presence of Gowa and Talloq's ruling nobles. In the 1795 *lontaraq bilang* the dominant social reference point is the beginnings of an Islamic society. This remapping suggests that we should consider *lontaraq bilang* as more than mere collections of factual entries. It is this characteristic which has always seemed to make *lontaraq bilang* appear to be fundamentally different kinds of historical texts than the Makassarese *patturioloang* that historians have relied upon to construct a narrative of early modern Makassarese history. While *patturioloang* tell a story, typically with discernible beginnings and some degree of narrative continuity, even if they lack definitive endings, *lontaraq bilang* in contrast have been viewed as simple annals: listings of events in a chronological sequence. White's description (1987:6) of the *Annals of Saint Gaul* seems to apply equally well to *lontaraq bilang*:

Although this text is 'referential' and contains a representation of temporality – Ducrot and Todorov's definition of what can count as a narrative – it possesses none of the characteristics that we normally attribute to a story: no central subject, no well-marked beginning, middle, and end, no peripeteia, and no identifiable narrative voice. In what are, for us, the theoretically most interesting segments of the text, there is no suggestion of any necessary connection between one event and another.

But in fact we can read in both Or. 236a and the 1795 text what White calls 'inaugurating' events. Perhaps due to the Makassarese preoccupation with

origins (Cummings 2002), Makassarese annalists paid close attention to beginnings, including the VOC's founding, the introduction of Islam into Makassar, and other hallmark events ushering in or symbolizing a new social order, such as the completion of the ruler of Gowa's palace on 15 September 1631 and the VOC conquest of Melaka on 14 January 1641. All six *lontaraq bilang* consulted for this analysis share a preoccupation with the coming and spread of Islam. While Islam plays a role that is largely ornamental in *patturi-oloang*, its centrality in *lontaraq bilang* suggests that in Makassarese eyes Islam came to serve as a lodestone for Makassarese identity and as a framework for interpreting history in the wake of the fall of Gowa and the rulers who had functioned as focal points in Makassarese society before 1669. *Lontaraq bilang* like the 1795 text in particular at least imply a narrative about Makassarese society and social change distinct from the *lontaraq bilang* texts like Or. 236a that were compiled before the fall of Gowa. The 1795 *lontaraq bilang* shows us a fundamentally remapped social order in which the older political functions and genealogical entries of Or. 236a have been supplanted.

Conclusion

Lontaraq bilang are a valuable resource for historians. They have long been recognized as sources of precious information about people, places, and events in Makassar. For social historians they offer a wealth of information about the built environment, and for political historians abundant data about contests for power. But their value is not limited to the utility of their entries. Reading for more than simple, discrete facts gives us great purchase on the way that Makassarese society was organized. *Lontaraq bilang* supply us with a number of social maps that inscribe existing social networks and social relationships. These social maps provide evidence of the interplay between textuality and authority, and the ability of individuals to manoeuvre in a cultural environment in which this interplay was always significant but rarely static. The snapshots of how *lontaraq bilang* textually defined the boundaries of political importance, and the dramatic difference the Makassar Wars of 1666-1669 made in transforming these boundaries, are an important window on early modern Makassarese history. Exploring these manuscripts beyond the beginning made here will repay our efforts many times over.

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