

Chapter 6

Wanuwa and the Communalism System of Ancient Soppeng: A Manuscript-Based Study



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1 Introduction

Buginese manuscripts, especially the corpus of *Lontara Attoriolong*, contain historical information on local kingdoms in South Sulawesi. The *Attoriolong* manuscript has become an important source for information about the existence of the Buginese and Makassarese kingdoms. Considerable information on the Soppeng kingdom has also been traced through another ancient manuscript source called *Lontara Soppeng*. This manuscript contains the story of the historical development of the Soppeng kingdom, such as the origin of the formation of the empire, the names of its kings and their genealogy, the organization of the government, and other important events.

According to Cense [1, 5], the corpus of *Lontara Attoriolong* Buginese is highly valuable, so it is important to use it as a data source for the local history of South Sulawesi. Compared with other historical tales in Indonesian regions, such as Java, we could see that the Buginese–Makassarese peoples were very realistic in recording their life on *lontara*. This is why the manuscript of *Lontara Bugis–Makassar* is known to be most valuable, because the events were recorded in very plain and simple text.

Lontara texts were written in the local alphabet and language, and recorded the story and history of the people who lived in the region over a long time span. *Lontara* texts have become important material for the writing of the local history and culture of the Buginese and Makassarese communities. Some notes about them have been

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created, for example, the work of Crawford in *History of the Indian Archipelago* (1820), Roelof Block's overview of South Sulawesi History, S.A. Buddungh's *Het Nederlandsche Gouvernement van Makassar op het eiland* (in *Tidjschrift v.Ned. Indie*, V, Volume I, 1843), J.A. Bakkers's *Keradjaan Pindjaman Bone*, Ian Caldwell's University of Canberra thesis titled *South Sulawesi A.D. 1300–1600: Ten Bugis Texts* [2], and Omar's Hull University thesis titled *The History of Bone A.D. 1775–1795: The Diary of Sultan Ahmad as-Shamsuddin Salleh* [3]. In other words, researchers have shown great interest in Buginese manuscripts as data sources, so they have been probed extensively and deeply for their historical and cultural content.

This paper discusses the existence of ancient Soppeng *wanuwa* prior to the *Tomanurung* period, which initiated the historical period of the united Soppeng kingdom. The *wanuwa* was a form of ancient settlement of the Buginese community, including those in Soppeng. The *wanuwa* preceded the unification of the Soppeng area into a united kingdom at the end of thirteenth century. The Soppeng *wanuwa* was a traditional settlement constituted by several community group units in a settlement area, in which every group had its own kin relationships. All collective or community groups in a *wanuwa* were bonded in a small alliance and led by a chief called a *Matowa*.

There are two preliminary questions: what was the situation of ancient *wanuwa* in pre-*Tomanurung* Soppeng; and what was the concept of the *wanuwa*, which was established on the basis of a communalism system? This study uses Buginese *lontara* (manuscript) data, comprising three manuscripts: *Pau-Paunna Meompaloe* (PPM), *La Padoma* (LPD), and *Attoriolong Soppeng* (ATS) (Fig. 6.1).

2 The *Wanuwa* Concept

In the Buginese dictionary, a *wanuwa* is referred to as an area or place in which humans live [4], whereas Caldwell [2] defined the *wanuwa* as a settlement unit in which humans lived in a group that shared the same cultural identity, and every individual had kin relationships among the group. In recent times, a *wanuwa* could be identified as a *kampung* or village.

Besides the *wanuwa*, there were also the words *lipu* and *limpo*, which had similar meanings to *wanuwa* and were used to refer to a settlement area or human village. The difference was that the word *lipu* denoted a more particular Buginese vocabulary character, whereas the word *wanuwa* had more proto-Austronesian character and its sound equivalent could be found in various Nusantara communities or ethnic groups. A clearer meaning of *lipu* can be found in *lontara* manuscripts, which show that *lipu* had a larger scope than *wanuwa*. *Lipu* refers to a larger and bigger area context, e.g., *lipu Soppeng*, which means “Soppeng land.”

The word *limpo*, on the other hand, referred specifically to a settlement village, which in this context referred to a village or small settlement unit. The context of *limpo* referred to a small settlement unit, which was usually called *lili baiccuq* as



Fig. 6.1 Dutch map dated 1848 (Source: Stephen C. Druce [6]:324, Appendix D)

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part of a *lili lompo* (a big village). It should be noted here that *wanuwa*, either in a big or small size, had a normative system which became legal guidance for its communities and assigned the *Matowa* the highest position.

3 Ancient Soppeng *Wanuwa*

The story *Pau-Paunna Meompaloe* (*PPM*) (or *The Story of Mottle Cat*) in the ancient Buginese literature describes social atmospheres, early agrarian civilization, and five ancient *wanuwa* in Soppeng: Kessi', Pattojo, Watu, Langkemme', and Lisu. Soppeng was the name of a settlement area that comprised numerous dwelling *wanuwa* or human settlements. The geography of Soppeng is depicted as covering an area that was more or less the same as the Soppeng regency we know today. Soppeng was called *lipu to kawa*, which could be defined as "human dwelling land," as reflected in this fragment of a story:

Nalabu tona essoe / naoloini Soppeng / nagilinna makkeda / Datunna Sangiang Serri / taleppang sana cinampe / ri lipu' to kawa ede / bara' engka talolongeng / situju-tuju nawanawata' / na iyana taonroi / makkulau temmalala / kua ri pangemmerenna / Na sama iyo sining ade maegae / bata ede warelle ede / sining betteng maegae / (Source: *PPM* manuscript: 7)

(The night has come / they go towards Soppeng / she looks and says / Dewi Sangiang Serri / lets come and rest for a while / in "human dwelling land" / hopefully we could find / as we expected / a place for / fostering our happiness / a convenient feeling / and they're all agreed / the Goddess of Wheat, the Goddess of Corn / and the Goddess of Millet ... /) (Translated by Hadrawi 2016)

With regard to the toponym of ancient Soppeng *wanuwa*, there were five *wanuwa* names, noted in *PPM*, that were inhabited by communities who practiced subsistence agricultural activities: Pattojo, Langkemme', Kessi', Watu, and Lisu. The people of these five *wanuwa* are described as people who already cultivated rice as their main crop. Even though the *Meompaloe* text does not provides much information about those five toponyms, it provides us with sufficient insight into the social situations that prevailed in Soppeng before it became a larger unit.

PPM contains a story about the journey of Datu Sangiang Serri, or the Goddess of Rice, and her entourage, who went from Luwu to Maiwa, then went to Tempe, crossing Soppeng, and eventually arrived at Barru before they ascended to the sky. When they passed through the Soppeng area, the story mentions the names of Soppeng *wanuwa* visited by them. The first *wanuwa* was Pattojo.

3.1 Pattojo

The story of *PPM* describes the location of Pattojo, which was reached by Datu Sangiang Serri and her entourage on foot from the Tempe *wanuwa* at Wajo. The aim of Sangiang Serri at Pattojo was to find the goodness in the community, e.g., good ethics, honest women, diligent men and, particularly, those who were skilled in

treating the rice and honoring Dewi Sangiang Serri. However, Sangiang Serri and her entourage—Dewi Jagung (the Goddess of Corn), Dewi Jewawut (the Goddess of Millet), and Dewi Gandum (the Goddess of Wheat)—did not find peace of mind in Pattojo. This inconvenience arose because they could not find the desired attitudes and behaviors in the Pattojo people. Along with her entourage, Dewi Sangiang Serri then left Pattojo and they continued their journey toward Langkemme’.

3.2 *Langkemme’*

The Langkemme’ *wanuwa* was the second stopover of Dewi Sangiang Serri while she was crossing Soppeng. The status of the Langkemme’ land was one of the Soppeng *wanuwa*. Its people lived in stilt houses supported by wooden poles. They were already familiar with *tiuseng* (wheat) plants before they knew about *ase* (rice). Every family in this area already practiced the procedures of food processing by cooking it (*mannasu*) in the kitchen. They used *oring* (rice pots) and *lowa* (side dish pots) for cooking. These two items of cooking equipment were made from pottery or clay. The people already knew about cooking equipment such as the *saji* (rice spoon), *sanru* (a rather small rice spoon), *pabberung* (a bamboo pipe used to light the fire), and *aju* (firewood).

The *Meopaloe* story implies that the social atmosphere of the Langkemme’ *wanuwa* also displeased Datu Sangiang Serri and her entourage. This was because Sangiang Serri and her entourage were not properly greeted and not invited to the upper house. Datu Sangiang Serri and her entourage wandered near the border of the Langkemme’ village and were bitten by rats, pecked by hens, and mused by pigs. That is the reason why Dewi Sangiang Serri and her entourage become sad and cried at the border of the Langkemme’ *wanuwa*. Besides that, the Langkemme’ people also showed inappropriate behaviors, e.g., parents scolding their children, residents only being concerned about their own relatives, and people being involved in disputes inside their own houses. It was this inconvenient situation that caused Sangiang Serri to urge her entourage to leave Langkemme’.

3.3 *Kessi’*

Dewi Sangiang Serri continued her journey to the *wanuwa* of Kessi’. The entourage of Dewi Sangiang Serri arrived at Kessi’, a *wanuwa* settlement known as Wanuwae ri Kessi’. Kessi’ was led by a clan chief called a *Matowa Paddiuma*, the leader of an *anang* clan practicing agriculture as the main form of subsistence for the *wanuwa*. The Kessi’ *wanuwa* was said to be already familiar with various main crops such as rice (*wisesa* or *ase*), millet (*tiuseng*), wheat (*wetteng*), and corn (*barelle*). The arrival of Dewi Sangiang Serri in Kessi’ was more happily greeted by the Kessi’ *Matowa Paddiuma*. Dewi Sangiang Serri and her entourage was soon invited to the stilt house (*bola*) of the kessi’ *Matowa*. They were also invited to rest in the upper part

of the house, which occupied half of the house. Some of the guests were sitting and leaned their back on the pillars inside the house. Although there was a warm welcome from the *Matowa*, Dewi Sangiang Serri still saw things that displeased her heart. As the evening came, there were always kessi' people who quarreled with one another. In other places, the women scrambled to cook, put their pots, and line their fish containers, always holding and swinging their spoons (*sinru*), stirring their bamboos (*pabberung*), and some of them even sat above the kitchen. Those who were cooking quarreled, and no one would budge, so the fire was extinguished. They were also jostling. These events annoyed Dewi Sangiang Serri.

Despite being hosted by the Kessi' *Matowa*, Dewi Sangiang Serri refused an invitation to stay overnight. She cried when seeing the events that evening. The social order in the kessi' *wanuwa* seemed very simple. Even though they already had a leader, the *Matowa Paddiuma*, the community did not yet display stable customs. This was seen by the Goddess of Rice and her entourage, and thus they did not find life peaceful at Kessi'. That is why Dewi Sangiang Serri refused to stay overnight at Kessi'. She urged her entourage to leave the house and continue their journeys.

3.4 Watu

This time they traveled to Watu, which was also located in the Soppeng area. Watu is noted as one of the settlement toponyms at Soppeng, which is equivalent to *lipu* in the words *ri lipu'e ri Watu*. The word Watu is clearly seen in the following quotation:

Nagiling muwa makkeda / Datuna Sangiang Serri / taleppang sana cinampe' / ri lipu'e ri Watu / sappa pangampe madeceng / na iapa taonroi / timu tessisumpala'e / mappatang kininnawaé / situju nawa-nawae / makkunraigi Malabo / orowane malempu / misseng dup-pai wisesa / paenre' Sangiang Serri / (Source: PPM manuscript, p. 9)

(She looks and then says / Dewi Sangiang Serri / Lets stopover for a while / in Watu land / search for good behaviours / to be our settlement / because of a goodhearted woman / an honest man / who are skilful in welcoming the rice / honouring Sangiang Serri /) (Translated by Hadrawi 2016)

The Watu toponym was assumed to be larger than other toponyms with *wanuwa* status. Perhaps the Watu toponym was a large toponym that consisted of several *wanuwa*, but the names of the *wanuwa* under the Watu *lipu* were not noted. Watu was led by a clan chief called a *Matowa Paddiuma*, or the leader of the clan's agriculture, who was also a sociopolitical leader.

The people of Watu already lived in stilt houses. There were attics in those houses called *rakkeyang*, usually used for rice storage. At particular times, the woman who owned the house would take the rice and then dry it in the sunshine. Unfortunately, the Watu women's procedure for taking the rice was considered inappropriate by the Goddess of Rice. This because the women went up to the *rakkeyang* and took the rice at high noon; they did not clean their feet first and sometimes did not use any

clothes. When taking the rice, they rudely shooed away the cat lying on the rice with their foot; they even kicked the cat. They were often angry while taking the rice. They even tore down the rice pile when taking it and brought down the rice in anger. Without a stopover for a while in their house, the women directly brought the rice to the mortar under the house. They pounded the rice still with angry feelings and thus the rice was scattered and they did not pick it up again. These women's behaviors displeased the heart of Dewi Sangiang Serri and thus she went down from the house and soon left Watu.

3.5 *Lisu*

Dewi Sangiang Serri next went to Lisu, which became her last stopover in Soppeng land. Lisu was said to be one of the *wanuwa* led by a chief called a *Matowa*. Lisu's *Matowa* is described as an important figure in promoting the agricultural activities of his people. The people at the Lisu *wanuwa* already knew about the *maddoja bine* ritual, in which the people sat all night long to guard the rice seeds. The Lisu people were also familiar with the rice seedling system termed *bine ripano*' and the rice cultivation system termed *bine ritaneng*. Besides the *Matowa*, there was also a special administration in Lisu termed *Sulewatang*. The term *Sulewatang* indicated a distinct feature of Lisu in a political aspect, which showed that the Liwu *wanuwa* had a more important position in Soppeng land. Based on the *PPM* story, the superiority of Lisu was implied by a larger population than those of the other *wanuwa*; when the Lisu *Matowa* held a gathering, sometimes the food was insufficient for the people who attended the gathering.

4 *Wanuwa* of Soppeng As Described in *La Padoma*

The conditions of the *wanuwa* in the Soppeng area in ancient times (pre-*Tomanurung*) were also noted in the tradition of *La Padoma*. The atmosphere of Soppeng land noted in the text of *La Padoma* indicated that the community at that time already had an ordered social civilization. The conditions of the Soppeng people who lived in Bulu, Kawu, Gattareng, and Sewo *wanuwa* were reflected in the stable life of the Soppeng people. At four Soppeng toponyms, complex political and social order systems were already established. At least, this indicates that the civilization referred to by *La Padoma* had more advanced social conditions than those that depicted in *PPM*.

La Padoma reflected a social condition of the Soppeng people prior to the united Soppeng period. A *lontara* manuscript (KITLV, Or. 77 L) notes the situation of pre-*Tomanurung* Soppeng as follows:

Passaleng pannessaengngi / iya sie ripau / iya matenana / La Padoma / mate toni arungnge ri Kawu / putta manettoni Arung menre'e / ri Galigo / ri welaini Sewo sibawa Gattareng / lobbang manenni / wanuwa nakkarungngiye / La Padoma / sibawa akkarungenna / Opunna Kawu / Apa' pada puttai / aga napada no'na massewwa ri Soppeng / to Kawue / to Gattarengge / Lobbang manenni akkarungenna / La Padoma / arungnge ri Kawu / (Source: KITLV Or.727L)

(It was said that / when La Padoma has passed away / then the government in Kawu was ended / and so the king who was noted in Galigo / Sewo and Gattareng were abandoned / both were empty / the land that ruled by / La Padoma / and his rules at Kawu / since it was ended / then it was united down at Soppeng / the peoples of Kawu and Gattareng / And thus it is emptied, the land of La Padoma rules in Kawu /)

There are three things that should be noted from the text of *LPD* mentioned above: first, the setting place of the story; second, the dispersal of people from various *wanuwa* who moved to and settled in the center of Soppeng land; and third, the time of the story, depicted as the beginning of the emergence of *Tomanurung*, known as Petta Sekkanynyili. It is parallel to what Caldwell [4] suggested—that the *LPD* story reveals the events of life that occurred at four ancient Soppeng *wanuwa*: Bulu, Gattareng, Sewo, and Kawu. Chaotic social situations in those four *wanuwa* led the movement of people toward the center of Soppeng or Watang Soppeng (the center of Soppeng land).

Some toponyms in the *LPD* story exhibit the existence of an ordered government system, marked by some figures who had their own titles. La Padoma, for instance, was said to be a crown prince who inherited *akkarungeng* or the government of Bulu. La Padoma was also known as *Opu Batara Kawu* or the “Prince of Kawu.” In fact, Kawu is a settlement name in Soppeng but until now it has not been clearly defined. There is also an assumption that Kawu is one of the *wanuwa* in the Bone kingdom, but this is considered unlikely.

Toponym names in the *LPD* tradition which were already identified as *wanuwa* at Soppeng are Bulumatanre and Bulu Kamennang. Particularly, Bulu Kamennang is said to be the place where the body of La Padoma was buried after he was stabbed in the Mangkawani room. Meanwhile, the Bulumatanre toponym is most likely the same as Bulu. Caldwell [2] noted that the geographical location of Bulumatanre was around 1000 m southwest of Watang Soppeng, whereas the toponyms that were most clearly identified were Sewo and Gattareng, since both of them are still listed in the administrative system of the Soppeng regency.

The important thing indicated by the names of Soppeng toponyms in the *LPD* story is the existence of a civilization that was well ordered at several Soppeng *wanuwa* in the pre-*Tomanurung* era. This civilization was strengthened by a stable social value system, particularly that related to *wari'* or the sociocultural value system of the palace, which was very strong and embedded in the community. The tragedy of forbidden love between La Padoma and We Mangkawani caused great chaos, which led to the end of the glorious era of the pre-*Tomanurung* Soppeng kingdoms. The assassination of La Padoma triggered disputes between Kawu-Bulu and Sewo-Gattareng. Perhaps these disputes marked the beginning of a dark era in Soppeng, which was known as *sianrebale*.

The *sianrebale* era, as described in *lontara* manuscripts, summarized the times known as *pitu pariyama* eras. These eras spanned seven generations. If this assumption is true, then the *sianrebale* is assumed to have lasted about 175 years. The life of the people in Soppeng land was likened to “fishes that eat each other.” The people devoured each other.

It was at that time that the Buginese people no longer obeyed the legal system and living orders; they lived under a “mob rule” in which the stronger preyed on the weaker. There were no rules or laws to be obeyed, and even less justice. That is why this social chaotic event became the darkest period in the historical life of South Sulawesi. Moreover, this event destroyed Soppeng’s previously established social orders and civilization. But eventually the civilization was reconstructed and began the *Tomanurung* tradition, which marked the beginning of the kingdom ages in Soppeng’s historical phase.

5 Communalism System of *Wanuwa*

The Soppeng communities that lived in *wanuwa*, between one people and another, were bonded by a communalism relationship called *anang*. The greatness and charisma of each *wanuwa* in Soppeng kingdom were reflected in holy objects or relics, known as *arajang*. The *ATS* manuscript contains *wanuwa* names such as Bila, Belo, Pattojo, Gattareng, Sewo, Tinco, Umpungeng, and Mario, which are also known as prestigious Soppeng *palili*.

As they developed, the *wanuwa* mentioned above had more complex governance structures and officials than those that did not have relics. The *arajang* became holy objects that symbolized the advances and charisma of one group compared with others. *Arajang* symbols, usually in the forms of pennants or swords, legitimized the power of community chiefs such as the *Matowa*, *Arung*, *Pangepa*’, and *Sulewatang*.

The rituals of ancestral worship, known as *patturiolo* and repeatedly performed by the communities, had an important function in strengthening the solidarity in *wanuwa*. These ceremonies were always centered on particular objects such as holy objects or relics, and on particular places such as trees and springs. The ceremonial activities held by communities in each *wanuwa* were not only performed annually, but also related to special times or moments such as rice planting and harvest, and the cycle of human life such as birth, circumcision, and marriage. Occasionally, the ceremony was held for particular interests such as fulfilling a pledge or vow, making a long journey, migration, and so on. Those particular places, for *wanuwa* that already had a government system led by a local *Matowa* or *Pengulu Anang*, also became a place for the *arung* (king) and a place for traditional leaders’ coronations, declarations of war and peace, and the establishment of fellowship pledges with other *wanuwa*.

From the early times, the Soppeng people regarded kinship as an important element of their community system within the *pasaejengeng* social framework. The kinship groups related through *pasaejengeng* had bilateral characteristics established through marriages within *wanuwa*. These relationships gradually extended and exceeded the boundaries of *wanuwa*. This characteristic of bilateral marriages by the Soppeng people established larger family bonds through the bloodlines of the father's and mother's sides. This particularly concerned interests such as leaders' issues and inheritance of the social positions of *Matowa*, community chiefs, or *anang*; however, it was usually dominated by inheritance principles based on bloodlines from the father's or man's side (*uranewe mappabbati*). The paternal bloodline became the main consideration in measuring the social stratum of a child born through marriage. The kinship established through the mother's bloodline, however, also determined inheritance of political rights by a person in his or her social environment.

The bond of family groups (*pasaejengeng*) gradually established a more complex society in Soppeng *wanuwa*. Exogamous marriages between families in those bilateral *pasaejengeng* groups strengthened the sense of unity within the kinship groups. These kinship groups then became closer through frequent ceremonies. Those ceremonies strengthened the kinship bonds through the shared concept of "origin of ancestors" (*patturiolo*). In fact, however, there were always struggles for power and prestige in family clans to dominate positions and social and political roles.

The complex life of *wanuwa* communities was ordered by the *pangadereng* system, which was organized into a stable social structure led by a *Matowa* or *Pangulu Anang*. For most Soppeng peoples, the highest community leader in a *wanuwa* was the *Matowa*. Everything contained in the normative rules in a community became an important aspect of the establishment of mutual awareness and had to be obeyed by the communities. That is why every *wanuwa* alliance was more characterized as a customary community that always maintained its customary system and continually held rites.

Wanuwa customary communities had a communal and religious–magical mindset. They regarded life as homogenous, in which humans held a center position. To maintain the communalism living system, each *wanuwa* had its own leader (*Pangulu Anang*) who became a symbol of unification and the leader in living by *pangadereng* norms.

Traditionally, persons who were bonded as a community in every *wanuwa* in Soppeng had a family relationship with each other as close or distant relatives. This family relationship was based on continuous marriage relationships between family clans from generation to generation.

The term *pasaejengeng* in Buginese Soppeng society referred to the family relationship created by marriage. The *pasaejengeng* concept comprised two aspects: *seajing sompullolo* and *seajing siteppangeng*. *Seajing sompullolo* was a kin

relationship created on the basis of birth or lineage bonds, whereas *seajing sitep-pangeng* was a family relationship created on the basis of marriage of one member of a family to a member of another family clan. A person could be categorized as *seajing sompullolo* in a community group if he or she still had a kinship bloodline. For Buginese Soppeng communities, the *seajing sompullolo* position or status had an important meaning in social aspects, for it became an important consideration in marriages. For marriage, Soppeng people always tended to choose mates who still counted as members of their kin, even though, on the other hand, they were also familiar with exogamous marriage. Primarily, the people sought marriage with a mate who came from the scope of one's own *sompullolo* family.

For Soppeng people, marriages between relatives within a family were always guided by strict legal norms determining whether persons who were relatives could be mated or not. The function of the matchmaking system practiced by the community was aimed at avoiding incest. That is why marriage and all of its social aspects for Buginese Soppeng people were aimed at harmonizing the order of the law (*pangadereng*) by avoiding forbidden marriages (*malaweng*).

Marriage became an important medium to bind the family relationship, from both the man's (husband's) and woman's (wife's) sides. Both sides, then, were responsible for the permanence of the marriage relationship. They did everything they could to prevent divorce, because when divorce occurred, previously good family relationships might be fractured.

Hence, marriage for Buginese Soppeng people became an important element in describing family relationship networks, from both the mother's and father's family sides. Marriage became the most important social event, with a purpose of not only showing the prestige or position of the family but also establishing relationships among kinship groups, social positions, political power, and economic conditions.

Patturiolo concepts could strengthen the bonds of *pasaeajingeng* community groups which, in turn, established the bonds of communalism. As a kin relationship based on common "ancestors," the *anang* concept was the most important kin relationship in each *wanuwa*. That is why the unification of *anang* communities, as a Buginese tradition, was a genuine communalism from the historical perspective and was established far earlier than the formation of the Soppeng kingdom in the thirteenth century.

Anang unifications in each *wanuwa* in Soppeng began with a core kinship group, which gradually formed an extended kinship group network through marriages. This was the basis of marriages that unified family relationships between one *anang* family and another *anang* family from another *wanuwa*. The kin relationships and family bonds then led to the establishment of larger family relationship networks, which exceeded the boundaries between *wanuwa*. That is why among the *wanuwa*, kin relationships were often found.

6 Conclusion

Toward the *Tomanurung* period, Soppeng communities were divided into two large groups: Soppeng Riaja (in the western area) and Soppeng Rilau (in the eastern area). The Soppeng Riaja *wanuwa* were centered in Sewo, and the Soppeng Rilau *wanuwa* were centered in Gattareng, with a total of 60 *wanuwa*. According to a *lontara* manuscript, the *wanuwa* that joined under the Sewo alliance as Soppeng Riaja included (1) Passeppe; (2) Pising; (3) Lawunga; (4) Mattobulu; (5) Ara; (6) Lisu; (7) Lawo; (8) Madello Rilau; (9) Tinco; (10) Cenrana; (11) Salokaraja; (12) Malaka; and (13) Mattoanging. The Gattareng alliance of Soppeng Rilau included (1) Lolloé; (2) Kubba; (3) Panincong; (4) Talagaé Riattassalo; (5) Mangkuttu; (6) Maccile; (7) Watu-watu; and (8) Akkampeng.

Soppeng Rilau and Soppeng Riaja agreed to make peace and be united (*makkaw-erang*), establishing the government of Kedatuan Soppeng (the Soppeng kingdom). The relationships between them had established the roots of the nobility of the Soppeng kingdom through marriages between social elites on both sides. Soppeng Riaja was represented by Petta Manurunggé ri Sekkanynyili as the groom, and Soppeng Rilau was represented by Petta Manurunggé ri Gowarie as the bride. The strategy to unify Soppeng Rilau and Soppeng Riaja through marriage succeeded in reconstructing the political order and government of the Soppeng kingdom. With the establishment of the united Soppeng kingdom, the numbers of *wanuwa* also increased from time to time. The *wanuwa* developed and changed their status into *palili* or states under the Soppeng kingdom, while the *Matowa*, who was previously known as a community chief in a *wanuwa*, became an *Arung* who had a role as a political and administrative leader of *palili*.

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