

Form criticism and its applicability to Bugis historical texts

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Introduction

In several important articles, and through his grammar of the language of traditional Bugis literature, Dr Ülo Sirk has done much to clarify the nature and structure of the epic poem-cycle *La Galigo*, the best known and perhaps the most important Bugis poetic form (Sirk 1975, 1983, 1986, 2000). In recent years, Dr Roger Tol and Sirtjo Koolhof have added to the growing body of knowledge on the *La Galigo* and other poetic genres such as *toloq* and *ménrurana* (Tol 1988, 1990, 1992, 2000; Koolhof 1992, 1999; Koolhof and Tol 1993). Comparatively little research, however, has been carried out on Bugis prose texts, the nature of which (by the absence of such enquiry) appears to be singular, straightforward and unproblematic. Nowhere, for instance, does one find a discussion of orality, parallelism or formulaic construction in Bugis narrative prose texts in the way that one does for Bugis poetic genres.

Most Bugis prose texts are narratives concerned with the past.¹ These texts comprise a variety of works, ranging from the chronicles of Boné, Wajoq and Tanété, to shorter pieces dealing with the origin and development of other major and minor kingdoms.² As a consequence, most of the research done on Bugis prose texts has involved the historical-critical method, namely the interpretation of texts in the context of their historical settings as a means of determining their usefulness as sources for the writing of the history of South Sulawesi (Noorduyn 1955, 1961, 1965; Macknight 1983; Caldwell 1988).

In this short contribution, I wish to draw attention to the philological technique of form criticism as an alternative method of understanding Bugis narrative prose works of a historicizing character (hereafter referred to as 'historical texts'). I hope to show that in some instances no real understanding of these texts can be obtained without employing form criticism to separate out and to analyse their structure and sources. In doing so, a work or composition that, from its title or self-declared intent, would appear to be a single, unified narrative, may well reveal itself to be a composite creation, assembled from several unrelated sources, many of them oral, and developed for functions perhaps different from their roles in the text.³

The form critical method is derived from the work of a group of nineteenth and early twentieth-century Biblical scholars, known as form critics, of which H. Gunkel is the best known.⁴ It is based on the realization that many Biblical passages are not single-authored,

¹ I omit from this discussion the large body of religious texts, most of which are translations from Malay or Arabic models.

² Macknight usefully defines a Bugis manuscript work as an original composition which represents a body of text that, at one time, held a certain unity in the mind of its creator (Macknight 1984).

³ The form critical technique, and many of the arguments put forward here, may be applied to Makasar historical texts, as well as to other archipelagic works, such as the Malay *Sejarah Melayu* (see Vasudevan 1997).

⁴ The standard English-language introduction to the form-critical method is Koch (1969). (2)

unitary narratives but composites of edited and arranged oral traditions.⁵ The form critic's objectives include the identification of established literary types, and the principles lying behind the words, style and construction of each formerly independent unit, as well as the practical purpose or function for which each was designed – to use the form critics' terminology, its *Sitz im Leben*. The form critics showed that the Gospels derive from oral traditions passed on in the early Christian church. The task of the form critic is to identify and analyse those traditions, which are generally termed 'pericopes' (from Koine Greek *pericope*, section).

Pericopes are:

essentially disconnected stories [...] set down one after another with very little organic connexion, almost like a series of snapshots placed side by side in [...] a photograph album. These paragraphs are sometimes externally related to one another by a short phrase at the beginning or end, but essentially each one is an independent unit, complete in itself, undatable except by its contents, and usually equally devoid of any allusion to place. By the same token, the minor characters in these stories, unless they had some special significance for the early Church, are very summarily described and hardly ever named (Nineham 1963:27–28).⁶

Pericopes are identified by their form; in the Gospels each sets out to convey a particular aspect of Christ's ministry. Each was originally a complete unit in itself, with a beginning and an end. Most may be classified according to a number of general types. There are (among others) teaching pericopes, healing pericopes, pericopes dealing with the controversy between Christ and the Jewish religious authorities and pericopes which serve to reveal the unique nature of Jesus of Nazareth. Examples of each of these in St Mark are (in the above order): the parable of the sower (iv 1-9), the casting out of the demons into the swine (v 1-15), the parable of the wicked husbandman (xii 1-12) and the feeding of the five thousand (vi 30-34). The Qur'an is also constructed, at least in part, from oral pericopes (Wansbrough 1977:20-29; Johns 1987), as are the texts of the Pali canon (Gombrich 1987).

The Mula ritimpaqna Sidénréng

In order to demonstrate the usefulness of the form critical method, I will analyse part of a Bugis historical text, the *Mula ritimpaqna Sidénréng*, a work found on pages 16-26 of a manuscript copied in 1974 in South Sulawesi by Drs Muhammad Salim from a manuscript owned Abdul Nurdin.⁷ The title, which derives from the opening sentence of the work, can be translated as 'The founding and settlement of the kingdom of Sidénréng'. In the late sixteenth

⁵ These oral traditions may continue to exist long after the writing of the text.

⁶ Nineham adds in a footnote that while some stories contain specific references to time or place it will always be found that in such cases the reference serves a practical purpose necessary for the full understanding of the contents of the pericope.

⁷ The nineteenth-century Dutch scholar B.F. Matthes seems to have been unaware of the *Mula ritimpaqna*'s existence, nor does any later writer mention it. It is one of a pair of works related closely by subject and structure, the other, and slightly longer, being the *Mula tatimpaqna Sidénréng*, found on pages 1-15 of the same manuscript. The latter has been transliterated, translated and examined by Stephen Druce in his M.A. thesis (Druce 1999).

century, Sidénréng was the largest and most powerful member of the confederation of Ajattappareng, which lay to the north and west of the great central lakes. The other ‘west-of-the-lake’ kingdoms were Sawitto, Rappang, Suppaq and Alitta.

The loose structure of the *Mula ritimpaqna Sidénréng* and its use of disparate sources are apparent even from a casual reading. Moreover, unlike the Chronicle of Boné (and to a lesser degree the various chronicles of Wajoq), there is little or no sense of narrator. The sources that underlie the narrative are simply joined to each other by glosses (short passages that provide a temporal or genealogical link, or announce a new subject) with little attempt to mediate their competing or contradictory claims. Instead, the *Mula ritimpaqna Sidénréng* obtains its unity from its common theme, namely the history of the kingdom of Sidénréng, portrayed as an account of its rulers and the rights and duties allocated to them. In what follows, my discussion will focus only on the section of the *Mula ritimpaqna Sidénréng* that deals with period from the founding of the kingdom to the conversion of its ruler La Patiroi to Islam, which we know from contemporary sources to have taken place in the early seventeenth century. It is in these early sections of the work, which are the most removed in time from its author or editor, that its underlying sources should be most apparent, and an authorial voice least intrusive.

The pre-Islamic rulers in the *Mula ritimpaqna Sidénréng*, may well have been historical individuals, whose names have been passed down over the centuries in oral and written traditions. We should, however, be cautious in assuming the events that constitute the ‘message’ of the pericope to date from the same period, for it is evident that the pre-Islamic rulers act in the text as sources of authority for the rights and privileges of Sidénréng’s later rulers. These rights – notably the monopoly on tobacco – may date from the seventeenth century or later, while others may be much older. Sorting out the claims of the pre-Islamic sections of the *Mula ritimpaqna Sidénréng* by the historical-critical method (namely the interpretation of texts in the context of their historical setting) is particularly difficult as there are almost no external sources on South Sulawesi before 1605. In these sections of the work the form-critical method offers a more practical method of analysis, in that its procedures are essentially internal and require no external verification.

Given the novelty of this approach to Bugis historical texts, it seems useful to start with a summary of what form criticism reveals of the *Mula ritimpaqna Sidénréng*. It will be seen from the analysis below that in the section from the foundation of Sidénréng to the conversion to Islam of the ruler La Patiroi in 1609 the *Mula ritimpaqna Sidénréng* comprises four pericopes, followed by a short body of genealogical information. Prior to their incorporation into the present text, the pericopes would have had independent and unrelated existences as oral traditions, each serving to address a separate issue. They may be compared to the basic units, or ‘building blocks’, used by the evangelists in the writing of the Christian Gospels. While their subject matter is clearly different from that of the Gospels, they display between them all the features of the Biblical pericopes as described above by Nineham: a clearly defined beginning, an overall objective, minimal reference to person or place (just sufficient for the achievement of the pericope’s objective) and a clear ending. The short body of genealogical information which follows the four pericopes serves to link them to La Patiroi, Sidénréng’s first Muslim ruler.

All four pericopes are concerned with political relationships within Sidénréng, and with its neighbouring kingdom, Rappang. The first pericope describes the founding of Sidénréng by the eight brothers of the ruler of Sangallaq, a leading Toraja kingdom, and closes with the agreement that the ruler of the eponymous central settlement of Sidénréng shall be chief among the kingdom’s lords. It also contains an etymology of the name Sidénréng as a result

of the brothers having led one another by the hand in single file to the lake's edge (*sirénréng-rénréng*).

The second pericope presents an alternative account of the founding of Sidénréng, this time by a daughter of La Maqdaremmeng, the ruler of Sangallaq who appears in the first pericope. However, the second pericope is primarily concerned with her son, La Makkarakka, 'the ruler who refused to be made Arung by the people of Sidénréng because, as he said, "I am poor and foolish."' The function of the pericope is to convey the claim that the rulers of Sidénréng were appointed by popular request, and that, by virtue of the actions of their ancestors, the people of Sidénréng have sworn to them their unconditional loyalty.

The third pericope outlines the relationship between Sidénréng and Rappang, the kingdom which bordered Sidénréng to its north-west. This pericope supplies yet another account of the founding of Sidénréng by the Datu Pantilang, the ruler of an important Toraja kingdom, and a daughter of La Maqdaremmeng. The couple settles at Rappang, where their son La Maliburung succeeds them as ruler. Their unnamed daughter is installed as ruler of Sidénréng, but is 'hard of heart towards the people of Sidénréng' so the people of Sidénréng exchange her with her brother the ruler of Rappang. The pericope thus reverses the relationship of Rappang and Sidénréng, making the former the junior kingdom, a relationship symbolized by the pericope's story of how the ruler of Rappang sets fire to her palace upon hearing the news that the palace at Sidénréng has accidentally burnt down.

The fourth pericope starts with a gloss that links La Maliburung to its central character, La Pawawoi. The name La Pawawoi appears in a number of pre-Islamic genealogies of elite families ranging over a wide area from Luwu to Soppéng.⁸ The author of the *Mula ritimpaqna Sidénréng* twice uses the phrase 'The eight [...] were ploughmen at [the sacred field] La Salamaq' in order to connect the La Pawawoi up to the previous traditions. The function of the pericope (which is the most detailed of the four) is to set out the authority, and in particular the economic rights and monopolies, of the ruler of Sidénréng, and to underline the obligations of his lords towards him.

The genealogical section that concludes the pre-Islamic section of the *Mula ritimpaqna Sidénréng* is in broad agreement with, but considerably less detailed than, a work I have examined elsewhere and named the Royal Genealogy of Sidénréng (Caldwell 1988:149-57). While it seems possible that the author of the *Mula ritimpaqna Sidénréng* used the Royal Genealogy of Sidénréng as his (or her) source, it seems equally possible that the information was obtained orally.⁹ The aim of the genealogical section is to link the ancestral rulers of the four preceding pericopes to La Patiroi, the ruler of Sidénréng who converted to Islam in 1609. This it does simply by setting out the genealogy of the descendants of Wé Tépulingé: no biological relationship is made between her and the preceding rulers. As well as the glosses linking the four pericopes, there are two interjections, unrelated to the pericopes, which the author has seen fit to add. These concern the appellation *toraja mattapparenggé* ('the Toraja who live at the lake') in pericope one and the origin of the 'sinful' *jogeq* dance in pericope three. Glosses and interjections are indicated in italic in the translation.

⁸ See for example 'Genealogy of the rulers of Baébunta', Makassar branch of the National Indonesian Archives, Bugis and Makassar manuscript collection, roll 12, no. 13, page 118; and 'Genealogy of the rulers of Soppéng', Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap collection, Library of the University of Leiden, no 99, pages 224-230.

⁹ Pelras (1979) deals extensively with the close inter-relationship of the spoken and written in Bugis literature and describes how a work may move back and forth between the two registers.

Translation

Pericope one

This section tells of the time when the land of Sidénréng was first opened. There was an Arung in Tanatoraja called La Maqdaremmeng, the son of the Arung of Sangallaq. There were nine brothers: (1) La Maqdaremmeng (2) La Pababareng (3) La Wéwanriwu (4) La Panaungi (5) La Togeq Lipu (6) La Mappasessuq (7) La Pasampoi (8) La Mappatunruq and (9) La Pakolongi. Now La Maqdaremmeng oppressed his brothers in Tanatoraja, he fought with his eight brothers in Tanatoraja. The eight brothers were saddened, and so they decided to leave Tanatoraja and go down to the plain to look for a place to live, did the eight brothers. When they drew near to the hills south of Tanatoraja they saw the lake. They continued on until they came to the plain to the west of the lake. They were thirsty and wanted to drink. As they wished to continue down to the lake, they looked for a path, but could not see one. Hand in hand, the eight brothers lead each other forward. Suddenly they saw a path running from east to west which led directly to the lake. When they arrived at the lake they drank; when they had finished drinking they sat down at the side of the lake and bathed themselves in the lake. When they had finished bathing they sat down again to agree [what they should do]. Together they said, 'Here at the west of the lake is a good place for us brothers to live.' So they and their followers set off to look for a place to live, where they could open fields. For three years they cultivated [the land], and their rice harvest and their other crops and the number of their followers multiplied each year. The eight brothers agreed, saying, 'Among us eight brothers the elder brother remains elder brother, the younger brother remains younger brother. Whatever the elder brother wishes shall be done. If there is something to be decided with our followers, the seven shall decide the matter. If we cannot reach agreement, we shall forward the matter to our eldest brother. Whatever he decides shall be done. If we seven disagree about anything, we shall go straight to our eldest brother. His decision shall settle the matter'. Their rice crop and their vegetables flourished, and their buffaloes and horses grew more numerous, as did the number of their followers who had settled to the west of the lake. *The people of Soppéng and the people of Boné called them 'the Toraja who lived at the lake.' Thus the people of Boné and the people of Soppéng agreed to call the place where the Toraja who lived by the lake had established their settlements, 'the land to the west of the lake.' The eight brothers who had led one another by the hand called the land 'RiSidénréng.'*

Pericope two

Now after the eight brothers had died, a daughter of La Maqdaremmeng arrived from Tanatoraja with her husband [the Datu Pantilang] She was the first Aqdaoang¹⁰ of Sidénréng and she had three children. One of them was called La Makkarakka: he was the Aqdaoang La Kasi. He was the ruler who refused to be made Arung by the people of Sidénréng because, as he said, 'I am poor and foolish.' But he agreed to be made ruler. His family and the people of Sidénréng all said, 'Your wishes shall be obeyed and your words shall be the truth. Customary law shall become great and traditional usage increased by your family and by the people of Sidénréng.' They said, 'We shall be your followers, we shall be your people, we shall cultivate [the land], we shall build you a palace.'

¹⁰ In the text, the title of the ruler in the pre-Islamic period; later rulers have the title Aqdatuang.

Pericope three

Now here is spoken of the origin of the Arung of Sidénréng. The Datu of Pantilang was afflicted by leprosy. So he went into exile in distant lands. When he reached Tanatoraja he married the eldest child of La Maqdaremmeng. Then he left Tanatoraja. When he arrived in Rappang he was installed as ruler of Rappang. He had three children. One was a daughter (the eldest daughter) who was made ruler at Sidénréng. She was the ruler who was hard of heart towards the people of Sidénréng. [Her] younger brother ruled at Rappang. The people of Rappang came to exchange [him with her]. The people of Rappang said, 'It would be good, Puang, if you came to rule in Rappang, and you made your brother ruler at Sidénréng.' Then La Malibureng was Aqdaoang of Sidénréng. *Here arose the sinful practice of jogeq dancing.* The Arung Rappang and the Arung Sidénréng, who were brother and sister, made an agreement, saying, 'What dies in the morning [in] Rappang dies [in] the afternoon in Sidénréng.' To the present day this agreement between Rappang and Sidénréng has not been altered. The sincerity of the agreement was attested to by the following events. Sometime after this, it happened that the palace at Sidénréng was burnt to the ground in the afternoon. When news of this reached the Arung Rappang she asked, 'What did the ruler of Sidénréng manage to save?' The messenger replied, 'Just himself, his wives and children, and one of his cats.' So the Arung Rappang and her household descended [to the ground] and that very morning set fire to the palace at Rappang, because of the agreement made with the brother.

Pericope four

Now La Malibureng had eight children. The eight [children] were ploughmen at Lasalama¹¹. The one but youngest brother was called La Pawawoi. La Pawawoi was the Aqdatuang of Sidénréng. La Pawawoi had seven children. The eldest was called La Pawéwangi; he was the Arung at Tellulateqé. The second eldest child was called La Makkarakka. He was the Aqdaoang of Sidénréng. He married the Pajung of Luwuq.¹² He was the first to make firm agreements between the people of Sidénréng and their lord. He was the first to fix laws and appoint ministers. He was a great ruler. His laws were splendid and people feared the law. *The eight brothers of the Arung of Sidénréng were also the eight ploughmen.¹³* The eight ploughmen made an agreement with the Aqdaoang of Sidénréng. Also they presented him with exclusive rights over the central body of the forest. The Aqdaoang said, 'Who shall fill the palace?' The seven brothers said, 'We shall fill your palace.' The Aqdaoang of Sidénréng said, 'I have just a title, it is you seven who own the palace.' The seven replied, 'Us seven own [the] palace, but there is only one who occupies a palace in Sidénréng.' The Aqdaoang said, 'It would seem therefore that eight of us own the palace.' The seven ploughmen replied, 'The eight of us are of one mind. We seven surrender our authority to you.' The Aqdaoang La Kasi said, 'What sign will you give to show that you are surrendering your authority?' The seven headmen replied, 'We will hand over to you what is caught in the mouth of the enclosure; [you] take the salt, the sirih, the tobacco. Only you may order these sold, no-one other than you may do so.' The Aqdaoang said, 'I will own the salt, I will own the tobacco, I will own the sirih.' The seven headmen said also, '[You] also take possession of unusual things.' The Aqdaoang said, 'I will own the transvestites, the dwarves, the albinos. Each of you should also give me five followers whom I will take as special retainers in the palace.'

¹¹ La Salama is a sacred ricefield that lies between Bulubangi and Tétéaji.

¹² This should possibly read 'daughter of the Pajung of Luwuq.'

¹³ i.e the leaders of the original eight domains of Sidénréng.

The Aqdaoang said also, ‘There is something else I request.’ The eight headmen said, ‘What is it you request?’ The Aqdaoang said, ‘When there are confiscated goods, send them up to the palace. When you have paid five old rials you may take them.’ The Aqdaoang and the headmen, the eight brothers, made a further agreement. The seven [headmen] said, ‘It is our decision that only you are the great Aqdaoang. As for the contents of your palace, once they have gone up to the palace we shall have no further claim to them.’ [The Aqdaoang said,] ‘I alone send [goods] down [from the palace], I too who ensure that you maintain traditional law. If I do not like something which I entrust to you, I alone untie it.’ The Aqdaoang said, ‘What else will you seven give me? You give me serving girls and personal guards. I give you permission to seize wrongdoers.’

Genealogical traditions

Wé Tépuilingé was the Aqdaoang of Sidénréng. She was also Datu of Suppaq. She had three children. One was called Wé Pawawoi, she ruled at Bacukiki. One was called La Teqdullopo, he was Datu of Suppaq. Wé Pawawoi married at Sidénréng with the child of [La Bangénggé] the one who descended at [Bulu]lowa, called Sukumpulaweng, and she ruled at Sidénréng. They had one child, called La Batara. La Batara ruled at Sidénréng. He went and married at Bulucénrana with the Arung of Bulu Cénrana, Wé Cina. They had three children: one called La Pasampoï, one called Wé Abéng and one called La Mariasé; he ruled at Bulucénrana. It was La Pasampoï who ruled at Sidénréng. He married the child of La Botillangiq, the Arung Mario, called Wé Tappatana. They had one child called La Pateqdungi. La Pateqdungi was the Aqdaoang of Sidénréng. He went and married at Rappang. He had one child called La Patiroi. La Patiroi was the Aqdaoang of Sidénréng. He was the first person to accept Islam in 1609; that is, AH 1018. He was posthumously known as ‘He who sleeps at Massépé’.

Discussion and summary

The *Mula ritimpaqna Sidénréng* claims to provide an account of the founding of Sidénréng and of its early rulers. While it is clearly not a history in the modern sense of the word, it is the only indigenous source that we possess on pre-Islamic Sidénréng other than a sixteenth century genealogy and modern-day oral traditions. European sources consist of a single letter written in 1548 by a Portuguese, Manuel Pinto,¹⁴ who claimed to have spent eight months as the guest of the ‘emperor’ of Sidénréng, at his residence on the northern edge of Lake Sidénréng. Pinto writes:

His city is located on the shores of a lake on which there are many large and small *praus*. It has many types of fish in great abundance. Around about this lake there are many flourishing cities. [...] A river flows from this lake towards the interior of the land and [...] empties in the east into the sea of Bamda [Banda] in a city by the name of Maluvo [...] From this city called Sembre [Sidénréng] to that other called Malluvo they sail in *prahus* for twenty days and a large *fusta*¹⁵ can sail up this river to this city of Sembre.

It is uncertain whether Manuel Pinto visited Sidénréng, as opposed to hearing about it during an eighteen month stay at Suppaq, an Ajattappareng kingdom to the north of the modern town of Parepare. Even if Pinto did visit Sidénréng, his brief report of ‘flourishing

¹⁴ Schurhammer (1980:627 footnote 98) provides brief biographical details.

¹⁵ A small ship with sails and oars; *perahu layar* (Malay: sail boat).

cities' on the shores of a lake tells us little that we do not know from geography and from Bugis historical sources.

As has been shown above, pre-1609 section of the *Mula ritimpaqna Sidénréng* is composed largely of four oral traditions the functions of which are to legitimize political and economic relationships within the kingdom. In doing so, the pericopes make a number of assertions. The most striking, which is found in all four pericopes, is that Sidénréng was founded by migrants from the Toraja kingdoms of Sangallaq and Pantilang. This remarkable claim is reinforced by the statement that the Bugis of Boné and Soppéng once referred to the people of Sidénréng as 'the Toraja who lived by the lake' (pericope one). Today, many Bugis look down on the Toraja as descendants of former slaves, and point in evidence to their willingness to work as servants and low-ranking service staff. The *Mula ritimpaqna Sidénréng*'s claim should therefore be taken seriously as historical memory of an earlier time when the Toraja kingdoms held a much higher status in regard to their Bugis neighbours than they do today. Bulbeck and Caldwell (2000) have put forward evidence that major Bugis expansion into the lowlands of South Sulawesi occurred only after *circa* AD 1300, and that before this date the Bugis occupied only the area around the great lakes and the Walennaé valley. Stephen Druce's work on the vassal and domain lists of Sidénréng (Druce 1997) has also drawn attention to the relatively late development of complex societies in the Ajattappareng region. The *Mula ritimpaqna Sidénréng*'s claim, which no present-day Bugis would conceivably make, can be read as evidence of a general process of agricultural expansion in South Sulawesi after 1300 that involved a number of different ethnic groups.

The chronology of the kingdom of Sidénréng as presented in the *Mula ritimpaqna Sidénréng* is problematic. If we read the genealogies contained in the four pre-Islamic pericopes as temporally preceding the genealogical material which follows them, we can back-date the series of Sidénréng's rulers using a standard reign-length of 25 years. This gives a time depth of 250 years and locates the foundation of the kingdom in the fourteenth century. However, it seems probable that the traditions of the *Mula ritimpaqna Sidénréng*'s pericopes are separate and independent of the genealogy headed by Wé Tépuingé. In texts such as the Royal Genealogy of Sidénréng and in present-day oral traditions, Wé Tépuingé (her name means 'perfect uterus') is identified as a ruler of Suppaq, the Ajattappareng kingdom near the town of Parepare. She is said in the Royal Genealogy of Sidénréng to have arisen from the Underworld (together with a number of gold objects) at Lawaramparang, which informants identify as a spring lying on the seashore a few kilometers north of Parepare. Reading the pericopes and the Wé Tépuingé genealogy as parallel traditions, the rulers of none extend back further than the mid-sixteenth century. Archaeological evidence is broadly supportive of a sixteenth-century florescence of political and economic life in the Ajattappareng region; Bugis texts state that it was in the sixteenth century that Luwuq, aided by Wajoq, made a number of attacks on Sidénréng, in order to check its rising power and influence in the region.

The monopolies held by the ruler of Sidénréng included the New World cultivar *Nicotiana*, as well as the right to claim transvestites, dwarves and albinos as his personal slaves. In the *Mula ritimpaqna Sidénréng*, these rights are ascribed to an agreement with La Makkarakka (also called La Kasi), who is the pivotal figure in the *Mula ritimpaqna Sidénréng*'s four pre-Islamic pericopes. 'Poor and foolish' though he may have claimed to have been (pericope two), La Makkarakka is recorded as having married the Pajung of Luwuq, in the fourteenth and fifteenth century the most powerful and prestigious South Sulawesi kingdom (pericope three). Whatever the truth of this claim, its function is to present La Makkarakka as a renowned ruler who provides a source of authority for traditional law. In the words of the *Mula ritimpaqna Sidénréng*, 'He was the first to make firm agreements between the people of Sidénréng and their lord. He was the first to fix laws and appoint ministers. He was a great ruler. His laws were splendid and people feared the law' (pericope

three). It is not possible to date La Makkarakka's reign, but on present evidence it should be placed no later than the fifteenth century, and possibly earlier.

More could probably be learnt from a careful comparison of the *Mula ritimpaqna Sidénréng* with other texts and traditions. My aim in this brief survey has been to show that it is only by careful enquiry into the structure and nature of Bugis historical texts that any useful evaluation of their contents can be made. Of the techniques available to the historian (who must by needs be his own philologist), form criticism seems to offer the most productive method. Much needs to be done before we can sensibly claim to have properly understood the history of South Sulawesi in the centuries leading up to European contact. The late Dr J. Noorduyn's doctoral *stelling* that the writing the history of Southwest Sulawesi inescapably involves an investigation of the products of Makasar and Bugis historiography is as relevant today as it was when it was proposed in 1955.

Bugis Text, Salim MS, pp.lines 16.1-20.19

Passaleng pannessaéngngi ri wettu mula ritimpaqna tanaé ri Sidénréng \ mulana engka arung ri Tanatoraja riaseng La Maqdaremmeng anaqna arunggé ri Sangalla \ asérai mappada worowané \ 1. La Maqdaremmeng \ 2 La Wéwa[n]riwu \ 3 La Togellipu \ 4 La Pasa[m]poi \ 5 La Pakolongi \ 6 La Pababareng \ 7 La Panaungi \ 8 La Mappasessu \ 9 La Mappaturuq \ naLa Maqdaremmenna coccong ri Tanatoraja naéwamanengngi pada worowanéna aruwaé sisala ri Tanatoraja \ naéwamanengngi pada orowanéna aruwaé¹⁶ \ ^anamesséna ininawanna pada orowanéna aruwaé \ ^anasituruqna salaiwi Tanatoraja \ nanoqna ri lappaé kajoqkajoqka sappaq onrowang yi[a] aruwa mappada orowané \ nayi[a] maqdeppéqna ri bulu maniyanna Tanatoraja natironi tapparenggé natoli napétujuna napoléna teppa ri lappaé ri wattang tappareng \ napada madekkana maéloq minung \ nasappaqna laleng maéloq naola noq ri tapparenggé nadéq naita laleng \ nasirénréng rénrénna aruwa mappada worowané \ natakkoka engkana laleng naita polé wattang lao ri timoreng matternu mattuju ri tapparenggé \ nalettuqna pada minung \ nayi[a] pada purana minung pada tudanni ri wirinna tapparenggé inapasi pada diyodiyo ri tapparenggé \ purai pada diyo tudassi paimeng massituru pada makkeda okkonié ri urai tappareng madécéng pada monro idiq mappada orowané \ napada laona sappaq onrong sibawa sibawanna napada MaqdareqdaREQna \ tellung taungi maqdareq sawéni aséna sawétoni sibawanna tanettanenna \ pada maqbépagana sipulung \ nayi[a] nasituruqsi aruwa mappada worowané makkedaé padapadamanengngiq aruwaé mappada worowané \ yi[a] kiya

(17) kaka matoiha kakaqé anring matoiha anringgé \ naagiagi éloqna kakaqta yi[a]na kuwa \ narékko engkana bicaratta sibawatta idiqna massituruq pitué tangngaqi \ tettaisseppi tatiwirengi kakaqta natangngai \ naagiagi éloqna yi[a]ni kuwa \ nayi[a] nakko idiq pitué sisala baraqbaraqna matternukiq lao ri kakaqta macowaé \ naagiagi pattarona yi[a]ni kuwa \ napédé sawémuwa aséna enrenggé tanettanenna sawétoni tédonna anyarenna \ namégatona sibawanna maqbanuwa ri wattang tappareng \ nariyasenni ri toSoppénggé ri toBonéwé toraja mattapparenggé \ narimakkuwananaro nasituruqna toBonéwé toSoppénggé masengngi tana naonroié maqbanuwa toraja mattapparenggé tanaé ri ajang tappareng \ nayi[a]ro tujuna puraé naonroi sirénréng rénréng aruwa mappada worowané nasenni tanaé ri Sidénréng \ nayi[a] rimunri maténana aruwaé mappada worowané engkasi anaqna La Maqdaremmeng polé ri Tanatoraja silao lakkainna yi[a]na mula aqdaowang ri Sidénréng \ najajiyanna tellu anaq \ séqdi riaseng La Makkaraka yi[a]na aqdaowang ri Sidénréng \ yi[a]na riaseng

^{16 a-a} An accidental repeat: omitted in the translation.

aqdaowangngé La Kasi \ yi[a]na arung maserro téya riyala arung ri toSidénréngngé nasabaq makkedana kasiyasiyaq ubongngoq \ yi[a]mana nakado riyala arung makkedamani sumpung lolona sibawa toSidénréngngé éloqmu kuwa adammu tongeng \ naripawekkekkeqna adeq nariraiyang abiasang ri sumpung lolona sibawa ri toSidénréngngé \ makkedaé ikkenna mupoasogireng ikkettona mupojowaq ikkettona mupalaoruma ikkettona pinrusekko salassa naripoadasi pammulana rialaé arung ri Sidénréng \ datué ri Pantileng¹⁷ malasa ja oli nalao paliqi aléna ri mabélaé \ nateppana ri Tanatoraja napobawinéi anaq macowanna La Maqdaremmeng ri [Tana]toraja¹⁸ \ nayi[a] poléna ri toraja léppangngi ri Rappeng¹⁹ najajina yi[a]na

(18) makkarung ri Rappeng \ tellu anaq najajiyang \ séqdi makkunrai yi[a]na makkunraiye maccowa \ makkarunni ri Sidénréng \ yi[a]naro arung namatojo toSidénréng \ nayi[a] dappi maccowaé makkarunni ri Rappeng nalaona toRappengngé sélléi \ makkedai toRapengngé madécéngngi puwang ikona lao ri Rappeng makkarung naanaqborowanému sélléo makkarung ri Sidénréng \ naLa Maliburena aqdaowang ri Sidénréng \ okkoni engka gauq salaé nataro jogéq \ najajina arung Rappeng arung Sidénréng maranaqdara \ naqjancina²⁰ makkedaé maté éléqi²¹ Rappeng maté arawéngngi Sidénréng lettu makkukuwaé déq napinrapinra jancinna Rappeng Sidénréng \ purani napaduppa annessana jancinna arung Rappeng \ engkanengka séuwa wettu ri munrinaéro nanréi api salassaé ri Sidénréng ri arawéngngé \ nariassurona birittaiyang \ nakkedana arung Rappeng aganami leppeq arungngé ri Sidénréng \ nakkedana suroé alénami maranaq malaobiné²² sibawa cokinna séqdi \ purai kuwa noqmanettoni arung Rappeng ri tanaé^b sibawa sibawa cokinna séqdi \ purai kuwa tumanettoni arung Rappeng ri tanaé sibawa sibawa cokinna séqdi^{b23} \ naianapa natunu salassaé ri Rappeng riéléqé \ nasabaq aqjancingenna maranaqbor[o]ané \ naLa Maliburessi jajiyang aruwa anaq \ yi[a] nala padakkala ri Lasalamaq aruwaé \ nayi[a] dappi malolowé yi[a]na riyaseng La Pawawoi \ naLa Pawawoisi aqdaowang ri Sidénréng \ La Pawawoi jajiyang anaq pitu \ yi[a]na macowaé riyaseng La Pawéwangi \ yi[a]na arung ri Tellulateqé \ yi[a]si rappina yi[a]na riyaseng La Makkaraka yi[a]si aqdaowang ri Sidénréng \ yi[a]na pobainéi Pajungngé ri Luwuq \ yi[a]na napammulana napanessanessa siaqjancingenna toSidénréngngé napuwanna \ namula taro adeq paqbicara namarajana puwanna namakerrana adeqna puwanna namaserro tau ri adeqna \ aruwai mappada worowané Arungngé ri Sidénréng \ aruwato

(19) padakkalana \ nayi[a]naé maqjanci padakkalana aruwaé \ najellokettoni tonrong aleq nalai ongko \ nakkedana aqdaowangngé agana napoliseq salassaé \ makkedani pada worowanéna pitué \ yi[a]naq napoliseq salassamu \ makkedasi aqdaowangngé ri Sidénréng birittamitu yi[a]q \ ikomitu pitué punna salassa \ makkedani pitué \ pitumiq punna salassa siqdimi makkésalassa ri Sidénréng \ makkedasi aqdaowangngé aruwakiq palé punna salassa \ makedasi padakkala pitué aruwakiq massituruq pituwaq buwangngi wakkéléqku riko \ makkedasi aqdaowangngé La Kasi kégana tanranna mubuwangeng wakkéléqmu \ makkedani matowaé aruwaé kupalaloko taro sumpampala \ alai peqjéwé otaé icoé naikomi massuro maqbalu \ déq rilaimmuwé \ makkedani aqdaowangngé anukku peqjéwé anukku icoé \ anukku

¹⁷ Pantileng read Pantilang.

¹⁸ *ri toraja* omitted in the translation.

¹⁹ Rappeng read Rappang *passim*.

²⁰ *na jancina* omitted in the translation.

²¹ *éléqi* read *éléqé*.

²² *malaobiné* read *mallaibiné*.

²³ ^{b-b} An accidental repeat: omitted in the translation.

otaé \ makkedatopi matowaé aruwaé²⁴ alatoi anu makalailaingnge \ makkedasi aqdaowangngé anukku calabaié tau pancéqé tau bulengngé \ wéréttowaq mai jowa tallimamu uwalai assimémengngeng ri boné[ballaq] \ makkedatopi aqdaowangngé engkamupa uwéllau \ makkedani matowaé aruwaé agapi muwéllau \ makkedasi aqdaowangngé nakko engka waramparang mappaeénrékengngi aléna ri salassaé mupasuppi muwalai angkeqna pata[n]rella lama \ maqjancisi aqdaowangngé matowa aruwaé mappadaworowané \ makkedai pitué nayi[a] bicarakkiq ikomuwa maraja aqdaowangngé \ yi[a]na napoliseq salassamu \ tenripatalekkayang waramparakku narékko ménréqi ri salassaé \ yi[a]qmatoha panoqi yi[a]qmato[ha] tarowangekko pakkatenni adeq \ narékko ucaccai utarowangngéko yi[aq] matoha lukkai \ makkedasi aqdaowangngé agatopi muwattujuwang riyaaq iko pitué \ alao pattumaling pakkalawingngépu kipalalotoko mala tausala \ Wé Tappalangisi²⁵ aqdaowang ri Sidénréng \ yi[a]tona

(20 datu ri Suppaq \ najajiyang anaq tellu \ séqdi riyaseng Wé Pawawoi yi[a]na makkarung ri Bacukiki séqdi riaseng La Teqdullopo yi[a]na datu ri Suppaq \ Wé Pawawosi²⁶ mallakkai ri Sidénréng yi[a]to²⁷ anaqna manurungngé ri Lowa riasengngé Suku[m]pulaweng \ yi[a]si makkarung ri Sidénréng \ najajiang anaq séqdi riaseng La Batara \ La Batarana makkarung ri Sidénréng nalao maqbainé ri Bulucénrana siala arungngé ri Bulucénrana Wé Cina \ najajiang anaq tellu séqdi riaseng La Pasa[m]poi séqdi riaseng Wé yAbéng \ séqdi riaseng La Mariyasé \ yi[a]na makkarung ri Bulucénrana \ La Pasapoisi makkarung ri Sidénréng \ yi[a]na pobainé anaqna La Botillangi ri²⁸ Arung Mario riyasengngé Wé Tappanana²⁹ \ najajiang anaq séqdi riyaseng La Pateqduungi \ La Pateqduungisi aqdaowang ri Sidénréng nalao maqbainé ri Rappeng najajiyang anaq séqdi riaseng La Patiroi \ La Patiroisi aqdaowang ri Sidénréng namula tama selleng tauwé taung 1602 nasitujuwangngé taung 1518 hijerriya³⁰ \ yi[a]tona riaseng matinroé ri Massépe aseng maténa \

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²⁴ *aruwae* read *pitué*.

²⁵ Wé Tappalangri read Wé Tépuilingé.

²⁶ *Pawawosi* read *Pawawoi*.

²⁷ *yi[a]to* read *siala*.

²⁸ *ri* is omitted in the translation.

²⁹ Wé Tappanana read Wé Tappatana.

³⁰ Correctly 1018 A.H, which corresponds to the Christian year 1609 given in most Bugis and early European sources as the date of Sidénréng's official Islamization.

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