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Reading the Histories of a Maros Chronicle

This article presents a translation and discussion of a previously unknown Maros Chronicle that resembles the Goa and Talloq chronicles in length and complexity. It contrasts strongly with the short chronicle of Maros commonly found in Makassarese historical codexes and published in B.F. Matthes' *Makassaarsche chrestomathie* (Matthes 1883:205-7). This common version is little more than an outline of Maros' rulers until the end of the sixteenth century, while the Maros Chronicle presented here both is more fleshed out in terms of contents and continues the story down to the nineteenth century. As such, this Maros Chronicle represents an important new source of historical information about pre-modern South Sulawesi.

This article first discusses the manuscript itself. Then a transliteration and translation of the text is given. This is followed by sections discussing what the text reveals about the history of Maros, what it suggests about the writing of chronicles in Makassar, and how it may relate to and illuminate events during the period in which it was written. Any historical text stands at an intersection from which we can look in three different directions: a referential reading tells us of the past it recounts, a narrative reading tells us how accounts of the past were constructed, and a contextual reading tells us of the social and political context in which it was written. What we see when we look at Indonesian historical manuscripts depends to a large degree on which of these readings we prefer. We begin our readings with a consideration of the Maros Chronicle manuscript.

The Maros Chronicle manuscript

The text of the Maros Chronicle presented here comes from a microfilmed manuscript at the Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, Wilayah Sulawesi Selatan, in Ujung Pandang, Indonesia, catalogue number 18/23. It is the only text in the manuscript. In contrast to most Makassarese chronicles, it was

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written as a separate work and was not placed within a codex of historical texts. The text is dated 1889 and was made available for microfilming by the original owner, Andi Fachry Makkasau of Maros. The manuscript is twenty-six pages long. More interesting than the length, however, are the paper and the manner of writing.

Even when viewed on microfilm, it is evident that the paper used by the writer is the same as that used by Dutch colonial presses to print Makassarese texts. The decorative border on the paper is identical to that of the title-page of the *Makassaarsche chrestomathie* (Matthes 1860). So it could only have come from the handful of Dutchmen involved in typesetting and printing these texts in the town of Makassar. The writer's name was I Sahban Daeng Masikki, and he composed the chronicle in Kasikeqboq (Maros) in 1889, but there is no further information about him. Most likely he was one of the Makassarese linguistic assistants involved in acquiring and translating texts for Matthes or another scholar. Because he had access to genealogies and the shorter chronicle of Maros, the writer is certain to have come from the Maros royal family. On this paper, Daeng Masikki's orthography deliberately mimicked that of the Bugis-Makassarese font developed for the *Makassaarsche chrestomathie*. Indeed, at first glance the reader might think the work was printed, so carefully did the author imitate this font. The significance of this mimicry is addressed later.

Unlike many published texts from South Sulawesi, the Maros Chronicle is a prose work not using metre or other poetic elements. Instead, the text is divided into eighteen sections. The different sections are separated in many cases by the Arabic word 'Intiha', in other cases by a blank line. Each section in the text after the first, introductory section typically correlates with the reign of a particular ruler of Maros. Below, each section is treated as a unit and is presented first in English translation and then in the original. This form of presentation, rather than a side-by-side one with a division into lines, as if the work were poetic, best captures the nature of the text. For convenience sake, I have numbered each section, though they are not numbered in the original.

The Maros Chronicle

1. This is the story of ancestors of the people of Maros. May I not be cursed, may I not be destroyed, naming the *karaeng*, telling of the ancient Karaengs of Maros. Those who recline on royal beds, those who rest on royal beds, those who are of the purest gold, the chain of kings. This is recited so that nothing will be 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 *karaeng* too, or outsiders will call us common people. The end.

Anne patturioloanga ri tuMarusuq. Iangku mabassung iangku maweke-weke anngarengi ambilang-bilangi karaeng riolo ri Marusuq. Lulu gulang-gulanga assi palakkaya bulaeng nipanninga ratu sikolaka. Nikamallakkannaji nikaluppai ri anaqna ri cucuna ri turibokona. Kapunna taniassenga ruai kodina kqsaringkai kalenta karaeng dudu nakanaka tau ipantaraka tau bawang-dudu. Intiha'.

2. There was no wife, no children. Gallarrang Pakere and Daeng Massiang recounted: Karaeng Loe of Pakere was the first *karaeng* in Maros.¹ He was a *tumanurung*, because his origins are unknown, his personal name is unknown. He descended in Pakere at a time when the people of Maros ate each other like fishes. At this time there was no *karaeng* who is spoken of. Nothing thrived during harvest time. Rain came down in Asarang. There was thunder for seven days and seven nights. Good weather never came. Then a palace appeared, standing in the centre of a field in Pakere. Then a person appeared, sitting in front of the palace stairs. All the people who had heard [of him] came to pay homage. They told the *tumanurung* to become their *karaeng*. He was then called Karaeng Loe of Pakere.

Teai bainena teai anaqna. Gallarrang Pakereta siagang Daeng Massiang akana-kanai Karaeng Loe ri Pakere uru Karaeng ri Marusuq. Iaminne tumanurung kateana niassengi assalaqna taenamo niassengi areng kalenna. Naia manurung ri Pakere ri wattuna tauwa ri Marusuq sikanre balei. Anjo wattuna taena karaeng ri langere kana-kanata. Taenatomo najari wattu lamunga. Naturummo bosia Asarang. Iami gunturuka 7 allo 7 banggi. Talebaki nabattumosing baraka. Naniaqmo ammenteng saoraja ri tanngana parangang ri Pakere. Naniaqtomo seqre tau ammempo ri dallekanna tu ka sapanaya. Nabattu ngasemmo tau jai

¹ Makassarese contained a variety of titles to denote social ranks. *Karaeng* means 'ruler' or 'lord', and indicates a noble of high rank. According to many origin stories in South Sulawesi, the first *karaeng* of a community was a being who descended from the heavens, with white blood flowing in his or her veins, often bearing sacred objects. *Tumanurung* means 'the person who descended.' *Karaeng loe* means 'great lord' and was often used to distinguish the ruler of a particular area from other *karaeng*. The highest Makassarese title, *somba*, was reserved for the ruler of Goa. *Gallarrang*, *loqmoq*, *toqdoq*, *kare*, and *datu* were titles used by local chiefs who typically came under the authority of a *karaeng*. In both Goa and Maros there were councils of chiefs who advised the *karaeng*; in Goa this was called the Bate Salapang ('Nine Banners') and in Maros the Matoa Andi ('Noble Headmen').

sikontu malangereka assombai. Nanapawammo anjari karaeng. Nanikanami Karaeng Loe ri Pakere.

3. This Karaeng Loe of Pakere was the first *karaeng*. During his reign the crops thrived. Many people came from outside the community to live in Maros. At this time no one knew the area of Karaeng Loe's authority, but in all the lands between Bone and Goa all paid homage to Karaeng Loe of Maros. The wife of Karaeng Loe of Pakere is unknown, but he found a female *tumanurung* in Pasadang. He adopted her, then heard word that the *tumanurung* in Luwuq was said to have disappeared. [The Luwuq *tumanurung*] descended in Asaang and had two children. The youngest married the female *tumanurung* in Pasadang. They had one son. He was called Sanggaji Gaddong.

Iaminne Karaeng Loe ri Pakere uru karaeng. Nariwattunamo agauq anjaritommi lamung-lamunga. Namajaimo tau battu pantara paqra-sangang naung ammantang ri Marusuq. Anne wattuna taena niasseng luwaraqna parentana Karaeng Loemingka sikontu butta niaka ri pas-simbanganna butta Bonena butta Goa akkusiang ngasengi mange ri Karaeng Loe ri Marusuq. Karaeng Loe ri Pakere taena niassengi baine-na mingka iami agappa tumanurung baine ri Pasadang. Naallemo nakatuo lebaki malangereki kana nikana malayangi tumanurunga ri Luwuq. Turung ri Asaang mamanaq rua. Bungko-bungkona napasikalabinne manurunga ri Pasada. Iami mamanaq sitau buragne. Iami niareng Sanggaji Gaddong.

4. At the time of Sanggaji Gaddong, during a first-fruits rice-pounding festival, Karaeng Loe of Pakere spoke in Toenga. He said, 'I want Karaeng Loe I Sanggaji Gaddong to inherit the throne'. Karaeng Loe [of Pakere] disappeared after speaking. He was called Karaeng Loe of Pakere [who] disappeared in Loe.

Nirewaasanamo Sanggaji Gaddong nailalanammo seqre pagaukang adaq adeka ase lolo nakanamo Karaeng Loe ri Pakere ri Toenga. Namakanamo Karaeng Loe I Sanggaji Gaddong kukaeroki asossorangi gaukang. Nalanyammo Karaeng Loe lebana makana-kana. Iami nanikana. Karaeng Loe ri Pakere sayanga ri Loena.

5. Then Sanggaji Gaddong became ruler and Karaeng Maros. He was called Batara Maros. His wife is not known, but it is known he had four children. The eldest daughter was mother of Karaeng Kasikeqboq. Next there was a son called Karaeng Loe of Maros. Next there was a son

called Karaeng Marimisi, who was a transvestite. Next there was a child named Karaeng Tapiwe. Batara Maros Sanggaji Gaddong died. Karaeng Loe of Maros became ruler. The end.

Na I Sanggaji Gaddong Karaeng ri Marusuq asossorangi gaung. Naiatomo nikana Batara Marusuq. Taena niassengi bainena mingka iami niasseng appaq anaqna. Baine ulu anaq ayami Karaeng Kasikeqboq. Nampai buraqne niareng Karaeng Loe ri Marusuq. Nainampai buraqne niareng Karaeng Marimisi singkammai kawekawe. Nainampai Karaeng Tapiwe. Matemati Batara Marusuq Sanggaji Gaddong. Karaeng Loemo ri Marusuq asossorangi gaung. Intiha'.

6. Karaeng Loe of Maros was the first to establish the Bate or the Matoa Andi. They were called 'the Seven Gallarrang'. It was these Seven Gallarrang who always enforced the customs of Maros. The first Seven Gallarrang were Gallarrang Kaembo, Gallarrang Mambue, Gallarrang Pampang, Gallarrang Kapala, Gallarrang Kaji Tonga, Gallarrang Barambang, and Gallarrang Kaluku. These seven *gallarrang* became the Seven Gallarrang because they were the first to pay their respects at the time the palace moved to Maros from Pakere. The wife of Karaeng Loe of Maros is unknown, but their first child was Karaeng Patanna Langkana. His personal name, may I not be cursed, was I Mappasomba. His royal name was Daeng Nguraga.² Next [their second child] was Karaeng Barasaq. Next [their third child] was Tumamalianga ri Talloq. Her personal name, may I not be cursed, may I not be destroyed, was Passileqba Tumamalianga ri Talloq. She was married by Tunipasuruq ruling Talloq, whose personal name, may I not be cursed, may I not be destroyed, was Mangayoang Berang. His *karaeng* name before he became ruler was Karaeng Passiq. This Tumamalianga ri Talloq had a child, Tumenanga ri Talloq, 'the wild tiger of Goa'. His personal name, may I not be cursed, was I Mappatakangtana. His royal name was Daeng Paduduq. Karaeng Loe ri Maros died, then Karaeng Patanna Langkana became ruler. He was called 'Patanna Langkana'³ because he built a palace with twelve sections on pillars. The end.

Iami Karaeng Loe ri Marusuq uru ampaenteng Bate iareka Matoa Andi. Iami nikana Gallarrang tujua iamomi anne Gallarrang tujua tulu

² At birth and in early childhood, noble Makassarese received several names. Most commonly these included a personal name, a royal name, indicated by the title *daeng*, and a *karaeng* name that indicated their high birth. Upon installation as ruler of a given community they took the additional title of *karaeng* of that community, becoming, for example, Karaeng of Maros.

³ Patanna Langkana means 'Owner of the Palace'.

anggerangi pangadakanga ri Marusuq. Uru-uruna Gallarrang tujua iami Gallarrang Kaemba Gallarrang Mambue Gallarrang Pampanga Gallarrang Kapala Gallarrang Kaji Tonga Gallarrang Barambang Gallarrang Kaluku. Iami anne tujua Gallarrang napanjari Gallarrang tujua kaiatommi anne Gallarrang bungasa mange akkusiang ri wattuna nipaletaq saoraja mange ri Marusuq battu ri Pakere. Taena niassengi bainena Karaeng Loe ri Marusuq mingka anaqna iami ambungasa Karaeng Patanna Langkana. Areng kalenna iangku mabassung nikana I Mappasomba. Areng padaengana nikana Daeng Nguraga. Nampai iami Karaeng Barasaq. Nainampai Tumamalianga ri Talloq. Areng kalenna iangku mabassung iangku maweke-weke niarengi Passileqba Tumamaliyanga ri Talloq. Nibainengi ri Tunipasuruq magaukang ri Talloq areng kalenna iangku mabassung iangku maweke-weke niakanai Mangayoang Berang. Areng pakaraengang ritamagaukang nikana Karaeng Passiq. Ayami anne Tumamalianga ri Talloq anganakangi Tumenanga ri Talloaya macang lambaraqna Goa. Areng kalenna iangku mabassung nikana I Mappatakangtana. Areng padaengang nikana Daeng Paduluq. Mematei Karaeng Loe ri Marusuq nakaraeng Patanna Langkanamo asossorangi gaukang. Nikanai Patanna Langkana kaiami amparki langkanaya sampuloi anrua paq-daseranna. Intiha'.

7. Karaeng Patanna Langkana warred with Goa, aiding Talloq. At this time Tunipalangga Ulaweng became *somba* in Goa. His personal name, may I not be cursed, may I not be destroyed, was I Moriwo-gauq. His royal name was Daeng Bonto. His *karaeng* name before he became ruler was Karaeng Lakiung. [Patanna Langkana] helped the Somba of Goa conquer Lengkeseq and all the people of Polombangkeng. [Tunipalangga with his aid] was the first to war against the Bugis in Bampangang. Suppa and Lamuru were routed as far as Walanaya. They conquered the female ruler named I Daengku and her vassals. They conquered Cenrana, Saloqmekkoq, Cina, Kacu⁴, Patuku, Kalubimbing, Bulu-Bulu, Kajang, and Lamatti. [Patanna Langkana] helped the Somba of Goa conquer Samanggi, Cenrana, and Bengo and made them vassals of Goa. From Saumata and Camba a war indemnity was taken, totalling five *kati* and five *tahil* in gold.⁵ This followed [during the reign of]

⁴ Possibly this should be 'Kahu'.

⁵ One *kati* weighs approximately 600 grams. Sixteen *tahil* (a term derived from the Chinese *tael*, equivalent to roughly two Spanish rials), weighing about 37.5 grams, equal one *kati*. While not insignificant, these amounts (especially the gold, associated with royalty) were primarily symbolic expressions of submission. Goa frequently demanded tribute of 'three *kati* and three *tahil*' or 'five *kati* and five *tahil*' from conquered vassals.

Karaeng Patanna Langkana after [Taldaq] was conquered by Goa. [Goa] and Taldaq became allies. Goa with Taldaq became 'two lords but one people'. The end.

Karaeng Patanna Langkana maaqbunduq siagang Goa ambali Taldaq. Anjo wattui anjari Somba ri Goa iami Tunipalangga Ulaweng. Areng kalenna iangku mabassung iangku maweke-weke niareng I Moriwo-gauq. Areng padaengana nikana Daeng Bonto. Areng pakaraengana ritamagauqna niareng Karaeng Lakiung. Nabali Sombaya ambetai Lengkesa tuPolombangkenga iangaseng. Uru aqbunduki Bugisika ri Bampangang. Nanapalari Suppa Lamuru sanggena ri rampiqna Walanaya. Ambetai Datu Bainena nikanaya I Daengku siagang palilina. Ambetai Cenrana Saloqmekkoq Cina Kacu Patuku Kalubimbing Bulobulo Kajang Lamatti. Nabalitongi Sombaya ambetai Samanggi Cenrana Bengo nanipareq palilina Goa. Saumata Camba niallei saqbu katina nidedeki lima kati allima tai. Anjomo naminawannamo Karaeng Patanna Langkana lebanamo nibeta ri Goa. Nanabalina Taldaq. Naanjarimi Goa siagang Taldaq rua Karaeng niseqre ata. Intiha'.

8. Karaeng Patanna Langkana had a child, Tunikakasang. Karaeng Patanna Langkana died. He was then called Tumenanga ri Buaduawa. Tunikakasang inherited the throne. His personal name, may I not be cursed, was I Yunyi. His royal name was Daeng Mangemba. Tunikakasang adopted Tumenanga ri Gaukanna. His personal name, may I not be cursed, was I Manngarangi. His royal name was Daeng Manraqbia. Later he was the first Somba of Goa to enter Islam. He had the title Sultan Alauddin. Tumenanga ri Gaukanna was still small when Tunikakasang died. This Tunikakasang helped Tunijalloq [ruled Goa from 1565 to 1590] in the war against the people of Bone. During this war an agreement was made with the Somba of Goa. His personal name, may I not be cursed, was I Manggorai. His royal name was Daeng Mammata. The agreement contained this: 'As long as my descendants will be Somba of Goa, then the descendants of Tunikakasang Karaeng Maros will be *tumailalang* in Goa'. The end.

Karaeng Patanna Langkana anganakangi Tunikakasang. Mematei Patanna Langkana. Niaremme Tumenanga ri Buaduawa. Na Tunikakasammo asossorangi gaukang. Areng kalenna iangku mabassung nikana I Yunyi. Areng padaengang nikana Daeng Mangemba. Iami anne Tunikakasang akkatuoi Tumenanga ri Gaukanna. Areng kalenna iangku mabassung niareng I Manngarangi. Areng padaengana nikana Daeng Manraqbia. Iami sallang Somba Goa uru antama

Isilang. Iatommi nikana Sultan Alauddin. Macaqdi iji Tumenanga ri Gaukanna namate Tunikakasang. Iami anne Tunikakasang ambali Tunijallo aqbunduki tu Bonea. Nailalang bunduki naaulukana siagang Sombaya ri Goa. Areng kalenna iangku mabassung nikana I Manggorai. Areng padaenganna nikana Daeng Mammeta. Assina ulukanana iami assalaq jari-jariku ipari Somba ri Goa najari-jarinawa Tunikakasang Karaeng Marusuq anjari Tumailalang ri Goa. Intiha'.

9. Tunikakasang died. Tunipasuluq ['the one who was cast out'] became Karaeng Maros. His personal name, may I not be cursed, was I Tepu Karaeng. His royal name was Daeng Parabung. He was made *karaeng* by the people of Maros. He took possession of the Maros regalia. For three years he controlled Maros.

Mematei Tunikakasang. Tunipasuluqmo Karaeng ri Marusuq. Areng kalenna iangku mabassung I Tepu Karaeng. Areng padaenganna nikana Daeng Parabung. Nipanjari Karaeng ri tuMarusuka. Naal-
lenamo kallompoanna Marusuq. Niaka tallu taung nakoasai Marusuq.

10. Tunikakasang married a child of Karaeng Patteqne, the Tumailalang of Goa, and had [two children:] a daughter, Daeng Kanite, and the mother of Karaeng Banyawanyara I Maninrori. These then are the answers of Gallarrang Pakere to my questions. The end.

Tunikakasang nabaineangi anaqna Karaeng Patteqne Tumailalang ri Goa anaqmi Daeng Kanite baine siagang ayana Karaeng Banyawanyara I Maninrori. Sikontumi anne kanana Gallarrang Pakere ri kutaqnana. Intiha'.

11. Somba Tunipasuluq was Karaeng of Maros for three years. Then he was deposed as Somba of Goa. There was also no *karaeng* in Maros. After some time with no *karaeng* in Maros, words were heard by the people of Maros that a man whose origins were unknown had come to Maros. He was called Karaeng Manurunga ['the *karaeng* who descended']. Then the people of Maros and the Seven Gallarrang went to take him and marry him to the daughter of Tunikakasang [Daeng Kanite]. This Karaeng Manurunga was raised to the position of Karaeng Maros. After some time [Daeng Kanite, Karaeng Baine] fell pregnant. Karaeng Baine told the Karaeng she wanted to see *tembang*⁶ leaping beneath the palace. The

⁶ A kind of small fish.

Karaeng went to the foot of the house, taking a measuring-stick. Arriving there, he traced a line on the ground with his stick, straight from under the house out to the sea. Then water flowed from the foot of Mount Bawakaraeng to beneath the palace, then to the sea. After the river was made, many *lami*⁷, *tembang* and [other] small fish leaped beneath the palace. After Karaeng Manurunga made this river, the people called him Karaeng Assakayai Binangaya⁸ in Maros. During this *karaeng*'s time the ruler of Talloq entered Islam. He was called Karaeng Matoaya. His personal name, may I not be cursed, was Malingkang. His royal name was Daeng Mannyonriq. [As] Sultan Abdullah, he entered Islam in the Muslim year 1015, on the ninth night of the month of Jumadilawal, a Friday night. Sultan Abdullah entered Islam on the ninth night of the month of Jumadilawal, on the night of 20 September of the Christian year 1605.

Sallona Sombaya Tunipasuluq Karaeng ri Marusuq niaka tallu taung. Nanipassuluqnamo anjari Somba ri Goa. Nataenatomo Karaeng ri Marusuq. Sallo-sallo anjo taena Karaeng ri Marusuq malangeremi tau Marusuka kanakana niaq seqre buraqne taniasseng assalaqna battu ri Marusuq. Nanikanamo Karaengta Manurunga. Namalampai tau Marusuka siagang Gallarrang tujua angallei nanipasikalabine anaqna Tunikakasang. Nanipanmarimi anjo Karaengta Manurunga Karaeng ri Marusuq. Sallo-salloi wattua ampisaqringimi. Karaeng Bainea nana-palaqmo ri Karaenga eroki nacini tembanga ammasi ri sirinna ballaq lompoa. Namalampamo Karaenga mange ri bangkenna ballaq. Karaeng angerangi takkanna. Narenrenga battu nanarenreng takkanna tulusuq antama ri rawangana ballaq lompoa sanggena assuluq ri tamparanga. Naiamo naassolong jeqneka battu ri bangkenna Bawakaraeng narusuq rawangana ballaq lompoa sanggena assuluq ri tamparanga. Anjarimi binanga namajai lami tembang iareka juku-juku caqdi ammasi ri sirinna ballaq lompoa. Lebanamo anne Karaengta Manurunga napare binangaya niaremme anne Karaenna Manurunga ri tau majaiya Karaeng Assakayai Binangaya ri Marusuq. Ri wattunatomo anne Karaenga namantama Isilang Magaukang ri Talloq. Nikanaya Karaeng Matoaya. Areng kalenna iangku mabassung niarengi Malingkang. Areng padaengana nikana Daeng Mannyonriq. Sultan Abdullah ammantama Isilang ayami ri hejera sicokoanga sampulo allima ri 9 banngi bulanna Jumadele Auwala ri banngina Jumaka. Sultan Abdullah ri

⁷ A kind of small fish.

⁸ Assakayai Binangaya means 'separating [the land, thereby creating] a river'.

salapang barngina bulanna Jumadele Auwala ri banngina ri hera 1605 ri 20 Septembereq namantama Isilang.

12. Karaeng Matoaya's Islamic name was Sultan Abdullah Auwalul Islam. This Karaeng Islamized [people] throughout the land of Makassar, Islamized [people] throughout the land of the Bugis, except Luwuq. Karaeng Matoaya was a second cousin of Karaeng Baine Maros [Daeng Kanite], because the Karaeng Matoaya's grandparent called, may I not be cursed, I Passileqba [Tumamalianga ri Talloq] was the sister of Karaeng Baine's grandfather in Maros called, may I not be cursed, Mappasomba. His royal name was Daeng Nguragi. His *karaeng* name was Karaeng Patanna Langkana. He too entered Islam. Karaeng Matoaya entered Islam too. Karaeng Maros was called Sultan Muhammad Adama. After this, all the people of Maros entered [Islam]. [Karaeng Assakayai Binangaya] had two children with Karaeng Baine. One was called Muhammad Ali. His royal name was Daeng Mita. His *karaeng* name was Karaeng Barasaq. Another daughter was named Dala Marusuq. Her personal name, may I not be cursed, was I Siti Maemuna. This Karaeng Assakayai Binangaya disappeared with his wife. Karaeng Barasaq became ruler. The end.

Karaeng Matoaya are-arena nikana I Sultan Abdullah Iuwala Isilang. Iaminne Karaenga ampasallangi Mangkasaraka siMangkasaraq ampasallangi Bugisika siBugisi passinggalinna Luwuq. Karaeng Matoaya asampupinruangi Karaeng Baine Marusuq nasabaq toana Karaeng Matoaya niarengi iangku mabassung I Passileqba assaribatang toana Karaeng Baine ya ri Marusuq niarenga iangku mabassung Mappasomba. Areng padaenganna Daeng Nguragi. Areng pakaraengana Karaeng Patanna Langkana. Iatomi anjo ri antamanamo Isilang. Karaeng Matoaya naantamatommi Isilang. Karaeng Marusuq niarengtommi Solotang Muhammada Adama. Lebaki anjo mantama ngasemi sikontu tau Marusuka. Rua anaq napajula Karaeng Baine ya. Iami nikana Muhammad Ali. Areng padaenganna nikana Daeng Mita. Areng pakaraenganna Karaeng Barasaq. Sitau pole baine nikana Dala Marusuq. Areng kalena iangku mabassung niareng I Siti Maemuna. Anne Karaeng Assakayai Binangaya silanyakangi sikalabinena. Karaengta Barasaqmo asossorangi gaukang. Intiha'.

13. Karaeng Barasaq married I Base Nguakeng. Her royal name was Daeng Bulaeng. She was called Karaeng Baine. Their only child was a son named Kare Yunusu. Karaeng Barasaq disappeared beside [his wife]. At this time his younger sibling, Dala Marusuq, was married by the

Arumpone, Matinroe ri Nagauleng.⁹ For that reason Maros is said to be lesser, because [a Maros woman] was given in marriage to Bone. Karaeng Barasaq was the first to install a *kadi* in Maros: his son Kare Yunusu. He was installed and given the *kadi*-ship because he was the child praised as truly just and well disciplined in matters of religion. Karaeng Barasaq disappeared with his wife, then Kare Yunusu inherited the throne, because he was the only child. The end.

Karaengta Barasaq nabaineangi I Base Nguakeng. Areng padaenganna nikana Daeng Bulaeng. Iatommi nikana Karaeng Bainea. Anaqmi seque-seque buraqne niareng Kare Yunusu. Karaeng Barasaq sayangiri-sarina. Riwattuna nibaineang adiqna Dala Marusuq ri Arumpone Matinroe ri Nagauleng. Kanakana caqdi tojemmi Marusuq kani-baineangi ri Bone. Karaeng Barasaq uru attannang Kali ri Marusuq naanaqna Kare Yunusu. Natannang anjamai kakalianga kaia anjo anaq-na napuji lambusuq tojeng bajiq ampe namajarre agamana. Sayannamo Karaeng Barasaq sikalabine naKare Yunusumo asossorangi gaukang kaiami anaq seque-seque. Intiha'.

14. Kare Yunusu, the child of Karaeng Barasaq, was Kadi of Maros and also Karaeng of Maros. Upon becoming ruler, he surrendered his *kadi*-ship to his son, who was named Kare Lame. During Kare Yunusu's rule Dutchmen, brought by people of Bone, entered Maros for the first time. At this time [the people of Bone] wanted to destroy Somba Opu. After the Dutch entered, bringing war, the land of Maros was controlled by the people of Bone. At that time too Kare Yunusu died, after giving the regalia to the Arumpone. But he asked that a member of the Bone family named La Mamma Daeng Marewa, a child of the Loqmoq of Tamate, Abdullah Kadere in Maros, be made *karaeng*. He was a nephew of Karaeng Maros Kare Yunusu, because he was the [great] grandchild of Arumpone Matinroe ri Nagauleng, who found his wife, named Siti Maemuna Dala Marusuq, a child of Karaeng Assakayai Binangaya, in Maros. The end.

Kare Yunusu anaki ri Karaeng Barasaq iaminne Kali Marusuq iatodong Karaeng Marusuq. Nasossorangimo gaukang napataqlebami kakali-anga mange ri anaqna niarenga Kare Lame. Riwattunatomo anne Kare Yunusu Karaengta pakaramula niaq Balandaya antama ri Marusuq nierang ri tauBoneya. Riwattuna ero narumbang Somba Opu. Leba-

⁹ *Arumpone* is the Bugis title of the ruler of Bone. *Arung* is a Bugis title parallel to the Makasarese title *karaeng*.

namo anjo antama Balandaya naerang bunduqna nanakoasaitomi butta Marusuq ri tau Boneya. Naianjotomi wattuu naammoterang Kare Yunusu lebana napasarei kallompoanna mange ri Arumpone. Mingka napalaki nipanjari Karaeng bijana Bonena niarenga La Mamma Daeng Marewa anaqna Loqmoq Tamate Marusuq Abdullah Kadere. Kamanakanna Karaeng Marusuq Kare Yunusu kasabaq cucuna Arumpone Matinroe ri Nagauleng battu ri bainena niarenga Siti Maemuna Dala Marusuq anaqna Karaeng Assakayai Binangaya ri Marusuq. Intiha'.

15. La Mamma Daeng Marewa was a child of Loqmoq Tamate, Abdullah Kadere. He was a child of La Magumete Arung Sinri, his mother, and his father I Magoro, Arung Galung Soppeng. La Magumete Arung Sinri was a daughter of Arumpone Matinroe ri Nagauleng, whose personal name, may I not be cursed, was La Patau Mattana Tika. He came [to Maros] and married I Siti Maemuna Dala Marusuq. During La Mamma Daeng Marewa's time Maros first became a vassal of Bone. At the same time the community of Simbang was established. Bontoa was established. Tanralili was established. Raya was established. This *karaeng* was the first to set up the Five Toqdoq in Maros. La Mamma Daeng Marewa, the Karaeng of Maros, summoned all the vassal *karaeng* of Bone and Goa located close to the land of Maros to unite as one, because he did not like the Dutch presence in Maros. All the *karaeng* at first did not want to, because they said the Karaeng of Maros only wanted to take [control of] all the communities that were near him. However, coming out of Bone to attack Goa when I Sangkilang Batara Goa [ruled Goa 1753-1767] was in Maros, the Dutch replaced Goa and Bone in ruling Maros and the communities located close to Maros: Simbang, Bontoa, Raya, and Tanralili. So then all the *karaeng* began to want to unite as one. Then it was said [that there were] Five Toqdoq in Maros, because the five *karaeng* could not be separated. After the Five Toqdoq was established in Maros, the Arumpone of Bone was mad at La Mamma Daeng Marewa, Karaeng Maros. The Arumpone said, 'Karaeng Maros does not want to follow my wish. Karaeng Maros was summoned to come and pay homage to the Arumpone, but did not want to, because he said only a child who was always obedient [should pay homage].'¹⁰ This was the reason Karaeng Maros did not want to pay homage to the Arumpone. Bone then marched out to wage war against Maros. But so many continued to die in the war there that Karaeng Maros began to think. He said [to himself], 'How long [will it be] until all the people of Maros are

¹⁰ Difficult to translate, this statement is a declaration of independence from Bone that the Arumpone would not condone.

killed if I do not give in to the wish of the Arumpone?' But Karaeng Maros had already declared that he did not want to pay homage to the Arumpone for as long as he was still friends with the Dutch or until the day of his [own] death. [Thus the fighting continued until Karaeng Maros was killed and beheaded, and his head was taken to Bone.] Then his head was presented to the ruler of Bone. It was placed on a great crackleware platter before Arung Baringang, the war leader [of Bone]. All the customary attendants of Bone, the Arumpone, and the Adaq Pitu council of Bone were amazed when the head of Karaeng Maros was brought before the Arumpone, because Karaeng Maros' head kept turning away from the Arumpone again and again. It was put before [the Arumpone] but steadfastly refused to face and abase itself [before the Arumpone]. The Arumpone said, 'Bury [him] outside Bone, not in the community'. Karaeng Maros was buried in the land of Simbang, in a community called Samangki. Thus the Karaeng Maros who was defeated is called Matinroe ri Samangki Simbang. La Mamma Daeng Marewa had forty-one wives, but the one who became Karaeng Baine and was installed at the installation grounds [with her husband] was Karaeng Sami Opu Bontobangung of Silayar.¹¹ This Karaeng Boga [La Mamma Daeng Marewa] had three children with Karaeng Baine. The eldest son was named Abdullah La Tipu Daeng Mattana. The next son was named La Mappalewa Daeng, Mattayang. The youngest daughter was named I Bunga Daya Daeng Tauji. Then La Mamma Daeng Marewa, Matinroe ri Samangki, died. Abdullah La Tipu Daeng Mattana became *karaeng*. He inherited the throne because he was the chosen successor and because he was the eldest. The end.

La Mamma Daeng Marewa anaka ri Loqmoq Tamate Abedula Kadere. Anaki ri La Magumete Arung Sinri Bainea ayami I Magoro Arung Galung Soppeng. La Magumete Arung Sinri anaki ri Arumpone Matinroe ri Nagauleng areng kalena iangku mabassung niareng La Patau Mattana Tika. Battu nibainena I Siti Maemuna Dala Marusuq. Riattuna anne La Mama Daeng Marewa na wapakaramula Marusuq anjari palilina Bone. Siwattumatomo anne nammenteng paqrasangang Simbang. Nammenteng Bontoa. Nammenteng Tanralili. Nammenteng Raya. Iami anne Karaeng uru ampareki Toqdoq Limayi ri Marusuq. Na La Mamma Daeng Marewa Karaeng Marusuq akioq ngasengi sikontu Karaeng palilina Bone siagang Goa niaka ri rampiqna butta Marusuq ampare aqbulo sibatanga kataeni nangaai kaniakana Balandaya ri

¹¹ If at the time of the installation ceremony of a new ruler his wife was of equally high rank, she was installed alongside her husband.

Marusuq. Sikontu Karaeng iangaseng uru-uru anne taena niaq ero kana-kanai anne Karaeng Marusuq eronaji naalleya paqrasangang sikontu niaka ri rampiqna. Mingka niaqmi assuluq Bone aqbunduki Goa ri wattuna niaq ri Marusuq I Sangkilang Batara Goa nasibasambe Goa Bone na Balandaya angatai Marusuq siagang paqrasangang niaka ri rampiqmi Marusuq iami Simbang Bontoa Raya siagang Tanralili. Kamanamo anjo napakaramula ero sikontu Karaenga naeromo ampareki paqbulosibatanga. Nanikanamo Toqdoq Limaya ri Marusuq kalima Karaeng taena pasisalakana. Lebanamo anjo ammenteng Toqdoq Limaya ri Marusuq malarromi Arumpone ri La Mamma Daeng Marewa Karaeng ri Marusuq. Nakana Arumpone taena naero Karaeng Marusuq ampinawangi erona. Nisurokioki antama akkusiang ri Arumpone Karaeng Marusuq mingka taena naero nasabaq nakana anaq tojengji tulinagaukang. Iatomi pasala taenamo naero antama akkusiang Karaeng Marusuq mange ri Arumpone. Naassuluqmo Bone aqbunduki Marusuq. Mingka majaipi mae mate lalang bunduq na napisama Karaeng Marusuq. Angkana siapa sallana nalaqbusuq tau Marusuqka punna taena naero ampinawangi erona Arumpone. Mingka lebami Karaeng Marusuq nakana taenamo naeromo akkusiang ri Arumpone punna siagangiji Balandaya iareka punna ri allo matenamami. Iatomi napasareami uluna nierang antama ri dallekanna Magaukang. Nierammi antama napari panne salabattai uluna ri Arung Baringang Petta Ponggawae. Maka iangaseng paerang Adaqna Bone Arumpone Adaq Pituna Bone tulu mappilanasi nierannamo uluna Karaeng Marusuq ri dallekanna Arumpone kaanjo uluna Karaeng Marusuq tulu nabokoi Arumpone pisiapangi. Napangolo dalekang mingka tulu tapuraji aqboko nangatummo kalena. Arumpone nakanamo lamungangi pantaranna Bone teako naalalabatana. Nitarawammi Karaeng Marusuq ri butta Simbang ri paqrasangang niarengi Samangki. Nanakanamo Karaeng Marusuq niwetae Matinroe ri Samangki Simbang. La Mamma Daeng Marewa 41 patumpuloi seque bainena mingka anjariang Karaeng Baine nipasilantikang ri palantikanga iami Karaeng Sami Opu Bontobangung Silayara. Anne Karaeng Boga tallu anaq napajului Karaeng Bainea. Iami uluana buraqne niarenga Abadula La Tipu Daeng Mattana. Nainampa buraqne niareng La Mappalewa Daeng Mattayang. Nampa baine bungko-bungkona niareng I Bunga Daya Daeng Tauji. Mematena La Mamma Daeng Marewa Matinroe ri Samangki. Na Abadula La Tipu Daeng Mattana anjari Karaeng. Asossorangi gaukang kaiami anapa tola naiatempa anaq towa. Intiha'.

16. This Abdullah La Tipu Daeng Mattana became Karaeng Maros, replacing his father La Mamma Daeng Marewa Matinroe ri Samangki. This

Karaeng Maros was liked by the Arumpone. During the time when Bone quarrelled with the Dutch, Abdullah La Tipu Daeng Mattana married La Pamegie Daeng Niyatu, the daughter of La Pabuta Daeng Mateko Arung Karela. They had two children, both boys. At the time of this *karaeng* the Four Gallarrang was formed: Bira, Sudiang, Moncong Loe, and Biringkanaya followed Maros. At the time the Four Gallarrang was first created, they followed Maros. Then the war leader of Bone who was named La Barania Daeng Palalo fought against a champion of Goa called I Pakai Daeng Marala. The champion of Goa was conquered [by La Barania], then he was beheaded by La Barania Daeng Palalo. He paraded all around the southern part of Maros. Then he became a *karaeng* [in Maros]. He was called La Barania Daeng Palalo, Sullewatang Timboroq.¹²

Iamine Abdullah La Tipu Daeng Mattana anjari Karaeng ri Marusuq antolai manggena La Mamma Daeng Marewa Matinroe ri Samangki. Iaminne Karaeng Marusuq ningai ri Arumpone. Naiyatominne wattua nasisalami Bone siagang Balandaya. Abadula La Tipu Daeng Mattana nabaineangi La Pamegie Daeng Niyatu anaqna La Pabuta Daeng Mateko Arung Karela. Ayami mamanaq rua sannging buraqne anaqna. Ri wattunamo anne Karaeng nanipantama Gallarrang Appaka iami Bira Sudiang Moncong Loe siagang Biringkanaya amminawang ri Marusuq. Ia ri wattuna uru naallena Gallarrang Appaka minawang ri Marusuq. Napasilagai ponggawanna Bone niarenga La Barania Daeng Palalo siagang tubaranina Goa iami niareng I Pakai Daeng Marala. Nanibetai tubaranina Goa nanibunduq kalena naiatomo na La Barania Daeng Palalo nisireangi butta timboroqna Marusuq. Nanipanjari Karaengi. Nanikanamo La Barania Daeng Palalo Sullewatang Timboroq.

17. La Barania Daeng Palalo married the younger sibling of the Karaeng Maros [La Tipu Daeng Mattana] named I Bungadia Daeng Tauji. They had three children: La Paduppai Daeng Palawa, next La Matowaka Daeng Pawello Bukia, [and] a daughter named Daeng ni Sanga. La Barania Daeng Palalo was a child of La Makassar. Arung Palakka I La Makassar was a child of La Potokati Datu Baringeng. La Potokati was a child of Arumpone Matinroe ri Malimonga. His personal name, may I

¹² *Sullewatang* in Bugis means literally 'substitute of the trunk' (*watang* = 'stem, trunk') and is conventionally translated as 'deputy'. Frequently local rulers below the rank of *arung* bore this title, in this case a local ruler presiding over the southern part of Maros. The chronicle implies that by the early nineteenth century two *sullewatang* positions were established, the Sullewatang Tomboroq presiding over the southern part of Maros, and a Sullewatang Maros over the entire area.

not be cursed, was La Tomasonge. He was a child of Arumpone Matinroe ri Nagauleng, whose personal name, may I not be cursed, was La Patau Mattana Tika. During the reign of this *karaeng*, the Dutch raised a person from Galesong named I Panodo Daeng Maroro to the position of Sullewatang in Maros. Two children of the Karaeng [Abdullah La Tipu] died while still small. Then, following custom, [his brother] became *karaeng* and inherited the throne. He was named La Mappalewa Daeng Mattayang. The end.

La Barania Daeng Palalo nabaineangi adiqna Karaeng Marusuq naa-
renga I Bungadia Daeng Tauji. Naanaqmi tallu tau iami La Paduppai
Daeng Palawa nainampai La Matowaka Daeng Pawello Bukia baine
niareng Daeng ni Sanga. La Barania Daeng Palalo anaki ri La Makassar.
Arung Palakka I La Makassar anaki ri La Potokati Datu Baringeng. La
Potokati anaki ri Arumpone Matinroe ri Malimonga. Areng kalenna
iangku mabassung nakana La Tomasonge. Iami anaq ri Arumpone
Matinroe ri Nagauleng areng kalenna iangku mabassung niareng La
Patau Mattana Tika. Ri wattuna anne Karaenga na nitannammo ri
Balandaya anjari Sullewatang ri Marusuq tau Galesong niareng I
Panodo Daeng Maroro. Macaqdiiji rua anaqna Karaenga namate.
Naadaqnamo anjari Karaeng asossorangi gaukang. Iami niareng La
Mappalewa Daeng Mattayang. Intiha'.

18. La Mappalewa Daeng Mattayang married a daughter of Karaeng Ujung ri Labakkang named Daeng Coa. They had a daughter named I Hapipa Daeng ri Sompā, who was married by I Malalakang Daeng Pawello, a child of La Barania Daeng Palalo, Sullewatang Timboroq. La Mappalewa Daeng Mattayang died, [and] then I Mannyadari Daeng Parenreng became Karaeng Maros. He was called Matinroe ri Campagae. Not being a direct descendant of the Karaengs [of Maros], he asked the Governor to [be allowed to] step down because [in truth] he did not want to be ruled by the Dutch. After I Mannyadari Daeng Parenreng asked [permission] to quit as Karaeng of Maros, then I Malalakang Daeng Pawello was made Karaeng of Maros. He was a child of La Barania Daeng Palalo, Sullewatang Timboroq. His mother was I Bungadia Daeng Tauji, the child of the Karaeng of Maros, Matinroe ri Samangki. [I Malalakang Daeng Pawello] married I Hapipa Daeng ri Sompā, the daughter of I Mappalewa Daeng Mattayang, Karaeng Maros. She was the first cousin of Karaeng Baine. At this time I Surulla Daeng Palalo, the child of I Mannyadari Daeng Parenreng, Matinroe ri Campagae, became Sullewatang Maros. At this time Timboroq La Paduppai Daeng Palawa, the older sibling of the Karaeng

[I Malalakang Daeng Pawello], became Sullewatang. At this time many people from Maros followed the Dutch. There was a person named I Mappasosong Daeng Pabunduq who always wanted to be made *karaeng* by the Dutch, but this was forbidden by Maros *adat* and the Seven Gallarrang. Because I Mappasosong Daeng Pabunduq was not an *anaq tiqno*¹³, he could not inherit the *karaeng*-ship of Maros either. Because the child of I Panodo Daeng Maroro had already become Sullewatang of Maros at the time Abdullah La Tipu Daeng Mattana became *karaeng*, this I Mappasosong Daeng Pabunduq, a man from Galesong [could not become Sullewatang of Maros either]. I Malalakang Daeng Pawello did not have any sons who could inherit the throne, because his daughter married a person from outside the palace. One year the Karaeng [I Malalakang Daeng Pawello] went to Kuri to collect taxes. The Karaeng died there. Thus he is called Karaeng Matinroe ri Kuri. After the Karaeng died, all the officials and the commoners wanted the Sullewatang of Maros, I Surulla Daeng Palalo, and made him Karaeng of Maros.

La Mappalewa Daeng Mattayang nabaineangi anaqna Karaengta Ujung ri Labakkang niarenga Daeng Coa. Anaqmi sitau baine niareng I Hapipa Daeng ri Sompā nibaineangi ri I Malalakang Daeng Pawello anaqna La Barania Daeng Palalo Sullewatang Timboroq. Mematei La Mappalewa Daeng Mattayang na I Mannyadari Daeng Parenreng anjari Karaeng ri Marusuq. Iami nakana Matinroe ri Campagae. Taenaja na salong anjari Karaeng nanapalaq amhari ri guberenemenga kataena naero naparenta Balandā. Napalaqnamo amhari I Mannyadari Daeng Parenreng anjari Karaeng ri Marusuq na I Malalakang Daeng Pawello nilantiq anjari Karaeng ri Marusuq. Iami anaq ri La Barania Daeng Palalo Sullewatang Timboroq. Anjona ayami I Bungadia Daeng Tauji anaqna Karaeng Marusuq Matinroe ri Samangki. Nabaineangi I Hapipa Daeng ri Sompā anaqna I Mappalewa Daeng Mattayang Karaeng Marusuq. Iami naassamposikali siagang Karaeng Bainea. Anjari Sullewatang Marusuq anne wattuna iami I Surulla Daeng Palalo anaqna I Mannyadari Daeng Parenreng Matinroe ri Campagae. Naiatomo anne wattuna anjari Sullewatang Timboroq La Paduppai Daeng Palawa saribatang toana Karaeng. Anne wattuna namajaimo tau Marusuq amminawang ri Balandaya. Iami seque niareng I Mappasosong Daeng Pabunduq iami anne tulu nikaeroka nipanjari Karaeng ri Balandaya mingka tatangi adaqna Marusuq siagang Gallarrang Tujua. Kaia anne I

¹³ Denoting the rank of those with pure white blood, and thus direct descendants of the *tumanurung*.

Mappasosong Daeng Pabunduq teai anaq tiqno tenatodong nawarisi ri kakaraenganna ri Marusuq. Kaanaqnai I Panodo Daeng Maroroq leba-ka anjari Sullewatang ri Marusuq ri wattuna anjari Karaeng Abdullah La Tipu Daeng Mattana jari anne I Mappasosong Daeng Pabunduq tau Galesongi. I Malalakang Daeng Pawello taena anaqna buraqne makkala asossorangi gaukang nasabaq anaq baina amburaqne tau pantaraki. Seqre taung namange Karaenga ri Kuri assingaraq sima. Namatea Karaeng anjoreng. Nanikanamo Karaeng Matiroe ri Kuri. Mematei Karaeng Sullewatang Marusuq I Sirula Daeng Palolo nakaeroka adaka siagang tau majaiya anpajapai kakaraengang ri Marusuq.

The history of Maros from the chronicle

The Maros Chronicle ably relates the major events and developments that structured the history of Maros from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. It is by far the most comprehensive available account of Maros' history during that time. Several major themes emerge that are worth highlighting.

Firstly, the history of Maros was chronicled with a conscious eye towards its relationships with and in terms of the actions of Maros' powerful neighbours. In other words, this history was remembered in the context of, and with reference to, the histories of the dominant polities in South Sulawesi. This is even true to the extent that the Tumanurung of Luwuq was recalled as an ancestor of the rulers of Maros, a fact that bestowed on Maros some of the prestige of Luwuq. But most notably, the early history of Maros is characterized by its reference to events and rulers in Goa. This is not surprising, given Maros' proximity to Goa and Goa's dominant historical influence in the region. Goa in a sense burst on the scene around 1540, when it defeated the alliance of Talloq, Maros, and Polombangkeng. From the relation of this event onward, Maros' relationship with Goa is central to the narrative of the chronicle. This centrality is not just a result of Goa's political dominance. More subtle, but equally real, was the cultural and social influence Goa exerted over Maros and other Makassarese polities. In particular, Goa provided the ideal model of what a Makassarese kingdom and its chronicle should be. The earlier, shorter chronicle of Maros mimicked the Goa Chronicle. Culturally and socially, Goa established itself as the measure of what was most noble and desirable in Makassar. This, more than Goa's political dominance, helps explain the prestige and central position accorded Goa to this day. It also helps explain the cultural and historical framework Goa provided for chroniclers of Makassarese polities such as Maros.

Secondly, more unexpected than Goa's presence in the Maros Chronicle is the relatively close historical tie between Maros and Talloq. Indeed, there are

hints of a sense of independence from Goa in Maros. The early ties between Maros and Talloq are well documented. Tunipasuruq, the third ruler of Talloq (reigned till 1540 or 1543), married a daughter of the ruler of Maros, Sanggaji Gaddong. The political effects of this union were far-reaching. Tunipasuruq and his wife, later known as Tumamaliang ri Talloq, had a son, Karaeng Makkoayang, who became the fourth ruler of Talloq (reigned from 1540 or 1543 to 1576) and who was succeeded by his daughter. In Maros, Sanggaji Gaddong was succeeded by his son, then his grandson. For a period of two or three generations the rulers of Maros and Talloq were cousins, a bond that had no counterpart in the relations between Maros and Goa.¹⁴ The close tie between Maros and Talloq was emphasized by their alliance (together with Polombangkeng) in the war against Goa. Nor did defeat sever this close link. The repercussions of that single marriage continued to reverberate into the seventeenth century. In section 12 of the Maros Chronicle, the author takes great pains to spell out the blood ties that still linked the rulers of Maros and Talloq as a result of that marriage almost a century earlier. It is worth noting too that in that same section Maros is described as following Talloq when it entered Islam, not Goa. It could even be argued that when the people of Maros took Tunipasuluq as their ruler, they did so because they regarded him as the ruler of Talloq more than as the ruler of Goa.

The close link of Maros with Talloq had no parallel with regard to Goa. Goa's main tie with Maros, in contrast, stemmed from a contractual agreement between Tunikakasang and Tunijalloq. Cited in section 8 of the Maros Chronicle, this provided that as long as Tunijalloq's descendants ruled Goa, Tunikakasang's descendants would serve as *tumailalang*, the second most important official function in the kingdom of Goa after that of the *tumaqbicarabutta*, who usually came from Talloq.¹⁵

Certainly the contrast between Maros' close kinship tie with Talloq and its more formal contractual tie with Goa by itself is inconclusive. However, there are other clues that bolster the conclusion that Maros and Goa were not close. Reading the Goa court records known as *lontaraq bilang*, one is struck by the (predictable) presence of references to nobles and events in Talloq and scarcer references to Sanrabone, and the almost complete absence of references to Maros (Kamaruddin et al. 1969 and 1986; Ligtvoet 1880). Not a single ruler of Maros is mentioned by name in these records, nor is a single birth or death

¹⁴ There was an abortive attempt to establish such a bond when Tunikakasang 'adopted' a son of the ruler of Goa, Tunijalloq. Tunikakasang died while the boy was still young, however. Eventually, and unexpectedly, this boy succeeded his elder brother Tunipasuruq and became one of the most famous Goa rulers, Tumenanga ri Gaukanna.

¹⁵ The *tumaqbicarabutta* was the chief advisor to the ruler of Goa and was known as 'The Speaker of the Land'. The *tumailalang* (eventually there were three) were ministers who acted as intermediaries between the ruler and subordinate lords in Goa itself.

noted. Often Maros is described as if it were a distant place that the ruler of Goa sailed to, almost like Bone or Selayar.

Further clues about Maros' sense of independence from Goa come from oral traditions, two of which are relevant here.¹⁶ In one story, listeners are reminded that the official sword of the kingdom of Goa, Sudanga, came from Karaeng Bayo's brother Lakipadada, while the sword of Karaeng Bayo himself, Tanruq Ballanga ('Spotted Horn'), disappeared or was lost. In fact, listeners are told, Karaeng Bayo gave this more powerful sword to the rulers of Maros before he disappeared. The sword, rumour has it, has always been secretly guarded in Maros, unbeknownst to the ruling family in Goa. A second story conveying this sense of autonomy recalls Maros' early resistance to the growing dominance of Goa in Makassar. The people of Maros proudly maintain that Goa never successfully invaded and conquered Maros itself, unlike Talloq and Polombangkeng. Traditions tell of a magical banner that Maros possessed, which could bring dead warriors back to life, thus making it impossible for Goa to conquer Maros. Frustrated in this way, the ruler of Goa's advisor and soothsayer, Botolempangang, counselled the ruler to defeat Maros by using sex and literally to 'attack Maros with his penis' (*nibundiq laso*). Botolempangang arranged a marriage between the son of the ruler of Goa and the daughter of the ruler of Maros. The bride came to Goa and was asked why she brought no valuable regalia as bridewealth. Embarrassed by this, she returned to Maros and returned with Maros' most potent piece of regalia, the banner that could resurrect dead warriors, placing it in the ruler of Goa's lap. From this act, the banner's name Sulengkaya, referring to a person's lap when they sit cross-legged, is said to derive. From this moment, Maros symbolically surrendered to Goa by 'giving the ruler's daughter in marriage, and practically surrendered its ability to withstand Goa in battle.

The factual basis of these two stories, if any, is difficult to divine. The sword Tanruq Ballanga is too sacred and its custodians too secretive for it to be shown to outsiders. The memory of ancient resistance to Goa's encroachment in the second tale has probably become entangled with memories of the war fought against Goa around 1540. During this war, one of the Goa banners was called Sulengkaya. Whether this was the same banner as that taken as bridewealth earlier, or whether the name in fact derived from that of a small community Sulengkaya, near Goa, is unknown. However, though factually suspect, the stories are culturally insightful. Despite the overwhelming importance of Goa in this part of Makassar, and despite the inevitable presence of the rulers and deeds of Goa in the Maros Chronicle, the link between Maros and Goa was a surprisingly ambivalent one and very different from

¹⁶ I was told these stories by Djohan Daeng Salengke in 1997.

the close tie forged with Talloq. So too this Maros-centred perception must be tempered by the historical fact that Goa intervened in Maros regularly, used it as a source of manpower, distributed rice-growing land in the region to Goa nobles, and certainly viewed Maros as an integral part of its empire.

The third major theme that emerges from the Maros Chronicle is the shift that took place in Maros following Bone's 1669 conquest of Goa. Bone under Arung Palakka and his successor La Patau extended its influence into Makassarese areas that were previously within Goa's ambit. Bantaeng is a well-known case, but Maros underwent a similar fate, as the Maros Chronicle shows. During the early eighteenth century in particular there is a visible shift from a concern with events in Goa and the actions of Goa's ruler to events and actions in Bone. A telling illustration of this shift is provided by a genealogy of the rulers of Maros. While all the genealogies of these rulers up until the reign of Kare Yunusu are written in Makassarese, ANRI 18/8 contains a Bugis-language genealogy that begins with Kare Yunusu's successor, La Mamma Daeng Marewa, the first descendant of La Patau to become ruler of Maros. Even the names of the rulers of Maros attest to this shift, as Makassarese names and titles give way to Bugis names and titles in the eighteenth century.

The transition in the view of the history of Maros from a context dominated by Goa to one dominated by Bone not only is a reflection of Bone's new political dominance, but also mirrors demographic changes in Maros. As the chronicle mentions in section 15, a collection of new communities was established in Maros from the early eighteenth century on.¹⁷ Populated by Bugis immigrants, their presence changed Maros. From an exclusively Makassarese region, Maros became the frontier area it is today, where both Bugis and Makassarese are commonly spoken. Indeed, the writer's use of several Bugis terms – such as *tapuraji*, *niwetae*, and *antolai* – in the later sections of the chronicle attests to his own Bugis influences.

The extent to which Bone became the overarching presence guiding events in Maros is most engagingly reflected in the account of La Mamma Daeng Marewa in section 15. La Mamma Daeng Marewa, the tenth Karaeng Maros, ruled from 1723 to 1779. This was a turbulent half-century in the regions near Goa, rocked by a major civil war led by Karaeng Bontolangkasaq in the 1730s, and then by the first of many millenarian revolts purportedly led by Batara Goa, the exiled ruler of Goa, in the late 1770s. Maros itself established a confederation of five communities known as the Five Toqdoq. La Mamma Daeng Marewa, despite being the first ruler of Maros

¹⁷ The presence of a strong Bugis colony in Maros goes back to at least 1644, when Goa overthrew Arumpone La Madarammeng at the request of his own nobles. He was brought back to Maros, where he established a Sufi school.

who was directly descended from La Patau of Bone, sought independence from Bone in a way that made it look to the Arumpone like an ungrateful act of defiance. The result was a fierce and costly war, in which Bone re-subjugated Maros and beheaded La Mamma Daeng Marewa. From this point in the chronicle onward, Goa is almost invisible, whereas Bugis actors are involved in all the major events the chronicle recounts.

The people of Maros certainly did not welcome Bone's overlordship, as the fantastic tale of La Mamma Daeng Marewa's act of posthumous defiance indicates. In this there are echoes of Maros' earlier sense of autonomy with respect to Goa. The Maros Chronicle does not depict Maros' history as a mere appendage to the history of the major polities in the peninsula. Indeed, the act of writing the chronicle itself is compelling testimony to feelings of pride and autonomy in Maros. It is this sentiment, I believe, that in part motivated Daeng Masikki to write the Maros Chronicle.

The writing of the Maros Chronicle

In addition to providing basic historical information, the Maros Chronicle also is an illuminating example of how one particular Makassarese history was constructed. Daeng Masikki appears to have relied on four sources to compose the chronicle: the earlier and more ubiquitous chronicle of Maros mentioned in the introduction, the Goa and Talloq chronicles, Maros royal genealogies, and oral histories of memorable rulers and events in the past.

The short chronicle of Maros is little more than a genealogy written serially instead of presented pictorially in the form of a chart or tree. In fact, it was probably deliberately composed in this way: a genealogy cast in the new form of a chronicle in imitation of Goa's chronicle. Its unknown writer even cites the authoritative source who recounted this genealogy: Gallarrang Pakere, who answered the writer's questions about the rulers of Maros. There could have been no better informant about Maros' early history than the local lord of Pakere, which was the place where the first *tumanurung* of Maros descended and thus the birthplace of Maros' ruling line.

The short chronicle of Maros covers only the first six rulers of Maros, through Tunipasuluq, who ruled in the early 1590s. Later reigns are not discussed, and the momentous event of the Makassarese conversion to Islam, beginning in 1605, is not mentioned. These facts suggest that this short chronicle was originally written at the end of the sixteenth century. However that may be, sections 2-10 of the Maros Chronicle presented above have the same skeletal structure as the early chronicle. Within the longer Maros Chronicle, these sections form a coherent narrative unit, beginning and ending with the questions the first chronicler asked and the answers he received from

Gallarrang Pakere. Almost certainly, then, the late-sixteenth-century chronicle was one of the sources Daeng Masikki drew upon in composing his Maros Chronicle, but it was not the only chronicle he used.

A second major source Daeng Masikki used to construct the Maros Chronicle was certainly the chronicles of Goa and Talloq. Most obviously, the first section of the Maros Chronicle is copied word for word from the Goa Chronicle, only with 'Maros' substituted for 'Goa' (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim 1959:9). The opening invocation, previously reserved for the illustrious rulers of Goa, the most powerful of the Makassarese polities, was now used to serve the same legitimizing and glorifying function for the rulers of Maros. Moreover, Daeng Masikki inserted sections borrowed from the Goa and Talloq chronicles in the skeletal framework provided by the original chronicle of Maros to flesh out his account of the past. Virtually all of section 7 is taken from the account of Tunipalangga's reign and deeds in the Goa Chronicle (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim 1959:23). Similarly, portions of section 8 are taken from the account of Tumenanga ri Gaukanna's reign (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim 1959:56-7, 39). Lastly, the account of Karaeng Matoaya's acceptance of Islam that comprises the end of section 11 and the beginning of section 12 was copied from the Talloq Chronicle (Rahim and Ridwan 1975:15).

A third source that Daeng Masikki drew upon must have been royal genealogies from Maros covering the period beginning in the late sixteenth century. Like the first half of the chronicle, sections 11-18 are structured by the reigns of the rulers of Maros. The genealogical information recorded serially in these sections corresponds to that provided by the genealogies of Maros' rulers in other manuscripts. Each of these eight sections begins and ends with genealogical information showing the political succession in Maros over three centuries.

Finally, the Maros Chronicle contains accounts of specific events in the past that were not recorded in writing but were preserved orally.¹⁸ Daeng Masikki inserted these stories, like the passages taken from the chronicles of Goa and Talloq, in the framework provided by written genealogies. Sections 2, 4, 6, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, and 18 all contain such vignettes. It is likely that these oral histories, not previously committed to paper, had in a sense been remembered *alongside* such written histories as the early chronicle and genealogies of Maros.¹⁹ The recounting of these tales was 'triggered' by a mention of the names of persons and places they concerned. Even today a

¹⁸ At least, they appear to have been preserved only orally, though it is possible that as yet unread texts contain these tales in writing.

¹⁹ From this perspective, the Bone Chronicle more closely resembles the Maros Chronicle than the chronicles of Goa and Talloq. For a comparison see Campbell Macknight and Mukhlis Paeni's unpublished manuscript, 'The Chronicle of Bone'.

reference to the palace of Maros is likely to elicit in one form or another the history of the origins of the palace built by Patanna Langkana for his wife as told by Daeng Masikki in section 11. Similarly, a mention of the name La Barania Daeng Palolo in the nineteenth century could easily have called to mind the story of his victory and rise to power related in section 16. Most clearly, the long tale of La Mamma Daeng Marewa's internal turmoil and heroic but ill-fated resistance to Bone in section 15 would have been an episode that was often recounted and thus remembered generations later. The Maros Chronicle, in short, was composed by drawing upon a mix of written and oral accounts of the past.²⁰

There is nevertheless a conceptual unity to the chronicle compiled by Daeng Masikki from such a diversity of sources. The skeleton of the chronicle is genealogical, structured by the reigns of and relations between the successive rulers of Maros from the sixteenth (or late fifteenth) to the late nineteenth century. The Maros Chronicle is clearly a 'work', in Campbell Macknight's sense, which formed a coherent unit in the writer's mind (Macknight 1984). The composition as a whole is prefaced and given a unitary character by the opening invocation, a literary paeon in archaic Makassarese from an age in which the spoken word was a powerful magical tool. In borrowing this from the Goa Chronicle, Daeng Masikki accorded Maros' past the prestige and honour formerly reserved exclusively for Goa, but which he clearly believed Maros deserved.

Within this framework Daeng Masikki attached memories of particular deeds and events in each ruler's reign. These range from the mythical (if conventional) account of the discovery of the first *tumanurung* in section 2 to the tale of the refusal of La Mamma Daeng Marewa's severed head to pay homage to the Arumpone of Bone in section 15. Anecdotes of especially memorable events like these were passed down orally over the centuries in Maros. Colourful details of these episodes may well have been altered, elaborated or reduced by different narrators over the years, but were certainly remembered. These oral tales were then attached to the written framework of the past provided by genealogies and chronicles, supplementing and extending the sparser accounts the written histories provided. The picture of Daeng Masikki blending specific oral and written sources, melding them together in the framework of an overall conception of what constituted a satisfying history of the past, provides the clearest image of how chronicles were conceived and constructed in South Sulawesi.

²⁰ The first scholar to emphasize the fluid boundary between oral and written material in South Sulawesi was Christian Pelras in his 1979 article 'L'oral et l'écrit dans la tradition Bugis'.

History-making in a changing present

Up to this point little has been said about the larger social and historical context in which Daeng Masikki composed his chronicle. Yet, an understanding of this history is as much dependent upon an insight into the era in which it was composed as the era which it describes. I suggested above that one of the factors motivating Daeng Masikki in writing his Maros chronicle was pride in the origins and antiquity of his region and a desire to make its history comparable to those of Maros' larger neighbours, Goa and Bone. This was not his sole motivation, however. Like all histories of the past, Daeng Masikki's account is placed in a particular social and historical context. Like any history, it was informed by Daeng Masikki's present and can be read as much as an interpretation of the present as of the past. His Maros Chronicle can be understood as a response to the dramatic changes taking place in Makassar in the nineteenth century.

The nineteenth century was a turbulent one in South Sulawesi. Several major wars pitted the Dutch and their allies against local kingdoms trying to free themselves from colonial rule – particularly Bone, against whom three wars were fought. Local feuds were even more frequent, if less widely disruptive. Rebellions were not uncommon, either, and in Dutch eyes the region indeed lived up to its reputation as a troublesome region. Against this background of upheaval, the Dutch colonial government moved progressively, if unevenly, to rationalize colonial rule and erect administrative structures capable of organizing the region into a united and well-managed corner of the East Indies – if only on paper. As Heather Sutherland has noted, the effort to create a regularized colonial bureaucracy in the nineteenth century created possibilities as well as causing disruption. As territories were amalgamated, consolidated, given defined borders, and administratively juggled to produce a more standardized, manageable corner of the Dutch empire, some indigenous rulers found room to manoeuvre, while others saw their power and standing eroded (Sutherland 1983; see also Pelras 1996).

During this period the status of Maros within Makassar and within the colonial organization changed. From the mid-sixteenth century on, Maros was a rice-rich and valuable vassal of Goa. Far enough away from Goa to retain some autonomy, Maros nevertheless never escaped from the Makasarese orbit and its political machinations centred at Goa. After the defeat of Goa in the Makassar War (1667-69), Maros became part of the Northern Provinces (*Noorderprovinciën*), which came under direct Dutch rule. In the early nineteenth century the Northern Provinces formed a sub-residency, divided into twenty-nine regencies, which was headed (in theory, at least) by a Dutch assistant resident stationed at Maros (Sutherland 1983:172). In fact, the entire region was in a marginal position. Geographically located between

Bugis and Makassarese territory, it had been a prize for which rival Bugis and Makassarese kingdoms had contended many times in the past. There were also numerous ties linking it both to Goa, Maros' ancient overlord, and the Dutch government. In the political struggles of the nineteenth century, it was in frontier areas like this that South Sulawesi polities had the greatest freedom for manoeuvre. Constantly jockeying for dominance over rivals, polities like Maros recognized in the administrative organization of South Sulawesi the chance to gain official recognition and Dutch support for their claims and aspirations. By 1889, when Daeng Masikki wrote his Maros Chronicle, the rulers of Maros were aligning themselves ever more closely with the Dutch. It is surely significant that by far the longest section of the chronicle recalled La Mamma Daeng Marewa's valiant but futile resistance to Bone, the main obstacle to the colonial government's aspirations for unchallenged and stable overlordship over the peninsula during the nineteenth century.

In a world in which Dutch judgements were becoming increasingly important for measuring the relative status of individuals and polities, the administrative subdivision and ranking of areas in Makassar were more than bureaucratic formalities. By positioning itself astutely, Maros stood to gain Dutch recognition of its elevated autonomy and stature vis-à-vis rival Makassarese polities. In the maelstrom of local politics dominated by questions of status and relative position, these were important goals. For polities like Maros, the predominant polity in a border region ostensibly under Dutch control but still actively involved in the political life of Bone and Goa, the late nineteenth century was a period full of new opportunities. The political order was changing. The Dutch had decreed that beneath their overlordship Goa and Bone were the senior kingdoms of the region, but beneath these heights there was much room for manoeuvring. The question, however, was how to capitalize on these possibilities. Here we must consider other changes occurring in the wake of Dutch attempts to regulate and regularize South Sulawesi.

A crucial component of Dutch colonial policy was the formation of polities with distinct boundaries, established political functions, and clear succession procedures for indigenous rulers. Guided by European cultural ideas, Dutch officials searched eagerly for information on the antiquity, origins, and legitimacy of polities throughout South Sulawesi. In this atmosphere historical claims, always a significant force in Makassarese politics, gained added significance. Those polities that had collections of written historical texts (*lontaraq*) possessed documentation that the Dutch considered vastly more reliable than primarily oral histories. Written histories contained facts, oral histories contained myths. The greatest beneficiary of this was certainly Goa, which possessed the most venerable and abundant *lontaraq* collection. The greatest losers were those polities that lacked written docu-

mentation of the past to confirm their status in the present, which slipped into obscurity. In between these two poles, the rulers of Maros could not match the impeccable pedigree of Goa's rulers, but were not without *lontaraq* either. Colonial recognition and favours in the present were partially based on Dutch ideas regarding territory, rights, and succession, which were themselves partially based on *lontaraq*. Possession of the past in written documents was an important indicator of antiquity and, correspondingly, high status. Before Daeng Masikki wrote his chronicle, Maros only had a short skeleton chronicle that compared unfavourably with the lengthy chronicles of Goa and Talloq. Can we see in Daeng Masikki's Maros Chronicle an attempt to enhance Maros' standing in the world of Makassarese politics? If so, the mimicry of Daeng Masikki's script takes on added significance.

A leading figure in the collection and publication of Makassarese manuscripts was undoubtedly B.F. Matthes. Matthes ultimately collected and catalogued 216 Bugis and Makassarese manuscripts for the Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap (Matthes 1875, 1881). What is more important, he published a collection of Makassarese texts that have come to be seen by many Makassarese as the standard and official versions of the texts concerned. The first edition of the *Makassaarsche chrestomathie* was printed in 1860, the second in 1883 (Matthes 1860, 1883). The fact that this work was published – hence its form as much as its content – is largely responsible for the above perception. The fact of their being printed gave these texts authority. In an important sense, then, Matthes' publications became a measuring-stick for judging Makassarese histories. Daeng Masikki's desire to replicate as much as possible the printed texts in the *Makassaarsche chrestomathie* underscores the way in which the writing of his Maros Chronicle was an act of historiographical status assertion of a kind that had long pervaded relations between Makassarese politics but which was now performed in a changing context. More than the simple expression of personal pride, the writing of the Maros Chronicle was an act laden with political significance and implications in a Makassar in process of being consolidated and organized under the umbrella of the Dutch colonial government. An important account of the past and an insightful indicator of how Makassarese authors composed chronicles, Daeng Masikki's Maros Chronicle also is a valuable source illustrating the importance of the past in the turbulent politics of late-nineteenth-century Makassar.

Conclusion

Like the Maros Chronicle itself, the history of Maros has lain hidden from outside observers for many years. Distant from coastal trade routes, little was

known about Maros except that it was one of the major rice-producing areas that supported Goa's economy and trade. After the Makassar War, Maros lay just far enough outside the city of Makassar to figure little in Dutch reports. In the twentieth century, the lack of major chronicles from Makassarese areas outside Goa and Talloq has obscured the political importance of other communities – particularly Bantaeng, Sanrabone, and Maros – in the writing of the history of Makassar as a whole.

Daeng Masikki's Maros Chronicle was written, it seems, to defy this anonymity. His work strove to place Maros on the same level of importance as Goa and Talloq. As Dutch missionaries, scholars, and colonial officials began to systematically collect and preserve texts recording the Makassarese past in archival collections, the need for a written history may have seemed especially urgent. In this respect Daeng Masikki's attempt to imitate the font used by Dutch printing-presses is telling. His chronicle could equal those of others. It may have been written specifically to enhance Maros' standing in the arena of status rivalry that characterized Makassarese political life. Certainly the late nineteenth century was a period when the expansion and regularization of Dutch colonial rule offered some polities the chance to better position themselves on the new political map being drawn. But whatever the author's motivation, and however much the text is a product of the period in which it was composed, the Maros Chronicle surfaces as an important source opening up new vistas of the history of Maros, as well as the production of Makassarese chronicles. For this we must be grateful.

Appendix: The Rulers of Maros

	Name	Relation to Predecessor	Dates of Reign
1.	Tumenanga ri Pakere	—	1463-1513 ²¹
2.	Sanggaji Gaddong	grandson	1513-1524
3.	Karaeng Loe ri Maros	son	1524-1538
4.	Karaeng Patanna Langkana	son	1538-1572 ²²
5.	Tunikakasang	son	1572-1598 ²³
6.	Tunipasuluq	no relation	(1591/2-1593) ²⁴
7.	Karaeng Assakayai Binangaya	no relation	1596-1641 ²⁵
8.	Karaeng Barasaq	son of 7, grandson of 5	1641-1698
9.	Kare Yunusu	son	1698-1723 ²⁶
10.	La Mamma Daeng Marewa	nephew	1723-1779
11.	La Tipu Daeng Mattana	son	1779-1827
12.	La Mappalewa Daeng Mattayang	brother	1827-1854
13.	I Mannyadari Daeng Parenreng	unknown, but not a direct descendant	1855
14.	I Malalakang Daeng Pawello	grandson of 10	1856-1886
15.	I Surulla Daeng Palalo	son of 13	1886-1889

²¹ All these dates are from Naskah #4 and Makkasau 1990. The first set of dates, indicating an exactly fifty-year reign of a mythical founding ruler, is almost certainly a fabrication. The next two cannot be verified, but could conceivably be accurate.

²² The dates of the reign of Patanna Langkana correspond to the dates of the rulers of Goa he interacted with: first Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna (reigned about 1510-1546), against whom he fought, and then Tunijalloq (reigned 1565-1590), whom he helped in battle against the Bugis. If his dates are accurate, this would indicate that the war between Goa and Talloq, with Maros and Polombangkeng as allies, took place in the late 1530s or early 1540s, later than the 1535 date Bulbeck (1992) suggests.

²³ This end date is incorrect. The error stems from Makassarese concerns to exclude Tunipasuluq, who ruled Maros for perhaps two years. Tunikakasang probably died in 1591 or 1592.

²⁴ These dates represent an estimate and are not found in either of the sources listed in note 21 above.

²⁵ The commencement date 1596 may well be correct, since the Maros Chronicle speaks of a period without a ruler after Tunipasuluq's dethronement. This is also the ruler of Maros listed as entering Islam in 1605.

²⁶ Another manuscript (ANRI 74/9) listing the *kadi* of Maros says that the first *kadi* of Maros was appointed in 1641. However, his name is given as Kaimuddin (*kadi* from 1641-1673), and that of his successor as Yusufuddin (*kadi* from 1673-1718). This also contradicts the Maros Chronicle claim that Kare Yunusu appointed his son Kare Lame as the second *kadi* when Kare Yunusu became ruler of Maros. The two sources may not be reconcilable. If Kare Yunusu was appointed *kadi* in 1641, this immediately followed his father's installation as ruler of Maros.

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