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THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE MAKASARESE CHRONICLE OF GOA AND TALLOQ: AN EVALUATION*

The two Makasarese kingdoms of Goa and Talloq formed an indissoluble unity from the moment they began to play a prominent part, first in the history of South Celebes during the sixteenth century, and later in the history of the entire Archipelago. Their relationship with each other, even though they were autonomous kingdoms, was characterized to the outside world by their united front, so much so that the outside world thought of them simply as the Makasarese kingdom and of their kings as the Makasarese kings. Local tradition described this dual unity succinctly in the adage 'one people, two lords'.

In practice, this principle took the form of administrative co-operation. In the course of their history it was customary for the king of Talloq, or a prominent member of the Talloq royal family, also to be chancellor of Goa, the highest office in that kingdom after that of the king himself. This arrangement emphasized both the close linkage between the two states and the fact that Goa was the bigger, stronger, and thus the more important of the two. In addition, since early in their history, the two royal families had intermarried, so that in the course of time the two had become closely related.

According to the Makasarese written tradition, moreover, their unity also stemmed from a common ancestry. The Chronicle of Goa, which recounts little more of the first eight kings of Goa than their names and only supplies historical details about the kings, their deeds, and their genealogy from the beginning of the sixteenth century, informs the reader that the first king of Talloq was a son of the sixth king of Goa. The Talloq dynasty was thus the junior of the two, even though it was independent

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from the moment of its inception. The written tradition reflects this independence: the history of the Talloq kings up to the mid-seventeenth century can be found in the separate Chronicle of Talloq. Usually the two chronicles are mentioned separately and sometimes they have been published separately, which is not inapposite.

However, it should be emphasized that the close relationship between the two kingdoms and their dynasties is reflected in the interconnectedness of the two chronicles. The common origin of the two dynasties gives one just as much reason to speak of one chronicle in two parts. That the anonymous compiler(s) of the two chronicles actually saw the work in this way and wrote it as one connected unit can be demonstrated by the fact that in several places the Chronicle of Goa refers the reader to the Chronicle of Talloq for further details. One example of this is the remark that 'the lands which King Tu-nijalloq conquered when the king of Talloq of that time was his chancellor will not be listed here but in the place where this Talloq king will be discussed instead' (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim 1960:163). The information can indeed be found in the Chronicle of Talloq in the place indicated (Rahim and Borahima 1975:65).

Therefore we will speak of the Makasarese Chronicle of Goa and Talloq in this paper, treating it as a single unit.

Ten manuscripts of this chronicle, some copies of which are incomplete, are known to exist in public collections. There are four in Leiden, one in Amsterdam, one in London, one in Manchester, one in Berlin, one in Jakarta, and at least one in Ujung Pandang (available in Leiden in photocopy)¹, plus a manuscript in London of a Malay translation made in Crawford's time (1814).

Important though these manuscripts are for our knowledge of the transmission of the text and the value of the historical tradition contained in it, there has never been a systematic comparison and evaluation. The following is a critical examination of a number of passages selected on the basis of preliminary comparison of the manuscripts.

B.F. Matthes published the Chronicle of Goa and Talloq in his *Makasarsche Chrestomathie* (Matthes 1860:137-194) in 1860, after almost ten years' residence in Makassar (from 1848 to 1858). In his introduction (Matthes 1860:434) he mentions that he had at his disposal two manuscripts which closely corresponded to each other. These he labelled A and B, taking the first as the basis for his text edition and giving thirty-five variant readings from the second, most of them representing extremely minor differences, which he mentions and occasionally discusses (Matthes 1860:434-455).

Matthes gives no further description of these manuscripts in this place. However, in the second edition of the *Chrestomathie* (Matthes 1883,II:6)

¹ They are indicated here as A, B, C, D, G, E, K, F, H, and I respectively.

he identifies them as Numbers 15 and 16 respectively in his collection of Makasarese and Buginese manuscripts, referring to a catalogue in two parts of this collection which he had published in the meantime (Matthes 1875 and 1881). At present this collection is in the Leiden University Library, on loan from the Netherlands Bible Society (Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap, abbreviated as NBG).

From this catalogue (Matthes 1875:9) it is possible to ascertain that manuscript Number 17 also contains a text of the chronicle. Matthes stigmatizes this manuscript as being of little value because it has been carelessly produced, and one may assume that therefore he did not consider it usable for his text edition; nor did he mention it explicitly in his notes.²

While Number 17 came into Matthes' possession prior to 1875, he obtained a fourth manuscript of the Chronicle during his last period of residence in Makassar, between 1875 and 1879. This was his Manuscript 208, as described in his catalogue supplement (1881:6-16). According to the colophon, it was written by the ex-Lieutenant of the Malays in Makassar, Tajuddin (1813-1879), and completed on February 19, 1877. Matthes used it for the second edition of his publication of the Chronicle. In his notes he added the readings from No. 208 to his list of the variants in No. 16. However, this was practically the only change from the first edition. No. 208 remained unmentioned in the introduction and only a few straightforward typographical errors were corrected in the text.³ In both editions of the *Chrestomathie*, Matthes' published text is identical to that of his manuscript no. 15, with only a few minor exceptions.

This text can thus also be found in the romanized transcription published in Makassar by Wolhoff and Abdurrahim ca. 1960.⁴ For unspecified reasons their publication follows the first, rather than the second, edition of the *Chrestomathie* (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim 1960:5-6) and as a result includes the typographical errors which occur in the first edition.⁵ Notwithstanding the numerous other typographical errors in it, this publication has

² Matthes does refer two more times to 'another manuscript' (1860:439, 441; 1883,II:12,22), but which manuscript he means is unknown.

³ These typographical errors in the first edition, which were corrected in the second edition, are: *nanijalloq* for *Tunijalloq*; *Ballu* for *Rallu*; *Wanga* for *Tanga*; *rebangi* for *lebangi*, 'more than'; *sutauji* for *sitauji*, 'one more man'; and *Sunggumina* for *Sungguminasa* (Matthes 1860: 149, line 20; 157, line 21; 162, line 26; 165, line 4; 166, line 13; 169, line 17; 1883:158, line 22; 166, line 27; 171, last line; 174, line 11; 175, line 20; 178, line 23).

⁴ This book, which was published under the title *Sedjarah Goa* ('History of Goa') by the Cultural Foundation for South and Southeast Celebes (Jajasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara), bears no publication date. Because the authors sent me a copy in July 1960, I assume that it appeared earlier that year.

⁵ The typographical errors mentioned in footnote 3 are to be found in the Makasarese text in this book (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim 1960:32, line 3; 47, paragraph 153; 57, line 2; 60, penultimate line; 68, line 3) except for the last but one, which is corrected in the text (1960:63, line 2) but mentioned in the notes (1960:87). The others are corrected in the notes (1960:85, 87, 88).

to be considered a very useful one. For the first time in a hundred years the text was made available, no longer enveloped in the obscure, structurally defective Makasarese script which had previously made it completely inaccessible to the non-specialist. Through the complete romanized transcription and additional Indonesian translation, both made by an expert in Makasarese, the text was opened up to a larger readership.⁶ Although greater care and attention would certainly have produced a better result, this publication made the Chronicle usable for broader historical research for the first time, even for the historian to whom the Makasarese text itself is a closed book.⁷

This is not to say that Matthes' choice of manuscript No. 15 as a basis for his text edition was a good one. Comparison with other manuscripts shows that even Numbers 17 and 208, with which he was familiar, contain readings, not even mentioned by him, which must be considered closer to the original. Some of these readings are of special importance for the effort to ascertain the relative value of the various manuscripts, while others, in addition, have historiographical importance. In the following pages some examples of both will be discussed.

THE TEN PRE-INTRODUCTORY WORDS

In nearly all the manuscripts, the first problem the Makasarese Chronicle poses the reader is that of the ten words which precede the actual introduction. Because of their curious placement — as it were, outside the actual chronicle — and no less because of their puzzling content, it is perhaps justifiable to speak of the riddle of the ten pre-introductory words. These words, divided into four groups as indicated, are: (1) *Batara Guru* (2) *sariqbattanna tunabunoa Tolali* (3) *Ratu Sa(m)po Mara(n)taya* (4) *Karaeng Katangka*.

Although these words do not appear in Manuscripts 15 and 16 or in Matthes' text, they were already known from older Dutch summaries of the Makasarese Chronicle. In these summaries they were regularly referred to as the names of the four (or three) kings of Goa who had preceded

⁶ The same is true of the Chronicle of Talloq. In 1975 a transliteration of it, with an Indonesian translation, was published in Ujung Pandang by the Institute of History and Anthropology (Lembaga Sejarah dan Antropologi) (Rahim and Borahima 1975). For this Matthes' text edition was not followed; instead an unspecified manuscript available in Ujung Pandang was used. The same transliteration was published by Manyambeang and Mone (i.e. Abd. Rahim daeng Mone), together with a different Indonesian translation, in 1979.

⁷ See, for example, the articles about the history of Makasar by A. Reid (1981, 1983), in which he used the Indonesian translation of the Makasarese Chronicle in the above-mentioned editions.

the Tumanurung, the dynastic ancestress who, according to local legend, had descended from heaven, and to whom Matthes' text refers as the first ruler. One may safely assume that this interpretation rests on information supplied by the Makasarese at the time, which represents a comparatively old Makasarese tradition (the oldest mention was recorded around 1750), and thus is of no slight value.⁸ Moreover, this interpretation is also certainly a likely one. Among the ten words occur various names and noble titles, some of which are immediately clear, though others are entirely unknown. The numbers 1 to 4 in the pre-introductory passage as quoted above indicate where, according to the older accounts, the titles and names of each of the four kings begin (in one case No. 2 is asserted to be in apposition to No. 1). This interpretation is obvious because in three of the four cases the first word is a title. *Batara* is a term originally taken from Sanskrit which is known also in Buginese and in Old Javanese. In Makasarese it was a designation for the deity of the pre-Islamic period, and is still used for 'God' in poetry. Moreover, in ancient times it was used as title for some local princes (e.g., of Parigi, see Friedericy 1928:314) and as part of the name of one of the later kings of Goa, Batara Goa, after whom the early eighteenth-century king known as Batara Goa II was named. *Ratu* is the title, known in many related languages, of the paramount king or queen. In modern Makasarese it is entirely obsolete except in older poetic language. *Karaeng*, from *ka-raya-an*, 'greatness', has long been the highest noble title in Makasarese, and is also used as a term of address for 'sir' or 'mister'. So, Karaeng Goa means King of Goa, and Karaeng Katangka Lord of Katangka.

The first king was supposedly called Batara Guru. This name is well known in Java as the name of the supreme god, Shiva, but it also occurs in Buginese mythology as the name of the son of the heavenly creator-god who became the first king of the Buginese kingdom of Luwuq after descending from heaven. Analogously, one can assume that Batara Guru is also meant here as the name of the first — mythical — king of the Makasarese kingdom. It must be added that no other Batara Guru appears in Makasarese tradition or mythology in any form. But there is no specific indication of a derivation from Buginese mythology either. Borrowing certainly occurred, as both words were originally Sanskrit, but both the Makasarese and the Buginese could have borrowed the name directly from the same source or from separate sources, for example, from Javanese.

The reference to the second king is more problematical. In the first place, there is no title indicated. The first word, *sariqbattanna*, means 'his brother'

⁸ Both the history of Celebes written by R. Blok, VOC governor of Makassar, in 1759, but published in 1848, and the work on the same subject published in 1858 as 'Makassaarsche Historiën II' (Makasarese Histories II), which dates from ca. 1750, are based implicitly or explicitly on Makasarese written sources as far as their data about the history of Goa are concerned.

or 'the brother of'; so the second king seems to be designated as the brother of the first. It would appear that his name is not mentioned; indeed, one of the older summaries adds that he 'is not known by name' (Buddingh 1843:428). The description reads, then, 'his brother, who (is only known as he who) was murdered by Tolali' (Blok 1847:7), or 'his brother was murdered by Tolali' (Makassaarsche Historiën 1858:147). The second word, literally translated, means 'that one (*tu-*) whom (*-a*) he (*-na-*) killed (*-buno-*)', and the third word, Tolali, cannot be analyzed, as it is unknown, and thus cannot be anything other than a personal name. Thus it must be the noun belonging with the verb *-buno-*, making the translation of the two words 'he who was killed by Tolali'. These two words, Tu-nabunoa Tolali, give the impression that they can be interpreted as a posthumous name.

The institution of posthumous names, by which the place or circumstances of death or place of burial is indicated, and by which the dead person continued to be known instead of by his former name, was widespread among the upper nobility of South Celebes. All the later kings of Goa had posthumous names. In some cases these immortalized the violent way they had met their deaths. One of these is Tu-nibatta, 'he who was decapitated (in war)'; his son was known as Tu-nijalloq, 'he who was slain'. Both of these posthumous names strongly resemble the words Tu-nabunoa Tolali, the only difference being that the latter include an active rather than a passive verbal form (which is the case in the first two) and therefore include the name of the murderer in the posthumous name.

Thus this would appear to be the oldest known posthumous name. It would explain the oldest case of the absence of any name used by this king during his life. The history behind this posthumous name and the details of the murder, however, will remain forever unknown.

The explanation of the third name must remain partially hypothetical. Because the meanings of the words *sa(m)po* and *mara(n)taya* are uncertain, it is not clear whether the nasal belongs in these words (in any case it would not have been written in Makasarese script). One of the two older summaries gives *Sampo Marantaka* (the *-k-* must be an error), and the other gives *Sapo Marantaija*, while MS I, the only manuscript in Arabic script, reads *sampo marataya*. The nasal in the first word may have been added because *sampo* or *sampu* is an existing Makasarese word meaning 'cousin', while *sapo* is a dialect word meaning 'house'. It must be concluded that the oldest secondary sources are divided on this issue and that there was no certainty even at the time they were written.

With reference to *mara(n)taya* it is possible to say that the article or relative suffix *-a* (in the form *-ya* after a final *-a*) appears in it. Perhaps the word also incorporates the adjectival prefix *ma-* (compare, for example, *matoaya*, 'the elder', from *toa*, 'old'), or the now completely obsolete, rarely encountered prefix *mar-*, which indicated possession or use (compare Malay/Indonesian *ber-*, and cognate forms in other related languages). One of the few still existing Makasarese examples of this is

mar-ewangang, 'to arm oneself', from *ewangang*, 'weapons' (compare also *maranaq*, 'waringin-tree', from *anaq*, 'child', in this case, 'young shoot, aerial root'). Some examples of the related and equally obsolete prefix *par-*, which similarly appears only with a root word beginning with a vowel, are *parewangang*, 'mobilization', from *ewangang*, 'weapons', and *parallaq*, 'interval', from *allaq*, 'gap'.

If the nasal forms part of the word, no further meaning can be determined. Without the nasal, however, it would incorporate, after the prefix *mar-*, the word *ata*, meaning 'slave, servant, subject'. This assumption is supported by the presence of a form based on *ata* with the prefix *par-*: *siparata-kalulaang*, 'together with all the slaves closely associated with his person', comparable to *siparanrongang*, 'together with his mother', from *anrong*, 'mother'. If one accepts this hypothesis, then *mar-ata-ya* would be an obsolete word meaning 'he who possessed (many) slaves, servants, or subjects'. Furthermore, if one accepts the suggestion that the word *sapo*, 'house' (now only used in dialect), is present here, then Ratu Sapo Marataya could mean 'king (whose) house was (full of) slaves'. Two supplementary considerations may be added. Firstly, the king's house in ancient times was a sanctuary for runaway slaves (Cense 1979:57). Secondly, considering the meaning of the relevant words, it would seem likely that this is once more a posthumous name, albeit of a different type, rather than a personal name used while the person concerned was alive.

The fourth and last part of the passage comprising the ten pre-introductory words also is not a personal name. Karaeng Katangka, as has already been mentioned, means Lord of Katangka and thus is simply a title.

That the king of Goa would use the title Lord of Katangka appears, on closer consideration, not to be without good reason. Katangka, like Lakiung, is one of the kampungs in the old centre of Goa (Friedericy 1928:390). While the meaning of *Lakiung* is no longer known⁹, *katangka* is the name of a kind of tree, the *Millingtonia hortensis*, which (on account of its straight trunk) symbolizes a dignified posture in Makasarese, the posture of one who behaves proudly and without diffidence (Cense 1979:309). It is well known that territorial communities in South Celebes, as elsewhere in Indonesia, often bear the names of certain kinds of trees. In such a village, one of its namesake trees then serves as the centre around which the village is said to have been founded long ago and to which a sacred, protective role is sometimes still assigned. It seems likely that this was also the case in Goa, and that a *katangka* tree played a similar central role there. Moreover, according to one tradition, the crown prince of Goa bore the

⁹ A. Reid's suggestion (1983:130-131) that the word *lakiung* meant the same as the Sa'dan Toraja word *lakkian* or *lakkean*, 'the elevated houselike structure in which a corpse is kept during a death-feast', from *lakke* or *langke*, 'elevated' (cf. Van der Veen 1940:255-256), is linguistically far from convincing, primarily because the words are insufficiently compatible as far as their final part is concerned.

title Karaeng Katangka (Cense 1979:859), just as, according to information in the Chronicle, the heir to the throne often had the title Karaeng Lakiung. In this connection it is important to note that the mosque in the old centre of Goa is located in Katangka.

If one assumes that the ten pre-introductory words list the four oldest kings of Goa, then these words would form a sentence consisting of four subordinate groups of words without any further connection, explanation of their coherence, introduction, or transition to what follows. The sentence would then read as follows: Batara Guru; his brother the One Who was Killed by Tolali; the King Whose House was Full of Slaves; Lord of Katangka. There seems to be every reason to investigate the possibility that a further connection may exist between these four groups of words. Considering the fact that all of the terms are nouns or nominal groups, the only possible way would be to see if a predicate connection can be found between them, and then to add the verb 'was' to the translation. To begin with, this is possible for the first five words; indeed, it is the only possible interpretation if one follows the reading of two manuscripts (208 and Berlin), which have *sariqbattangi*, 'he is the brother (of)', instead of *sariqbattanna*, which means 'his brother' as well as '(he is) the brother of'. The translation would then read: Batara Guru was the brother of The One Who was Killed by Tolali; (and) King Whose House was Full of Slaves was Lord of Katangka.

Still, this construction does not seem to clarify the range of the information. This only occurs when (bearing in mind the central role of Katangka and discarding the above-mentioned alternative reading) one understands the whole line not as two sentences but as one nominal sentence. In translation it then becomes: Batara Guru, his brother The One Who was killed by Tolali, (and) King Whose House was Full of Slaves, were (all of them) Lord of Katangka.

If one accepts this interpretation as the correct one, even though a purely nominal sentence as proposed in this interpretation is not a common construction in Makasarese, then the meaning implicit in the ten pre-introductory words is that the three (and not four) kings named were not Lords of Goa but Lords of Katangka, and that Goa thus was a continuation of a territorially possibly very limited community, Katangka. Goa emerged when the larger federation of the nine communities (the so-called Bate Salapang, all of them located outside the centre of Goa) accepted the celestial Tumanurung as sacrosanct queen over all of them. The beginnings of a state of greater security over a larger area than ever before arose in this part of the country through the ceremonially confirmed co-operation between these several territorial units. This was the federation which was known as Goa, and it is important to remark in this connection that the name Goa, which generally would be considered as meaning 'cave' (although not in Makasarese, in which only the word *leang* means cave), is borrowed from the Sanskrit *guha*, which means not only 'cave' but

primarily 'hiding place', as also in Old Javanese. One thing is clear: the guarantee for greater safety could be offered not by the Lords of Katangka, but by the new federation, (called therefore) Goa, and naturally only by the dynasty of the sacred descendants of the divine Tumanurung.

Another thing that becomes clear is that it was necessary to include what was known about the old Lords of Katangka in the Chronicle, but only as a preface, in which they were clearly segregated from the kings of the divine dynasty who were descended from the Tumanurung, and consequently before the introduction, of which the most important element is the supplication to be spared the evil consequences which might attend the mention of the holy names of these kings. This could not be the case with the Lords of Katangka, however important and central Katangka may have been.

All this is mainly implicit in the text, so that it is not surprising that none of it appears in the older summaries and that later it was correctly remarked that there were 'just some names of kings without further details' (Cense 1951:56). The Malay translation which Crawford commissioned in Makassar in 1814 (British Library Add. 12396, p. 1 v) offers no solution, and even omits Karaeng Katangka. It is also understandable that the copyists of three manuscripts (Nos. A, B, and H), as well as Matthes in his published edition, thought it better to omit these seemingly unintelligible words.

All the above-mentioned aspects lead one to the conclusion that the pre-introductory words, however strange and unusually placed they seem at first sight, were still an intrinsic part of the oldest chronicle and thus belonged to the original manuscript. They may not be regarded 'as a subsequent attempt to link Goa with the Indic myths of Luwu or perhaps Jawa' (Reid 1983:151).

THE LATENT QUALITIES OF THE MISSHAPEN KING

A second problematical passage, the text of which as published by Matthes, does not always contain the best readings, deals with the story of the king of Goa who succeeded his mother, the Tumanurung, who had descended from heaven. The description of his person includes various unusual, half-mythical characteristics which mark him as a supernatural being. Even before his birth it was clear that he would have an exceptional nature. His mother was pregnant with him for three years, and he could walk and talk at birth.

On the other hand, he had such physical defects that the people referred to him as misshapen. His very name is based on the most noticeable of these defects. He was called Massalangga-barayang, 'the one with one high and one low shoulder', for, as the Chronicle says, one of his shoulders

went up and the other down.¹⁰ His heels extended as far behind as his toes did in front, and his navel was as big as a rice basket. One of his ears was big and broad (*malaqbaq*) and the other was bumpy (*maqbuttu*) — at least, according to the manuscript used by Matthes (*buttu* is a bump or irregularity). However, in all the other manuscripts the word *maqbatu* is used, which means 'sound, whole, in its entirety'. The Malay translation (Add. 12396) accordingly uses the word *bulat*, which means not only 'round, circular' but also 'complete, in its entirety'. Although not entirely impossible, this is still in conflict with the meaning of the passage as a whole, which emphasizes his unattractive characteristics. Perhaps *maqbatu* meant something else in the past, such as 'stony, as hard as stone' (*batu*, 'stone'). In any case it is clear that the copyist of manuscript No. 15, or of its model, made an obscure part of the text understandable by means of a minor alteration. For Matthes' purposes, this represented an advantage of the text he used for his edition.

Some similar examples appear in the next passage, in which this king's mother is disturbed because the people call her son misshapen, thereby implicitly characterizing him as being unfit to be a king. She responds by emphasizing his exceptional abilities. In powerful, vivid language she declares that her son is far from deformed. On the contrary, he is blessed with unusually acute senses: amazingly sharp ears, unbelievably good eyesight, and a no less sensitive nose. What seem to be defects are in fact sources of gain. All that his hands touch changes into gold, goods, and power. With his supernatural gifts, she seems to be saying, he is more than anyone else the obvious leader of his people.

This passage differs on the point of language and style from the matter-of-fact prose of the rest of the Chronicle. It gives a strong impression of having been copied from older Makasarese literature, scarcely anything of which remains. Its mythical, folktale-like characteristics are recognizable in the above summary. The age of the passage can also be deduced from the presence of many completely obsolete words and forms which, understandably, caused problems for Matthes as well as for Wolhoff and Abdurrahim in their publications of the text. The meaning and intention of some of the wordings of its unusual hyperboles remain uncertain or unknown. A comparison of the available manuscripts does, however, offer

¹⁰ The second part of this name is a practically unknown Makasarese word, and for this reason its explanation has posed problems. It has been proposed that it should be read as *baraya*, from *bara* 'waist belt' (with the article suffix), which belt would have been pulled up higher on one side when the wearer was wearing a *kris* (Matthes 1883, II:6). The form *barayang* is, however, certain enough on the basis of the manuscripts. Matthes' explanation of it as 'something that slants' (1885:268) is apparently based on the context given here. According to a modern explanation, *barayang* is an unidentified sort of tree whose branches grow alternately on the trunk instead of in pairs (cf. Patunru 1967:158; Cense 1979:78) and whose seeds were once used as blowpipe pellets (Cense 1979). For the present, it seems unlikely that this tree could be the same as the *biraeng* (*Ficus lucescens*), as was proposed by Daeng Patunru's informant.

one greater certainty as to the correct text, which, with regard to these problematical passages, does not appear to be that of Matthes' published edition of MS 15 or the transliteration of Wolhoff and Abdurrahim. The following two columns show the text according to Matthes' publication (left) and that according to most of the manuscripts which were not used by him (right). They are arranged in 22 lines of arbitrary length, in which the words differing in the two versions are italicized. A translation of the passages in the second column and a discussion of the problems involved follow below.

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (1) | Nanakanamo ayana:
'Anngapai
natau sala-salang anakku?
Ka salangganna | Nanakanamo ayana:
'Anngapai <i>nanukana</i>
tau sala-salang anakku?
Ka salangganna |
| (5) | salangga barayang,
tolinna
buluq manngape,
<i>uq</i> matappuq ri Jawa
nataqlanngerang, | salangga barayang,
tolinna
buluq manngape(q)
<i>uwuq</i> matappuq ri Jawa
nataqlanngerang, |
| (10) | buleng mate
ri Silayaraq naaraq,
pute(ng) <i>mmantang</i>
ri Bantaeng natilingi,
bangkenna bangkeng taikang, | buleng mate
ri Silayaraq naaraq,
pute <i>lama(n)ti(q)</i>
ri Bantaeng natilingi,
bangkenna bangkeng taikang, |
| (15) | pocciqna timbuseng loe,
limanna <i>pakasino(m)bo(q)</i>
ia mannyomba
ia <i>taiq</i> bulaenna,
ia mannyomba | pocciqna timbuseng loe,
limanna <i>pu(n)ca sinoba</i> ,
ia mannyomba
ia <i>attaiq</i> bulaenna,
ia mannyomba |
| (20) | ia <i>la(m)pa(ng)</i> karoa(n)na,
ia mannyomba | ia <i>lla(p)pa(q)</i> karoa(q)na,
ia mannyomba |
| (22) | ia palulung taunna.' | ia palulung taunna.' |
| (1a) | But his mother said:
'Why do you say
that my son is a misshapen man?
For his shoulders | |
| (5a) | are <i>barayang</i> shoulders,
his ears
are flanking (?) mountains;
a hair snapping in Java
he hears; | |
| (10a) | a dead white buffalo
in Silayar he smells;
the white spot of a leech (?) | |

- in Bantaeng he discerns;
 his feet are like scales;
 (15a) his navel is a great well;
 his hands are hollowed-out
 extremities:
 when they scoop
 they have *taels* of gold;
 when they scoop
 (20a) they fold *karoaq*-cloth;
 when they scoop
 (22a) they let his men walk in multitudes.'

There are two major sorts of textual problems which arise from the defective structure of Makasarese script. They are: variations in readings between the various manuscripts, and differences in interpretations of the readings which the manuscripts offer.

In several cases some of the manuscripts contain an older form of a present-day Makasarese word. The word for 'hair', *uq* (line 8) in Matthes' edition, reads *uwuq* in most of the manuscripts. This goes back to the proto-form **buquk* for 'hair', and is the Makasarese form from which the present-day *uq* must have developed as a contraction, as has happened in other similar cases. Compare, for example, *Luq*, the Makasarese form of the geographical name, which in Buginese is *Luwuq*. Similarly the word *bung* and its more common disyllabic version *bungung*, 'a well', originate from *buwung* (compare Bug. *buwung*, Sa'dan *bubun* 'well').

It should be noted that the text of lines 2-3, in which the mother says to the people, 'why do you say that my son is a misshapen man?', seems much more convincing than her more general complaint 'why is my son a misshapen man?' in Matthes' edition. It seems likely, however, that the added word *nanukana* 'is it that you say', which appears in only two manuscripts (Nos. C and D), did not appear in the original text, even though one may assume that the addition agreed with the original intention.

In line 7, *buluq* is not the common word for 'mountain' (the common word is *moncong*), although *buluq* is not entirely unknown (compare Cense 1979:143). Matthes and Wolhoff and Abdurrahim consider the verb *manncape* to mean 'to wave, beckon', treating it as coming from *kape*, although the usual verbal derivation from this is *akkape*, and although the combination of the two words, *buluq* and *manncape*, to indicate two ears does not seem to present a very convincing image of their abnormal size. Nevertheless, the place name Bonto-manncape, which uses *bonto* to indicate 'height', shows this to be a combination of compatible words. A possibility is that *mannapeq* should be read and interpreted as a variant of (*mann*)*apiq* or *manngepeq*, here in the sense of 'to flank' (cf. Mal./Ind. *apit*). The solution 'flanking mountains' as an image of the two huge ears

must remain hypothetical until the presence of this form can be established in Makasarese.

Line 12 provides a clear example of an emendation by the copyist in MS A in place of a word he could not understand: *mmantang* (written twice with the symbol for the final nasal in the MS), the usual word for 'to stay, live', appears where all the other MSS use the word *la-ma-ti*, a word unknown in Makasarese. The word for 'land leech', which in standard Makasarese is *kalimataq*, reads *lematik* in the related Sa'dan Toraja language, while in Philippine languages it appears as *limatik* (Tagalog) and *limatok* (Bisaya), and in North Celebes as *lamatiq* (Sangir). It is possible that, in addition to the standard Makasarese *kalimataq*, there also exists in dialect, or existed in the past, a word *lamatiq* (or *lamantiq* or *lamattiq*) with the same meaning. The word *pute* (according to Wolhoff and Abdurrahim) or *puteng* (according to Matthes and Cense) denotes a kind of white dove. Thus the translation of lines 12-13 as given by them reads: 'With his eyesight he can discern a *kanari* dove in Bantaeng' (Matthes 1883,II:7), and 'he can examine minutely a *kimbokang* dove in Bantaeng' (Cense 1979:571). But *pute* can also mean 'white' in dialect. This is important, considering the fact that a leech has white spots which are its sensory organs near its head. Thus the same words might mean: 'he is able to discern the white spots on a leech in Bantaeng'. This would make good sense, as it indicates that he can see something which is really very tiny at a distance of dozens of kilometres.

A *taikang* (line 14) is a balance with a pair of scales, from *taiq*, 'a kind of gold weight, a *tael*'. *Annaiq*, 'to weigh', is used here as a simile for the son's abnormal feet, which extend as far backwards as they do forwards and thus are balanced like scales. One might say that the scales are meant at the same time to symbolize abundance, which is suggested by the weighing of goods.

The reference in the Chronicle to the son's hands presents quite a mystery. Matthes' reading (line 16) was *pakasinomboq*, which he explained as 'able to make all sorts of things', from a word *nomboq* which supposedly means 'good'. However, both definitions seem to be improvisations, since neither the verb nor its assumed root are known. Wolhoff and Abdurrahim give another reading, *pakassing noboq*, which they translate as 'skilled in stabbing' (*pandai menikam*), from *toboq*, 'stabbing weapon', and *kassing* 'strong', although the form *pakassing* is not a usual one.

Once more it appears that Matthes' text was not the best one. Instead of his reading, several MSS have *pu(n)ca sino(m)ba* (the manuscript in Arabic script, MS I, has the pre-consonantal nasal in the first word and not in the second), words which were hard to understand apparently even for scribes who wanted to provide a coherent, readable text. Nevertheless, an attempt may be made to elucidate them. Almost certainly the first word, *punca*, may be compared with Malay *punca*, 'flap, tail, end', which occurs

in Sa'dan as *pungsa*, 'bent extremity' (Van der Veen 1940:475) and in Makasarese only as 'part (extremity) of a sarong that has a different pattern from the field of the sarong', but in the past perhaps also in the more general sense of 'extremity, tail-end'.

The second word, *sino(m)ba*, appears to contain the completely obsolete passive infix *-in-*, which only occurs in a few remnants such as *tinanang*, 'rice plant', literally '(that which is) planted', from *tanang* - *annanang*, 'to plant, especially young rice plants', and *tinompang*, 'turned upside down', to be compared with *tompangi*, 'to turn upside down'. There is also a word *soba* and a verb *annyoba*, meaning 'to hollow out' (only in Cense 1979:711), so that *sinoba* might mean 'hollowed out'.

Taken together, these words could be used very appositely for the son's hands, which appear to be called 'hollowed-out extremities', anticipating the word which comes next, the verb *mannyomba*, repeated three times (lines 17, 19, 21). *Mannyomba* usually means 'to pay homage' (cf. Malay and Jav. *sembah*), but Cense's dictionary adds as second meaning 'to scoop something up in two hands held together like a bowl' (Cense 1979:716). Thus we should take this word to refer not to the people who pay homage to this king (as do Matthes, Wolhoff and Abdurrahim) but to his hands, which gather and distribute riches each time they scoop (*ia ... ia* means 'as soon as ... then').

Of lines 18, 20 and 21, which describe the effects of the scooping hands, the first is clear. The verb *attaiq* comes from *taiq*, '*tael*, a kind of gold weight', and means '*tael* in great quantity'. This line thus means 'he had many *tael* of gold'.

Matthes read the words *lampang karoanna* in line 20, which he translated as 'whose prosperity (lit. life and activity which surround him) shall be widespread' (Matthes 1883, II:7), from *lampang*, which he equated with *luaraq*, 'wide, extensive' (Matthes 1885:632; but Cense, 1979:367, did not encounter *lampang* in this sense in present-day Makasarese and refers only to Matthes), and *karoàng*, 'liveliness', from *roa*, 'to be merry, lively, pleasant' (Matthes 1885:611). This reading is not viable, however, since, according to Cense 1979:608, the root is not *roa* but *roaq*, and a derivative with *ka-* and *-ang* would not be *karoàng* but **karoakang*.

Wolhoff and Abdurrahim tried yet another solution and read the words as *la-pakanroanna*, which they then translated as 'he shall beg him for a blessing (salvation)' (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim 1960:11, *akan dipohonkannya berkat (keselamatan)*), and explain this as being derived from *kanro*, *aqnganro*, 'pray, beseech', *pakanroang* being 'he from whom is beseeched', with the future prefix *la-* added (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim 1960:80). This explanation also seems rather forced, since forms with *pa-* and *-ang* usually just indicate an action in general or the time at or place in which it occurs, or, if a person is referred to, 'someone who has the relevant characteristic to a high degree' (Cense 1979:494-495).

It is clear that, although no complete explanation can be given on the

Fortunately, fragments of poetry, containing both of the words from our text, appear in a manuscript in Arabic script (NBG 78) as well as in one in Makasarese script (KIT 668/216). The combination of information from these yields a reading of *lappaq* for the first word. This is confirmed by a form *nilappaka*, which has the relative suffix *-a* (*-ka* after a glottal stop) and which, moreover, by its passive prefix *ni-* shows itself to be a verb. The second word, on the basis of the information in these manuscripts, should read *karoaq*.

The five quotations in which these words occur and their translations are as follows.

(23) taniengkaq bulaenna, whose gold is not (i.e., cannot be)
lifted.

¹¹ It is with gratitude that I refer here to the work of the late Dr. A.A. Cense. Drawing upon his study of older Makasarese literature, he suggested these five citations to me in our discussions in the early 1970s concerning the passage from the Makasarese Chronicle mentioned here.

tanipalappaq karoaqa,	whose <i>karoaq</i> cloth cannot be folded,
tanibilanga taunna,	whose people are countless,
taniangga pannyoronna,	whose payments are unlimited.
(engkaq = angkaq 'to lift'; angga, 'border, limit'; pannyorong, from sorong 'to push, to pay'.)	

II. In the following lines of an old *sinriliq* (song), a Buginese prince expresses his admiration for Goa:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (27) makkaratusanga tau-mate | where for hundreds of dead the |
| niajina, | Koran is recited, |
| makkapuloanga soleng | where for scores of dead the Salat |
| nisambayanginna, | is performed, |
| nitaika bulaeng passidakkana, | where gold is weighed out |
| | intended for pious gifts, |
| nilappaka karoaq pattinapona | where <i>karoaq</i> cloth is folded |
| (-kona?). | for ... (?). |

III-V. The following pairs of lines appear in the *sinriliq* I Bissu Keke (MS NBG 78:39, 40):

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (31) anna kutaiq bulaeng | and I weighed out gold that I |
| kupassareang, | presented, |
| anna kulappaq karoaq | and I folded <i>karoaq</i> cloth for |
| pannyo(ng)goriang. | making payments. |
| (passareang, from sare 'to give'; pannyo(ng)goriang, probably from songgoroq, assonggorang, 'push away with the hand', and probably used in the past, like sorong (cf. line 26 above), for 'to pay'.) | |
| (33) nilappaq tonji karoaq | there were also folded |
| paqbiayaku | <i>karoaq</i> cloths for my expenses, |
| nirenreng tonji karambu | there were also buffaloes led out |
| pattimpawaku, | for my taxes (?). |
| (karambu, dialect for tedong, 'buffalo'; pattimpawa, perhaps connected with *bawa, 'to bring'?). | |
| (35) katu-manaiqmi sitaikang | brought forward was one quantity |
| bulaeng, | of weighed-out gold, |
| mantamami silappakkangmi | entering was one quantity of |
| patola. | folded <i>patola</i> cloth. |
| (for katu 'to bring (?)' cf. pikatu 'to send'; sitaikang, 'one weighed-out quantity', and silappakkang, 'one folded quantity'.) | |

From these passages in old, as yet scarcely studied, Makasarese poetry it can be concluded with certainty that not only must the words in question in the Chronicle be read as *lappaq karoaq*, but also that they concern the folding of a certain highly valued cloth as a symbol of wealth. Only the question of what kind of cloth this *karoaq* was remains unanswered.

In the part of the Chronicle which deals with the latent qualities of the misshapen king, this is one of the examples which show that the most original

text is the one which contains old, obsolete words which can only be found in old literature and which were sometimes clearly emended by a copyist in order to produce a more comprehensible text for himself and his readers. The manuscripts in which this more original text has been transmitted therefore have to be regarded as the better ones.

THE OLDEST MANUSCRIPT

The examples given so far share the feature that they contain only linguistic information helpful for deciding which readings of a given passage have the greatest likelihood of being more original than the readings in the other manuscripts compared with it. A work like the Chronicle in question, which was apparently intended to give information about the past, has an advantage over stories of a purely fictional nature in that it is possible to use as criterion of its authenticity a knowledge of the past that is based on external data or grounded in the technical details of reality, such as, for instance, the demonstrable internal correctness of a given date. In these cases one can say that the reading most likely to be the correct, and thus the original, one is the reading which corresponds with independent data or which fulfils certain technical demands, when compared with readings which conflict with them. Such agreement cannot be based on coincidence.

Clear examples of this kind of agreement can be given from the latter part of the Makasarese Chronicle, which follows the mythological, rather legendary beginning. Before dealing with it, however, we must first introduce what is perhaps the most important manuscript of the Chronicle (our MS G). It has not been discussed until now because its first pages, which must once have contained the passages examined so far, are lost. The Chronicle begins abruptly with the words (the name) *ri Bajeng*, which in Matthes' edition appears in the middle of the sixth page from the beginning (p. 151) and in Wolhoff and Abdurrahim's edition at the bottom of page 18. Considering the amount of text per page of this manuscript in comparison with Matthes' edition, this means that six pages (or three folio) must be missing.

The manuscript is at present in the Tropical Museum of the Royal Tropical Institute in Amsterdam and bears the catalogue number 668/216. J. Tideman, former governor of the Moluccas, presented it with a number of implements characteristic of Makasarese material culture to the museum in 1931, when it was still the Ethnography Department of the Royal Colonial Institute (*Aanwinsten* 1932:66-72). Tideman had formed the collection between 1902 and 1909, while *controleur* of Tjamba and subsequently of Takalar, both in the Makasarese region, where he had immersed himself in the local culture and history. During his furlough in the Netherlands in 1909, an exhibition of his collection was organized and mounted in Apeldoorn, Leiden, and The Hague, and was provided with a printed catalogue (Tideman 1909:vii).

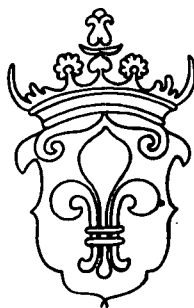
According to Tideman (1909:41; *Aanwinsten* 1936:142), the manuscript had formerly been in the possession of the King of Goa, usually known as Karaeng Lembangparang, who was killed in 1906 in the war with the Dutch. Part of the manuscript had become lost during this 1905-1906 campaign, but the chancellor of Goa had managed to preserve a portion of it. He gave it to Tideman in gratitude for the return of a lance belonging to him, which had fallen into Tideman's hands as spoils of war.

A.A. Cense's detailed table of contents shows that this manuscript, as was quite usual, served as a notebook in which numerous shorter or longer pieces of information of different kinds, concerning a wide variety of subjects, were written down one after the other. The Chronicle of Goa and Talloq covers the first 56 pages, which comes to about one-third of the folios preserved, and constitutes the longest single piece in the manuscript. Here we shall refer to it as MS G of the Chronicle. In addition it features pieces which are almost certainly unique, such as a poem about the war waged ca. 1643 by the Bonese king, La Maddaremmeng, against his mother, Makkalaruë. Not only has part of the beginning of the manuscript been lost but a part at the end is also missing. The contents of four loose folios show no connection with the other pieces. Two of these are diary entries, some of which are comparable, and some identical, to those in the Diary of the Kings of Goa and Talloq, which Ligetvoet translated and published in 1880. It is not impossible, therefore, that the lost folios of the manuscript also included a copy of this diary. This would explain Tideman's repeated, though incorrect, assertion that the manuscript he had received was a copy of the diary. The fact that a manuscript came from the Makasarese court does not in itself guarantee that it is especially important, but in this case that does appear to be so.

One cogent reason for its importance is its age. It is estimated to have been written, that is to say, copied, in about the middle of the 18th century, as will be explained below. It is one of the very few Buginese and Makasarese manuscripts dating back to before the nineteenth century. In both these languages an 18th-century manuscript counts as an older piece.

There are various indications of the relative age of the manuscript. The watermark in the paper, which is often a very precise indication, is only partially so here, because it is probably a fairly obscure imitation and therefore not as precisely dateable as many well-known watermarks. As can be seen in the facsimile included here, it consists of a fleur-de-lys. The details of its form do not appear in any of the reference works, however, and, moreover, it seems to lack an ornament at the bottom. Underneath are inscribed the letters IVC, which must be a distant imitation of the initials LVG of the well-known paper-maker Lubertus van Gerrevink of Egmond aan den Hoef in the province of North Holland (died 1731), who took out a patent for the use of these initials as a watermark 'in order to protect himself against dishonest competition' (Voorn 1960:246). After Gerrevink's death his sons continued the business and produced paper

'provided with the now famous initials of their father, LVG' (Voorn 1960:246). The watermark in the paper of the Makasarese manuscript can probably be dated to between 1725 and 1750, or perhaps a little later, in view of the Buginese manuscript Add. 12371 from the Crawford collection (British Library OMSS) dated 1765, which also has the letters IVC in the watermark (Ricklefs and Voorhoeve 1977:32-33). Some dates in the manuscript, the latest of which is 1739, determine the *terminus post quem* more exactly. Broadly speaking, a date in the mid-18th century can be considered acceptable.



I V C

*The watermark in the paper of MS 668/216 of the Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam
($\frac{1}{3}$ normal size)*

Another indication of its relative age is the fact that nearly all of the manuscript is written in the so-called old Makasarese script, which has long been obsolete. The shapes of the letters differ considerably from the script known as Makasarese-Buginese, which was used for writing in both languages. There is reason to believe that this old script once was the usual Makasarese script and later was gradually replaced by Buginese script, which is relatively simpler as far as a number of letter forms are concerned. Only a few manuscripts in this old script are preserved, all of them written in the Makasarese language. Besides the one in question, there is one in London (British Library, Oriental Manuscripts Add. 12351, Crawford Collection, Ricklefs and Voorhoeve 1977:99); one in Leiden (NBG 24, Matthes 1875:11); and one in Buton (a short religious treatise in the Sultan's archives at Bau-Bau). They also include the Makasarese version of the treaty concluded between the VOC governor of Makassar and the kings of several principalities on the island of Sumbawa on April 10 and September 13, 1701 (Corpus Diplomaticum IV, *BKI* 93:192-200), in the original copy of the treaty kept in the Arsip Nasional at Jakarta (Makassar

374/1); as well as some manuscripts in which only one line, or a few signatures (Add. 12369, SOAS MS 12161, Ricklefs and Voorhoeve 1977:32,101), or a fragment (Or. 8154, Ricklefs and Voorhoeve 1977:34) appear in the old script. Two of the manuscripts which are written entirely in the old script contain the Chronicle of Goa and Talloq, namely No. 668/216 in Amsterdam and No. 12351 in London. Manuscript SOAS MS 12161, being the original of a contract in Dutch and Makasarese dated October 16, 1781, bears the signature of two Makasarese Karaengs as the only examples of the old script in it. It shows that the old script was still used at the Makasarese court but not by the scribes who worked for the VOC (the contract itself is in Buginese script).

It is well known that the age of a manuscript is not in itself a guarantee that it contains better readings, that is, readings closer to the original text, than newer manuscripts, considering the possibility that in principle a newer manuscript may represent a directer, more faithful transmission of the text than an older one. Dr. E.U. Kratz drew attention to this fact some time ago (1981:236), although he incorrectly styled it an example of the causes of the circumstance that 'stemmatics do not automatically yield an archetype'. Indeed, it is the stemmatic method which makes allowance for the fact that the age of a manuscript is an insufficient criterion for the value of the readings contained in it, since it attempts to determine the relative value of manuscripts on the basis of their respective positions in the 'family tree' of their mutual relationships, and not on grounds of age (cf. Van der Molen 1983:45).

Of course, none of this means that great age of a particular manuscript is entirely valueless. Age gives a certain relative value to a manuscript even if only because it has been exempt from later developments and because there is a chance that it may preserve details which have gone missing elsewhere. A manuscript which is considerably older than all other manuscripts containing the same text will always be read with special interest.

In this case, too, the manuscript may be presumed to be of great importance because of its age. Whether it can be said to fulfil the expectations connected with its age must be determined by a comparison of details of the texts.

EXTRA-TEXTUAL INFORMATION

Sometimes it is simple to determine which of several readings is correct. For instance, with respect to the number of days which elapsed between the death of Karaeng Matoaya, the King of Talloq and chancellor of Goa, which took place on October 1, 1636, or Jumad I, 1, 1046 H., and the death of Alauddin, the King of Goa, who died June 15, 1639, or Safar 12, 1049 H., a simple count using the Moslem calendar shows that the manuscripts which give that number as 986 (including NBG 15 (A), used by Matthes

in his edition, and the Amsterdam manuscript (G)) are correct, in contrast to the manuscripts which give it as 956 (E) and 906 (F). Most of the information necessary for this particular check can be found in the text itself, since the death dates are mentioned in the Chronicle. Only the information given by the Moslem calendar is, strictly speaking, extra-textual.

In other cases, too, information that can be found outside the texts can be used to decide between the conflicting readings of different manuscripts. The following cases are examples.

A POSTHUMOUS NAME USED IN DIRECT ADDRESS

A posthumous name, as was already mentioned, is used in historical writings after the death primarily of royal persons, instead of the name used during his or her lifetime, and is often also substituted for the former name by copyists. Strictly speaking, the latter practice is anachronistic. It is acceptable in descriptive passages, but the habit of substituting the posthumous name may also affect quotations in direct speech, in which the posthumous name will then be used for a man who was still alive at the moment of the utterance.

In some manuscripts of our text this is the case in the passage in which, after his father's death, the eldest son of King Alauddin announces the condition on which he is prepared to accept the succession to the throne. His words are reported in two versions, which vary on this point as well as in a few other details. In manuscript A, published by Matthes, and manuscript G of Amsterdam, these words are as follows (the *variae lectiones* below showing how the other known manuscripts follow each version):

A	G
(37) 'Iapa kuerog antama maqgauq Tu-menanga-ri-Bontobiraeng kuagang maqbali-gauq, iatompa anngerangi	'Iapa kuerog karaeng daengkupa kuagaang maqbali-gauq, iatompa anngerangi
(42) taua iangaseng. ^a	tauya iangaseng. ^a
(37a) 'I only want to assume the government if Tu-menanga-ri-Bontobiraeng assists me in my reign, and if he leads	'I only want to be king if my elder brother/cousin assists me in my reign, and if he leads

^a 38. D maqgauq, BCEFGI karaeng;

39. AEF Tu-menanga-ri-Bontobiraeng, BCDGI daengkupa;

40. EF maqgauq; 41. D anngerang-asengi; 42. ADEFHI taua, BC tauia, G tauya.

(42a) all the people.'

all the people.'

Since Tu-menanga-ri-Bontobiraeng ('who rests, i. e., is buried, in Bontobiraeng') was the posthumous name of the Prince of Pattinngalloang, who died in 1654, while the words quoted above must have been spoken shortly after the death of King Alauddin in 1639, it is clear that the version containing this posthumous name cannot be the original one.¹²

It is then possible to conclude that the other version, which avoids the anachronistic posthumous name, must be the original one, although it may be remarked at the same time that the term used in this version, *daeng*, 'older brother or cousin', does not unambiguously indicate any one particular person, so that the substitution of the posthumous name of the Prince of Pattinngalloang seems to rest on a knowledge of external information. For indeed it was this prince who assumed the office of chancellor to the new King of Goa, as Speelman noted in his *Notitie* (Memorandum) thirty years later. Speelman wrote that for the last three years of his life King Alauddin personally controlled the government¹³, which 'his son, upon his succession, immediately handed over to Crain Patengaloan, for it was not convenient for the King to bother himself about it, being much too busy with gambling and pleasures' (Speelman f 727B).

It thus seems reasonable, although it is not certain, that the same person was meant in the original version. This, too, can be partially confirmed only by consulting outside information. The Makasarese Chronicle indicates that the young king of Goa was his father's eldest son and thus had no elder brother (Matthes 1883:172; Wolhoff and Abdurrahim 1960:57), and that Pattinngalloang was his cousin, as he was the son of the half-sister of the young king of Goa's father.¹⁴ Pattinngalloang was born in 1600 (Diary) and was older than the crown prince, who was born in 1606 (Chronicle) or 1607 (Diary). Thus the term *daengku*, 'my elder cousin', was a fitting one for the young king of Goa to use to describe his cousin Pattinngalloang. However, Pattinngalloang himself had an older brother, Muzaffar, who succeeded their father as King of Talloq. The original version of the words of the young King of Goa does not make clear which of these two brothers

¹² It is striking, furthermore, that only the syntactic position of the noun *karaeng* 'king' in G indicates that it is used here as a verb 'to be king'. In other cases it is quite normal for this to be indicated by means of a pronominal clitic, e.g. *karaeng-aq*, 'I am king'. The construction that is used in the present case gives the impression of greater authenticity than the verbs *maqgauq* or *antama maqgauq*, which seem to be rather formal terms which a chronicle writer might prefer.

¹³ His posthumous name, Tu-menanga-ri-gaukanna, 'He who died during his reign', refers in fact to this circumstance (cf. Cense 1979:229).

¹⁴ They had a common grandfather but different grandmothers: King Alauddin's parents were King Tunijalloq of Goa (d. 1590) and I Sambo (Matthes 1883:164, 166; Wolhoff and Abdurrahim 1960:43, 46), while the Prince of Pattinngalloang's mother's parents were King Tu-nijalloq and a different wife, I Waraq (Matthes 1883:164, 196; Wolhoff and Abdurrahim 1960:43; Rahim and Borahima 1975:19, 20).

was meant. This could have been a second reason for a later copyist to explicitly indicate the intended person by using his (posthumous) name.

THE DEATH DATE OF TU-NIPASULUQ IN 1617

There are two clear cases in which the original reading can be established by determining the correctness of a date which is given in one version and omitted in the other, using external information in the form of chronological tables.

The first case concerns the death date of the King of Goa who was deposed in 1593 because of his tyrannical rule, and is therefore known as Tu-nipasuluq, 'who was deposed and exiled'. After being deposed he took refuge first in Luwuq and thereafter in Buton, where he died on July 6, 1617. The Chronicle gives this date and also its equivalent in the Moslem calendar, but in some manuscripts, including that used by Matthes for his publication, only the name of the month is given, without the day. The two versions and their translation are as follows.

A	G
(43) Leqbaqnamo nipasuluq	Leqbaqna nipasuluq <i>uru mammumbana</i>
(45) hijraq 1026 bulang Raqjaq	bulang Raqjaka ejaraka sicokkoang anruampulo anngannang
ri heraq meseka 1617	
(50) 5 Juli	<i>Julu limambannginna</i> eraq sicokkoang anngannang bilangang assampulo antuju namate.
namate	
Karaenga Tu-nipasuluq	
(55) iraya ri Butung. ^b	
(43a) After he was deposed	After he was deposed (it was) on the first rising
(45a) (it was) in Hijrah 1026,	

^b 43. AH leqbaqnamo, BCDEFGI leqbaqna, E om.; 44. BCFG uru mammumbana, I uru pammumba, D ri 1, E 1, AH om.; 45. H hejaraq sicokkoang anruampulo anngannang, BCDEFGI om.; 46. ABDF bulang Raqjaq, CGI bulang Raqjaka, E Raqjaka, H bulang Raqjaq sipattanna ('the first day of'); 47-48. B hijrat 1026 s.a.w., C hejaraqna naqbi s.a.w. si sanat 1026, D ri sanat 1026, E 1026 hijrat, I hijrat naqbi s.a.w. 1026, F ejaraq ... (=G), AH om.; 49. H heraq meseka sicokkoang anngannang bilangang assampulo antuju, BCDEFGI om.; 50. B limambanngi Juli, C limambannginna bulang Juli, D ri 5 bulang Juli, E Julu 5 bannginna, FI limambannginna Julu, G Julu limambannginna, H Juli limambanngi; 51-52. B 1617 herat, C ri heraq 1617, D ri taung heraq 1617, E eraq, F = G, I heraq 1617, AH om.; 53. E om.; 54-55. H = A, BCDEFGI om.

the month of Rajab,	of the moon of the month of Rajab,
in the European era 1617,	Hijrah one thousand and twenty six,
(50a) 5 July,	July the fifth
	in the European era one thousand
	six hundred and seventeen,
that died	that he died.
Karaeng Tu-nipasuluq	
(55a) in the east in Buton.	

There are three indications that the version contained in G (and going by the *variae lectiones*, also most of the other manuscripts) is older than that of A. The most spectacular indication of this is the fact that the equivalent of July 5, 1617, is Rajab 1, 1026, in the Moslem calendar. The second is that the date expressed in words ('the first rising of the moon') is replaced in some manuscripts (D and E) by the numeral 1, this being the number presumably left out by a later copyist, so that the day of the month is missing in A and H. The third indication is the name of the month of July, which still has the form of the Portuguese loanword *Julu*¹⁵ and has not yet been replaced by the later Dutch version *Juli*, as in a number of other manuscripts (A, B, C, D, H). It may be added here that lines 54-55, which are missing in all manuscripts except A and H, are indeed superfluous, because the information that Tu-nipasuluq died in Buton is already given in the previous sentence.

I pointed out thirty-five years ago that, whenever a full double date is given, according to the European as well as the Moslem calendar, the year is automatically confirmed if the two dates do indeed refer to the same day (Noorduyn 1956:253). The double date for the death of Tu-nipasuluq is a perfect example of this, since both dates are correctly recorded, in contrast with the next example.

¹⁵ The considerable cultural influence exercised by the Portuguese presence in Makassar in the seventeenth century is apparent from the fact that European names of the months in Makasarese appear in forms derived from Portuguese. They are to be found in old diaries written in Arabic script. This is also true of the diary of the kings of Goa and Talloq, although Ligetvoet, in his edition in transliteration (1880), substituted the Dutch forms which were in use in Makasarese in his day. As is usual in Arabic script, the vowels are not indicated, so that the exact pronunciation of the Makasarese forms is certain only where they are found also in texts written in Makasarese script. Moreover, some have remained in use in this form or adapted forms among Makasarese farmers who observe the solar year (Cense 1979:174). Some clear cases are: Janeru (*j.nyr.*), Marusu (*mar.s.*), Mayu (*may.*), Junyu (*jwn.*), Julu (*jwl.*), Satemberu (*s.t.m.b.r.*), and Nuwemburu, from the Portuguese Janeiro (pronounced: *janeru*), Marco (*marsu*), Maio (*mayu*), Junho (*junyu*), Julho (*julyu*), Setembro (*setembu*), and Novembro (*nowembu*) respectively. Others are still insufficiently known, such as *p.b.ryr.* and *b.ryl.*, for which the Portuguese origin is, however, clear: cf. Port. Fevereiro (*feveru*) and Abril. The Makasarese pronunciation thus was probably Pabereru and Abarili or Abarelu (compare the modern forms Pareru and Parelu). Pelras (1987:21) mentions some similar names of months in Buginese.

THE DATE OF THE ISLAMIZATION OF MAKASAR

The second example concerns the year of the Islamization of Makasar, the discussion of which I have just referred to. In my article on this subject¹⁶, relying on Matthes' edition of the Chronicles of Goa and Talloq, I was only able to report that the date was 1606 in the first and 1605 in the second, while the same double date, namely September 22/Jumad I 9, is given in both (Noorduyn 1956:252-3). When one collates the available manuscripts it becomes clear that this difference in the manuscript published by Matthes resulted from a simple error of transcription of the sort that is at present referred to by the French phrase *saute-du-même-au-même*. The Chronicle of Goa originally gave 1605 as the date in this place, just as it would have to have been according to the double date and as it is to be seen in nearly all the other manuscripts except those used by Matthes. Again we shall compare the texts of the two versions, that according to A, used in Matthes' edition, and that according to the oldest manuscript, G, to show what must have happened and how this occurred. The passages from these texts are followed by the *variae lectiones* of most of the other manuscripts and the English translation of the version contained in G.

A	G
56. Napantamanga Isilang Karaenga	Napantamanga Isilang
57. salapang bannginna bulang	salapang banngi
58. Jumadeleq Aualaq	Jumadeleq Oalaq
59. ri allona Jumaka	ri Jumaka
60. meseqna Sepetembereq	meseqna Satemburu
61. ruampulona anrua	ruampulona anrua
62. hejeraqna Naqbia	ejeraqna Naqbia
63. sallallahu alaihi wassallang.	
64. Sicokkoang assampulo	sicokkoang assampulo
65.	allima 1015
66.	eraq sicokkoang anngannang
67.	bilangang allima.
68.	Nabulang Raqjaq
69.	ruampulona assalapang

¹⁶ This reference gives occasion for a bibliographical note. The article entitled 'Origins of South Celebes Historical Writing' (Noorduyn 1965) is not a 'revised edition in English' of the article cited here, 'De Islamisering van Makasar' (1956), as is stated in a recent bibliography (Boland and Farjon 1983:117), considering that the two articles treat different subjects. The latter article appeared in Indonesian under the title 'Islamisasi Makassar' in 1972. An Indonesian translation of the former article was published under the title 'Tentang Asal-mulanya Penulisan Sedjarah di Sulawesi Selatan' in 1966. This was slightly revised with respect to the English version, and was originally intended for an Indonesian-language publication of *An Introduction to Indonesian Historiography*, a collection of essays which included the English version. But the plans for the publication of such an Indonesian version of this book were never realized (cf. De Casparis 1978:45 note 29).

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| 70. | | ejaraqna Naqbia |
| 71. | | sicokkoang assampulo |
| 72. | anngannang, | anngannang 1016, |
| 73. | heraq sicokkoang anngannang | eraq sicokkoang anngannang |
| 74. | bilangang anngannang | bilangang anngannang |
| 75. | hijratu Naqbia 1016, | |
| 76. | ruampulona assalapang | |
| 77. | bulang Raqjaq heraq 1606 | |
| 78. | nanampa mammanaq buraqne. | nanampa mammanaq buraqne. ^c |
- 56a. (The date) when he adopted Islam (was)
the ninth day of (the month)
Jumad al-awwal,
on Friday
- 60a. in the European month of September,
the twenty-second,
in the year since the Hijrah of the Prophet
• (may Allah bless him and give him peace)
one thousand ten
- 65a. and five, 1015,
in the European era one thousand six
hundred and five.
In the month Rajab,
the twenty-ninth,
- 70a. in the year since the Hijrah of the Prophet
one thousand ten
and six, 1016,
in the European era one thousand six
hundred and six
- 75a. • (in the year since the Hijrah of the Prophet 1016)
• (the twenty-ninth)
• (in the month of Rajab in the European era 1606)
- 78a. a son was born to him.

It is clear from the text of these two versions that in A lines 65 to 71 have been skipped, because line 64 and line 71 both end with the word *assam-*

^c 56. B nanipantama, C napantamang, D namantama ... ri, C Eselang, D Isilamang, I Islam, AEH karaenga; 57. C salapangpi, D 9, ABCEFHI bannginna, D om., ABCDHI bulang; 58. BH awwala, C -ka, DI Jumad al-awwal; 59. ABF allona, D bannginna; 60. B hijrat 101, C 1018 hijrat al-nabi s.a.w., D hijrat al-nabi s.a.w. 1016 al dal' al-awwal, E 1015 hijrat eraq 1605 Satemburu, F Satemburu, H hijrat, I hijrat 1015; 61. D ri 12, EH 22; 62-68. B Sepetembereq 1608, C September herat 1605, D bulang September ri taung herat 1605, E om., H September hera 1605, I Satemburu ri hera 1605; 69-78. E nabulang Raqjaq 29 ejaraka eraq 1016, DHI lebangi ('more than'), BCDHI sitaung ('one year') leqbaqna ('after') mantama BH Isilang, C Eselang, D Isilamang, I Islam. // F different order: 56, 66-67, 62-65, 61, 60, 57-59, 73-74, 70-71, 69, 68, 78.

pulo, 'ten'. Since in line 65 the following word was *allima*, 'five', and in line 72 *anngannang*, 'six', the two years 1015 (of the Islamization) and 1016 (the birth of the eldest son of the King of Goa) were conflated into 1016 for the Islamization, while the birth date of the crown prince, Rajab 29, 1606, which was first skipped, was added later in lines 76-77. The first *saute-du-même-au-même* thus was later followed by a partial repair of the corrupted passage. In a few other manuscripts (B, C, D, H) this also occurred, but the year 1015 was put in line 65, while lines 71 to 77 were omitted and the words 'one year after the conversion to Islam' substituted. This way the omission was patched up correctly, albeit not completely, since the complete date is not given.

To prevent misunderstandings, it must be noted that the Hijrah years 1015 and 1016, in contrast to the European years 1605 and 1606, are incorrect according to the comparison tables for the two eras, and ought to have been 1014 and 1015 respectively. This mistake seems to have occurred even in the oldest version of the text. In any case, this example shows firstly that the oldest manuscript has preserved the best text, and secondly that the Makasarese sources for the date in 1605 for the Islamization are more in agreement with each other than might first have been supposed.¹⁷

Furthermore it may be pointed out that the older manuscript again uses the Portuguese loanword *Satemburu* for September, while the more recent manuscript has *Sepetembereq*, following the Dutch pronunciation. Three of the other manuscripts (E, F, J) also retain the Portuguese name of the month.

THE ISLAMIZATION OF SOUTH CELEBES

I would like to add one more characteristic example concerning the Islamization of the area, this time from the part of the Chronicle which deals with Talloq, notably the chapter about the king who was known as Karaeng Matoaya, 'the old karaeng'. In the passage which recalls how this king caused all the Makasarese and Buginese to accept Islam, the older text included the certainly more original fragment which adds the exception, viz. 'except those who to this day remain unbelievers (*kapereq*)'.

It is more likely that this exception (which recognizes that not all the residents of South Celebes had yet become Moslems) was omitted later, when it was no longer considered applicable, than that it was added later in a spirit of exaggerated faithfulness to the truth.

¹⁷ There is another indication that the year of King Alauddin's conversion to Islam was 1605 and not 1606. This can be found in the report in the Chronicle that when he died in 1639 this king had reigned for 34 years after his conversion to Islam (Matthes 1883:174, line 18). Curiously, only in the edition of Wolhoff and Abdurrahim (where the year reads 1606, p.57, paragraph 96) is the number of years changed to 33 (p.61, paragraph 210).

A complete reconstruction of this fragment of text must have occurred after this. Firstly, in place of this omitted exception the previously noted exception of the Luwurese would have been added. This was not intended to imply that they had not become Moslims, but rather that Karaeng Matoaya was not the one who had led them to do so. After this the expression 'the whole Makasarese land' (*si-Mangkasaraq*) in line 4 was adapted to 'those of the whole Buginese land' (*si-Bugisiq*) in line 8.

A	G
79. Iaminne Karaenga ampasallangi Mangkasaraka si-Mangkasaraq,	Iami anne Karaenga ampasallangi tauya ri Mangkasaraq
85. ampasallangi Bugisika si-Bugisiq passanngalinna Luka	anggenna sallanga passawalinna Luwuka, ampasallangi Bugisika si-Bugisiq passawalinna
88.	kaperekaiya anne kontu. ^d
79a. This King converted to Islam the Makasarese in the whole Makasarese land	This King converted to Islam the people in the Makasarese land
85a. (and) converted to Islam the Buginese in the whole Buginese land except for the Luwuq people.	who all became Muslim, except for the Luwuq people, (and) converted to Islam the Buginese in the whole Buginese land
88a.	except for those who are still unbelievers at present.

EVALUATION

In conclusion, an evaluation of the manuscripts on the basis of the passages of the text discussed here prompts several conclusions. First, Matthes' edition (1883) and the transliteration by Wolhoff and Abdurrahim mainly based on it (1960) appeared to be less convincing on every point on which they were compared with one or more of the manuscripts which were not

^d 79. CDEHI iaminne, BEJ Karaeng; 80. BCDHI uru ampasallangi; 81. BCDEI taua; 83. E sanggenna Isilanga; 84. BCDEHI passanngalinna, BJ Luka; 85. BJ *om*; 86. D ri Bugisiq; 87. BCDEI passanngalinna; 88. J -ija maya(?), C anne kamma.

used by them. It is clear that a new edition, which makes use of the better manuscript material available at present, is needed.

Secondly, the Amsterdam manuscript G not only is relatively quite old, but in addition gives the best, that is, the most original reading in all the places where it has been possible to include it in the discussion. It is true that there are often other manuscripts which offer the same reading, but in at least one case, namely the passage which gives the year of King Alauddin's conversion to Islam and the birth of his eldest son, none of the other manuscripts contains the G reading. Manuscript G will undoubtedly have to play a major role in the preparation of a new edition.

Nonetheless, G is a copy and as such is not free from copyist's errors and other defects of its own. Not only have its first six pages been lost, but the text preserved also includes slips of the pen and omissions. The preparation of a new edition would necessitate the use of the other manuscripts, for example, the two manuscripts mentioned in the above discussion as E and F. The first is MS. Add. 12351 of the British Library OMSS in London; it originally formed part of the Crawford collection and was probably acquired by its owner when he was staying in Makassar in 1814. The second is MS Orient Fol. 386 in Berlin (Orientabteilung, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz), which according to its *ex libris* formerly belonged to A.W. Schlegel (1767-1845). The chronicle is incomplete, since the text breaks off in the last chapter of the Chronicle of Goa, and the Chronicle of Talloq is not included. The copyist sometimes tends to arrange unaltered words in his own, entirely deviant, order (for example, in dates) and now and then makes additions which point to a special knowledge of Buginese history.

Both versions generally correspond closely with that in G, but are not copies of it, since they reproduce passages of text which are absent in G, namely the last part of a sentence (p. 58, paragraph 199, in Wolhoff and Abdurrahim) which ends with the name Lempangang but also is preceded by this name — a clear case of *saute-du-même-au-même* in G.

Moreover, they are more closely related to each other than they are to G, in that they often share deviations from G. Presumably, they are thus both copies of a manuscript y which no longer exists but must have been an independent copy. G is not a copy of y, since G does not share y's omissions (for example, *nikanaya I Daeng Melu* in Wolhoff and Abdurrahim, p. 58, paragraph 197). E and F, taken together, along with G therefore have a some importance for the establishment of the text of a new edition.

Likewise, the other manuscripts will have to be considered in the preparation of the new edition, each according to its relative weight, which in some cases is less than in others. Because the Chronicle of Goa and Talloq is available in a dozen manuscripts, all of them copies which can be seen to differ from each other to greater or lesser degrees, it presents a problem which will have to be dealt with if the best possible edition of the text is intended, taking into consideration all the relevant material in

the manuscripts.¹⁸ Generally speaking, it will sometimes, due to special circumstances, be impossible to do this completely satisfactorily, for example, because the manuscripts display too few salient differences, or because a copyist apparently consulted and followed more than one model. In these cases, individually adapted methods will have to be used. Such difficulties need not stand in the way of the use of time-honoured methods wherever this seems possible, however. In the case of the Makasarese Chronicle it would appear that this will indeed be possible to a very great degree.

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¹⁸ Herein lies the cause for an objection to what Kratz (1981:231-239) states with regard to the editing of Malay MSS. His proposal for avoiding one-manuscript editions, selecting a guiding manuscript, and correcting obvious scribal errors implies more than simply an attempt to 'concentrate on the edition of one particular manuscript'. It represents the first step on the road to an edition on the basis of all available MSS, taking into consideration all the evidence they present with all available, relevant methods.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED

<i>BKI</i>	<i>Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde</i>
<i>RIMA</i>	<i>Review of Indonesian and Malay(sian) Affairs</i>
<i>TBG</i>	<i>Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde</i>
<i>TNI</i>	<i>Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië</i>