

Addatuang Pammana

One of the oldest kingdoms in South Sulawesi as recorded in the lontaraq entitled "Pappasenna Lombong Ulu"

A Buginese lontaraq written about the beginning of the 17th century at the time when

La Pappatinring ri Pasarie Massora Siwalie
was the Datu ri Pammana IV

A working paper presented at the seminar of history
held in Ujung Pandang June 29th -2nd July 1978

DR CORNELIUS SALOMBE

[Edited by Ian Caldwell 14/03/2021](#)

MEMORANDUMS WITH REGARD TO LOMBONG ULU'S MESSAGE TO HIS DESCENDANTS

A. A free translation of the Lontrarq script on Pammana acquired from Andi Ninong, ex-Datu Tempe, [in] the district of Wajo, the Province of South Sulawesi. The script copy, its Latin transcription and Indonesian translation are presented in a separate paper. There are apparently some Tixed corrections to the paper.

1. Messages as bequeathed by Lombong Ulu.

These messages were issued when Toaddiamae was appointed Matoa and Toamessa as Watampanua. Being first cousins, both dignitaries had very close family tie[s].

Having been appointed to the highest positions in the country, Toaddiamae and Toamessa were granted an audience by Lombong Ulu, their grandfather. The objective of the call was that both appointees could gain a thorough knowledge from the old man regarding the customs, traditions, conventions and their institutions.

Then, Matoa Toaddiamae said to his grandfather, Lombong Ulu, "Your Honour, being an heir, I am now entrusted by our people with the Matoaship of the country of Pammana. I have not been granted the opportunity to bargain. The people have reiterated that such has been their will, the will of the entire people of Pammana, and that I am not to decline what has been unanimously agreed upon for the sake of the people of Pammana. They have stated as follows, "Do have mercy upon us, and accept with innermost feelings what has been bequeathed upon you and do whatever is best for the people of Pammana: Don't you ever reject the responsibility you are entitled to by inheritance as any form of rejection shall bring about self-destruction. Conclusively, repudiation of any kind of our consensus shall end up with total remorse. There are no grounds whatever for you to reject the heirloom. The honour is yours. Put on your "sarong" and your head covering, then accept, safeguard and cultivate the faith we have in you for our own good. You shall be the prow, and we shall be its

[2] permanent and faithful passengers. You shall straighten out all the curves and the zigzags for us, [you] shall stretch out what is loose or slack, [you] shall level the hills, and together, with the blessing of traditions and customs, we shall share the welfare and security.

Consequently, I accepted the honour. I took my "sarong" and my head covering and put them on. I looked prestigious and dignified. Yes, despite looking powerful, I [know that I] am ignorant and incompetent, ignorant and incompetent due to the absence of experience in running the government, in conducting deliberations, and shall be unable to work out solutions for matters under consideration. My younger brother, Tomaessa, has been appointed Watampanua by the Datu to deal with the affairs of the state attempting to bring about welfare for those working in the field or inhabiting hamlets all over the country. Also that he may act as an elder to the "datu" to safeguard the country from all evils. Despite being ignorant, he was not allowed to bargain. He had to accept the appointment.

"It was for this very reason that we requested that an audience be granted to us by Your Excellency as we have acquired the office from you and from His Honourable Mr La Buccu, and from the people of Pammana with the consent of "Datu", who then declared, "You have

been entrusted with the entire state of affairs. Faith be put in you to mould and remould them. Whether the country sinks or collapses due to its evils and wickedness or be raised in reputation due to its merit and virtue, the final and ultimate state of affairs shall and must be happiness and liberty for the people of Pammana.”

Then answered Lombong Ulu, “You fool! I thought you were great and distinguished leaders seeing that you venture on a perilous journey across the ocean taking such a great number of people with you. I will say this to you that you are “without your iron staff in your

[3] efforts to shoulder the people, and also that you are attempting to level the mountain with your feet”, meaning that you have assumed a responsibility that that far exceeds your ability to perform. You cannot even carry a person within the distance of a stone’s throw. How can you manage the affairs of the entire people of Pammana and their Datu?”

Lombong Ulu went on to say, “You suppose that maintaining traditions safeguarding the people and making decisions are simple things to do. A person entrusted with the preservation of the traditions involved in the making of decisions are simple things to do. A person entrusted with the preservation of the traditions involved in the making of decisions, committing himself to navigate the nation’s course shall be a person having a deep-seated knowledge of the traditions of their institutions.”

Then Toamaessa said to his grandfather, “Your Honour, what are you driving at?”

Lombong Ulu replied, “What an idiot you are! You are like a dead thing, like a stag’s horns that only serve as a peg from which the King hangs his kingdom.” “You should have known that a person deliberating on behalf of the country, acting as an elder and being responsible for the people should be the one whose words overpower those of his opponents. He ought to be a man with a diction that can bring about positive results, or somebody whose words are always accurate and appropriate. Logically, he should be fully aware that the responsibility he assumes carries with it serious consequences. Toamessa, you ought to realize that your words are the words of “Datu”, your utterances are those of the law enforcer, the champion of justice. Should the observance of the tradition violate the law, you shall face it and not escape it. Should the King make a slip, you shall counsel him. Watampanua, you shall safeguard the King’s promises in the country of Bangkalaq, and indeed, you shall be the keeper of the words of our ancestors.”

Then answered Toaddimae, “How sacred and powerful is the right of Watampanua!”

[4] Lombong Ulu continued, “Watampanua has no authority in dealing with matters about agriculture, but he has a decisive role in consultations relating to conventions and traditions. His words are sacred as decreed by the ancestors. And the decree is even more as sanctioned by the oath these high officials have to take during the swearing in. The oath explicitly reveals that all shall come to an end, to be totally ruined or entirely destroyed, including both parties taking and conducting the oath and their terms in office, but the oath and the decree are both sacred and infinite. Catastrophes and the “Datu”s’ short days could be traced to transgressions committed by Watampanua. On the other hand, when Watampanua commits himself to what has been prescribed, justice and prosperity shall prevail in the country, the

King shall gain considerable reputation [and] evils and wickedness shall successfully be resisted. When law and traditions take their full effect, the people shall manifest faith, the datu shall show tact in exercising his power, Matoa shall handle his duties cautiously, all decisions shall show resoluteness, qualities shall manifest originality!"

Then asked Toaddinae, "What are the duties of a Matoa and how is his oath related to the traditions?"

Answered Lombong Ulu, "There are four practices exercised by a Matoa that can lead to destruction, for example when in his capacity as the state high official he breaks his promises, demonstrates that he does not need any guidance, manages affairs singlehandedly being not open to advice, and hates being interrupted when speaking."

"Your Excellency, teach me the prohibitions a Watampanua ought to observe", requested Toamessa.

Lombong Ulu replied, "Well, Toamessa, a Watampanua shall not brood vengeance, shall not seize the rights of others, shall not complicate deliberations, shall not twist or distort information when talking to Datu or when giving account to the country's institutions. Any violations shall bear consequences."

"What are the evils carried by the consequences?" inquired Matoa Toaddinae.

[5] Informed Lombong Ulu, "Four disasters shall be the punishment. When only one violation is committed, one disaster shall strike. Two violations – two disasters; three violations – three disasters; four violations – four disasters shall strike the country.

The following are the disasters listed chronologically:

First to strike: total failure of crops.

Second to strike: epidemic.

Third to strike: intermittent fires raging [in] the villages each year.

Fourth to strike: Datu's days numbered.

A Watampanua has an independent role to play in consultations held in the country. In this regard he shall give special attention to four main issues within his jurisdiction, respectively: the appointment of Datu, the marriage arrangements of Datu, the consolidation of affairs on foreign relations before being presented to the State Council, and the analysis of defence strategy.

A Watampanua has other duties to perform, among others acting as chief in finding out and studying protracted social problems. He does not have the authority to pronounce judgements on the issues being examined. He is only concerned with the detection of truth which shall contribute to the solutions of social problems and avoid any efforts trying to exploit the situation negatively. In so doing, social affairs are constantly under scrutiny and controlled, and issues that need careful consideration are channelled to the "Adat Assembly" for settlement. The procedure shall save the country from consequences that can badly affect

agriculture. It shall also put an end to tedious and long-winded discussions. The procedure's other contributive factor is that all bad human tendencies are not given the opportunity to develop. These duties can be summed up by quoting a Watampanua's statement:

I am not involved in your lawsuit to make you look for me in the Adat Assembly Hall, and nor am I subjected to any objections from your part to participate in the Assembly to solve the case.

A Watampanua is also referred to as "Pabbatang Seppaq", meaning:

[6] the Controller of Evils. He has full authority to challenge wickedness, to scrutinise devastating public activities in order to bring them under control before they affect the country and its agriculture. Most certainly, he shall come to the aid of the poor and the weak but shall deal with wickedness and evil without mercy.

Another title of a Watampanua is "Ulu Seppaq" or the Person in Command. The title is awarded him due to his duties among the palace circles. He checks all cases and claims, sorts them out, leaves the ones having incomplete data and forwards the rest to the Palace. He also executes the sentences pronounced by the Palace on common people as well as people of noble rank.

And still another [title is] "Mimpungnge Seppaq", meaning the Seal of the Sources of Misfortunes. In his capacity as Mimpungnge Seppaq he has the full right to caution people indulging in practices that can be disastrous to a Datu's sources of income.

Finally, A Watampanua's last remaining title is "Pea-pea Seppeq", or the Barrier to Obstruct the Sources of Evil. This title provided him with the right to find out what course a person is taking in his life, one leading to evil or the other that leads to virtue.

It is for these reasons that I suggest that you shall confer with your colleagues, the village elders, the elders of smaller regions to exchange advice and wisdom, to learn and understand fellow citizens, to share the same idea and opinion of what is right and what is wrong. Also, that tradition and law can operate at a unit to punish the wrongdoers and fine them in accordance with their transgressions.

I have elaborated on the duties and responsibilities of a Watampanua. He shall execute them one by one in the best possible way [in order that] that the country and the King shall prosper. Through the Watampanua's efforts, Datu and all his servants shall be blessed by the

[7] gods, and agriculture shall be successful. Relate all these [instructions] to your children, to your grandchildren; tell them to pay their allegiance to their country for the good of the country and the King.

Then inquired Matoa Toaddimae, "To what extent is the authority of a Matoa? We are actually unworthy of taking up such respectable positions of Matoa and Watampanua. Fortunately, you are still in our midst and we appeal to you to admit us when we turn to you for advice. Admittedly, we are filled with apprehension as we shall serve a great king who

happens to be still quite young. He is a King of great birth, a descendant of the great Kings of Luwuq and Goa. We are filled with a feeling of uncertainty as the King might adopt some of the traditions of his great origin which shall be contradictory to your message which says that the traditions of Pammana shall be kept pure from influences of other great traditions. Your Excellency has reiterated that the great traditions of Luwuq and Goa, and those of Tellumpoccoe only prevail in the respective countries and should not penetrate the boundaries of Pammana. This very stipulation is also stressed by the traditions of Tellumpoccoe.

Evidently, a descendent of Pammana is not subject to outside claims.

The problem now remaining is what to do when the matter we are not to tolerate comes to pass. We are not really entirely free to argue in a consultation with the King. The King does not grant us unlimited freedom which does not grant immunity from curse.

Answered Lombong Ulu, "Toamessa, stick to those traditions, exert every effort to do good, execute your duties as required from a Matoa. Relate all this to your descendants. Warn them that they should keep out of mischief. I sincerely hope that you will live a happy life, and your children and grandchildren shall learn about you and your performance and follow suit for

[8] the greatness of the country."

Answered Toaddimae, "Your excellency, teach me the maxims that a Matoa should apply in conducting his routine in order that he may be influential and respected."

Answered Lombong Ulu, "Be honest and full of goodwill. Behave like a blind man against foreign influences when handling affairs related to traditions. Be all ears when handling claims. Behave like a person having no children among and toward the people in demanding the practice of traditions and in preserving the sanctions. It is most desirable that your approaches are characterised by love and affection, like a father among his children or like a grandfather among his children and grandchildren. Avoid favouritism, never take sides so that you can obtain reliable data on what you are after. When punishing a wrongdoer, do not act as if induced by vengeance. Do not neglect the promises made by Datu and the people, do not ignore your inner man and betray your conscience when putting into effect the four types of fairness."

Asked Toaddimae, "What is the significance of honesty, Your Excellency?"

Answered Lombong Ulu, "Be fair and honest to yourself, be honest towards God Almighty, be honest and fair towards your fellow men; and in words and actions, apply the measuring rod you [would] want to be applied to yourself. When something is proper to you, it should be proper to the people too. But when something is not proper to you, it cannot be regarded as proper to others either. When you adopt these principles in doing your duties, you really serve the country and the people. Teach your children and grandchildren to obey the Almighty God, and to be honest and fair to others, no matter what situation you are in.

In addition, there are four restrictions that shall be observed

[9] in the home of a Matoa.

First: the Matoa's wife is prohibited from doing her own cooking. Failing to do so, she shall expose the ricefields of the people to devastation by the heat of the dry season.

Second: the Matoa himself is prohibited from ladling out rice from the pan on to his plate. This is to safeguard the ricefields from the attack of rice pests.

Third: the Matoa is also prohibited to ladle out vegetables from the pan onto his plate. This prohibition is to protect the ricefields from reptiles.

Fourth: the Matoa is prohibited to take the side dishes himself, a preventative measure against mice attacks on ricefields.

Apart from the four restrictions, there are seven taboos a Matoa should observe outside his house. The people are to be told about them because in the event of a transgression committed by the Matoa, he exposes his people to the consequences of his misdeed. "

Inquired Toaddimae, "Could Your Excellency specify?"

Answered Lombong Ulu, "It is taboo . . .

First: for people on horseback to use the front lawn of the Matoa's house] as [a] public road to pass to and fro. This is a guarantee for animals not to become wild and be troublesome to domestic animals.

Second: [for anyone] to call a person to leave the Matoa's house by beckoning. Failure to do so shall make it impossible to catch pickpockets.

Third: to chase after chickens under the house of the Matoa, because rice crops shall fail and people shall run away and join the enemies.

Fourth: to hold cockfights under the Matoa's house as that shall make the people quarrel incessantly.

Fifth: to pass something up [to] the Matoa's house as the paddy stored in the house

[10] shall be eaten up by mice.

Sixth: Disobedience of the restrictions issued by the Matoa means the people shall never stop doing wrong. Also, criminals from outside the country shall enter the country and commit crimes.

Seventh: to reveal the Matoa's personal secrets as the number of crimes shall increase considerably.

These taboos should be announced to people in the Assembly Hall during the Matoa's installation; this announcement of taboos is primarily intended for people who have never heard of them. These taboos are imposed upon [the] Matoa in the country of Pammana, each of which is sanctioned with punishment. The Matoa is given the right to impose the punishment without exposing himself to blame because he does it on behalf of the country of Pammana.

To summarise, there are seven kinds of threats bearing punishments in the country of Pammana as sanctions to the transgressions committed against the prescribed taboos. There is only one common basis for the seven threats, and it is the tendency of human beings to do wrong.

A Matoa can be beyond himself with rage [and say things in anger]. It might be because of his children or his people. But a Matoa should be forgiving, whatever the reason for his outrage. When within three days of his anger he asks for pardon, this should be granted to him without reserve. When within three days he does not ask for forgiveness, he is guilty but is not to be prosecuted in the Assembly due to the privilege bestowed upon him by the Datu which clarifies such anger as the anger of the country of Pammana."

Then inquired Toaddimae again, "Your Excellency! What are the maxims that serve as bases for considerations before deciding upon a sentence to be passed?"

Answered Lombong Ulu, "Do not ever pass a sentence based on one-sided data. Do not ever pass a sentence in an angry mood or when

[11] you are very happy or satisfied about a party. When justice is to be the main quality of the decision, imagine yourself as being the defendant. If you do not think it fair to be passed upon you [as] if you had been the offender, refrain yourself from passing the sentence. Only in this way can justice and fairness be maintained and preserved. Never cover up any mistake or try to blur facts. Keep in mind that a case has four arteries. You can only make your decision after careful scrutiny of the four arteries.

Proceed from weighing reports of both parties, balance the defences of the two parties, examine the accounts supplied by the witnesses of both parties. By now, the process shall clearly tell which party is right and which is wrong.

The traditions of the country of Pammana handed down from generation to generation do not make distinctions of any kind. The traditions stand equal to every individual in Pammana regardless of their social status. When literally translated, the version of the tradition shall be formulated as follows: "The traditions of Pammana do not possess mountains, nor do they possess valleys.""

Then, Tomaessa asked his grandfather, "What else are the duties and responsibilities of a Watampanua in preserving the welfare of the State and the King?"

Answered Lombong Ulu, "When the King and the Adat are having a consultation or a deliberation and disagreement crops up, in that each party blames or accuses the other, then

the time has come for you to remind them of the honest or sincere attitude which has been [an] inherent quality passed down from generation to generation up to the present. You have the right to caution them. But refrain from doing so in the presence of the other party. It is taboo to strongly remind them when the parties are confronting each other and are exchanging advice. In such a kind of situation, the primary step is to digest to the full what ought to be appropriated from the exchanges, for example the points raised that are

[12] contradictory to traditions and their consequences for the country should you retreat or delay solutions.

Responded Toamessa, "What consequences shall befall the country?"

Answered Lombong Ulu, "There shall be uproar and riots in the markets, turmoil in the villages, and the people shall be alarmed and horrified at the terrors of murders."

Inquired Toamessa, "What measures shall be taken then?"

Answered Lombong Ulu, "Be composed and sit down, be quiet as in the land of Bangkalaq, sit peacefully, and in the tranquillity of the situation reflect [on] the promises and the oath of office you took during your installation. After that, start reminding each other of the inheritance your descendants share over generation and generation, since there has been only one authority having the right to bequeath the high offices to you ever since, and these are the office of Matoa, the office of Watampanua [and] the office of Macoa Limpo.

It was my father who bequeathed all the virtue to you. It logically follows that when the Datu commits an error or a slip, do not abandon him or the palace. Instead, counsel him day and night and only stop when he is fully convinced of which way to take as prescribed by traditions. Only then can you return home. Should the Datu refuse to repent or be unwilling to correct his mistakes, strip yourself of your status, [and] submit [your office] to the Datu, then assume your original existence: independence.

The same stand shall be adopted by the people and the country. When the situation has reached this state of affairs, keep your ground, stand firm defending your judgement. Be convinced that it is high time you assumed this attitude. The final measure to resort to, when it is believed to be the best, is to leave. This is the essence [of] liberty in the country of Pammana, which is decreed by tradition and which was prescribed by a joint vow of our ancestors. This system has bought blessings to the country

[13] of Pammana, glory to the King, welfare to the people and steady increase of the population. Also, it makes plants grow well [and] keeps agriculture untouched by pests. In brief, all efforts yield fruit. The country has become established [and] the King and his servants well provided for. [The traditions] proved themselves effective guidelines for our ancestors before being adopted and passed down to their descendants."

Then responded Toamessa, "We shall convey all this to the coming generations through our children and grandchildren."

Lombong Ulu added, "It is not I who bequeath these messages to you. It is my father. He also had them from his father. It was my father who taught me manners, the principles of [right] conduct and good deeds, the application of which shall lead the way to prosperity, and simultaneously establish reverence for the King. The country shall be boosted considerably: the population shall multiply, plants shall grow well, animals shall bear young, agriculture shall flourish rivers, ponds and lakes shall be abundant with fish, and forests shall become fertile.

When you wish to learn the teachings of your forefathers, invite all your relatives, the distant and the close ones, men and women, and pass on to them the messages with the hope that a prominent member can be detected among the participants who shall be the authority-to-be of our conventions, customs and traditions. The authority-to-be should be a person with penetrating eyes and sensitive ears. He shall be fully able to develop his expressive skills for conveying messages, or for conducting consultations and deliberations. He shall be his country's pride."

Then interrupted Matoa, "Let all these [instructions] be written [down] in order that the teachings be remembered, as has been done by my younger brother Topatangari ri Pammana, who received the teachings and decrees through His Honour La Buccu, [namely] the messages that had to be preserved by bequeathing them to later generations.

[14] Upon hearing the suggestion, Lombong Ulu reprimanded Matoa saying "Don't you daydream, and blindly imitate Topatangarei, who is heir to both the Institution and the Kingdom. He is a King's descendant, but with blood slightly tinged by that of a commoner's [blood]. He has something with him that you may not imitate. He is not subject to any regulations not to make a lontar. The big Kingdoms of Gowa and Luwu have the Lontar tradition, but the tradition cannot be adopted in Pammana's [tradition].

The lontar was written under the agreement reached between me and La Buccu. The reason was [so] that the tradition be firmly kept. Indeed, what La Buccu did had been truly expected from him since he was the only one able to do so for the preservation of the traditions and promises of the people of Pammana. He is an aristocrat, a Datu's close relative; he is honest in words and just in deeds; he is generous to his relatives and to the people."

Then said Lombong Ulu to his grandchildren, "What has been recorded in the Topatangari are:

- first : the Datu's vow to the country
- second: the Datu's vow to the Adat
- third : the traditions of the country of Pammana
- fourth : the Kingdom's dignity

Those [traditions] not represented in writing are: my main and most significant heritage, my father's most significant bequest of acts and actions that bring success and happiness, acts and actions that bring misfortunes, acts and actions that manifest neglect of traditions, acts and actions that conform to what the ancestors prescribed in order that virtue be maintained but evils be refused to be our lives' principles.

Well, those are the duties of a Watampanua. He shall see to them that they be upheld. May a Watampanua be able to distinguish between evil and virtue.”

Toaddimae turned to his brother and said, “Invite all our relatives

[15] and let us have a get-together here in this house to discuss the words bequeathed to us by our ancestors.”

Amanna Rota interrupted, “You may stay here in my house. All of you. I wish frankly to admit that I possess neither mountains nor valleys, neither a lump of earth nor anything of value. My only worthy possession is the King’s wealth that comprises precious words describing noble deeds, noble deeds themselves that lead to prosperity, goodwill and its application, and sincerity in attitude and actions. Thus, stay with me so that I may give you the full account of the teachings of my father.”

Toaddimae inquired, “What indeed are the sources of virtue which form the basis of benevolence that are essential to both the individual and his fellow men?”

Lombong Ulu answered, “Consultations and consensus on what is noble, then [to] apply these in your daily life, while taking full heed of the four types of honesty.”

Toaddimae inquired further, “What then is the source of evil?”

Lombong Ulu answered, “Evil has four roots that have to be shunned to secure peace and safety. They are seizing the rights of others, being greedy by desiring individual ownership of shared properties, betraying pledges and promises, and betraying one’s own conscience.

Retribution for people addicted to evil results in leading a short life, keeping blessings out of reach, barring candidates entitled to take office, and paving the road towards darkness. In addition, my father also issued four messages when taking oath at Liu declaring taboo all actions belittling the essence of attitude.”

[16] Toaddimae inquired again, “Your Honour, what is it that you mean?”

Lombong Ulu retorted, “Greed and covetousness put an end to shame, turn the victims tyrannous, wipe out the sense of mutual aid and cooperation, both of these being fruits of love. Dishonesty cuts off ties to relatives, denies one’s own conscience [and] mops up noble and precious heritage. When you talk and act in a simple way that is considered proper, people will reward this with great appreciation.”

The, concluded Toaddimae, “We are now well informed of the teachings to be passed on to the generations after us. We have now understood what attitude to adopt and what things to do to keep out of evil’s reach. We politely request that you elaborate on the process and procedure of the ceremony conducted at Liu, the wording and the content of the joint vow which has been referred to as a solemn and sacred promise. Also, tell us of the supernatural and sacred traditions that are means to achieve welfare, the reputation of the King and the Kingdom, and the means to obtain blessings from the gods.”

Lombong Ulu explained, "I hope that I shall not be cursed – my mouth torn and deformed, my tongue stiff – as the consequence of my mentioning His Excellency's past in the country of Pammana, especially because the King is a descendant of Manurung and is highly sacred. I hope that he shall be most merciful to me with regard to my relating to you all I have known about the process of the "burning up of His Excellency's firewood to the remnants" – the King did not have direct descendant to succeed him to the throne – which indicates the extinction of His Excellency's fire, His Excellency Aji Pammana.

Then the throne of the Kingdom of Pammana was vacant for seven

[17] months, and nobody knew who was to take over and be crowned. In accordance with the tradition of the country of Pammana, a "rajeng" not fully entitled to the Kingship cannot get access to the throne. At that time there were two or three grandsons of the King but not in direct line, [namely] the grandsons of his brother, who presumed that they could succeed the King. They were only "rajeng" not having the full right to the throne. Hence, my father totally discarded the idea, and the people followed suit. Also, your grandfather, Daenseng, and three of his brothers absolutely disagreed with the idea of accepting a rajeng as a candidate. These three people were respectively His Honour Topalinrungi, the Watampanua; His Honour Topanaenungi, the Matoa, His Honour La Buccu; a Watampanua in charge of the minor kings, all slaves in the palace and the palace affairs [?] were to be kept fully informed of the traditions of the King and his descendants.

For the sake of the country of Pammana, the four dignitaries, after having obtained the consensus of the people, set off to Liu to attempt to find a King's descendant who fulfilled the requirements to ascend to the throne. They knew that the offspring of the Mattolas were in direct family line with the King and [that] the throne could be entrusted to one of the members.

At that time, I – Lombong Ulu – was an adolescent. I accompanied my father, Topanennungi, the Watampanua, to Liu. I witnessed all the activities my father participated in. I also heard what they said. This explains my knowledge of everything that happened in Liu, explains my knowledge of the traditions, of the agreement, and of the words they exchanged in Liu."

Then Toaddimae commented, "Those are the very things we wish to hear. We wish to know what Her Honour Petta Tenriallo meant by her words "May he be granted mercies by the gods.""

Lombong Ulu further explained, "At Liu, my father was appointed chairman and was to represent his brothers in all the meetings to be conducted.

[18] Then Her Honour Tenriallo [the Queen of Liu] said to Matoa, "You people of Pammana, what has induced the people of Aji Pammana to organise such a precession like this?"

My father took the initiative to answer and said, "Your Honour, what your servants from Pammana wish to convey to you is that the fire has gone out in Pammana, the firewood has burned up to the remnants – there is no direct offspring of the mattoas remaining in

Pammana – in your country situated to the east of the mountain. We wish to take shelter, but there is no shelter available. The situation has created apprehension in your servant To Aji Pammana because the absence of a shelter is exposing them to imminent dangers – they shall suffer from cold because they have no blankets. His Excellency your father has departed from us seven months now. Since then, we have been sitting in the Assembly Hall, sitting cross legged in [a] circle, discussing the successor of a King. Yet, we have failed to find a candidate fulfilling all the requirements except Your Honour. Your Honour has been the only successor we have had in mind. We have placed our entire hope and confidence in Your Honour to protect Your Honour’s heritage situated to the east of the mountain. Your Honour shall be the tree under which the people of Pammana shall run for shelter, and [you] shall be the blanket to protect the people from cold. Wherever Your Honour takes the people, to a distant place or to the nearby surroundings, the people shall obey. And there at the place where Your Honour shall bring them, Your Honour shall treat them in whatever way the adat prescribes. Whether your Honour drowns them due to the evils they have committed, it all depends on the adat’s measuring rod. Your Honour, we believe that when the people are battered by misfortunes, Your Honour shall certainly not be happy with it. Your Honour is expected to build the country and to restore its welfare.

May Your Honour be blessed by the gods, be granted happiness and security.”

[19] Replied Her Honour Tenriallo, an extremely considerate woman of considerable authority, “Great is your expectation, but much greater is my mine. The enthusiasm that dominates you is mine as well as well. For a master to go out in search of his servant can be pleasing, let alone when it is the servant who painstakingly goes out in search for the master. Won’t that be a great contentment?

I acknowledge that I am the direct heir to the throne, and I confirm that I am the heir of the Kingdom. But a person who deserves being looked upon as a shelter to guarantee security, or a person whose role may be likened to that of a blanket, keeping people warm shall be the one having considerable strength in four worldly matters. He shall be:

- First: Materially strong, having great wealth
- Second: Honourable in actions and deeds
- Third: Physically or constitutionally fit to run the government properly
- Fourth: Morally praiseworthy, showing generosity and love to the country

These are the prerequisites for a person who wishes to assume the throne of the kingdom of Pammana.

As for me, I am a poor person. Worse still, I am weak and stupid. The reputation I have now is due to the name I bear. I am referred to as a sensible person simply because of my name. The news spread by passing people says that I am of noble birth, that I am a descendant of Manurung. But I wish to assure you that there is no basis whatsoever for you “to converse me into the tree of hope” in order that I am do what is praiseworthy.”

My father argued by saying, “Your Honour, we wish to state that you do not deal with the matter long-windedly. You have just said that you are constitutionally weak. That is exactly

how the people of Pammana are. The people know about what you have brought to light, and they shall design a solution for them.

Yet, we request that Your Honour accept our plan and proceed to

[20] the country to the east of the mountain. We shall do our utmost to serve you there, to serve you with food in order that you soon shall live sufficiently and be happy. Please, Your Honour, don't turn us down. You shall not push us aside. You shall not refuse our request."

Tenriallo answered, "I am telling you this, To Aji Pammana, I am not pushing you aside, I am not turning down the consensus you have reached. Yet, give this your serious thought. You wish to be inherited. I also wish to inherit you. What I was aiming at was that I fully understand you honour the traditions of the country. You are very strict with them, and you constantly cling on to them in your consultations on the ground that they are sacred.

Pammana is also a country where kings originated in from earlier times, a sacred and fully respectable country. And I wish to tell you frankly that I have lots of defenders to secure my personal reputation, besides the brothers I have. If I accepted the request and ascended the throne of Pammana as Datu, then if I did something disapproved of in the eyes of the people of Pammana, and this were taken to be against the adat of Pammana, what would you do to me? And, further, if one of my relatives committed the same error, what would you do? I know that you submit yourself to the rule of a King, but I also know that you cannot tolerate a tyrannical handling of the state affairs by the King. Also, I can be inherited, but you cannot be bequeathed. You might remove me from the throne, and if that happened my descendants would be refused acknowledgement by those of my brothers'. Should that happen, it would be a total disgrace to me and my descendants. None of my "seeds" should qualify for "transplantation", none of my children and grandchildren would be taken care of for their own sake. My children and grandchildren would lose their rights on either side: the right to assume the throne and the right to become

[21] an adat member. Should that come to pass, my descendants' future would go to pieces."

My father replied, "Your Honour, those are fantasies, they are pure imagination. Not that we did not highly regard your words, nor that we did not respect the defenders of your reputation, but the point at issue is our request of your acceptance, with all your heart, what we have conveyed to you, and it that you accept your own heritage. We refuse to accept your argument that you unwillingly inherit us.

On the issues that have created uneasiness and great doubt in you about your and your descendant's future, let us assemble to discuss and settle them, and establish them in a vow. We shall "loosen our promise and expand it for your sake", meaning we shall be mild on the points that worry you. "We shall only get its substitution when the pillar breaks", meaning [that] only when the King has passed away shall we seek his substitute. And when that time has arrived, Your Honour shall bequeath our joint vow to your descendants with an oath of your own."

Her Honour Tenriallo responded saying, "To Aji Pammana, may your wish come true. Your thought is upright. I share your opinion. May the gods be generous with their blessings. Return to the east of the mountain, figure out the good month and the most favourable day, and when these have been decided upon send messengers to the west of the mountain to fetch us, and to make the trip together with us. The procedure shall manifest our ideal that that we expect each other, we long for each other, and we are involved in a joint effort to serve the country. Then we shall set off to the east of Sompeq, and at Wawolonrong, on the grave of our grandfather Tomanurung, we shall jointly plead for the gods' protection.

I shall invite all my brothers, all of the same noble birth as I am, and on your side, you shall also invite all your friends

[22] who share your principles, your joy and your sorrow. There, at Wawolonrong, we shall make our vow, we shall unite in words for the sake of our own good.

Her Honour Tenriallo's statement met the total approval of my father. We returned to the east of the mountain. Seven days had passed before my father was able to pick out the most favourable day by basing his computation on the lunar account. He immediately sent a messenger to the west of the mountains as had been originally agreed upon. Simultaneously, the people of Pammana set up an Assembly Hall at Wawolonrong.

The Datu arrived before the appointed day. She had all her belongings with her. Here possessions were deposited in a tent to the east of Sompeq. Other people were invited, too. Also invited were the Datu's four brothers: Arung Timurung, Datu ri Kawerang, Datu ri Bunne, Datu ri Baringeng. Friendly countries and countries having agreements with Pammana to mutually share all problems were not forgotten. When the day and the month drew near, the people of Pammana built the TANAH BANGKALAQ, a little hill to be the site of the installation ceremony, the coronation. The measurements of the site are three by three arm spans, with an elevation as high as the hip.

The celebration lasted nine days and nine nights. The Datu and her brothers, all of equal noble rank, stayed in the Assembly Hall. Four "cemara teruq", buffaloes with skin stained on the foreheads, tails white at the tips, were decorated with gold horns. They were later slaughtered, and each of the King's brothers got one to be served to their own guests.

The nine-day festivities were devoted to three main programmes, respectively: three days for merry-making and feasting, three days for cockfighting, and three days [for a] kicking game.

[23] The long-expected day finally arrived. It was full moon. The Datu ascended the Tanah Bangkalaq, the coronation site. She sat on the lap of Topalinrungi, the Watampaua, her feet rested on a stone, ready to receive the ancestral vow of the country of Pammana. Watampanua Topalinrungi sat facing the Adat from Timurung. On the eastern side of Tanah Bangkala sat the people from Baringeng, on the southern and northern sides all the Watampanua, and in front of the Tanah Bangkalaq, To Aji Pammana.

Then, Watampanua Toappareweq, the father of His Honour La Buccu, delivered the vow on the Tanah Bangkalaq. He said: "Listen all of you, the relatives of the Datu from the upper

region and from the lower region, also the friendly countries from the upper and lower region, listen to the invaluable oath.”

Soon, Toappareweq turned to his older brother Matoa Tosyang, and also to my father, and said, “Oh Matoa, speak louder when saying the oath to the Datu in order that it become known to people not knowing it, and be seen by people never seeing it.”

Tomaesa asked his grandfather, “How does it go? I am anxious to hear it.”

Lombong Ulu answered, “Listen to the sacred promise of my father on the Tanah Bangkalaq. May the promise of Watampanua to Datu also be known to you. Also, the joint declaration of the three Matoa to Datu which had been approved by the Datu and had brought about welfare and security to the country and had been bequeathed to the descendants.

Listen all of you, my children and grandchildren, listen to all the things your grandfather did which you are inquiring into now. Your grandfather was extremely devoted to his brothers and their reputation. That was the reason why the people praised and glorified God Almighty and were abundantly blessed by the gods.”

My father then announced that the persons ascending Tanah Bangkalaq

[24] were two Matoa and two Watampanua to present the ancestral vow of the country of Pammana.

Following the announcement, the children and grandchildren of Lombong Ulu jointly asked, “Relate to us all the promises of the country.”

Lombong Ulu continued, “May I not be cursed, my mouth torn, my tongue stiff because of repeatedly mentioning the name of the person highly honoured in the past. Actually, the sacred declaration shall be repeated only in honour of his children and grandchildren in order that his servants may be blessed and Datu and his servants shall live long, Also, that all of them shall have faith and constantly adhere to it. In this way, they shall respect and obey the gods and serve them, respect and obey the sacred ancestral vow, which shall make them conduct themselves well and attempt to only do what is good. In other words, that they keep themselves out of evil practices, teach and encourage their fellow countrymen to cherish [the] noble intentions of the Datu and his servants.”

He called their attention and continued, “Listen attentively all of you, the Matoa and Watampanua, the prologue composed by my father to the vow presented to the Datu and the Adat, which gets them to jointly promise never to betray the vow, never to “talk to each other twice”, meaning that they take the vow jointly in order that each may obey what they have promised together, and never to undermine each other by resorting to negative undertakings.

Whoever forgets the vow formulated by our forefathers then ignores the advice given to him to remind him of it, and even goes to extremes to be unwilling to repent. [Whoever does so]

shall meet with his own destruction. Such being the case, he shall bequeath nothing to his descendants except evil.”

My father’s introductory words were, “Well, We Mappaio,

[25] may heaven approve your appointment, may the country pay you its tribute, and may the gods pour their blessings upon you. It is all the will of Toparampurampu that you have inherited the glory of your grandfather, and [that you] handle the reins of the Kingdom of Pammana, besides assuming the mane of the country as your title. You shall serve the country through functioning like a blanket to the people. You shall keep them warm; you shall protect them from cold. In short, you shall guarantee their security.

The glory is yours. We shall be your servants. We guarantee our devotion to you. Call us, and we shall answer. Invite us, and we shall come, provided all is in accordance with the adat. Tell us what to do, and we shall do it to the extent that the adat approves. You be the wind, and we be the leaves. In whatever direction you blew, there we would be carried and left stranded, as long as that agrees with the adat. We would crowd around the hill upon which you perched, provided the adat said so. We would assemble down the valley around the spot where it rested providing it was in accordance with the adat. You might lead the people into the valley of tears or [the valley] of happiness as long as the adat told you to do so. You might send the people of Pammana to a faraway place or a nearby surrounding supposing the adat required it. You might drown them because of their sins, or you [may] inspire them to do great things; the adat shall prevail in your decision. The authority in the country is yours. When you go to bed, cover yourself from head to toe, and only get up when the adat wakes you up.

And this is what you promise: that you shall not take the adat up the mountain or lead it down the valley; or that you should not fool us. Your other promise is that you shall not act while biting your lips, or that you shall not resort to threat. Also, that you shall not shake your head at the people, you shall not undermine them, and you shall not take vengeance upon

[26] them. You are the queen, the only ruler in the country. You shall face all problems from within and without. You shall conduct foreign policy but [your actions] shall be guided by knowledge of the adat. Without dispute, all affairs in the country of Pammana, whether significant or insignificant, whether of great or of minor importance, all shall come under the control of the Adat Assembly. These [agreements] have also been mutually agreed upon: no deprivation of rights shall ever occur between you and the adat; no prejudice shall be borne against each other in matters dealing with the country or with the adat.

You are still green regarding matters relating to the adat. You lack experience in the country’s adat to a considerable extent. Consequently, attend to the stipulations you know or are familiar with, and do not bother with the ones beyond your understanding. In other words, go to bed in a secure mood. Wrap yourself in a blanket from head to toe, and get up when the adat wakes you up.

[The] other agreements we have reached are: that you shall not by any means take possession of anything from the Kingdom without it being offered to you. You shall only open your mouth when being fed. Should you offend against this principle, even [a] cooked meal would turn

uncooked. On the contrary, [an] uncooked meal would become cooked by itself were it offered to you by the adat. That is the legal procedure; the adat decides. It is the adat that shall separate the bones from your food in order that you shall not be killed.

You shall have for yourself seven sources of income within your authority, of which three shall be under my control for your sake. These are:

Seddi buang patang, sentenced to banishment, fined for infraction 20 real, passed on a person proved to have acted against the adat

[27] *seddi alawatang*, sentenced to be taken by force, fined for infraction 10 real, passed on a person proved to have acted indecently

seuwaq panrosa, fining, passed on a person unwilling to carry out orders: fines specified as follows:

- 4 ½ real for aristocrats
- 2 ½ real for commoners

seddi teppu timu, sentenced to cutting of lips, fined for infraction 2 real, passed on a person proved guilty to have uttered indecent words or used obscene language

confiscating of property, passed on a person proved:

- to have committed burglary
- wrong to have tried to dig up cases that have been settled by the adat
- to have participated in a foreign plot against the country

Those are the “whips” decreed by the country of Pammana to safeguard the country, which is the source of the Datu’s income. The formulation is unanimously accepted by the people. They have submitted themselves to the decree. “Even if they were struck by a big log, they would simply endure it and continue on provided the adat had authorised it for the evils they had done.” However, even if they were lashed with a piece of threat, they would kowtow and defend themselves, supposing the sentence passed had been against the adat.

An exception is reserved for a sentence called “pettu tigoru” to be passed by the Datu himself, which is banishment and shall result in cutting off all sources for [the] living of the culprit.

Another agreement, but of [a] different nature, outlines four privileges signifying the honour and respect of the people of Pammana towards to Datu as prescribed by the adat.

They are: [28]

- the people shall build a palace for the Datu
- they shall cultivate all ricefields belonging to the Datu
- they shall accompany him on trips outside the country, depending on whom he should choose

- they shall provide the Datu with the money needed for buying the gift to be presented to the bride when the bridegroom is the Datu's relative, and shall bear all the expenses when the bride is the Datu's relative

Also, there are four practices that have been established for generations, respectively:

- contributions of fresh meat to the Datu and cooked meat to the other members of the adat, taken from animals slaughtered during festivities
- presentation of first crops to the Datu as a sign of tribute
- supply of fish taken from fishponds for the Datu
- supply with side dishes taken or collected from [the] forest

The evidence that the people of Pammana are guaranteed independency by the adat that the Datu:

- shall really be their King or Queen but shall not treat the people as they please
- inherits the people but shall not bequeath them; shall not submit the people to another ruler of their own free will
- shall not require absolute submission from the people
- shall allow the people freedom to make agreements among themselves

The vow made by Matoa on the Tanah Bangkala is as follows:

"Listen, all of you, the kings, brothers of the Datu, my brothers, fellow members of the adat; listen, be you all witnesses of the ancestral sacred oath of the people of Pammana which is presented to the Datu. The Queen shall not speak twice to her servants or vice versa, there shall be no such practice as

[29] undermining each other, and there shall never be such an occasion in which an agreement between the Datu and his servants be betrayed.

The successor to the throne shall only be sought after when the fire has really died out, when the firewood has completely burnt up to the remnants, or when the pillar has fallen to pieces.

Despite the torn sails and the broken rudder, neither the Datu nor the people shall embark on any attempt to topple each other down. Both sides shall be frank and fully prepared to exchange advice and opinions, and [each] shall caution each other on slips and errors made, until both parties have convincingly realized their mistakes."

My father then began saying his oath, "Listen, all of you, who are present here surrounding the Tanah Bangkalq. Please be my witnesses. There shall be no defrauding of rights between the Datu and the Adat, nor shall [there] be any mutual accusations when discussing domestic affairs. Nor shall there be any attempts to make a victim of the other party. And finally, nor shall there be occasions on which one defrauds the rights of others."

Lombong Ulu responded, "Listen to me you both, Matoa and Watampanua, listen to the sacred oath of the people of Pammana to their Datu. When Her Honour undermines the

people, or when she disobeys the rules and regulations prevailing in the country, her days [shall] be numbered. If the Matoa clogs the pipe of the adat, he shall be crushed into dust and shall lose his right of bequeathing the Matoaship to his descendants.”

Watampanua Tomesa then asked, “What did His Honour Toappawerreq said on the Tanah Bangkalaq?”

Lombong Ulu answered, “Listen to the promise of Watampanua Toappareweq to Matoa after my father conveyed the oath of

[30] Pammana to Datu.

Toaooareweq began, “Your Excellency, accept with sincerity the ancestral vow of your country, attend to it, keep it in your heart, its knots shall never be undone. May the heavens approve your appointment, may the fatherland support it. May Your Excellency be overflowingly be blessed by the gods. Listen to my vow of dedication to Your Excellency with respect to the adat. The faith you have in me shown by the various responsibilities I have to shoulder shall be eternal and unshaken. I shall keep a firm hand on the sorrow and happiness of the country wherever it may be, provided Your Excellency will not take it to heart when I remind Your Excellency of your errors. In addition, [I hope that] that Your Excellency will not feel offended and angry when cautioned. Those are my responsibilities to Your Excellency, my dedication to the country. It is my duty as a Watampanua to remind and warn people serving at the palace, and I shall never fail in pointing out what is right and what is wrong. When I do so, nobody shall disobey me. And I shall do everything in my capacity to safeguard you in order that you become great and more and more respected. It consequently follows that your days shall be lengthened, and you shall become the source of life for the people.

The authority awarded to me by Your Excellency is the crush the obstinacy of the stubborn, and to safeguard the weak.

Two other propositions I wish to convey to Your Excellency regarding the obstinate [people] who constantly break the rules and regulations, ignore the taboos so that they are pronounced guilty by the adat, that when the culprit involves a Mattola or a grandson of the Datu, he shall only be exposed to condemnation with the knowledge and approval of the three principle Adat members, namely the Datu, the Watampanua and the Matoa; when the offender is not a Datu’s relative, Adat has the final word. It is the Adat’s prerogative, and the Kling shall have to give his approval.

[31] When a person is sentenced to confiscation of property, no pity shall you have on him, even if he had done something to you worth reciprocating. You can reserve your pity for later.”

The Watampanua continued, “It is also within my authority that when you make a slip or commit an error as to your promises, I shall remind you of it. But when you ignore my advice, I shall have to abandon my office and submit it to you. Then, I shall assume my status as a free man without being exposed to any threats of punishment.”

Then time arrived for the Watampanua to make his vow to the Matoa. He said, "The Matoa and the Datu have taken their oath, and the Adat has approved and accepted their promises. The time has arrived for both of us to mutually promise by means of the vows we shall make that we shall serve the country and the people and shall give full attention to the griefs and happiness of the people in order that the Datu shall live long and be the fountain of life for the people.

Only one thing we shall have to principally share is that we promise not to intrude upon each other's rights. When we commit errors, we shall advise each other. We shall practice the principle of mutual concession. We shall not obstruct each other. We shall not bear prejudice against each other. We shall not let each other indulge in wrong or evil practices.

You shall not protect an error against the Adat, and I shall not hide any truth from the Datu. Whoever of us betrays his promise betrays the ancestral adat, [and] consequently shall put an end to his own lot. He shall no longer be in the position to bequeath his office to his descendants."

Toaddimae asked, "Why have the Matoa and the Watampanua had to make the vows to each other while they are brothers?"

Lombong Ulu explained, "Both have to promise each other by means of vows, because only one person can bequeath both offices

[32] whereas two or three people are eligible for them."

Lombong Ulu continued, "I have another message to deliver that you shall have to pass on to the coming generations, that is when you have already served as Matoa to the Datu, you shall not be eligible to a village Matoaship. Remember, this is taboo. Violations shall be disastrous to rice crops and to any other agricultural products."

Toaddimae inquired further, "Could you elaborate on this point?"

Lombong Ulu explained, "The reason is that he can confuse things. The Watampanua has established habits in dealing with the Datu. In his routine he will have private consultations with the Datu, even without being asked or invited, a habit that cannot be transferred to village officials. The palace procedures cannot be transplanted to the village because they can be disastrous. Apart from that, the established practices of the Watampanua are due to the right the office has to speak or represent the Adat when seeing the Datu.

I request that the tradition be made clear to all your descendants, and to those of His Honour Topalunrungi and His Honour La Buccu since they cannot be elected to the office of Matoa and the office of Watampanua. Their families have occupied the offices for three generations.

Furthermore, I wish to tell not to covet any positions, especially the high ones. Anyone being covetous shall be unable to serve the country. Remember that not until you are proposed shall you emerge, and not until you are nominated shall you accept it.

Another vital point, do not keep one particular office to yourself and your children, passing it down from one child of yours to the other. You shall not be able to serve the people and the Datu fully. So, when the father was a Matoa, do not get his son to substitute him. The [same] procedure also applies to the office of Watampanua. Transfer the office to your fellow heirs.

[33] Keeping an office to yourselves within your family carries three evils with it.”

Toaddiame inquired, “What are they, Your Honour?”

Lombong Ulu continued, “The three evils are:

- first : the person in question shall make light of the job
- second: he shall never do his utmost in his work
- third : he shall look down on his fellow heirs. He shall overestimate himself.

A Watampanua should be a modest person. He shall take good care of his people and shall never practice discrimination.”

Tomaesa interrupted and asked, “that means that the office of Tomabiccara, the office of Matoa, and the office of Watampanua are open to all your children and grandchildren without exception?”

Lombong Ulu answered, “[There are] four vital matters to be taken into account when considering candidates for the respective posts:

- first : a person sentenced to banishment shall not be nominated for the positions, and his descendants shall not, either. He shall do more harm than good. Such a person and his descendants shall not be considered for the positions down to seven generations.
- second: a descendant of a less praiseworthy family, or a person of base background shall never be qualified for the positions
- third : a person involved in a contemptable act shall never be nominated for the position because his appointment shall bring a total failure to agriculture
- fourth : a person captured and held on foreign ground shall never be eligible; the offices shall be kept out of his reach. The reason is that such a person has lost his dignity. He shall have no honour nor shall his descendants down to the seventh generation. He shall never utter

[34] any words without being depreciated by the Adat Assembly. Also, he would be filled with apprehension to speak for the people who serve him.”

Tomaessa inquired further, “With regard to the clarification, what shall we do with people who have been sentenced to banishment or to cutting of lips?”

Lombong Ulu answered, "In order that you know, and in order that you remember it, I wish to reiterate that it shall not be contributive to have such a person occupying the highest office in the country. You should know that he is devoid of honour and authority since he was once punished by the Adat of Pammana. How can such a person whose own evil deed brought calamity upon himself serve the country and the people. It has been his own fault that his right was abrogated. This being a fact, his words shall not carry any authority. Should there be any violation of the lines, it would happen that good and honourable deeds be repaid with low acts. Appointment of a person involved in an act that brought public humiliation upon him as Adat Chief carries with it serious consequences. It shall result in the failure of fruit trees to bear fruit, the disappearance of fish from rivers and lakes, or the heat of the summer sun biting the rice crops.

Appointment of a person sentenced to banishment to the post is no less serious. People in villages shall behave like animals, trees shall become completely dry and shall lose their leaves. Families shall stop being productive, and agriculture shall fail."

Lombong Ulu summed up, "Those are the messages I received from my father, who also received them from his father. They reiterate that the messages be firmly kept. I have already revealed to you that my father did in his attempt to preserve the adat. I have told you about his attitude, his

[35] approach to the problems, the strategy he adopted in preserving the reputation of the Datu and the country, and his efforts to get more land. He gained success after success. After having taken his oath at Wawolonrong, all parties resolutely determined to work toward the welfare of the country, the people and the Datu.

The Datu was looked upon as "white thread". His servants submitted themselves entirely to the Datu and match their actions to their words. They would never betray their promises, especially in doing their utmost to achieve the welfare of the country. They hoped the gods would bless their efforts profusely. The people were to tell their children and grandchildren about the achievements, that agriculture was never touched by pests, that moderate rains made all plants grow well, and made barren soil fertile. Rice crops increased considerably, fish swarmed in rivers and ponds, herds of deer crossed the rivers and moved along the valleys between hills into the villages. These animals surprisingly became tame, multiplied in great number, just as the domestic animals like horses, buffaloes and others did. The population increased to a considerable extent, children and grandchildren were born.

The country's programs were successfully executed. The news about the country's success spread beyond its borders. Neighbouring countries referred to the honesty and justice that prevailed in the country of Pammana, manifested in the words and actions of the people. Due to the mercy granted by the gods, the country successfully dealt with unusually large influxes of people from outside. None of the populations showed the slightest tendency to leave the country. As a consequence, people behaved as they desired, without the fear of unjust measures being taken against them.

Conspicuously enough, all people lived in abundance due mainly to the successful rice crops, which they partly consumed and partly sold for money."

[36] Toaddimae asked, “Whereabouts is Wawolonrong?”

Lombong Ulu irritatedly answered, “How foolish you are to ask such a question! You yourself have changed names three times; first, when you were a child, second, when you were grown up; third when you became a father and grandfather; now your hair is two-coloured. Yet you are still ignorant. You still do not know about Manurung? This proves how lazy a person can be. You were never interested in visiting the Assembly Hall. You never showed any effort to admire the Datu’s face. Your small garden becomes your village. You take the handle of your sickle for a keris, and the handle of your plough for a spear. What you keep yourself busy with is swaying your buffalo whip day in and day out.

Wawaolonrong used to be La Pakekke. The original name was changed in order that their vows would not be ruined, their promise would not be betrayed. To confirm matters, they planted an *ipoh* tree. The name was changed with the hope that the country would not be overcome by disasters. Also, that it would not come under the heel of foreign powers. Yet they strongly believed that the generations after them would give their full allegiance to the country and the Datu.”

Lombong Ulu went on to say as follows: “You might think that your grandfather’s original name was Topanengngi. It is important for you to know that the name was given to him by the Datu, because he was searching for a descendant of the Manurung in Liu. In the same way, the father of La Buccu was named Toappareweq by the Datu, because he was the Watampanua then. He was the very man who fetched the Datu from Liu and returned her to Pammana.

[37] II Some notes about the rise and fall of Addatuang Pammana as written in the script of the History of Wajo, acquired from Andi Pabarangi’s copy. The Latin transcription and its Indonesian translation are presented in a separate paper.

1. A month after Temple, Sengkang and Tappangangeng came under the domination of the Kingdom of Wajo, a dispute took place between La Tenrijelloq, the Datu of Pammana, and Mappalo Ulawenge, the Datu of Limpua. The dispute was triggered by a reputedly sacred man from Limpua, Puang Lompi-lompi Tomaqbisa-bisa by name, who acted purely based on his adat. In the dispute, the Datu of Patila sided with the Datu of Pammana.

The dissention forced the Datu of Pammana and the Datu of Patila to leave for Wajo to see Arung Matoa La Tadampareq Puang ri Maqgalatung, one of their relatives, and request that their kingdoms be confederated with the Kingdom of Wajo. They met Arung Saotanre Petta Totaba and concluded an agreement, with Wajo acquiring the “mother” status and Pammana the “child” status. Both parties vowed that they would stand by each other, be faithful and loyal to each other, and that the confederation be everlasting. Finally, the Deata Seuwa (the only god) should be the witness.

Having concluded the agreement, the Datu of Pammana and the Datu of Patila expressed their plea to Wajo, which runs as follows, “Have mercy upon us, all of you, the people of Wajo. We plead that you declare war on the country of Limpua, and whenever you succeed in

conquering it you may treat it in any way you wish. As you know, it is Puang Lompi-lompi who ruined the relationship and the family spirit existing between Pammana and Patila on the one hand, and Limpua on the other hand, which has resulted in the severance of realtions.”

Having heard the plea and the request, Arung Matoa Puang ri

[38] Maqqalatung asked, “Has the relative and brotherly relationship really been severed?”

The Datu of Pammana and the Datu pf Patila answered, “Yes, Your Honour, it has been severed. Hence, we shall not say anything when you wish to wage war against Limpua in order to conquer it.”

Arung Matoa said, “Considering your plea, I welcome your proposition, I appreciate the vow and shall always hold to it. Also, I shall ask the “only god” to be the witness.”

Then the people of Wajo, the people from the subject territories, and the people of Pammana and Patila set off and invaded Limpua. It took them only a day to conquer it. Puang ri Lompi-lompi was driven out of power, and also out of the country. Only Wiro Madduku stayed behind. He took over the administration of Lagosi and Limpua that was placed under the sovereignty of Wajo.

Eventually, Limpua was split up, partly administered by Pammana and partly by Wajo. Pammana acquired the prominent part and Wajo obtained the territory extending over the ricefield areas, farming land, lakes and swampy areas on the country border regions which were later divided among the adat members of Wajo.

The Limpua provinces annexed by Wajo stretched from the north to the Leceng-leceng river extending to the west as far as the Patila borders and to the east as far as the burial place on the border of Pinarang. Petta Ennengngne (the six top adat authorities) also got their shares covering an area extending from the east to the west which was later distributed to their people. Also, the Arung Mabbicara (the lower adat authorities) numbering 30 people got the area north of the river from the west to the east. The share of Petta Ennengngne was distributed pairwise (siturengeng lakka) Renreng Tua shared a portion with Cakkuridi, an area from the border of Lasalima to the west as far as the border of Patila,

[39] Arung Bettempola and Pillaq shared the area from the outskirts of Lasalima to the east until Irege in Lagosi; Ranreng Talotenreng and Patola shared the area from Irege in Lagosi to the border of Pinrang. Petta Ennengngne distributed the other areas to their people by dividing lakes into fishing areas and the landscape along the lakes for farming.

2. Three years after Amali was brought under the sovereignty of Wajo, Wajo instructed Amali and Timurung that they invade and conquer Wawolonrong. The idea was totally disapproved of by the Datu of Pammana, La Tenripatta Tokelingnge, manifested in his sudden annulment of Wajo’s sovereignty over Pammana.

The severance made the King of Wajo take a drastic step. He ordered his people to assemble and spoke to them. He said, He said, “What is your opinion about the recent development of

the relationship between Wajo and Pammana? I believe that there has been a strong tie between us, Wajo and Pammana, as expressed in the agreement we have had. But now, Pammana has distorted it entirely.”

The meeting decided that that they were going to war against Pammana. The decision soon became known to the Datu of Pammana and the countries that had blood relations with Pammana. The critical situation made them sympathise with Pammana. They sent people to help in case war broke out.

Arung Matoa of Wajo was informed about the development in Pammana, He again met his people and said to them “Let us not start the war, especially because, basically, we do not intend to destroy Pammana. Instead of going to war, Arung Matoa Wajo told his people to return to their work and increase production. They were able to collect two very successful rice crops successively. At this time, they thought they were ready for war. Again, Arung Matoa cancelled the invasion. He said that Pammana and its friends

[40] were in full preparation for any eventuality.

Before long, Arung Matoa of Wajo came upon what would serve as an excellent solution to the problem he was facing. He embarked upon a plan. The plan and its execution were as follows. It happened that in the village of Anraq, herds of big-tusked wild boars were a big nuisance for people wanting to enter the forest. The tusks of the wild boars were said to be as big as ploughs. Arung Matoa ordered that the number of countries on friendly terms with Wajo be counted, including Pammana, then, to be invited to Wajo to be told about the wild boars.

Pammana declined the invitation conveyed by Wajo’s envoy. The computation and other related activities took place for seven nights, and after that people crowded into the country. Arung Matoa of Wajo had them all come together and spoke to them. He said, “I am telling all of you now to return home and fetch your prows. Then put them all together in the Wallennae river. This is only a precaution against the possibility that boars might throw themselves into the river, making it impossible for you to escape. The people of Bola, Tempe, Sengkang and Belawa did what they had been told.

Towards midnight, the Arung Matoa of Wajo issued the following order: “Let’s invade Pammana now.” Wajo entered Pammana at the right time. Pammana offered almost no resistance. It was extremely unfortunate for the country as it was caught in a state of total unpreparedness. The people who once came and stayed in Pammana to fight side-by-side with them had returned to their countries. Pammana was set on fire. Everything burned to the ground. When the sun came up the next morning, Pammana was totally destroyed. The Datu surrendered to Wajo along with his people. Datu La Tenripatta Tokelingngne said to Arung Matoa Wajo, “The decision is yours. You may do as you wish with us, but we beg that you let us live.”

[41] Arung Matoa answered, “In that case, I say that from now on the people of Pammana shall be the slaves of Wajo, and they shall never try to lie to their masters. And take this into consideration, that however vicious your sufferings might be, and however severely you

might feel offended, it is Wajo that decides. Pass this message down to all the descendants of the people of Pammana and tell them in addition that what has been promised and confessed shall not “pass away with the dead and shall not be extinguished with the destruction of the country” (eternal in nature).

With the declaration, Pammana was made a territory of TUA. And it was accepted by the Datu, La Tenripatta Tokelingge, and his people. That explains the status of Pammana during the time of Datu Settiriwareq ri Pammana La Tenrijelloq when Pammana was cited as “child” with regard to the Kingdom of Wajo, and how Pammana became a subject territory of Wajo. The Kingdom of Wajo had the say over Pammana.

3. More than two months after the people of Wajo returned from the battlefield in Bula-bula, Arung Patila quarrelled with his people who occupied the other side of the river. Tokare succeeded his father named Massaolociq as Arung in Patila, and simultaneously acquired the position of Cakkuridi in Wajo. The fact was that the territory of Patila partly belonged to Wajo and partly to Pammana. Reasonably enough, Arung Matoa of Wajo instructed Cakkuridi Arung Patila Tokare to immediately conquer the part belonging to Pammana and make it a territory of Wajo. The idea of being annexed by Wajo was strongly opposed by the Datu of Pammana, La Mappapuli Topasajo, the son of La Tenripatta Tokelingge.

[42] Envoys were several times sent by Wajo to the Datu of Pammana to convince the latter that he understood his position. Yet the Datu of Pammana was never willing to reconsider his stand.

Having failed in its attempt to convince Pammana, Wajo invaded Pammana and conquered it. It took three days for Wajo to crush the resistance. Pleading for their lives, the people of Pammana presented a gift to Wajo consisting of three men, three sarongs and three pairs of bracelets. The gift was presented by Lamappapuli Topasajo, who pleaded as follows: Do have mercy on us. Accept this small gift of your servants with the request that our lives be spared. And in that case, Wajo “be the wind and we be the leaves. In whatever direction you blow, we will be blown the same direction and finally be stranded”.

Arung Bettewng Tomaddulang said, “The people of Pammana have ever since been the subjects of the Kingdom of Wajo. Wajo has been the master, and whatever the master says the servants shall obey.”

Arun Mato continued, “Whatever sufferings you may undergo, and however severe they might be, you shall not leave Pammana. If you ignore the vow you have taken to which the “only god” has been the witness, you will never feel secure. If you did, even a tiny bird would not alight and perch on you and would not [perch] on your generation either. Stay in Pammana; the country shall be put under that authority of the Ranreng Tua. What you shall do in Wajo as a subject of the country is to sell property to meet the expenses of a Kingdom official.

The Datu of Pammana, Lamappapuli Topasajo, gave in to Wajo’s

[43] demands, and [the] Arung Matoa of Wajo added, “You people of Pammana shall stay in your country, you speak your own language, you walk on your dykes – it makes no matter whether they are straight or curved (meaning, the people of Pammana shall run their own country based on principles prescribed by their adat). Take good care of your country. If any foreign power does any harm to you, you will turn to Wajo, your master, for help!

-----JS-----

[1] (B) HISTORY AND FORM OF GOVERNMENT IN LOMBONG ULU’S MESSAGES

(1) “TANA BANGKALA TRADITION IN SOUTH SULAWESI”

The script consists of two parts: the first part contains Lombong Ulu’s messages, and the second part contains an explanation of the “Tana Bangkalaq” tradition.

It is stated in the second part (see text 1 I.2) [that] the meeting of Pammana custom holders [was] to elect one of the heirs to the throne in Pammana, whose king had died seven months before. The custom meeting unanimously elected a woman heir, We Tenrilalo, Arung Liu, (queen of undercontrol region) later on inaugurated on an inauguration hill, known as “Tana Bangkalaq” at Wawolonrong village (now can be found at Lempa village, Pammana district, Wajo regency: see map I) on the king’s burial ground. The inauguration ceremony was witnessed by the kings and custom members and friends of Pammana, among others Datu Baringeng, Arung Timurung, Datu Bunne, and Datu Lawerrang.

The coronation of We Tenrilallo, Datu Pammana, was celebrated in Tana Bangkalaq for nine days, of which three days were for cock fighting, and three days were for “sempaq” (game of the art of kicking). Four “camara terruq” buffaloes (buffaloes with white spots on their foreheads, and of which the tips of tails and both the hind hoofs are white as well) were slaughtered in the ceremony.

[2] The coronation was brought about by placing the king on the vizier’s lap (at that time vizier Toappareweq) at Tana Bangkalaq facing the custom members, surrounded by kings and friends of Pammana.

By witnessing to God, “the Only God”, to the kings and friends of Pammana, one of the four “Matoas” (primus inter pares), goes up to Tana Bangkalaq, uttering in a loud voice a loud oath expressing the promise of loyalty of the people of Pammana, the vizier’s promise to the king and the promise between the vizier and the Matoa.

Some parts of the promise are as follows:

- I. People’s oath of allegiance to the king.

Hi! Woman ruler!

May God bless you, so that you have peace in inheriting the greatness of your ancestors. Then you hold [the office of] Addatuang of Pammana and have the title of your country, protecting your people from danger, covering them so that they are free from cold. You are our king, and we are your servants. Summon and we will come at once. Order and we will go immediately. Command and we will carry it out quickly. You are wind, we are leaves; wherever you are blowing, there we are. We swarm not only on the hills where your feet stand, but in the valleys where you are sitting as well. You send your people to the country, far and near, based on custom, you are with your people either in happiness or in sorrow; you punish us because of our transgressions.

[3] You lift high the people of Pammana in goodness, in accordance with hereditary law. You are the only king in your country; sleep soundly and you will awake if the law wakes you up.

II. Some of the king's promises to the people (uttered by the Matoa):

You promise not to act as you wish, to take the law up hill and down dale, you promise not to play tricks on us, you shake not your head to deny us, or to threaten or to take revenge on us, or to make a hole for your Pammana people, or to close the door for us.

You are the only king in your country, receiving and settling the incoming matters, acting on behalf of your country with the consent of the law holders. For internal matters, great or small, are under the authority of the law. You do not take each other's rights or suspect one another. You need not know the origin of the law, instead you should only know the existence of it.

You promise not to take something by yourself unless it is presented to you. You will open your mouth when you are spoonfed. Because, although it is already well-done, if you take it by yourself it will become underdone. On the contrary, though it is underdone when the law presents it, to you it will be well-done. The law will separate the bones from the meat so that you will not die of it. You are our only king, but do not act arbitrarily towards us. You are our heir, but you will not inherit [bequeath] us to someone as to your will.

[4] You allow us to go, keep us lying when we are lying, you let us make agreements among ourselves. We promise not to betray you to another. When the fire is really on you, and the wood has been burnt up, when the pools have been broken completely, then your successor will be sought. Though the sail has been broken and the paddle as well, we do not betray each other. When we make mistakes, we warn each other advise one another, and give and take each other's opinion until you are fully aware. You promise not to loot each other's power within your law bearers. You do not fish in troubled waters. When you make a hole, or break the law, you will have a short life, and when the law bearers prevent the execution of the law, or close the truth, they will perish like dust, and will not bequeath their positions to their descendants.

III. Vizier's promise with the king.

Truly, your power will last if you are open to warning, lend your ears to advice and criticism, and you do not hinder me from saying the truth in the palace. And by so doing, your kingdom

will be great, famous, long-lived and become the source of living and welfare for the people. I will discourage the stubborn people and care for the weak, the poor and the needy. But when you are really mistaken and unwilling to be warned, I will resign and return to my freedom without being punished or driven away from this country, and without being looted of all my property.

[5] Vizier's promise with the Matoa

We face each other for our position to carry out the happiness and sorrow of the Pammana people, to the king's greatness. May long live the king, so that peace and welfare be with the Pammana people. We promise not to take each other's rights and suspect each other, giving advice to one another and not protect the wrong doer and close the tryth. Whoever violates the promise will perish like dust and will not bequeath his position to his descendants.

In some places in South Sulawesi, which became the centre of history in the past, the remnants of the inauguration hill such as Tana Bangkala hill in Pammana can be found. In Gowa the inauguration hill can be found of Tammalatea in front of the burial ground of Gowa kings, In Bone, it is found inside of the square in front of the late Arumpone's residence. In Luwu, it is located about three kilometers south of Palopo. It is known as "Tana Bangkalaq" in local tradition, the inauguration hill of the highest law and village administration in the past.

In Bugis-Makasar tradition, the inaugurated law administrator in Tana Bangkalaq becomes the holder of the highest power in the country and local law. He should be of noble descent. In Bugis, the inaugurated law administrator is called "Tomaddara takku", the name of which is taken from a certain kind of tree "Takku" which has white sap. Therefore, the name of "Tana Bangkalaq" is not far from this interpretation: that is a hill where the noblemen

[6] were inaugurated as the highest law administrators in a region. In other Bugis regions the hill is also known as "Posiq Tana" (earth centre), in Makasar "Pocciq Butta" (earth centre).

In Toraja, for instance at Sangallaq, such a kind of inauguration hill has become the centre of ceremony right up to the present. In Toraja tradition, the hill is known as "Paotakkoan", the place of inauguration. The person who has the right to be inaugurated on the hill must be of noble descent and becomes the highest law administrator. In Toraja language, Tomaddara takkun", as white as the sap of the "takkun" tree [is] also called "tomallite bumbungan" meaning of noble descent.

The data above shows that there was a common tradition in the past in South Sulawesi, which is called "Tana Bangkalaq Tradition", a pre-Islamic tradition, a hereditary tradition for the local government and law administrators. They promised sincerely on a sacred hill by witnessing to the "Dewata Seuwae", "The Only God" in Bugis, "Puang Matua", "The Almighty" in Toraja language.

Tana Bangkala in Pammana is not far from La Satumpugi's residence, the founder of "Addatuang Cina", [which] later on changed its name to "Addatuang Pammana" by a king whose name was "La Aji Pammana, Datu ri Cina".

“Paotakkoan” in Toraja, for instance at Sanggalla, is known as the place of village founders who became the government in the region and local law administrators are those who play

[7] important roles in history and in the happiness and sorrow of the local people in their struggle for life. Therefore, “Tana Bangkalaq Tradition” has a close tie with local history. The existence of “Tana Bangkalaq” and its tradition became the identity of the presence of power in a region in South Sulawesi in the past. Tana Bangkalaq in Wawolonrong (now in the domain of Sarappao, Lempa village, District of Pammana, Wajo Regency) becomes historical evidence of the existence of law authorities in the past around the place which has the status of “Addatuang”, known as “Addatuang ri Cina”, led by a “Datu”, known as “Addatuang ri Cina” later in the 15th century changed its name into “Addatuang Pammana”, its king [becoming] “Datue ri Pammana, as told in the script.

Besides Addatuang Pammana, in the regions of South Sulawesi there are proofs of the existence of law authorities in the past which need further research.

In South Sulawesi there are traditions of law authorities known as: “Dua Cappaq Gala”, meaning “Two fully respected law authorities”, namely Gowa and Luwu; “Tellumpocoe”, meaning “Three highest law authorities”, they are Bone, Wajo and Soppeng; “Lima Ajattappareng”, meaning “Five law authorities west of Lake Tempe and Lake Sidenreng, namely Suppaq, Malluseq Tasiq, Sawitto, Sidenreng and Rappang (around Pare-Pare regency); Pitu Massenrempulu” meaning “seven law authorities in the slopes of the mountains” namely: Maiwa, Enrekang, Kassaq, Batu Lappaq, Bonto Batu, Maluaq, and Allaq (around Enrekang Regency);

[8] “Pitu Babbana Minaga: meaning “Seven Law authorities in estuary” namely Balannipa, Tinambuang, Majene, Pambuang, Cenrana, Tapalang, and Mamuju (around Majene Regency); “Pitu Ulunna Salu” meaning “Seven law authorities in the upper course of the river”, i.e. Tabilahan, Matangngna, Rantebulahan, Bamabang, Tabang, Aralle, and Mambi (western Toraja); “Arruan Patang Pulo Lan Liliqna Lepongan Bulan” meaning “Forty law authorities in Toraja”; Tongkonan Appaq Lan Lilinna Basse Sangtempeq” meaning Four law authorities in Southern Palopo”. All these need further research by historians.

(2) Manual and advice for a clean and powerful law administrator (see text A I.1).

The first part of the script contains messages as follows:

A powerful administrator can answer correctly, speak simply to the point and be able to put forward his opinion.

People’s welfare, the greatness of the king, and the life of the people are in the hands of law administrators and a vizir, the helmsman. If a vizier has done his best, then the country will be prosperous and peaceful. Deviation will be less owing to his respect for the law and his fear of the people. The king will be careful in doing something, Matoa will carry out his duty earnestly. The law becomes fair, firm, and irrevocable.

For the task and responsibility of the vizier then he should have knowledge of good and evil. [He should] keep his promise, never be prideful,

[9] never interfere in others' business and take the rights of others. Never prevent someone to tell his opinion. In looking into the matter, a vizier only looks into the truth. He should not take sides, justify the wrong or accuse the right. He protects the weak and discourages the obstinate and forbids evil doings. If the king is really mistaken, the vizier should advise him until he is fully aware of his fault. The vizier should dare to release his position if the king refuses the advice.

In carrying out his duty, a Matoi should be fair and faithful so that he pays no attention to misleading or external influences. He does not take revenge or violate his promise to the king or to the people. He does not act against his will, he is fair to himself, to the people, to the king and to God. He is modest in living, in action, and in speaking. He can be angry but later he can be forgiving.

In settling a problem, a Matoi does not take one-sided decisions, he does not settle a matter in anger or when he is overly cheerful. Firmly holding to the truth, protecting not the evil and in making a decision, he is irrespective of persons, rich or poor, noblemen or common people. His decision is fair for himself and for others because before deciding something he looks into the matter thoroughly.

Sources of all misfortunes and main obstacles for the people's welfare, the greatness of the country and happiness

[10] for all the law bearers, the viziers, the Matoas and the king are:

Greed towards all inherited properties, which make the people act shamelessly and monopolise the inherited goods. Inhuman deeds that eliminate mutual help and love among the people. Acting against one's will, killing and destroying all good deeds. Pride will make no friends and unfairness in speech and action will break the tie of friendship. All these things should be avoided by the people, by the king, by the vizier, by the Matoi and by the law bearers.

(3) Concept of clean government with concept of "To Manurung" noblemen.

Comparing the forementioned manual and advice for the law bearers with the common promise in "Tana Bangkaraq Tradition", the conclusion is that an ideal government for the kingdom of Pammana in the past is really a clean government. In such a government, all people involved must have clean words, clean thoughts, clean words and clean actions. The king, law bearers both high-ranking and low, and the people, should free themselves from anger and humility for the common interest, particularly for the future survival of his descendants. The person cannot inherit a good position, good living, if he is in anger and humility.

From this point, the concept of "Tomanurung" (at least in my opinion) must be evaluated. The concept of full nobleman must not be interpreted as literally true, but it must be interpreted as a symbol originally of a good family, [whose members were] hoped to be

[11] able to act fairly and cleanly in doing the job entrusted to him.

As for the opinion or interpretation of the concept of “Manurung”, [it is] a concept of conquest not bloody revolution., possibly in the second place only, [that] happened in the era of tradition development by external influence.

(4) The history of Addatuang Pammana

The history of Addatuang Pammana has not been thoroughly investigated. There are two types of [manu]scripts about it discovered by the writer. Both scripts¹ tell of the coronation of We Tenrilallo on the inauguration hill “Tana Bangkalaq” in Wawolonrong, became “Datu Pammana I” who governed in the same era as La Taddamparq Puang ri Maqgalatung, Arung Matoa Wajo IV (governed from 1491 – 1521).

The first script, which became the topic of discussion in this writing, was written on crowned stamped paper of the Dutch Kingdom. It is mentioned in the first script that the second script has just been written by Topatangari, a grandson of Topalinrunji (a vizier of Addatuang Pammana who was present at the coronation of We Tenrillalo) and also the cousin of Toaddine and Toamessa who got advice from Lombong Ulu their grandfather, [who] consecutively became Matioa and vizier during the government of Datu Pammana who was still young of Luwu, Gowa

[12] descent: [and] La Mappatinring ri Passarie Massora Siwalie, Datu Pammana IV [who] governed when Islam came into Wajo in the early 17th century.

Based on the data above, we can conclude that the contents of both Pammana manuscripts were written in the early 17th century. A copy of the second script was published by Matthes in his *Boeginesche Chrestomathie I deel II stuk* and in Mr Andi Zainal Abidin’s dissertation draft.

Both manuscripts contain the “Tana Bangkalaq” tradition which constitutes authentic proof of the existence of Addatuang Pammana in the past. Lombong Ulu is the informant of the first manuscript and also the informant of the second manuscript together with La Buccu. Both of them were present at the inauguration of We Tenrillalo, Datu Pammana I. The “Tana Bangkalaq Tradition” is therefore consistent between the two scripts. According to the [oral?] “Tana Bangkalaq Tradition” in Wawolonrong, and in both manuscripts, We Tenrillalo succeeded La Aji Pammana Datu Cina XX and [her descendants comprise] datu Pammana II until Datu Pammana XVIII² until the government of the Republic of Indonesia abolished the traditional law authorities in Indonesia. In the residence of the last Matoa Wajo, there are swords still kept as the grandeur of Addatuang Pammana (see photo).

(b) Further, at Sarapao, Lempa village, District of Pammana, Wajo Regency, not far from Tana Bangkalaq in Wawolonrong, there is a place known as “Mallangkanae” (Langkanae meaning “palace”) the place of which is on a hill. There is an old grave there where people who live around it still give their

¹ basically only one script because the second script contains only part of the first script.

² see family tree of Datu ri Cina – Datu ri Pammana, enclosed

[13] respects. According to tradition, the grave belongs to La Satumpugiq, the founder of Addatuang Cina, which changed its name to Addatuang Pammana later on in accordance with the will of the datu ri Cina XX, La Aji Pammana, before he died. Therefore, we Tenrillalo, Datu Pammana I (end of 15th century – early 16th century) is Datu Cina XXI.

Around the old grave on the hill of Mallangkanae mentioned above there exist remnants of broken ceramics and a mortar made of stone for pounding rice. The mortar is said to have belonged to We Cudai, daughter of the founder of Addatuang Cina and the consort of Sawerigading of Luwu. Up to the present day, people living around the Mallangkanae hill start the sowing of their paddy seeds by holding a “pounding rice ceremony” on it.

Research and excavation by archaeologists on the Malalangkanae hill will be of great value to the history of Addatuang Pammana. According to tradition, the palace was the centre of Addatuang Cina in ancient times. It was La Sattumpugiq’s palace which consisted of seventy rooms. Stones, said to be remnants of the palace, can still be found around the place.

(c) Further in the manuscript of Wajo history there are three notes about the rise and fall of Addatuang Pammana (see text A II 1.2.3).

Firstly, it tells about when La Tenrijello, Datu Pammana (correction, What is meant is We Tenrilallo) [who] quarrelled with his first cousin, Datue ri Limpuaq, Mappalo Ulaweng. We Tenrilallo therefore came to Wajo asking for help. They both attacked Limpuaq and in one day Limpuaq lost the battle;

[14] its region was divided by Wajo and Pammana. Since then, Wajo and Pammana became friends. It is said in the manuscript that Wajo became the mother (inaq) and Pammana became the son (alternatively, it is said that Wajo is the elder brother and Pammana is the younger brother).

This happened at the end of the 15th century because it is said that just a month later the people of Tempe, Sengkang, Tampangeng and Wage joined Wajo, then Datu Pammana disputed with her first cousin Datu ri Limpuaq Mappalo Ulaweng. Therefore, the event happened during the early-stage government of Arung Mato IV. La Taddamparaq Puang ri Maggalatung (1491-1591).

Secondly, it tells about La Tenripatang Tokellingngne, Datu Pammana II, son of We Tenrilallo, Datu Pammana I. On the orders of Arung Matoa Wajo IV, the people of Amali and Timurung attacked Wawolonrong, Pammana region, causing Pammana to break its relationship with Wajo. In consequence of Pammana’s action, Wajo and its allies attacked Pammana. Pammana was defeated in the fighting and became the subordinate of Wajo ever since then. Wajo is said to be the master and Pammana to be the servant. This happened during the government of Arung Matoa Wajo, La Taddamparaq, Puang ri Maggalatung, in the early 16th century.

Thirdly, it tells how La Mappapuli Topassajo (son of La Tenripatang Tokellingngne) became Datu Pammana III who broke Pammana’s relationship with Wajo because the latter attacked the people of Patila who were [allied with] Pammana. It is said that the people of Patila disputed

with Arung Patila Tokerreq Cakkuridi (member of high law) in Wajo. Pammana and Wajo fought each other for three

[15] days. Pammana was defeated and returned to the status of servant. It is said that Pammana had to present three servants, three sarongs, and three pairs of gold bracelets to Wajo as a sign of its submission. Since then, Pammana has to bear all ceremony costs when a high law bearer in Wajo dies. The cost stated here is for the cremation ceremony, because according to this tradition, kings were cremated before the conversion to Islam. This event took place after the death of Matoa Wajo IV La Taddampareq Puang ri Maqqalutung, because it is said in the manuscript that the receiver of La Mappapuli's gift, Datu ri Pammana, was Arung Betteng Tomaddualeng, who governed during a vacant period (3 years) [1523-1526] after the death of Arung Matoa Wajo Puang ri Maggalatung. Or after 1521, possibly during the government of La Tenripakkado Tonampe's [1527-1536], the son of Puang ri Maggalatung, who became Arung Matoa Wajo V who governed from 1524 to 1535, because at that time Arung Betteng Tomaddualeng was still in power side by side with Arung Matoa Wajo.

After the event of La Mappapuli Tapassajo, Datu Pammana III, Addatuang Pammana was still under the rule of Arung Matoa Wajo as a subordinate kingdom; it rose and fell with Wajo until the Dutch came in 1905.

During the Dutch occupation, Pammana was given the status of a district consisting of 24 villages. These villages are: Maroangin, Buluq Patila, Patila, Bocco-bocco, Sumpang Aleq, Sarappao, Bila Cilellang, Colodoq, Totalleq, Tosampaq, Sabbang, Pate Marrilaleng, Limpo Riattang, Wolongeng Rilalang, `wolongeng Risaliweng, Baleng, Tobakko, Kampiri, Tepo Batu, Pate Marrisaleweng,

[16] Palaguna, Sarasa and Larege.

Besides the above historical data, there are also mythological data in the La Galigo mythology that really need thorough research to become historical data. It is told in the La Galigo that Sawerigading, Datu Wareq at southern Palopo, left for Addatuang Cina to marry We Cudai, Datu Cina I La Sattumpugiq's daughter. From the marriage, La Galigo was born. Sawerigading and his wife I We Cudai, with their son I La Galigo, sank at sea on their voyage to Luwuq to visit their parents. Since then, the story of Addatuang Cina became unknown.

This time is prolonged until the appearance of new noblemen in both regions. I Addatuang Cina appeared Simpurusiang, the tomanurung, Datu Cina I, whose descendants were Datu Fina II to Datu Cina XX and Datu Pammana I, We Tenrilallo, to Datu Pammana XVIII, Andi Pallawarukka, the last Datu Pammana. In the 1950s, Indonesia abolished the law authorities (see enclosure "Pangngoriseng" family tree of Datu Pammana).

The mythological data above really needs careful and thorough research by archaeologists, geologists, etc. Nevertheless, it is widely known in all traditions in Central Sulawesi, Southeast Sulawesi and South Sulawesi that Addatuang Luwu is the oldest kingdom and Addatuang Pammana is the counterpart of it. It is mentioned in the last script "Pappasenna

Lombong Ulu”, Lombong Ulu’s Message, (some of it illegible) that the son of We Tentrillo, Datu Pammana I, married a woman from Luwu.

Apart from that, traditions in inland Toraja mention that certain founders of law authorities went to get married in regions near lakes or rivers. Does this mean that they went to Lake Tempe or Lake Sidenreng? There is [perhaps] a relationship between the word “Cina” and the word “kekasih”, beloved, because there is an idiomatic phrase in Bugis, “Mukacina-cinnai”, and the same expression in the Toraja language “mukasinna-sinnai” meaning “the beloved one”. Also the word “perempuan” meaning “woman”. Is there any relation between “Pammana” and the expression “ibu kekasih” meaning “beloved mother” and “Ibu Perthiwi” meaning “motherland” for the law bearers in South Sulawesi in the past?

-----JS-----