

“One of the first conditions for a sound historiography is a reliable system of chronology” (Noorduyn 1962:34).

LUWU, CINA, SOPPENG, WAJO and BONE

These are working genealogies aimed at providing standardized chronologies of the major ruling lineages of South Sulawesi.

Although it is possible to develop specific reign years for some rulers, it is better to refer to each as early (00-37), mid- (38-67) or late (68-00) century.

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RULERS OF LUWU

(Caldwell 1988)

| | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|--|
| Simpurusia | | <i>archetypal</i> | <i>Manurungé ri Lompoq. Foundational myth of Cina</i> |
| Anakaji | | <i>archetypal</i> | |
| Wé Matengngaémpong | | <i>archetypal</i> | |
| ----- | | | |
| Tampabalusu | | <i>undatable</i> | Two legendary figures who form an independent tradition unrelated to preceding or following rulers |
| Tanrabalusu | | <i>undatable</i> | x Datu Ampin[ra], Dati ri Daupira |
| ----- | | | |
| To Apanangi | | C15 | |
| Bataraguru | | C15 | x Datu Maogé. Bataraguru named in treaty with Bone |
| To Sangkawana | La Pasampoi (LSW) | C15 | |
| La Malaláé | La Busatana (LSW) | C15 | Wajo sources have La Busatana, associated with La Obi / Settiriwareq / Arung Matoa Wajoq II La Tadampareq / Matoa Wajoq IV, 1498-1528 Wajo refuses to attend La Busatana's funeral |
| Déwaraja | | | |
| To Sangerreng | Datu Sangaria Datu Kellali | early C16 | assoc. Ajiriwu, Sadaraja, Racepuja, Rajadewa (all Luwu) assoc. La Tadampareq, Matoa Wajoq IV 1498-1528 assoc. La Tenrisuki, Arung Bone 1512-39 |
| Datu ri Saolebbiq | Paropoé, Pasawunggné | ? mid-C16 | x M. ri Jampu ? = Datu Sangkaria (Chron. Wajo) ?= Soreang Daeng |
| Maningo ri Bajo | | late C16 | son DS, sister Opunarawé, Datu Bisué |
| La Patiwareq | Daéng Parebbung M. ri Wareq | early C17 | son of Opunarawé |

There are two different versions of the king list of Luwu (Caldwell 1988) and little certainty as to the names and order of the kingdom's rulers. The first three generations – Simpurusia, Anakaji and Wé Matengngaémpong represent a local version of the foundation myth of Cina. This provides legitimacy and status to Luwu's ruling family, historically a branch of Cina's ruling family.

Tanrabalusu and Tampabalusu (each is a distinct name) belong to a separate oral tradition of which little has survived. Datu Ampin[ra] / Datu ri Daupira, (the wife of Tampabalusu) Datu ri Wanua and La Mariawa are associated with tradition.

The third source starts with To Apanangi in both versions of the king list. He precedes Bataraguru, who is named in a peace treaty in which Bone is reduced to a client of Luwu. The next ruler, To Sangkawana, appears in the Lontara' Sukku'na Wajo' (Abidin 1985), where he is named as La Pawawoi. After him, in both traditions, follows La Malalae, who is identified by Abidin (1985) as the LSW's Busatana, father of Déwaraja

Déwaraja is the least questionable of Luwu's pre-Islamic rulers. A Torajan oral tradition explains his nickname, 'The cock's comb prince', alluding to a livid birthmark on his cheek. He was the ruler defeated at Celluq in Bone in the early sixteenth century, and in the Chronicles of Bone and Wajo allowed to escaped back to Luwu in a boat with just 20 men. There are various fantastical stories about Déwaraja.

Datu ri Saolebbi – the Ruler in the Splendid Palace – was probably the owner of the enormous wooden palace at Malangke, the gigantic supporting pillars of which, with a circumference greater than a man's arms span, may be seen today, albeit underwater. There is an oral tradition at Malangke that if a chick entered one end of the palace, by the time it emerged at the other it had grown spurs.

Manigo ri Bajo (the son of DS?) was according to sources the uncle of La Patiwareq, the ruler of Luwu, who converted to Islam in February 1605.

RULERS OF CINA

| | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Simpurusia | <i>archetypal</i> |
| Wé Jangkawanua | <i>archetypal</i> |
| La Malalaé | <i>archetypal</i> |
| La Wewanriwu | <i>legendary</i> |
| Wé Tenrilebbireng | <i>legendary</i> |
| La Balotengngi | <i>legendary</i> |
| La Mula Datu / La Tonettana | <i>legendary</i> |
| La Sengeng Bonga | <i>legendary</i> |
| La Patau | early C15 <i>dev. of writing</i> |
| La Padasajati | early C15 |
| La Pasangkadi | mid-C15 |
| Wé Materreq | mid-C15 |
| La Mapaleppeq | late C15 |
| La Malalaé <i>var.</i> La Paléléang | early C16 |
| La Weddolimpona | early C16 |
| La Kompé | mid-C16 |
| La Makkarangeng / To Lebbaé | mid-C16 |
| Wé Tenrisia | late C16 |
| La Sangaji | c. 1600 |

Source: Caldwell (1988), NBG99:241-5, LAL1985:101-5, MAK223:142)

Manurungé ri Lompoq. Foundation myth.

Datu Timurung, made ruler of Wawolonrong RGL: Anakaji

RGL: Wé Matengngnaémpong

var. La Wéwangenni

var. La Balunyi, La Balaonyi *first to own sword, part of regalia*

x cousin Wé Amplélangi (d. of La Balotengngi)

x cousin Wé Matatimo s. La Patau

x Wé Tenriwéwang ss. La Pasangkadi, La Potoangi, La Padasajati

x at Timuring, d. Wé Materreq Da Sau s. La Panyorongi

La Panyorongi x Wé Tenritabbireng in RGS

x Wé Madupa at Lompengeng s. La Kompé

Datu Malotongé

Aji Pammana, Karaeng Loé *Cina renamed Pammana*

The Royal Genealogy of Cina (Caldwell 1988) can be reconstructed across two centuries using nine separate genealogies. Fragments of oral traditions concerning earlier individuals that precede this genealogy suggest an established ruling elite engaged in strategic marriage and alliance prior to c.1400. The genealogy is chronologically consistent with the Chronicle of Soppeng: both place the marriage of La Panyorongi and Wé Tenritabireng around 1460, using a 20-year backwards reign-length calculation from c.1600. It seems clear that a complex chiefdom called Cina dominated the central lakes region from at least the fifteenth to the late sixteenth century (See Caldwell and Wellen 2017). Archaeological evidence (Bulbeck et al. 2018; Hakim et al. 2018) indicates that the process of social complexification that led to the kingdom of Cina started in the thirteenth century CE.

It should be remembered that rulers before c.1400 (the advent of writing) are fragments of oral traditions, and that their names and their relationships to each other were written down generations later by people who had learned these from their elders.

The myth of Simpursia and his daughter and grandson is undatable. La Balotengngi (legendary) is credited as the first to own a sword that formed part of Cina's regalia (symbolising the rise of Cina) and La Sangaji (c.1600) is said to have requested that Cina be renamed Pammana after his death (symbolising its demise).

From La Patau (early fifteenth century) onwards the list of Cina's rulers can be treated as a reliable *tradition*. There is very little mention of Cina in the historical records of later Bugis kingdoms, and only one cross reference to an elite marriage in the mid-fifteenth century. Nevertheless, the tradition is persistent, in that it can be reconstructed from multiple sources with impressive consistency.

Briefly:

The Royal Genealogy of Cina, records the highest-status kingdom in South Sulawesi. Cina vanished in the late sixteenth century but a branch has survived to the present day in Luwu.

La Patau (c.1400) and his sons, La Pasangkadi, La Potoangi and La Padasajati were very likely historical individuals, the last three ruling respectively at Pammana, Tetewatu and Wawolonrong in the western Cenrana valley.

The tradition of five rulers preceding La Patau can be treated as *suggestive* of complex society in the fourteenth centuries.

The founding myth of Simpursia and his family cannot be dated but is presumably earlier than 1400. It points to the importance of ascriptive status in the development of complex society and that the locus of this development was around the central lakes area.

RULERS OF WEST SOPPENG Source: Caldwell (1988)

La Temmamala

legendary / mythical

| | | |
|-------------------|-----------|---|
| La Marancina | early C15 | married at Suppaq development of writing |
| La Bang | early C15 | brother 'returned' as ruler of Suppaq |
| Wé Tékéwanua | mid-C15 | expanded agriculture |
| Wé Tenritabbireng | mid C15 | married La Panyorongi at Baringeng |
| La Karella | late C15 | |
| La Pawiséang | early C16 | // Puang ri Maggalatung, Déwaraja, La Tenrisukki (Abidin 1985:241) |
| La Pasampoi | | <i>Sonrongpalié</i> (Abidin) |
| La Mannussa | | <i>Baso Soppeng</i> Studied in Luwu with To Maccaé appointed To Luwu by Déwaraja (CW) |
| La Dé | | |
| La Sékati | | brother of La Dé |
| La Mataesso | mid-C16 | founded kingdom of Soppeng, seizing East Soppeng and Cina's lands in the Walennae Valley |
| La Mappaleppeq | late C16 | |
| Béoé | c.1600 | first Muslim ruler of Soppeng |

Wé Tékéwanua is a foundational figure in the history of West Soppeng. Information on her reign seems to capture an era of economic

expansion (albeit on a small scale) in the mid-fifteenth century. The text reads:

Wé Tékéwanua was Datu of West Soppeng. She ruled at Suppaq. She broke the broad and split the long. She planted sugarcane and ants swarmed. She looked down at the lake: she summoned the people of Sidenreng. She looked down at the lake: she summoned the people of Nepo to come like the turtle doves. She looked down at the lake: she summoned the people of Marioriawa. She looked down at the lake, and they settled together with the people of Nepo. Wé Tékéwanua was young. She was Datu of Suppaq. Wé Tékéwanua married at Leworeng with La Temmapéog. They had seven children, among them La Wadeng, who ruled Bila; he was the first Mangépa of Soppeng. The younger brother of La Wadeng, called La Makkanengnga, was Datu of West Soppeng. Their other children were La Dumola, La Tubé, Wé Baku and Wé Tenritabireng. Wé Tenritabireng married at Baringeng with La Panyorongi (Datu Baringeng and son of the ruler of Cina]. Their children were La Tenrilélé, La Térénga, La Ténripallaq La Karekkeng, Wé Lirojaji and La Temmata.

Druce (2001) has dealt with the question of the relationship between Suppa and Soppeng. The list is straightforward and cross-references accurately with the relationship of La Mannusa and Luwu's Déwaraja (Abidin 1985), who are both early sixteenth-century figures. The most notable ruler apart from Wé Tékkewanua is La Mataesso, who effectively created Soppeng by seizing Cina's lands in the Walenna Valley, and East Soppeng from his cousin (Caldwell and Wellen 2017).

Source: Abdurrazak (1983 [1964])

RULERS OF WAJO

Puangngé ri Lampulung *legendary*

Puangngé ri Timpéngeng *legendary*

Cinnottabiq

legendary [La Paukkeq](#), son of Datu Cina. Married granddaughter of Arung Mampu in Bone. Daughter married La Malalae (*archetypal*) brother of Datu Luwu

legendary d.[Wé Panangngareng](#)

legendary d.[Wé Tenrisui](#) x La Rajallangiq son of Datu Babauae in Bone. Sons: La Patiroi, La Pawawoi and La Patongai

Development of writing c.1400

1400-40 [La Patiroi](#) [LSW, LWHAS r.40y]

1440-55 [La Tenribali](#) & La Tenritippeq, Batara Wajo I

1455-80 s. [La Mataesso](#) Batara Wajo II

1480-82 s. [La Pateddungi](#) To Samallangi, Batara Wajoq III. Killed by La Tadamparaq, posth: 'La Pabbessi'.

Abidin (1985:535) d. c.1474-81

1482-88 [La Paléwo To Palipung](#) 1st Arung Matoa

1488-93 [La Obi Settiriwareq](#) r.5y g/son DLuwu

| | | |
|---|-----------|--|
| | 1493-98 | La Tenritumpu Pateddungi To [Samal]langiq, younger brother of O.S. r.5y |
| contemporary La Busatana (=?La Malalaé) & Déwaraja | 1498-1528 | La Tadamparaq, Puang ri Maggalatung r.30 y Pammana joins Wajo (Abidin 1983:227) |
| Abidin 1985:535 La Tadamparaq r.1491-21 | 1523-1526 | Ashes of La Tadamparaq |
| Wajoq attacked by Bone, Gowa and Luwu | 1526-37 | To Nampé. [Resigned after 11 years |
| | 1537-40 | La Temmassongé. Resigned after 3 years |
| Wajoq becomes a slave of Gowa | 1540-45 | La Warani To Temmagiang r.5y Son [grandson?] of Obi Settiriwaraq |
| Utting fights with Sidenreng 1 year after <i>pelantikan</i> | 1545-45 | La Mallagenni Resigned after 2 months Throne empty 2y |
| Fighting in Wajoq spreads: conflict between E & W | 1547-64 | La Mappapolé To Appamadeng Massaolocié r.17y |
| Wajoq begins to recover its freedom | 1564-67 | La Pakkoko To Pabbélé r.3y Son of Puang ri Maggalatu |
| <i>Contemporary</i> Tunipalanga | 1567-1607 | La Mungkaceq To Udama r.40y d.1607 |
| Tellumpoccoé 1582 | 1607-1611 | La Sangkuru Patau Sultan Abdul Rahman |
| Conversion to Islam 1610 | | |

Source: Noorduyn (1955)

RULERS OF WAJO

development of writing c.1400

Datu Sangaria ri Luwuq [?=Datu ri Saolebbiq] 3y in Wajoq

La Matatikkaq

Wé Tenrisui

La Patiroi

La Tenriba

La Mataesso

La Pateddungi To Langi

La Tanampareq, Puang Maggalatung

Ashes of La Tanampareq

To Nampeq [La Tenripakkado] r.11y

La Temmasongeq r.3y

La Warani To Temmagiang

Omits La Mallagenni r.2m

Massaolocié[La Mappapolé] r.17y

To Pabbéleq La Pakoko r.3y

To Udda[ma] [La Mungkaceq] r.30y

Sangkuru

Source: Abidin (1985)

Datu Luwuq mpukkeqi wanua ri Cenrana

Cenrana sampai Bola = Wéwanriuw daerah taklukan Luwuq

Origins of Cinnottabiq

development of writing c.1400

RULERS OF WAJO

Puangngé ri Lampulung *legendary*

Puangngé ri Timpengngeng *legendary*

La Paukkeq

Wé Panangngareng

Wé Tenrisui x La Rajallangiq

La Patiroi

La Tenribali & La Tenritippeq

La Mataesso

La Pateddungu To Samallangi

La Paléwo To Palipuw Arung Matoa I r.7y

La Obbiq Settiriwareq

La Tenritumpuw To Langiq r.5y

La Tadamparaq, Puang ri Maggalatung

RULERS OF WAJO (combined sources)

| | | | | |
|---------------------|-----------|------------------|------------------|---|
| La Paukkeq | legendary | | | |
| Wé Panangngarang | legendary | | | |
| Wé Tenrisui | legendary | | | |
| La Patiroi | 40 | 1399-1439 | early C15 | development of writing |
| La Tenribali | 15 | 1439-54 | mid C15 | |
| La Mataesso | 15 | 1454-58 | mid-C15 | |
| La Pateddunggi | 5 | 1468-73 | mid-C15 | |
| La Palewo | 15 | 1473-88 | late C15 | |
| La Obi Settiriwareq | 5 | 1488-93 | late C15 | |
| La Tenritumpu | 5 | 1493-98 | late C15 | |
| La Tadamparaq | 30 | 1498-1528 | early C16 | |
| To Nampe | 11 | 1528-39 | early C16 | contemp. Datu Sangaria ri Luwuq ?=Datu ri Saolebbiq |
| La Temmassongé | 3 | 1539-42 | mid C16 | |
| La Warani | 5 | 1542-47 | mid C16 | |
| La Mappapole | 17 | 1547-64 | mid C16 | |
| La Pakkoko | 3 | 1564-67 | mid C16 | |
| La Mungkaca | 40* | 1567-1607 | late C16 | |
| La Sangkuru | 11 | 1607 | early C17 | |

Abdurrazak's version of the chronicle of Wajo gives reign lengths for the elected rulers of Wajo from the fifteenth century onwards. It records a three year period after the death of La Tadampareq when no ruler was elected and La Tadampareq's ashes are said to have reigned. The five rulers before La Patiroi (early fifteenth century) have no reign lengths and the relationship between the first two rulers and the subsequent three rulers is uncertain. The names and order of Wajo's rulers after c.1400 is consistent across the three versions examined, indicating an established tradition.

Figures in **RED** are estimates.

Mata Sellompoqé tomanurrung

La Umasaq, To Mulaié Panreng, Panré Bessié

La Saliu, Kerrampélua ArumPoné

Wé Benrigauq,
Makkalempié, Daéng Maroa, Mallajangngé ri Cina

La Tenrisukki, Mappajungngé

La Ulio, Boté'é, Matinroé ri Itterreng

La Tenriawé, Bongkangngné

La Icceq

La Pattaweq

I Tenritappu

Rulers of Bone (Macknight and Muhlis, in press)

mythical

development of writing c.1400

25 years

1423-1447 early to mid- C15

55 years

1447-1502 mid- to late C14
72 years minus 17 years as a child

5 years

1502-1507 early C16

27 years

1507-1534 early C16

25 years

1534-1559 mid-C16

30 d. 1584

1554-1584 late C16 MS. Berlin 383 f.2 states 30

11

1584-1595 late C16

7

1595-1602 c. 1600

9

1602-1611 early C17

If one excludes the *tomanurung* Mata Sellompoqé (the eye of the plain), the tradition of kingship in Bone is no older than the early fifteenth century. La Umasaq, the first plausibly historical ruler of Bone cannot be placed earlier than 1400 even if one allows 25 years (instead of 5 years) for the reign of Wé Benrigauq, plus 30 years for Bongkangngné and 25 years for La Umasa himself.

A central figure in the chronology, La Ulio, Bongkangngné, was a contemporary of the Luwu ruler Sangkaria (possibly Datu ri Saolebbi), the Wajo ruler To Udama (La Mungkaceq) and a ruler of Soppeng, Polipué (presumably La Mataesso, or Mappaleppeq).