

A solution to conflicting traditions of Luwu's early rulers

Ian Caldwell

Luwu is reputed to be both the oldest kingdom in South Sulawesi and the first to exercise significant power outside its traditional borders. Luwu's origins and development from around 1300 to 1600 were a major focus of the OXIS Project (1997-2000). A year-long archaeological survey of the coastal plain, from Ussu in the east to Palopo the west, provided evidence of a segmentary, multi-ethnic confederation led by a Bugis-speaking elite at Malangke that exercised power in the Gulf of Bone between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries (Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000)

There are, however, few historical sources on Luwu before 1600. The most important of these is a list of the polities that comprised the kingdom of Luwu, a tradition supported by contemporary oral tradition. There is a smattering of genealogies, all problematic, and two distinct king lists, catalogued as one. There is also the 'Attoriolong Simpursia' legend that centres on the first three generations of Luwu's ruling family, a tradition that originates not from the Gulf of Bone, but from Cina, an early confederation in the great lakes region (Caldwell 1988).

In addition to the above, there exists a number of fantastical tales connected with Luwu's early rulers. Of these rulers, the only individual whose existence can be confirmed in external sources is Dewaraja, who ruled from c.1495 to c.1520. Dewaraja is recorded the chronicles of Wajo and Bone as imposing, and attempting to maintain, Luwu's political dominance along the east coast of the peninsula and inland as far as Sidenreng. He appears, in different positions, in both king list traditions and in other traditions, variously as To Sangerreng, Datu Sangaria, and Datu Kellali, the "cockcomb prince", apparently due to a livid birthmark on his cheek (Abidin 1971). Dewaraja is perhaps best known for his narrow escape to Luwu with just 20 men after a failed attack on Bone in the early sixteenth century. The wooden post of Luwu's captured umbrella of state can be seen today in the museum in Bone.

That Luwu was a powerful and expansive kingdom in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is not in dispute. Here, we are concerned with the incompatibility, disjointedness and resultant unusability of the written sources mentioned above. I will not document the problems, which are manifest in a survey of Luwu's historical traditions (Caldwell 1988, 1999). Instead, I propose a solution that divides these sources into three distinct categories: indigenous oral tradition, imported oral tradition, and what might be loosely termed oral history, in the form of oral tradition with a detectable historical core. In short, the problem of sources can be greatly reduced by hypothesizing **that a tradition of Cina's early rulers has been incorporated into traditions of early rulers in the Gulf of Bone**. It is possible that some of these early rulers were leaders of non-Bugis speaking polities in the Gulf of Bone; others may have been rulers of Malangke.

Using this hypothesis, it is possible to combine individuals from both 'factual' and 'fantastical' sources into plausible groupings. No relationship or connection can be made between any rulers, other than Tampabalusu and Tanrabalusu who almost always appear together in this order.

Mythologised rulers from the Gulf of Bone

La Killo, *tomanurung*, who vanished.

La Malalalé, *tomanurung* of Buakaja. Owner of the sword Latéakasi and the spear Laulabalu. He is associated by Abidin (1979) with Wé Tadampali.

La Matatikka, associated with La Malalaé in various legends.

Kénikénié, *manurung* of Tompottikka

Tampabalusu

Tanrabalusu (and his wife Da Oé)

The earliest ruler of Luwu is the *tomanurung* La Killo, who vanished from his palace during a thunderstorm (Abidin 1979). This is not to say that La Killo is older than any other ruler in this group: all early rulers are undatable and thus equally "ancient".

With no ruler in Wareq (Malangke), seven generations (*pariameng*) pass in a state of lawlessness.

A new *tomanurung*, La Malalaé appears at Buakajang, preceded and announced by La Matatikka. La Malalaé is acclaimed ruler by the people of Wareq and becomes the founder of its ruling family. Like La Killo, La Malalaé is a mythological figure of antiquity. La Malalaé appears in the Simpursia Legend as the *son* of Simpursia, who is generally held to be Luwu's first historical (post-Galigo) ruler. However, Simpursia is *tomanurung* of Lompo (Sengkang) who heads the genealogies of various Walennaé valley polities. In Cina's foundation myth (Caldwell 1988), Simpursia's son is Anakajai and La Malalaé is the *grandson* of Simpursia. These differences and samenesses can be explained by cultural familiarity and transfer. Travel by sea between Luwu and the Walennaé valley is straightforward, and trade between Cina and Luwu is evidenced by the distinctive soft red pottery found in both regions (pers.com. Budiarto Hakim).

Grafted to this set of traditions is the founding family of Cina:

Simpursia

Anakajai

Wé Matengngnaémpong

Cina's founding family is followed by:

To Apanangi, an apical ruler in some Luwu genealogies.

Bataraguru, who is mentioned in a treaty between Luwu ('ri Bataraguru') and Bone.

From the mid-15th century, all rulers are 'historical', in that they are recorded also in the chronicles of Wajo, Bone, and the genealogies of Cina.

La Pawawoi (LSW: To Sangkawana in RGL)

La Busatana (LSW: La Malalaé in RGL)

Déwaraja (ChB, LSW: ruled c.1495-c.1520)

Datu ri Saolebbi, owner of the magnificent palace whose supporting pillars were found at Malangke by the OXIS research team.

Maningo ri Bajo

La Patiwareq, Matinroé ri Wareq, who converted to Islam in 1605.

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