

RULERS OF LUWU

Simpurusia		<i>archetypal</i>
Anakaji		<i>archetypal</i>
Wé Matengngaémpong		<i>archetypal</i>
Tampabalusu		<i>undatable</i>
Tanrabalusu		<i>undatable</i>
To Apanangi		early C15
Bataraguru		mid-C15
To Sangkawana	La Pasampoi (LSW)	late C15
La Malaláé	La Busatana (LSW)	late C15
Déwaraja		
To Sangereng	Datu Sangaria, Datu Kellali	early C16
Datu ri Saolebbiq	To Apaio	
Maningo ri Bajo (f.)		late C16
La Patiwareq	Daéng Parebbung M. ri Wareq	early C17

(Caldwell 1988)

Manurungé ri Lompoq. x [Wé] Patiaqjala
x Wé Tappaqcinna, d. of *manurung* of Mancapai
x La Tuppusolo, Acang Kuling s. La Malaláé d. Da La la
assoc. Sellamalama and [Wé] Barangwéli of Mancapai
Wé Demmikoro (from Uriliung)

x Datu Ampin[n]ra, var. Dati ri Daupira,
assoc. Datu ri Wanua; ?La Mariawa

x Datu Maogé. *Bataraguru named in treaty with Bone*

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
assoc. Ajiriwu, Sadaraja, Racepuja, Rajadewa (all Luwu)
assoc. La Tadampareq, Matoa Wajoq IV 1498-1528
assoc. La Tenrisuki, Arung Bone 1512-39
mid-C16 x M. ri Jampu
?=Datu Sangkaria, Daeng Soerang (Noorduyn 1955)
Tellumpoccoé agreement 1582
var. Paropoé, [Pa]sawungngé, Datu Bissué, Opu Narawé
son of Opu Narawé

There are two distinct king lists of Luwu, each containing recognizably the same individuals. Neither version is unproblematic and no written record of Luwu's rulers is older than the nineteenth century. The king list offered here is a composite list based on a reading of various sources and presents an order of rulers found in only a few manuscripts. The reliability of this list, and indeed whether all its members were in fact rulers of Luwu, is open to question.

Both versions of the Luwu king list (Caldwell 1988) are based on three independent oral traditions: the founding myth of the ruling family of Cina, a fragmentary tradition about two rulers, Tanrabalusu and Tampabalusu, and a tradition of Luwu's fifteenth- and sixteenth-century rulers. The first two traditions are undatable, although their present forms are contemporary with the writing down of the king list, perhaps as late as the nineteenth century. Neither can be said to be earlier than the other. The first tradition is the three (occasionally four) generational myth of the ruling family of Cina, from which the ruling family of Luwu is descended. This myth is a classic Austronesian elite origin myth (Caldwell and Wellen 2016) and probably developed its specific form in the central lakes region. There appear to have existed a number of oral stories about Simpursia, the first ruler of Cina, and his immediate descendants, three of which have survived in writing, one of which contains hints of a fourth story known to listeners. These stories serve to connect Cina's ruling family with the upper- and lower worlds (Caldwell 1988).

The second tradition is that of two closely-named rulers, Tanrabalusu and Tampabalusu. There is evidence to show that these are separate names, not corruptions of a single name. Little else of this tradition has survived: Tampabalusu is said in some versions to have married Datu Maogé, the ruler of a valley north east of Malangke. Two other names, Datu ri Wanua and La Mariawa are possibly connected to this tradition. Tanrabalusu and Tampabalusu are potentially the oldest-recorded rulers of Malangke; alternatively, they may have been rulers of an ethnically separate polity (e.g. Baébunta) in the Luwu region.

The third tradition is a list of eight rulers, of whom only the fifth, Déwaraja, and the eighth, La Patiwareq, can be identified with certainty. The first of this list, To Apanangi (father of Apanangi) is the central character of the story To Apanangi Maé Lompingi, in which he is affected by leprosy and has a house built (or transported) for him at Doping. In another story, Kénikénié, Tomanurung ri Tompotikka, To Apanangi is the son of the tomanurung of Tompotikka and the younger brother of Tanrabalusu, who marries Wérorilangi the *manurung* of Batu.

The next ruler on the composite list is Batarauru, who is a different person than the Bataraguru of the La Galigo. He was almost

certainly a historical individual because his name appears in what is probably the oldest extant treaty from South Sulawesi, made between Luwu and Bone and in which Bone is reduced to the status of a slave. Bataraguru's reign should probably be placed in the mid-15th century.

The next ruler, To Sangkawana is specifically identified in the Lontara' *Sukkuna Wajo'* as La Pasampoi. His successor, La Malalaé, is possibly the LSW's Busatana, whose funeral Wajo's ruler La Tadampareq refused to attend. Around the same time, Wajo famously seized Luwu's lands (Cina's hearland) around Sengkang and effectively cut direct communication between Luwu and the upper Cenrana and Walennaé valleys.

Déwaraja is a ruler who left a clear mark on South Sulawesi historiography by appearing in both the Chronicle of Bone and the chronicles of Wajo. He seems to have been a warlike individual, focused on retaining and enforcing (or attempting to recover) Luwu's authority over the central lakes region and as far south as Boné. Déwaraja's efforts did not go unchallenged: he famously escaped back to Luwu with just 20 men after a failed attack on Bone. There are several fantastical stories about Déwaraja, who is portrayed as unpredictable, dangerous and magically potent. His rule should be placed in the early sixteenth century, and possibly in the last few years of the fifteenth century. A Torajan oral tradition, 'The cock's comb prince', attests to a livid birthmark on his cheek.

Who the next ruler was is unclear. Luwu sources have To Apaio and Datu ri Saolebbiq, who are possibly the same individual. Datu ri Saolebbiq (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. Datu ri Saolebbiq is recorded as having married Maningo ri Jampu.

Datu ri Saolebbiq is followed in both king lists by Maningo ri Bajo. Contemporary Luwu sources state that she was entitled Paropoé, Pasawunggé, Datu Bissué and Opu Narawé, and that her children were Sangaji Daéng Léba, Opu To Tajiwa, Daéng Soréa, To Alé, Daéng Mangésa, To Apinajo, Daéng Macora and Batara Bissu.

Maningo ri Bajo is followed by La Patiwareq, Daéng Parebbung, Matinroé ri Wareq, who converted to Islam on February 7/8 in 1605 and whose grave, badly damaged by Darul Islam iconoclasts, can be seen still today at Malangke.

There is no evident historical connection between any of these three traditions, despite the fact that individuals from one are conflated with individuals from another in various (formerly oral) sources. This mixing of traditions is typical of a society in which information is transmitted orally, often in the form of a narrative. It seems likely that writing was either unknown in Luwu or that it played little role in the transmission of knowledge.

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