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'Only One People but Two Rulers' Hiding the Past in Seventeenth-Century Makasarese Chronicles

Without doubt, the most famous expression describing the relationship between Goa and Talloq is *segreji ata narua karaeng*. Meaning 'only one people but two rulers', it is an evocative metonym summarizing a long shared past. Though comprising only a few words, the phrase simultaneously encapsulates and provides an interpretation of the historical relationship between the two. It constitutes 'history-making' at its pithiest, a talisman exerting its influence over the unpredictability of memory with confidence and finality. Details might be forgotten, but the overall tenor of Goa and Talloq's past is always remembered in terms of this dictum.

Those doubting this intimacy and alliance are referred to the Goa and Talloq chronicles.¹ The versions we now possess of these two texts were composed at roughly the same time in the seventeenth century, perhaps even together, at a period when the rulers of the two kingdoms were indeed closely united in kinship, purpose, and influence. As some readers have remarked, the two chronicles form a pair.² They contain parallel accounts of the rulers of each polity, and at several points the Goa Chronicle refers readers to the Talloq Chronicle for further information.³

¹ Makasarese-script texts of the Goa and Talloq chronicles were first published in Matthes 1860. A transcription and Indonesian translation of the Goa Chronicle based on this Matthes edition is available in Wolhoff and Abdurrahim 1959. A transcription and Indonesian translation of the Talloq Chronicle based on the Matthes edition is available in Rahim and Ridwan 1975. To assist readers, all references to the Goa and Talloq Chronicles are to these published editions.

² See in particular Noorduyt's comments: 'However, it should be emphasized that the close relationship between the two kingdoms and their dynasties is reflected in the interconnectedness of the two chronicles. The common origin of the two dynasties gives one just as much reason to speak of one chronicle in two parts ... Therefore we will speak of the Makasarese Chronicle of Goa and Talloq in this paper, treating it as a single unit.' (Noorduyt 1991:455.)

³ For example, the Goa Chronicle states that the ruler of Talloq, 'Karaeng Loe ri Sero is not discussed here but in his place later' (*taiaapi niserokanai ri Karaeng Loe ri Sero ri empoanna-*

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In their social life, too, these written chronicles formed a pair. The two texts were usually copied in succession in a single manuscript and preserved together in the homes of powerful Makasarese lords. This manner of preserving and transmitting them proclaimed their kinship as well. Themselves metonyms, the side-by-side presence of these two texts within a single manuscript exemplified the past they described, their very presence promising that Goa and Talloq's past was as united as the histories they told of it. The texts and their close association are easily equated with the kingdoms and the close tie between them. From this perspective one could just as easily write *segreji patturioloanga narua buttaya*, or 'only one chronicle but two lands'.

Yet, in this phrase and these chronicles there are indications that the historical relationship between Goa and Talloq was not so harmonious or close. This article explores this at times turbulent relationship and the histories told of that common past with the aim of minimizing their differences. In the process, it will try to show how history-making as an effort to shape politics in the present and memories in the future functioned in early modern Makasar. A helpful beginning is to recognize that, like the events they recount, chronicles have their own history.

Another Text, a Different History

The chronicles of Goa and Talloq that we now possess were composed in the middle of the seventeenth century. It may be impossible to determine the date more precisely. Both were probably the product of progressive composition, with successive sections being added at the end of each reign. The Talloq Chronicle as we now possess it was probably drawn up in the 1640s, after the death of Karaeng Kanjilo in 1641, while the last section of the Goa Chronicle must have been written in 1669, shortly after the abdication of Sultan Hasanuddin.

More significant than their exact date of composition is the political milieu in which they were composed. As noted above, the two were probably written jointly. The close parallelism in the structure of the chronicles and the awareness in each chronicle of the contents of the other attest to the close affinity between the two. It is this close tie that led Noorduynd to conclude we can treat these two works as a single chronicle. In fact, this is precisely the perception of the past that the rulers of Goa and Talloq desired. In the mid-

tompi sallang), meaning in the Talloq Chronicle. Similarly, the Goa Chronicle later states that the lands conquered under Tunijalloq when he ruled with Tumamenang of Makkoayang of Talloq 'are not discussed here, but will be related later where Tumamenang of Makkoayang is discussed' (*tanikana-kanapi anrinni anjoreppi sallang rikana-kanana Tumamenang ri Makkoayang nikana-kana*; Wolhoff and Abdurrahim 1959:14, 49).

seventeenth century, Goa and Talloq were at the peak of their power. Their rulers had a vested interest in relating their past as a triumph they both shared. Past arguments and violence no longer served the larger image they preferred to present as a confirmation of their current political relationship.

This political context invites a closer reading of the chronicles, for the history they tell is decidedly partial, both incomplete and motivated by contemporary political considerations. Getting beyond this interpretation of the relationship between Goa and Talloq is not easy. There are few outside sources which can present a different picture. In addition, the difficulty in obtaining a less slanted version of the past stems from the success of the Makasarese in pairing these two histories together.

Even so, a reading of other Makasarese texts, discussed below, brings to light four periods or episodes of tension and confrontation between Goa and Talloq. The first was when Talloq was founded as an offshoot of Goa; the second on the occasion of a war fought between Goa and Talloq probably in the 1530s; the third in the 1590s, when a ruler of Goa claimed the Talloq throne; and the fourth in the 1710s, when a ruler of Talloq claimed the Goa throne. By far the most complete account at our disposal is one concerning the first event. As in all Makasarese histories, the question of origins here dominates perceptions of the past. As a consequence of the importance of these historical texts as blueprints for subsequent social relations, as charters for political legitimacy, and as foundations for community identity, they all focused attention on origins. The sources for the other three episodes are fewer and provide less information, but the picture of the essential relationship presented in all four instances is remarkably consistent.

All available written and oral sources describe Talloq as an offshoot of Goa. The sixth ruler of Goa, Tunatangkaqlopi, had two sons, Batara Goa and Karaeng Loe of Sero.⁴ At his death the two brothers quarrelled, and Karaeng Loe of Sero eventually left Goa to found Talloq with the support of part of the Goa nobility. This event is only briefly referred to in the Goa Chronicle, but its story occupies the first section of the Talloq Chronicle, which relates the story as follows (where square brackets contain clarifications not found in the Makasarese text):

⁴ At this point an explanation of the main titles used by Makasarese nobles might be helpful. *Karaeng* means 'ruler' or 'lord', and indicates a noble of high rank. *Karaeng loe* means 'great lord' and was often used to distinguish the ruler of a particular area from other *karaeng*. *Gallarrang* and *dampang* were both titles used by local chiefs who typically came under the authority of a *karaeng*. In Goa the nine principal *gallarrang* formed the Bate Salapang, or 'Nine Banners', a council of advisors to the ruler of Goa. *Anaq karaeng* referred to offspring of *karaeng* who had not yet attained a major position, and similarly *anaq gallarrang* to offspring of *gallarrang*.

"This is the story of the ancestors of the people of Talloq. Tunatangkaqlopi had a child, Karaeng Loe of Sero. After Tunatangkaqlopi died, his part [of the kingdom] was taken [by Karaeng Loe, who then] lived in Sero. The two brothers quarrelled. [Karaeng Loe of Sero] went over to Java. Some of the *gallarrang*, namely Tomboloq-keke, Saumata, Borong Loe, Pacciqnongang, and Pao-Pao, went to his older brother, Batara Goa. Those [*gallarrang*] who did not go were not summoned [by Batara Goa]. They lived waiting for their Karaeng [Karaeng Loe of Sero]. Arriving back from Java, Karaeng Loe of Sero learned that not all the people had been taken by his older brother. He went to dwell on the north side of Bangkalaq, [at a place] called Passanngalleang. After some time there, one of his *gallarrang* built a ship. After the outrigger was finished, he rowed out to the river mouth. After he departed, he was summoned by his Karaeng, Karaeng Loe of Sero. [Karaeng Loe of Sero] was told he was not there. The Gallarrang returned and was told. The people of his household spoke: "[You] were summoned by Karaeng Loe". Upon learning this, the Gallarrang went. The Gallarrang arrived [at the palace] and the Karaeng said, "Where do you come from, Gallarrang? I went to summon you before and you were not there." Then the Gallarrang said, "I went out, my Lord, to the river mouth to look around, and it would be good for us to build a settlement there, because here is a bad location, neither on the coast nor in the mountains". Then the Karaeng agreed. All the people went out to build a dwelling at Tarung. They spotted a higher-lying area outside Campagaya. They liked it; they settled it. Karaeng Loe died and was brought back to Sero and buried. All that has been heard until now has been told. We do not know how long [Karaeng Loe of Sero lived or ruled] and we also do not know of his wives. These are the words of I Daeng of Buloa, named I Kanrebajiq." (Rahim and Ridwan 1975:5-6.)

Despite the detail in the account, little is actually said about the quarrel between the two brothers. In particular, how it arose and what it was about can only be guessed at. For this reason a text collected by Matthes and preserved in the Leiden University Library as NBG 18 is doubly important. Like the opening section of the Talloq Chronicle, it tells of the split between Karaeng Loe of Sero and Batara Goa that led to the foundation of Talloq. Both texts also incorporate orally composed histories of the foundation of Talloq, an event that took place before the advent of writing in Makasar. As the section of the Talloq Chronicle presented above says, 'These are the words of I Daeng of Buloa, named I Kanrebajiq'. The text in NBG 18 similarly begins with the words 'These are the distinguished words of Karaeng Loe of Bira [about] the making of the first Karaeng of Talloq'. But here the similarity between the two texts ends.

The Talloq Chronicle was composed when Goa and Talloq's strength and unity were at their height. One of the most commonly encountered Makasarese texts, it was preserved in the households of many Makasarese nobles. Its wealth of detail, impressive length, distinguished pedigree, and availability have made it one of the pillars of any history of Makasar.⁵

The NBG 18 manuscript, on the other hand, has a murky past. Matthes

reports that its owner was Daeng Matiro, the Kadi (judge of a religious court) of Talloq, and that he acquired the manuscript from him in 1866 (Matthes 1875:9). No other copy of this text has yet been located in Leiden, Jakarta, or South Sulawesi. It is likely that the story, passed down orally, was only recorded in the mid-nineteenth century at the request of Matthes. Matthes and other Dutch scholar-officials collected existing manuscripts, encouraged the copying and preservation of others, and commissioned compilations of stories, folk-tales, and epics never previously committed to paper. NBG 18 is one such manuscript.

Politically, any story that contradicted the court-sanctioned chronicles of Goa and Talloq would have been dangerous. Such histories were better whispered than written. Pressure from Matthes could well have overcome any reluctance to commit this particular one to writing. More speculatively, it is possible that, as *kadi*, Daeng Matiro felt his position to be secure enough to set this counter-history down in writing. Or perhaps he had unknown personal reasons to contest the pre-eminence of Goa in this small way. In any case, NBG 18 is a unique text. It relates a history of the two brothers and the foundation of Talloq that is very different from that told in the Talloq Chronicle.⁶ In translation, with two repetitive sections removed where indicated, it runs as follows:

'These are the distinguished words of Karaeng Loe of Bira [about] the making of the first Karaeng of Talloq. Now this Karaeng Loe of Bira was said to be one of seven siblings, all brothers: [1] Karaeng Loe of Bira, then [2] Karaeng Loe of Bajeng, then [3] Karaeng Loe of Barasaq, [4] Karaeng Loe of Katingang, [5] Karaeng Betang, [6] Karaeng Buluq Loe, and [7] Dampang of Parang Loe.⁷ The posthumous name of Dampang of Parang Loe was Matinroa of Juruna.⁸ He was buried in his grounds. Now this Karaeng Loe of Barasaq purportedly also lived in Barasaq, at the mouth of Palengang. Karaeng Loe of Bajeng also lived in Bajeng, allied with Goa. Karaeng Loe of Katingang lived in Sanrabone, namely in Palambayang. Karaeng Loe of Bira also lived in Bira. Karaeng Betang lived in Sudiang. Karaeng Buluq Loe lived in Paccarakang. Dampang of Parang Loe also lived

⁵ I have identified at least two dozen Talloq Chronicle manuscripts; more almost certainly exist in private collections.

⁶ The passage reproduced here begins on page 1 of NBG 18. A Makasarese transcription is provided in Appendix 1 at the end of this article. The many places mentioned in the text lie clustered closely together in the vicinity of Talloq. As Matthes notes, this text is one of two in the manuscript, which are both subversive in character (Matthes 1875:10). David Bulbeck, who has carried out an archaeological survey of this area and Goa, was able to match the accounts of the chronicles with archaeological evidence (Bulbeck 1992).

⁷ Three of these brothers – Bajeng, Barasaq, and Katingang – did not become lords of Talloq. According to other historical texts, the three areas they are associated with were all later conquered by Goa.

⁸ As an anonymous reviewer has commented, this title parallels the Bugis necronym *Matinroé ri Jurunna*, or 'He who sleeps in his grounds'.

in Parang Loe. Now the one who was said to have first been made Karaeng of Talloq was a child of Tunatangkaqlopi named Karaeng Loe of Sero, a sibling of Batara Goa. And this Karaeng Loe of Sero was purportedly Karaeng of Goa, because at the death of Karaeng Tunatangkaqlopi, Karaeng Loe of Sero replaced him and ruled in Goa. Batara Goa saw this. This child knew too that whoever was armed with Sudang and crowned with Salakoa⁹, that man was indeed the ruler of the people of Goa and followed by the population in the land of Goa. Due to this, Batara Goa's thoughts were thus: to ensure that the Karaeng of Goa was eliminated. There was a time when the Karaeng of Goa went deer hunting in central Goa. Batara Goa did not go because he [intended] to commit a villainous act against his brother. After the Karaeng of Goa had left, Batara Goa went and armed himself with Sudang and crowned himself with Salakoa. Then he went to sit in the place where the Karaeng of Goa was honoured. The Bate Salapang arrived too, and he was honoured. The Bate Salapang paid homage to Batara Goa because he wore Salakoa and bore Sudang. The Karaeng of Goa [Karaeng Loe of Sero] arrived at the foot of the palace stairs. Then all the *anaq karaeng*, [royal] wives, and *anaq gallarrang* were upset. The male *anaq karaeng* and *anaq gallarrang* grabbed the hilts of their *kris*. Then said the Karaeng of Goa, "Patience, you young ones. This [usurpation] will be if it is approved by the Gods." The Karaeng of Goa went straight up into the palace, entered straight into the inner [chamber], and turned towards his brother. He faced him, smiling, and did not speak. Then he immediately reached in and yanked out his dagger and hacked the screen to pieces. Then he ordered all his things and possessions brought down. Among the *anaq karaeng* and *anaq gallarrang* there were those who followed the Karaeng of Goa. Then with great dissatisfaction the Karaeng removed himself as Karaeng of Goa. He was now only called Karaeng Loe of Sero. This was on account of the dissatisfaction of Karaeng Loe of Sero. Later he ordered his wives and children down to the community of Pasinang. All of his family went to Pasinang. Karaeng Loe of Sero too rode a horse, accompanied by all the *anaq gallarrang*, the chief banner of Goa, along with the *anaq karaeng* of the purest descent from the land of Goa. [Karaeng Loe of Sero] with all the *anaq karaeng* and *anaq gallarrang* went straight down to the community of Pasinang, brushing off snot, wiping away tears, holding *kris* handles.¹⁰ Then said Karaeng Loe of Sero, "All of you, be silent. Reconcile your hearts before the Gods. Only that way will there again be happiness. Look to the future. Now you are all anxious." Karaeng Loe of Sero arrived in Pasinang, *nipananasiyami ballaq*.¹¹ The house was full. The outbuildings [of the main house] could not hold the numerous possessions of Karaeng Loe of Sero. [His possessions] were taken over to Karaeng Loe of Bira. Then Karaeng Loe of Bira, Karaeng Betang, Karaeng Buluq Loe, and Dampang of Parang Loe met together. They made an agreement. The four brothers went to Pasinang, summoned by Karaeng Loe of Sero. Then each of the four brothers went to Pasinang. They arrived in Pasinang. There Karaeng Loe

⁹ Sudang, a sword, and Salakoa, a crown, were the two most important items of Goa's royal regalia. Possession of these was considered proof that the owner was ruler of Goa.

¹⁰ These images convey equal measures of sadness and anger at their fate.

¹¹ The meaning of *nipananasiyami* is unclear, but the word seems to refer to the house (*ballaq*) prepared for Karaeng Loe ri Sero.

of Sero greeted Karaeng Loe of Bira. They took each other by the hand. Karaeng Loe of Sero and Karaeng Loe of Bira went right up into the house. Arriving there, all went and each took his place. Then said Karaeng Loe of Bira to Karaeng Loe of Sero, "This is our intention in coming to you here, all four of us brothers: it is because we feel greatly aggrieved at your bad news. Now I want these [us four brothers] to take you to our community, though it is only a poor one." Then spoke Karaeng Loe of Sero, "It is not that that brings me happiness, brothers; it is that you are all present. I accept you as brothers. What causes pain [to one] gives rise to feelings of *siriq* [in the other]." Truly just were the words of Karaeng Loe of Sero. Then all the *anaq karaeng*, *anaq gallarrang*, betel-case bearers, and commoners were ordered to go down to rafts with all the possessions of Karaeng Loe of Sero and his wives and children. Then all went down, all together. Then they went down to the rafts.

Now the story moves to the people who stood awaiting orders, the people holding their punting-poles, the people rowing the ship. Then, sniffing up their last tears¹², they set out directly. They touched land at the jetty of the field of Parang Loe. Karaeng Loe of Sero went ashore. All the people of the field went down. The people of Parang Loe took up all the possessions of Karaeng Loe of Sero. Karaeng Loe of Bira and Karaeng Loe of Sero took each other by the hand and went straight up to the meeting-hall in the community of the field. Then they, the four brothers, agreed, calling eagerly for the presence¹³ of Karaeng Loe of Sero in the community of the field. Because this was so, a road was built to the centre of the field. Then the four brothers, [headed by] Karaeng Loe of Bira, met together again. They came to an agreement, the four brothers, to build a community for Karaeng Loe of Sero to the far south, to the seaward of Bira, on the bank of the river in Rapokali. Then a large area was cleared and to the north of an uninhabited forest [a channel] was dug straight out to the sea. After the community was built, it was fortified and named Talloq.¹⁴ After there were fortifications in Talloq, then a palace was built for Karaeng Loe of Sero; it had five sections, complete with outbuildings. The house poles were purportedly built of timber that had not yet been shorn of its leaves, its wood not yet dried. Once the house of five sections, complete with adjacent dwellings, was finished and the community was fortified, it was named Talloq. The palace was called "the Dwelling in Tamalate".¹⁵ A well complete with water-dipper was built as well. After the Dwelling in Tamalate was completed, Karaeng Loe of Sero was taken to it. Karaeng Loe of Sero was up in the palace for seven nights; then he was joined again by Karaeng Loe of Bira. The four brothers met together. They made an agreement, the four brothers, to make

¹² Literally, the dry sobs that follow after tears have stopped flowing.

¹³ Literally, to summon or implore the spirit of someone whom you are anxiously awaiting to come.

¹⁴ Here the name Talloq is said to derive from the word *taqloang*, meaning 'wide and uninhabited'.

¹⁵ *Tamalate* means 'not faded' or, in the case of leaves, 'not shrivelled'. The palace in Goa was given the same name and has the same story of hasty construction connected with it. The name is a reminder of the awesome task that could be accomplished so quickly only by a mighty lord commanding many subjects (Cense and Abdoerrahim 1979:382).

Karaeng Loe of Sero Karaeng of Talloq. Then each of the four brothers went over – Karaeng Loe of Bira, Karaeng Betang, Karaeng Buluq Loe, Dampang of Parang Loe. Arriving in Talloq, they went straight into the settlement at Tamalate. There Karaeng Loe of Sero was standing at the gate to welcome Karaeng Loe of Bira. They took each other by the hand and went up to the Dwelling in Tamalate, because it was only called Tamalate. These were the words of Karaeng Loe of Bira to Karaeng Loe of Sero: "This is the intention of my coming to you: it is on account of the agreement the four brothers have made. We have agreed to make you Karaeng of Talloq. Only you can oversee the fortunes of the land again. We make ourselves your subjects, too, with our possessions. Together we will make the land as it should be. Our oaths are sworn. We will fish for you in the sea as a group, and we will prepare a way for you on land. We also surrender our lordship to you." Then said Karaeng Loe of Sero, "It is not that that brings me happiness; it is your compassion towards me, brothers. You go down to the spot¹⁶ in the land. You are the owners of the land. We are all family. It is so again. You are elevated to lofty positions."¹⁷

The children of *gallarrang* [in Goa] were made *gallarrang* in Talloq as well. According to the position of their fathers in Goa, we make them follow.¹⁸ Then the son of the Gallarrang of Tomboloq was made Gallarrang of Rapokali, and the son of Gallarrang Mangasa was made Biringkana, and the son of Gallarrang Saomata was made Gallarrang of Moncong Loe. That made three [main lords of Talloq]. It is said that Karaeng Loe of Bira also made himself Gallarrang of Bira. Karaeng Betang also made himself Gallarrang of Sudiang. Karaeng Buluq Loe also made himself Gallarrang of Paceraka. Dampang of Parang Loe also made himself Bangkeng Bate.¹⁹ That made seven *gallarrang* in Talloq, and they were called "the Seven Gallarrang of Talloq".²⁰

Afterwards all the four brothers came before the Karaeng. Arriving there, Gallarrang Bira said, "He is the reason we have come before the Karaeng: this *anaq karaeng* has followed Karaeng [Loe of Sero]. This we agreed, it would gladden our hearts if he were called I Daeng of Patteqne and [were given] the half-banner Rapokali to bear. Then we would all give land, our oaths would be sworn. And we would also give a means of livelihood, namely river tolls paid; when vessels sail out, he [Karaeng Loe of Sero] will take the fees." Then said the Karaeng of Talloq, "It is not that that brings me happiness; it is because of your very great compassion towards me. It is only the Gods that can repay you for your kind hearts towards me, brothers." Thus were the words of Karaeng Loe of Sero, the first to be made Karaeng of Talloq.²¹

¹⁶ The meaning of 'ㄚㄚ' is unclear. I have opted for *lata*, which means 'landmark' or, perhaps, 'special place'. Other possibilities include *latta* (crack), *lantang* (deep, channel), and *lantaq* (depression).

¹⁷ Literally, 'placed on golden gaffs'. This first section runs from pages 1 to 12 in NBG 18.

¹⁸ An awkward construction; the sense of it is that the sons of *gallarrang* are made *gallarrang* as well, because this is appropriate for their rank.

¹⁹ The official charged with bearing the main banner of Talloq.

²⁰ This second section is from NBG 18, pages 13-4.

²¹ This third section is from NBG 18, pages 17-8.

The tale told by NBG 18 can be briefly summarized as follows. Karaeng Loe of Sero succeeded his father as ruler of Goa, but the throne was usurped by his brother Batara Goa. When Karaeng Loe of Sero was out deer hunting, Batara Goa appropriated Salakoa and Sudang, and was thus acknowledged as ruler of Goa. Angered and saddened, Karaeng Loe of Sero, some of the nobility of Goa, and their followers left and went to Pasinang. There Karaeng Loe of Sero was approached by four brothers, led by Karaeng Loe of Bira, who offered him their loyalty. Karaeng Loe of Sero was made the first ruler of Talloq, a newly cleared and constructed settlement. Three children of Goa *gallarrang* had accompanied him and were made *gallarrang*. Thus there were seven chief supporters, who became the main lords in the new polity.

Though the narrative is clear, the claims made in the story in contradiction to the 'official' Talloq Chronicle version of the past are worth emphasizing. First, the story implies that Karaeng Loe of Sero was the elder brother, rather than Batara Goa, as the Goa and Talloq chronicles assert. Second, it casts aspersions on the legitimacy of Goa's line because of Batara Goa's usurpation of the throne. Third, it asserts that Talloq's nobility are of as pure descent as Goa's. Fourth, it describes the political landscape of Makasar before Goa's rise to suzerainty in some detail, fleshing out the picture of hostilities against and resistance to Goa that are only implied in the summary list of conquests in the Goa Chronicle. In short, NBG 18 relates a history of the past that challenges and undermines the picture presented jointly by the Goa and Talloq chronicles. In the process, it describes the early hostility between Goa and Talloq in vivid and graphic terms, whether this picture is historically accurate or not.

Another Episode, a Similar Tale

Some might be tempted to discount the history recorded in NBG 18. Matthes, for example, did not include this text in his edition of Makasarese texts of 1860. Noorduyn made no mention of it in his analysis of discrepancies and variation in the Goa and Talloq Chronicles (Matthes 1860 and 1883; Noorduyn 1991). It is, after all, a single account that is not verified by other sources. However, there are many hints of similar feelings and events, many suggestions that Goa and Talloq's past, in the histories told of it, was not straightforwardly harmonious. Indeed, there appear to have been major political struggles, even wars and rebellions, between Goa and Talloq that are strangely minimized in accounts of and conclusions about the history of Makasar. These confirm the atmosphere of rivalry described in NBG 18.

Both the Goa and the Talloq chronicle do mention the war fought between these two polities during the reign of Karaeng Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna.

David Bulbeck suggests that this took place in about 1535, though one cannot be certain about this (Bulbeck 1992:117-27). The war broke out when Goa's influence was growing, and marked the turning-point in its rise to dominance over the other major polities at the time: Maros, Talloq, and Polombangkeng. Henceforth, all these regions were to become important component parts of Goa's empire.

According to the writer of the Goa Chronicle, the cause of this war between Goa and Talloq was unknown. More specifically, the cause had not ever been recorded. As the writer declares, 'No words about the war were put in the *lontaraq*, it was only reported that they warred' (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim 1959:21-2). In contrast, the treatment of the war itself is lengthy. The battle was fought on three fronts, with Goa and its allies fighting and defeating the alliance of Talloq, Maros, and Polombangkeng on each front.

The Goa Chronicle also tells at length of the peace agreement reached between Goa and Talloq, an event which in Makasarese eyes marked the beginning of their long partnership. The chronicle recalls the events as follows:

The people of Talloq just retreated back to Talloq [after being defeated by Goa]. Then an invitation went out to Karaeng Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna. He entered Talloq and for seven nights was feasted and honoured. They each swore oaths, Karaeng Goa with Karaeng Talloq and all the *gallarrang* in the great hall. [The oaths affirmed that] whatever person set Goa and Talloq against each other would be cursed by the Gods.' (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim 1959:21.)

The Talloq Chronicle is almost completely silent about these events. In the reign of the then ruler of Talloq, Karaeng Tunipasuruq, it first states that 'he is the one who ruled together with Karaeng Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna'. Later in the account of his reign (though the event concerned obviously occurred earlier chronologically) it simply states that 'it was also this Karaeng who fought Goa' (Rahim and Ridwan 1975:9).

In summary, then, the Goa and Talloq chronicles indicate that the two polities fought each other, for unknown reasons, and then formed the alliance with which their close ties began. What is significant here is more the manner of narration than the facts recounted. The chronicles place the war between the two polities in the distant past, as an event whose significance has been superseded by that of the alliance which grew out of the war. The reasons for the war itself, the Goa Chronicle claims, are unknown, but were probably petty and unremarkable.

However, a later entry in the Goa Chronicle, long after the account of the war, hints at a different picture. Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna was succeeded by his son Tunipalangga. The Goa Chronicle's account of the latter's reign reads: 'Before he became ruler he ran off with Balu Maqlonjoka, and after running off with Balu Maqlonjoka he angered Karaeng Tunipasuruq. He set the

people of Goa and the people of Talloq against each other.' (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim 1959:30-1.) Some background information is useful here. Balu Maqlonjoka was a daughter of Karaeng Tunipasuruq, the ruler of Talloq and contemporary of Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna, the ruler of Goa.

Could this abduction or elopement have been the spark that set off the war between Goa and Talloq? This is precisely what another Makasarese text relates. The existence of this text, simply entitled *Siewana Goa Talloq*, which means 'Goa and Talloq at war with each other', raises questions about the selective nature of history-writing in the Goa and Talloq chronicles. It discloses exactly what the Goa Chronicle claims was not recorded in writing and, by implication, not remembered: the cause of the war between the two polities. Though not a common text, at least two copies of it are available.²² The account is difficult to read; in addition to scribal errors and occasional illegible passages, it contains several terms that are archaic and of unknown meaning. A typed transliteration of the MS 193 copy made by Cense²³ shows the difficulty this author had with the text. Below, the relevant and legible passages which, while incomplete, tell the story are given in translation. The account begins as follows:

The account of the struggle between Goa and Talloq. Balu Maqlonjoka was abducted. She quarrelled with her husband and [their tie] was severed and she ran off. I Daeng Macceraq was her husband. Tunipalangga ran off with her. Tumamenang [Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna] spoke: "Go to my child in Talloq, Daeng Tero. He [Tunipalangga] has run off with his sibling. I did not know. I was not informed. I did not plan it."

Daeng Tero went to Talloq with orders to investigate and offer compensation to the ruler of Talloq, and discussed the matter with Karaeng Tunipasuruq. Tunipasuruq replied:

"O, Daeng Tero, no one should act in such a way. I will not just take a bride price for my child, just plucked from my house in the middle of the night." The people of Talloq took their tears down to Maros and up to Polombangkeng, inflaming the people of Maros and the people of Polombangkeng. On learning of this, the *gallarrang* of Goa gathered together. I Kare Juri and the *gallarrang* of Goa went up to

²² Matthes acquired one, included in codex NBG 17, pages 75-80. A second copy, acquired later for the Matthesstichting, is found in codex MS 193, pages 3-5. The two are almost identical, though MS 193 is less legible in several places. In the translations provided in this article, slight errors and discrepancies have been corrected without notation. The NBG 17 version is in general more reliable.

²³ Kept in the KITLV's Historical Documentation department as Or. 545/76. The present location of the original Matthesstichting manuscript 193 is uncertain. After Indonesian independence this institution became the Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara, but most of its collection has subsequently become lost. The surviving manuscripts have apparently been moved to the Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia in Ujung Pandang.

Tumamenang. I Kare Juri spoke: "Bless us, my Lord, we have come down to remind our Karaeng that we were allowed by the Karaeng to go down [to Talloq]. Arriving in Talloq, [we] sat by the great hall. Word was carried up to the Karaeng Talloq that all the *gallarrang* of Goa were below the hall. The Karaeng came down. The Karaeng spoke, 'For what have you journeyed [here]?' Said I Kare Juri, 'He, my Lord [Karaeng Goa], sent all of us subjects of Goa here'." "

Faced with this delegation, which again offered compensation and showed preparedness to reprimand Tunipalangga themselves, Karaeng Tunipasuruq uttered his reply for the envoys to take back to Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna, 'O, Gallarrang, note that the sail is not furled, the mast is not taken down. It was so with you earlier. I did not lie there in Panakkukang, Tumamenang.' (O *Gallarrang manaiqmi ri sombala taniuduru pallayarrang taniraqba kontutommi ikau riolo takuballe-balleinnu anjoreng ri Panakkukang Tumamenang*.)

With the situation escalating, the allied rulers of Maros, Polombangkeng, and Talloq sent envoys to Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna in Goa. No progress was made, however, and talk of war ensued. There is mention of 'facing each other shield to shield' (*sigentoq lenguq*), as well as the command 'hoist your shields, tie fast your banners, and take your place in your field' (*ampokanakalangi lenguqnu kanusussuruq batenu nuempoi parangko*), in preparation for battle. The war is described briefly, in contrast to the lengthy treatment given it in the Goa Chronicle. Siewana Goa Talloq ends with descriptions of the formulaic speeches and the actions that followed as homage was paid to Goa by Maros and Talloq.

To modern readers the cause of the war between Goa and Talloq may seem petty or contrived. It was a kidnapping or elopement that took place between noble families, and one wonders if the problem could not have been resolved peacefully by a payment or some other form of compensation. In fact, there was often political competition in the arena of what might be called sexual rivalry. A striking feature of many oral and written treaties concluded between Makasarese polities were articles or oaths aimed at preventing precisely what the nobles of Talloq regarded the abduction of Balu Maqlonjoka as: the theft, capture, or seduction of 'their women' by outsiders. Indeed, Karaeng Tunipasuruq alludes to a hitherto unknown treaty between Goa and Talloq at Panakkukang which must have addressed precisely this sensitive issue.

The concern of Makasarese men with protecting their women from the predatory advances of men from other communities is one of the most persistent themes in Makasarese culture.²⁴ Oral traditions recalled, for example,

²⁴ The position of Makasarese women on this is hard to divine from the sources. Interestingly, the verb *lariang* used in the Siewana Goa Talloq text as well as in everyday speech today does not distinguish between elopement and kidnapping. In other words, the acquies-

how when in the sixteenth century Sudiang became part of Goa's governing council (Bate Salapang), the ruler of Goa agreed to the condition stipulated by the Gallarrang of Sudiang that 'you will not filch eggs from my egg basket, you will not arrogantly take my women' (*tanukocci bayao ri bakapota tanuualle jangang ganata*; Friedericy 1929:397). A century later, in the 1670s, Makasarese nobles deliberately insulted Arung Palakka and mocked his manliness by stealing 'his women' several times (Andaya 1981:168-9). The tension and violence surrounding such abductions remain a factor in Makasar today. As the anthropologist Chabot observed, the insult suffered by the woman's male relatives (*siriq*) compels them to avenge the family's honour by killing the man who has run off with their daughter, sister, niece, or cousin (Chabot 1996 [1950]:236-46). The volatile mood surrounding this kind of improper sexual liaison easily accounts both for the war that ensued between Goa and Talloq and the later effort to forget its underlying cause in the interests of peace. To have continued to harp on the arrogance and lack of respect shown by Tunipalangga to Karaeng Tunipasuruq would have poisoned relations. Though the story was obviously remembered and later committed to paper, it had no place in the official account of the past given in the Goa and Talloq chronicles.

The rift caused by Tunipalangga's elopement with Balu Maqlonjoka was not completely forgotten. But as a story characterizing the relationship between Goa and Talloq, it became increasingly incongruent in the context of the partnership formed at the end of the war between them. A past that began with and was punctuated by rivalry and conflict did not well suit the needs of a changed political situation. A more suitable past less likely to keep resentments and tensions alive was to become increasingly obligatory as Goa and Talloq's partnership flourished in the first half of the seventeenth century. When the Goa and Talloq chronicles were composed in the mid-seventeenth century, more fitting memories were enshrined in the two texts. For the first half of the seventeenth century the relationship between Goa and Talloq indeed lived up to the motto *segreji ata narua karaeng*. But both before and after this period there were efforts by rulers in both polities to seize the reins of power.

'Only One Ruler but Two Peoples'? Two Challenges

In the seventeenth-century golden age of Goa and Talloq's partnership, Karaeng Matoaya of Talloq recalled that his father, Tumamenang of Makkoayang, was the first ruler of Talloq to proclaim that Goa and Talloq were

cence or resistance of the woman involved is not a factor considered by Makasarese men in their reaction to *lariang*.

'only one people but two rulers' (Rahim and Ridwan 1975:11). A rare manuscript written in the old Makasarese script²⁵ briefly describes the occasion on which the pronouncement was first made in a little more detail. The text contains the formulaic oath sworn by the rulers of Goa and Talloq, Tunijalloq (r. 1565-1590) and Tumamenang of Makkoayang (r. early 1540s to late 1570s). The language is elaborate and visually powerful, drawing on common images of sailing and navigating to evoke the idea of cooperation and unity of purpose that is necessary in both sailing a ship and forming a close political alliance.

'Citing the words of Tunijalloq and Tumamenang of Makkoayang spoken to their father and uncle [Tunipalangga]. We are the rudder. We bail [water from the boat]. We handle the sails until we arrive. If it sinks, we sink. We only hope. One people but two rulers. Any person who even only dreams of setting Goa and Talloq against each other is cursed by the Gods.'²⁶

The moment in time this manuscript relates to was probably around 1565. In that year Tunijalloq unexpectedly ascended the throne after his brother Tunibatta was killed after ruling Goa for only forty days. At the same time as Tunijalloq became ruler, Tumamenang of Makkoayang was appointed as the first *tumaqbicarabutta*, or Speaker of the Land, that is, the highest official, charged with carrying out the commands of the ruler of Goa. According to the Talloq Chronicle, 'with the death of Tunibatta, he [Tumamenang of Makkoayang] was installed in Goa as the speaker of the land by the people of Goa alongside Tunijalloq' (Rahim and Ridwan 1975:10). As rulers of Goa and Talloq, Tunijalloq and Tumamenang of Makkoayang worked closely together. They are described in the Goa Chronicle as ruling jointly (*maqballi gauq*), and all the main projects undertaken during the reign of Tunijalloq before Tumamenang of Makkoayang's death in the late 1570s are credited to both men.

However, the close bond of 'Only one people but two rulers' forged by these two rulers was not long-lived. Indeed, much of the subsequent history of Goa and Talloq underscores the tenuous nature of the alliance. In 1590 a follower ran amok and killed Tunijalloq. He was succeeded by his fifteen-year-old son Tunipasuluq. Tunipasuluq was not content to be ruler of Goa alone. His mother, in fact, had been ruler of Talloq, and Tunipasuluq soon

²⁵ This manuscript is available on microfilm in the Arsip Nasional Wilayah Sulawesi Selatan in Ujung Pandang, Indonesia. The catalogue number is 26/22. The section quoted here is found on page 37.

²⁶ *Buqbuq kanana Tunijalloq naTumamenang ri Makkoayang nakana ri manggepurinana ikattema guling ikatte makero ikatte mabaya-baya rampe kirampe talang kitalang kinanromami seque ata narutwa karaeng manna namasoqnaja assipasiewaaki Goa Talloq ianacalla Rewata.*

made himself ruler of Talloq as well as Goa. In fact, he briefly became Karaeng of Maros also after the death of the ruler of Maros, Tunikakasang.²⁷ Tunipasuluq was so far an exception in the history of Goa and Talloq; through his father and mother, the rulers of Goa and Talloq respectively, he had an equally strong claim to both thrones.

Tunipasuluq clearly paid little heed to the efforts of Tunijalloq and Tumamenang of Makkoayang to create a close alliance between Goa and Talloq while preserving the autonomy of each. The hopeful partnership between the two polities had only begun to take shape. Certainly the idea of a balanced partnership did not dominate Tunipasuluq's vision of Makasarese society. His brief reign was characterized by efforts to amass as much power and wealth as possible in his own hands. He had little use for the compact *sekreji ata narua karaeng*. His unprecedented genealogical position enabled him to combine the rule of the two polities. Indeed, had he been a less arbitrary ruler, Tunipasuluq might well have succeeded in joining the two thrones permanently. In any case, his example testifies to the potential for change that marked Goa-Talloq relations. Historians therefore should not regard 'Only one people but two rulers' as a rule that the Makasarese adhered to, but as a politically determined ideal that was subject to the fluctuations and vicissitudes of fortune.

Even so, one should not make too much, perhaps, of the brief and arbitrary reign of Tunipasuluq. The very chaos engendered by this unstable situation probably did much to encourage a re-establishment of the partnership initiated by Tunijalloq and Tumamenang of Makkoayang. Goa and Talloq were allies again under two rulers in 1593, Tumamenang of Gaukanna of Goa (r. 1593-1639) and his uncle, Karaeng Matoaya of Talloq (r. 1593-1623). During their reign, and the reigns of their sons and successors, Tumamenang of Papambatuna (r. 1639-1653) in Goa and Karaeng Kanjilo (r. 1623-1641) and Karaeng Pattingalloang (r. 1641-54) in Talloq, Goa and Talloq reached the height of their influence and prosperity (Reid 1981). During this period, too, the Goa and Talloq chronicles as we now know them were written, surely cementing the bond between the two even further by making their pasts complementary and parallel.

However, this half century should be recognized as a unique period in Goa and Talloq's history. The unity and harmony suggested by the chronicles and by the potent talisman *sekreji ata narua karaeng* were never as strong as they claimed. After the subjugation of Goa, the relationship between Goa and Talloq was ripe for change. Conquered by the VOC and their Bugis allies in 1669, and suffering several abortive rebellions in the following decades, Goa

²⁷ This episode occurs in the Maros Chronicle in ANRI 18/23, 9-10.

in the early eighteenth century was an anaemic shadow of the kingdom it had once been. Without the support of the VOC, or even Arung Palakka, Goa might well have disappeared from the map, with its territories and high-ranking nobles absorbed into other kingdoms and other families.

In this context, it was a ruler of Talloq who, like Tunipasuluq a century earlier, tried to unite the thrones of Goa and Talloq under his rule.²⁸ On 17 September 1709 Sultan Abdul Jalil, the last son of Hasanuddin to govern Goa, died. His reign had lasted thirty-two years and was marked by a largely ineffectual struggle to reclaim some of Goa's lost power without incurring the wrath of Arung Palakka or the Dutch. In Talloq, barely a month before Abdul Jalil's death, the ruler, Sultan Abdul Kadir, died as well. Abdul Kadir's son was installed as Sultan Sirajuddin on 12 August 1709. In Goa, a son of the ruler of Bone, La Patauq, by a daughter of Abdul Jalil was installed as Sultan Ismail in the face of the protests of some Goa nobles on 21 September 1709. Sultan Ismail's reign was brief. On 24 August 1712 he was deposed by Goa's Bate Salapang because his father was the ruler of Bone. Many felt he had no true claim to the throne of Goa and belonged more to Bugis Bone, Goa's long-time rival.

At this juncture the Goa court was divided about who should succeed Sultan Ismail. Having become intermingled with the rulers of Bone in particular, the clear line of descent back to the Tumanurung seemed to have become lost. Abdul Jalil himself had no son, or else the controversy might never have arisen. As it was, two main contenders came to the fore. The new ruler of Talloq, Sirajuddin, was a grandson of Abdul Jalil's brother and predecessor, Karaeng Bisei. Tracing this connection, he claimed the right to the position of Karaeng Goa. Faced with this demand of Sirajuddin's, some members of the court supported it, while others backed Karaeng Bontolangkasaq, a cousin of Sirajuddin and great-grandson of Sultan Hasanuddin. Karaeng Bontolangkasaq, however, appears to have had only a small base of support in South Sulawesi. He spent much of his life overseas, where his second wife's father was ruler of Sumbawa. Sirajuddin became ruler of Goa and in 1719 exiled Bontolangkasaq. There later followed a reconciliation, but this only lasted till 1729, when Karaeng Bontolangkasaq avenged the death of I Kappara by killing La Madi, a son of the former ruler of Bone, La Patauq. This seems to have led to a second period of exile.

Sirajuddin was installed as ruler of Goa on 31 August 1712. He ruled both Goa and Talloq before abdicating as ruler of Talloq in favour of his young son, Sultan Najamuddin, in 1714. When his son died in April 1729, Siraj-

²⁸ This story can be read in the Goa court records (*lontaraq bilang*), from which all the dates cited here are taken (Ligtvoet 1880).

uddin again assumed the rulership of Talloq. The Goa court records contain the unexpected entry that on 2 August 1726, after the death of Karaeng Bontosunggu, Sirajuddin's chief official or *tumaqbicarabutta*, he did not appoint a successor but acted as his own *tumaqbicarabutta*. This marks an unprecedented attempt by Sirajuddin to consolidate power in his own hands by occupying the three most powerful positions in all Makasar.

The story of Sirajuddin, then, resembles that of Tunipasuluq in the early 1590s. Although Sirajuddin ousted Karaeng Mamampang as ruler of Sanrabone, removed Karaeng Bontojeqneq from office and confiscated his possessions, and executed I Tarawe and confiscated his possessions, his record of arbitrary behaviour does not equal that of Tunipasuluq. Nevertheless, the parallels are striking. Both tried to claim the two thrones and both were ultimately ousted from office.

On 17 January 1734 a second meeting of reconciliation took place between Sultan Sirajuddin and Karaeng Bontolangkasaq, but apparently achieved little. By this time Makasarese discontent with Sirajuddin must have been considerable, for in 1735 Karaeng Bontolangkasaq started a full-scale rebellion. Over the next four years, Karaeng Bontolangkasaq won several victories over Sirajuddin and his allies. Early in the civil war, on 5 November 1735, Sirajuddin abdicated as ruler of Goa and returned to Talloq. Formally, he installed his grandson Abdul Khair as ruler of Goa before departing, but ultimately Karaeng Bontolangkasaq captured Goa, and on 10 April 1739 he installed himself as ruler of Goa.

Bontolangkasaq's success reconfirmed the separation between the thrones of Goa and Talloq that Sirajuddin had attempted to end. But his reign was brief. For the Dutch it was unthinkable that the rebel Bontolangkasaq should be accepted as Karaeng Goa. A counter-attack was launched, and after several fierce battles, Bontolangkasaq was driven northward from Goa and mortally wounded. He died some time in the middle of 1739, his death putting an end to the rebellion. More importantly, perhaps, Sultan Sirajuddin died the same year, on January 22nd. He had been ruler of Talloq for a total of fifteen years, of Goa for twenty-three years, and of both for eight years. When a successor was needed in Talloq in 1714 and in Goa in 1735, Sirajuddin placed on the throne first a young son and then a grandson through whom he could continue to exercise an influence. Viewed from this perspective, Sirajuddin easily rivalled Tunipasuluq, who ruled Goa and Talloq for less than three years.

On 11 October 1740 the now thirteen-year-old ruler Sultan Abdul Khair returned to Goa. This marked the beginning of a return to stability in the relationship between Goa and Talloq. On 3 October 1742 the Goa court records note that

'Karaeng of Talloq and Karaeng Bontotanga arrived [at the Goa court]. During the time of Karaeng Tumamenang of Lakiung [Abdul Jalil, r. 1677-1709], Tumamenang of Passiringanna [Karaeng Talloq, r. 1673-1709], and Tumamenang of Taenga [Tumaqbicarabutta Karaeng Bontosunggu] the stipulation was made: "If there is one who comes between us, we agree to declare that person blameworthy".²⁹

The recalling of this ceremonial pronouncement, made in the first decade of the eighteenth century, in a ceremony decades later in 1742 implies an awareness that the proper relationship between Goa and Talloq had been disturbed. Goa and Talloq had been set against each other, but now this painful episode was closed. A further step towards stability was taken on 28 May 1743. On that date the Goa court records note that Karaeng Lempangang, ruler of Talloq, was installed as *tumaqbicarabutta* of Goa.³⁰

At this juncture the relationship of equality and partnership between Goa and its advisor and chief supporter Talloq was renewed. The relationship of Goa to Talloq, of the ruler to his *tumaqbicarabutta*, was restored. Goa and Talloq would not wage war against each other again. What is equally significant is that, until the end of colonial rule, Dutch administrations in South Sulawesi worked to maintain a stable status quo in which Goa and Talloq were separate, subordinate kingdoms under the umbrella of colonial authority.

Partial Histories, Hidden Pasts

The persisting sense of difference between the people of Talloq and the people of Goa in their own eyes is worth emphasizing. As late as 1860 a Dutch report makes clear that the people of Talloq had a special term, *Tau Kajannanngang*, to refer to those from Goa who had settled in Talloq.³¹ The popular perception suggested by this contrasts strongly with the image of unity that the Goa and Talloq chronicles tried to project.

The histories people tell about the past are as conditioned by the period of their telling as by the period in the past they describe. In the middle of the seventeenth century the close partnership between Goa and Talloq was bol-

²⁹ *Nabattu Karaeng ri Talloq siagang Karaeng Bontotanga nanipare pangempang ri rewasana Karaenga Tumamenang ri Lakiung Tumamenang ri Passiringanna Tumamenang ri Taenga ponna niaq allaqna kiparapaqmaiki kikana tumannyala.*

³⁰ Literally the text says that he was brought the treaties (*nanierangang karaeng ri Talloq ulukanaya*), the possession of which was the chief mark of office of the *tumaqbicarabutta*.

³¹ The term refers to officials, functionaries, or those appointed to perform specific tasks. In this context it indicates that the people of Goa living in Talloq were descendants of settlers who had been appointed to perform particular tasks in Talloq rather than true natives of Talloq (see 'Lijst van de inlandsche benamingen, ...').

stered and, in a sense, consummated by the creation of parallel chronicles. Composed during this period, the Goa and Talloq chronicles gave an account of the long history of these polities that was shaped by the recent harmonious and profitable alliance between them. Indeed, the sources from the first half of the seventeenth century that have so captivated historians support the image of 'Only one people but two rulers'. For good political reasons, the rulers of Goa and Talloq sought to cement their current alliance by the act of writing a particular and partial history of the past.

In the more recent context of Indonesian nationalism, the close bond between Goa and Talloq and their shared achievements have again dominated people's memories. To separate Goa and Talloq or to draw attention to any aspect of their relationship that does not re-affirm the closeness of this bond is to violate the dictates of nationalist, anti-colonial historiography. As in the seventeenth century, the evocative 'Only one people but two rulers' today is a powerfully condensed form of history that is easily stored in people's memories. A statement like this simultaneously recalls the past and interprets the tenor of that past in a politically correct fashion.

The dominant picture that has been preserved and promoted of Goa and Talloq's historical relationship, then, is one of partnership. But upon closer inspection, this relationship turns out to have been a chequered one, and never as harmonious as the chronicles and the dictum *segreji ata narua karaeng* claimed. These chronicles and this dictum were created at a particular historical moment, and of course one moment cannot stand for an entire past. Periods of strength and close alliance alternated with periods of rivalry and hostility. Historians today must be receptive to the fainter voices of scattered manuscripts and oral traditions that Makasarese court chroniclers concealed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These counter-histories document the hidden underside of Goa and Talloq's shared past, a past marked by tension as well as cooperation. To understand Makasarese historical chronicles and to gain as full a picture as possible of the past, historians must situate chronicles in the wider context of history-making as a cultural practice in early modern South Sulawesi.

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Abbreviations

ANRI	Arsip Nasional Wilayah Sulawesi Selatan, Republik Indonesia
KITLV	Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
MS	Matthesstichting
NBG	Nederlandsch Bijbel Genootschap

APPENDIX 1

Transliteration of the sections of NBG 18 given in translation above

iaminne bukua kanana. Karaeng Loe ri Bira. uru angallea Karaeng ri Talloq. naanjo bedeng Karaeng Loe ri Bira. tujui sisariqbattang. sannging buraqne. Karaeng Loe ri Bira. nampa Karaeng Loe ri Bajeng. nampa Karaeng Loe ri Barasaq. Karaeng Loe ri Katingang. Karaeng Betang. Karaeng Buluq Loe. Dampang ri Parang Loe. areng matena. Dampang. ri Parang Loe. Matinroa ri Juruna. niawanga. ri parallakkenna. naanjo bedeng. Karaeng Loe ri Barasaq. ri Barasaqtonji ammantang. ri bawa Palengang. Karaeng Loe ri Bajeng. ri Bajengtonji ammantang. paqrurangeng ri Goa. Karaeng Loe ri Katingang. ri Sanrabonei ammantang. barangkana. ri Palambeyang. Karaeng Loe ri Bira. ri Biratonji ammantang. Karaeng Betang Sudiangi ammantang. Karaeng Buluq Loe. ri Paccerakangi ammantang. Dampang ri Parang Loe. ri Parang Loetonji ammantang. naanjo bedeng. uru nipareka Karaeng ri Talloq anaqna Tunatanakaqlopi. niarenga Karaeng Loe ri Sero. sariqbattangi. Batara Goa. naanjo bedeng. Karaeng Loe ri Sero. iami Karaeng ri Goa. nalanri matenamo. Karaeng Tunatakalopi. Karaeng Loe ri Sero assambeangi maqgauq ri Goa. naciniki. Batara Goa. naassengtongi. anaqnaya. punna paleng niseleq Sudanga. nisongkoq Salakowa. iami paleng naKaraeng tuGoaya. napi-nawang tau jaina. buttaya ri Goa. lanri kammaminjo pikirina. Batara Goa. nanajagaimo pataenana Karaeng ri Goa. naniaqmo seqre wattu nanraiq Karaeng ri Goa. aqjonga ri Goa tannga. natea aqlampa Batara Goa. lanri manyalana atekaqna ri sariqbattana. lebaki aqlampa Karaeng ri Goa. mange-mi Batara Goa. asseleki. Sudanga. assonoki Salokowa. namangemo mamem-po ri empoa nikasiangina Karaeng ri Goa. niaqtommi battu Bate Salapanga. naia kasiang. Batara Goami nikasuangi ri Bate Salapanga. nalanrina songkoqna Salokowa. naseleqna Sudanga. niaqtommi battu Karaeng ri Goa takaporibangkena sapanaya. nanumeranngasemmo anaq karaeng. baineya. anaq galla(rra)ngmo pangulutoboq anaq karaeng buraqneya. anaq gallarranga. nakanamo Karaeng ri Goa. sabarakokeqngang. niaqlalopa iapa pasitujuna rewataya. tulusuqmi manaiq Karaeng ri Goa ri ballaqla. tulusuq antama ilalang sibatanga. agilingja mange ri sariqbattana. angagangi taqmuri. tamakana. natulusuq antama aqbuqbuki badiqna. nanaranrang pakalliqna. nasuro panaunngasengi apa-apanasikamma barang-baranna. ri anaq karaeng. ri anaq gallarranga. niaka amminawang ri Karaeng ri Goa. apaji. macaqdi-caqdi paqmaiqlamo Karaeng nampa suluqtommi kalena Karaeng ri Goa. nikanamamo pole. Karaeng Loe ri Sero. naanjo lanri macaqdi-caqdi paqmaiqla Karaeng Loe ri Sero. nasuro panaummi mae battalaqla ri paqrasanganga ri Pasinang. takamponngasengi battalaqla mange ri Pasinang. adongkoq ri jarangtommi Karaeng Loe ri Sero. nirurunga ri

sikamma anaq gallarrang. poko bateya ri Goa. niremba ri anaq karaeng matiqnona. buttaya ri Goa. tulusuq manaung mae ri paqrasanganga ri Pasinang. antapesang urusuqna. angkereng jeqneq matanna. ataqgalaq pangulu toboqna. sikamma anaq karaeng. siagang anaq gallarranga. nakanamo Karaeng Loe ri Sero. ammakanngasemmako. nanupakabajiq paq-maiqnu. andallekang ri rewata. barangkammaji apa naniaqtoja teqne-teqne. napicinikiaki ri bokowana. anne sipunungaseng. battumi mange ri Pasinang Karaeng Loe ri Sero. nipananasiyami ballaq. rassimo ballaq. tanaallemo jajareng barang-baranna majaina Karaeng Loe ri Sero. nanitaqlengerammo ri Karaeng Loe ri Bira. apaji nasiempoamo Karaeng Loe ri Bira. Karaeng Betang. Karaeng Buluq Loe. Dampang ri Parang Loe. naiamo naparapaq-maiki. appaq sisariqbattang. mangeya ri Pasinang. anioki Karaeng Loe ri Sero. apaji namassing aqlampamo appaq sisariqbattang. mange ri Pasinang. battui mange ri Pasinang. niaqtommi Karaeng Loe ri Sero aqbuntuli Karaeng Loe ri Bira. nasitaqgalaq limamo. Karaeng Loe ri Sero siagang Karaeng Loe ri Bira. tulusuq manaiq ri ballaqna. battui naiq. massing mangemi mamem-po iangaseng sipaaganga. nakanamo Karaeng Loe ri Bira. ri Karaeng Loe ri Sero. iami anne kunjungku battui mae ri kau. ikambengaseng anne. appaq sisariqbattang. nalanri malompona paccena paqmaiina. allangereki biritta tamabajiqnu. apaji nakuero anne angerangko assuluq ri paqrasangammang. manna kasiasimamo. nakanamo Karaeng Loe ri Sero. taenamo antu. anukamma rannuku. sariqbattang. niaqnungasengtommi antu. kusariqbat-tangangang. naniaq angkapacceia ampasirikia. natalambusuq bajikapa kanana. Karaeng Loe ri Sero. nanisuro ngasemmo anaq karaeng. anaq gallarranga. pakalawing epuka. tau jaiya. ampanaungi ri rakiq sikamma barang-baranna. Karaeng Loe ri Sero. siagang battalaqna. namanaung ngasemmo. siparurunga ngaseng. namanaummo ri rakiq Karaeng Loe ri Sero. namapalampamo kelong akana. tuammenteng ri suropa. tuataqgalaq tokonna. tuassoeya bisenna. natassungeqneq. tulusuqmi assuluq mae. sore-mi ri turunganna bontona Parang Loe. naiqmi aqbonto Karaeng Loe ri Sero. naturunngasengtomo tubontoa. tuParang Loeya. ampanaiki barang-baranna Karaeng Loe ri Sero. nasitaqgalaq limamo Karaeng Loe ri Bira siagang Karaeng Loe ri Sero. tulusuqmi manaiq ri barugana. ri paqrasanganga ri bontowa. naiamo nampa samaturuki appaq sisariqbattang. ampakurru sumang-akangai Karaeng Loe ri Sero. paqrasanganga ri bontowa. lanri kammanami anjo. nanipareqmo agang ri kale bontowa. lebaki sipaempoami sedeng appaq sisariqbattang. Karaeng Loe ri Bira. naiamo naparapaqmaiki. appaq sisariqbattang. ampaparekangi paqrasangang Karaeng Loe ri Sero. ri appaq itimboroqna. ilauq. pabuttaena. Bira. ri birinna binangaya ri Rapokali. nani-belaqmo taqloangang. nanikekkeseqmo iwarakana romang taqloangang. tulusuq assuluq ri tamparangang. lebaki paqrasangangang. nibatami naniaremno Talloq. lebaki bataya ri Talloq. nipaparekami ballaq Karaeng

Loe ri Sero. lima paqdaserang. lollong kambaraqna. naanjo bedeng. kayu nipareka benteng. taenapa narurusuq lekona. taenapa nalatte leko kayuna. nalebamo ballaka. lima padaserang lollong kambaraqna. naanjo paqrasangang lebaka nibata. niarettommi Talloq. naanjo ballaka. nikanamamo ballaka ri Tamalate. nanipaparekamo pole. bungung lollong paseroqna. lebanamo ballaka ri Tamalate. nierammi mange Karaeng Loe ri Sero. gannaki. tuju bangi. Karaeng Loe ri Sero. irate ri ballaqa. asekreiseng. Karaeng Loe ri Bira. sipamempoa. appaq sisariqbattang. naiamo naparapaqmaiki. appaq sisariqbattang. amparekai Karaeng ri Talloq. Karaeng Loe ri Sero. apaji namassing antaqlemono. appaq sisariqbattang. Karaeng Loe ri Bira. Karaeng Betang. Karaeng Buluq Loe. Dampang ri Parang Loe. battui antaqle ri Talloq. tulusuqmi antama. ri kamponga ri Tamalate. niaqtommi Karaeng Loe ri Sero. ammenteng ri timunganga aqbuntuli Karaeng Loe ri Bira. sitaqqalaq limami. naiq ri ballaka ri Tamalate. kanikanaija Tamalate. massing rapaki empona. ia kanana. Karaeng Loe ri Bira. ri Karaeng Loe ri Sero. akanaya. iami anne kunjungku pabattuwa mae ri kau. nalanri lebanamo pasamaturukaku. appaq sisariqbattang. ikau anne. kipasamaturuki. eroki pareq Karaeng ri Talloq. naikaumamo sedeng accinikingi kabajikanna buttaya. nakipantamatommo kalenta. ata ri kai. siaganga panganuwatta. ia kipsiratangang. kammaya. tana. tasisapatta. nakipatikukamakako ri tamparangang. nakipangolongamako ri bontowa. lappasakkisedeng pakaraengta ri kau. nakanamo Karaeng Loe ri Sero. taenamo antu. anukamma (rannuku). pangamaseannu ri nakke. sariqbattang. nupanaujarilatana. buttaya. ikau apa tanaya. paqrasangang. nakipamakangaja. iamamo sedeng. kau panaika. ri pangka-pangka. bulaeng.

anjo anaq gallarranga. nipareqtongi Gallarrang ri Talloq. antekamma ri empoana. ri Goa. manggena. iatommi kituruki. apaji naanjo anaq gallarrang. Tomboloq. nipareki Gallarrang ri Rapokali. naanjo anaq gallarrang Mangasa. nipareki Biringkana. naanjo anaq gallarrang Saomata. nipareki Gallarrang ri Moncong Loe. jarimi tallu. naanjo bedeng Karaeng Loe ri Bira. napareqtommi kalena Gallarrang ri Bira. Karaeng Betang. napareqtommi kalena Gallarrang ri Sudiang. Karaeng Buluq Loe. napareqtommi kalena Gallarrang ri Pacceraka. Dampang ri Parang Loe. napareqtommi kalena Bangkeng Bate. najarimo tuju. Gallarrang ri Talloq. nanikanamo Gallarrang Tujua ri Talloq.

lebaki massing naiqmi appaq sisariqbattang. andallekang ri Karaeng. battui naiq. nakanamo Gallarrang Bira. iami anne battu kunjung kipadallekanga ri Karaeng. anne anaq karaeng niaka amminawang ri Karaeng. iami anne kparapaqmaiki. appakateqneai paqmaiqa. barangkana. arengi I Dg ri Patteqne. naapue batemo. Rapokali. nakimassingassaremo tana. tasisapatta. nakisareatommo pangagangang katalasa. barangkana sussung binanga. assuluka. punna pabiseang assuluq. iatommi angallei sussunna. nakanamo Karaeng ri Talloq. taenamo antu anu kamma rannuku. nalanri malompo dudumo pangamaseannu ri nakke. rewatamami antu maka ambalasaki paq-

maiq bajinu ri nakke. sariqbattang. kammami anjo kanana Karaeng Loe ri Sero. uru nipareka Karaeng ri Talloq.

APPENDIX 2

Transliteration of the sections of Siewana Goa Talloq given in translation above

passalaq angkana-kanai siewana Goa Talloq Balu Maqlonjoka nilariang sisala-salai sikalabini natatappuka bajippa nanilariang nikana I Daeng Macceraq buraqnea Tunipalangga allariangi makkanami Tumenanga assulukko ri anakku ri Talloq Daeng Tero ia nalarianna sariqbattanna takuas-sengai tanabirittaiana takunawa-nawai
o Daeng Tero kataena tau maqring nipakontu takualleji sunranna anakku nataroi banngiji ri ballaqa nanaerammi tuTalloka jeqneq matanna manaung mae ri Marusuq manaiq ri Polombangkeng mannyaqrimmi tuMarukusa tuPolombangkenga naassengi Gallarrang ri Goa lanilipung kalena manaiqmi I Kare Juri siagang Gallarrang ri Goa ri Tumamenang makkanai I Kare Juri kapettaisakang Sombangku naikambe manaung ampaingaki Karaemmang nipaqbeammi ri Karaeng manaummi battui mange manaung ri Talloq mam-mempoi ri barugaya nikelua nipaqbirittammi manaiqmi ri Karaeng ri Talloq angkana niaqngasengi Gallarrang tuGoaya irawa ri barugaya manaummi Karaeng akkanami Karaeng apa nulampa-lampai nakanamo I Kare Juri ia Sombangku kilampa-lampai naniaqngaseng ata ri Goa